



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

**THE PROTECTION OF WORLD HERITAGE
SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS**

Factors affecting management policy and practice

by

LETÍCIA LEITÃO

Thesis submitted to the Edinburgh College of Art in fulfilment
of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

JANUARY 2011

ABSTRACT

In an increasingly urbanised world, historic settlements have been facing tremendous urbanisation and development pressures. In this context, historic settlements included on the World Heritage List ought to be flagships for urban conservation. This dissertation investigates how effectively the existing protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention contribute to the protection of historic urban settlements and especially their surroundings.

The factors affecting urban settlements, and the responses adopted by the international community for the protection of urban heritage, are investigated – first in relation to urban settlements in general, and then in relation to historic settlements included on the World Heritage List. To get a holistic view of how historic settlements have been protected under the World Heritage Convention, the monitoring mechanisms established under the Convention are examined. The analysis of the results of the first cycle of the Periodic Reporting exercise and of the state of conservation reports resulting from the Reactive Monitoring process provide an overall view of the main issues influencing the protection of World Heritage settlements.

To get an overview of the factors affecting the surroundings of World Heritage settlements in particular, the concept of buffer zone – adopted under the World Heritage Convention as the main mechanism for the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage properties – is investigated not only in relation to its use in other disciplines and to the protection of natural protected areas, but also in the nomination files over time.

To investigate how historic settlements and their surroundings in particular have been affected by urbanisation and development pressures, and how they have been protected under the World Heritage Convention, four case studies are studied, namely Angra do Heroísmo in Portugal, Olinda in Brazil, Marrakesh in Morocco and the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal. In all four cases I examine how their inscription on the World Heritage List has influenced their protection and that of their surroundings in particular, how the existing managements systems established for their protection have responded to urbanisation and development pressures, and what are the main factors affecting their state of conservation. In addition, as the Kathmandu Valley has received enormous attention under the World Heritage system, this case study is also analysed to obtain an in-depth understanding of how the system has been implemented for the protection of World Heritage settlements.

The case studies shed light on five inter-related aspects. First, that the legal and management arrangements adopted for the protection of the World Heritage settlements are not built upon what is considered to be their outstanding universal value, and are insufficient to effectively address existing urbanisation and development pressures. Second, that the factors affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage properties increasingly originate from beyond the properties' boundaries, but there is nevertheless no integration of the planning and management arrangements for the World Heritage settlements within their wider urban context. Third, that the surroundings of the World Heritage settlements investigated have continued to undergo considerable change since the time of inscription and are now much more urbanized areas, despite existing legal mechanisms for their protection. Fourth, that although Angra do Heroísmo, Olinda and Marrakesh present similar factors affecting their state of conservation to those identified for the Kathmandu Valley, they have not received the same attention from the World Heritage Committee, pointing to a lack of clarity on the selection

process for the follow-up of the state of conservation of a property through Reactive Monitoring. Fifth, in relation to the Kathmandu Valley only, that the involvement of the international community has considerable limitations and needs to be improved. These aspects show that the protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention are limited, not effectively implemented or enforced, and only address a limited number of the existing needs.

The dissertation concludes by articulating how existing trends influencing urban settlements can be more effectively addressed by existing mechanisms under the World Heritage Convention. Finally I bring forward the policy implications deriving from the research findings and suggest broad strategies for improving some of the processes and practices for the protection of World Heritage settlements and their surroundings in particular.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Herb Stovel, who supported me to take up this research area for my PhD and who recommended me to do it at the Edinburgh College of Art. I also express my sincere thanks to Prof. Brian Edwards, Prof. Ian Campbell and Dr. Miles Glendinning, my advisers throughout the research, for their valuable guidance.

My sincere thanks are also due to my colleagues from ICCROM and IUCN, who have been extremely supportive and a source of encouragement in my work. I would like to specially thank Gamini Wijesuriya and Tim Badman for all the inspiring discussions that we had but also for their support in my professional work.

To conduct my fieldwork in Brazil, Nepal and Morocco, I sought the help of many people and institutions, which have played an important role in the outcome of my research. Even though some of them remain unmentioned I greatly appreciate their help and contributions. I would like to particularly thank Prof. Silvio Zanchetti, for all his support with the Olinda case study and my dear friend Rohit Jigyasu for the help with the Kathmandu Valley case study and encouragement throughout my research.

I am also indebted to Joe King from ICCROM, who has been my fundamental source of information all along the way. Without his support, my research endeavour would have been very difficult to achieve. His kind words of advice and caring attitude guided me on some crucial moments.

Last but not least, I extend heartfelt thanks to the two men of my life: my father and my partner Jerome Nhan. To my father, who supported me financially throughout most of the research period. To Jerome, for having put up with so much talk about World Heritage, ever postponed vacations and for all his help.

My sincere thanks to all who supported me during this long journey.

Letícia Leitão

January 2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
ABBREVIATIONS	xv
PART I INTRODUCTION	1
1. INTRODUCTION	2
1.1. Global trends influencing urban environments and challenges to historic settlements	3
1.2. The special case of World Heritage settlements	5
1.3. The research question	7
1.4. Development objective	8
1.5. Literature review	8
1.6. Methodology	15
1.6.1. Qualitative research	15
1.6.2. Case study method	17
1.6.3. Selection of case studies	18
1.7. Scope and limitations	22
1.8. Terminology	26
1.9. Thesis outline	27
PART II WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS IN AN URBANIZING WORLD	31
2. THE CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE (1972)	32
2.1. Historical and philosophical origins and main principles of the Convention	33
2.2. The concept of outstanding universal value	39
2.3. The system of protection established by the World Heritage Convention	42
2.4. Implementing the World Heritage Convention: the Operational Guidelines	45
2.4.1. The World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger	46
2.4.2. Criteria for the assessment of outstanding universal value	47
2.4.3. Authenticity and integrity	49
2.4.4. Protection and management	52
2.5. The proposal to revise the World Heritage Convention	54
2.6. Conclusions	57

	PAGE
3. THE STATE OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS	60
3.1. Population growth and world urbanisation	60
3.1.1. Demographic trends	61
3.1.2. Urbanisation trends	62
3.2. Changes in urban agglomerations	64
3.3. Conclusions	66
4. RESPONSES TO URBANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PROTECTION OF HISTORIC SETTLEMENTS	68
4.1. From environmental protection to cultural heritage for development	68
4.2. Urban conservation as a response to development and urbanisation pressures	71
4.3. Conclusions	78
5. HISTORIC SETTLEMENTS IN THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST	80
5.1. Definition of categories of “urban settlements”	80
5.2. Analysis of the “Urban World Heritage List”	84
5.2.1. Use of the criteria	84
5.2.2. Regional distribution	88
5.2.3. Inscription of urban settlements compared with other properties, at national level	91
5.3. What exactly constitutes a “World Heritage settlement”?	94
5.4. Conclusions	103
PART III THE STATE OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS	106
6. MONITORING OF WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTIES	107
7. PERIODIC REPORTING: ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST CYCLE	112
7.1. Issues related to concepts and purposes of the World Heritage Convention	114
7.2. Institutional and legislative frameworks	115
7.3. Issues related to the identification of the properties	118
7.4. Management	122
7.4.1. Management plans	125
7.5. Factors affecting the properties	126
7.6. Boundaries and buffer zones	129
7.7. Conclusions	133
8. REACTIVE MONITORING: STATE OF CONSERVATION REPORTS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS	135
8.1. Analysis of state of conservation reports	135
8.2. Trends in state of conservation reports of World Heritage settlements	137
8.3. Conclusions	141

	PAGE
9. ASSESSMENT FROM OTHER SOURCES: ICOMOS’ “HERITAGE@RISK”	144
PART IV THE SURROUNDINGS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS	149
10. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SURROUNDINGS OF CULTURAL PROPERTIES	150
10.1. The concept surroundings in international charters and other documents	150
10.2. The double dimension of the concept of surroundings	155
10.3. Conclusions	157
11. THE CONCEPT OF BUFFER ZONE	159
11.1. Buffer zones for natural protected areas	161
11.2. Definition in the Operational Guidelines and changes over time	166
11.3. Conclusions	169
12. ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF BUFFER ZONES IN THE NOMINATION FILES	171
12.1. Comparison between the use of buffer zones for natural and cultural properties in the World Heritage List	172
12.2. Buffer zones for World Heritage settlements	178
12.3. How buffer zones protect (or not) the properties	189
12.4. Conclusions	192
13. EXPERT MEETINGS ON BUFFER ZONES MEETINGS	194
PART V CASE STUDIES	197
14. INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES	198
14.1. Introduction	198
14.2. Limitations in case studies	200
14.3. Differences in case studies	2002
15. CASE STUDY: CENTRAL ZONE OF THE TOWN OF ANGRA DO HEROÍSMO IN THE AZORES, PORTUGAL	206
15.1. The World Heritage property	206
15.2. Factors affecting the property and its surroundings	208
15.3. Conclusions	214
16. CASE STUDY: HISTORIC CENTRE OF THE TOWN OF OLINDA, BRAZIL	217
16.1. The World Heritage property	217
16.2. Factors affecting the property and its surroundings in particular	220
16.3. Conclusions	227

	PAGE
17. CASE STUDY: MEDINA OF MARRAKESH, MOROCCO	229
17.1. The World Heritage property	229
17.2. Factors affecting the property	233
17.3. Factors affecting the surroundings of the property: the urbanisation of the palm grove	237
17.4. Conclusions	240
18. CASE STUDY: KATHMANDU VALLEY, NEPAL	242
18.1. The World Heritage property	244
18.2. Factors affecting the property: conservation versus development	246
18.2.1. Monuments versus traditional buildings	246
18.2.2. Monument zones versus surroundings	253
18.3. Boundaries	258
18.3.1. The redefinition of boundaries proposed by the 1993 ICOMOS-UNESCO mission	260
18.3.2. Further redefinition of boundaries proposed by the 1998 UNESCO-ICOMOS-HMGN mission	262
18.3.3. Redefinition of boundaries following the inclusion of the property in the List of World Heritage in Danger	263
18.4. Analysis of international recommendations and Committee's decisions	270
18.5. Conclusions	282
PART VI CONCLUSIONS	289
19. COMPARATIVE AND COMBINED ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES	290
19.1. Introduction	290
19.2. Implications of urbanisation and development pressures	290
19.3. Protection and management responses	292
19.4. Protection of the surroundings	295
19.5. Key issues and challenges for the protection of World Heritage settlements and their surroundings in particular	300
20. REASSESSING PROCESSES AND PRACTICES FOR THE PROTECTION OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS	305
20.1. Reassessing factors affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements	305
20.2. Reassessing management responses	308
20.3. Reassessing the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage settlements	312
20.4. Reassessing the concept of buffer zone and its appropriateness for the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage settlements	314
21. POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS	321
21.1. Introduction	321

	PAGE
21.2. Integrating conservation policies in urban development and vice-versa	322
21.3. Improving the monitoring process under the World Heritage Convention	324
21.3.1. Improving the Periodic Reporting process	324
21.3.2. Improving the Reactive Monitoring process	326
21.4. Linking Reactive Monitoring with international assistance	328
21.5. Differentiating between identification and protection	330
21.6. Improving the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage settlements	332
21.7. Delegating roles and responsibilities	334
BIBLIOGRAPHY	339
APPENDICES	383
Appendix 1 – Changes to the criteria as presented in the Operational Guidelines, 1977-2005	
Appendix 2 – Urban population growth in State Parties with World Heritage settlements	
Appendix 3 – The 15 largest urban agglomerations ranked by population size	
Appendix 4 – Urban World Heritage List	
Appendix 5 – Orientations for the inscription of Historic Towns and Town Centres on the World Heritage List in Annex 3 of the Operational Guidelines	
Appendix 6 – World Heritage settlements reported under Reactive Monitoring	
Appendix 7 – Problems with the implementation of buffer zones identified by different authors	
Appendix 8 – Use of buffer zones for World Heritage properties	
Appendix 9 – Additional information on Angra do Heroísmo case study	
Appendix 10 – Additional information on Olinda case study	
Appendix 11 – Additional information on Kathmandu Valley case study	

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE	
2.1	The three pillars of Outstanding Universal Value (as defined by IUCN)	42
2.2	The system of protection established in the World Heritage Convention	43
3.1	Urban sprawl in the Kathmandu valley	65
5.1	Use of criteria for the inscription of World Heritage Settlements	85
5.2	Number of criteria used in the inscription of World Heritage Settlements	88
5.3	Regional distribution of World Heritage settlements	89
5.4	States Parties with most World Heritage settlements	90
5.5	Most used terms in titles of World Heritage settlements	95
5.6	World Heritage areas of Macao (China) and Cienfuegos (Cuba)	97
5.7	City of Verona	101
7.1	<i>Acqua alta</i> in Venice (Italy)	127
8.1	Tall building In Budapest (Hungary)	139
11.1	Scenarios of protected areas (Martino, 2001, p.5)	164
11.2	Two buffer zones situations (Ebregt and De Greve, 2000, p.13)	165
12.1	World Heritage properties with and without buffer zones	173
12.2	Number of properties with buffers per category	173
12.3	Number of properties with and without buffer zones per category until 1997	175
12.4	Number of properties with and without buffer zones per region	176
12.5	Map showing World Heritage property and buffer zone of Island of Mozambique (Mozambique)	179
12.6	Map of Prague showing boundaries of nominated property and buffer zones	180
12.7	Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Le Havre (France) and Essaouira (Morocco)	183
12.8	Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones Brugges (Belgium) and Shakhriyabz (Uzbekistan)	183
12.9	Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Liverpool (United Kingdom) and Valparaíso (Chile)	184

	PAGE	
12.10	Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Salzburg (Austria) and Genoa (Italy)	184
12.11	Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Holašovice (Czech Republic) and Bhaktapur in Kathmandu Valley (Nepal)	185
12.12	Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Provins (France) and Sanmenli Village in Kaiping Diaolou and Villages (China)	185
12.13	Map showing World Heritage property and buffer zone of Diamantina (Brazil)	187
12.14	Maps showing World Heritage property and buffer zone of Lyon (France) as included in the nomination file and revised after ICOMOS' recommendations.	188
15.1	View of Angra do Heroísmo, Azores	207
15.2	The bay of Angra before and after the construction of the marina	211
15.3	Construction of new structures within the bay area	212
15.4	Construction of hotels in the surroundings of the property of Angra do Heroísmo	213
15.5	San Gonçalo Convent	215
16.1	View of Olinda	218
16.2	Urban sprawl of the city of Recife	221
16.3	View of Olinda showing vegetation cover	224
17.1	View of the Medina of Marrakesh from the Agdal gardens	230
17.2	Map of the nominated property of the Medina of Marrakesh	233
17.3	Reduction of green areas in the past century in Marrakesh	236
17.4	The palm grove of the Medina of Marrakesh	237
17.5	Urbanisation of the palm grove of the Medina of Marrakesh	238
17.6	Luxury housing in the palm grove of Marrakesh	239
18.1	View of Patan Durbar Square, Kathmandu Valley	243
18.2	Replacement of traditional buildings with modern concrete constructions	247
18.3	Addition of floors to traditional buildings	249
18.4	New constructions in the vicinity of the Kumbheshvar temple, Patan, Kathmandu Valley	250

	PAGE
18.5 Maps of monuments zone in the nomination file (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)	259
18.6 Changes to boundaries of component part of Patan of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley (2005-2006)	266
18.7 Changes to boundaries of component part of Bhaktapur of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley (2005-2006)	267
21.1 Proposed model for World Heritage properties conservation areas	333
21.2 Example of the use of model proposal for conservation area using the example of Patan, Kathmandu Valley	335

LIST OF TABLES

	PAGE	
3.1	Urbanisation levels across developed and less developed regions	63
3.2	Urbanisation levels across geographical regions	63
5.1	Combination of criteria for the inscription of World Heritage Settlements	87
5.2	Number of World Heritage settlements compared to other properties per State Party	92
7.1	First Periodic Reporting Cycle	113
7.2	Are the boundaries of the site adequate to reflect the site's significance?	130
7.3	Is there a buffer zone for the site?	132
8.1	Number of state of conservation reports of World Heritage settlements compared to number of reports on other cultural properties	136
12.1	Number of properties with or without buffer zones per year of inscription	174
12.2	Number of properties with and without a buffer zone, by category and by region	177
12.3	Number of urban settlements with or without buffer zones per year of inscription	181
14.1	Criteria used for the inscription of the World Heritage settlements used as case studies on the World Heritage List	198
16.1	Population growth in the Municipality of Olinda	222
18.1	Proposed changes to areas of component parts of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley by the State Party	264
18.2	Proposed changes to areas of component parts of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley after mission	268

ABBREVIATIONS

ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
UNDP	United Nations development programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

PART I

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

In the past half century, the increasing concentration of people in urban areas has led to the extraordinary growth and transformation of historic settlements. Their surroundings have changed and continue to change drastically from natural or rural landscapes to large and sprawling urban regions. The threats posed by evolving urban conditions on heritage and the need to address them have been acknowledged in several international charters. Of these, one of most famous and successful (in terms of ratification) is the 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, commonly referred to as the World Heritage Convention. This Convention establishes an international system for the protection of cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole. As of 2011, there were 725 cultural, 183 natural and 28 mixed properties deemed of such significance. Of the 725 cultural properties, 202 were historic urban settlements.

In this context, the historic settlements on the World Heritage List ought to be flagships for conservation. But to what extent is the World Heritage Convention contributing to the protection of historic urban settlements and their surroundings in particular?

From November 2000 to July 2002, I worked in a small city called Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores Islands (Portugal). The city was included on the World Heritage List in 1983, just three years after it was damaged by an earthquake. I worked in the GZCAH (Gabinete da Zona Classificada de Angra do Heroísmo – Office for the Classified Zone of Angra do Heroísmo), the office responsible for the protection of the World Heritage area, which was part of the Regional Secretary for Culture. The GZCAH was a unique

management institution in Portugal as all other urban settlements included in the World Heritage List in the country were managed by the municipalities. This was, however, a situation that raised issues between the office and the municipality, as it limited the authority of the latter.

When I joined the office, I was a young architect full of ideas and good intentions about heritage. I was soon to realize how practice can be something else, especially when politics are involved. When I joined the GZCAH, its authority had been reduced to strict application of the legislation for the conservation area and its surrounding areas. While the legislation for the conservation area was very specific and very much oriented towards architectural conservation, the legislation for the surrounding areas was very broad and vague. Basically, there was the notion that inside the conservation area nothing was allowed to change but that beyond it there was no real need to intervene. My interest in the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage settlements started then.

1.1 GLOBAL TRENDS INFLUENCING URBAN ENVIRONMENTS AND CHALLENGES TO HISTORIC SETTLEMENTS

The United Nations Population Division, in its 2006 revision of World Population Prospects, anticipated that by July 2007 the world's population would have reached 6.7 billion and that it would rise to 9.2 billion by 2050. The predicted 2.5 billion increase is equivalent to the total world population in 1950. And, whereas in 1950, 29 per cent of the world population lived in urban areas, in 2007 half of the world's population were urban dwellers.

The increasing concentration of people in urban areas has led to the extraordinary growth of urban agglomerations. A larger number of people are now living in urban systems more complex than ever before, and some

mega-cities have populations of 10 million or more – equivalent to the total population of a country like Portugal. This continuous transformation and sprawling of cities confront us with new and important challenges within fields of urban management, urban planning, architecture but also urban conservation, since in this context, historic settlements are particularly vulnerable.

In their origins and earlier transformations, historic settlements have reflected their territorial constraints and potentialities and presented clear demarcation from their surrounding landscapes. However, these surroundings have changed and continue to change drastically from natural or rural landscapes to large and sprawling urban regions. This has resulted in a clear distinction between the historic urban fabric and its “modern” surroundings.

In the past decades, concepts and theories related to the definition and conservation of cultural heritage have been largely shaped as a response to these influences. The notion of cultural heritage has evolved from the isolated monument to a much broader and inclusive idea of heritage. The idea that the setting is part of the cultural property and, therefore, must also be protected, was first stated in the Venice Charter in 1964. Better and more inclusive conservation policies have resulted in further protection for historic settlements. However, at the same time, conservation while putting the emphasis on the historical/heritage features strengthens the separation between the historic urban fabric and its “modern” surroundings.

On the other hand, what is presently considered as a historic urban settlement is not the result of a single creative moment but the result of cumulative layers of urban transformations and additions. Throughout history, the growth of urban settlements has been a process leading to the production

of future heritage. Based on this argument, the historic urban fabric should not be seen in isolation from its overall urban context.

1.2 THE SPECIAL CASE OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

The threats posed by changing urban conditions to the conservation of cultural heritage are acknowledged in several international documents. Of these, one of the most famous and more successful (in terms of ratification) is the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (hereafter referred to as the World Heritage Convention or simply the Convention). This Convention establishes an international system for the protection of cultural and heritage of outstanding universal value to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole. As of 2011, there were 725 cultural, 183 natural and 28 mixed properties deemed of such significance. Of the 725 cultural properties, 202 were historic urban settlements and if considered all cultural properties in an urban context, this number rises to over 300 properties.

The nomination of an urban settlement to the World Heritage List entails the identification and delimitation of the area that possesses “outstanding universal value”. This includes the definition of boundaries. Frequently the proposed boundaries coincide with physical limits (such as in the case of defensive walls or coast lines) or territorial features (such as slopes, cliffs or gorges) which have constrained the shape and expansion of the settlement. If such clear limits do not exist, boundaries are drawn according to a separation between what is considered to have outstanding universal value and what does not. In such cases, boundaries have no clear physical visibility within the urban fabric.

In addition, Article 97 of the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines determines that:

‘All properties inscribed on the World Heritage List must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding. This protection should include adequately delineated boundaries (World Heritage Centre, 2005c, article 97)’.

Such requirements, however, are limited to the nominated area. Even if legislation is in place for the protection of its surroundings, it is usually less restrictive than that of the nominated area as these are not considered as having the same cultural heritage significance. Whereas in the nominated area development is normally strictly regulated, legal and management arrangements are usually less stringent in the surrounding areas. But if taking consideration the urbanisation and development pressures mentioned above, it is likely to be where protection is most needed.

At present, under the World Heritage Convention, protection of the surroundings is only possible through the establishment of buffer zones. This concept was initially established for the protection of natural conservation areas, as a means to buffer the “core area” from the surrounding environment. With time and the evolution of conservation concepts, buffer zones have been implemented as an added layer of protection to conservation areas, both natural and cultural. The purpose of these areas is however the protection of the conservation areas and not the buffer zones themselves.

Given the threats and challenges that urban settlements are presently facing, protection of the surroundings has become as important as the protection of the World Heritage areas themselves. Conservation policies need to go

beyond the World Heritage areas and be integrated in the planning and development policies of the urban context as a whole. In addition, if buffer zones are found to be the most appropriate tool for the surroundings of the World Heritage areas, they need to have appropriate legal and management mechanisms, recognised under the World Heritage Convention.

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Building on this issue, the main question that I seek to answer through my research is:

In an increasingly urbanised world, how effectively do the existing protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention contribute to the protection of historic urban settlements, especially their surroundings?

To answer this question effectively, it is necessary to address the following sub-issues:

- What is the impact of current trends in urbanisation on the conservation of historic settlements? How has conservation theory evolved to address those trends?
- What kind of protection does the World Heritage Convention provide for historic urban settlements? How has it been implemented?
- How have the surroundings of World Heritage settlements been protected? Do buffer zones constitute the most useful and appropriate mechanism for their protection?

1.4 DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVE

In order to establish a link between research on the one hand and management policy and practice on the other, this research is undertaken with a development objective aimed at identifying key issues essential for the integrated protection of World Heritage Settlements and their surroundings in relation to their urban context.

This development objective has the following sub-objectives:

- Contributing to a better implementation of the World Heritage Convention by identifying the main weaknesses and opportunities to the protection of World Heritage urban settlements;
- Raising awareness of key stakeholders within the World Heritage system i.e. World Heritage Committee, Advisory Bodies and States Parties for the need to protect and manage World Heritage settlements as part of the wider urban context rather than as isolated islands.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The research builds on extensive literature review on five aspects. First, past and ongoing theoretical discussions and positions on “World Heritage” were examined providing a critical assessment of issues raised by the research. Second, it reviews trends affecting urban settlements and in particular how high population growth and urbanisation rates have been shaping urban environments leading to urban sprawling and uncontrolled development that have fundamentally changed urban structures and their relationship with their surroundings. Thirdly, it examines urban conservation theory and practice to

identify interrelationships between conservation and development, which very often, and mostly in the past, have been discussed independent of each other. Fourthly, it builds on many secondary examples on the protection and management of World Heritage settlements to identify existing dilemmas and challenges. Lastly and most importantly, it examines extensive documentation generated at the international level under the World Heritage system mostly by the World Heritage Committee, the Advisory Bodies and the World Heritage Centre, as the track record of the implementation of the Convention.

Urban settlements have changed dramatically in the past half century due to fast population growth and increased urbanisation, with an increasing number of people living in urban areas. Understanding the main trends that have affected and continue to affect urban environments is fundamental when adopting urban conservation policies as the protection of urban areas can only be effective if the causes behind urban changes are understood. Authors such as Weber (1969), Ghosh (1984), Ginsburg (1991), Drakakis-Smith (2000), Rogers (2000), Brunn, Williams, and Zeigler (2003) and Clark (2003), have discussed the dynamics of these trends. But most importantly, UN-HABITAT, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, has been documenting it in its global reports on human settlements. Published at least on a biennial basis, these reports not only provide a clear assessment on the state of the world's cities but also identify major trends affecting it. They can be considered as the state of the art assessments in the field of urban studies and have been use as the backbone for the part of the research focusing on the changes affecting urban settlements.

To further support the information presented in the UN-HABITAT's reports, another important source of information has been the United Nations Population Division's reports. Whereas the UN-HABITATS reports focus on

the urban dynamics and trends, the publications and most importantly the databases of the Population Division are major sources of information for statistics on population growth, urbanisation rates and urban population.

The literature provided by the above mentioned sources however, apply to urban settlements in general and are not specific to historic settlements and in particular to World Heritage settlements. Therefore, the literature review had also to build on sources related to this type of settlement and most of all on urban conservation. For this purpose, two issues had to be addressed. First, World Heritage settlements are not a category of heritage in general on its own; that is, although their level of significance is considered higher than other historic settlements and this has been assessed through a different level of identification, they are historic settlements by definition. Second, regardless of the reasons just mentioned, as the research focus on the protection of historic settlements under the World Heritage Convention, it was important to identify existing dilemmas and challenges deriving from their management. Thus, in the literature review not only did I look at sources related to historic settlements in general but also to World Heritage settlements in particular.

In relation to literature review on historic settlements, international documents like the *Declaration of Amsterdam* (1975), ICOMOS' *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas*, or UNESCO's *Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (1976) are fundamental references. Instruments like these have marked the history of urban conservation. However, in the literature review related to this topic, I looked at what guidance was provided for the protection of historic settlements but also how it reflected a reaction towards how development and urbanisation were changing the urban environment. For instance, in the 1970s when urbanisation rates throughout the world were at

the highest, ICOMOS convened, or was involved with, several international conferences towards the protection of urban settlements from which resulted a number of the international charters on this matter. The concept of integrated conservation, introduced in the *Declaration of Amsterdam* (1975), reflects a transition point in the history of conservation of urban settlements where protection moved from individual and isolated monuments and sites alone to 'embracing all buildings of cultural value, from the greatest to the humblest - not forgetting those of our own day together with their surroundings (ICOMOS 1975a)'. Similarly, UNESCO's publication on "*The Conservation of Cities*" (1975), drew attention to the threats posed to historic settlements by population growth and urbanisation, which was taking place with vertiginous speed and whose growth outstripped predictions.

The combined analysis of the literature review for trends affecting urban settlements and that for historic settlements and urban conservation show the dichotomy between conservation and development and how the two although deeply interrelated were for long perceived only in confrontation to each other and mutually exclusive. The literature review also showed that many of the issues debated at that time are still valid today. At the same time it also suggested that the implementation of the principles and guidance included in the above mentioned ICOMOS's and UNESCO's recommendations either have not been fully understood or have been insufficiently implemented.

The World Heritage Convention was adopted contemporarily to ICOMOS's and UNESCO's main recommendations for the protection of historic settlements. Although not specifically related to this category of cultural heritage but rather much broader and covering natural heritage as well, a large proportion of the properties now included on the World Heritage List are urban settlements. The research looks at how historic settlements have been

protected under the Convention, and their surroundings in particular, hence, a large part of the literature review was specifically related to World Heritage.

The main bulk of literature on World Heritage is made of documents produced for and by the World Heritage Committee during its annual sessions. The workload of the Committee and that of its Advisory Bodies has been increasing over time. At its last session, in June 2011, the Committee examined a total of 32 nominations and their respective evaluations by the Advisory Bodies, 170 state of conservation reports and other 58 agenda items including requests for international assistance, the revision of the Operational Guidelines and the progress report on the second cycle of Periodic Reporting, amongst others. All these documents and those from previous sessions are available online on the World Heritage Centre's website. This database was used as a major source of information for the individual World Heritage settlements. For instance, the analysis presented in Chapter 8 on the state of conservation reports of World Heritage settlements is based on documents accessed through that database. Similarly, the analysis of the use of buffer zones on nomination files, also sourced partly from the same database, involved the revision of 851 of those files. The reference to these sources was included as a whole in the bibliography for the purpose of brevity.

The main difficulty posed by the literature review on World Heritage was that a lot of information exists but has not been compiled in a way that can inform those directly involved with the World Heritage system not only at the international level such as the World Heritage Committee and the Advisory Bodies but also at the local level, such as site managers. This research attempts to compile and analyse part of this information related to World Heritage settlements in order to identify trends but also statistics that can be

used to formulate better protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention.

On a case by case level, the research builds not only on the information gathered at the international level by the World Heritage system on the different World Heritage settlements but also on literature review on the protection and management of World Heritage settlements to identify existing dilemmas and challenges. At present, at the international level, the international community – through the World Heritage Committee – only intervenes in case the properties are considered are threat; in addition, the system is flawed, meaning that not all cases are reported to the Committee. This is clearly illustrated by the different case studies presented in the research. Therefore, the research also builds on those secondary examples to inform theory and practice.

The dilemma posed by this part of the literature review however is that, a lot of that information relates to the national or local levels of protection of World Heritage settlements and although these are important to consider, the research addresses mostly the protection of World Heritage settlements at the international level. That is, this research intends to explore how existing mechanisms under the World Heritage Convention can be made more effective. At present, the main document setting the principles for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention is the Operational Guidelines. It is important to recall however that the Operational Guidelines set forth guidance towards the implementation of the system of protection established under the Convention (described in Chapter 2) but that it is not a conservation policy document. The lack of such policy has started to be acknowledged by the World Heritage Committee, which just formulated a recommendation at its last session, in June 2011, in order that such a document is produced.

The research also builds on past and ongoing theoretical discussions and positions on “World Heritage” which provide a critical assessment of issues raised by the research. Although World Heritage seems to attract a lot of interest from the general public and heritage professionals alike, the literature review has shown that there aren’t a lot of such documents or at least not generally or easily available. Most of the existing literature relates to individual properties but not to how the World Heritage system works. A few sources exist directly related to this issue as Kong’s “*Social Quality in the Conservation Process of Living Heritage Sites*” (2008), van der Aa’s “*Preserving the heritage of humanity? Obtaining world heritage status and the impacts of listing*” (2005) and Titchen’s “*On the construction of outstanding universal value. UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention (Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the identification and assessment of cultural places for inclusion in the World Heritage List*”. The latest was extensively used for the purposes of this research as it specifically addresses how the World Heritage system works at the international level. It is likely that similar research thesis have been produced in the past years and that have been not taken into consideration in the literature review, particularly as in the past years different universities have set up a number of masters specific on World Heritage.

In addition, there are a number of position papers prepared by the Advisory Bodies at the request of the World Heritage Committee as in the case of IUCN’s *World Heritage in danger: A compendium of key decisions on the conservation of natural World Heritage properties via the List of World Heritage in Danger* (2009). However, this sort of document is unusual. The reason is twofold: first, most of the documents produced by the Advisory Bodies on World Heritage are either evaluation reports or state of conservation reports, which reflect their advisory role to the Committee, or resource materials aimed at supporting State Parties in preparing

nominations or managing properties already inscribed on the List. Second, the Advisory Bodies' staffs directly working on World Heritage amounts to a very limited number of people, who are mostly involved with the evaluation or Reactive Monitoring processes and completely overloaded. Not to mention that although people directly involved with the system within the Advisory Bodies are those who have an in-depth knowledge of the system but they are bound by confidentiality clauses that prevent writing critical position papers on its implementation. In addition, although all documents analysed during the Committee's session are now available on the World Heritage Centre's website, this is a recent progress and most of this information was not available when I first started my research. Moreover, without an internal understanding of how the system works, it is very difficult to navigate through the sheer number of documents produced over the years.

This is also the reason why, above all, the research builds on extensive professional experience on different levels of the World Heritage system and the support from colleagues in similar professional positions. Such experience was built at the same time as the research was being conducted and thus in a way is only partly reflected on this thesis as a lot of it do not relate to the research question but would be a research project on its own.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

To undertake my research, I have primarily adopted a qualitative research approach and a case study methodology. These are briefly explained below:

1.6.1 Qualitative research

As Neuman argues:

'A qualitative researcher begins with a research question and little else. Theory develops during the data collection process. This more inductive method means that theory is built from data or grounded in the data. Moreover, conceptualization and operationalization occur simultaneously with data collection and preliminary data analysis. Qualitative researchers remain open to the unexpected, are willing to change the direction or focus of a research project, and may abandon their original research question in the middle of a project (Neuman, 2000, pp.145-146)'.

As explained at the beginning of this section, my interest in carrying out the present research derived from my experience working in Angra do Heroísmo (Portugal). Thus, this aspect of qualitative research expressed by Neuman is very relevant. My research has been deeply influenced by my professional experience working with World Heritage at different levels: first, at the local level, as a site manager in Angra do Heroísmo; second, at the international level, at ICCROM and IUCN, two of the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee. The latter has also granted me experience on both cultural and natural heritage. At present, I am part of the Swiss delegation to the World Heritage Committee, which further strengthens my experience at yet another level. These different working opportunities have allowed me to collect data that would be very difficult to access otherwise. I am aware that this has been as much an advantage as a disadvantage: whilst it has given me a strategic position to gain inside knowledge and gather much of the data and information used in this dissertation, it has also meant that most of the research was carried out off-campus and consequently with less contact with the academic environment. I believe that this is reflected in the way I have written the dissertation, which may not follow exactly what is expected of an academic work, especially in relation to the research methods. However, I was conscious of the consequences of this decision from the first moment I submitted my research project and I still believe it was the right choice.

Neuman's argument is also very relevant when he states that qualitative research may imply a change in the direction or focus of the research project. While initially I had intended that the outcomes of my research would contribute to the implementation of the World Heritage Convention at the local and national levels, throughout the period of research, the focus changed to the international level. This is, on one hand, the result of my professional experience and, on the other hand, the result of the findings of the Kathmandu case study. Indeed I came to realise that many of the problems derived mostly from the situation at the national level but had also been fundamentally influenced by the successive and sometimes contradictory decisions and recommendations of international experts and the World Heritage Committee itself.

1.6.2 Case study method

According to Yin, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed because 'such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence' (Yin, 2003, p.6).

In addition, according to Yin, a case study method should be chosen when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomena within some real-life context (ibid, pp.7-8). In this sense, and for the purposes of this research, 'the case study unique strength is the ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations' (ibid, p.8).

Although I have used archival analysis extensively – as the implementation of the World Heritage Convention extends over a considerable period of time, and much of the information is only accessible in archival form – in addition

to statistical surveys to identify patterns in the use of existing mechanisms applied by the Convention (such as in the use of buffer zones in the nomination files over time), my research question is essentially exploratory. As the main purpose of this research is to understand how existing protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention are contributing to the protection of historic urban settlements and their surroundings in particular, this cannot be merely investigated through surveys, nor does it call for a large amount of quantitative empirical data, even if these may be relevant in certain sections. It requires the understanding of which trends are influencing urban development and urbanisation; existing measures for the protection of historic urban settlements, in general but in particular under the World Heritage Convention; which factors are shaping policy formulation, implementation and outcomes; roles and perceptions of all the actors involved; and it involves a thorough understanding of local and international contexts of the application of the Convention. The core issue is to assess how the different contexts have interacted to protect the properties and how this is reflected on management policy for the protection of the properties and their surroundings in particular. It is the kind of investigation that needs to apply a range of data collection strategies and diversified sources of evidence.

1.6.3 Selection of case studies

World Heritage settlements are, by nature, no different than historic settlements overall. The recognition that they are of “outstanding universal value” (and consequently included on the World Heritage List) is in itself the main reason for the selection of the case studies. In addition, criteria like similarities in social and cultural aspects or geographic proximity, commonly used to select case studies, were considered to limit the scope of this research as they would limit the very concept of World Heritage. And, as this

research should contribute to the understanding of how urban historic settlements, and their surroundings in particular, have been protected under the World Heritage Convention, the first criterion used was regional distribution. Geographical regions are already differentiated within the working system of the World Heritage Convention namely: Africa, Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, Latin America and the Caribbean. Case studies were identified in all regions with the exception of Africa, because it is the region with the least urban historic settlements on the World Heritage List and mostly recently included but also because of the workload and financial resources required. As one of the case studies used is based on previous professional experience, only three case studies were considered during the research period.

Time of inscription was another main criterion; early inscriptions were favoured based on the assumption that the properties would have experienced different phases in the application of the World Heritage Convention and the evolution of protection and management policies. Likewise, the Periodic Reporting exercise carried out for the first time in the history of the Convention, and a major source of information for the assessment of its application by the States Parties, involved only early nominations. The results of the exercise provide a wider understanding of the implementation of the Convention and of the state of conservation of the properties, consolidating the findings of the case studies. Financial and time constraints also played a role in the number of case studies: I decided to use just one case study per region. Thus, case studies not only had to be representative of the region but had to be amongst the most relevant cases related to the research. Additionally, I had to make sure I would be able to gather the necessary information in a short period due to time and financial constraints deriving from their different locations. This involved two important factors: first, having main contact persons directly involved with the

management of the properties; second, having sufficient literature on each case study allowing me to prepare thoroughly before carrying out field work.

Most importantly, case studies could not be limited to the World Heritage areas but also on the protection of their surroundings. In the case of Europe and North America, I had decided from the beginning to use Angra do Heroísmo, in Portugal, where I worked and which provided the motivation for the research. For the other geographical regions, the initial step was to analyse the nomination files of all World Heritage settlements to help me decide which would be most relevant for the research. The analysis of the files led to the identification of which countries had more urban settlements inscribed and if there was an emphasis in the nomination of urban settlements in relation to other properties.

For the Latin America region, Mexico and Brazil are the countries with more urban settlements on the World Heritage List. As I am a native Portuguese speaker, Brazil was favoured. Amongst the seven World Heritage Settlements from this State Party, one – Brasilia – is a twentieth century city and three others – São Luís, Diamantina and Góias – are recent nominations. The choice was therefore restricted to Ouro Preto, Salvador da Bahia and Olinda. The latter was selected based on two main factors: first, the nomination file identifies a special zone for the surroundings of the property protected under national legislation, which would be the equivalent of what is at present termed as a buffer zone. Hence, Olinda provided the opportunity to assess the effectiveness of a “buffer zone” as an added layer of protection for the World Heritage property. The second factor was the help provided by Prof. Silvio Zanchetti, an experienced professional in urban conservation, one of the co-founders of CECI (Centro de Estudos Avançados da Conservação Integrada – Centre for Advanced Studies in Integrated Conservation) and a regular consultant to ICCROM. Prof. Zanchetti lives in

Olinda and kindly put me in contact with other professionals involved in the management of the World Heritage property.

For the Arab States, similar criteria were used. In this region, Morocco is the State Party with the most World Heritage settlements. Out of a total of eight properties included on the List, six are urban settlements. Of these six, only two were early nominations: Fez and Marrakesh. In the latter case the World Heritage Committee, at the time of inscription, specifically recommended that the surroundings of the Medina be protected. Consequently, this case study provided an opportunity to assess if the recommendations of the Committee had been followed. Unlike in Brazil, I had no personal contacts in Morocco, making field work more difficult.

For the Asia and Pacific region, the choice was obvious, in the sense that when I had the opportunity to use the Kathmandu Valley as a case study, all other options were immediately excluded. The Kathmandu Valley has probably been the most discussed property when it comes to the protection of the surroundings. The problems with the transformations in the surroundings of the World Heritage areas were first brought to the World Heritage Committee's attention in 1993. Since then, the state of conservation of the property has been discussed almost every year. The property was eventually included in the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2003. Having been included on the List in 1979, the Kathmandu Valley has experienced all possible actions related to the application of the Convention, including inscription on the List in Danger. The numerous missions carried out, the Committee's decisions and consequent responses by the State Party, have resulted in extensive written material that tells the story of the state of conservation of the property, the efforts of the State Party to apply the recommendations of different missions, and the response of the World Heritage Committee in the whole process. Thus it provided the utmost

opportunity to investigate how protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention were implemented both at the national and international levels.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

Although this study focuses primarily on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in relation to urban historic settlements, it also builds on various interrelationships that demonstrate the processes that contribute to shaping urban settlements in general and their present status in light of various transformations. Moreover it looks at how these processes have influenced the surroundings of the World Heritage areas and how conservation policy in general and World Heritage policy in particular have responded to it. Overall, the study is very much exploratory and inductive in its nature. It also builds on extensive professional experience of working with World Heritage. Case studies, for instance, were chosen and added according to this experience and professional relationships. Although most of the information and references used for the research are available to the general public, certain insights were only possible due to my professional situation and to the support of colleagues directly involved with World Heritage in general or the case studies in particular.

The scope of the research is limited to the influences of urbanisation and development pressures on World Heritage settlements deriving from increasing levels of urbanisation and the deep transformations occurring in urban agglomerations. Other factors could have been considered like tourism, globalisation, or social changes which would also be important to consider when investigating World Heritage policy. However not only would this have significantly increase the sheer amount of research needed, but some of these aspects have already been considered by others. For

instance, Kong (2008) has investigated “*Social Quality in the Conservation Process of Living Heritage Sites*” focusing on the World Heritage settlements of Lijiang (China) and Ogimachi (Japan). Similarly, van der Aa (2005) has studied the impacts of World heritage listing, including in terms of tourism. Such factors will still be mentioned when appropriate but I will not address them specifically.

Each year, new properties are included on the World Heritage List. The analyses presented throughout this thesis were carried out at different periods of the research and therefore, a different number of properties may have been considered in different circumstances. While in some cases, I have update the data to a more recent period, in others, I haven’t and they reflect the time when they were first carried out. However, for all situations, I have identified the precise point in time considered for the purposes of the analysis and the respective number of properties included on the World Heritage List at the time. Most of the data refer back to 2008, before I started working at IUCN, since which I diminished the time I dedicated to my research considerably. However I have gained enormously from this working experience in terms of how the World Heritage system works and I have used such experience when writing up the dissertation.

Another limitation is the diversity of the case studies and their entirely different contexts. The analysis of the results is necessarily challenging as they cannot be compared to each other nor is that intended. The purpose is to build on these case studies to inform and improve protection and management policies for World heritage settlements rather than improving their management at the national and local levels. Considering that the case studies are in completely different geographical areas, and because of the limitation of time and resources, field work was reduced to a minimum required. As the study mostly looks at World Heritage policy at the

international level, rather than at national or local levels, it is chiefly based on official documents that register the concerns and decisions of the international community and the actions of the States Parties concerned to respond to it. A number of discussions with professionals working on World Heritage at the international level but also directly involved with the management of the World Heritage properties used as case studies were fundamental to understand the in-betweens of those documents and assemble a general view of the situation.

That is also why the Kathmandu Valley case study is lengthier than the other case studies as there is more information available. The protection of the Kathmandu Valley has been considerably influenced by the international community under the decisions of different international experts and organisations, but mostly those of the World Heritage Committee. Most importantly, the duration of this influence is long enough to allow for the assessment of its effectiveness. Unlike the Kathmandu Valley, the protection of Olinda, Angra do Heroísmo and Marrakesh was never brought to the World Heritage Committee's attention since their inclusion on the World Heritage List. However, it does not necessarily mean, as the results of the case studies shown, that the factors affecting their state of conservation are less worrying.

Surely, the Kathmandu Valley has been through processes that the other settlements have not, but this does not make it fundamentally different. In part, the Kathmandu Valley has attracted so much attention because the international community was already much involved with the conservation of its cultural heritage even before the property was inscribed in the World Heritage List; such involvement never existed in the other case studies. In addition, the differences between the Kathmandu Valley case and the other case studies point to the limitations of the World Heritage system, thus

strengthening the understanding of how the system is being implemented. For these reasons, I have treated all case studies equally and their length depends on the issues associated to their protection but also on the ability to access the information. These same limitations can be considered to apply to the World Heritage system: certain actions are dependent on having access to the right information.

I am aware that others could have a different approach and argue that the Kathmandu Valley should have a predominant role in relation to the others. In a way it has because it involves different processes than the others, but that does not make it fundamentally different - only lengthier.

Moreover, the findings of this study are not solely based on the case studies. Other sources of information, such as the Periodic Reporting or even my professional experience, are just as important, and the conclusions of my research are the reflection of the combination of these different sources.

Last but not least, the decision to carry out the study off-campus was there from the beginning. I would not have been able to have access to the knowledge that has informed most of this study if I had not been directly involved with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention by working for two of the three Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee: ICCROM and IUCN. Being off campus has limited my involvement with the academic environment provided by the Edinburgh College of Art, which is somehow reflected on the how this thesis was written. That is, the thesis reflects the direct involvement with the topic of study on a professional basis rather than an academic perspective as a research student.

1.8 TERMINOLOGY

For the purposes of this thesis, the term “World Heritage settlement” refers to any urban area included on the World Heritage List. While the terms “city” or “town” are commonly used and in fact the second is referred to in the Operational Guidelines, as the areas considered differ considerably in their size and structure, I have looked for a term that could be used in general. The choice to use “settlement” is not arbitrary; this is the term used by the UN-HABITAT, the United Nations agency for human settlements.

I have chosen to refer to the term “property” in general for all that it is included in the World Heritage List, whether cultural or natural heritage. The term “sites” is commonly used particularly by the general public. However, as the World Heritage Convention refers to the category of “sites” amongst what is to be considered as World Heritage, there is a need to use a broader umbrella term that can apply to all categories. Thus in general, I have used the term “World Heritage property” or simply “property”. The term cultural property is also commonly used to designate any area protected legally or that is listed (or gazetted depending on the terminology used in different countries and contexts) at the national level. Therefore, in general I have referred to those areas as “conservation areas”. Similarly, when referring to natural properties in general, I have mostly used the term “protected areas”, as the most common term in nature conservation. It should be noted that these and other terms may be used differently in quotations; in such cases, the reader should consider the meaning of the term in relation to the context of the quotation and of the section where it is included.

In addition, in the context of nominations, when referring to areas proposed for inclusion on the World Heritage List, I have used the term “nominated property”, even if the area is already inscribed, as adopted within the World

Heritage system. Similarly, other terms and concepts used throughout this thesis reflect their usage at the international level.

1.9 THESIS OUTLINE

The thesis report is divided into six main parts, including the present one.

Part II reviews how the international system for the protection of cultural and natural heritage under the World Heritage Convention fits in the overall effort for the protection of historic settlements in an increasing urbanised world. This part is divided in four main chapters. Chapter 2 outlines how the adoption of the World Heritage Convention was the result of a sequence of efforts to promote international cooperation for the protection of the environment and of heritage in particular. It reviews the collective system of protection established under the Convention, and how the system has been implemented and challenged over time. Chapter 3 reviews the main trends that have influenced urban settlements in the past half century and in particular how rapid urbanisation has challenged the protection of urban heritage and is expected to continue to do so in the near future. Chapter 4 examines what have been the responses to the pressures posed by those trends within the same timeframe through the overview of the international charters and recommendations related to the protection of cultural heritage. Chapter 5 examines how the World Heritage Convention – widely considered to be one of the most influential amongst those international documents – has contributed towards the protection of historic urban settlements. It weighs the preponderance of historic urban settlements amongst other properties included on the World Heritage List, and the diversity of settlements within this category.

Part III looks at the state of conservation of World Heritage historic settlements based on the processes for monitoring of properties under the World Heritage Convention. This part is divided into four chapters. Chapter 6 outlines the evolution of the system for monitoring the state of conservation of World Heritage properties based on the increasing number of reports on properties in difficult situations. The existing system is divided into two main processes analysed separately in Chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 7 outlines the Periodic Reporting process, which is the voluntary monitoring process submitted by States Parties on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the state of conservation of the properties located within their territories. It examines the results of the first cycle of the Periodic Reporting process in the different geographical regions, and the findings relevant to the state of conservation of historic settlements. Chapter 8 examines the Reactive Monitoring process on the state of conservation of properties that are under threat. It analyses the state of conservation reports of World Heritage settlements by the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee and the main trends identified in it. Chapter 9 provides an assessment of the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements from sources external to the World Heritage system.

Part IV examines the notion of surroundings and how it has evolved for the protection of cultural heritage in general and under the World Heritage Convention in particular, through the concept of buffer zones. This part is divided in four chapters. Chapter 10 reviews the evolution of the concept of surroundings for cultural heritage properties in international charters. Chapter 11 outlines the concept of buffer zone, as the mechanism used under the World Heritage system, how the concept is used in other disciplines and how the concept was first adopted for natural protected areas. Chapter 12 analyses the use of buffer zones for natural and cultural properties included on the World Heritage List and how it has been used for historic settlements

in particular. Chapter 13 outlines the results of expert meetings on the concept of buffer zones and how the concept is moving from an area of separation between the conservation areas and the surrounding context towards an area of integration between the two.

Part V is the detailed analysis of case studies, namely Angra do Heroísmo in Portugal, Olinda in Brazil, Marrakesh in Morocco and Kathmandu Valley in Nepal. Following an introductory chapter on the differences and limitations of cases studies (Chapter 14), each case study is treated in separate chapters (Chapters 15, 16, 17 and 18). Each chapter begins with a brief description of the World Heritage property, followed by an overview of factors affecting their state of conservation and that of their surroundings in particular. Thereafter, there are considerable differences between the case studies of Angra do Heroísmo, Olinda and Marrakesh and that of the Kathmandu Valley. In the case of the Kathmandu Valley, as this case study has been through a different process than the others, I examine how the Committee's decisions and international recommendations have substantially and continuously influenced the state of conservation of the property. Part of this analysis relates to boundary issues, which have been central to the Committee's discussions. The extensive influence of the international community, and particularly of the World Heritage Committee, explains why the case study of Kathmandu Valley is lengthier in comparison with the other case studies.

Part VI presents the conclusions of the study, divided in three parts and treated in different chapters. In Chapter 19, I present the comparative and combined analysis of the case studies. In Chapter 20, I combine the findings of the case studies with the other main sources of information used, including the Periodic Reporting or Reactive Monitoring, and I use this to reassess processes and practices for the protection of World Heritage settlements. The last chapter, Chapter 21, brings forward the policy implications deriving

from the research findings and includes suggestions for improving some of the existing processes under the World Heritage Convention with a view to ensuring better protection of urban settlements.

PART II

WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS IN AN URBANIZING WORLD

2. THE CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE (1972)

The concept of World Heritage is based on the principle ‘that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole’ (UNESCO, 1972a, Preamble). The notion of “common heritage” was expressed in previous international conservation instruments but the World Heritage Convention established a precise framework for the collective protection of both cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value.

In this Chapter, I will provide an overall introduction on the historical and philosophical origins of the Convention and its main principles, focusing in particular on the concept of outstanding universal value, which underlines the whole Convention and all activities associated with properties inscribed on the World Heritage List. This will be followed by a brief explanation on how the Convention establishes a collective system for the protection of properties of outstanding universal value, how this system works and why it is, in my opinion, the strongest point of the Convention and what makes it unique among other international agreements. The next section will focus on the implementation and shortcomings of the Convention, with an emphasis on the Operational Guidelines and the World Heritage List. Precisely due to its shortcomings, there was an attempt to redraft the World Heritage Convention in the beginning of the 1990s. While it did not succeed, it did lead to considerable changes being introduced in the way the Convention is implemented, particularly with regard to monitoring. Although the World Heritage Convention has been the object of extensive research, it is important to revise the concepts embedded in it, in order to analyse how its implementation has affected the conservation of the properties included on the World Heritage List.

2.1 HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ORIGINS AND MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE CONVENTION

The *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, commonly referred to as the *World Heritage Convention*, was adopted by UNESCO's General Conference on 16 November 1972. The concept of "World Heritage" and the framework for protection enshrined in the Convention resulted from decades of growth and development of international intellectual collaboration rooted in the work of the League of Nations, UNESCO's efforts in the field of international cultural heritage protection, and the idea of the creation of a "World Heritage Trust" proposed by the United States of America and further developed by IUCN.

From 1920 to 1939: the work of the League of Nations

The League of Nations (the precursor to the United Nations) was founded after the end of World War I. During the 1920s and 1930s, the League organized several international conferences and worked to establish international and legal instruments aiming at conserving cultural heritage. Towards this end several organisms were established, such as the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation in 1922, the International Museums Office in 1926 and the International Commission on Historical Monuments in 1931.

Of the several international conferences that the League helped organizing, one of the most important one was the *International Conference for the Study of Problems relating to the Protection and Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments*, generally known as the Athens Conference, held in 1931. The "General conclusions" that resulted from the Conference were later given the status of an international charter: the *Athens Charter for the*

Restoration of Historic Monuments. The concept of a “world heritage” is present under the heading of “The conservation of monuments and international collaboration” when it states that:

‘the question of the conservation of the artistic and archaeological property of mankind is one that interests the community of the States, which are wardens of civilisation’ (The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, article VII).

The work of the League of Nations came to an end with the outbreak of World War II. But, as Titchen said,

‘Although most of the League of Nation’s initiatives concerning the conservation of cultural heritage never developed beyond the status of drafts and recommendations to Member States, they served as administrative and legal precedents for the development of a distinctive organizational style of international cooperation aimed at cultural heritage protection at an international level (Titchen, 1995, p.35)’.

UNESCO’s efforts between 1945 and 1972

The League of Nations was replaced by the United Nations after the end of World War II. The United Nations not only inherited a number of agencies and organizations founded by the League but created additional ones. This is the case of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) established in 1945 as the heir of the League of Nations’ International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation.

UNESCO’s first major project was the 1954 *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention Adopted at The Hague*. This Convention also refers to the idea of a ‘cultural heritage of all mankind’ (Preamble of the

Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention adopted at the Hague, 1954). Although not new, as this idea had been mentioned in the 1931 Athens Charter, it was the first time to be used in an international legal instrument. UNESCO also worked on other conventions and recommendations for the protection of cultural heritage, some of which were based on the previous efforts of the League of Nations. In addition, it helped establishing important international organizations that would later be deeply involved with the World Heritage Convention, namely IUCN in 1948, ICCROM in 1956 and ICOMOS in 1965.

ICOMOS was officially founded following the adoption of the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (usually know as the Venice Charter) during the Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings, held in Venice in 1964. As in the Athens Charter, the Venice Charter also expresses the idea of “world heritage” when it states:

‘People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognised (The Venice Charter, 1964, preamble).’

The responsibility of safeguarding this common heritage for future generations is deeply linked with one of the most important present-day concepts related to environmental issues, that of sustainable development. This responsibility would be reaffirmed in the World Heritage Convention.

UNESCO’s International Campaigns for the Preservation and Safeguarding of the Cultural Heritage of Mankind are frequently given as the reason for the inspiration of the concept of World Heritage, which

'established the principle that the preservation of a given site or monument, wherever located, was a responsibility to be shared among Member States in the interest of a heritage which belonged to all mankind (UNESCO cited in Titchen, 1995, p.50)'.

Since 1966, UNESCO initiated efforts to study the possibility of arranging an appropriate system of international protection for a few monuments that formed an integral part of the cultural heritage of mankind (UNESCO as cited in Batische and Bolla, 2003, p.16-17 and in Tichen, 1995, p.53). With this aim, it organized several expert meetings between 1968 and 1969, which resulted in a draft "National Protection System" and a draft "International System for the Protection of Monuments and Group of Buildings and Sites of Universal Interest". Included in the "International System" was an "International Protection Authority" consisting of a "permanent executive body", an "Advisory committee" and a "Monuments Fund" – a structure similar to that later used in the World Heritage Convention (Titchen, 1995, p. 58).

Although the working documents of the 1968 and 1969 meetings presented a definition of heritage inclusive of the cultural and natural, the Cultural Sector of UNESCO had the exclusive mandate to prepare the above recommendation and convention, and only addressed monuments, group of buildings and sites (ibid). These constitute what the World Heritage Convention would later consider as "cultural heritage" in its Article 1.

The World Heritage Trust

But the idea of a single document for the protection of cultural and natural heritage was first proposed by the United States of America as a "World Heritage Trust" in 1965. This concept was developed by Joseph Fisher and Russell Train, both involved with nature conservation organizations in the United States. When Russell Train was elected to the Executive Board of

IUCN, he continued to pursue the idea of a “Trust for World Heritage” inside the organization.

In May 1970, Michel Batisse, a UNESCO expert in the environmental field, attending an IUCN meeting became aware of the organization’s intentions to submit the idea of a “World Heritage Trust” to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in June 1972. Seeing the links with UNESCO’s efforts, he believed UNESCO should be playing a leading role in this process and should include the protection of natural heritage within the recommendation and convention being prepared. Initially the idea was not well taken inside the Culture Sector of UNESCO, who did not see the advantages of such a suggestion, especially since it, ‘looked a little unrealistic for those who were already confronted with the difficulties of cooperation with the national cultural administrations (Batisse and Bolla, 2003, p.22)’. Thus, both IUCN and UNESCO continued to pursue their objectives separately for the time being.

Confronted with the Secretary-General of the Stockholm conference’s intention to adopt a convention for world heritage, UNESCO took the decision to include a reference to natural sites within the definition of world heritage in the Convention being prepared:

‘The definition of monuments and group of buildings remained the same but the definition of sites included “works of nature or the combined works of nature and man” (ibid, p. 27)’.

By July 1971, a *Preliminary Draft Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of Monuments, Group of Buildings and Sites* and a *Preliminary Draft Convention concerning the protection of Monuments, Group of Buildings and Sites of Universal Value* were sent to Member States for comments.

Bringing together cultural and natural heritage

In a meeting in February 1972, the organizers of the Stockholm Conference agreed to support UNESCO's initiative of a Convention including cultural and natural heritage (ibid, p.78). As a result, a Meeting of Government Experts took place in Paris in April 1972. The majority of experts was associated with the protection of cultural heritage (ICOM, ICOMOS and IUCN also participated), despite UNESCO's suggestions to the permanent delegates to designate experts in the field of natural heritage as well. Discussions arose over,

'the necessity of an agreement combining culture and nature, between countries with important financial resources (and frequently rich in natural heritage) and countries wealthy in artistic and cultural treasures, but that frequently could not provide for the protection of their riches' (ibid, p.79).

Given the debate between supporters and opponents to a combination of culture and nature, it was decided to create a new structure for the Convention where cultural and natural heritage were given equal importance and attention. Michel Batisse, who was the defender of nature at UNESCO and was deeply linked with IUCN, was responsible for the group in charge of writing the definition of natural heritage (ibid, p.80). An equal treatment between cultural and natural heritage was respected throughout the discussions. Some limitations were added: the areas to protect should be very well identified and should possess 'outstanding universal value (ibid, p.81)'. The meaning of this expression was intentionally left undefined (Titchen, 1995, p.102). The resulting drafts of the meeting served as the basis for the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* and the *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage*.

As Bolla stated in his and Batisse's account of the history of the World Heritage Convention:

'The adoption of the Convention... came to a successful conclusion what had been a true obstacle race, full of incidents that had often constituted real challenges for all those who, since the beginning, had wanted World Heritage established in the ambit of UNESCO (Batisse and Bolla, 2003, p.90)'.

The World Heritage Convention came into force in 1975, after being ratified by twenty State Parties and the first General Assembly of State Parties was held in November 1976. The first properties were inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1978.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

According to Michel Batisse (2003), who contributed to the drafting of the World Heritage Convention, the document is articulated around three fundamental axes:

- i) the connexion between "cultural heritage" and "natural heritage" on equal terms of importance;
- ii) that certain properties of "outstanding interest" have "universal value", and therefore the international community itself must effectively contribute to their protection. The idea of a "common heritage", regardless of the sovereignty of the States parties where the properties are located, thereby acquired a legal character for the first time;

- iii) the existence of a “List”, which continues to evolve and increase, of immovable properties considered to be of such “outstanding universal value”) (Batisse and Bola, 2003, pp.14-15).

The concept of “outstanding universal value” underlines the whole Convention and all activities associated with properties inscribed on the World Heritage List. However, as mentioned in the previous section, the meaning of this expression was intentionally left undefined (Titchen, 1995, p.102) which would later result in total ambiguity over its meaning.

The expression was introduced throughout the text of the Convention and in particular in the definitions of cultural and natural heritage in Articles 1 and 2. This seemed to have been adopted with the intention ‘to limit the application of the Convention’ (UNESCO as cited in Titchen, 1995, p.102). To counterbalance the lack of definition of the concept of “outstanding universal value”, in the final version of the Convention, paragraphs 2 and 5 of Article 11 stated ‘that the World Heritage Committee would define criteria on the basis of which heritage would be selected for inclusion in the World Heritage List or the List of World Heritage in Danger (Titchen, 1995, p.102)’. These criteria for the assessment of outstanding universal value have been defined in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* and will be further discussed in section 2.4.2.

The fact that the criteria are included in the Operational Guidelines, and not in the Convention, has proven beneficial over time as it allows the criteria to be continuously revised to reflect evolutions in the concepts of natural and cultural heritage. Titchen (1995) therefore argues that the notion of “outstanding universal value” has been constructed and developed over time.

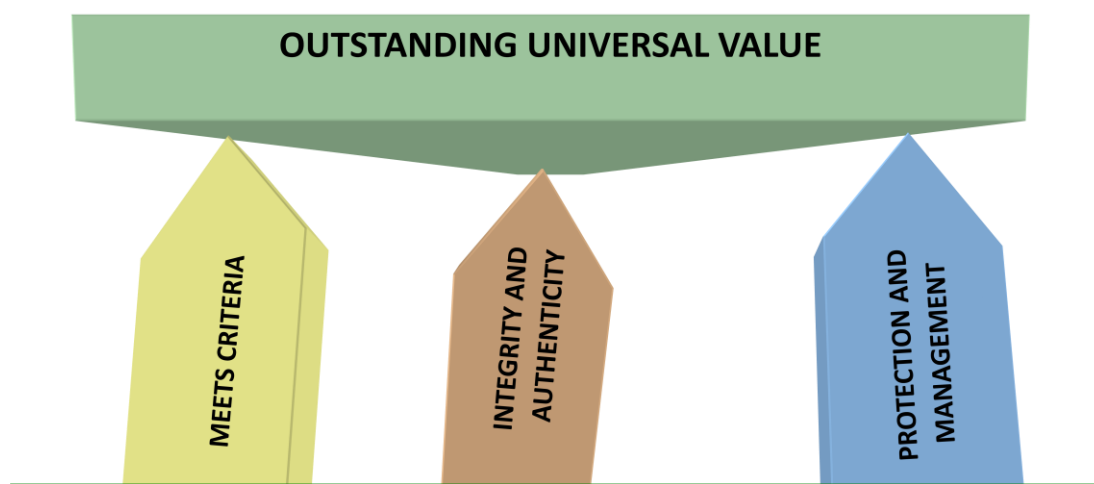
In the first versions of the Operational Guidelines, it was considered that in order to be considered of outstanding universal value, a property must meet one or more of the specified criteria and also meet the conditions of authenticity (in the case of cultural properties) or of integrity (in the case of natural properties). Those criteria were modified several times over the course of time which means that the concept of outstanding universal value continued to evolve with it.

In 2005, several major changes were introduced to the Operational Guidelines. One was that the conditions of integrity which previously applied only to natural properties came to be applied to cultural properties as well. In addition, in order to be considered of outstanding universal value, a property must also have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding. In the previous versions of the Operational Guidelines, protection and management were considered a requirement for listing, but not considered as part of the definition of outstanding universal value. The changes introduced in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines determine that the concept of outstanding universal value is now defined by three pillars as represented in a diagram initially proposed by IUCN presented in Figure 2.1. Most importantly, for the first time, a clear interpretation of the concept was also included, which reads:

‘Outstanding universal value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole. The Committee defines the criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List (World Heritage Centre, 2005c, paragraph 49).’

This first attempt at providing an interpretation of the concept is helpful, however it can be expected that it will continue to evolve to accommodate changing perceptions and interpretations of heritage. But at the same time, it is important to recall that although the concept of outstanding universal value underpins the whole World Heritage Convention, the heart and purpose of the Convention is to promote protection and international cooperation.

Figure 2.1 The three pillars of Outstanding Universal Value (as defined by IUCN)

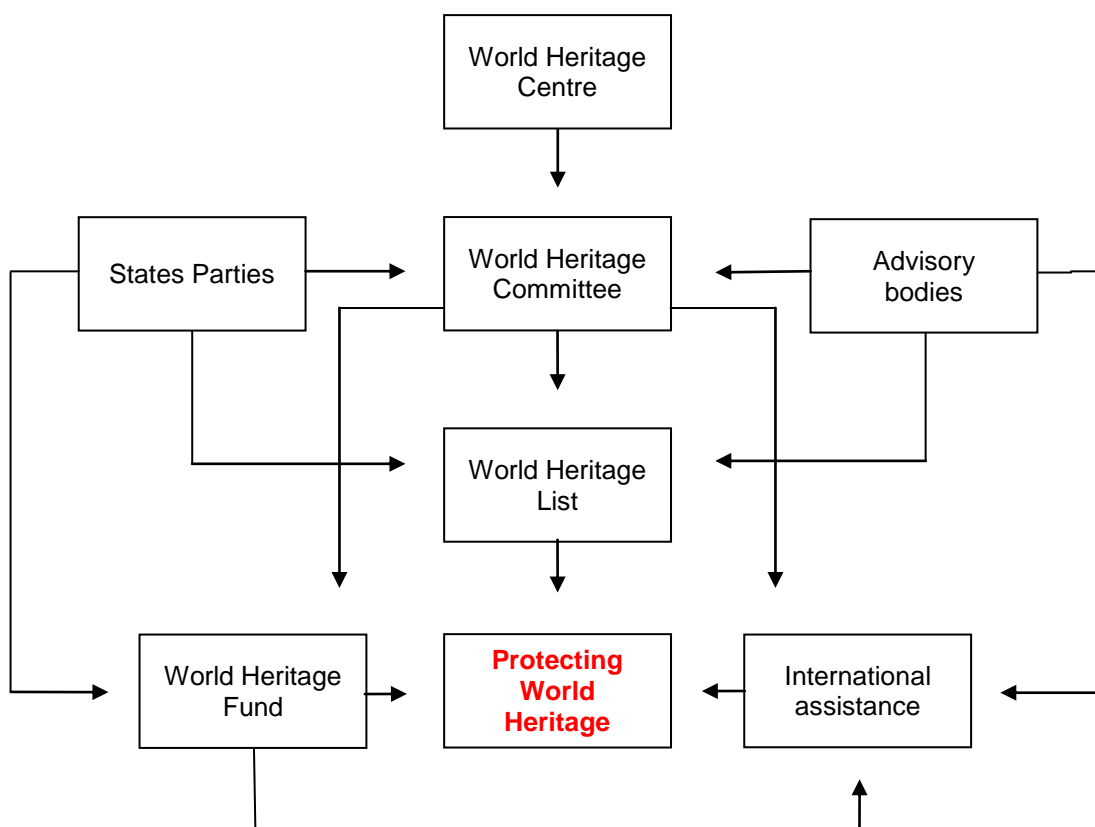


Source: IUCN

2.3 THE SYSTEM OF PROTECTION ESTABLISHED BY THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

The World Heritage Convention is essentially operational in character: it establishes a framework for the collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value. Figure 2.2 shows how this framework works.

Figure 2.2 The system of protection established in the World Heritage Convention



States Parties are countries which have adhered to the *World Heritage Convention*. By doing so, the State Party recognises that,

‘the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage... [of outstanding universal value] situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation’ (UNESCO, 1972a, article 4).

The Convention does not “internationalise” the heritage but rather it emphasizes the responsibility of the State Party where it is located. As Michel Parent noted, ‘the exercise of supra-national control should not be seen as an infringement of the sovereignty of States, since they have made their commitments freely after weighing up the advantages and constraints (Parent, 1987, p.33)’. Moreover, as Simmons also noted,

‘[the Convention does not lay] down universal rules as to the kind of measures [state] parties must take to meet their obligations under it. Binding obligations are instead limited to general principles, leaving each party to enact and apply its own legislation and rules according to its circumstances (Simmonds, 1997, p.264)’.

The World Heritage Committee comprises twenty-one members, all of which are States Parties to the Convention, and meets once a year. Paragraph 2 of Article 11 of the Convention states that the Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish, under the title of "World Heritage List", a list of properties forming part of the cultural heritage and natural heritage which it considers as having outstanding universal value in terms of such criteria as it shall have established. The inclusion of a property in the World Heritage List requires the consent of the State Party concerned. The Committee is also responsible for the establishment of the “list of World Heritage in Danger” made of properties included in the World Heritage List. Particularly in this case, States Parties may request international assistance to the World Heritage Committee but assistance can also be granted for other purposes. International assistance is financed by the World Heritage Fund, also established under the World Heritage Convention. The fund is made of compulsory contributions from States Parties – amounting to one percent of their UNESCO dues – and voluntary contributions.

A Secretariat (the World Heritage Centre since 1992) appointed by UNESCO assists the Committee in its duties. Additionally, the Committee is supported

by the three Advisory Bodies identified in the Convention: ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN. Among other functions, the Advisory Bodies attend meetings of the World Heritage Committee and the Bureau, monitor the state of conservation of World Heritage properties, and review requests for international assistance. Additionally, ICOMOS and IUCN evaluate properties nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List and present evaluation reports to the Committee.

2.4 IMPLEMENTING THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION: THE OPERATIONAL GUIDELINES

The *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (hereinafter referred to as the Operational Guidelines) aim to facilitate the implementation of the World Heritage Convention by describing the procedures for:

- a) the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger;
- b) the protection and conservation of World Heritage properties;
- c) the granting of International Assistance under the World Heritage Fund.

To reflect the decisions of the World Heritage Committee, the Operational Guidelines are periodically revised. Since the first version was adopted in 1977, they have been revised fifteen times, with the most recent version adopted in 2005. While the first version comprised 28 paragraphs, the most recent includes 290, excluding annexes. The change in the number of paragraphs points to growing complexity but also to the increased experience of the World Heritage Committee in implementing the Convention

and the growing numbers of properties in the World Heritage List, resulting in a need for ever more detailed information.

2.4.1 The World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger

As of 2011, the World Heritage List included 725 cultural properties, 183 natural properties and 28 mixed properties in 153 States Parties. These numbers reflect the success of the World Heritage Convention – especially in comparison with other international treaties. But this has also attracted strong criticism. Some have argued that the success in numerical terms must partly be attributed to the “soft” normative structure of the Convention (Ciciriello and Cledia, 1997, p.241). Others have said that the List is frequently perceived as the objective to be achieved and not as a means to achieve the true purpose of the Convention: that of protection of the world cultural and natural heritage (Díaz-Berrio, 2001, pp.13-14). Díaz-Berrio draws attention to the fact that the List is not mentioned in any of the titles of the chapters of the Convention (ibid). In effect, the World Heritage List is mentioned only three times in the whole Convention.

As mentioned above, another of the Committee’s responsibilities is to establish a List of World Heritage in Danger, which reinforces the purpose of the Convention as a framework for the protection of World Heritage. This list is meant to contain properties included in the World Heritage List and which are threatened by serious dangers, and for which international assistance may therefore be requested. But, as Pressouyre has pointed out, while the World Heritage List is considered as a sort of «Honor Roll», having a property included on the List of World Heritage in Danger is often perceived as a form of dishonour (Pressouyre, 1993, p. 56). For this reason, certain States Parties strongly oppose the inscription of properties located in their territories in the List in Danger, ‘since they consider this a sanction or an

interference' (Musitelli, 2002, p.328). This was the case of Nepal, which refused that the Kathmandu Valley be included in the list in Danger for eight years, despite the serious modifications to the property (ibid). In 2008, there were thirty properties in the List of World Heritage in Danger, including four settlements: Baku (Azerbaijan); Jerusalem (proposed by Jordan), Coro (Venezuela); and Zabid (Yemen).

But how does the World Heritage Committee establish these lists? Paragraph 2 of Article 11 of the Convention determines that the Committee shall establish a list of properties of outstanding universal value in line with such criteria as it shall have established. As discussed in section 2.2, the term "outstanding universal value" is not explicitly defined within the World Heritage Convention but determined by criteria established by the Committee and that such criteria have evolved over time. It is also important to recall that with this evolution, those criteria came to refer not only to the group of ten selection criteria for the assessment of outstanding universal value but also the conditions of authenticity and integrity and protection and management mechanisms. This can be quite confusing for those not so familiarised with the World Heritage system. The concept of outstanding universal value remains poorly understood in general, which is in fact one of the main challenges for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Therefore, I will now move to brief explore each of those general criteria separately.

2.4.2 Criteria for the assessment of outstanding universal value

Articles 1 and 2 of the World Heritage Convention determine what shall be considered as "cultural heritage" and "natural heritage" for the purposes of the Convention. Cultural heritage is to be considered as:

'monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

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' (UNESCO, 1972a, Article 1).

Each of these categories refers to "outstanding universal value" and from which standpoint this value shall be assessed. For instance, groups of buildings – the category which applies to settlements – shall be considered of outstanding universal value from the point of history, art or science. In addition they shall be considered because of their architecture, homogeneity or their place in the landscape.

The first attempt to establish a set of criteria for the inclusion of properties in the World Heritage List was based on the above categories. In a meeting held in Morges in 1976, representatives from UNESCO, IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM 'recommended that two separate set of criteria be used to determine the "outstanding universal value" of cultural and natural heritage – one set for cultural heritage and one set for natural heritage (Titchen, 1995, p.110)'. These criteria served as the basis for those adopted by the World Heritage Committee, in its first session in 1977, and have been subsequently revised (see Appendix1). Although the fundamentals behind each criterion have mostly remained the same, in some cases the changes have actually raised doubts as to their applicability to certain properties in certain periods in

time. This is the case of the Kathmandu Valley, the main case study of this thesis.

The Kathmandu Valley was included on the List in 1979 under criteria iii, iv, and vi. At that time the wording of criterion iii was: “unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity”. When the criterion was changed in 1980 to “bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared” this no longer applied to the Kathmandu Valley. Indeed the property is a testimony to a cultural tradition which is living, as it is stated in the wording of criterion iii since 1996. However, the assessment of the outstanding universal value of the property was made on the basis of uniqueness, rareness or great antiquity not on the testimony of a living cultural tradition.

Although the changes have allowed the concepts of cultural and natural heritages to evolve, they have also had fundamental implications on what is considered to be the outstanding universal value of properties included on the List.

The last change to both cultural and natural criteria, included in the 2005 Operational Guidelines, set up a single set of criteria with the natural criteria i, ii, iii, and iv becoming criteria vii, viii, ix, and x (however not in this same order). The changes however were limited to the numbers and not to the wording. The present wording of the criteria is included in Box 2.1.

2.4.3 Authenticity and integrity

For a property to be included in the World Heritage it needs to meet one or more of the ten criteria but also conditions of authenticity and/or integrity. It is

Box 2.1 Criteria for the assessment of outstanding universal value

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

not the purpose of this thesis to discuss these concepts at length despite their utmost importance for the assessment of the outstanding universal value of a property. But it is important to stress that, since 2005, all properties nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List shall satisfy the conditions of integrity. Before 2005 only natural properties had to meet these conditions. Integrity is defined as follows in the Operational Guidelines:

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

- a) includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value;
- b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property’s significance;
- c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 88)’.

In addition, regarding the application of integrity to cultural heritage, the Operational Guidelines state:

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

On one hand, the Operational Guidelines provide better guidance for the application of the concept of integrity to natural properties, specifying how a property would meet the conditions of integrity for each of the (natural) criteria vii to x. On the other hand they create challenges for the identification

of cultural properties including, for instance, the definition of boundaries. Examining the conditions of integrity also requires assessing the extent to which the property suffers from adverse effects of development. This is an important requirement, as development pressures are identified as one of the main threats to the state of conservation of urban settlements, as I will discuss further in Part III.

2.4.4 Protection and management

Although, as Díaz-Berrio has argued, the World Heritage List has been gaining priority over the Convention (Díaz-Berrio F., 2001, p.13), the main objective of the Convention nevertheless remains the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. As stated in Paragraph 97 of the 2008 Operational Guidelines:

‘All properties inscribed on the World Heritage List must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding. This protection should include adequately delineated boundaries. Similarly States Parties should demonstrate adequate protection at the national, regional, municipal, and/or traditional level for the nominated property (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 97)’

To be included in the World Heritage List, the property is therefore required to have adequate legal protection and management mechanisms. This requirement was first introduced in the 1988 version of the Operational Guidelines. It has gained further importance over time and particularly since 1992, after the proposal to revise the World Heritage Convention, as I will discuss in 2.5.

This requirement further reflects the construction of the concept of outstanding universal value as suggested by Titchen (1995) and as discussed in section 2.2. The concept is now accepted to be constructed on

three pillars: criteria, conditions of authenticity and integrity, and protection and management requirements. It also reflects the growing need for the Committee to ensure that the property is effectively protected before it is included on the World Heritage List.

Clearly the enormous challenges faced by some properties (and which will be further discussed in Chapters 7 and 8) provided grounds for this decision. But I will argue that requesting such legal protection and management mechanisms to be in place as a pre-condition to inclusion of a property are in contradiction with the spirit of the Convention. Indeed, in principle the existence or not of legal protection and management mechanisms should not determine whether or not a property has more, less or no outstanding universal value.

Moreover, by signing the Convention, each State Party recognises its responsibility in ensuring the identification, protection, presentation and transmission to future generations of the world cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, to the utmost of its resources. Whether or not States Parties actually honour this responsibility, it is a matter that in my opinion should not form part of the assessment of the outstanding universal value of the property. But again, the recent deletions from the World Heritage List of the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary in Oman and of the Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany show that stricter measures are needed.

When I was working at ICCROM, Herb Stovel told me once that delisting a property would prove that the World Heritage system had failed, because such a decision would imply that not only had the State Party failed to fulfil its responsibilities under the Convention, but most importantly it would demonstrate that the international community had been powerless to prevent

the property's deterioration to the extent that it had lost its outstanding universal value.

2.5 THE PROPOSAL TO REVISE THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

The first major test for the World Heritage Convention came in 1991 with the bombardment of Dubrovnik during the so-called Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995). The city had been included in the World Heritage List in 1979. Despite appeals by UNESCO for Dubrovnik to be left unharmed, destruction occurred, leading UNESCO to issue a resolution (26C/3.9), which recognized the weakness of the existing international system for the protection of world heritage in the event of armed conflict (Ciciriello, 1997, p.180). This event also resulted in a proposal to revise the World Heritage Convention and the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. While the Hague Convention was successfully modified, no agreement was reached on modifying the World Heritage Convention. Instead, significant changes were made to the Operational Guidelines.

In the wake of this event, but also coinciding with the celebration of the twenty years of the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, Italy proposed a critical reflection on the implementation of the Convention. It sought the support of the United States (ibid, p.183), which had had a fundamental role in the creation of the Convention. The United States had withdrawn from UNESCO in 1984¹ but were still active as a State Party to the World Heritage Convention. In March 1992, the United States invited Italy to an informal meeting in Washington to reflect on possible changes to the World Heritage Convention. To support the discussions, Italy presented a

¹ The United States re-entered UNESCO only in 2003.

paper entitled *Revision of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Heritage Cultural and Natural Heritage*. The United States presented a similar working document entitled *World Heritage Convention: Recommendations for Procedural/Policy Changes*. While the Italian document proposed the revision and redrafting of the World Heritage Convention to include legal international control over the properties included on the World Heritage List, the American document sought to introduce procedural changes to make the implementation of the Convention more effective.

Italy's proposal to revise the Convention had the following objectives:

- a) that States Parties would renounce their absolute sovereign rights over the properties included on the List in favour of a common shared responsibility with the international community for the protection of those properties;
- b) that UNESCO, representing the international community, would have legal powers to verify the application of the Convention and would be able to intervene if necessary;
- c) that the World Heritage Committee would be given monitoring powers over the actions carried out by States Parties on properties included on the List;
- d) the coordination between the World Heritage Convention and the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict;
- e) the coordination between UNESCO and other organisations involved in the protection of the environment such as UNEP (United Nations Environmental Programme) (ibid, pp.184-185).

These proposals arose from the fact that the Convention does not set up regulatory actions binding States Parties and that the World Heritage Committee has little power to enforce the States Parties' obligations under the Convention. In an analysis of the political and juridical limits of the Convention, Sabelli argued that there is a dichotomy between the statement of a general interest of the whole international community in the protection the world cultural and natural heritage and the limits imposed by the sovereignty of the States Parties (Ciciriello, 1997, p.159). The whole system established by the Convention only states the principles that States Parties should follow, without stating how they are to be applied (ibid, p.160). Likewise the role of the international community is only complementary to that of the States Parties.

The American delegation disagreed with the Italian proposal to introduce stronger legal obligations. Instead, in its working paper, it proposed a series of recommendations to reinforce the existing principles under the Convention. Several of these recommendations were subsequently adopted by the World Heritage Committee, including the cap on the number of nominations every year², and the requirement that Tentative Lists be submitted as a precondition for consideration of nominations.

Some of the proposals made by the Italian delegation were also implemented, although the Convention was not revised as hoped. One of the most important proposals was to give the Committee the capacity to periodically control the implementation of the Convention. This proposal resulted in the adoption of the Periodic Reporting exercise, based on Article 29 of the Convention. In fact, the United States had called for a formal

² The document refers to the implications of the large number of nominations for consideration each year in dominating the Committee's annual sessions and prevent it from given adequate attention to monitoring and other matters.

monitoring system as early as 1982, on the grounds that because of the rapid growth of the List it was impossible to monitor the conditions of the properties through informal sources. However, at the time, the Committee had thought this to be premature (Cameron, 2009, n.p.). This issue is further discussed in Chapter 6.

Taken as a whole, the proposal to revise the World Heritage Convention was a very valid one, and making the obligations under the Convention more compelling could bring considerable benefits for the protection of the properties. But as Musitelli questioned, 'how many states would be ready to accept stronger obligations? (Musitelli, 2002, p.332)'. He also argued that 'The principles proclaimed in the text are not being challenged. They have not lost nothing of their relevance. It is rather the conditions in which they have (or have not) been implemented (ibid)'.

2.6 CONCLUSIONS

Díaz-Berrio's criticism that the inclusion of properties on the World Heritage List is frequently perceived as the objective to be achieved, and not as a step towards the protection of the world's natural and cultural heritage, is in my opinion a valid one. As I will show in Chapter 7, the results of the first cycle of the Periodic Reporting exercise showed that the Convention is often seen only as an instrument for the inscription of properties, as a means of generating greater prestige for the country as well as revenues, essentially from tourism. The perception of the World Heritage Convention as a collective system of protection for the world's cultural and natural heritage is often forgotten and seen as secondary. This is reflected not only in the growing emphasis on nominations but also in the negative perception of the List of World Heritage in Danger. Seen by many as the "dishonour roll", some States Parties strongly oppose the inscription of properties located in their

territories on this List, considering it as a sort of sanction. While the rationale behind it can be easily understood, it shows a lack of understanding of the spirit of the Convention while highlighting the failure of the States Parties to honour the responsibilities they assumed when ratifying the Convention.

As explained in 2.4.1, both the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger are a means to an end. In a way, these instruments are not so different from any other national inventory; a country cannot apply its national heritage legislation or other existing mechanisms if it has not listed the objects it intends to protect. What would be the point of having a national inventory if no further action was taken?

Similarly, the List of World Heritage in Danger was set up for those properties whose conservation is deemed to be urgent and for which major operations are necessary. It is important to recall that the Convention states that this list shall contain an estimate of the costs of any operations, although this is not applied. As the sovereignty of States Parties needs to be respected, the international community can only support the States Parties' efforts, by granting international assistance through the World Heritage Fund.

This lack of understanding of the Convention and its mechanisms has also led to a need for a growing interference of the international community, of which the attempt of the Italian government in 1992 to redraft the Convention is an example. The Convention states that the duty of ensuring the protection of the properties belongs primarily to the States Parties, which will do all they can to this end and to the utmost of their own resources. Here, it is also important to recall that the Convention was adopted simultaneously with the *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage*, intended to guide the States Parties in implementing the Convention at the national level. This fundamental document is

unfortunately hardly mentioned. Thus, based on the above discussion and as Musitelli argued, the principles embodied in the World Heritage Convention retain their relevance but it appears that the conditions in which they have been implemented need to be improved.

Whereas this chapter sets up the context in which the World Heritage system operates, the scope of the research focuses primarily on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in relation to urban historic settlements. Thus the following chapters look at the main trends that have influenced urban settlements in the past half century, the responses developed towards addressing those trends within international policy documents and how the World Heritage Convention has contributed towards the protection of historic urban settlements, being one of the most represented categories of cultural heritage on the World Heritage List.

3. THE STATE OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS

In the past half century, urban settlements have changed dramatically. Rapid population growth combined with growing concentrations of people in urban areas has led to the extraordinary growth of settlements of increasingly complexity. At their core are what we presently call historic centres, which in the past constituted the entire city, but now represent only a limited percentage of the total built-up area as a result of continuous urban sprawl. Still, many of these historic centres continue to define the centrality and the identity of the urban agglomerations. Not all historic urban settlements have developed into megacities, but to one degree or another, the majority are now surrounded by modern and contemporary built-up areas. Their continued existence has been determined by the development of the overall urban context but also by the actions taken to protect them from such development. As such, their conservation and development are two sides of the same coin and need to be analysed as a cause-effect process. Thus, in this chapter I will analyse how population growth and urbanisation have influenced urban settlements in the past half century and how they are expected to continue doing so in the near future. This will allow for a better understanding of the present state of urban settlements and of the urban context surrounding historic settlements, as well as the pressures they are subject to.

3.1 POPULATION GROWTH AND WORLD URBANISATION³

The United Nations Population Division, in its 2006 revision of World Population Prospects, predicted that by July 2007 the world population would

³ The definitions and data presented in this chapter are those used by the United Nations Population Division and the UN-HABITAT.

have reached 6.7 billion, with 5.4 billion living in less developed countries. By 2050, it is expected that the world population will expand to 9.2 billion – the predicted 2.5 billion increase being equivalent to the total world population in 1950. And whereas 29 per cent of the world population lived in urban areas in 1950, the proportion of urban dwellers rose to 37 per cent in 1975, to 50 per cent in 2007, and is projected to reach 60 per cent by 2030. This growth of urban agglomerations is unprecedented in human history.

3.1.1 Demographic trends

Throughout the greater part of human history, the growth rate of the world's population has been very low. But in the 20th century, it rose rapidly, reaching a peak in 1965-1970. Since then it has been declining mainly because of the reduction of fertility in the developing world. The population growth rate varies considerably from one development group to the next. As the United Nations Population Division points out, whilst in the more developed countries population numbers will remain more or less the same, the population of the least developed countries is expected to almost double (UN Population Division, 2006, p.7).

Some countries have witnessed enormous population growth since the 1950s⁴. The national populations of countries like Kenya, Syria, Tanzania and Yemen, not only increased several-fold, but most of the growth occurred after 1975. Such growth implies that these countries have very young populations (in some of these countries, people under 14 account for over 40 per cent of the total population), and this in turn implies that their potential to continue growing is still very high. UN-HABITAT argues that,

⁴ Data included in Appendix 2 shows the changes that are relevant in the context of this research, i.e. the changes in countries that have urban settlements included in the World Heritage List.

‘Although rapid population growth does not, of itself, increase the level of urbanisation, in most nations in the South it is the most important factor in increasing urban populations. Even in regions with less dramatic population growth and political change such as Western Europe and North America, there have been major demographic changes – for instance in age structures and households sizes and types –... [that] have contributed to major changes in settlements patterns (UN-HABITAT, 1996, p.13)’.

Figures on urban population growth (see Appendix 2) support UN-HABITAT’s argument: with a few exceptions, the countries with the highest population growth also experienced the highest growth in terms of urban population.

3.1.2 Urbanisation trends

In 2007, approximately 3.35 billion people, or half of the world’s population, lived in cities. Current trends predict that the percentage of urban population will keep rising. Urbanisation levels vary considerably across developed and less developed regions (see Table 3.1) but differences can also be observed across the geographical areas that constitute these regions (see Table 3.2). All the areas of the more developed regions are highly urbanized whereas amongst developing regions there are clear contrasts.

Whilst the Latin America and the Caribbean region has a mainly urban population, Asia and Africa remain largely rural. If we exclude Northern Africa, which has a predominantly urban population, Sub-Saharan Africa is considerably less urbanized, with only 35.2 of its population living in cities in 2005. Sub-Saharan Africa however has experienced the fastest urbanisation rate of all regions from 1950 to 2005, with its urban population rising from 11.2 per cent in 1950 to 35.2 percent in 2005. During the same period, the urban population of Northern Africa increased from 13 million to 97 million and is projected to rise to 172 million in 2030. Asia is also expected to

Table 3.1 Urbanisation levels across developed and less developed regions

Urban indicators	Urban population (% of total)				Urbanization rate (%)	
	1950	1975	2005	2030	1950-2005	2005-2030
World	29.0	37.2	48.7	59.9	0.94	0.83
More developed regions	52.1	66.9	74.1	80.8	0.64	0.35
Less developed regions	18.1	26.9	42.9	56.1	1.57	1.08
Least developed countries	7.3	14.9	26.7	40.9	--	--

Source: United Nations Population Division as access on 10th August 2007:
<http://www.un.org/esa/population/unpop.htm>

Table 3.2 Urbanisation levels across geographical regions

Urban indicators	Urban population (% of total)				Urbanization rate (%)	
	1950	1975	2005	2030	1950-2005	2005-2030
Northern America	63.9	73.8	80.7	86.7	0.94	0.83
Latin America and the	42.0	61.2	77.4	84.3	1.11	0.34
Oceania	62.0	71.5	70.8	73.8	0.24	0.17
Europe	50.5	65.5	72.2	78.3	0.65	0.33
Asia	16.8	24.0	39.8	54.1	1.57	1.23
Africa	14.7	25.4	38.3	50.7	1.75	1.12

Source: United Nations Population Division as access on 10th August 2007:
<http://www.un.org/esa/population/unpop.htm>

experience rapid urbanisation during 2005-2030, also because it still has potential for fast population growth as many of the countries in the region have young populations. It is expected that by 2030, the Asia region will become predominantly urban and will account for 53.6 per cent of the world's total population.

Even if lower urbanisation rates become the norm, most developing countries will become increasingly urban. And while urbanisation in the developed regions was fuelled partially by population growth and industrial and economical growth, in regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa, urbanisation is happening without the economy to produce the necessary resources at the scale required. The following section will outline how urban agglomerations have grown to unprecedented sizes and complexity.

3.2 CHANGES IN URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS

The increasing concentration of people in urban areas has led to the extraordinary growth of urban agglomerations. A larger number than ever before of urban dwellers are now living in complex urban systems, and some mega-cities have populations of 10 million or more – equivalent to the total population of a country like Portugal. In 1950, only New York and Tokyo had populations of more than 10 million people (see Appendix 3). By 1975, Mexico City had joined the list, with two other cities very close to the 10 million mark (Osaka-Kobe and São Paulo). In 2005 there were 20 mega-cities and three additional cities close to the 10 million mark: Paris, Istanbul and Seoul. As the number of mega-cities increases, their location is becoming more diversified, including in the least developed countries (Dhaka in Bangladesh). The list of mega-cities is expected to grow to 22 cities by 2015, with 17 of these located in developing countries. Out of a total of 22

cities, four⁵ - Mexico City, Cairo, Istanbul and Moscow – have historic urban areas that are included in the World Heritage List.

These urban agglomerations have also spread to unprecedented areas to form continuous urban corridors. For instance, the polynucleated metropolitan region of Mexico City, with an area of 8,163 square kilometres combines the metropolitan areas of Mexico City, Toluca, Cuernavaca and Puebla. Cairo's urban area exceeds 400 square kilometres and now forms a conurbation with Alexandria (UN-HABITAT, 2004, p.68). Likewise, Istanbul is a rapidly growing city, sprawling in such a way as to enclose the entire Sea of

Figure 3.1 Urban sprawl in the Kathmandu Valley



⁵ If considered that the urban agglomeration of Osaka-Kobe includes the Kyoto Prefecture, there are five mega-cities with historic centres in the World Heritage List.

Marmara. A large part of its spatial expansion is made of squatter settlements known as *gecekond* meaning “built overnight”. A similar situation can be observed in the other cities mentioned, where large parts of the population live in slums.

3.3 CONCLUSIONS

In the past decades the world has become far more urbanized: there are now more urban than rural dwellers worldwide. This figure marks a turning point in history. There are several reasons underlying the levels of urbanisation that most regions have experienced. As analysed in section 3.1.1, one is population growth. Increasing numbers of people means that more food, fresh water, health care, education and housing are required. But rapid population growth alone does not necessarily lead to an increase in urbanisation levels. As examined in section 3.1.2, the massive concentration of people in urban areas is also due to the comparatively attractive living conditions and opportunities that cities offer relative to rural environments. The world economy has also changed considerably; whereas in 1950 the majority of the world’s workforce was employed in agriculture, services now employ more people. Rapid growth in international trade, advances in telecommunications and the increased mobility of capital have played a key role in shaping the contemporary world economy. These complex issues have major implications for urbanisation and, according to UN-HABITAT,

‘the countries with the most rapidly growing economies since 1950 were generally those with the most rapid increase in their level of urbanisation while the world’s largest cities are heavily concentrated in the world’s largest economies (UN-HABITAT, 1996, p.13)’.

The world’s largest cities may now have populations of over 10 million but most of them were already important urban settlements many centuries ago.

As I outlined in section 3.2, Mexico City is now the second largest city in the world, but was founded as early as the 14th century as the capital of the Aztec empire. The Mexico City of today is the result of many layers accumulated over the centuries. But its historic centre forms a small part of the 139 square kilometres that form the central city out of a complex urban system of approximately 8,163 square kilometres. And even if not all cities have grown to be as big as Mexico City, many cities have had extraordinary growth in the past decades. Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal and the main case study of this thesis, had a population of 225,000 in 1980. In 2005 it had grown to 815,000 inhabitants, and by 2015 it is expected to have 1,280,000. The built-up area expanded from 6,152 ha in 1978 to 16,472 ha in 2000 (Pradhan and Perera, 2005, p.18). As I will analyse in detail in the chapter dedicated to this case study, the pressures of population growth and the increase of the urban population have had a profound effect on the urban settlements of the Kathmandu Valley and especially on its historic urban fabric. Not only has the urban context of the historic settlements changed completely but the pressures of development have taken their toll on the historic buildings themselves, particularly in the surroundings of the areas included in the World Heritage List.

Thus, when establishing policies for the protection of the World Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley as well as for its development – as I see it they are the two sides of the same coin – the type of urban transformations outlined in this section need to be taken into consideration, if they are to be effective.

4. RESPONSES TO URBANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PROTECTION OF HISTORIC SETTLEMENTS

The protection of cultural heritage has always been a response to destruction or to threats to its continuity. In the absence of perceived threats, no particular action was taken as the remains of the past would be continuously recycled, adapted and incorporated into new constructions, or destroyed, as no value would be attributed to them. With the attribution of value to cultural heritage comes the need for specific actions to ensure its survival. In the previous section, I discussed the urban and development trends that have influenced urban settlements in the past half a century and their impact. In this section, I will analyse what have been the responses to those trends for the protection of historic settlements. This section is not intended to give an overview of the history of the conservation of historic settlements, but rather tries to analyse the connections between international policies and recommendations for the protection of cultural heritage and the enormous pressures it faces as a result of uncontrolled development and urbanisation. Therefore, I will first explore how the notion of development has changed in the past half century: whereas in the past it was mostly viewed as being a threat to cultural heritage, it is now part of a more inclusive approach in which cultural heritage can be a driver for development. This will be followed by an overview of how international charters and recommendations for the protection of cultural heritage, and historic settlements in particular, have formulated responses to development and growing urbanisation levels.

4.1 FROM ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION TO CULTURAL HERITAGE FOR DEVELOPMENT

International collaboration for the protection of cultural heritage developed mainly after the destruction resulting from the two World Wars. Not

surprisingly, the first Convention adopted by UNESCO was the 1954 *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention*. From then on, UNESCO adopted several other conventions and recommendations expressing concerns over an array of issues ranging from development to climate change.

In 1972, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment – the first major conference on international environmental issues – marked a turning point not only in the development of international environmental politics but also in the protection of cultural and natural heritage. It led to the adoption of the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* – better known as the World Heritage Convention, as discussed in Chapter 2. What is important to underline here is its connection to a wider environmental approach and its response to a changing world where heritage was increasingly threatened. The preamble of The Convention states:

‘the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction... in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, (UNESCO, 1972a, preamble).

The World Heritage Convention was therefore expressly established as a response to changing conditions for which a collective effort was necessary.

Building on the 1972 Conference on the Human Environment, the United Nations organized the First Conference on Human Settlements in 1978. The

main outcome was the establishment of UN-HABITAT, the United Nations agency for human settlements. At the time, approximately two thirds of the world's population still lived in rural areas, but there was a growing 'concern over the extremely serious condition of human settlements (UN-HABITAT, 1976, preamble)'. To assess the progress made over the two decades that followed, the United Nations held a second conference on cities – HABITAT II - in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1996. The political document that came out of this Conference is known as the *Habitat Agenda*, which sets out approaches and strategies towards the achievement of sustainable development in the world's urban areas.

Focusing on the accelerating deterioration of the human environment and natural resources, the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development published the report *Our Common Future* in 1987. This report introduced a new concept of development, that of "sustainable development". It acknowledged that an increasing urban population contributes to environmental degradation, posing enormous urban challenges. On this matter, the report stated:

'Few city governments in the developing world have the power, resources, and trained personnel to provide their rapidly growing populations with the land, services, and facilities needed for an adequate human life: clean water, sanitation, schools, and transport. The result is mushrooming illegal settlements with primitive facilities, increased overcrowding, and rampant disease linked to an unhealthy environment.... Many [cities in industrial countries also] face problems - deteriorating infrastructure, environmental degradation, inner-city decay, and neighbourhood collapse.... With flexibility, space for manoeuvre, and innovation by local leadership, the issue for industrial countries is ultimately one of political and social choice. Developing countries are not in the same situation. They have a major urban crisis on their hands (The World Commission on Environment and Development, 1989, Chapter 9, paragraph 9-23)'.

Some of the urban problems described in this quotation were discussed in Chapter 3. In the face of the urban and other challenges presented, the Brundtland report proposed the notion of “sustainable development”, defined as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (ibid, Chapter 2, paragraph 1).

The cultural dimension of development was not acknowledged in the Brundtland report but UNESCO had already moved in this direction. Inspired by the report’s emphasis on “environment and development”, UNESCO established a similar process for “culture and development” with the creation of a World Commission on Culture and Development. This Commission produced a report entitled *Our Creative Diversity* whose central argument was:

‘Development divorced from its human or cultural context is growth without a soul. Economic development in its full flowering is part of a people’s culture (UNESCO, 1996, p.15)’.

The limitations of economic development had been questioned before and in particular by the United Nations main organization for development – UNDP. In 1990, UNDP published the first Human Development Report, introducing the concept of “human development”, defined as a process of enlarging people's choices rather than simply expanding income and wealth. Published annually, each report focuses on a theme in the current development debate.

4.2 URBAN CONSERVATION AS A RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENT AND URBANISATION PRESSURES

González-Varas (1999) argues that concerns over the deterioration and destruction of historic centres began in the middle of the 19th century as

industrial cities developed in Europe. With the urban expansion and transformation of cities, the “historic centre” became an urban reality and not just a concept: before the industrial city, the historic centre was the city itself – an urban structure with precise limits (often physical ones), made of the stratification of many historical layers, and forming a distinctive urban organism (González-Varas, 1999, p.344). What distinguishes the urban expansion of the industrial city from previous transformations is the endless urban growth of the suburbs.

The drastic changes to urban environments deriving from industrialization and consequent urban expansion were at the centre of discussions of the IVth International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) held in 1933. The *Athens Charter*, the document produced as a result of the Congress, claimed that the problems faced by cities could be resolved by contemporary town planning principles. It added that,

‘The city should be able to grow harmoniously as a functioning urban unity in all its different parts, by means of preordained open spaces and connecting links, but a state of equilibrium should exist at every stage of its development (CIAM, 1933, part III)’.

The Charter focused mainly on urban planning but it also called for the protection of individual or groups of buildings on the grounds that they expressed earlier cultures and their retention was thus in the public interest.

The ideas imbedded the Athens Charter were widely adopted by town planners following World War II, despite criticism from professionals that those ideas contributed to breaking the social ties essential to a community's development. The harmonious growth promoted in the Charter was never achieved and the construction of monolithic high-rises buildings in the periphery of cities led to a clear contrast between the new urban areas and

what survived of the historic urban fabric; similarly, characterless new urban areas further highlighted the qualities of historic centres, contributing to a growing awareness for their protection.

In the early 1960s, two national initiatives attracted international attention and stimulated the debate on the protection of historic settlements: the Congress held in Gubbio (Italy) in 1960 and the French Malraux Law from 1962. The conclusions of the Gubbio congress were laid down in a document called *Carta de Gubbio*, which establishes the first principles for the safeguarding of historic settlements. This document states that protection should be extended to the whole historic built fabric and not only to the most significant buildings or monuments. The protection of such areas should be part of the overall development of cities and should therefore be integrated in municipal master plans (Samona, 1960, pp.66-68). The Carta de Gubbio therefore established guidelines for the protection of historic settlements. As for the French Malraux Law adopted in 1962, it allowed for the legal delimitation of urban conservation areas known as the “*secteur sauvegardés*”. Both documents significantly enlarged the scope of protection for urban areas.

The 1962 UNESCO *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites*, although not aimed specifically at historic settlements, provided valuable guidelines for their protection. It recommended that,

‘special provisions should be made to ensure the safeguarding of certain urban landscapes and sites which are, in general, the most threatened, especially by building operations and land speculation (UNESCO, 1962, paragraph 5)’.

It therefore asserted that, among all categories of cultural heritage, historic urban areas were at the greatest risk as a result of rapid development, and

that this required urgent responses. In fact, just after its creation in 1965, ICOMOS organised a series of meetings on the protection of historic settlements. The resolutions adopted during those meetings had a defining influence on conservation theory for historic settlements thereafter.

The ICOMOS *Resolutions on the Regeneration of Historic Urban Sites*, adopted as a result of a Symposium held in Czechoslovakia in 1966, stated that ‘the solution of the problem of the conservation of historic urban centres can only be conceived as part of a regional disposition plan which serves the needs of the region while respecting [the basic values of old towns] (ICOMOS, 1993, p.33)’. It added that achieving such a goal involved ‘the necessity of limiting the growth of these towns (ibid)’. The protection of historic settlements was therefore seen as dependent not only on the conservation of the historic built fabric but also on the future development and urban expansion of the settlement.

A similar approach was taken in the *Norms of Quito* adopted in 1967. Taking into consideration the adverse effects of mismanaged urban development on the historic urban heritage of Latin American’s cities, the document proposed that ‘the urban space occupied by monumental districts or centers of environmental value should be given boundaries as follows:

- a. ‘a rigorously protected zone, corresponding to the greatest monumental density or interest
- b. a zone of protection or respect, with a higher degree of tolerance, and
- c. zone of protection of the urban landscape, in an effort to integrate it with the surrounding natural areas (ICOMOS, 1967, n.p.)’.

Different zones had, therefore, different degrees of protection with the outer one intended to integrate the protection area with the surrounding natural areas.

Beginning in 1965, the Council of Europe organised a series of symposia for the protection of architectural heritage, resulting in a decade-long campaign entitled *A future for our past*. The campaign involved many pilot projects throughout Europe, the outcomes of which were of great importance in shaping the concept of “integrated conservation” introduced in the 1975 *Declaration of Amsterdam*. That same year, ICOMOS adopted two resolutions focusing specifically on historic settlements: *The Bruges Resolutions: Principles Governing the Rehabilitation of Historic Towns* and *Resolutions on the Conservation of Smaller Historic Towns*. The latter dealt only with settlements that had not yet expanded beyond their historic core or where the core was still dominant, and where the surrounding landscape was still largely unspoiled and an integral part of the image of the town. The document particularly refers to the situation in ‘countries of the developing world, [where] the rapid expansion of population and the accelerating influx of people to the towns threaten to destroy the existing settlement structure (ICOMOS, 1993, p.93)’. To counteract the dangers threatening smaller historic towns, several strategies and measures were recommended including ‘to observe the existing scale of the town in all new developments, to respect its character, its dominant buildings and its relation to the landscape (ibid)’. With urban growth accepted as being inevitable, the emphasis was therefore put on creating a sense of balance between new and existing structures within the existing settlement.

Also in 1975, UNESCO published *The Conservation of Cities*, drawing attention to the threats posed to historic settlements by population growth and urbanisation. Its introduction stated:

'Changes in the urban environment have been taking place with vertiginous speed in major cities throughout the world. Their growth has outstripped the predictions made by planners, architects and social scientists. Many cities which had populations of a few hundred thousand twenty years ago now have become cities of a million or more. The greater ones have grown enormously, engulfing nearby towns, villages and municipalities and at times coalescing into large conglomerations forming megalopolises (UNESCO, 1975, p.9)'.

A year after, UNESCO adopted the *Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (1976), which called for the active protection of historic areas and their surroundings:

'In the conditions of modern urbanisation, which leads to a considerable increase in the scale and density of buildings, apart from the danger of direct destruction of historic areas, there is a real danger that newly developed areas can ruin the environment and character of adjoining historic areas. Architects and town-planners should be careful to ensure that views from and to monuments and historic areas are not spoilt and that historic areas are integrated harmoniously into contemporary life (UNESCO, 1976, paragraph 5)'.

With the effects of urbanisation and uncontrolled development becoming more visible, attention turned to the protection of the built historic fabric rather than its harmonious growth.

The adoption of several international charters and other documents for the protection of historic settlements between the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s reflects a growing concern over the effects of population growth, rapid urbanisation and uncontrolled development. However a decade passed before a new charter for the conservation of historic settlements was adopted

by ICOMOS in 1987: the *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas*. Recalling that historic settlements were ‘being threatened, physically degraded, damaged or even destroyed, by the impact of the urban development (ICOMOS, 1987, preamble)’, it stated that,

‘In order to be most effective, the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning at every level (ICOMOS, 1987, paragraph 1)’.

Consequently, conservation plans should aim at ‘ensuring a harmonious relationship between the historic urban areas and the town as whole (ibid, paragraph 5)’. In terms of the urban development and physical expansion of the settlement, this Charter did not add much to the previous ones. It recommended that the historic area be integrated with its urban context but the emphasis again was on the protection of the historic areas. By that time the majority of these were surrounded by modern built areas: the duality of the urban environment had become the norm.

It was not until 2005 that a new international doctrinal document for the protection of urban historic areas was adopted: the *Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape*. This document was the outcome of a congress organised in that city to discuss the introduction of contemporary architecture in historic urban areas, in particular World Heritage properties. The Vienna Memorandum introduced the term “historic urban landscape”, presented as a new approach going beyond mere notions of historic centres and surroundings to encompass the broader geographical context.

Based on the principles of the Vienna Memorandum, UNESCO is presently working on a new Recommendation concerning the conservation of the

historic urban landscape. UNESCO's most recent standard-setting instrument dealing with urban conservation was adopted over thirty years ago – the *Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (1976). It is felt that, over the past three decades, historic settlements have been subjected to new threats that were not present when other existing documents were adopted, and that the discipline and practice of urban heritage conservation has also changed significantly during this period.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of international documents for the protection of historic settlements shows that the major contributions were made between 1965 and 1975. Interestingly, this period coincides with that of the highest population and urban growth rates. While initially the responses proposed were oriented towards limiting and/or planning the urban growth of historic settlements, when growth outstripped the predictions made and actions taken to control it, conservation efforts were redirected toward the physical survival of the historic areas and their integration within this new urban context.

However the differences between the historic areas and the new urban context were enormous and their integration proved difficult. Evidently historic urban areas could not be dealt with as monuments that could be protected from development and preserved in their former state. To continue as vibrant urban areas, very often historic areas required considerable adaptation. However, despite a growing awareness of the significance of historic urban areas as a whole, the approach used was similar to that used for historic monuments: to protect them as they once were. The clear distinction between the historic areas and the new urban context also marked

a clear separation between what was worth protecting and what was not. Accordingly, historic areas were to be protected from all development whereas the new urban context was to continue developing without restraint. With time, continuous urban population growth and urban expansion led to the majority of historic urban settlements being surrounded by modern built areas.

While the notion of historic urban landscape introduced by the Vienna Memorandum is seen as a more integrated approach, it is important to recall that earlier documents also referred to the importance of integrating the protection areas within a larger urban context, particularly in the planning process. Moreover, the Vienna Memorandum referred specifically to World Heritage settlements and not to historic settlements in general. But do World Heritage settlements present fundamental differences from historic settlements in general or are they under greater threat? What exactly constitutes a World Heritage urban settlement? I will address these questions in the next Chapter.

5. HISTORIC SETTLEMENTS ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

As of 2008⁶, the World Heritage List included 174 natural, 25 mixed and 678 cultural properties. Within the latter, 198 are or include parts of urban settlements, representing 22.5 per cent of the total number of cultural properties. For the purposes of this thesis, this group of urban settlements will be referred to as the “Urban World Heritage List” (see Appendix 4). Its analysis is indispensable to achieve a better understanding of the settlements it includes. Thus, in this chapter I begin by identifying what is to be considered as a World Heritage settlement. This is followed by an analysis of the criteria used for their inscription, their regional distribution and their representation in the World Heritage List compared to other types of properties. Finally, based on the nomination files, I examine what exactly has been identified as an “urban settlement”, and if there has been an evolution of the concept over time.

5.1 DEFINITION OF CATEGORIES OF “URBAN SETTLEMENTS”

As already mentioned in 2.4.2, article 1 of the World Heritage Convention defines what is to be considered as cultural heritage for the purposes of the Convention. Cleere argued that the definitions of cultural heritage are,

‘broadly drawn... so as to be comprehensive and descriptive rather than specific. There is, for example, no reference to towns or villages or to individual classes of buildings such as temples, churches, castles, etc, which often figure in the exhaustive lists in national legislations. They consequently permit a great degree of flexibility in

⁶ As mentioned in the Introduction, the analyses presented throughout this thesis were carried out at different periods of the research and therefore, a different number of properties may have been considered in different circumstances. However, for all situations, I have identified the precise point in time considered for the purposes of the analysis and the respective number of properties included on the World Heritage List at the time.

their application, a fact that has been of enormous value in recent years, when perceptions of the cultural heritage have expanded (Cleere, 1995, pp.179-180)'.

Urban settlements are considered to be part of the category of “group of buildings”. Due to the broadness of this definition, and to the large number of urban settlements in the World Heritage List, since 1987 the Operational Guidelines include specific information on the “groups of urban buildings” eligible for inscription on the World Heritage List. That is,

- (i) ‘towns which are **no longer inhabited** but which provide unchanged archaeological evidence of the past; these generally satisfy the criterion of authenticity and their state of conservation can be relatively easily controlled;
- (ii) **historic towns which are still inhabited** and which, by their very nature, have developed and will continue to develop under the influence of socio-economic and cultural change, a situation that renders the assessment of their authenticity more difficult and any conservation policy more problematical;
- (iii) **new towns of the twentieth century** which paradoxically have something in common with both the aforementioned categories: while their original urban organization is clearly recognizable and their authenticity is undeniable, their future is unclear because their development is largely uncontrollable (World Heritage Centre, 2005c, annex 3)’.

The above categories provide a framework for the identification of urban settlements mainly based on their development stage and its implication on their authenticity and conservation. While for “towns which are no longer inhabited” and “new towns of the twentieth century” their authenticity seems to be “undeniable”, in the case of “historic towns which are still inhabited” it is assumed that their authenticity is questionable. This is based on the assumption that development affects the different categories in different ways. While in the first category, development is assumed to be easily

controlled, for the second category development is perceived to pose problems for their conservation, and in the third category as largely uncontrollable. There are, however, no justifications on what grounds such assumptions are made. After all, the development of a city like Cairo, which would qualify under “historic towns which are still habited” has had and continues to have a development largely uncontrollable. There seems to be some confusion between assessment of authenticity of the properties and potential threats to it. While assessing the authenticity of the property is fundamental to determine its outstanding universal value, what might happen to it in the future is largely dependent on the management system established for its protection.

Most existing cities could be included in the categories defined and not necessarily historic cities or World Heritage cities. Hence, the Operational Guidelines also determine how the significance of each of the above categories can be examined (see Appendix 5). Again, the guidelines provide details mainly related to the identification of the properties but this time based on the relationship between the surviving historic urban fabric and the overall urban context. That is, on what exactly should be included in the nominated property. For “towns no longer inhabited” the ‘remains of such city should be preserved in their entirety together with their natural surroundings whenever possible (World Heritage Centre, 2005c, annex 3)’. Building on the guidelines established for the main categories, the nomination of “news towns of the twentieth century” ‘should be deferred, save under exceptional circumstances (ibid)’. It is the category of “inhabited historic towns” that seems to raise more concerns. Four new sub-categories are distinguished:

- a) towns which have been almost wholly preserved and which remained largely unaffected by subsequent developments;
- b) towns whose historic part takes precedence over the contemporary

environment;

- c) historic centres enclosed within modern cities;
- d) sectors, areas or isolated units which provide coherent evidence of the character of a historic town which has disappeared (ibid).

These sub-categories provide some indication on how the surroundings play (or not) a role in the identification of the World Heritage area, as already seen for “towns no longer inhabited”. Thus, the surroundings are to be included in the nominated property for the first two sub-categories – even if for category b) this is not clearly stated but the importance of the surroundings for the identification of the property is acknowledged. In the case of “historic centres” the surroundings are to be protected but not included in the nominated property. Finally, for sectors, areas or isolated units, there is no direct reference to their surroundings. However, the guidelines state that ‘if a building of clearly outstanding universal value is located in severely degraded or insufficiently representative surroundings, it should of course, be listed without any special reference to the town (ibid)’. This recommendation seems more likely to apply to the “sectors, areas or isolated units” more than the other sub-categories.

Even if the above recommendations are more related to the identification of the properties, the guidelines also include details on how their significance is to be assessed. For instance, for “towns no longer inhabited” the guidelines mention criteria of uniqueness, or exemplary character, purity of style and important historical associations. As for “inhabited historic towns”, they should not be considered mainly as historical symbols but because of their architectural interest, spatial organization, structure, materials, forms, and possibly functions.

Moreover, the guidelines determine that,

‘Under present conditions, preference should be given to the inscription in the World Heritage List of small or medium-sized urban areas which are in a position to manage any potential growth, rather than the great metropolises...In view of the effects which the inscription of a town on the World Heritage List could have on its future, such entries should be exceptional. Inscription in the List implies that legislative and administrative measures have already been taken to ensure the protection of the group of buildings and its environment (ibid)’.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF THE “URBAN WORLD HERITAGE LIST”

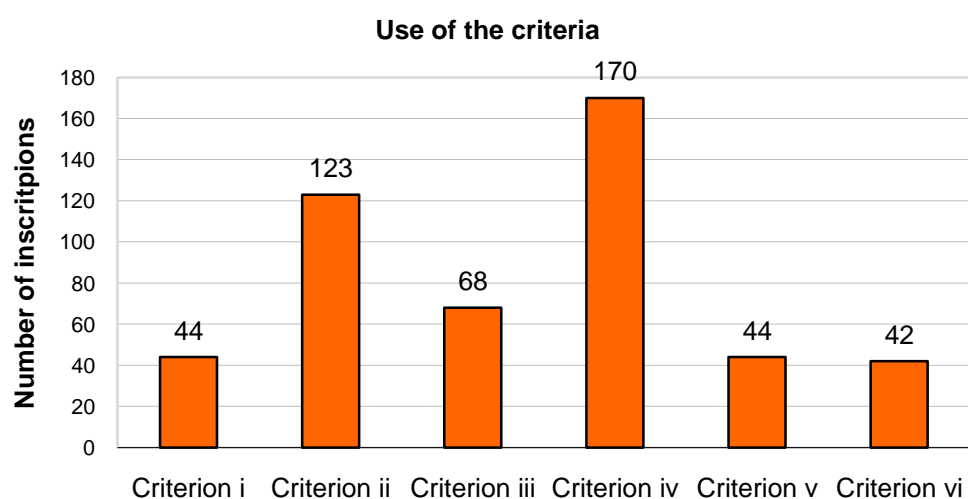
5.2.1 Use of the criteria

As examined in 2.4.1, for a cultural property to be included in the World Heritage List, it has to meet one or more of the criteria for the assessment of outstanding universal value. As also mentioned, the criteria have changed over time (see Appendix 1). If, on one hand, such changes have allowed for the evolution of the concept of “World Heritage”, on the other, the nomination files of most properties, once included in the World Heritage List, are never updated. In addition, the criteria do not refer to a particular category of cultural heritage, which again has allowed for the inscription of new types of properties, such as cultural landscapes. This was possible by including the wording “landscape design”, “landscape”, and “land use” in criteria ii, iv, and v, respectively, in 1994. At the same time, this implies that certain criteria might be more suitable for a type of cultural properties than others. Could this also be the case for urban settlements?

The wording of some criteria suggests that some look more likely to be used for the inscription of urban settlements than others as they refer to “architecture” and “town planning”; criterion v, in particular, refers to a “traditional urban settlement”. The analysis of use of the criteria for the inscription of urban settlements, shown in Figure 5.1 demonstrates that

whereas criteria i, v, vi have approximately the same representation, criteria ii and iv have been used in a large number of inscriptions. Criterion iv is by far the most used criterion. As anticipated, the numbers confirm that criteria ii and iv, which refer to architecture and town planning, are most used for the inscription of urban settlements.

Figure 5.1 Use of criteria for the inscription of World Heritage Settlements



It could be expected that more urban settlements would have been inscribed based on criterion v as it includes the term “human settlement”. However, it is important to remember that, until 1994, the criterion applied only to properties that had become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change. The rewording of the criterion lessened this restriction by stating “especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change” instead of “and when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change”. However, as Titchen pointed out, based on the arguments of Domicelj *et al*, the expression conveys a confusion between the assessment of significance

of the property and the threats to it, which are related to the protection and management: 'presumably if the authenticity and management provisions are in place then there will not in the future be any impact of irreversible change (Domicelj et al as cited in Titchen, 1995, p.142)'. This confusion between assessment of authenticity of the properties and potential threats to it was already mentioned in relation to the categories of urban settlements.

However, most properties are included in the World Heritage List by a combination of criteria. As in the use of the criteria, is there a combination of criteria most commonly used for the inscription of urban settlements?

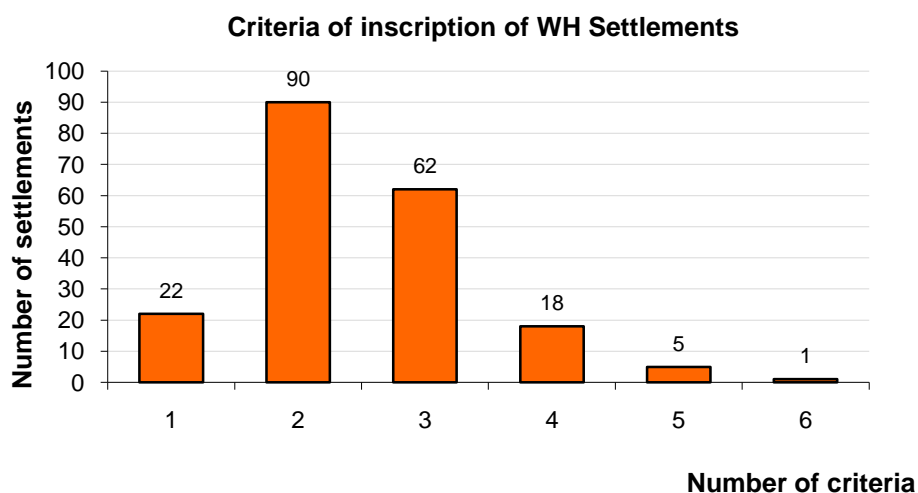
Figure 5.2 shows the number of World Heritage settlements inscribed according to the number of criteria used. Most are inscribed according to two or three criteria. Inscriptions with two criteria constitute 45 per cent of the total number. There are few inscriptions with one or four criteria and those with five or six criteria are rare. The only settlement inscribed with all six criteria is Venice. Thus, if most urban settlements are inscribed with two criteria, and if criteria ii and iv are the most used, is the combination of these two criteria the most used?

Table 5.1 combines the data of the previous graphics and shows the number of inscriptions using the different combinations of criteria. In fact, the combination of the criteria ii and iv is the most used one with a total of 44 inscriptions. This number is almost the triple of the second most used combination, which is the single use of criterion iv, equivalent to 16 inscriptions. All most used combinations include criterion iv, which is the most used criterion of all.

Table 5.1 Combination of criteria for the inscription of World Heritage Settlements

Number of criteria	Criteria						Number of inscriptions
	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	
1 criterion			•				4
				•			16
					•		1
						•	1
2 criteria	•	•					2
	•		•				1
	•			•			5
	•					•	1
		•	•				2
		•		•			44
		•			•		5
			•	•			12
			•		•		1
			•			•	1
3 criteria	•	•		•			10
	•	•				•	1
	•		•	•			5
	•				•	•	1
		•	•	•			9
		•	•		•		3
		•	•			•	2
		•		•	•		7
		•		•		•	13
		•	•	•			1
4 criteria			•	•			6
	•	•	•			•	1
	•	•		•	•		2
	•	•		•		•	4
		•	•	•	•		3
		•	•	•		•	2
5 criteria	•	•	•	•		•	3
	•	•	•		•	•	1
		•	•	•	•	•	1
6 criteria	•	•	•	•	•	•	1

Figure 5.2 Number of criteria used in the inscription of World Heritage Settlements



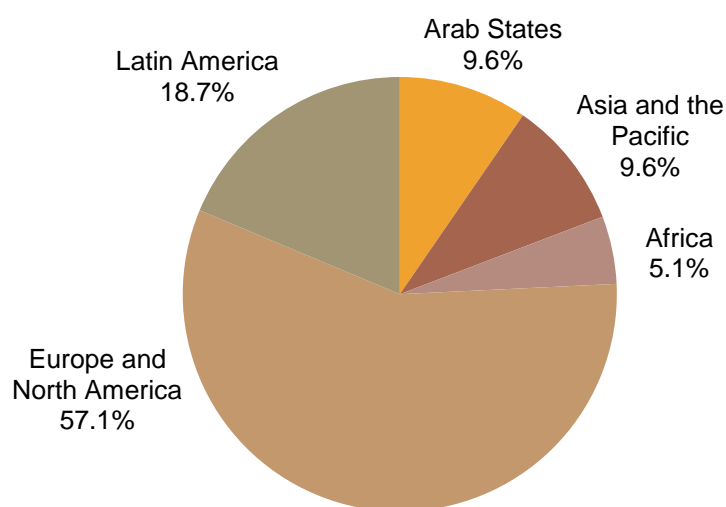
Within inscriptions with three criteria, the most common combinations are mainly formed by criteria ii and iv with the addition of another criterion. Of these the most common are the combinations of criteria i, ii and iv and criteria ii, iv, vi. In total, of 198 urban settlements, there are 106 inscribed with the combination of criteria ii and iv alone and with other criteria. Though together, criteria ii and iv make the most common combination, individually their use is completely different. While there are 16 urban settlements included in the World Heritage List by solely criterion iv, there is none by criterion ii alone.

5.2.2 Regional distribution

For administrative reasons, the World Heritage Committee distinguishes five regions: Africa, the Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, and Latin America. Figure 5.3 shows the regional distribution of the urban settlements inscribed in the World Heritage List. Europe and North

America totalize 113 of the 198 urban settlements inscribed in the World Heritage List, which corresponds to 57 per cent of the total. North America only has 2 urban settlements in the World Heritage List – Quebec and Lunenburg, both in Canada – meaning that the majority is located in Europe. This shows a similar trend with the regional representation of the World Heritage List in general, with Europe and North America having approximately half of the total number of properties in the World Heritage List. However, imbalances on the List – largely discussed as a weakness in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention – are not the focus of the present research.

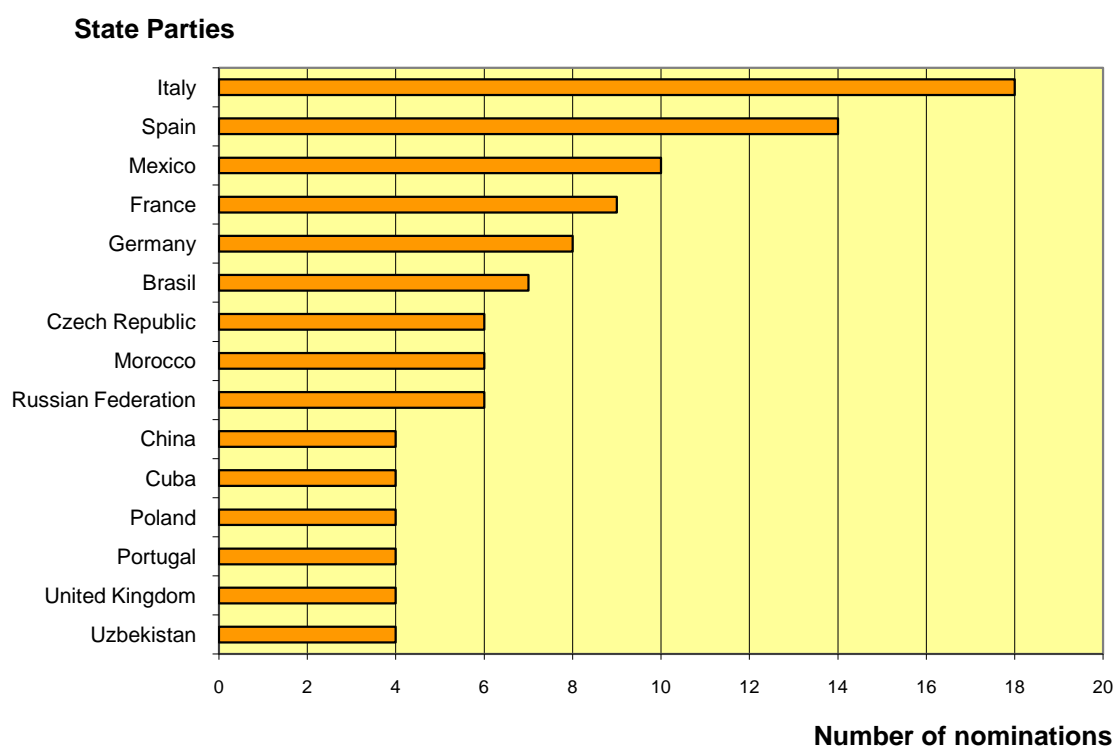
Figure 5.3 Regional distribution of World Heritage settlements



Another aspect to consider is the number of urban settlements according to countries. Figure 5.4 shows the States Parties with most urban settlements inscribed. Italy, Spain, France and Mexico are the States Parties with the highest number of inscriptions regarding urban settlements. Moreover, Italy and Spain possess serial nominations, making the actual number of urban

settlements higher. Italy possesses a total number of 25 World Heritage settlements since the nomination of Val di Noto includes 8 settlements. Spain, with the nomination of Ubeda-Baeza, totalizes 15 urban settlements and Germany with Starlsund and Wismar has 9. The Kathmandu Valley in Nepal is also a serial nomination made of 7 groups of buildings. If these were considered individually, Nepal would also be amongst the countries with more World Heritage settlements, with the same number of urban settlements as Brazil.

Figure 5.4 States Parties with most World Heritage settlements



Even if the States Parties with the highest number of World Heritage settlements are European countries – confirming the overall regional distribution – there are a number of States Parties from other regions with a high representation of urban settlements. Mexico, for instance, is the third country with more urban settlements inscribed. In fact, there is at least one

country from each region amongst the States Parties with most World Heritage urban settlements, with the exception of Africa.

Italy and Spain are not only the States Parties with most urban settlements in the World Heritage List but with most properties in general. But this is not always the case. Morocco, for example, has 6 urban settlements out of a total of 8 properties on the World Heritage List.

5.2.3 Inscription of urban settlements compared with other properties, at national level

Table 5.2 presents the number of urban settlements compared with other World Heritage properties inscribed per State Party. The ones with the higher number of urban settlements inscribed are highlighted. With a few exceptions, the States Parties with most urban settlements are also those with the highest number of properties on the World Heritage List. Still, in Italy, Spain, Mexico, Brazil and Portugal, urban settlements account for one third or more of the total number of properties the State Party has inscribed on the List. This proportion is higher in Czech Republic, Morocco and Uzbekistan, the latter having only urban settlements on the List.

Uzbekistan is not the only country with only urban settlements on the World Heritage List. As of 2008, this was also the case of the Yemen, Dominican Republic, Luxembourg, Mozambique and Uruguay. Pressouyre, in his revision of the first twenty years of the application of the World Heritage Convention, argued that one of the reasons for the emphasis on the nomination of urban settlements is 'Because they are historically and symbolically heavily charged, cities have served the identity policies of States Parties to the Convention (Pressouyre, 1993, p.55)'. He called attention to the number of countries' capitals on the World Heritage List. Indeed, of the

Table 5.2 (1/2) Number of World Heritage settlements compared to other properties per State Party

State Party	Total number of properties	Natural and mixed properties	Urban Settlements
Algeria	7	1	2
Austria	8*		3
Azerbaijan	2		1
Belgium	9*		2
Bolivia	6	1	2
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2		1
Brazil	17*	7	7
Bulgaria	9	2	1
Canada	15**	9	2
Chile	5		1
China	37	11	4
Colombia	6	2	2
Croatia	7	1	3
Cuba	9	2	4
Czech Republic	12		6
Dominican Republic	1		1
Ecuador	4	2	2
Egypt	7	1	1
Estonia	2*		1
Ethiopia	8	1	1
Finland	7**	1	1
France	33**	3	9
Germany	33**	1	9
Greece	17	2	3
Guatemala	3	1	1
Holy See	1		1
Hungary	8**	1	1
Israel	6		2
Italy	43*	1	18
Japan	12	2	3
Jerusalem	-		1
Kenya	4	2	1
Laos	2		1
Latvia	2*		1
Libya	5		1
Lithuania	4*		1
Luxembourg	1		1

Table 5.2 (2/2): Number of World Heritage settlements compared to other properties per State Party

State Party	Total number of properties	Natural and mixed properties	Urban Settlements
Malaysia	3		1
Mali	4	1	2
Malta	3		1
Mauritania	2	1	1
Mexico	29	1	10
Montenegro	2	1	1
Morocco	8		6
Mozambique	1		1
Nepal	4	2	1
Netherlands	7		1
Norway	7*	1	2
Panama	5*	3	1
Peru	10	4	3
Philippines	5	2	1
Poland	13**	1	4
Portugal	13	1	5
Romania	7	1	2
Russian Federation	22**	8	6
San Marino	1		1
Senegal	5*	2	1
Slovakia	5*	1	2
Spain	40*	4	14
Sri Lanka	7	1	2
Suriname	2	1	1
Sweden	14**	2	2
Switzerland	9*	3	1
Syria	5		2
Tunisia	8	1	3
Turkey	9	2	2
Ukraine	4	1	1
United Kingdom	27*	5	4
Tanzania	7	4	1
Uruguay	1		1
Uzbekistan	4		4
Venezuela	3	1	1
Vietnam	5	2	2
Yemen	4	1	3

* - includes one transboundary property

** - includes two transboundary properties

198 urban settlements on the List, 31 are capitals. For instance, the first properties that the new Baltic countries – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – nominated to the World Heritage List were their capitals: Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, respectively.

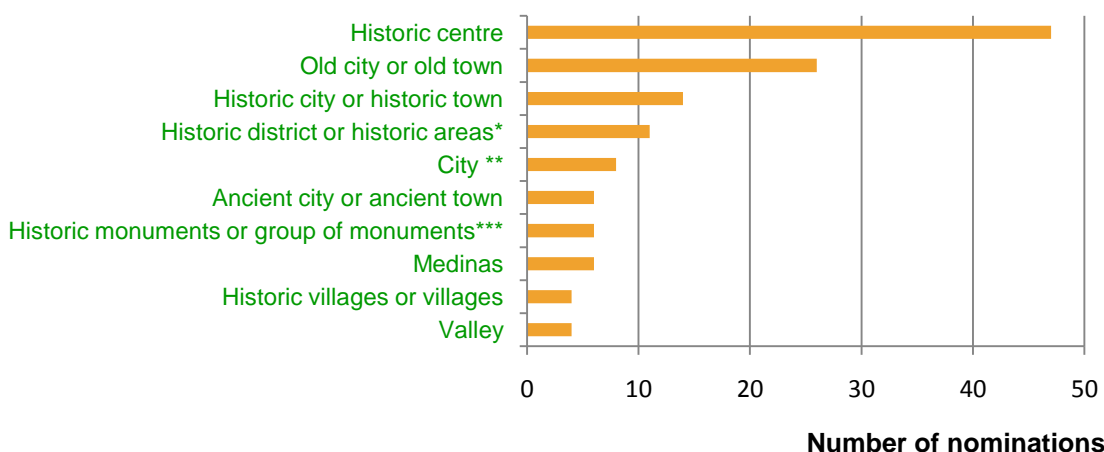
5.3 WHAT EXACTLY CONSTITUTES A “WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENT”?

In the previous sections, I analysed the criteria that determined the inclusion of urban settlements on the List, their regional distribution and their representation compared to other properties. Still, these aspects do not provide a clear idea of what they are exactly. In the “Urban World Heritage List”, included in Appendix 4, there is a diversity of properties whose titles provide no clue whatsoever to what constitutes the World Heritage area but merely their locations. Is it the entire city? Is it only its historic centre or even solely an urban historic ensemble? Some of the titles provide more indications than others on the size and type of the World Heritage area. For instance, the “Grand-Place, Brussels” seems to correspond to an urban architectural ensemble, while the “M’Zab Valley” points to a large territory. As for their typology, the Medinas of Sousse or Marrakesh possibly refer to the historic areas of these cities, usually (or previously) enclosed by walls. The same could be assumed for the “Historic fortified city of Carcassonne” or “Harar Jugol, the Fortified Historic Town”. But titles like “Samarkand – Crossroad of cultures” or “Provins, Town of Medieval Fairs” provide fewer clues on what is exactly considered as the World Heritage property. The same happens for titles like “City of Verona” or “City of Cuzco” which tend to suggest that the whole urban area is considered to be World Heritage.

Figure 5.5 shows the terms most commonly used in the titles of the World Heritage settlements. Historic centre is by far the most used term, followed by that of “old city” or “old town”. The terms “historic villages” or even “valley”,

although less commonly used, correspond to a total of 8 properties. Of these some are serial nominations resulting in a total of 36 settlements⁷. Some of the settlements included in those two groups may raise questions as to their “urbanity”, especially when it comes to “historic villages”. However, even if situated in an environment that cannot be fully defined as urban, they present urban characteristics in terms of spatial organization, town-planning and structure, which qualify for their inclusion as “urban settlements”. In relation to the sub-categories defined in the Operational Guidelines and analysed in section 5.1, they constitute “towns which are typical of a specific period or culture, which have been almost wholly preserved” or “towns whose historic part takes precedence over the contemporary environment”.

Figure 5.5 Most used terms in titles of World Heritage settlements



* This group includes the terms historic district, historic area, historic quarter (or quarter), historic zone, historic precinct and historic site.

** This group includes only the titles that refer solely to the term “city of” and do not include further information that could somehow provide further information of the typology or size of the World Heritage area like “Sacred city of Kandy”.

*** This group includes the terms historic monuments, group of monuments, historic complex and monuments.

⁷ The following properties are serial nominations: M’Zab Valley (five ksour), Kathmandu Valley (seven groups of monuments and buildings), Val di Noto (eight towns), Kaiping Diaolou (four villages), Shirakawa-go and Gokayama (three villages) and Villages in Transylvania (seven villages).

Another sub-category for urban settlements is “historic centres” that, as seen, is the most used term in the titles of World Heritage urban settlements. Recalling their definition in the Operational Guidelines, historic centres ‘cover exactly the same area as ancient towns and are now enclosed within modern cities (World Heritage Centre, 2005c, annex 3)’. But do they all refer to the same thing?

A comparative analysis of all the urban settlements included in the World Heritage List that include in their title the term “historic centre” would be excessive for the purposes of this thesis. I have, however, analysed all their nomination files and will, therefore, use some pertinent examples to show how the term has been used to identify completely different properties. Using as examples the historic centres of Macao (China) and Cienfuegos (Cuba) both included on the List in 2005 – thus excluding different perceptions of what an historic centre means if the properties had been inscribed in different time periods of the implementation of the Convention – Figure 5.6 shows the areas considered to be World Heritage.

The maps (and in particular the areas) show a clear difference in size and form of the nominated properties, even if their buffer zones have approximately similar areas. While both can be considered to be in a central location in relation to the urban structure of the city, in the case of Cienfuegos, the emphasis is on the urban historical fabric as a whole while the nominated area of Macao is made of a group of monuments connected by a main road. The area corresponds to a ‘series of urban spaces and buildings representing the integration of Portuguese and Chinese elements along the city’s primary urban route, *Rua Direita*’ (World Heritage Centre,

n.d., nomination files). In fact, the initial nomination of Macao⁸ was made of a group of separated monuments surrounded by large buffer zones. The area that was later included in the World Heritage List seems to have been defined after ICOMOS' recommendations, as acknowledged in its evaluation of the property.

Figure 5.6 World Heritage areas of Macao (China) and Cienfuegos (Cuba)



**Urban Historic Centre of Cienfuegos:
(Cuba)**

Nominated area: 70 ha
Buffer zone: 105 ha

**The Historic Centre of Macao:
(China)**

Nominated area : 3.7 ha
Buffer zone : 86 ha

In the evaluation, ICOMOS, referring to the categories of towns defined in the Operational Guidelines, identifies the nominated area of Macao as ‘an area

⁸ I had the opportunity to see the nomination of Macao in 2002, while working for ICCROM. In the document of the time, the nominated area consisted of a group of separated monuments surrounded by large buffer zones. The digital nomination file still includes the map corresponding to this definition of nominated area. There are however, additional maps defining the area that was finally included in the World Heritage List.

of a historic town that is still inhabited (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)'. There is no reference of what sub-category it belongs. However, as it is possible to see from Figure 5.6, the property seems more likely to qualify as a "sector, area of isolated unit" than as an "historic centre" even if the title uses this term.

The terms of "old city or old town" and "historic city or historic town" can be considered to be a variation of the same theme as they point to a differentiation between the historic built fabric and the more recently urbanized urban context. Thus, they will be treated as one single group. Unlike the group of "historic centres", the terms "historic town or old town" seem to point to a larger historic area, where "the historic part takes precedence over the contemporary environment", thus equivalent to sub-category b) of "inhabited historic towns". As done for the group of "historic centres", I will now compare two urban settlements whose titles include the term "old city".

The examples chosen are the urban settlements of Shibam and Sana'a, both from the same State Party (Yemen) which constitutes a common denominator. Their time of inscription is approximately the same – 1982 and 1986, respectively – which also excludes possible evolution of the concept of "old city" over the time. Due to their early inscription on the List, there is no reference to the exact size of the nominated property and possible buffer zones, since such information was not required at the time. In fact, the nomination files of both properties include a map but the perimeter of the nominated area or its buffer zone is not shown. It is thus impossible to know the boundaries of what was included in the World Heritage List.

All nomination files, though, provide descriptions of the properties, allowing for a better identification of what they constitute. Due to their early inscription

on the List, the nomination files of Shibam and Sana'a do not include extensive information as in more recent files. The nomination file of Shibam includes only eight pages and that of Sana'a, ten pages, excluding annexes (mostly maps). But they do include a description of the properties as follows:

- Old Walled City of Shibam

'The old walled city of Shibam contains a towering cluster of groups of separate and connected buildings, numbering approximately 500 tower houses, 5 mosques, 3 government offices, 2 former palaces of sultans and a monumental double gateway, placed on an outcrop in a flood plain. It is surrounded by a wall approximately 20 feet high, and flanked by a wide Wadi on the south and by groves of cultivated palm trees on the other three sides. It is proposed that the latter, together with the part of the Wadi which adjoins the city, should form a buffer zone. The Mosque of Qabub, situated to the west of the city wall is to be conserved. Note: across the Wadi lies an extension to the city which is not judged worthy of protection and conservation, and which will be allowed to grow naturally, restrained only by a suggested building height limit of 16 meters (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files).'

- Old city of Sana'a

'Old Sana'a is certainly categorized under the Cultural Heritage Category. It is a historical center that is still alive and recognized for its Unique Architectural Heritage. Old Sana'a enjoys the privilege of being untouched, traces of the past are preserved and intact in spite of the centuries. Everything is there, the streets, the souqs, the mosques and the houses, forming an ensemble of rare beauty. It is the coherence and harmony of this ensemble that give Sana'a its exceptional quality. And yet, an attentive eye stopping on this or that monument will discover little masterpieces. Monuments from the first days of Islam, the Great Mosque and the Musalah, consecrate the union of the beautiful and the sacred as was done long before in the age when Christianity was the religion in Yemen with the Cathedral and the Martyrium (ibid).'

The description of Shibam includes details on the limits of the property (the city walls), on what constitutes its urban fabric (tower houses, mosques and palaces) and on its surroundings. Parts of these are to constitute a buffer zone, with the remaining area - considered unworthy of being protected - allowed to develop with some height constraints. The description of Shibam indicates that the walls are to constitute the boundaries of the nominated property – even if no map with a clear indication of the boundaries exists. The title of the property, the “Old Walled City of Shibam”, reinforces such identification.

In the case of Sana’a, no such details are included in the description of the property and the nomination file provides no further details that could allow such identification. In fact, like Shibam, Sana’a is a walled city but this aspect is only mentioned in the history of the city. The nomination refers both to the “old city of Sana’a” and to its historic centre, not specifying if both terms refer to the same area.

The relationship between the historic urban area and the overall urban context also seems to be different. While the description of Shibam suggests that the historic area takes precedence over the contemporary environment – reference to the existence of palm groves on three sides – in the case of Sana’a, the nomination refers to an historic centre, implying that the old town is enclosed within a modern city. So it is also a question of size. According to the numbers included in their nomination files, at the time of inscription, the population of the old city of Sana’a was approximately 60,000 inhabitants while that of Shibam was 7-8,000 inhabitants. Even if there is no indication of the areas of the nominated properties such numbers suggest very different sizes. But again, this assumption could be questioned based on population density if the type of built environment differs considerably. This is not the case, as the built fabric in both settlements is made of tower houses.

Consequently, referring to the sub-categories of “inhabited historic towns”, Sana’a seems likely to qualify as a “historic centre” and Shibam as a “town whose clearly defined historic part takes precedence over the contemporary environment”.

The titles of World Heritage urban settlements that refer only to the term “city” tend to suggest that the whole agglomeration constitutes the World Heritage property. There are nine of such urban settlements namely “City of Vicenza and the Palladian Villas of the Veneto”, “Ferrara, City of the Renaissance and its Po Delta”, “City of Verona”, “City of Valletta”, “City of Safranbolu”, “City of Bath”, “City of Potosí”, “City of Quito” and, “City of Cuzco”.

Figure 5.7 City of Verona

Although the title of the property seems to indicate that the whole city is part of the property, in fact it is only the historic city centre defined within the walls.



For example, the city of Bath was included in the World Heritage List in 1987 under criteria i, ii and iv. The description of the property included in the nomination file determines that,

‘The city of Bath falls into the second category of cultural properties worthy of inclusion in the World Heritage List, i.e. “groups of buildings, groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science’ (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)’.

The category of cultural properties that the description refers to is the one of “groups of buildings” included in the World Heritage Convention. At the time of the inscription of Bath on the World Heritage List, the Operational Guidelines did not establish categories for historic towns.

The description of Bath goes on to describe the main monuments and listed buildings of the city. There is no indication of the size of the nominated area. In fact, as acknowledged in the management plan for the City (adopted in 2003),

‘the nomination papers did not specify a boundary for the proposed site, either on a map or by description. This lack of a precise boundary was noted at the time of nomination by ICOMOS... There is an ambiguity in the nomination papers as to whether the proposed site was intended as the whole city, or the Conservation Area, which covers approximately two thirds of the city, though the inscription of the site as “The City of Bath” is widely seen as an indication that it is the entire city that is inscribed.... In the Bath Manifesto of 1993 and the Bath Local Plan (adopted 1997), the former Bath City Council used the municipal city boundary (about 29km²) as the limit of the World Heritage Site and this has been the accepted de facto boundary ever since, though it has not been formally approved by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (Bath and North East Somerset Council, 2003, management plan)’.

From the above examples, it is possible to say that World Heritage urban settlements take a variety of forms, typologies and come in many different sizes. Those included in the initial years of the World Heritage List are usually the ones that pose more problems for the precise identification of the properties. And, as seen from the example of Bath, in most cases their nominations have not been update to allow for a better identification.

Early nominations differ considerably from more recent ones not only in size but also in content. While the former usually include around twenty or thirty pages, the latter can go to over 300 pages, excluding the management plan and annexes. Of course, this analysis is merely based on the information provided in the nomination file and not on an overall knowledge of the urban settlements concerned. However, the decision of the World Heritage Committee is essentially based on the information included in the nomination file along with the ICOMOS evaluation.

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

The above analyses show that the 198 properties that constitute the “Urban World Heritage List” (as of 2008) are very diverse and that a differentiation of categories is difficult. It is possible to draw conclusions regarding the inscription of World Heritage Settlements but not regarding the nature of the settlements themselves.

Whilst the criteria for the assessment of outstanding universal value are intended to be applied to any type of category of cultural heritage – and here I am excluding those criteria referring to natural heritage – the analyses show that criteria ii and iv are used more often than the others. This applies not only to the individual use of the criteria but also when considering the combination of criteria. This could imply that, within the criteria, some are

suited to certain categories of properties than others; however, since the analysis carried out only referred to urban settlements, it is not possible to know if similar trends would apply to other cultural properties. That is, that some criteria, could be less often used than others. For instance, there are only three properties inscribed on the World Heritage List by criterion i only, while the same parameters for criteria iv apply to forty four cultural properties. Such comparison would however require a much broader analysis that is out of the scope of this thesis. What it is possible to conclude is that when referring to urban settlements certain criteria are more frequently used than others and such analyses could be useful to States Parties when considering the comparative analysis of urban settlements they intend to nominate with those already on the List.

In terms of geographical distribution, the analyses show that although European countries have by far the highest number of properties and of urban settlements on the List, there are a number of States Parties from other regions with a high representation of urban settlements. It also shows that in such cases, not only these countries have the highest numbers of World Heritage settlements but these also constitute a large proportion of inscribed properties within their territories.

Whereas within the use of criteria and regional distribution it is possible to identify specific trends, a similar analysis is more difficult to provide concludes when it comes to identifying what categories of urban settlements have been inscribed. Even if the analysis of the titles of the properties show that the term “historic centre” is frequently used in comparison to other terms, it also shows that it can refer to very different territorial contexts. Thus, it is possible to say that World Heritage urban settlements take a variety of forms, typologies and come in many different sizes and that the solely denominator

is that they refer to a group of separate or connected buildings and the urban space defined by and around it within an urban context.

PART III

THE STATE OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

6. MONITORING OF WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTIES

In 1982, the United States of America proposed that the World Heritage Committee establish a formal programme for monitoring the condition of properties on the World Heritage List. The proposal was based on the observation that the List had grown to the point where it was no longer possible to monitor the properties through informal contacts and communications alone. There was also a need to ensure that the properties retained the values that initially qualified them for inscription (World Heritage Committee, 1982, n.p.). While it considered the proposal to be premature, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee nevertheless recognized its usefulness and recommended that the Committee 'examine how the contracting parties could be encouraged to obtain analyses and reports at the national level (ibid)'.

At that time, the Committee already received reports from the Advisory Bodies on properties in difficult situations. But in the absence of a systematic approach the reports were presented in different formats and using different methodologies. When the number of reports grew in proportion with the increasing number of properties included on the List, the Committee expressed the desire to improve monitoring approaches (Cameron, 2009, n.p. and Stovel, 2004, p.17). The question of the efficiency of the monitoring system was raised as part of a broader evaluation of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention on the occasion of the commemoration of its twentieth anniversary in 1992.

The overall evaluation exercise coincided with the bombardment of Dubrovnik in 1991, leading to the Italian proposal to redraft the Convention,

as presented in Chapter 2. However, many experts considered that the conservation challenges faced by the properties on the List could not be attributed to the text of the Convention and that action needed to be taken at the level of the case-law developed by the Committee, i.e. the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 1992, p.17). At an expert meeting held in June 1992, with the aim to establish a strategic plan for the implementation of the Convention, the issue of monitoring was discussed at length (ibid, p.11). The participants acknowledged the need to set up a system of continuous consultation in the field with local experts. They also, 'agreed that it was of no value to request States to produce national reports, even though the Convention foresees it, since this type of report most frequently does not reflect the real problems of the sites (ibid, p.12)'. Interestingly, going against this recommendation, the Periodic Reporting exercise was later on adopted. In all events, as a result of this meeting and a subsequent meeting held in October of the same year, the World Heritage Committee adopted the "Strategic Guidelines for the Future", at its sixteenth session in 1992. One of the five goals it identified was the need to carry out systematic monitoring. It therefore requested the World Heritage Centre, which had recently been set up within UNESCO, to convene a meeting of experts on the issue.

This meeting took place in November 1993 at the World Conservation Monitoring Centre in Cambridge, United Kingdom. The participants identified three types of monitoring:

- a) **'systematic monitoring'**: a continuous process of monitoring the conditions of World Heritage sites with periodic reporting;
- b) **ad-hoc monitoring**: reporting on the state of conservation of a specific site when the need arises, in general in response to information received at UNESCO or the Advisory Bodies of the Convention, or in response to an emergency situation;

- c) administrative monitoring:** follow up to ensure the implementation of the Convention by States Parties as well as recommendations and decisions of the World Heritage Bureau and Committee (World Heritage Committee, 1993, p.2)'.

The conclusions of the workshop were presented to the World Heritage Committee at its seventeenth session in 1993. The Committee endorsed the view that the primary responsibility of putting monitoring arrangements in place rested with the States Parties, as an integral part of their duty to manage the properties. Conversely, it further recognized that external and independent professional advisers should be involved in a periodic reporting system. It therefore invited the World Heritage Centre to develop a concrete proposal for a system of systematic monitoring (World Heritage Committee, 1994, p.3). In a new version of the Operational Guidelines adopted in 1994, the World Heritage Committee defined monitoring as an essential function of the Committee. Notwithstanding the fact that the term “monitoring” does not feature in the World Heritage Convention, the Committee therefore considered that there are a number of provisions in the Convention that call on the responsibilities of the international community in this regard. Article 29 in particular states that States Parties shall submit reports with information on measures taken for the protection of World Heritage properties in their territories. At this point however, no other references to this issue were included in the Operational Guidelines, as further developments for a concrete system were still under discussion.

Alongside the development of a conceptual framework of monitoring, the Committee encouraged the creation of pilot monitoring programmes. An internal monitoring system was already in place in the Canadian Park Service and the United States National Park Service. The latter was the inspiration for proposal by the United States to establish a monitoring system in 1982. Most importantly, in Latin America, the UNDP and UNESCO Regional Project

for the Cultural, Urban and Environmental Heritage initiated a pilot monitoring project in the early 1990s. The outcome was a complete overview of the state of conservation of thirty cultural properties by 1994 (Stovel, 2004, p.17).

The new version of the Operational Guidelines adopted in 1996 included a chapter on “*Monitoring the State of Conservation of Properties Inscribed on the World Heritage List*” as a result of the consultations carried out in previous years. A distinction was made between systematic and reactive monitoring. Systematic monitoring was defined as the continuous process of observing the conditions of the properties with periodic reporting on their state of conservation. Every five years, States Parties were invited to submit a report on the state of conservation of properties on their territories. Reactive Monitoring was defined as the reporting by the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies on the state of conservation of properties considered to be under threat. Finally, States Parties were requested to submit reports and impact studies each time exceptional circumstances or works were undertaken which might have an effect on the state of conservation of the property.

At the twenty-ninth General Conference of UNESCO, States Parties to the World Heritage Convention adopted a resolution on the monitoring and reporting on the state of conservation of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List. It requested that the World Heritage Committee define the periodicity, form, nature and extent of the periodic reporting on the application of the World Heritage Convention and on the state of conservation of World Heritage properties. It also requested that the Committee examine and respond to these reports while respecting the principle of state sovereignty. A draft format for Periodic Reports on the Application of the World Heritage prepared by the World Heritage Centre in collaboration with the Advisory Bodies was presented to the World Heritage

Committee at its twenty-second session in 1998. This format was approved by the Committee and consisted of two sections: Section I on the State Party's application of the World Heritage Convention and Section II on the state of conservation of specific World Heritage properties located on the State Party's territory. The Periodic Reporting exercise was implemented for the first time in the 2000 for the Arab Region, followed by Africa in 2001, Asia and the Pacific in 2003, Latin America and the Caribbean in 2004, and Europe and North America in 2005/06.

7. PERIODIC REPORTING: ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST CYCLE

Article 29 of the World Heritage Convention states that States Parties shall 'give information on the legislative and administrative provisions which they have adopted and other action which they have taken for the application of this Convention, together with details of the experience acquired in this field (UNESCO, 1972a, article 29)'. Based on this article, and on the Resolutions of the eleventh session of the General Assembly of States Parties (1997), States Parties are to submit, every six years, a periodic report on the application of the World Heritage Convention to the World Heritage Committee, including the state of conservation of the World Heritage properties located on their territories. This process is called the "Periodic Reporting Exercise". As stated in the Operational Guidelines:

'Periodic Reporting serves four main purposes:

- a) to provide an assessment of the application of the World Heritage Convention by the State Party;
- b) to provide an assessment as to whether the outstanding universal value of the properties inscribed on the World Heritage List is being maintained over time;
- c) to provide up-dated information about the World Heritage properties to record the changing circumstances and state of conservation of the properties;
- d) to provide a mechanism for regional co-operation and exchange of information and experiences between States Parties concerning the implementation of the Convention and World Heritage conservation (World Heritage Centre, 2005c, paragraph 201)'.

Periodic reports by the States Parties are divided into two sections:

- a) '**Section I** refers to the legislative and administrative provisions which the State Party has adopted and other actions which it has taken for

the application of the *Convention*, together with details of the experience acquired in this field....

- b) **Section II** refers to the state of conservation of specific World Heritage properties located on the territory of the State Party concerned (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 206)'.

The scheduling of the first Periodic Reporting cycle is presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 First Periodic Reporting Cycle

Year of examination by Committee	Region	Reporting on World Heritage properties inscribed up to and including	
		Year	Number of properties
2000	Arab States	1992	46
2001	Africa	1993	40
2003	Asia and the Pacific	1994	88
2004	Latin America and the Caribbean	1995	62
2005/2006	Europe and North America	1998	297

The results of the regional World Heritage reports were published by the World Heritage Centre between 2003 and 2007. These publications, along with the working papers prepared by the World Heritage Centre and presented to the Committee, form the main bibliography for the analysis in this chapter. It aims to provide an overview of the assessment on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention by the States Parties and of the state of conservation of the properties concerned, focusing on urban settlements. Not all aspects of the Periodic Reporting are relevant in the context of this thesis, thus the analysis is structured as follows:

- issues related to concepts and purposes of the World Heritage Convention;
- issues related to institutional and legislative frameworks;
- issues related to the identification of the properties;
- issues related to the management the properties;
- factors affecting the properties; and
- boundaries and buffer zones.

7.1 ISSUES RELATED TO CONCEPTS AND PURPOSES OF THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

This section builds on the findings of Section I of the Periodic Reporting on the application of the World Heritage Convention by the States Parties. However, in most cases, this section was prepared by central governmental bodies, and therefore does not describe how the Convention is applied at site level. Hence, the findings of Section I are analysed in parallel with those of Section II to provide a better understanding of the role of the Convention on the management of the properties.

The regional reports of the Arab States, the Latin America and the Caribbean region, and Europe reveal low levels of understanding of the World Heritage Convention. The problems range from lack of understanding of the concepts of the Convention – such as outstanding universal value, authenticity and integrity – to insufficient capacity to implement it. As underscored in the Europe report, some of those concepts are specific to World Heritage and are not usually found in most States Parties' national heritage terminology (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.56).

For most countries in the Arab States region, the Convention 'is often perceived only as the instrument of inscription of World Heritage sites. It also

means greater prestige for the country, a better international image and greater advantages essentially from tourism (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.56)'. Prestige is also mentioned by the European States Parties as one of the main motivations for nominating properties. Half of the European States Parties consider enhanced conservation of the properties as the main motivation for nomination. Increased funding is not a primary motivation, nor is it seen as a primary benefit for them (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, pp.47-48). In the Asia and the Pacific region, just as in the Arab States region, tourism is '[one] of the main driving forces behind the current boom in heritage promotion' (World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.15).

At site level, the regional reports show that the persons in charge of the properties did not have access to relevant documents used for the inscription of the property, such as the nomination files, the evaluations by the Advisory Bodies, the Committee's decisions, and previous state of conservation reports (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.34; World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.29; World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.91).

As for the role of UNESCO in the application of the World Heritage Convention, the report from Latin America states that:

'experts expressed concern that the work within UNESCO is not sufficiently harmonized, sometimes leading to confusion, duplication or even contradictory messages or actions (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.63 and p.98)'.

7.2 INSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS

Institutional capacity and existing legislation for the protection of cultural heritage differ considerably from one region to the next. In Africa for instance, even though most States Parties have drawn up a heritage protection policy, 'At the financial level, only two States Parties have regular

budgets for the heritage (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.20)'. In the Arab States region, most States Parties had specific national laws for the protection of cultural heritage. But the World Heritage Centre noted that 'some of the existing laws mentioned in the Periodic Reports were relatively old and, although they were never judged inoperative, they probably required updating (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.21)'.

The Asia and Pacific region in itself presents a wide range of situations in terms of heritage legislation. Most countries had some sort of legal instruments to protect cultural heritage but these are described as,

'insufficient to tackle contemporary problems. In many countries, legislation is outdated or obsolete and needs to be revised so as to be more effective and integrate the increasing complexity that the management of World Heritage represents and/ or the difficulties arising from the provision for a greater number of properties (World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.34)'.

While Australian and China had established specific laws referring to obligations under the Convention, in Nepal national legislation represented the only available heritage protection instrument (ibid).

Similar problems arose in the periodic report on Latin America and the Caribbean. Again, almost all States Parties in this region had specific legislation for cultural heritage but a majority of the respondents suggested that these needed to be reformed. According to the World Heritage Centre this suggested that 'legislation does not correspond to present-day concepts and requirements and/or that national policies for the heritage need to be reviewed (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.69)'. In Europe, all States Parties had legislation for cultural heritage protection, with some having created special agencies responsible for World Heritage (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.48).

The fact that States Parties had national legislation for the protection of cultural heritage did not necessarily ensure its integration into planning or development policies, as recommended in Article 5 (a) of the Convention. Moreover, this article calls for the adoption of general policy aiming to give heritage a function in the life of the community. Judging from the results of the Periodic Reporting, only few countries have done this (World Heritage Centre 2004b, p.19; World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.64).

The report of the Arab States also highlights considerable institutional problems. It

'indicated that institutional structures... mainly concentrated on implementing their original mandate, often limited to archaeological excavations, the sale of tickets, museum administration, etc. Established for the most part during the first half of the 20th century, at a time when heritage was less threatened, the Antiquities Departments were conceived as archaeological institutes and, at best, as guardians of the properties, sometimes carrying out restoration activities. Consequently, these institutions were not equipped or did not have the mandate to meet the new challenges that the cultural and natural heritage must face today: in particular, urban development, tourism, education, and economic activities, but also looting. It should also be noted that the budget of conservation services' was much lower than those of the other States agencies (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.19)'.

The inadequacy of existing legislating and institutional frameworks in the Arab region is not a unique situation; this problem was also highlighted in the Asia and Pacific region. It might also be true of Latin America and the Caribbean where, as already mentioned, a majority of the respondents suggested that existing legislation needed to be reformed. Overall, the potential role of heritage in social and economic development is not mentioned in any of the reports.

7.3 ISSUES RELATED TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROPERTIES

As already stressed in section 7.1, in many cases those responsible for the management of the properties did not have access to the nomination files. Many have come across the documents only after they were provided to them by the World Heritage Centre through the preparatory meetings for the Periodic Reporting exercise. At present, most of the nomination files included on the World Heritage List after 1998 are available on the website of the World Heritage Centre along with the Advisory Bodies' evaluations of all properties.

The information included in the nomination files is often incomplete and outdated (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, pp.60-61; World Heritage Centre 2004b, p.31). Yet, together with the Advisory Bodies' evaluations, these documents contain the basic information such as the statement of significance, authenticity and integrity, the criteria used, and the state of conservation of the property at the time of inscription. Updating this information is necessary.

Due to lack of awareness of the nomination files, the lack of information in the files themselves, and the lack of familiarity with World Heritage concepts – as pointed out in the previous sections – the reports show confusion on issues related to the statement of significance, authenticity and integrity. As expressed in the report of the Arab States,

'The persons responsible are aware of the state of conservation of their properties, but most often they do not know how to measure their actual condition against the criteria retained during the inscription of their site on the World Heritage List (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.56)'.

In the framework of the Periodic Reporting exercise only early inscriptions were considered (see Table 7.1), thus many did not include statements of significance. In fact, this became a requirement in 1997 only. When asked if a new statement of significance was needed, only thirty per cent of the respondents in the Arab States said yes. Yet ninety-seven per cent replied yes when asked 'If the statement of significance reflects the WH values of the site' (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.31).

The question was formulated in different manners depending on the region. For instance, in the report on Latin America and the Caribbean, instead of directly asking if a new statement of significance was needed, the report asks the following questions:

- Were new criteria added by renominating and/or extending the property after the original inscription?
- Should the re-nomination of the property be considered?
- Are the borders of the World Heritage property and its buffer zone (still) adequate to ensure the protection and conservation of the property's World Heritage values?
- Is the State Party actively considering a revision of the property boundaries or the buffer zone?

These questions, while relevant for the identification of the property, relate to issues that do not necessarily need to be included in a statement of significance as defined in the report of Asia and the Pacific:

'If a statement of significance is not available or incomplete, it will be necessary, in the first periodic report, for the State Party to propose such a statement. The statement of significance should reflect the criterion (criteria) on the basis of which the Committee inscribed the property on the World Heritage List. It should also address questions

such as: what does the property represent, what makes the property outstanding, what are the specific values that distinguish the property, what is the relationship of the site with its setting, etc. (World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.24)'.

As shown in the responses of the Arab States, the concept is not well understood thus confirming the results of Section I of the exercise that showed lack of knowledge on World Heritage concepts in general. The report of the Arab States asserts that, 'Repeated confusion between the statement of value and the general historical considerations of the properties confirmed that the authors were unfamiliar with the two concepts (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.30)'. Similar concerns are mentioned in the report on Latin America, which states that,

'statements are predominantly based on the characteristics of the site and not on the comparative outstanding universal value expressed in the criteria for inscription and they are not linked to physical features (attributes) of the sites (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.80)'.

As already mentioned, not all the reports deal with the need for new statements of significance in the same way, and some include more individual information on each property than others. Based on the available information, new statements of significance were needed for the Medina of Marrakesh, the Old Town of Ghadames, Nessebar, Warsaw, Zamosc, Kotor, Rhodes, Vicenza, Florence, San Gimignano, Venice, Rome, Ávila, Safranbolu, Istanbul, Avignon, Carcassonne, Paris, Nancy, Bamberg, Willesmtad, Bath, Edinburgh and Visby. In some cases, new statements of significance were submitted at the same time as the periodic report. The report on Europe confirms what other regional reports showed, i.e. that 'Overall, many new Statements of Significance proposed are too short, incomplete or compile descriptive data on the history of the site (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.57)'.

Besides the statement of significance, the concepts of authenticity and integrity were another source of confusion, being mistakenly seen as the state of conservation of the property (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.32; World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.82; World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.58). The World Heritage Centre considered that 'the way in which these authenticity and integrity conditions are evolving gives some cause for concern (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.35)'. The report of Africa showed that nine sites had undergone changes in the conditions of authenticity and integrity and that twelve anticipated changes in the near future (ibid). In the case of Latin America, twenty three per cent of the sites indicated changes since inscription, and thirty six per cent anticipated changes in the future. Moreover, four property reports stated that the values that determined the inscription of the property in the World Heritage List had not been maintained (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.81).

According to the World Heritage Centre,

'The great number of responses that indicate future threats to the authenticity seemed intuitive and based on perceived threats to the site ("factors affecting the site") and not so much to the authenticity as such.... [In addition t]here is a lack of applicable methodology to measure changes in authenticity and integrity, particularly in urban areas (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.82)'.

Problems of authenticity and integrity in urban areas are also acknowledged in the report on Europe. In this region, twenty one per cent of the properties had suffered changes. Particularly in Central and South-Eastern Europe, 'it becomes fairly clear that the alterations affecting authenticity and/or integrity are deeply linked to conservation issues and threats such as uncontrolled development (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.58)'.

7.4 MANAGEMENT

Paragraph 96 of the 2008 version of the Operational Guidelines states:

'Protection and management of World Heritage properties should ensure that the outstanding universal value, the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of inscription are maintained or enhanced in the future (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 96)'.

In the previous section, I have presented some of the problems in maintaining the conditions of authenticity and integrity and the outstanding universal value of the properties in general. As I have shown, in the case of many properties it appears that management systems have not been effective in ensuring that such conditions are maintained or enhanced.

The report on Latin America confirms that not even half of the respondents considered the existing management arrangements as sufficient (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.84). In addition, sixty two per cent stated that such arrangements needed to be revised (*ibid*, p.85). The report of Europe, on the contrary, states that ninety three per cent of the national reports considered the current arrangement sufficient or highly effective. The figures vary according to the different European sub-regions, with twenty nine per cent of the respondents in Eastern and Central Europe considering that existing arrangements were not sufficiently effective and seventy-five per cent stressing that improvements were needed (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.61). This confirms the findings related to the conditions of authenticity and integrity, with Latin America showing more problems than Europe.

There is no clear information on the same issue in the reports of Asia and the Pacific or the Arab States. Still, for the Arab States, and as already mentioned in section 7.2, the report shows that there are problems with the

institutional structures, which are not equipped or do not have the mandate to meet present challenges that the cultural and natural heritage are facing.

Not only is the assessment of the efficiency of management arrangements different according to regions, it is also different according to types of properties. In Latin America and the Caribbean, while sixty one per cent of the national reports of archaeological properties considered that the management arrangements were sufficient, only thirty eight made the same assessment when asked about urban settlements (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.84). Considering that twenty- tree out of thirty-five urban settlements included in the World Heritage List in Latin America and the Caribbean submitted reports during the Periodic Reporting exercise, there is reason for concern. The European Mediterranean sub-region also includes a high number of urban settlements. In general, the respondents considered that existing management arrangements were sufficiently effective but that improvements were needed. Several properties indicated difficulties in management due to lack of cooperation between public institutions (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.66). Similar concerns were also expressed in the report on Africa, which gave examples of problems caused by tourism and affecting one third of the properties. It states that,

‘as soon as threat is the responsibility of another section of the administration, or beyond the site boundaries, the means at the manager's disposal to deal with the problem are either non-existent, or very limited (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.53)’.

As stated in the Operational Guidelines, ‘The purpose of a management system is to ensure the effective protection of the nominated property for present and future generations (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 109)’. An inadequate management system may jeopardize that. The report of Asia and the Pacific affirms that ‘In recent years, one of the main reasons for

deferring World Heritage nominations back to a State Party has been the lack of a management plan or an inadequate management system (World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.57)'.

However, the properties that submitted reports for the first cycle of the Periodic Reporting exercise were included in the World Heritage List prior to such requirements; many do not have effective management systems as showed above.

The Operational Guidelines specify that:

'An effective management system depends on the type, characteristics and needs of the nominated property and its cultural and natural context. Management systems may vary according to different cultural perspectives, the resources available and other factors. They may incorporate traditional practices, existing urban or regional planning instruments, and other planning control mechanisms, both formal and informal (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 110)'.

Even if the Operational Guidelines determine that management systems may vary according to the cultural context, management plans have come to be considered as essential for the protection of World Heritage properties. The report on Africa states that only half of the properties 'concerned have a functional management plan, which puts the other half of the sites out of line with the prerequisites of the Guidelines, despite the fact that they have been inscribed for over ten years (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.39)'. Nowhere in the Operational Guidelines is it stated that a management plan is obligatory. Instead it is stated that

'Each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved' (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 108).

7.4.1 Management plans

As already mentioned, approximately half of the African properties have management plans. The percentage in Latin America is sixty per cent of the total. However, if only cultural properties are concerned, only fifty four per cent have management plans. The percentage in other regions is even smaller. In Europe, only forty per cent of the properties have management plans and in some cases the management plans are several decades old, or were developed but not implemented (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.63). However many of the sites that do not have a management plan are in the process of developing it and are expected to implement them in a near future (ibid).

In the Arab States, management plans were operational in only fifteen per cent of cases (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.35). The report mentions that,

‘managers had experienced difficulties – sometimes overwhelming – in the drafting of the management plan, regarding the technical, legal, financial, methodological aspects of its preparation. Such difficulties hampered the elaboration of management plans in the Medina of Tunis, Kairouan (Tunisia), the Ancient City of Damascus, the Ancient City of Aleppo (Syrian Arab Republic), the Old City of Sana’a, the Old Walled City of Shibam (Yemen) (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.35)’.

The report of Latin America also shows that the region has,

‘no tradition in the preparation and implementation of management plans for cultural properties. Historically, specialized agencies for cultural heritage applied national legislation that to a great extent focused on the preservation of monumental buildings (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.86)’.

In addition, even when a management plan exists, the same report claims that it is not coordinated or integrated with territorial plans (ibid). Such coordination between different scales is fundamental, in particular for properties such as urban settlements. According to the report, this category is 'the category which faces arguably the greatest threats, [and that] by their nature have very complex management structures that may be difficult to embody in single management and risk-preparedness plans (World Heritage Centre, 2004 Latin, p.92)'.

The absence of management plans is not the only weakness in the existing management systems for urban settlements in Latin America. Monitoring systems are also less common for this type of properties. While half of the historic monuments or archaeological sites have monitoring systems, for urban settlements the numbers are reduced to ten per cent (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.90). The report of the Arab States also states that the M'Zab Valley, Islamic Cairo, the Medina of Fez and the Old Walled City of Shibam indicated that they do not have monitoring systems (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.44). In Europe, forty three out of seventy two urban settlements did not have any monitoring systems in place. Overall, for all categories of properties, the reporting claims that monitoring is irregular and sporadic, and that monitoring programmes often disregarding tourism and development pressures, the two main factors affecting the properties (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.74).

7.5 FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTIES

All the regional reports show that tourism and development pressures are the two main factors affecting the properties (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.47 and p.49; World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.43; World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.48; World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.88; World Heritage Centre,

Figure 7.1 *Acqua alta* in Venice (Italy)

Acqua alta is one of the main factors affecting the conservation of this property.



2007a, p.72). In Africa, seventy one per cent of the properties reported on the impact of tourism (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.49). Forty four percent of the properties reported increases in visitor numbers after inclusion in the World Heritage List (ibid, p.43). In the case of Asia, the report states:

‘World Heritage recognition, especially of a historic centre, but also of some archaeological sites, tends to lead to property speculation and gentrification due to demands for tourism services. This may be inevitable (World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.48)’.

The report gives the examples of the urban settlements of Lijiang, Hoi An, Luang Prabang, Shirakawa-go and Gokayama, whose ‘original inhabitants have to bear considerable inconvenience, and in some cases an outright drop in their quality of life as the price of international fame and recognition (World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.50)’. In Europe, sixty per cent of the properties suffered from tourism pressures, with Italy and Spain reporting acute problems during high seasons (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, pp.71-72).

Development pressures in Europe affected fifty eight per cent of the properties, slightly less than tourism pressures. Development pressures include uncontrolled pollution and traffic, land speculation, high-rise buildings with changes to the cityscape, and destruction of the historic urban fabric (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.73).

Respondents reported that development pressures affected not only the authenticity of the properties but their integrity as well, particularly their visual integrity. In Africa, the visual integrity of eighty four per cent of the properties was affected by development, with uncontrolled construction in urban areas (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.49). Illegal constructions and the deterioration of natural landscape were also amongst the main factors

affecting the visual integrity of properties in the Arab States. Such threats were reported for the M'Zab Valley, the Kasbah of Algiers, Islamic Cairo, the Medina of Marrakesh, the Old City of Sana'a and the Old Walled City of Shibam (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.41). The development of industries around the areas of the Ancient City of Damascus, the Ancient City of Aleppo, the Medina of Marrakesh and the Medina of Fez, was also reported.

Uncontrolled urban growth and urban sprawl are among the consequences of developments pressures affecting properties in Latin America (World heritage Centre, 2004c, p.88) and Europe (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.58). Overall, the reports show that, in general, managers are well aware of the present and potential risks affecting the properties.

7.6 BOUNDARIES AND BUFFER ZONES

Uncontrolled urban growth and the urbanisation of natural surroundings of properties can be linked to weak boundaries or the non-existence of boundaries. The report on the Arab States shows that the nomination files of twenty-six out of a total of thirty-nine properties included a map; but the perimeter of the nominated area or its buffer zones was not shown. The urban settlements of the M'Zab Valley, the Old Town of Ghadames, the Ancient City of Aleppo, the Ancient City of Damascus, the Medina of Tunis, the Old City of Sana'a and the Old Walled City of Shibam are among those properties. In fact, only two nominations files include a map showing a clear delimitation of the perimeter of the nominated area (with clear topography) (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.31).

Yet, when asked "Is the boundary of the property appropriate?", thirty-one reports replied yes. The reports of the Medina of Marrakesh and of the Old Town of Ghadames stated that their boundaries were inappropriate (ibid,

p.30). As the majority considered that the existing boundaries are appropriate – even if the nomination files do not show the exact boundaries of the nominated areas – when requested to produce documentation to update the information, only few of them provided appropriate maps (ibid).

In Africa, the boundaries of the nominated areas are considered to be inappropriate in more than half of the properties surveyed (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.35). In Europe, responses vary according to sub-region, even though overall, the majority of the respondents consider that the boundaries of the properties are adequate. Table 7.2 shows the responses according to the different sub-regions. The report states that ‘In most cases, the request for changes to boundaries consist of an enlargement of the site or the inclusion of the surrounding setting or landscape into the site (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.57)’.

Table 7.2 Are the boundaries of the site adequate to reflect the site’s significance?

	Yes	No
Eastern Europe	11	5
Central and South-Eastern Europe	41	6
Mediterranean Europe	74	17
Western Europe	51	20

Source: (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.12; p.38; p.65; and p.96)

The report on Latin America does not make a distinction between boundaries of the nominated properties and their buffer zones, which makes it difficult to understand where the problems really are. In any case, more than thirty-four per cent of the respondents did not deem the boundaries and buffer zones to be adequate (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.80). In addition, in the case of fifty per cent of the properties, there was a ‘mention that the State Party is

actively considering a revision of the property boundaries or buffer zones (ibid)'.

In other regional reports, where the question of buffer zones was separated from that of the boundaries of the nominated properties, the subject had a high response rate. In Africa, two thirds of the respondents said they would like to see buffer zones redefined (World Heritage Centre, 2003b, p.35). In the Arab States seventeen per cent answered that existing boundaries of buffer zones were inappropriate, including those of Islamic Cairo and the Medina of Tunis (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.31). The report on Asia and the Pacific does not include information on how the respondents answered this question. However, the analysis of the individual files for Section II of the Periodic Reporting questionnaire of World Heritage Settlements in the region shows that the boundaries of the properties and buffer zones were considered to be inadequate only for the Sacred City of Kandy and the Old Town of Galle. In the cases of Itcha Kala, the Historic Centre of Bukhara, the Kathmandu Valley, the Complex of Hue Monuments and the Historic Monuments of Kyoto, the boundaries were considered appropriate. It is important to recall that for the Kathmandu Valley, the issue of boundaries and, in particular, of buffer zones, has been central to the problems the property has encountered in the recent past. In 2006, the State Party requested the approval of new boundaries by the World Heritage Committee, thus contradicting what is stated in the individual periodic report.

In the report on Europe, the question of buffer zones is dealt with in relation to their existence and not on the appropriateness of its boundaries. The report shows that forty two per cent of the properties concerned do not have a buffer zone (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.57). Table 7.3 shows the responses to this question by sub-region.

Table 7.3 Is there a buffer zone for the site?	Yes	No
Eastern Europe	13	4
Central and South-Eastern Europe	36	11
Mediterranean Europe	58	33
Western Europe	20	52

Source: (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, p.12; p.38; p.65; and p.96)

Particularly in the Mediterranean sub-region and Western Europe, a large proportion of the properties do not have buffer zones. In addition, according to the report of the region as a whole, a number of reports from these two sub-regions and from the Nordic-Baltic countries answered that a buffer zone was not needed. The report adds that,

‘This was often the case in urban historic areas with clear geographical limitations, in landscape settings or well defined specific monuments, or in parks or archaeological sites. Strong legal protection – as in the case of the Baltic and Nordic countries, which all have effective national legislation through various Plan and Building Acts, Environmental Codes and Local Plans – also makes the need for new buffer zones less critical (World Heritage Centre, 2007a, pp.57-58)’.

The report also acknowledges that in some States Parties, the status and protection of a buffer zone in the framework of national legislation is not well defined and that, in general, there is a lack of understanding of the concept itself (ibid, p.58). A comparable concern was also reported for Latin America, where not only the concept but ‘the function of a buffer zone in support of the protection of outstanding universal value of the property is not well defined and/or understood (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.80)’. The idea of a buffer zone as a “support area” for the nominated properties has been used by South Asian countries to mitigate the effects of tourism on the properties; these areas have been called “support zones” instead of “buffer zones” (World Heritage Centre, 2004e, p.28).

7.7 CONCLUSIONS

Despite the shortcomings usually associated with this type of exercise, the first cycle of the Periodic Reporting was fundamental as a tool to assess the implementation of the World Heritage Convention at the national level. The results of the different regions show very clearly that the understanding of the Convention is limited, that certain concepts specific to the Convention are a source of confusion and are difficult to understand at the national level, as they do not exist in most States Parties' national heritage terminology. Interestingly, as stated in the report on Latin America and the Caribbean, UNESCO's role in the application of the World Heritage Convention is viewed negatively, with respondents expressing concern that the work within UNESCO is not sufficiently harmonized, sometimes leading to confusion, duplication or even contradictory messages or actions (World Heritage Centre, 2004c, p.63 and p.98).

The main reason behind States Parties' interest in nominating more properties to the World Heritage List and implementing the Convention is prestige. While it contributes to a better international image of the country it is perceived to bring advantages essentially through tourism. Interestingly, financial or technical support from the international community for the protection of the properties does not seem to be a motivation for the implementation of the Convention.

Regarding existing mechanisms for the protection of the properties, the reports showed that, in many States Parties, existing legislation does not integrate present-day concepts and needs to be reviewed; its integration into planning or development policies is not assured. Management arrangements are considered to be insufficient, and only a limited number of properties have management plans. Some States Parties have mentioned that there is

no tradition of preparing and implementing management plans for cultural properties within their territories. Even in cases where a management plan is in place, the reports show that often it is not coordinated or integrated with territorial plans. For urban settlements in particular, such coordination at different levels is seen as fundamental, with the report on Latin America arguing that this category faces the greatest threats, as by nature these are very complex management structures that are hard to capture in a single plan. This report also shows that existing monitoring systems are less common for urban settlements than for other categories. Monitoring in general is perceived as irregular and sporadic, with existing arrangements often disregarding tourism and development pressures, the two main factors affecting the properties.

In many properties, the boundaries were also reported as being inappropriate. But at the same time there are few requests to the World Heritage Committee for boundary modifications. When they are requested, changes usually consist of an enlargement of the property or the inclusion of the surrounding setting or landscape. The reports also show that a large proportion of the properties concerned do not have buffer zones. However, in a number of reports, States Parties answered that a buffer zone was not needed, even if the overall results of the different reports show that the function of a buffer zone in support of the protection of outstanding universal value of the property is not well understood.

Beyond the properties' boundaries, the means to deal with threats are often reported as non-existent or very limited due to institutional limitations in mandate. Overall, institutions seem to be ill-equipped to meet the challenges of protecting the properties.

8. REACTIVE MONITORING: STATE OF CONSERVATION REPORTS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

In the 2008 version of the Operational Guidelines, Reactive Monitoring is defined as ‘the reporting by the Secretariat, other sectors of UNESCO and the Advisory Bodies to the Committee on the state of conservation of specific World Heritage properties that are under threat (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 169)’. As described in Chapter 6, even before defining a monitoring strategy, the Committee received reports on properties in difficult situations from the Advisory Bodies. Following the adoption of a formal monitoring process, the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies have given greater attention to the state of conservation of World Heritage properties.

8.1 ANALYSIS OF STATE OF CONSERVATION REPORTS

In this section, I will analyse the state of conservation reports of World Heritage settlements since 2000. Table 8.1 shows the total number of state of conservation reports of World Heritage settlements in relation to the total number of reports for all cultural properties.

The numbers show that the number of state of conservation reports has considerably increased in recent years. On the one hand, this is evidently the result of better monitoring; on the other hand, when considering that these are Reactive Monitoring reports, it implies that a growing number of properties are considered under threat. Table 8.1 shows that over forty per cent of state of conservation reports were about World Heritage settlements. In 2008 and 2009, almost half of the reports regarded urban settlements.

In total, seventy-eight settlements have been subject to Reactive Monitoring reporting since 2000 (see Appendix 6). This is equivalent to forty per cent of all the urban settlements included in the World Heritage List (out of a total of 198 inscribed until 2008).

Table 8.1 Number of state of conservation reports of World Heritage settlements compared to number of reports on other cultural properties

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total number of SoC*	4+	7+	8+	14+	18+	19+	19+	18+	17+	17+
	34	38	24	72	88	67	63	85	83	104
Historic settlements	0+	1+	2+	3+	5+	5+	5+	5+	4+	4+
	13	16	11	34	37	29	29	35	40	51
Historic settlements as percentage of total number of SoC	38.2	42.1	45.8	47.2	42.0	43.2	46.0	41.1	48.1	49.0

* State of conservation reports

Note: The format of the data presented (a+b) corresponds to the number of properties on the List of World Heritage in Danger (a) plus all the other properties reported (b). This follows the logic used in the documents presented to the World Heritage Committee with the state of conservation reports of properties on the List in Danger presented in a separate document.

Once a property is considered to be under threat, Reactive Monitoring is carried out until the Committee decides that its state of conservation no longer poses particular challenges. This can stretch over a number of years. Islamic Cairo (Egypt), for instance, has undergone Reactive Monitoring continuously since 2000, without ever been included on the List of World Heritage in Danger. In fact, only five urban settlements have been included on the List in Danger during the period concerned. Does this mean that only the urban settlements that were included on the List in Danger have been “threatened by serious and specific danger”, and that the others have only been subject to potential threats?

The Natural and Culturo-Historical Region of Kotor (Montenegro) was included simultaneously on the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger in 1979, after being seriously damaged by an earthquake. Arequipa (Peru) was also damaged by an earthquake in 2001 but the property was never included on the List in Danger. Zabid, Baku and the Kathmandu Valley were included on the List in Danger mostly because of the poor state of conservation of the historic built fabric, the illegal demolition of historic buildings and their replacement by concrete structures. But again, the demolition of historic fabric has also been reported in Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Saint-Louis (Senegal) and Samarkand (Uzbekistan). Of course, the degree to which the properties are affected by threats varies, thus influencing the World Heritage Committee's decision to inscribe it or not on the List in Danger.

8.2 TRENDS IN STATE OF CONSERVATION REPORTS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

So what are the main threats to the conservation of World Heritage Settlements according to the state of conservation reports? I have already mentioned earthquakes, demolition of the historic fabric and construction of structures incompatible with the scale, architectural language and materials of the existing historic fabric. At its thirty-second session, in 2008, the World Heritage Committee asked the World Heritage Centre to prepare an analytical summary on trends in state of conservation reports. Document WHC-09/33.COM/7B, presented to the Committee at its thirty-third session in 2009, identifies five key factors affecting the state of conservation of natural and cultural properties:

- development and infrastructure;
- other human activities;

- management and legal issues;
- natural events and disasters;
- other factors.

The document acknowledges that further redefining is needed but I would argue that some of these factors, although affecting the conservation of the properties, cannot be considered as threats. This is an important issue, as state of conservation reports and the Committee's decisions are intended as a response to the threats identified. For instance, management and legal issues are listed amongst the most common threats affecting natural and cultural properties. However, the lack of an effective management system does not pose a threat to the property *per se*; it weakens the response to a potential or a concrete threat. For example, lack of legislation preventing the demolition of historic buildings may make it easier for stakeholders to carry out such actions with impunity. Still, it does not determine the action. Stakeholders demolish the buildings either because they are not structurally sound, or because they are ill-suited to present-day living standards and aspirations, or because they find aspire to something "modern". It is therefore, important to distinguish between weaknesses and threats. Based on a SWOT⁹ analysis approach, weaknesses are attributes (in this case, of the management system) that are harmful to achieving the objective – that of conserving the heritage. On the other hand, threats are external conditions which could damage the property's outstanding universal value.

⁹ SWOT analysis is a strategic planning method used to evaluate the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats involved in a project where:

- Strengths: attributes that are helpful to achieving the objectives;
- Weaknesses: attributes that are harmful to achieving the objectives;
- Opportunities: *external* conditions that are helpful to achieving the objectives;
- Threats: *external* conditions which could do damage to the objectives.

Document WHC-09/33.COM/7B nevertheless specifies issues that are particularly relevant to the conservation of World Heritage settlements, and that constitute real threats to the protection of their outstanding universal value: tourism pressures and inappropriate developments including skyscrapers and other tall buildings. In many cases, inscription in the World Heritage List has fed demand and investment in tourism and leisure facilities. As for inappropriate developments, according to the document this is an ongoing concern in urban settlements, not only within the World Heritage property but also in the buffer zone and even outside the buffer zone but affecting the outstanding universal value of the property.

Figure 8.1 Tall building in Budapest (Hungary)



This assessment applies to the overall state of conservation of cultural and natural properties; however the analysis of the state of conservation of the seventy-eight World Heritage settlements shows similar trends. The main threat identified in the majority of the reports is the lack of conservation measures or management systems. As explained earlier, the lack of adequate

legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure the protection of the properties can hinder the mitigation of threats, but in itself, it cannot impact directly on the attributes of the property which are the direct tangible expression of the outstanding universal value of the property.

Based on this argument, I have examined specific factors with a proven negative impact, or a potentially negative impact, on the attributes of the properties, as determined by the Operational Guidelines.

Large infrastructure and public works developments with a potential visual impact are the main threat affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements, affecting forty-three out of seventy-eight properties. These developments range from transportation infrastructure (highways, bridges) to commercial, cultural and entertainment structures (shopping centres, theme parks, auditoriums and museums). The visual impact of such structures is manifested in terms of scale but also in terms of aesthetic language. In addition, transportation infrastructure can cause structural problems to a fragile built fabric and can boost uncontrolled urban expansion. The potential visual impact of bridges was reported in Istanbul, Kotor and Bordeaux, although in all three cases the proposed structures were located outside the properties. The potential threat of other transportation infrastructure e.g. parking areas was reported in seventeen settlements. In the case of Nara (Japan) and Vicenza (Italy) this was the only threat identified for Reactive Monitoring. The potential threat of large commercial facilities, because of inappropriate height or architectural style, was reported in Lübeck (Germany), Antigua Guatemala (Guatemala), Edinburgh (United Kingdom), Essaouira (Morocco), and Moscow and Yaroslavl (Russian Federation).

High-rise buildings, and buildings with “conflicting” architectural language, are the second most significant factor impacting on the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements, particularly their “visual integrity”, with thirty-one cases. High-rise buildings were considered to be a potential threat in Istanbul (Turkey), Salzburg and Vienna (Austria), Riga (Latvia), Edinburgh (United Kingdom), Vilnius (Lithuania), Tallinn (Estonia), St. Petersburg and Yaroslavl (Russia), Prague (Czech Republic), Macao (China) and Melaka and George Town (Malaysia). It is important to stress that in most of these cases, the proposed developments were located outside the property, mainly in the buffer zone, but also beyond it.

Buildings with conflicting architectural language were also reported in a considerable number of World Heritage settlements. A distinction must be made here between planned interventions, often in clear and intended contrast with the existing fabric, and ordinary new structures that are poorly constructed, mostly in concrete and often illegally. Examples of the first include the Fourth Grace project in Liverpool and the Kunsthhaus in Graz. New concrete or other modern materials structures of poor quality were reported in a total of twenty-five World Heritage settlements. These were either new constructions or extensions to existing traditional buildings using modern materials.

8.3 CONCLUSIONS

The increasing number of state of conservation reports in recent years shows that a growing number of properties are considered to be under threat. More than forty per cent of the reports were on settlements. But only nine out of seventy-eight settlements were included on the List of World Heritage in Danger for the period considered. This points to the World Heritage Committee’s reluctance to include properties on the List in Danger. It may

also imply that the properties are not perceived to be under such threat as to justify such inscription. It is important to recall, as presented in Chapter 2, that the List of World Heritage in Danger is sometimes perceived as a “dishonour roll”, with States Parties resisting the inscription of properties on this list.

The analysis of the results of the Periodic Reporting exercise, presented in the previous chapter, showed that tourism and development pressures are the main factors affecting the state of conservation of the properties. The Reactive Monitoring reports show that the main threats affecting urban settlements are:

- Large infrastructure and public works developments with potential visual impact;
- High-rise buildings and building with “conflicting” architectural language.

Both threats can be linked to development, which corroborates the results of the Periodic Reporting. It is important to stress that these threats may originate outside the properties, i.e. in the buffer zones or beyond them. But as mentioned in section 7.4, institutions have little if any control over these. Existing management mechanisms plans are rarely integrated into larger territorial and development mechanisms, which could partly justify why those are the main factors affecting urban settlements.

As already mentioned, I dispute the World Heritage Centre’s and the Advisory Bodies’ view that the lack of a management plan constitutes a threat to the properties. Although management and legal issues certainly influence the state of conservation of the properties, in my opinion they do

not constitute threats. Based on a SWOT analysis approach, these would be treated as weaknesses.

9. ASSESSMENT FROM OTHER SOURCES: ICOMOS HERITAGE@RISK

The findings of the Periodic Reporting and Reactive Monitoring reports presented in the previous chapters demonstrate that a large number of World Heritage properties are facing considerable challenges regarding development and tourism pressures, and uncontrolled urbanisation. Moreover, it is significant that over forty per cent of all urban settlements included in the World Heritage List have been subjected to Reactive Monitoring (and are thereby considered to be under significant threat). Does this mean that the remaining sixty per cent are not facing any threats?

According to the Periodic Reporting exercise, as presented in section 7.5, fifty-eight per cent of the properties in Europe were affected by development pressures. In Africa, the visual integrity of eighty-four per cent of the properties was affected by uncontrolled construction in urban areas. These numbers refer to all categories of World Heritage properties and not just urban settlements, however, the regional reports also mention particular cases. For instance, the report on the Arab States mentions that illegal constructions and the deterioration of the natural landscape affected the visual integrity of the M'Zab Valley (Algeria), the Kasbah of Algiers (Algeria), Islamic Cairo (Egypt), the Old City of Sana'a (Yemen), the Old Walled City of Shibam (Yemen), and the Medina of Marrakesh (Morocco) (World Heritage Centre, 2004b, p.41). The analysis of the Reactive Monitoring reports of these properties corroborates the assessment made in the Periodic Reporting, with the exception of Marrakesh (which was never the subject of Reactive Monitoring). Nonetheless, according to a publication by Mohammed El Faïz entitled "*Marrakech, patrimoine en peril*", the property is in danger. Marrakesh is one of the case studies of this thesis, presented in Chapter 17.

The cases of Toledo and Cáceres (Spain) are similar. Neither property was ever subjected to Reactive Monitoring. However, in a special report on Spain in July 2006 under its series “Heritage@Risk”, ICOMOS considered that they were under threat. The cases of Marrakesh, Toledo and Cáceres show that, even if a property is in danger, the World Heritage Committee may not be aware of the fact, and it cannot be assumed that any action will be taken under the World Heritage system. For this reason, it is important to review other sources to further assess the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements.

Since 2000, ICOMOS has published several reports under the series “Heritage@Risk”, with the aim to identify and analyse cultural properties under threat. These reports are based on information gathered through ICOMOS National Committees, International Scientific Committees, and ICOMOS's professional networks, whose members provide short reports and case studies outlining risks in their country or area of expertise. In total, ICOMOS has published five general reports, two special editions, and four special reports. Given that ICOMOS is the Advisory Body responsible for preparing state of conservation reports on cultural properties for the World Heritage Committee, one would expect that the information contained in this series would be reflected in the state of conservation reports. However this is not necessarily the case, as highlighted by the cases of Cáceres and Toledo. Therefore, it is important to review the reports produced under this series.

In the first report, published in 2000, urban areas were regarded as one of the most threatened cultural heritage categories. Urban heritage was considered to be

‘subject to a wide range of economic and political forces that transform it in different ways, from small-scale erosion that results from the introduction of new building products that then spread throughout the

whole built landscape, to the creation of new roads, to the massive demolition of entire neighbourhoods to respond to modern so-called progressive standards (ICOMOS, 2000, n.p.)’.

In the Arab States, the 2000 report refers to,

‘deterioration of urban aesthetics in historic and archaeological areas due to the construction of modern buildings that do not match the ancient ones in form, colour, or appearance. An architecture has appeared that has no link whatsoever in content and entity and is alien to either the local environment or the architectural features of heritage (ibid)’.

For East and South-east Asia, the report considered that ‘historic buildings in urban settings... undergo great pressure to be replaced by modern high-rise buildings (ibid)’. In addition, in this region, vernacular houses and villages were considered to be vulnerable to tourism development. The report gives the example of Lijiang (China) included on the World Heritage List in 1997 and which has undergone considerable transformation, ranging from ethnic gentrification of the downtown area to a diminishing vernacular lifestyle due to the impact of tourism. Lijiang is included as one of the case studies of the China national report.

Other case studies presented in the national reports include Brasília (Brazil), Antigua Guatemala (Guatemala), Budapest (Hungary), Tel-Aviv (Israel), Accre (Israel), Jerusalem (proposed by Jordan), Puebla (Mexico), Meknes (Morocco), the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal), the Historic District of Panamá (Panama), Aleppo (Syria), Coro (Venezuela), Sana’a and Shibam (Yemen), Sighisoara (Romania) and Kotor (Montenegro). Some of these properties have been reported to the Committee but others have not. For instance, Tel-Aviv is considered to be at risk due to pressures to demolish and build anew and higher, or to add floors to the modern buildings. Similarly, Acre is affected by over-population and tourism pressures. Overall, the different publications of “Heritage@Risk” refer frequently to World Heritage properties

and World Heritage settlements that are already scrutinized through the Reactive Monitoring reports analysed in the previous section.

There are nevertheless case studies that have never been reported to the World Heritage Committee: Oaxaca (Mexico), Quedlinburg and Starlidsund (Germany), Florence (Italy), and San Cristobal de la Laguna, Cáceres and Toledo (Spain). In Oaxaca, the archaeological site of Monte Albán, which is part of the property, was being encroached by urban growth due to its proximity to the city. In Quedlinburg, the national report referred to the demolition of industrial buildings. The construction of an open-air subway network was considered to be a threat to the public trees and monumental heritage of the city (ICOMOS, 2008, p.98). Similarly, the construction of underground garages in the historic centre of Stralsund was perceived as a threat to the underground archaeological layer that helped justify the inclusion of the property on the World Heritage List (ibid, p.62). In Toledo, the New Municipal Development Plan for the City of Toledo allowed the construction of new buildings in the surroundings of the property but on the zone of respect and protection of the landscape and urban silhouette identified in the original nomination file in 1985. The setting of the property was therefore considered to be under threat due to development pressures.

Nevertheless no Reactive Monitoring report was ever presented to the World Heritage Committee. This underscores the fact that even if a property is subject to Reactive Monitoring, it does not follow that all threats will be identified. For instance, Český Krumlov (Czech Republic) has been subject to Reactive Monitoring due to the construction of a revolving theatre structure in the gardens of the castle. However, the Reactive Monitoring reports (some

based on mission reports) do not refer to the enormous tourism pressures the property is facing¹⁰.

The Reactive Monitoring reports and the “Heritage@Risk” publications allow for a better understanding of the risks threatening World Heritage settlements; but, as just shown, they are still limited in their assessment.

¹⁰ Based on personal observation during a visit in 2003.

PART IV

THE SURROUNDINGS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

10. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SURROUNDINGS OF CULTURAL PROPERTIES

The evolution of the concept of surroundings is determined by the evolution of the concept of cultural property itself. From the isolated monument, to the concept of historic monument embracing not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting, the notion of cultural property has come to encompass the historic city, and the historic urban landscape. The growing complexity of cultural properties, and the ever more extended area of protection, has been determined not only by an evolution of what is valued as heritage but also by how values are expressed through a variety of attributes. This has been shaped by different international charters. The Venice Charter, adopted in 1964, is acknowledged as the most influential of these charters. It was the first to affirm that a monument is inseparable from its setting. But as Ruiz explained, unlike a monument, the surroundings are not an element that can be defined objectively in an absolute form (Castillo Ruiz, 1997, p.10). With the growing complexity of the notion of cultural property, the concept of surroundings also became ever more difficult to define. Thus, I will now analyse how the concept of surroundings has evolved in international charters.

10.1 THE CONCEPT OF SURROUNDINGS IN INTERNATIONAL CHARTERS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

The 1931 *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* stated that 'Attention should be given to the protection of areas surrounding historic sites' (Athens Conference, 1931, n.p). A similar approach was adopted in the 1962 UNESCO *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites*. Although it did not specifically refer to the surroundings of a cultural property, this document recommended that

'special protection should be accorded to the approaches to monuments (UNESCO, 1962, Section II, paragraph 5)'.

The concept of surroundings was fully recognised in the Venice Charter; Article 1 reads:

'The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event (ICOMOS, 1964, article 1)'.

The notion that a monument is inseparable from its setting resulted in a completely new definition of cultural heritage, as well as new protection methods. Whereas the Venice Charter refers to the setting of the historic monument, the 1931 Athens Charter and the 1962 UNESCO Recommendation used the terms "surroundings" and "approaches". In the Venice Charter, setting and surroundings are presented as different areas. Its article 13 states:

'Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with its surroundings (ICOMOS, 1964, article 13)'.

As I will show, later documents do not necessarily make such distinctions, using the terms setting and surroundings arbitrarily. Therefore, for the purposes of the present analysis, "setting" and "surroundings" will be examined without distinction.

The *Norms of Quito*, adopted in 1967, state that 'Since the idea of space is inseparable from the concept of monument, the stewardship of the state can and should be extended to the surrounding urban context or natural

environment' (ICOMOS, 1967, section II, paragraph 1). Based on this notion, the *Norms* propose that,

'the urban space occupied by monumental districts or centers of environmental value should be given boundaries as follows:

- a. a rigorously protected zone, corresponding to the greatest monumental density or interest
- b. a zone of protection or respect, with a higher degree of tolerance, and
- c. zone of protection of the urban landscape, in an effort to integrate it with the surrounding natural areas (ICOMOS, 1967, Legal measures, paragraph 3)'.

By establishing boundaries according to different levels of protection, the surroundings are precisely identified and consequently given formal protection. This is a step forward compared to previous documents which referred to the surroundings as a broad concept, with no precise limits. Most importantly, the *Norms* suggest that a zone of protection should be created to integrate the property with its context.

The 1968 UNESCO *Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works* also proposed that,

'Historic quarters in urban or rural centres and groups of traditional structures should be zoned and appropriate regulations adopted to preserve their setting and character... Similar regulations should cover the area surrounding a scheduled monument or site and its setting to preserve its association and character (UNESCO, 1968, paragraph 22. b)'.

In this recommendation, the surroundings are to be zoned but the main concern is for the protection of the property. The need to integrate the property in the overall urban or rural context is referred to in documents

adopted throughout the 1970s, especially with the adoption of the concept of integrated conservation.

The 1972 *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage*, the document that complements the World Heritage Convention, recommended that rehabilitation plans specify the links between the rehabilitation area and the surrounding urban development (UNESCO, 1972b, paragraph 34). The 1975 *Resolutions of Bruges: Principles Governing the Rehabilitation of Historic Towns*, states,

‘The relationship between the town and its surroundings district is such that not only must the town conform with the broader social and economic objectives of the region, but the demands of the region must equally be tailored to the exigencies of conservation (ICOMOS 1975b, paragraph 8)’.

Similarly, the 1975 ICOMOS *Resolutions of the International Symposium on the Conservation of Smaller Historic Towns* recommended ‘to observe the existing scale of the town in all new developments, to respect its character, its dominant buildings and its relation to the landscape (ICOMOS, 1975c, paragraph 5.iii.b)’. Similarly, the 1975 *Declaration of Amsterdam* states:

‘Protection is needed today for historic towns, the old quarters of cities, and towns and villages with a traditional character as well as historic parks and gardens. The conservation of these architectural complexes can only be conceived in a wide perspective, embracing all buildings of cultural value, from the greatest to the humblest - not forgetting those of our own day together with their surroundings. This overall protection will complement the piecemeal protection of individual and isolated monuments and sites.... It is known that historical continuity must be preserved in the environment if we are to maintain or create surroundings which enable individuals to find their identity and feel secure despite abrupt social changes (ICOMOS, 1975a, n.p.)’.

These recommendations were crucial in bringing attention to the concept of surroundings. On one hand, one can argue that this only reflects increasing concern over the protection of a property since the modification of its surroundings – either by the destruction of natural areas or their uncontrolled development and urbanization – can undermine its significance. On the other hand, the *Declaration of Amsterdam* also introduces a significant change to the concept of cultural heritage, which influences what is to be considered as surroundings. It states:

‘Since the new buildings of today will be the heritage of tomorrow, every effort must be made to ensure that contemporary architecture is of a high quality (ibid)’.

This perception that, what is presently being created has the potential to become heritage in the future, challenges the present notion of heritage as something from the past and the marked division between what is considered heritage and what is not.

In 1976 UNESCO adopted the *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas*. This document defines as historic areas, stated that,

‘Every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organization and the surroundings (ibid)’.

The concept is not different from that proposed in the Venice Charter in 1964, though on a larger scale than that of the historic monument, that is, that the cultural property and its surroundings should not be seen as separate entities but as a coherent whole. Thus, while the notion of cultural heritage property evolved from the isolated historic monument to much larger areas like historic

urban settlements, the concept of surroundings remained basically the same: that of an area surrounding the property even if this area may also have expanded from the immediate surroundings to include a larger area of influence.

While various charters acknowledged the need to integrate the cultural heritage property and its surroundings, by 1976 – when UNESCO adopted the *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* – the surroundings of historic urban settlements had already changed dramatically and constituted different urban environments. Thus, onwards, the principles contained in the international documents would no longer refer to the need to integrate the two but rather as different entities.

10.2 THE DOUBLE DIMENSION OF THE CONCEPT OF SURROUNDINGS

In the previous section, I explained how, in most international charters, the terms “setting” and “surroundings” are not differentiated: in some cases they refer to the same area of influence, while in others they refer to two separate areas. Dictionary definitions do not allow for a clearer distinction between the two terms. What the use of the two terms tends to suggest is that both refer to a different entity than the cultural property. The analysis of international documents carried out in the previous section shows that in most documents the importance of protecting the surroundings is acknowledged. What is not clear is whether or not this protection is intended because of the values of the surroundings *per se* – when considered that a cultural property is inseparable from its surroundings – or only because of its links to the cultural property. This equals to a dual dimension of the concept of surroundings:

- as an element/area linked to the cultural property based on the necessity of protection and without values of its own or at least not of the same significance of the cultural property;
- as a surrounding area with values similar to those of the cultural property, and that also need to be protected.

The notion that a historic monument is inseparable from its setting was defined in the Venice Charter in 1964, at a time when existing cultural heritage policies viewed monuments essentially as isolated buildings. When the notion of cultural heritage evolved to include larger and more complex areas, the notion of surroundings expanded. It became common to identify an area around the monument – its setting or surroundings – that should also benefit from legal protection. When larger areas were considered, in most cases the same logic applied. But unlike a monument, an urban ensemble or an historic settlement cannot be as easily defined, nor can its surroundings, at least in an absolute form. The approach has to be different. In addition, a monument is not expected to expand as an urban settlement is; therefore, its development also needs to be taken into consideration.

Hence, a different approach can be followed in line with that defined in the *Norms of Quito*: to establish different areas with different functions. This, however, still does not address the dual dimension of the concept of surroundings. The fundamental question relates to what is valued and to what degree and what kind of legal protection is attributed to it. If the surroundings have similar values to that of the cultural property why are they not part of the property? If a distinction between the two areas is made this implies that their significance is not the same. But, in such cases, why establish an area surrounding the property and give it legal protection?

These questions are fundamental for the purposes of this thesis as the duality of the concept of surroundings is behind many of the difficulties posed by the concept of buffer zones in relation to World Heritage properties. Since the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines, a buffer is not normally part of the World Heritage property. The use of the word “normally”, however, suggests that in some cases it may be part of the property. And until 2005, no such differentiation between World Heritage property and buffer zone was made. Therefore, in the next section I will examine how the concept of buffer zone was defined in the different versions of the Operational Guidelines and how it was used in the nomination files over time.

10.3 CONCLUSIONS

The *Declaration of Amsterdam* introduced a significantly different interpretation of the concept of cultural heritage, one which – as I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter – also influenced the concept of surroundings. It states:

‘Since the new buildings of today will be the heritage of tomorrow, every effort must be made to ensure that contemporary architecture is of a high quality (ICOMOS, 1975a, n.p.)’.

This statement radically modified the prevalent notion of cultural heritage, by adding a fourth phase to what Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) called a “historical time line”, which can be broken down into the following phases:

- ‘the first phase, which resulted in the creation of the property;
- the second phase, which extends from the end of the creation phase to the present time; and
- the third phase, which is associated with the perception of the property in our consciousness at the present time (Feilden and Jokilehto, 1998, p.16)’.

Cultural heritage and historic towns, in particular, are in fact a result of cumulative layers added over time. But the common perception is that heritage is something from the past. However, the concept of heritage has evolved over time, from the isolated monument to historic towns, cultural landscapes, modern and contemporary properties, moving more and more towards the present. If one considers the additions presently being created and those that may follow in the future as a new layer, the historical time line needs to include;

- the fourth phase, which is associated with the perception of what the property might be in the future.

If a cultural property is perceived in this manner, and what already exists is to be protected and maintained, the surroundings of the property which are being created will, in the future, form part of the property itself. The notion that new buildings of today will be the heritage of tomorrow, as suggested by the *Declaration of Amsterdam*, was never explored in international charters or subsequent documents. But it is, in my opinion, fundamental for the protection of historic settlements. In the Kathmandu case study, I will show that if this notion had been further developed, it would have considerably changed the approach adopted for the protection of this World Heritage property.

11. THE CONCEPT OF BUFFER ZONE

The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary online defines a buffer zone as 'an area intended to separate two armies that are fighting' (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary online, n.d., n.p.). The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary provides a similar definition: a buffer zone is 'a neutral area separating conflicting forces; broadly: an area designed to separate' (Merriam-Webster online, n.d., n.p.). The concept is now used more broadly in a variety of disciplines, including in the environmental field, with most definitions referring to a buffer zone as a "separation area" or a "transitional area", and can be categorized into two broad categories:

- separation areas between conflicting areas. In this case, three possibilities need to be considered:
 - when both inside and outside pose threats to each other, as in the case of defence or military areas;
 - when the inside poses a threat to the outside, as in the case of waste disposal areas;
 - when the outside poses a threat to the inside, as in the case of areas with natural or environmental significance; and
- transitional areas whose main objective is to protect the inside from the outside, where inside and outside are not perceived to be in conflict but only as having different objectives. This is presently the prevailing definition used for nature conservation areas.

The literature on buffer zones is scarce and most of it comes from the field of nature conservation. Although the term "buffer zone" is relatively new, the principle of "buffering areas" isn't. The concept originated in the United States in the 1940s (Hilditch cited in Kozlowski and Peterson, 2005, p.79; Shafer

cited in Martino, 2001, p.3; Sanderson and Harris, 2000, p.171). A decade later, buffers were set up in Africa and Asia (Sayer cited in Kozłowski and Peterson, 2005, p.79). The term became generally used as the result of UNESCO's Man and Biosphere programme (MAB) launched in 1970. According to Kozłowski and Peterson, UNESCO 'endorsed the development of biosphere reserves incorporating buffer zones as a key component' (Kozłowski and Peterson, 2005, p.79) in its MAB report on *Criteria and guidelines for the choice and establishment of biosphere reserves* in 1974. In this document, UNESCO declares that,

'each biosphere reserve should have either a buffer zone or a "buffer mechanism", such as administrative agreements with those who control the surrounding area, which would help to protect the "core" area of the reserve.... [it] should be created to protect the core area from man-induced alterations to the geochemistry or to the micro-climatic conditions of the area, and to shield the core from the direct impact of man's activities.... The sizes of buffer zones and the management programmes for these areas would vary and depend on circumstances (UNESCO, 1974, p.25)'.

It is important to retain two aspects of this definition, as they are fundamental for the discussion of the nature, function, and objectives of buffer zones:

- a) the distinction between "core area" and "buffer zone";
- b) the role of the buffer zone as a separation between the "core area" and the "surrounding environment".

Buffer zones were created to serve the conservation needs of the "core area" and to separate it from the surrounding environment. Later approaches, as I will show, differ significantly from the one expressed in the MAB programme in 1974. One should also not forget that the document refers to the conservation of biosphere reserves and not to cultural heritage properties. By

1978, when properties were first included on the World Heritage List, 138 biosphere reserves in 39 countries had been identified.

11.1 BUFFER ZONES FOR NATURAL PROTECTED AREAS

Kozlowski and Peterson (2005) consider that the term “buffer” has been incorrectly used when referring to “separation zones” and “remnant habitat strips”, since their purpose is not to aid the conservation of a core natural area (Kozlowski and Peterson, 2005, p.81). They argue that, while the purpose of separation zones is to reduce or eliminate the impact of one land use type on adjacent areas, buffer zones are designed to give an added layer of protection to areas of high environmental value. A similar definition is used by Sayer, who defines a buffer zone as a zone:

‘peripheral to a national park or equivalent reserve, *where restrictions are placed* upon resource use or special development measures are undertaken to enhance the conservation values of the area’ (Sayer as cited in Martino, 2001, p.3 and Kozlowski and Peterson, 2005, p.144).

Another commonly cited definition for buffer zones, according to Martino’s findings, is:

‘Areas adjacent to protected areas, on which *land use is partially restricted* to give an added layer of protection to the protected area itself while providing valued benefits to neighboring rural communities (Mackinnon as cited in Wells & Brandon, 1993, p. 159)’ (Martino, 2001, p.3).

Both definitions refer to an added layer of protection that has restrictions placed on its use. Considering the commonalities between the different definitions, one can say that a buffer zone is generally understood as:

an area which has restrictions placed on its use to give an added layer of protection to the core area.

This is precisely a part of the definition of buffer zones included in the 1988 version of the Operational Guidelines (this is discussed in detail in the next section).

In 1996, Wild and Mutebi added another definition that is also frequently quoted:

‘Any area, often peripheral to a protected area, inside or outside, in which activities are implemented or the area managed with the aim of enhancing the positive and reducing the negative impact of conservation on neighbouring communities and neighbouring communities on conservation (Wild and Mutebi, 1996, p.4)’.

Wild and Mutebi proposed to use the term “support zones” instead of “buffer zones”. They argued that the buffer zone concept was originally designed to buffer the conservation from the depredations of the community. On the contrary, the term “support zone” recognised ‘the ideal of mutual support between local communities and the conservation area (ibid, p.36)’.

According to Ebregt and De Greve,

‘Conceptual thinking on buffer zone has gone through three development stages:

1. At first, buffers were mainly defined as a means to protect people and their crops from animals leaving the conservation areas and forests;
2. Until 10-20 years ago the buffer zone principle was applied as a remedy to protect conservation areas from negative human influences;

3. Presently, buffer zones are more often applied to simultaneously minimise human impact on conservation areas and address the socio-economic needs and wants of the affected population (former resource users of the conservation area) (Ebregt and De Greve, 2000, p.11)'.

Even if the concept of buffer zone has come a long way, as Ebregt and De Greve point out, there is still a need for international agreement on definitions of buffer zones. Martino argues that without a clear definition of the objectives of buffer zones, the success or failure of buffer zones cannot be assessed. His analysis of whether buffer zones have failed or succeeded in integrating conservation and development showed 'that the concept is having problems in its implementation (Martino, 2001, p.2)'

A number of problems with the implementation of buffer zones have been identified by other authors (see Appendix 7), namely:

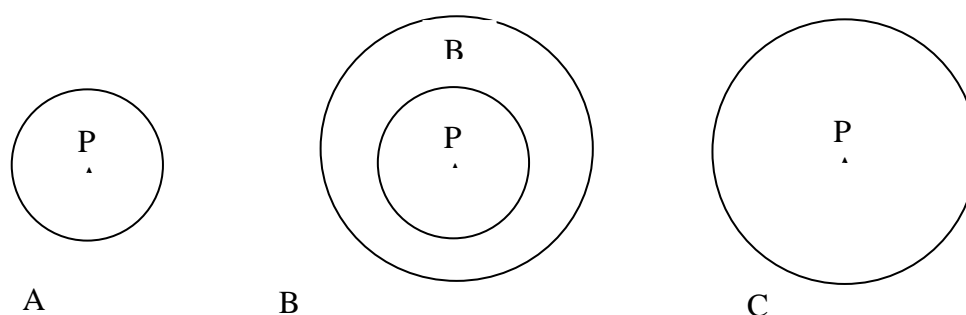
- lack of consensus on objectives, location, shape and permitted uses of buffer zones;
- lack of legal authority to establish or manage buffer zones;
- failure to consider a wider landscape approach; and
- the perception that buffer zones are only needed in some circumstances.

Lack of consensus on the objectives of buffer zones has as much to do with their definition, as already seen, as with the usefulness of having them. In Kozlowski and Peterson's enquiry on the implementation of buffer zones in Australia, twenty-four per cent of the agencies did not see a need for it.

If buffers are to give an "added layer of protection to the property", and if in practice they are also protecting the surroundings, why not incorporate them

in the protection area? After all, as we have seen in the definition of buffer zones for environmentally sensitive areas, buffers are set up to separate two areas of different natures and objectives. Martino, in his literature review on buffer zones, presented three different scenarios of natural protected areas to try to understand the ecological benefits of establishing buffer zones, as presented in Figure 11.1.

Figure 11.1 Scenarios of protected areas (Martino, 2001, p.5)



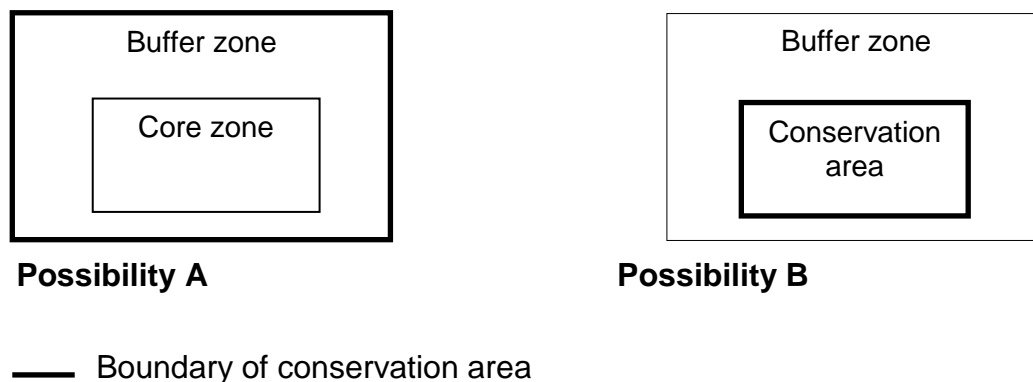
P – Protected Area B – Buffer zone

Martino argued that if a buffer is to be added to the protected area,

‘there has to be a difference between the management and the goals of the buffer zone and the management [and goals] of the protected area, if not, there would be no logical reason for buffer zones to exist.... [Thus, he concluded] that buffer zones have to be different from protected areas (ibid, p.6)’.

Whether or not buffers should be included within the management system is another issue that has raised different opinions. Buffers can be located inside or outside the conservation area. Ebregt and Greve’s illustrate the two possibilities:

Figure 11.2 Two buffer zones situations (Ebregt and De Greve, 2000, p.13)



These authors noted that

'In most countries, legislation with regard to conservation areas is fairly thorough, but quite often is not with regard to their zoning... Consequently, situations are common where buffers are located within the conservation area. Apparently this is done in order to facilitate the management of *core* as well as buffer zones and to ensure a single responsible authority' (Ebregt and De Greve, 2000, p.22).

A similar situation was observed by Kozlowski and Peterson in Australia where 'The inclusion of buffers within parks frequently occurred because protected area managers had little or no power to control lands external to protected areas (Kozlowski and Peterson, 2005, p.137)'.

The question of whether or not buffer zones form part of the conservation area has been frequently raised in relation to properties included in the World Heritage List, particularly since the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines was published. The Operational Guidelines state that 'buffer zones are not normally part of the nominated property' (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 107). Thus in the next section, I will analyse how the definition of buffer zones has evolved throughout the different versions of the

Operational Guidelines and how it has been linked with the application of the concept in the field of nature conservation.

11.2 DEFINITION IN THE OPERATIONAL GUIDELINES AND CHANGES OVER TIME

The concept of “buffer zone” was included in the Operational Guidelines from the beginning. The earliest version, dating from 1977, stated:

‘When setting the boundary of a property to be nominated to the List, the concept of a buffer zone around the property may be applied where appropriate. In such instances the nominations should include:

- a) a precise definition of the surface area of the property itself, including the sub-surface area where necessary
- b) an indication of the buffer zone around the property itself (i.e. the natural or man-made surroundings that influence the physical state of the property or the way in which the property is perceived).

Such buffer zones will be determined in each case through technical studies and provided with adequate protection (UNESCO, 1977, paragraph 25)’.

The similarities with the definition used in the MAB report are obvious. This definition was revised in the 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines and replaced by the following:

‘Whenever necessary for the proper conservation of the cultural or natural property nominated, an adequate “buffer zone” around a property should be foreseen and should be afforded the necessary protection. A buffer zone can be defined as an area surrounding the property which has an essential influence on the physical state of the property and/or on the way in which the property is perceived; the area constituting the buffer zone should be determined in each case through technical studies. Details on the size and characteristics of a buffer zones, as well as a map indicating its precise boundaries,

should be provided in the nomination file relating to the property in question (UNESCO, 1980, paragraph 12)'.

This concept of buffer zone remained unchanged until the 1988 version of the Operational Guidelines. In this version, the definition of buffer zone changed from:

'an area surrounding the property which has an essential influence on the physical state of the property and/or on the way in which the property is perceived' (UNESCO, 1980, paragraph 12);

to

'an area surrounding the property which has restrictions placed on its use to give an added layer of protection' (UNESCO, 1988, paragraph 17).

The role of the buffer zone as an "added layer of protection" was repeatedly used in later definitions for natural conservation areas, as shown in the previous section. This was to be achieved through restrictions in use only. How the buffer zone was to have a direct influence on the property is not mentioned, unlike the previous version.

It was only in 2005 that the definition of buffer zones was revised, and important changes were introduced (see Box 11.1), namely:

- restrictions on the development of the buffer zones were added to already existing ones on their use;
- the definition was extended to specify what the buffer zone should include, namely the immediate setting, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the property and its protection; and

Box 11.1 Definition of buffer zone in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines

Buffer zones

103. 'Wherever necessary for the proper conservation of the property, an adequate buffer zone should be provided.
104. For the purposes of effective protection of the nominated property, a buffer zone is an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property. This should include the immediate setting of the nominated property, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the property and its protection. The area constituting the buffer zone should be determined in each case through appropriate mechanisms. Details on the size, characteristics and authorized uses of a buffer zone, as well as a map indicating the precise boundaries of the property and its buffer zone, should be provided in the nomination.
105. A clear explanation of how the buffer zone protects the property should also be provided.
106. Where no buffer zone is proposed, the nomination should include a statement as to why a buffer zone is not required.
107. Although buffer zones are not normally part of the nominated property, any modifications to the buffer zone subsequent to inscription of a property on the World Heritage List should be approved by the World Heritage Committee (World Heritage Centre, 2005c, paragraphs 103-107)'.

- a clear explanation of how the buffer zone protects the property was to be provided with the nomination file.

For the first time, it was clearly stated that ‘buffer zones are not normally part of the nominated property’ (World Heritage Centre, 2008, paragraph 107). This statement is ambiguous, as it implies that in some cases buffer zones can form part of the property. However, there is no further justification on how this differentiation should be made. This statement also implies that if the buffer zone is not part of the property, it cannot be protected under the World Heritage Convention.

11.3 CONCLUSIONS

As the above findings show, the concept of buffer zone is used in a variety of disciplines. Most definitions refer to it as a “separation area” or “transitional area”. In the case of natural protected areas, the concept has evolved, with buffer zones designed to give an added layer of protection to areas of high environmental or conservation value. This is in line with the definition used in the Operational Guidelines, and which applies to both natural and cultural properties. The analysis of the evolution of the definition throughout the different versions of that document shows that even if there have been changes over time, the concept has remained basically the same; that is, it defines an area surrounding the property, with complementary restrictions placed on its use and development, to give an added layer of protection to the property.

Within the World Heritage context, a buffer zone is the equivalent of the notion of surroundings for cultural properties discussed in Chapter 10. The double dimension of that concept applies equally to that of buffer zone. This is most evident in the present definition included in the Operational

Guidelines, where it is stated that buffer zones are not normally part of the World Heritage property. On one hand, this is understandable: if they were recognised as being part of the property, buffer zones would also have to have outstanding universal value. On the other hand, by stating that *normally* buffer zones are not part of the property, it may be interpreted that in some cases they may be, but no explanation is provided on how this could possibly be justified.

When considering the overall use of the concept of buffer zone in the Operational Guidelines, possibility B of Ebregt and De Greve's diagram applies. However, if the buffer zone is not part of the property, how is this reflected in the mandate of the responsible management authorities but also of the international community? The discussion in section 11.1 showed that one of the reasons for considering possibility A over B was precisely this issue: site managers have little or no control on areas outside the property. I also recall that, in the findings of the Periodic Reporting exercise, it was considered that beyond the properties' boundaries, the means to deal with threats were often reported as non-existent, or very limited due to institutional limitations in mandate.

Based on the above discussion, I will now analyse whether or not States Parties have followed the Operational Guidelines regarding the application of buffer zones. As shown, the concept was included in that document prior to the inclusion of the first properties on the World Heritage List, and therefore, all properties can be considered. As the concept was mostly developed for natural protected areas, it is important to examine if there are considerable differences in its use between natural and cultural properties. Then, I will carry out a more detailed analysis on how buffer zones have been used for World Heritage settlements.

12. ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF BUFFER ZONES IN THE NOMINATION FILES

For the purpose of this analysis, properties are considered to have buffer zones at the time of inscription or extension if:

- the nomination file mentions the existence of a buffer zone; and/or
- ICOMOS' evaluation refers to the existence of a buffer zone, even if the nomination file does not.

The latter situation may occur for two reasons. One is that ICOMOS requested further information and the material was added later, therefore the information referring to a buffer zone did not form part of the original nomination file; the other is that ICOMOS considered areas protected under national legislation as buffer zones. For instance, in several nomination files these areas are simply referred to as "areas of protection". In recent nominations, this practice has become more common, with the States Parties themselves defining areas that protect the surrounding of the properties under national legislation as buffers. It may also be the case that, when the area of the property identified as World Heritage is smaller than the conservation area at the national level, the remaining area may serve as a buffer.

There may be other cases of properties with buffer zones at the time of nomination but no reference was made to them in the nomination files or in the ICOMOS evaluations. The present analysis is based on the digital files of the nominations provided by the World Heritage Centre and a few files collected at the ICOMOS library in Paris (for instance, Old Rauma in Finland is considered to have a buffer zone at the time of inscription but there was no mention of this in the digital files; however there is an appendix that mentions

this at the ICOMOS library). It should be noted that the gaps between the digital files and the files at the ICOMOS library underscore the possibility that there may be gaps in the present analysis. However, given the large number of properties on the World Heritage List, it was not possible to go beyond the information in the digital files.

12.1 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE USE OF BUFFER ZONES FOR NATURAL AND CULTURAL PROPERTIES IN THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

As of 2007¹¹, there were 851 properties on the World Heritage List. Of these, 400 properties had buffer zones either from the time of inscription or as a result of subsequent extensions (see Appendix 8). As already mentioned, the concept of buffer zone was present in the first version of the Operational Guidelines. At the same time the word “buffer”, and therefore the request for the establishment of buffers, was only included in the nomination form in 1997. By then, 550 properties had already been inscribed on the World Heritage List.

Figure 12.1 shows that there are significant differences in the use of buffer zones before and after 1997. Table 12.1 shows that there was a marked increase after 1991.

Based on the numbers presented in Table 12.1, it is possible to distinguish three periods in the use of buffer zones. In the first period (1978-1990), the number of properties with buffer zones was very limited compared to the total number of properties inscribed per year. In the second period (1991-1997),

¹¹ As mentioned in the Introduction, the analyses presented throughout this thesis were carried out at different periods of the research and therefore, a different number of properties may have been considered. Thus I have identified the precise point in time considered for the purposes of the analysis and the respective number of properties included on the World Heritage List at that time.

the number of properties with and without buffers does not show striking differences with the first period. The change in the number of properties with and without buffer zones is, in fact, very balanced for most years, tending to a half-half situation. The last period (1998-2007) shows a clear contrast: there are many more properties with buffer zones than without one.

Figure 12.1 World Heritage properties with and without buffer zones

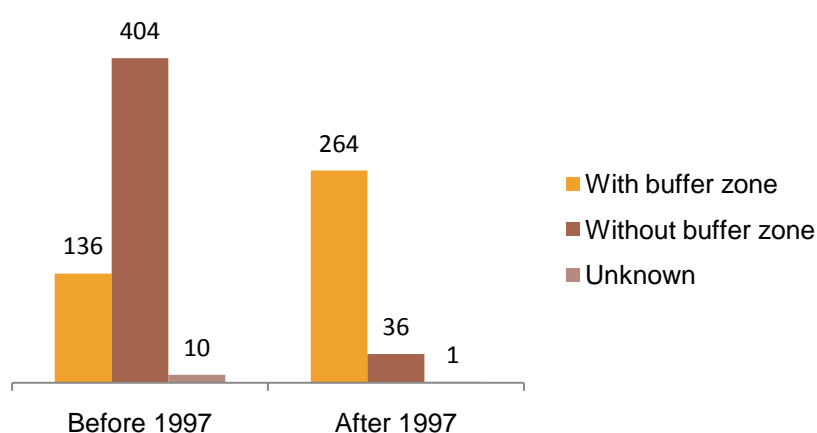


Figure 12.2 Number of properties with buffers per category

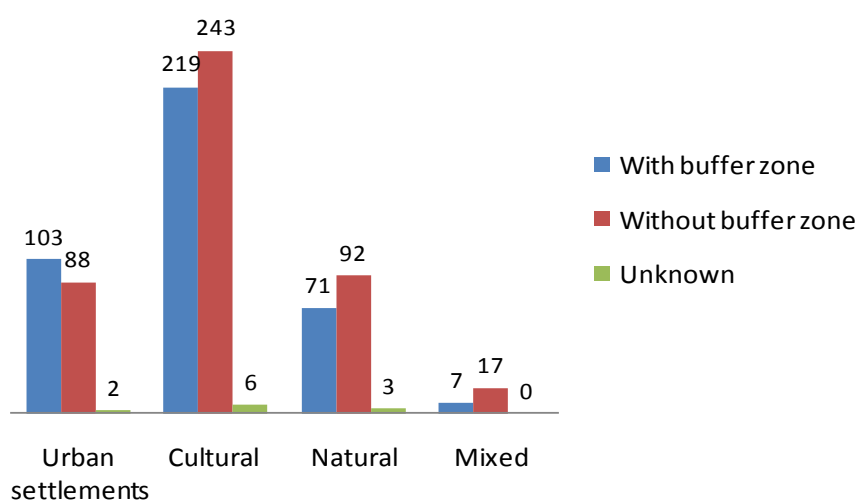
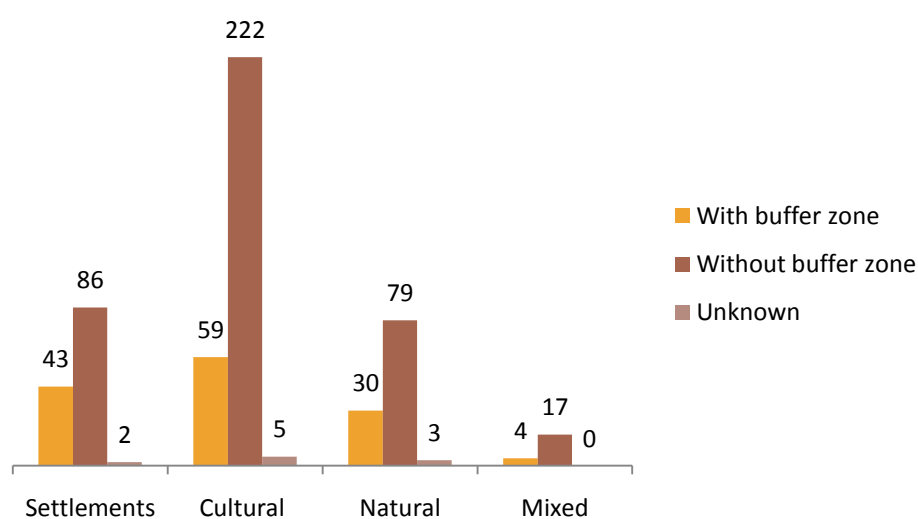


Table 12.1 Number of properties with or without buffer zones per year of inscription

Year of inscription	With buffer zone	Without buffer zone	With buffer zone after extension
1978	2	10	1
1979	4	41	3
1980	1	26	0
1981	2	24	0
1982	3	21	1
1983	3	25	1
1984	3	19	2
1985	4	26	0
1986	3	26	2
1987	6	35	2
1988	1	26	0
1989	0	7	0
1990	2	14	1
1991	9	13	0
1992	10	10	1
1993	18	14	1
1994	17	10	4
1995	11	15	1
1996	18	17	1
1997	19	25	3
1998	22	8	-
1999	43	5	-
2000	46	15	-
2001	29	2	-
2002	9	0	-
2003	24	0	-
2004	31	3	-
2005	22	2	-
2006	16	1	-
2007	22	0	-

The use of buffer zones for different types of properties shows interesting results. Figure 12.2 shows that “urban settlements” is the category with the highest percentage of buffer zones. Of 193 urban settlements, 103 have buffers (equivalent to 53.4 per cent of the total). Urban settlements are the only category where there are more properties with buffers than without. In addition, urban settlements have the highest number of buffer zones until 1997 (Figure 12.3). Even when excluding three of the settlements whose buffers were established after 1997 (because the property was extended), 43.9 per cent of the urban settlements inscribed until 1997 had buffers.

Figure 12.3 Number of properties with and without buffer zones per category until 1997

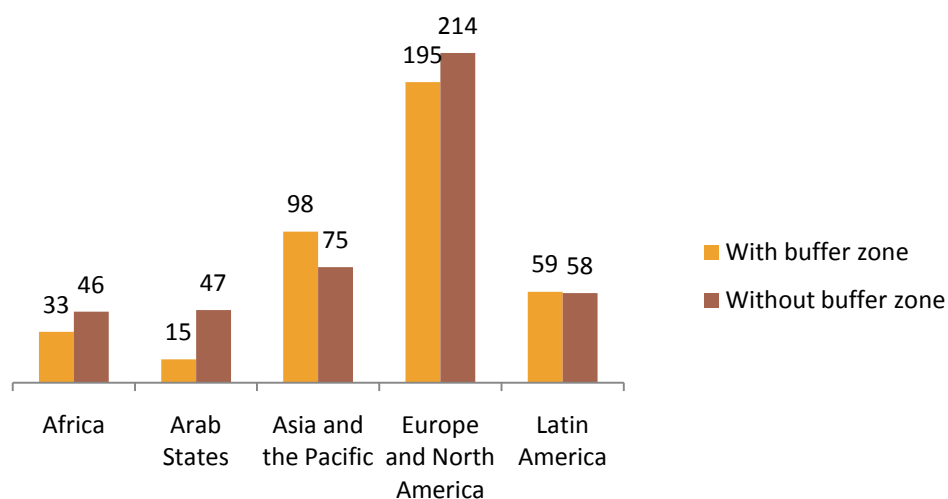


These findings are somewhat surprising, as one would have expected that natural properties, rather than urban settlements, would have the highest proportion of buffer zones, as the concept originated in the field of nature conservation. In fact, only 42.7 per cent of natural properties have buffers compared to 46.7 per cent of cultural properties and 53.4 of urban settlements. The first property to be included in the World Heritage List with a

buffer zone was actually a cultural property: L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site in Canada in 1978.

The use of buffers also varies considerably from one region to the next, as shown in Figure 12.4. The Arab States region is the one with the lowest use of buffer zones, while Asia and the Pacific has the highest. In this region, the number of properties with buffers considerably exceeds the ones without buffers.

Figure 12.4 Number of properties with and without buffer zones per region



The analysis of the use of buffer zones by type of property and by region shows similar trends, with urban settlements among the categories with the highest numbers of buffers across all regions. From Table 12.2, it is possible to note that before 1997, the proportion of urban settlements with buffer zones in the Asia and the Pacific region was higher than in any other region. While in any other category and any other region, the number of properties

without buffers exceeded those without, in the Asia and the Pacific region the number of urban settlements with buffers and without buffers was the same.

Table 12.2 Number of properties with and without a buffer zone, by category and by region

Before 1997	Urban settlements		Cultural		Natural		Mixed	
	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without
Africa	1	3	0	13	2	27	0	1
Arab States	2	15	0	29	0	2	0	1
Asia and the Pacific	6	5	19	42	13	15	2	6
Europe and North America	26	45	35	118	9	24	2	6
Latin America	8	18	5	20	6	11	0	3

After 1997	Urban settlements		Cultural		Natural		Mixed	
	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without	With	Without
Africa	5	1	19	1	4	0	2	0
Arab States	2	0	10	0	1	0	0	0
Asia and the Pacific	7	0	38	2	12	5	1	0
Europe and North America	37	1	77	14	9	6	0	0
Latin America	9	0	16	4	15	2	0	0

Based on these findings, it seems that the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage settlements is not a recent concern, nor have buffer zones been used more frequently for the protection of natural properties as one could have expected. The findings show that urban settlements are in fact the category with the highest number of buffers. Thus, in the next section, I

will examine in more detail how buffer zones have been used for urban settlements.

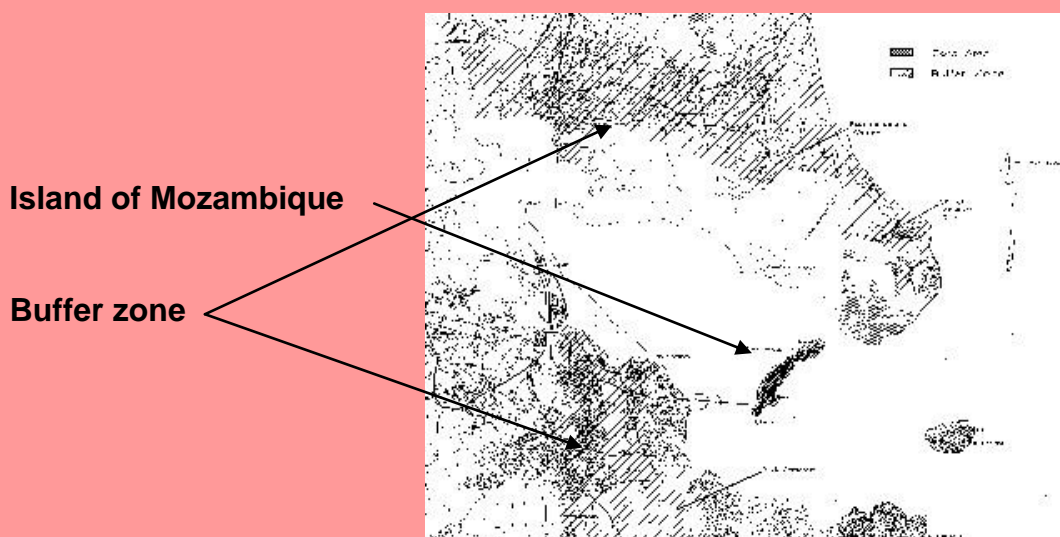
12.2 BUFFER ZONES FOR WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

The first nomination file to mention that a buffer zone was in place was that of L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site in Canada in 1978. The first urban settlement with a buffer zone was the Island of Mozambique, nominated in 1991. The Kathmandu Valley and the Old City of Dubrovnik, both inscribed in 1979, have buffers that were included after an extension of the properties in 2006 and 1994 respectively. The ICOMOS evaluations of the Historic Centre of Mexico City and Xochimilco (1987) and the Historic City of Sucre (1991) refer to the existence of buffer zones, although there is no mention of them in the nomination files. In the case of Old Rauma (1991), there is no reference to a buffer zone either in the nomination file or the ICOMOS evaluation, but only in an appendix to the latter. As these cases show, the assumption that a buffer zone was identified at the time of inscription is based on different sources as already explained. It also shows that even when a buffer zone exists, it may differ considerably in its content, that is:

- a) it may have been established intentionally as a buffer zone;
- b) it may have been described by ICOMOS as a buffer zone at the time of evaluation though not designated as such at the national level; or
- c) it may have been identified as a buffer zone only for the purposes of nominating the property without real management implications.

To illustrate the different possibilities, I will now explore how the concept has been used in different nomination files, focusing on the most significant cases.

Figure 12.5 Map showing World Heritage property and buffer zone of Island of Mozambique (Mozambique)



The nomination file of the Island of Mozambique is innovative in several respects. First, it is the earliest nomination of an urban settlement that includes a buffer zone, as already mentioned. Second, the property is defined as a core area and a buffer zone, which reflects the terminology used for natural protected areas at the time. Third, being an island, one would not expect any need for a buffer zone. The buffer is made of wide coastal stretches on both sides of the Mossuril Bay (see Figure 12.5). The year of inscription of the Island of Mozambique, 1991, is the year when the number of properties with buffer zones started to rise. The following year, four urban settlements were inscribed with buffer zones; of these, three were in the Czech Republic, and all included large buffers. In Prague for example, the nominated area corresponds to the historic centre of the city, while the buffer is an area approximately covering almost all of the inner city, as shown in Figure 12.6. As for properties in general, the use of buffers for urban

settlements increased since 1991. Table 12.3 shows how the use of buffer zones for urban settlements changed over the years.

Figure 12.6 Map of Prague showing boundaries of nominated property and buffer zones



The year 1997 clearly marks a turning point. Since then, only two properties have been inscribed without buffers. But did the nomination files include buffer zones or was ICOMOS calling buffers other types of areas protected nationally?

Since 1998, all nominations files of urban settlements include buffer zones except those of Ubeda-Baeza, Kazan Kremlin, Chorá of Pátmos, Ibiza and Tlacotalpan. Either the nomination file indicates that there is a buffer zone, or the delimitations of a buffer zone are included in the maps provided by the State Party. The analysis of these maps, which present the boundaries of the nominated properties and buffer zones, demonstrates different approaches in the design of buffer zones, particularly regarding size. They can be divided into four groups:

Table 12.3 Number of urban settlements with or without buffer zones per year of inscription

Year	With Buffer Zone	Without Buffer Zone	With Buffer zone after extension
1978	0	2	-
1979	2	7	2
1980	0	5	-
1981	0	2	-
1982	0	5	-
1983	0	5	-
1984	1	3	1
1985	0	8	-
1986	0	6	-
1987	2	7	1
1988	0	12	-
1989	0	0	-
1990	1	5	1
1991	3	2	-
1992	4	3	-
1993	6	2	-
1994	5	1	-
1995	5	6	-
1996	6	1	-
1997	8	4	-
1998	9	1	-
1999	10	0	-
2000	11	1	-
2001	8	0	-
2002	3	0	-
2003	5	0	-
2004	2	0	-
2005	7	0	-
2006	3	0	-
2007	3	0	-

- where the buffer zone includes only the immediate surroundings of the properties;
- where the area of the buffer zone exceeds that of the property, including a considerable part of the surroundings, but whose size is still limited;
- where the area of the buffer zone considerably exceeds that of the property and includes much of the surrounding landscape or urban context; and
- where the buffer zone does not surround the property completely.

I will now investigate each category separately.

Buffer zones that include only the immediate surroundings of the properties

In most cases in this group, the area of the buffer zone is smaller than that of the property. There are cases, however, where it exceeds the size of the nominated property, because part of the buffer is extended to include a particular area of the settlement. This group comprises urban settlements such as Le Havre, Tel-Aviv, Acre, Essaouira, Shakhrisybs, Brugge, Bradejov, Verona, Vigan, Visby, Harar-Jugol or Cienfuegos (see Figures 12.7 and 12.8). These properties were inscribed after 1997 and therefore the limited sizes of their buffer zones cannot be attributed to an early development of the concept.

Buffer zones with an area exceeding that of the properties but whose size is still limited

This is the largest group, with a wide range of buffer sizes. Only the surrounding area of the property is included but it includes a larger part of the

Figure 12.7 Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Le Havre (France) and Essaouira (Morocco)



Le Havre:

Date of inscription: 2005
 Nominated area: 133 ha
 Buffer zone: 114 ha



Essaouira:

Date of inscription: 2001
 Nominated area : 30 ha
 Buffer zone : 15 ha

Figure 12.8 Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones Brugges (Belgium) and Shakhrisyabz (Uzbekistan)



Brugges:

Date of inscription: 2000
 Nominated area: 410 ha
 Buffer zone: 168 ha



Shakhrisyabz:

Date of inscription: 2000
 Nominated area : 240 ha
 Buffer zone : 82 ha

Figure 12.9 Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Liverpool (United Kingdom) and Valparaíso (Chile)



Liverpool:

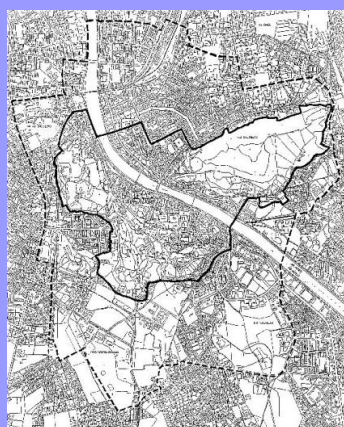
Date of inscription: 2004
 Nominated area: 136 ha
 Buffer zone: 750.5 ha



Valparaíso:

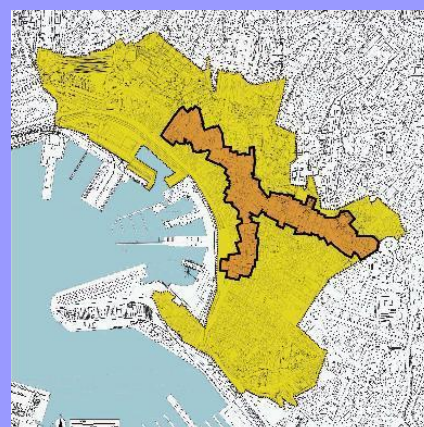
Date of inscription: 2003
 Nominated area : 23.2 ha
 Buffer zone : 44.5 ha

Figure 12.10 Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Salzburg (Austria) and Genoa (Italy)



Salzburg:

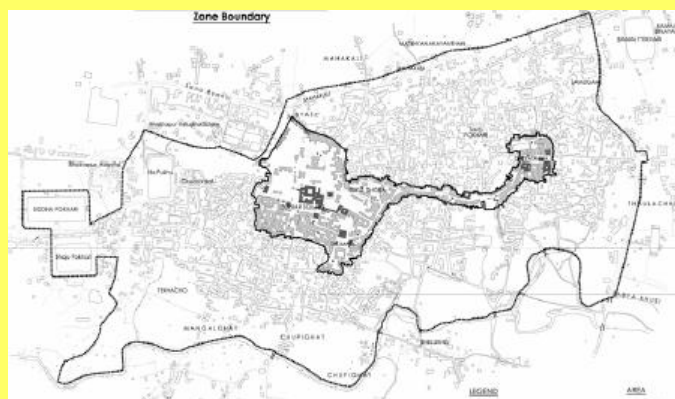
Date of inscription: 1996
 Nominated area: 236 ha
 Buffer zone: 467 ha



Genoa:

Date of inscription: 2006
 Nominated area : 15.81 ha
 Buffer zone : 113 ha

Figure 12.11 Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Holašovice (Czech Republic) and Bhaktapur in Kathmandu Valley (Nepal)



Holašovice:		Bhaktapur:	
Date of inscription:	1998	Date of inscription:	1979 and 2006
Nominated area:	11.4 ha	Nominated area :	14.06 ha
Buffer zone:	367.5 ha	Buffer zone :	106.83 ha

Figure 12.12 Maps showing World Heritage properties and buffer zones of Provins (France) and Sanmenli Village in Kaiping Diaolou and Villages (China)



Provins, Town of Medieval Fairs:		Sanmenli Village:	
Date of inscription:	2001	Date of inscription:	2007
Nominated area:	108 ha	Nominated area :	14 ha
Buffer zone:	1365 ha	Buffer zone :	691 ha

context than in the previous group. It includes settlements like Liverpool, Trebic, Derbent, Valparaíso, Stralsund and Wismar, Lamu, Vienna, Baku, Kazan Kremlin, Arequipa, Hoi An, San Cristobal de la Laguna, Alcalá de Henares, Tallinn, Riga, Salzburg and Porto (see Figure 12.9).

Buffer zones whose areas considerably exceed those of the properties

The number of cases with buffers of this type has increased in recent years, since the size of buffers in general has been increasing. There are some early examples, such as the urban settlements in the Czech Republic, but these are the exception rather than the rule. Recent examples are Kaiping Diaolou and Villages, Ubeda-Baeza, Urbino, Provins, Goiás, St. George and some of the settlements from the Kathmandu Valley (see Figures 12.11 and 12.12). In most cases, these are settlements of limited size, whose historic parts take precedence over the contemporary environment.

Buffer zones that do not surround the properties completely

This is the smallest and most unusual group. In this category, the buffer zones do not surround the properties entirely but cover only specific sections of the surroundings. Some of the properties in this group are the Island of Mozambique, Diamantina and Paramaribo (see Figure 12.13). Lyon and Budapest also belonged to this group before their nomination files were modified, following recommendations made by ICOMOS that the buffers surround the properties completely.

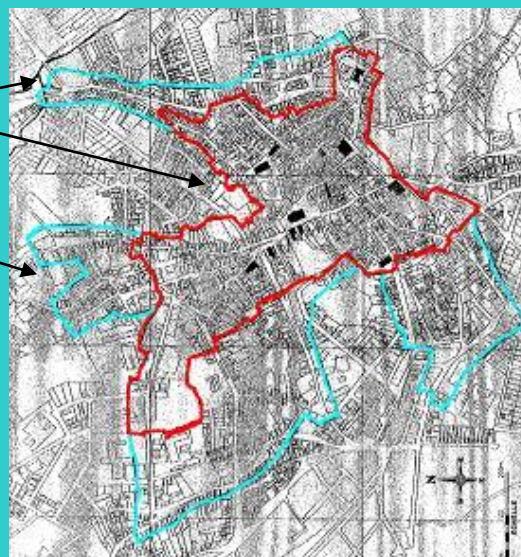
Grouping buffer zones into different categories highlights the variety of strategies and approaches behind their use. There are, however, some common elements. In the majority of cases, buffers surround the property completely; there are very few examples where this is not the case.

Figure 12.13 Map showing World Heritage property and buffer zone of Diamantina (Brazil)

Nominated property

Buffer zone

Date of inscription: 1999
 Nominated area: 28.5 ha
 Buffer zone: n.a

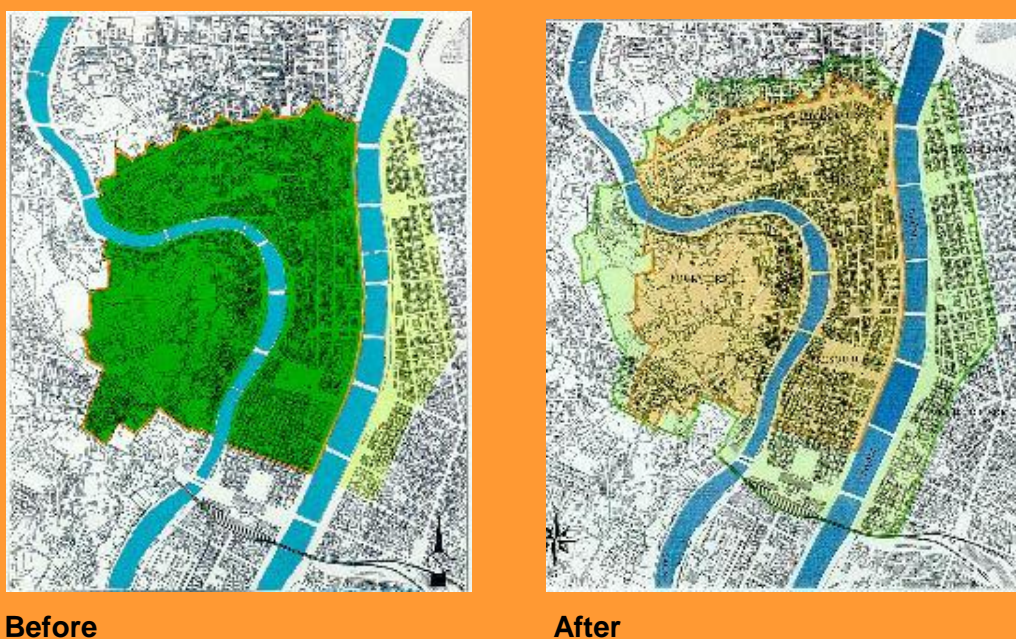


In addition, buffer zones tend to include a significant area of the surroundings of the property beyond the immediate surroundings. This type of approach seems to be favoured by ICOMOS. For example, the nomination file of Lyon defined as a buffer zone only the left bank of the Rhone River, opposite the property. But in its evaluation, ICOMOS states,

'This was not considered to be adequate, even though much of the urban area surrounding the nominated site is covered within the POS [Plan d'Occupation des Sols]. ICOMOS proposed that there should be a clearly defined buffer zone that extends all round the nominated area. This proposal was accepted by the responsible authorities in Lyon and revised maps were submitted to ICOMOS (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)'.

The buffer zone was therefore extended to include the immediate surroundings of the property, as can be seen in Figure 12.14.

Figure 12.14 Maps showing World Heritage property and buffer zone of Lyon (France) as included in the nomination file and revised after ICOMOS' recommendations.



The maps show that the buffer zone was extended to surround the whole property, as recommended by ICOMOS, but the area identified only includes the immediate surroundings. Based on the findings presented in Chapters 7 and 8, which show that in general urban settlements are mostly subjected to threats originating in the buffer zones or beyond them, one can question the merit of this approach. In fact, the size and configuration of the buffer zone alone do not explain how the buffer acts as an added layer of protection or how it acts to eliminate or minimise threats to the property. Therefore, I will now examine if there are indications in the nomination files on how the buffer zones protect the properties.

12.3 HOW BUFFER ZONES PROTECT (OR NOT) THE PROPERTIES

In the 2005 version of the Operational guidelines, the definition of a buffer zone states that a buffer zone has restrictions placed on its use and development. These two types of restrictions are often mentioned in the nomination files, in which restrictions in use mainly refer to land-use. Height regulations seem to be the most common type of restrictions¹² but I consider these to be under the category of restrictions in development. In addition, buffer zones are also subject to construction restrictions, control of design of constructions, and protection of views.

But many nominations that include buffer zones do not mention any restrictions at all. In most cases, the information is limited to size and number of inhabitants, with nominations including a map showing the boundaries of the different areas, as required in the nomination form. A considerable number of nominations describe what is included in the buffer zone but few nominations include a clear statement on how the buffer zone protects the nominated property. Some examples can be found in Box 12.1.

Some statements are more objective than others. It is important to recall that State Parties are requested to include an explanation of how the buffer zone protects the property in nomination files only since 2005. Paragraph 106 of the Guidelines states that a buffer zone is not mandatory but if a State Party decides not to include one it must justify its decision. The United Kingdom, in its nomination of Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape, considered that it was unnecessary to include a buffer zone on the following grounds:

¹² This is the case of 'Kaiping Diaolou', Regensburg, Yaroslavl, El Jadida, Trebic, Acre, Alcalá de Henares, Tallinn, Panamá City, and Visby.

Box 12.1 Description of how buffer zones protected the properties in nomination files (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)

-
- **Corfu, Greece**
The existence of this buffer zone is deemed necessary for the following reasons:
 - control of land use, so as to ban incompatible exploitation of the area;
 - control of construction that would obstruct views toward the property;
 - control of the design of constructions, so as not to offend the special historical character of each part of the property.

 - **Liverpool, United Kingdom**
The proposed Buffer Zone has been developed to help to ensure that future development in the setting of the Nominated Site respects the values of the Nominated Site.

 - **Lamu, Kenya**
The buffer zone is approximated to be about 1,200 ha covering part of the Indian ocean waters and the Manda island skyline to guarantee the integrity and authenticity of Lamu old town.

 - **Nara, Japan**
Each of the eight cultural assets is protected, directly surrounded by a buffer zone in which a variety of city planning regulations are implemented in order to control development in the immediate vicinity of the protected cultural assets; lying between the individual buffer zones are areas in which various regulations are implemented under applicable laws with the aim of maintaining harmony between urban development and the historic scenery of the region in general. Being as effective as ordinary buffer zones in protecting the nominated cultural assets and thereby contributing to the conservation of the environment reminiscent of that of ancient Nara, these areas can duly be treated as another type of buffer zone, which is hereinafter to be referred to as an “historic environmental harmonization area” for convenience.”

 - **Willemstad, The Netherlands**
The buffer zones are protective zones adjacent to culturally and historically valuable areas. They prevent indiscriminate development from entering the protected areas.
-

'A formal buffer zone does not bring any statutory protection in the United Kingdom. A buffer zone would only serve to trigger policies in strategic planning documents (including Development Plans) for the protection of the setting of the nominated Site. Provided that there are appropriate policies in Development Plans, these do not need a defined formal buffer zone to be triggered. Instead it relies on the local planning authority and other agencies to decide the setting issue, on a case by case basis, taking into account wider considerations, any possible detrimental effects and applying judgement (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)'.

The United Kingdom is not the only country where a buffer zone does not have statutory protection under existing national legislation. Similar concerns were expressed in the nominations of Lunenburg and Rauma.

There are also cases where the nomination files include buffer zones but these do not benefit from any specific layer of legal protection. ICOMOS refers to this problem in the nominations of Harar-Jugol, Guimarães and Santa Ana de los Rios de Cuenca. What the example from the United Kingdom shows is that there can be other mechanisms to protect the surroundings of World Heritage properties. In section 12.1, I have showed that in many cases, ICOMOS considered as buffer zones areas that were not designed as such, or were not legally designated as such, under national legislations of the State Parties considered.

In other cases, nominated properties are surrounded by an area protected under national legislation but these are not defined as buffers either in the nomination file or in the evaluation of ICOMOS. In most cases, such areas are designated simply as "protected areas" or "areas of protection". This is the case of Pienza and Urbino, whose surroundings are protected under a legal instrument called *vincolo paesaggistico*. But since there is no reference to this area as the equivalent of a buffer zone in the nomination file or in the evaluation by ICOMOS, for the purposes of the analysis carried out in

sections 12.1 and 12.2, both settlements are considered not to have a buffer zone. When considering cases like this, if such areas had been considered as buffer zones by ICOMOS at the time of inscription, fourteen World Heritage settlements would need to be added to the forty three identified in section 12.2: Kairouan, Lijiang, Kandy, Itchan Kala, Carcassone, Goslar, Siena, Pienza, Banska Stiavnica, Santiago de Compostela, Toledo, Salamanca, Olinda and Salvador da Bahia.

In some of the cases reviewed so far, the surroundings of the properties are protected by legal national mechanisms but are not recognised as buffer zones under the World Heritage Convention. There are also examples of buffer zones that have been designated at the time of inscription or extension but have no legal status at the national level. For instance, in the case of the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape, a buffer zone does not bring any statutory protection in the United Kingdom, however and as shown in Figure 12.9 above, the nomination file of Liverpool refers to a buffer zone. This implies that the buffer zone has in fact no legal status, though it does not preclude that the area be protected through other mechanisms. Buffer zones can therefore be established to comply with nomination requirements and for the sole purpose of nominating the property to the World Heritage List.

12.4 CONCLUSIONS

The above findings demonstrate that, until 1991, the number of properties with buffer zones was very limited compared to the total number of properties inscribed. This was followed by a period in which there was an increase in the use of buffer zones (1991-1997). Since 1998 the number of properties with buffers substantially exceeds those without one. The findings also show that urban settlements have the highest proportion of buffer zones compared

to other categories¹³. The analysis of the maps of buffer zones for urban settlements showed four different groups, mostly based on size, with a majority of buffer zones surrounding the property in its entirety, including a significant area of the surroundings, but not a wider part of the landscape or the urban context, and mostly including areas with historic urban fabric.

I have also shown that size and configuration alone do not fully explain how the buffer acts as an added layer of protection to the property. Few nominations include a clear statement on the purpose of the buffer. In addition, the findings show that buffer zones may be established mostly to ensure the inscription of the property on the World Heritage List. The buffer zone is seen as an additional requirement rather than a means to enhance protection of the surroundings of the properties. In several cases, there are mechanisms in place at the national level to protect the surroundings of the properties; these are sometimes designated as buffer zones for the purposes of inscription.

Overall, the findings show that there is no clear rationale for establishing buffer zones, other than the vague notion of an added layer of protection. The vagueness of the definition included in the Operational Guidelines compounds the challenge of implementing a concept that remains little understood, as the results of the Periodic Reporting (presented in Chapter 7) show. To address these difficulties, two experts meetings were organized in 2006 and 2008. I will discuss these in the next chapter.

¹³ It is important to note that other categories within cultural properties were not considered and further analysis could prove differently. The findings also compare to natural and cultural properties in general.

13. EXPERT MEETINGS ON BUFFER ZONES

The first meeting expert meeting on buffer zones was held in Japan in November 2006. It was organized by Professor Toshiyuki Kono from the Faculty of Law of Kyushu University. Professor Kono, in an article published in 2000, explained why there was a need to establish criteria for buffer zones and how they should be maintained. He further argued that the case-by-case approach of the Operational Guidelines, allowed some conceptual flexibility but also increased the risk of manipulation (Kono, 2000, pp.177-184). The key recommendations of the meeting were exclusively aimed at ICOMOS, requesting that it further study the issues of buffer zones and their protection.

The second meeting was held in 2008 in Switzerland and included participants from sixteen countries as well as representatives of the Advisory Bodies and the World Heritage Centre. For the purposes of this thesis, I will only examine the conclusions related to the definition of buffer zones, their identification, as well as legal considerations.

Regarding the definition of a buffer zone, the meeting concluded:

‘The concept of a World Heritage buffer zone should be regarded as a summary term used by the World Heritage Committee for a diverse range of buffer zone typologies that are used to provide additional protection to an inscribed World Heritage property, or to support its sustainable use... States Parties should use terminology for buffer zones that meet their own management requirements and reflect cultural/linguistic situations and the need to clearly communicate buffer zone concepts to local stakeholders’ (World Heritage Centre, 2009, p.161).

This definition is in fact not very different from the definition used in the nomination files. In the previous chapter, I discussed how State Parties have

in fact used existing legal mechanisms but renamed as buffer zones in the nomination files. The above proposal goes a step further, by suggesting that the terminology employed in national legal documents be maintained, therefore guaranteeing that such areas have legal status.

The meeting also recognized the usefulness of buffer zones as a tool to address external threats. This has an implication on the identification of appropriate boundaries and the concept of integrity. The meeting acknowledged that the concept of integrity was fundamental ‘to establish the outstanding universal value of the proposed World Heritage property and then determine the area necessary to contain those values (ibid, p.162)’. Only then should a buffer zone be determined to provide the necessary protection to the property from external threats but not to protect the area per se. To do so, the meeting furthermore concluded that,

‘sometimes more than one buffer zone could be created for a single property to enhance integrity and management. For instance the boundaries of an area to preserve important views and settings of an urban area might be different to that required to manage traffic impacts or visitor pressure (ibid, p.161)’.

Even when all the above measures were taken into consideration, the meeting recognized that buffer zones ‘will not address every threat or respond to every opportunity or issue as some of these will come from beyond the buffer zone (ibid)’. Again, the meeting addressed one of the major weaknesses of the present implementation of the concept of buffer zone: its limitation to address pressures originating from outside its boundaries. The conclusion was to introduce a third concept, that of “area of influence”. Like the concept of buffer zone, the concept of area of influence was defined for biosphere reserves in the UNESCO Man and Biosphere

(MAB) programme. Participants in the 2008 meeting, however, did not propose that the concept be included in the Operational Guidelines.

Another conclusion of the meeting was that urban areas required specific buffer zones requirements in particular in relation to the impacts of new buildings on the visual integrity of the urban townscape. It was argued that a holistic integrated management approach, encompassing a wider area and including the designated buffer zone(s), was necessary. In addition, participants stated that, 'management systems should include both the World Heritage property and its World Heritage buffer zone(s). However, it was noted that in many cases this was not possible (ibid, p.163)'. In addition, the conclusions of the meeting stated, that,

'Any World Heritage buffer zone does not include outstanding universal value but provides additional protection for the outstanding universal value and integrity of the property... and are not regarded as part of the inscribed World Heritage property' (ibid, p.167).

But then again by adding "World Heritage" prior to buffer zone it contradicts the statement. Most importantly, the meeting acknowledged that:

'There is a range of potential threats to the outstanding universal value and integrity of World Heritage properties which require mechanisms other than buffer zones to be addressed (ibid)'.

Such a recommendation opens new possibilities for the protection of World Heritage properties by removing the imperative to establish buffer zones. It recognizes the fact that while buffer zones can address potential threats, there may be other and more effective tools. Although, the present definition included in the Operational Guidelines does not make a buffer zone as an obligatory requirement of the nomination, in practice it is perceived as such.

PART V

CASE STUDIES

14. INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDIES

14.1 INTRODUCTION

In section 1.6.3, I described the criteria that I used to select my four case studies: Angra do Heroísmo (Portugal), Olinda (Brazil), Marrakesh (Morocco) and the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal). These properties were all included in the early years of the World Heritage List: in 1983, 1982, 1985 and 1979 respectively. The criteria that justified their inscription are presented in table 14.1.

Table 14.1 Criteria used for the inscription of the World Heritage settlements used as case studies on the World Heritage List

Settlements	Criteria					
	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
Angra do Heroísmo (Portugal)				•		•
Olinda (Brazil)		•		•		
Marrakesh (Morocco)	•	•		•	•	
Kathmandu Valley (Nepal)			•	•		•

Table 14.1 shows a variety of combinations of criteria, similar to those identified in section 5.2.1; criterion iv is used in all four cases and the combination of criteria ii and iv is used in two cases. In each of the case studies I provide a summary of the justification used to inscribe the properties on the World Heritage List. All of the properties were clearly identified at the time of inscription, with the exception of the Kathmandu Valley, whose boundaries were uncertain, a situation that was not unusual in the early years of the World Heritage List. As I also explain in section 1.6.3, each case study

was selected on the basis of its contribution to a better understanding of how efficiently the existing protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention contribute to the protection of historic urban settlements and how these have been protected since the time of inscription, especially their surroundings.

With the exception of the Kathmandu Valley, all of the properties had legal mechanisms for the protection of the surroundings at the time of inscription. In the case of Angra do Heroísmo, a protection area adjacent to the property was identified in the nomination document. It did not surround the property completely but was extended on various occasions through different legal mechanisms. In Olinda, the World Heritage property coincided with the conservation area listed under national legislation, which included a special area for the protection of the surroundings of the property. The boundaries of the national conservation area were redefined later but the area is still basically the same identified at the time of inscription. In the case of Marrakesh, although the surroundings of the property were not clearly identified, the palm grove surrounding the medina was protected under national legislation long before the property was included on the World Heritage List. In addition, at the time of inscription, the World Heritage Committee made specific recommendations for these surroundings to be protected. The case study of the Kathmandu Valley is different as it was unclear what exactly was included as the property at the time of inscription. However, later decisions by the World Heritage Committee were based on concerns over the destruction of the surroundings of the religious buildings thought to constitute the property. Taken together, the case studies offer the opportunity to investigate how the properties have been protected under the World Heritage Convention, if the concept of surroundings has evolved over time, if the purposes for which the areas identified for the protection of the

surroundings have been met, and how these areas contribute to the protection of the World Heritage properties.

14.2 LIMITATIONS IN CASE STUDIES

In section 1.6.3, I mentioned how time and financial limitations influenced the selection of case studies. These factors also influenced how the research was carried out, which involved visiting three different continents. Field visits were therefore limited to a single trip to each location, with the exception of the Angra do Heroísmo case study, which is based on my professional experience working there. In Olinda, the Kathmandu Valley and Marrakesh I spent five weeks, three weeks and two weeks in 2004, 2005 and 2007 respectively. The limited duration of the field visits was compensated by thorough investigation before the visit and, most importantly, by direct support from professionals closely involved in the conservation of the property or with direct professional experience with the properties concerned. Interviews with key actors in the management of the properties allowed me to access relevant literature while benefiting from their views. Thus, each field visit was set up in advance and with clear objectives. In a way, this experience does not differ much from that of professionals who carry out evaluation and Reactive Monitoring missions of World Heritage properties on behalf of UNESCO and the Advisory Bodies. In fact, in general, such missions have a much shorter duration and do not always involve as much preparatory work¹⁴. As such, the short duration can be considered as a weakness of the research but it can also be considered an advantage as it somehow recreated the conditions of expert missions and can be seen as another way of understanding how the World Heritage system operates.

¹⁴ Observation made based on my professional experience working with IUCN.

Similarly, the information gathered during each field visit largely depended on the contacts established and the information that my counterparts were willing to provide. In the case of Olinda, I received enormous support from Prof. Dr. Silvio Zancheti of the Centre for Integrated Conservation in Recife (CECI), who lives in Olinda and helped me organise meetings with professionals from all the management agencies directly responsible for the protection of the property. Likewise, in the Kathmandu Valley, I could count on the support of Dr. Rohit Jigyasu, who has carried out extensive research in the valley, and facilitated similar interviews to those carried out in Olinda. The case study of Marrakesh was carried out with considerable challenges as I did not have any personal contacts in the region, to a point that I almost considered not including it. I was, however, able to establish contacts with one professional in the property, through the kind support of the director of ICCROM, Mr. Mounir Bouchenaki. I also contacted Mr. Mohammed El Faïz who kindly agreed to meet me even though I did not have any references. His inputs, but mostly his book on Marrakesh, were instrumental in understanding the situation there.

Since the first field visit to Olinda, which was also the longest, I realised that gathering the right information did not depend so much on the amount of time spent in the property as much as on the willingness of the professionals to provide me with their insights; they seemed to be concerned with how the information would be used and presented in this thesis. I realised that it was easier to get the inner bits and pieces if I didn't carry out formal interviews and did not quote them directly, but used the information to link the different pieces together and tell the story. For these reasons, the case studies were considerably influenced by the ability to gather information from other sources, mostly from existing literature, which varies significantly from case to case. In the case of Angra do Heroísmo, the case study is mostly based on professional experience and thus less dependent on external information

gathering. For Olinda, access to literature was facilitated by the fact that my mother tongue is Portuguese. In the case of Marrakesh, the fact that most existing literature is in Arabic proved particularly limiting. In the case of the Kathmandu Valley there is extensive literature, mostly in English. This is due to the fact that this property was subject to Reactive Monitoring for a long period of time (1993-2009) and that this is well documented.

In addition, the scope of the study progressively changed throughout the period of research towards management policy for the protection of World heritage settlements at the international level. This was partly influenced by my professional situation, which evolved throughout the period of research, providing me with a growing understanding of the World Heritage system at the international level and the limitations in its implementation. But the Kathmandu Valley case study also played a significant role. The history of the conservation of the Kathmandu Valley is very much determined by external influences and mostly by the World Heritage system, which makes it a very different case from the other case studies.

14.3 DIFFERENCES IN CASE STUDIES

Criteria like similarities in social and cultural aspects or geographic proximity are commonly used in selecting case studies. However, for the present study, they would in fact limit the scope of the research as they would limit the very concept of World Heritage. Based on this argument, one of the main criteria for selection of case studies was regional distribution and representation. As such, aspects like geographic setting, social and economic contexts and even religion are completely different for each of the case studies; I have thus decided to limit any references to it.

The Kathmandu Valley case study is lengthier than the other case studies as the property has been through processes that the other properties did not go through. This is documented in extensive reports of the World Heritage Committee, the State Party and other professionals. These not only tell the history of the conservation of the property but in a way they also trace the history of the implementation of the Convention. One could argue that, based on these circumstances, the Kathmandu Valley case study could be made central to the research, that no comparison can be made with the other case studies, and thus that the other case studies are unnecessary. But I argue otherwise for the following reasons:

- 1) the Kathmandu Valley attracted attention from the international community even before it was included on the World Heritage List, which facilitated the access to information on the state of conservation of the property through channels that were not in place at the other case studies. Thus, the other properties could be facing similar situations, but since such channels are not in place, the information may not have been brought to the Committee's attention;
- 2) the extensive literature on the history of the conservation of the Kathmandu Valley contributes to understanding how the World Heritage Convention has been implemented throughout the years and how it has helped protect the properties. However it helps answer only part of the research question of this study. In order to determine to what extent are existing protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention contributing to the protection of historic urban settlements and their surroundings in particular it is fundamental to look at other case studies;

- 3) the combination of the different case studies covers an array of situations on the protection of the surroundings of the properties that could never be explored through a single case study, regardless of how unique that case study is;
- 4) a comparison between the case studies based on identical parameters was never an objective of this study as their selection was based on their diversity rather than their commonalities. Hence, the strength is in their differences and how these can contribute to a better understanding of the weaknesses and strengths of the World Heritage system, how different circumstances may require different solutions, and how similar approaches may result in different outcomes.

Based on these arguments, each case study is unique and this is reflected in its individual framework. Despite the differences, the following elements were used to structure the information presented:

- identification of the World Heritage property;
- institutional and legislative frameworks;
- management;
- boundaries and buffer zones;
- factors affecting the property and their surroundings in particular.

These structuring elements are at the basis of any assessment of the state of conservation of a property and its management effectiveness. In addition, they are also the structuring elements used to compile the information gathered through the Periodic Reporting exercise presented in Chapter 7, and will facilitate the comparison of results.

In addition, taken into consideration the purpose of this thesis, for the sake of brevity and to facilitate comparison, I have decided to include on the main part of the thesis the most relevant part of the information and to move

further complementary elements to the appendices. Thus on the main text, the case studies are structured around a general introduction on what constitutes the property and the factors affecting their state of conservation and those of their surroundings in particular. In the appendices, you can find further information on their history of conservation, institutional and legislative frameworks and management arrangements.

15. CASE STUDY: CENTRAL ZONE OF THE TOWN OF ANGRA DO HEROÍSMO IN THE AZORES, PORTUGAL

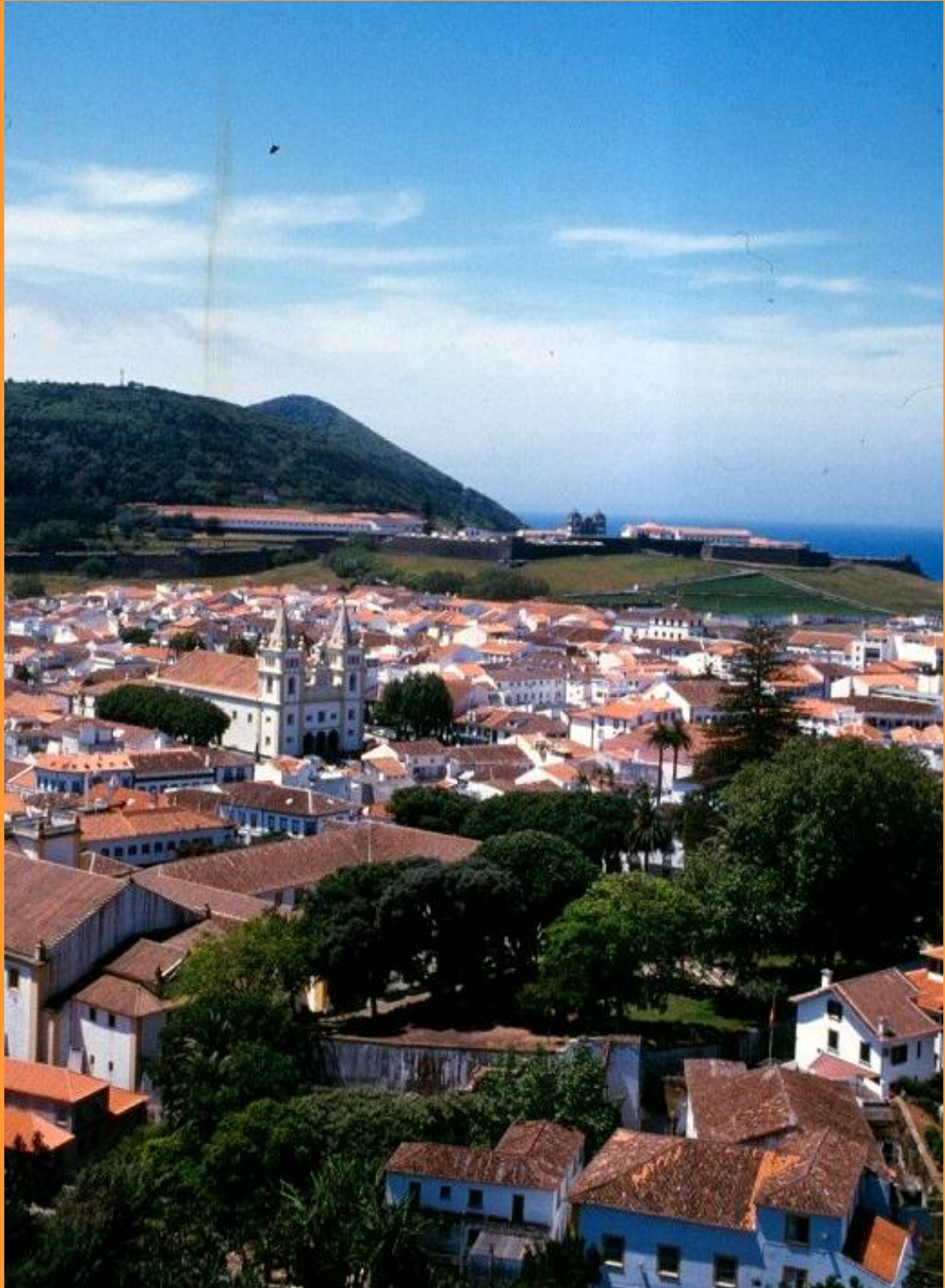
15.1 THE WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY¹⁵

The “Central Zone of the Town of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores” was included on the World Heritage List in 1983. The city was damaged by an earthquake in 1980 and subsequently rebuilt, based on photographic documentation collected prior to the event. The property was included on the World Heritage List under criteria iv and vi. ICOMOS’ evaluation recommended the inscription ‘Within the framework of a thematic proposition based on “the maritime explorations of the 15th and 16th centuries” (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)’. The justification is thus mostly based on a historic point of view which validates the use of criterion (vi). ICOMOS considered that the property was ‘directly and tangibly associated with an event of a universal historic significance: the maritime exploration which permitted exchanges between the great civilizations of the earth (ibid)’. However, a similar justification was given for the use of criterion iv: ‘Set in the mid-Atlantic, the port of Angra, obligatory port-of-call for fleets from Africa and the Indies, is the eminent example of a creation linked to the maritime world, within the framework of the great explorations (ibid)’.

It is important to recall that at the time of inscription of the property, the wording of criterion iv was: “be an outstanding example of a type of structure which illustrates a significant stage in history” (see Appendix 1), which also emphasises the historic role of the property. On the other hand, the justification used for this criterion implies that the type of structure considered is the port of Angra only. However, the emphasis on the criteria used and the justifications given is clearly on the historical importance of the property.

¹⁵ For further information on the background of this case study, please see Appendix 9.

Figure 15.1 View of Angra do Heroísmo, Azores



There is no information in the ICOMOS evaluation on the attributes that support the values identified. In addition, there is no information regarding the authenticity of the property, despite the fact that it had been partly destroyed by an earthquake just three years before its inscription.

Consequently, although the town's layout is in function of, and surrounding the natural harbour, traditionally no buildings were constructed too close to the sea (with the exception of the fortresses). Recent developments promoted by the municipality following the trend of urban rehabilitation of urban waterfronts in major European cities have considerably altered this relationship and constitute the main rationale behind this case study. Indeed the potential visual impact of the new developments was reported to the World Heritage Committee in 1999, but was never followed up on.

15.2 FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

There are several factors affecting the state of conservation of the property. One relates to the authenticity of the traditional buildings. It is still common practice to completely destroy the internal organisation of the traditional buildings while keeping only the main façade. Sometimes not even this remains, as it is considered easier to destroy the traditional façade and then reconstruct it alike. This was a common practice in the wake of the 1980 earthquake and was generally considered acceptable by the responsible authorities. On one occasion, when faced with a request to approve such works, my technical evaluation was not to approve it, but this evaluation was subsequently overruled by higher legal authorities. Similarly, the replacement of traditional materials and features by modern ones, although illegal under existing legislation, was carried out with impunity.

But the main factor affecting the protection of the property and its surroundings in particular, during the period that I worked at the GZCAH, was the absence of any legal planning instrument. There was no master plan or any similar planning mechanism for the city. Thus urban development control was based on the analysis of the different construction projects submitted to the municipality for approval. The first ever master plan for the city was legally approved only in 2004. Since most of the area of the property is densely built and highly controlled, requests for new constructions were rare, but there was considerable pressure to develop within the immediate surroundings. This was particularly true for tourism development.

In the late 1990s, the municipality launched a series of projects to promote and develop the city in terms of tourism. The main project as part of this initiative was the construction of a new marina in the bay of Angra do Heroísmo. The potential visual impacts of the structure on the waterfront of the property were brought to the attention of the World Heritage Committee at its 22nd session in 1998. Concerned about the visual impacts of the project (see Figure 15.2), the Committee requested that ICOMOS undertake a mission to the property. The mission took place in late 1998. In its report, ICOMOS stated that much of the problem derived from the lack of a general master plan for the city (ICOMOS, 1998, n.p.). As stated in the Committee's decision 22COM VII.39, 'ICOMOS oppose[d] this particular project for the negative impact it would have on the World Heritage values of the site. It recommended that an alternative location be sought for the marina (World Heritage Centre, 1998, p.57)'. Based on this, the Committee 'encouraged the State Party to continue its dialogue with ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee in order to find the best solution.... [and to] be kept informed periodically on further developments in this matter (ibid)'.

A second mission took place in the beginning of 1999, at the request of the Portuguese authorities. The mission report noted that works had already begun and that heavy equipment for the construction of the dam to break the waves and to protect the marina were already in place (World Heritage Centre, 1999, n.p.). Following the mission, the Portuguese authorities presented supplementary information to ICOMOS and a state of conservation report was prepared for the Committee's consideration. This report included updated information on the waterfront rehabilitation project, which included not only a marina but new constructions on the garden of the Corte-Reais and the old building of the fish market, the refurbishing of the open area of the customs building, and other buildings. In the state of conservation report to the Committee, it was considered that the new construction on the actual garden should be reconsidered, that the new construction in the Encosta do Cantalogo area (a natural cliff) would seriously affect the values of the waterfront and, furthermore, that a general urban development plan was still missing and that the integration of the marina/waterfront project in the city plan was not shown. The report concluded by stating that the construction of the marina would have a negative visual impact on the bay (ibid).

Based on the state of conservation report,

'the World Heritage Committee endorsed the views expressed by ICOMOS regarding the proposed rehabilitation of the waterfront and urged the Portuguese authorities to take these into account in reconsidering the plans for this area... It requested the authorities to submit a report on the above matters by 15 April 2000 for consideration by the Bureau at its twenty-fourth session (World Heritage Centre, 1999h, pp.35-36)'.

However, there is no record that such report was ever submitted by the Portuguese authorities, nor that of any of the other decisions taken by the Committee regarding the property were taken into consideration.

Figure 15.2 The bay of Angra before and after the construction of the marina



Before



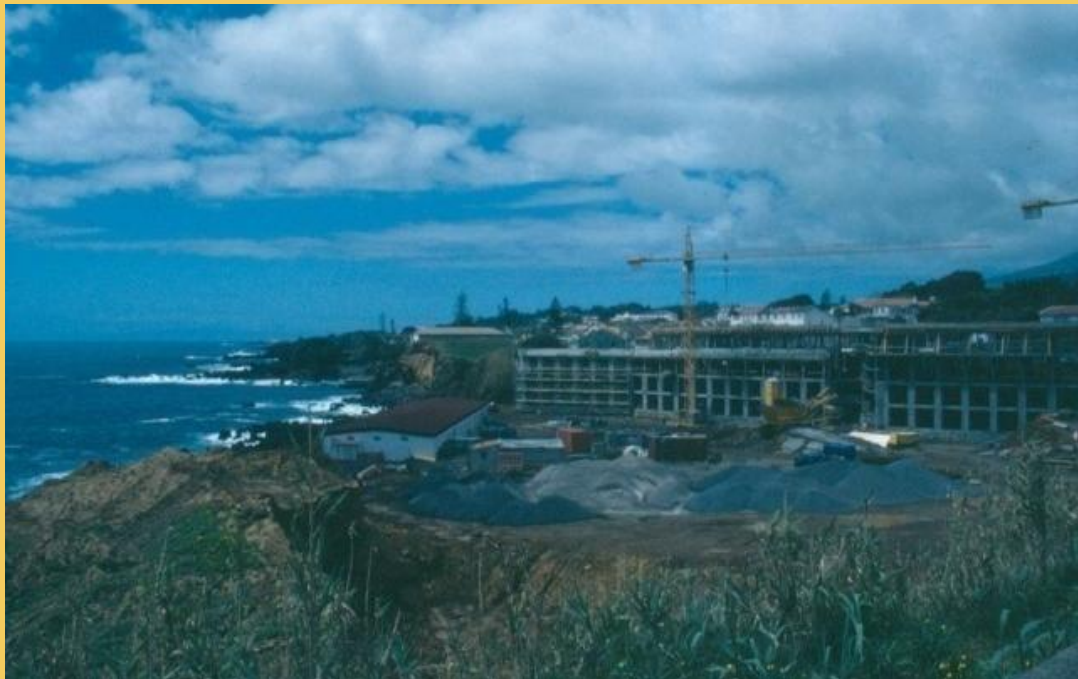
After

In addition, the waterfront rehabilitation plan also included new structures within the bay area. By the time I left in 2002, construction was underway as shown in Figure 15.3. Similarly the construction of two hotels, located in the immediate surroundings of the property, showed similar visual impacts due to the difference in scale between the new structures and the existing buildings – and that the customs building in particular, previously the largest within the bay area, (see Figure 15.4). By the time, I started working at the GZCAH in 2000, the marina was almost completed. The construction of two hotels on the limits of the property had also begun.

Figure 15.3 Construction of new structures within the bay area



Figure 15.4 Construction of hotels in the surroundings of the property of Angra do Heroísmo



The technical evaluation by the GZCAH had opposed the construction of the two hotel structures, not only because of the visual impact resulting from the considerable volume of the structures in comparison to existing traditional buildings, but also because existing legislation prohibited the construction of any structure within 50 metres of the coastline. This had been overruled by the Secretary of Culture and the municipality, which approved the project.

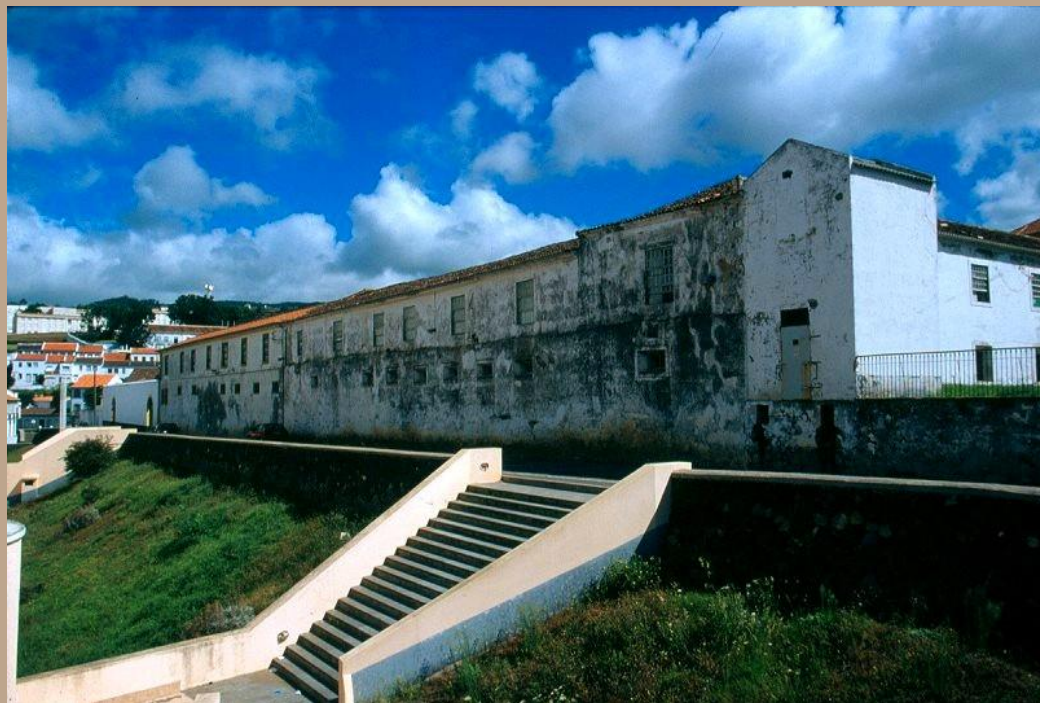
The 50 metres regulation is extremely important when considering that Angra do Heroísmo is subjected to strong storms, particularly during winter. Located west of Mont Brazil, the hotels were built on previously vacant land, precisely because the area is subjected to strong winds. To protect the settlement from these, the San Gonçalo Convent was built at the highest point of the slope. It acts as a barrier, with its western façade forming a sort of wall (see Figure 15.5). The Convent sets the western limit of the chess board plan of the settlement built at the time of Phillip II. Within that area, only a few traditional buildings existed, along the road leading to the fortress on Mont Brazil. The San Gonçalo Convent is one the largest traditional structures in the settlement, which points to the difference in scale when compared to the volumes of the new hotels shown in Figure 15.4.

15.3 CONCLUSIONS

Large infrastructure and public works developments with a potential visual impact are among the main threats affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements, as presented in section 8.2. The case of Angra do Heroísmo is one example but one which, unlike Bordeaux¹⁶ and Dresden¹⁷, has attracted little attention by the World Heritage Committee and

¹⁶ This property was included on the World Heritage List in 2007. At the time, the Committee recommended that special attention should be given to projects in the city and its surrounding area that could affect the city's qualities. However, just a year later, the state of

Figure 15.5 San Gonçalo Convent



conservation of the property was brought to the Committee's attention under the reactive monitoring process over the destruction of the metal Pertuis swing bridge (considered to be a rare work of art, and apparently the last surviving testimony of this type of construction in France) and concerns over an important project for the construction of a new bridge whose dimensions could negatively impact on the visual integrity of the property. The situation was judged as extremely serious, with the Committee taking a strong position envisaging the possibility to delete the property from the List if no appropriate measures were taken.

¹⁷ Like in Bordeaux, the proposal to construct a bridge just two years after the property was included on the List led to the property's inclusion on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2006. At that time, the Committee requested the State Party to halt this construction project and to take up discussions with all stakeholders to find alternative solutions so as to ensure the safeguarding of the outstanding universal value of the property. Despite an initial decision of the City Council of Dresden to halt the project, it was later allowed to proceed. Faced with this situation, the Committee decided to again request the State Party to halt the construction works. Regretting the fact that the authorities had not halted the project but had rather continued its construction, in 2009 the Committee took the decision to delete this property from the World Heritage List. This was the first time a property was deleted from the List against the State Party's wish as, in the case of the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary (removed from the List in 2007), the State Party was in favour of the deletion in order to pursue hydrocarbon exploration activities within the original boundaries of the property.

for which there was almost no follow-up. Of course, there was a ten year interval between the constructions in the bay of Angra and the deletion of Dresden from the World Heritage List in 2009 – due to the construction of a bridge. One can then assume that the monitoring of World Heritage properties has improved throughout this period, supporting the information presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, which explain how the system has evolved.

What is surprising in this case is the absence of follow-up by the World Heritage Committee, despite the fact that it had advised against going ahead with the proposed development projects, including the marina, and had requested a progress report. There is simply no information since 2000 on records of the World Heritage Committee's sessions. When I started working at the GZCAH in 2000, I learnt from colleagues that there had been an ICOMOS mission to the property, but this matter was never publicly discussed during the period that I worked there.

The case study also shows a clear differentiation in the management of the property and that of its surroundings, even if both were dependent on the same management authority. Within the property, the approach was to limit change as much as possible. Most development projects therefore moved to the fringes of the property, where legal protection was weaker. In spite of the existence of legal protection for the surroundings of the property, the political authorities frequently overruled technical decisions based on these laws.

16. CASE STUDY: HISTORIC CENTRE OF THE TOWN OF OLINDA, BRAZIL

16.1 THE WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY¹⁸

The “Historic Centre of the Town of Olinda” was included on the World Heritage List in 1982 under criteria ii and iv. As shown in section 5.2.1 this is the most frequently used combination when inscribing urban settlements on the List. Neither the nomination document nor the ICOMOS evaluation provide any justification as to the choice of criteria. The brief description of the property provides some indication as to why the property was considered to be of outstanding universal value:

‘Founded in the 16th century by the Portuguese, its history is linked to the sugar cane industry. Rebuilt after its pillage by the Dutch, its essential urban fabric dates from the 18th century. The balance maintained between the buildings, gardens, the twenty Baroque churches, convents and numerous small “passos” (chapels), give Olinda a particular atmosphere (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)’.

The description highlights the importance of the urban fabric and the balance between the built structures and the natural surroundings. In fact, the evaluation states that ‘The unique quality of the Historic Centre of Olinda arises from the balance, which has generally been maintained, between the buildings and the gardens of the early parcelling (ibid)’. This is reflected in the boundaries of the property, which are based on the conservation area defined for the Historic Centre of Olinda when it was inscribed as a national monument in 1980. The conservation area is made of the “*polígono de tombamento*” – corresponding to the historic centre of Olinda – and the “*area de entorno*” – corresponding to the surroundings which were to be protected

¹⁸ For further information on the background of this case study, please see Appendix 10.

Figure 16.1 View of Olinda



as a green *non aedificandi* area. The *área de entorno* is the equivalent of what is now generally accepted as a buffer zone, but was never identified as such in the nomination document or in ICOMOS evaluation. Thus, from the information available, it is uncertain if the *área de entorno* constitutes part of the World Heritage property or not. As no distinction between the two areas was made, one must assume that the property includes both the *polígono de tombamento* and the *área de entorno*. Hence, in the analysis carried out in Chapter 12, it was considered that the property had no buffer zone.

In practice and under national legislation they are distinct (though related) areas, as *tombamento* literally means listing. Therefore the *área de entorno*, although legally protected, is not considered as part of the property. Its function is to protect the surroundings. If the property were to be included on the List today, the *área de entorno* would be identified as a buffer zone. The difference is that whereas a buffer zone is set up to give an additional layer of protection to the property, areas such as the *área de entorno* – called protection areas in other World Heritage properties – are established to protect the surroundings themselves, which makes this case an example of the double dimension of the concept of surroundings analysed in section 10.2.

One important reason for protecting the surroundings through the creation of a legally protected area is the urban development pressure deriving from the urban sprawl of the nearby city of Recife. In its evaluation of the property, ICOMOS mentions that ‘The rapid urban development of the city of Recife menaces the Historic Center of Olinda’ (ibid). This problem is acknowledged in the diagnosis of the state of conservation included in the nomination document, which states that ‘As part of the metropolitan region of Recife, Olinda is today, as in the past, subjected to demographic pressures as a result of its proximity to the capital of the State of Pernambuco (ibid)’. The

awareness of these potentially negative impacts on the protection of the property led to the implementation of legally protective measures to mitigate it, long before the property was proposed for inscription on the World Heritage List.

Building on these considerations, in this case study I will explore how the *área de entorno* has fulfilled its function of protecting the surroundings of the historic centre of Olinda since the time of inscription, and how in turn this has helped protect the historic centre itself. In addition, I will investigate how this double dimension of the concept of surroundings is managed on the ground and the practical consequences on the protection of the property. As it is not clear what exactly constitutes the property, for the purposes of this case study I will refer to the conservation area of Olinda as the *polígono de tombamento* and the *área de entorno* as a whole. When treated separately, each term would be designated independently using the terms in Portuguese. The use of the term World Heritage property will be kept at a minimum and, when referred to, will only represent the *polígono de tombamento*, because if the property were to be nominated today, *the area of entorno* would be treated as a buffer zone.

16.2 FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN PARTICULAR

Between 1960 and 1995, twenty-two *favelas* were constructed in the vicinity of the historic centre of Olinda. The monitoring exercise report for Latin America and the Caribbean, carried out by UNDP/UNESCO in 1991-1994, and which served as a pilot monitoring project for the Periodic Reporting exercise mentioned in Chapters 6 and 7, stated that 'A large part of the mangrove forest that borders the city, has been invaded by settlers.... An environmental education programme for the maintenance of domestic orchards should be undertaken (Mutal, 1995, p.108)'. This statement

Figure 16.2 Urban sprawl of the city of Recife

suggested that there were serious pressures on natural areas. This trend continues to this day, with encroachment of the green areas within the whole conservation area but mostly in the *área de entorno*. The root of the problem is population growth and development pressures, combined with a lack of enforcement of existing legal protective measures.

Urbanisation in Latin America through the 1980s and 1990s was characterised by peripheral suburban growth made of low-density, informal housing. This scenario applies to Olinda, with urban development pressures deriving from the urban sprawl of the nearby city of Recife. When the *área de entorno* was established in 1979, Olinda had a total population of 282,207

inhabitants. As Table 16.1 shows, by the 1970s the annual rate of change started to decrease, a trend that continues to this day.

Table 16.1 Population growth in the Municipality of Olinda

Year	Census					Counting	Census
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1991	1996	2000
Population	62.435	108.441	196.342	282.207	341.394	349.380	367.902
% annual change		6,14	6,75	3,64	1,75	0,19	0,44

Nevertheless, by 2000, the total population had increased to 367,902 inhabitants. Most importantly, the city had a population density of 9,010 people per square kilometre, the third highest in Brazil (Perfeitura Municipal de Olinda, 2002, p.88). Studies carried out by the municipality revealed that a large percentage of the population live in precarious conditions, which explains why green areas have been illegally occupied.

A comparison between the re-ratification nº1155/79 and the municipal Law nº 4849/92 (see Appendix 10 for further details on this issue) shows that there was a weakening in the legal protection of green areas and visual landscape perspectives in the municipal document, both for the *polígono de tombamento* and the *área de entorno*. This might be the result of changing conditions, as there is a thirteen year difference between the two legal instruments. From the information gathered, the responsible management agencies have limited control over certain policy areas, particularly the environment. Although the natural values of the property were fundamental in the definition of the conservation area and its boundaries, the situation seemed to have changed over the years and not just in relation to the *área*

de entorno, where legal instruments are less stringent and municipal control is limited.

The main reason behind the creation of the *área de entorno* was to protect the green landscape surrounding the historic hill of Olinda. Loss of vegetation affects the whole conservation area, thus the problem is two-fold: the occupation of the mangrove areas within the *área de entorno*, and the decrease in the number of orchards in the *polígono de tombamento*. Two masters' theses have investigated this problem: one is the study on the conservation of the vegetation cover in the *polígono de tombamento de Olinda*, by Clodomir Pereira Junior; the other is on urban control as an element for urban conservation in Olinda, by Hélio Polito.

Pereira Junior's study is limited to sub-sector 1 of ZEPC1, defined in Municipal Law nº 4849/92 as a "Rigorous Residential Sector", i.e. a predominantly residential area whose urban morphology and buildings are of significant architectural and historic interest. The study compares the surface area of the vegetation cover in 1970 and 2002. The comparison showed a 15 per cent decrease in the vegetation cover over the period considered: whereas in 1970 the area of the vegetation cover was equivalent to 5.34 ha, by 2002 it was 4.62 ha out of the 24.5 ha that make up the rigorous residential sector's total surface area (Pereira Junior, 2004, p.172). The study does not say if some areas were particularly affected, and whether or not the decrease is homogenous throughout the area considered. Interviews showed that 93 per cent of the respondents considered that the protection of the vegetation cover is a fundamental part of the overall conservation of the historic centre of Olinda. When asked about the motives that led home owners to cut trees located in their properties, the main reasons identified were the lack of awareness of the natural values as an important element of

Figure 16.3 View of Olinda showing vegetation cover

the heritage of Olinda, the illegal expansion of properties, and the desire to reduce maintenance costs (ibid, pp.181-182).

In an interview during the field visit, Vera Milet stated that the financial situation of the local population has deteriorated in the past decade. Many people do not have the means to afford their own housing and are forced to live with relatives. One solution is to expand the family residence by constructing additional quarters in the back of the orchards, or by expanding the constructions towards the backyard. In Milet's opinion, this is one of the main reasons behind the decrease in vegetation cover of the traditional orchards. Although the lack of resources is described as the main cause for such activities, Milet also believes that lack of awareness of the

environmental heritage of Olinda, along with poor control by the municipality, also largely contribute to it.

Vera Milet's opinion corroborates the results of the study carried out by Pereira Junior. Hélio Polito, who was the director of the Division for Urban Control within the Secretariat for Planning, Transports and Environment at the time of the field visit, expressed a similar view during an interview. He admitted that environmental control was lacking. Polito is also the author of the study on urban control in the conservation area of Olinda mentioned above.

In his study, Polito mentions that there are two public entities legally responsible for urban control in the conservation area of Olinda: IPHAN (Institute for the National Historic and Artistic Heritage/*Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*) and the municipality. In practice, IPHAN limits its action to the *polígono de tombamento* and exerts no control whatsoever in the *área de entorno*, according to the information received in an interview with Cláudia Rodrigues from the IPHAN office in Olinda during the field work. Thus this task is left to the municipality. However, as mentioned in the previous section, within the municipality the Secretariat for Heritage, Science and Culture (SEPACC) assumes control only over the ZEPC area, which basically corresponds to the *polígono de tombamento*; control over the *área de entorno* is left with the Secretariat for Planning, Transports and Environment. The protection of the *polígono de tombamento* and *área de entorno* is therefore carried out totally independently by different institutions.

Like Pereira Junior's study, Polito's study considers only sub-sector 1 of the ZEPC1, which in a way does not really help to understand what is happening to the *área de entorno*. It does, however, provide a better understanding of the management system and of the factors affecting the property. As shown

above, these seem to be similar to those affecting the *área de entorno* but to a lesser degree, as there is more urban control. Polito's study considered a time period between 1993 and 1997, i.e. the first five years of implementation of municipal Law nº 4849/92, which defines urban planning norms for the historic sites of Olinda.

The main objective of the study was to investigate which norms were most frequently disregarded in illegal acts carried out by property owners. Based on a total of 173 reports within the five year period considered, the main offenses identified were:

- increase in construction area including increase in land-use;
- increase in construction area without increase in land-use (for instance, construction of additional floors);
- illegal construction works without legal permit but without an increase in the construction area;
- changes to façades;
- irregular publicity;
- other offenses (Polito, 2000, pp.75-77).

Within these categories, the most reported offenses were the increase in construction area, including increase in land-use, followed by the increase in construction area without increase in land-use, with 59 and 48 offenses reported respectively (ibid, p.78). If this was the situation within the ZEPC1, where there is urban control by the municipality, what was happening in the *área de entorno*, where there was little or no control at all? Through my interviews carried with professionals from IPHAN, the Secretariat for Heritage, Science and Culture and the Secretariat for Planning, Transports and Environment, my impression was that there was very limited control over

the *área de entorno* due to limited staff and financial resources, but also a lack of political will.

In addition, there seems to be a disregard of the importance of the *área de entorno* for the protection of the property. In fact, in his study, Polito states that initially he considered studying the whole conservation area but then decided to limit it to the ZEPC, as the *área de entorno* is considered of less significance even under existing legislation and under municipal Law nº 4849/92, which was the basis for the study. Although it is true that the *área de entorno* does not have the same significance as the *polígono de tombamento*, the justification put forward shows a certain lack of interest towards the first. During my research, I came across several studies and research papers on the *polígono de tombamento*, but I found none on the conservation area as a whole. When I questioned the interviewed professionals on the importance of the *área de entorno* and its effectiveness in protection the surroundings of historic hill of Olinda, I systematically received the same answer: that the *área de entorno* had been instrumental in preventing the high-rise building urban sprawl of Olinda, but that the area had completely changed.

16.3 CONCLUSIONS

The findings of the field visit show that although there is a complex but still comprehensive system defined legally, its implementation is wanting, particularly with regard to the *área de entorno*. There is a clear emphasis of the management on the ZEPC, while the *área de entorno* is very much neglected. In addition, existing policies do not reflect the designation of the conservation area of Olinda as a World Heritage property.

The opinion shared by the various local authorities that the *área of entorno* has served its purpose by preventing the high-rise building urban sprawl of Recife, especially under the social and financial circumstances of the country, is understandable. Squatter settlements are an urban reality in most of Latin America, therefore the illegal occupation of the *área de entorno* in the past decades is not surprising when added to the lack of control of this area. However, when considering that the *área of entorno* was established to protect the mangrove areas surrounding the historic hill of Olinda, considering that not much of the vegetation cover is left and that it has become a squatter area, the impression is the opposite. Not only does it seem that the *área of entorno* has not supported the surroundings of the property *per se*, it is also unclear whether or not it has brought benefits for the protection of the *polígono de tombamento*. This may partly be attributed to the clear separation of the two areas in terms of management. An overall protection policy for the whole of the conservation area is missing. Although several legal mechanisms apply, they cannot replace an overarching strategic protection policy. The lack of involvement of the two main agencies with a specific mandate for heritage protection, IPHAN and the SEPACC, in the protection of the *área de entorno*, seems to imply that in practice the conservation area of Olinda is reduced to the *polígono de tombamento* and that the protection of its surroundings is not perceived as being important. As in the previous case study of Angra do Heroísmo, there has been a continuous impairment of the management system which, due to lack of financial resources but also of political will, helps understand the situation.

17. CASE STUDY: MEDINA OF MARRAKESH, MOROCCO

17.1 THE WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY

The Medina of Marrakesh was included on the World Heritage List in 1985 under criteria i, ii, iv and v. The criteria under which the property was nominated – although not specifically mentioned in terms of numbers but expressed through the use of certain wording of the criteria – in the justification provided in the nomination document match those recommended to be used by ICOMOS in its evaluation. Most importantly, the ICOMOS evaluation included references to the importance of the surroundings of the property. It states that ‘Beyond the walls were the great traditional areas of greenery: the palm groves, the Menara and, to the south, the Agdal gardens’ (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files). In addition, under the justification for criterion v, it mentioned that the medina had become vulnerable due to population growth. In the words of the evaluation,

[in view] of the growing awareness demonstrated by the development plans drawn up in 1981...ICOMOS would like to make the following comments and recommendations:

- 1) As for the ramparts which have an obvious intrinsic value... no construction should take place in their proximity...
- 3) As for the surroundings of Marrakesh: bearing in mind the positive indications contained in the development plans, the undivided attention of the relevant authorities should be focused upon the need to protect the vegetation in the palm grove, the Menara and in the Bab Djedid and Agdal gardens. Any poorly thought out changes in these zones (opening of roads, building of detached houses or residences, or infrastructure facility works, etc.) would, over the short term, irreversibly modify the

Figure 17.1 View of the Medina of Marrakesh from the Agdal gardens



appearance of Marrakesh, thereby depriving the city of its unique historic and ecological context (ibid)'.

Based on these recommendations, the World Heritage Committee adopted the following decision at the time of inscription:

'The Committee recommended that the Moroccan authorities ensure that Marrakesh conserve its exceptional character as a fully preserved historic town. In this connection it would be advisable to avoid any breaching of the ramparts, to protect carefully the medina and especially the facades of its buildings and its gardens, and also to ensure the protection of the surroundings of Marrakesh, in particular the palm grove, the Menara and the gardens of Bab Djedid' (ibid).

The recommendations made by ICOMOS were of the utmost importance for the protection of the surroundings which, although not part of the nominated property, include important historical elements and are protected under different legal documents. The Menara gardens date from the 12th century. The Agdal gardens are an enclosed green area 3 kilometres long and 1.5 kilometres wide, located south of the medina. Both were redesigned under the rule of Moulay Abd-er-Rahma, Sultan of Morocco from 1822 to 1859, and are among the most important features of Marrakesh. At the time of inscription, both ensembles were protected under *dahirs*¹⁹ dating from 1925 and 1920 respectively. Similarly, the palm grove is listed as a national monument under the *dahir* of 25 March 1929. It was created under the Almoravid dynasty (1040–1147), has a surface of approximately 13,000 ha, and comprises over 150,000 palm trees according to the nomination document.

El Faiz argues that the urban model of Marrakesh is interdependent with the creation of its surrounding gardens. He considers that the evolution of the

¹⁹ A *dahir* is a Moroccan King's decree.

green spaces of Marrakesh can be divided into three different periods: pre-colonial; colonial and post-independence (El Faïz, 2002, p.90). The pre-colonial period is characterized by the creation of a city-garden surrounded by green areas which were centres of horticultural production. Already at that point in time, the expansion of the city had impacted on the extension of these green areas; by the end of the 19th century, increased densification was not limited to the urban fabric within the walls but also affected the green areas. However, a certain rural character prevailed. In terms of urban structure and expansion, the colonial period is marked by the creation of a new city outside the walls, the Guéliz. The low urbanization of this new area was largely compensated by the extension of gardens and green spaces envisaged by the colonial urban plan. El Faïz considers that the medina, however, did not benefit from any safeguarding plan, which led to the social segregation of classes and attracted large numbers of migrants from rural areas. The combination of urban expansion and rapid population growth resulted in a reduction of the surrounding traditional green areas, particularly due to the increased number of *douars*²⁰ located in the proximity of the medina. After independence in 1956, the continued existence of the green areas was deeply linked to trends in population growth and of urban expansion beyond the walls. Between 1960 and 1980, the population almost doubled and the *douars* continued to expand; multiple satellite settlements were created. By the beginning of the 1980s, the medina constituted only twenty per cent of the total urban agglomeration.

This case study investigates how those surrounding garden areas so important in the definition of the urban structure of Marrakesh have been protected and if the Committee's recommendations were implemented.

²⁰ Traditionally a *douar* is a camp or a village of tents, in general made up of ten, fifteen, or twenty families, who are related to each other, and each family has a tent.

Figure 17.2 Map of the nominated property of the Medina of Marrakesh

17.2 FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTY

As mentioned in section 7.6, unlike other properties in the Arab States region which were included in the World Heritage List without a clear definition of their boundaries, the Medina of Marrakesh, being a walled city, posed no such problem. Thus a clear understanding of what constituted the property exists. Similarly, the ICOMOS evaluation includes a brief justification on the criteria used for the inscription. The justification given under criterion v, and the use of the criterion itself, indicates that the property had become vulnerable due to population growth (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files). The population of Morocco almost doubled between 1950 and 1975

and again between 1975 and 2007 (see Appendix 2). In fact, according to statistics of the United Nations Population Division, the city of Marrakesh followed a similar trend. At the time of inscription in 1985, Marrakesh had a total population of 485,000 inhabitants. In 2010, the population had almost doubled to 928,000²¹.

The nomination document does not include any information on how population growth was affecting the property. In a paper dating from 1982, Pégurier considered that the effects of the continuous settlement of rural migrants in the medina led to the increase of slum areas, the division of existing land plots and buildings into increasingly smaller units, encroachment of green areas, as well as the transformation of *fonduks*²² into housing quarters. At the time, it was estimated that the medina housed approximately 280,000 inhabitants while its optimal capacity was 100,000 people (Pégurier, 1982, pp.73-74).

According to Badouli, while the inscription of the Medina contributed to an increasing awareness of its cultural heritage, tourism operators promoted the city as a privileged tourism destination. The author argues that this has transformed the medina into something increasingly resembling an open-air museum, with the Jemaa el-Fna Square likened to an amusement park in the American style (Badouli, 2003, p.176). The increased marketing of the medina as a tourism destination also contributed to another important trend: the transformation of traditional houses into tourist accommodation. Although this process was widespread in historic cities around the world, in Marrakesh it had the peculiarity of being mostly controlled by foreigners. Skounti argues that although this process has contributed to the rehabilitation of the image of the medina, at the same time it has introduced living habits that are very

²¹ <http://esa.un.org/> assessed on 16th of August 2010.

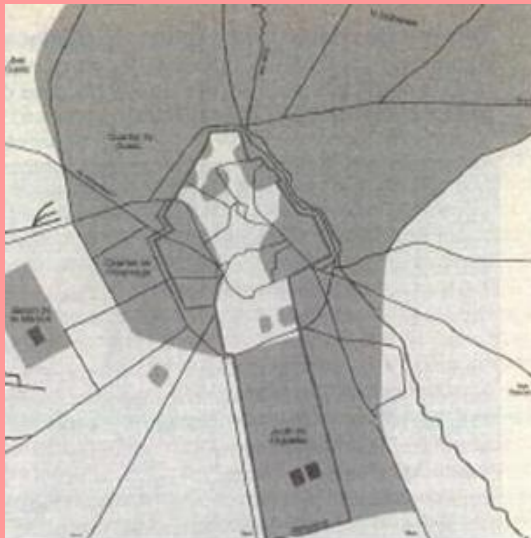
²² Term used in the Maghreb for a caravanserai.

different from those of the local population, contributing to social segregation (Skounti, 2004, p.153). This process is part of the research topic of a PhD thesis entitled “*Les médinas marocaines: une requalification sélective - Elites, patrimoines et mondialisation au Maroc*”, with Marrakesh being one of the case studies. In this study, Kursac-Souali concludes that there has been a considerable shift on how the cultural heritage of the medinas has been perceived: from segregated areas to heritage resources mostly exploited for tourism benefits (Kursac-Souali, 2006, p.151). In addition, according to the study, the transformation of traditional buildings for tourism accommodation has led to a considerable loss of authenticity due on one hand to different use needs and on the other to the wish of recreating an environment suitable to perceived tourist expectations, which in most cases do not exist. Hundreds of buildings are apparently demolished each year either because they are structurally unsound or to satisfy investment interests (ibid, p.246).

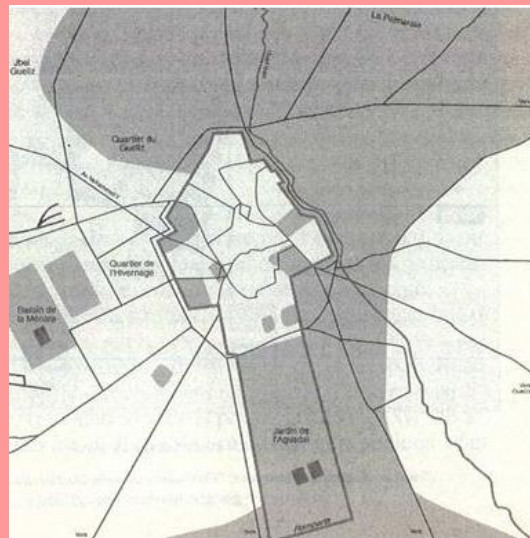
The conclusions of Kursca-Souali’s thesis can significantly contribute to a better understanding of the changing environment of the most important medinas of Morocco, including that of Marrakesh, but its scope is different from that of the present study, whose focus is not so much the understanding of the factors affecting the World Heritage properties *per se* but their relationships with their wider territorial and urban context, and in particular the protection of the surroundings. In the final chapter of the thesis, Kursac-Souali considers that there is a clear rupture of the medina in relation to the overall urban agglomeration marked not only by the walls but also by a distinct urban identity. From my short experience during the field visit of this case study, I would tend to agree with such a conclusion. But it should also be said that the expansion of an urban settlement beyond its defensive walls is by definition difficult as the walls were erected with the objective of protecting the settlement. In the case of Marrakesh, the construction of a new

Figure 17.3 Reduction of green areas in the past century in Marrakesh (El Faïz, 2002, p.92-93)

1898



1953



1986



1990



Figure 17.4 The palm grove of the Medina of Marrakesh

colonial settlement adjacent to the medina created an urban duality that still prevails. What has happened to the green areas surrounding the medina in the midst of these transformations?

17.3 FACTORS AFFECTING THE SURROUNDINGS OF THE PROPERTY: THE URBANIZATION OF THE PALM GROVE

As already mentioned, increasing population growth and expansion of the urban agglomeration have led to considerable loss of the green areas surrounding the medina of Marrakesh. The Committee's recommendation to protect the surroundings was mostly in relation to the Menara and Agdal gardens, and the palm grove. While the first two are considered as historic gardens of considerable cultural significance, the same does not seem to apply to the palm grove, even if all are equally protected by *dahirs*. It is also

Figure 17.5 Urbanisation of the palm grove of the Medina of Marrakesh

important to note that while the Menara and Agdal gardens are spatially defined by the walls of the settlement, the palm grove is not. Wilboux, based on the work of other authors on the importance of the definition of enclosed space in Islamic societies and in particular in the Arab region, explains that the spaces modelled by man are opposed to arid spaces without any limits. The structuring of space by way of enclosing it is also a sign of a social structure that positions the defence of private property at the centre of its concerns. Taking ownership of a plot of land includes building a wall surrounding it (Wilboux, 2001, pp.318-319). In addition, the Menara and Agdal gardens were considered within the boundary of the nominated property while the palm grove was not.

Figure 17.3 shows the reduction of the green areas in the past century. It also shows that, since 1986, i.e. one year after the inscription of the Medina

of Marrakesh on the World Heritage List, whereas the Menara and Agdal gardens have remained, most of the palm grove has disappeared. El Faïz considers that the urbanisation of the palm grove has been one of the worst urban planning mistakes ever made (El Faïz, 2002, p.34). The urbanisation of the palm grove is mostly characterised by the construction of up-market buildings in the middle of green areas, which El Faiz calls “islands of wealth”. Many of the palm trees still remain, ensuring a certain continuity of the landscape, but its integrity is lost.

Figure 17.6 Luxury housing in the palm grove of Marrakesh

Notre résidence entourée de lagons au cœur de la palmeraie

River Palm, c'est aussi :

- des villas avec jardin et piscine privée
- un Club House
- des restaurants
- un centre commercial
- un business center
- un club de sport
- un centre de beauté
- des soins de balnéothérapie
- une résidence hôtelière
- une surveillance 24h/24
- une gestion locative

River Palm
PALMERAIE MARRAKECH

Bientôt il sera possible de plonger dans un paradis inédit au cœur de Marrakech. Imaginez votre confortable douira avec sa terrasse conviviale ou votre villa résidentielle avec son jardin et sa piscine privée, au bord d'un lac aux eaux propres à la baignade, grâce à un système de filtration exclusif permettant la meilleure économie de la ressource en eau. River Palm est ce projet unique : un extraordinaire resort océanique jaillit des sables de la Palmeraie, parfaitement intégré dans son écosystème ! Sous les neiges éternellement étincelantes de l'Oukaimeden, entre green de golf, une véritable cité paradisiaque, surgit, hors du temps et du monde, signée par des maîtres d'œuvre de référence.

www.riverpalm.net | +212 (0) 22 20 38 38

The golf course on the grounds of the hotel “Palmeraie Golf Palace” (expanded from 18 to 27 holes) is the utmost example of the type of development taking place within the palm grove. This implies not only the

destruction of an additional 650 square metres of the palm grove, it also has a considerable environmental impact in an area characterised by a desert climate.

In an interview, El Faiz expressed his concern over the state of conservation of green areas surrounding the medina. Trying to call attention to this problem, he wrote a book entitled “*Marrakech: Patrimoine en Péril*” but was deeply disappointed that there was no reaction by the international community and in particular from the World Heritage Committee. However the results of the first cycle of Periodic Reporting in the region did report a deterioration of the natural landscape as one of the main factors affecting the visual integrity of the medina of Marrakesh, as presented in section 7.5 above. Thus the information was somehow presented to the Committee through the World Heritage system. The same report showed that the boundaries of the property were considered inappropriate although, it did not provide additional explanations.

17.4 CONCLUSIONS

The increasing urbanisation of the palm grove, in which the extension of a golf club in a desert environment is probably the most visible action, is of serious concern when taking into consideration the World Heritage Committee’s recommendation at the time of inscription. However there was never any follow-up from the Committee on this matter. The property has never been subject to Reactive Monitoring.

The factors affecting the medina also pose threats to its authenticity. It is alarming that hundreds of buildings are apparently demolished every year as a result of investment plans. Unfortunately, due to the limitations in carrying out this case study, it was not possible to establish what kind of management

system is in place or what legal documents have been adopted to ensure the protection of the property. Even with limited findings however, this case study shows that the surroundings of the medina are threatened by considerable urban development pressures and that a follow-up to the Committee's recommendation is needed.

18. CASE STUDY: KATHMANDU VALLEY, NEPAL

The three preceding case studies have shown how the surroundings of World Heritage Properties are increasingly threatened by urbanization and development pressures. Their cultural and geographic contexts are very different but the outcomes of those pressures are similar: the surroundings of the properties have dramatically changed since the inclusion of the properties on the List, despite being legally protected.

In this last case study, the effects of urbanization and development have had a greater impact than in the other case studies, not only on the surroundings but on the property itself. Moreover, while in the previous cases the intervention of the World Heritage Committee has been non-existent or minimal, the Kathmandu Valley on the contrary has been the subject of numerous international expert missions and extended technical and financial assistance. Uniquely among properties on the World Heritage List, the state of conservation of the Kathmandu Valley was discussed at every single Committee session between 1993 and 2009. It was included in the List of World Heritage in Danger from 2003 to 2007. Hence, on the one hand, this case study provides an opportunity to further study which factors are affecting the protection of World Heritage settlements and their surroundings; it also provides a better understanding of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the shortcomings of it. For this reason, I have given it a predominant position compared to the other case studies. This is reflected not only in the complexity of the case study compared to the previous ones, but also on the level of background information necessary to understand its context, influences exerted by the international community and the World Heritage Committee specifically, and subsequent follow-up actions.

Figure 18.1 View of Patan Durbar Square, Kathmandu Valley



Additionally, unlike the other case studies, the Kathmandu Valley is a serial nomination. In general, I have treated it as a whole, as it is included on the List as a single property. However, since it covers a large territorial area, during field work I have undertaken a more detailed study of the monumental zone of Patan. This allowed me to focus on specific problems related to the state of conservation of the property.

18.1 THE WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY²³

The “Kathmandu Valley” was included on the World Heritage List in 1979. The name suggests a large territorial area – the whole valley – but the property consists of seven groups of buildings in different urban settlements, making it a serial nomination. It includes the durbar²⁴ squares of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur and four additional religious ensembles: the Buddhist stupas²⁵ of Swayambhunath and Bauddhanath, and the Hindu temples of Pashupatinath and Changu Narayan.

At the time of inscription, the following brief description of the property was adopted:

‘At the crossroads of the great civilizations of Asia, seven groups of Hindu and Buddhist monuments, as well as the three residential and palaces areas of the royal cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhadgaon, illustrate Nepalese art at its height. Among the 130 monuments are pilgrimage centres, temples, shrines, bathing sites and gardens – all sites of veneration by both religious groups (World Heritage Centre, n.d, nomination files)’.

²³ For further information on the background of this case study, please see Appendix 11.

²⁴ Durbar is a Persian term meaning the court of a ruler.

²⁵ The stupa is the primary cult-object of Buddhism in Nepal and elsewhere. Originally a simple mound entombing sacred relics, it can also be very elaborate.

The emphasis is on the individual monuments and no reference is made to their surrounding urban context. However, the maps included in the nomination file contradict this description but also the inventory of the property provided. In the maps, the boundaries define an area where the monuments are located, thus leading us to assume that the whole of the area is to be considered the nominated property. The inventory, however, refers only to a list of individual monuments. This contradiction alone has resulted in conservation problems of the property – as well as of the consequent actions taken by the World Heritage Committee.

The Kathmandu Valley was included on the List under criteria iii, iv and vi, although the nomination file suggests listing the property under criteria i, iii and v. It is important to remember that the criteria have changed over time, as mentioned in section 2.4.2., therefore the values identified at the time of inscription may not necessarily be those embedded in the present-day criteria. Moreover, the nomination file does not include a clear statement of significance²⁶, as this was not required at the time of inscription. This raises more questions as to what exactly is the outstanding universal value of the property. In addition, as Stovel notes, ‘no records exist of the basis of the ICOMOS arguments for inscription, or those accepted by the Committee (Stovel, 1994, p.29)’.

The first concerns over the state of conservation of the property were raised in 1992. The threats did not affect the monuments as much as their surrounding traditional built fabric, thus raising the question on what exactly constituted the property. Despite the efforts made by the responsible authorities throughout the years, despite many expert missions and other actions recommended by the Committee, the property was included in the

²⁶ Since 2005, a statement of outstanding universal value.

List in Danger in 2003 due to uncontrolled development leading to a loss of authenticity and integrity. The property was taken out of the List in Danger in 2007 after further actions carried out by the State Party to mitigate the threats affecting the property, including the redefinition of boundaries and the preparation of an integrated management plan.

The redefinition of the boundaries clarified what exactly constituted the World Heritage property. Until then, for the Nepalese government, only the temples were considered as World Heritage; but for the World Heritage Committee, the temples could not be seen in separation from their surrounding traditional built fabric. This difference of perception is at the heart of the problems raised in this case study.

18.2 FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTY: CONSERVATION VERSUS DEVELOPMENT

From the background information on this case study (please see Appendix 11), it is clear that ineffective development policies and uncontrolled urbanisation have contributed to poverty and the degradation of the built environment but also to the destruction of cultural heritage in the Kathmandu valley. In this situation, traditional structures are demolished to make way for new developments, in a quest for better living conditions. It is also shown that excessive emphasis on the monument areas at the expense of their surroundings, and lack of clarity on what exactly constitutes the property and its boundaries, also contributed to further destruction of the traditional fabric of the Kathmandu valley. The issue of boundaries is central for the purposes of this case study and thus it will be treated in a separated section.

18.2.1 Monuments versus traditional buildings

Generally, home owners do not value traditional buildings and believe that

Figure 18.2 Replacement of traditional buildings with modern concrete constructions



new buildings offer both greater status and commercial value. Traditional buildings are perceived as old and backwards and not as cultural heritage. Many are also in poor structural and maintenance conditions and lack fundamental commodities, making them ill-suited to present-day living standards. Major monuments, on the contrary, are usually in a good state of conservation and still serve the same purposes in the life of the community as they did decades ago.

As Hutt explains that,

‘The majority of traditional buildings in and around the Kathmandu Valley follow a common traditional architectural style: houses, monasteries, palaces and temples are all constructed in the same way, using the same materials: wood with bricks, tiles, clay mortar and stone (Hutt, 1994, p.50)’.

Originally influenced by Indian forms, the Newars developed a particular style of architecture, with the “Newar Pagoda temple” (as Hutt has termed it) being the most significant example. These multi-roofed temples have between one and five roofs and may be free-standing, enclosed within a courtyard, or attached to another building. The architectural characteristics of the traditional Newar house are similar to those of the pagoda temples. The houses are usually three to four storeys high. They are vertically divided: the ground floor is typically used for storage or as workshop, the first and/or second floors are used as living and sleeping quarters, and the kitchen and family shrine are always located on the last floor. The living area is recognizable on the façade by a special window consisting of either three or five bays. The symmetrical arrangement of the windows is in fact one of the main features of the façade and along with the doors constitutes one of the most decorated elements of a traditional Newar building.

Figure 18.3 Addition of floors to traditional buildings

Traditionally dwellings cannot be higher than the “house of the god”, which in practice works as a height regulation. However, this did not prevent an increase in the number of floors over the century to accommodate a growing population. On the contrary, the religious buildings were made higher to accommodate additional floors in existing buildings (Parajuli, 1986, pp.7-8). And, while the religious buildings continued to organise the townscape, this also resulted in the full development of the “Newar pagoda” architecture style, with up to five-storey roofs in the cases of the Kumbheshvar temple in Patan and the Nyatapola temple in Bhaktapur. This regulation is no longer observed today, as depicted in Figure 18.4, which features the Kumbheshvar temple. More and more, buildings are made taller, either by the construction of new structures or the additional of floors, to accommodate bigger families and the need for larger living areas.

Unlike traditional dwellings, the religious buildings that were a key element for the inclusion of the property on the World Heritage list still fulfil their original function and no major alterations are needed. Overall they are in a good state of conservation and have basically remained unchanged, in spite of numerous maintenance interventions, since their initial construction. There is no debate as to their authenticity. In the case of the traditional buildings the situation is completely different: while they are still used as residential buildings, living conditions have changed and therefore the buildings need to be readapted.

Figure 18.4 New constructions in the vicinity of the Kumbheshvar temple, Patan, Kathmandu Valley



When buildings are not completely demolished, they are significantly altered through the addition of storeys, the replacement of sloping roofs by flat terraces, the addition of concrete balconies, or increasing the size of windows. The survey carried out by the University of Venice in 2003 found that, in Bhaktapur, the number of hybrid structures amounted to 66.14 per cent of the total in the historic centre. Given that Bhaktapur was considered to be the best conserved monument zone of the property, one can assume that the percentage is similar or higher in other zones.

The vertical subdivision of ownership is another significant cause of physical alteration. As Ranjitkar explains in the “Home Owner’s Manual”,

‘Traditionally in Nepal property is given to sons by dividing the multi-storey family house vertically and a portion being allocated to each son. This is a great risk to old houses. If one of the sons wants to reconstruct their house, they will just cut the building vertically with no thought to the structural or artistic implications.... Once the house is divided vertically, the requirement for a stairway in each home means wasted space for the stair hallway, partition walls and lobby. This makes the living space...smaller (Ranjitkar, 2006, p.18)’.

Recent legislation allows for horizontal ownership division but it will take some time before it completely replaces the traditional vertical division.

If the present situation is to be reversed or at least mitigated, incentives, both financial and technical, must be made available by the responsible authorities. Financial support has been provided but in the form of subsidised traditional materials toward the cost of traditional construction. Rather than supporting the conservation of existing buildings, this has favoured the development of the neovernacular style. In this type of construction, the bearing structure is a concrete-frame and the façades are layered with *dachi appa* bricks, a traditional type of brick once reserved for major buildings. The

neovernacular style has become a trend throughout the valley, largely promoted by building by-laws, which determine that new constructions should follow “traditional Nepali style”. The findings of the survey by the University of Venice suggest that the bylaws try ‘to offer a model for a building that refers to the traditional way of building but, on the other hand, it implies that the old building could be demolished and replaced with a new one (Fontanari and Gianighian, 2004, p.13)’. Additionally, the use of traditional bricks and some wooden sculpted elements to decorate doors and windows are not sufficient to integrate a building in its street plan and surroundings.

However, a compromise between old and new techniques needs to be found as traditional construction materials are no longer easily available. Additionally, modern construction techniques can improve and even solve problems associated with the traditional ones such as rising damp. Adhikari has suggested that,

‘An approach to housing design that combines the best elements of the traditional and modern systems is seen to be most suitable in Nepal. Spatial layout, aesthetics, building materials and constructions techniques should be primarily based upon the traditional system. Technical details, such as moisture, water and environmental control and sanitary systems are best carried out through modern materials and technology (Adhikari, 1998, p.16)’.

Modern techniques can also be used to reinforce and repair traditional structures that otherwise would have to be dismantled if only traditional methods were used. This would further avoid demolitions. Indeed, many demolition permits are granted based on the argument that traditional buildings are not structurally sound and beyond repair. In fact, the demolition of buildings can only be legally granted based on structural reasons but the assessment many times lack rigour, with the possibility of repair not fully investigated (World Heritage Centre, 1999e, p.8).

On one hand, it is interesting to note that, when the traditional building is demolished and replaced by modern concrete structures, frequently the old traditional windows are incorporated in the new building. On the other hand, the traditionally carved windows do not allow much light in the interior, which is one of the reasons why they are being replaced with square or rectangular windows.

Thus it is the traditional built fabric surrounding the monuments – rather than the monuments themselves – that is the cause for concern in the Kathmandu Valley. Although the demolition of traditional buildings and their replacement by concrete framed buildings of poor quality and high visual impact began before the inclusion of the property in the World Heritage List, it increased in the following years and continues today, though to a lesser degree. This is the result of urban transformation processes in the Kathmandu Valley, the lack of effective implementation of conservation policies, and possibly also the lack of political and professional will.

In addition, this seems partly due to different perceptions by the State Party and the World Heritage Committee and the Advisory Bodies, of what constituted the World Heritage property, its surroundings and the role these would play in helping protecting the property. Therefore, in the following section, I will explore the relationship between the monument zones in relation to their surroundings and the recommendations that were made on this issue.

18.2.2 Monument zones versus surroundings

Concern over the protection of the surroundings was expressed in several international documents and reports prior to the property's inscription. For instance, in his first UNESCO mission report in 1965, Liam B. de Paor

considered that measures should be taken immediately to remedy the unattractive surroundings of the monuments in Patan, Bhaktapur and Kathmandu (Paor, 1965, p.6). Similarly, in 1968, another UNESCO mission observed that,

‘modern trends in urban expansion are, unfortunately, being allowed to encroach on cultural property – with the inevitable result that ancient towns and villages could, before very long, lose their charm and character and surrender their newly acquired values to impersonal cement constructions, so alien to Nepal (Pollaco, 1968:, pp.13-14)’.

The relationship between monuments and their surroundings was a fundamental concept in the 1975 Protective Inventory, which clearly stated in its basic objectives that as a general rule cultural and natural heritage should not be dissociated from its environment. It acknowledged that disruptive changes in the surroundings of the historic areas of the royal cities of the valley were already taking place. At the same time, the suburban sprawl of Kathmandu was contributing to the urbanization of the surroundings of Baudhanath and Swayambhunath. The fact that Bhaktapur was located outside the area of direct influence was recognised as an opportunity for its conservation. This is a factor that needs to be taken into consideration when presently evaluating differences in the state of conservation of the monument zones that form the World Heritage property.

In line with the Protective Inventory, the 1977 Master plan recommended that,

‘in order to ensure uniformity in the said areas [monument zones] between houses and buildings of high architectural and historical importance and surrounding houses and full control over housing construction... special permission should be obtained for the construction of houses in the above-mentioned areas’ (UNDP and UNESCO, 1977, p.71).

New architectural and aesthetic criteria were to be established for new buildings, involving observance of traditional Nepalese style and integration with neighbouring historical buildings. Furthermore, 'The skyline of the three main cities should be protected by height regulations, in addition to the strict building regulations recommended for the vicinity of monuments (ibid, p.104)'.

When ICOMOS first sounded the alarm over the state of conservation of the property in 1992, its report to the Committee considered that given the strong development pressures affecting the integrity of the surrounding rural landscape, a precise definition of the protected zones and of adjacent buffer zones were a high priority. Agreeing with the previous ICOMOS report, the 1993 joint mission considered that the main threat to the property was the degradation of its physical environment due to rapid population growth and economic and development pressures. The report stated:

'Among many factors that have had a negative impact, the single most disturbing has been the encroachment by new buildings of inappropriate design, in many cases of illegal, excessive, height, the visible use of cement and concrete and the demolition of historic residences in and around the Monument Zones (ICOMOS, 1993, p.4)'.

The report of a strategy meeting held in Patan in 1994 added that the primary threat to the World Heritage property was not the loss of individual monuments through decay, but redevelopment (Michelmore, 1994, paragraph 4.5.2). Under such circumstances, it was considered as 'inevitable that the management of such a site will present considerable problems, for which solutions will not be found in the short term (ibid, paragraph 5.1)'.

The report of the 1998 mission considered that overall the state of the property was not very encouraging: the main monuments were in a good

state of conservation but the traditional privately owned buildings that formed their setting were rapidly being replaced by concrete structures. Thus it concluded that:

‘Perhaps the best that can be hoped for in long-term preservation of the WH values of the KVVHS is that the MZs will provide protected islands of traditional Nepalese culture. The conservation of these areas is essential, not only for the benefit of visitors and to generate income from tourists, but more importantly for the benefit of Nepal as tangible reminders of their history and culture (UNESCO, ICOMOS and HMGN, 1998, p.9)’.

When the results of the 1998 mission were discussed by the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, it was acknowledged that,

‘although continuous and large sums of international assistance and technical support had been provided to the Government from the World Heritage Fund, UNESCO Funds-in-Trust projects and numerous international donors over the years, the very serious degree of uncontrolled change and gradual deterioration of the historic fabric continued to threaten the authenticity and integrity of the site (World Heritage Centre 2004a: 23)’.

The first high level mission took place in 2000 and concluded that many of the remaining historic buildings were in extremely fragile condition and under serious threat and that urgent and large-scale conservation measures were required. It considered that there was a lack of an integrated approach between conservation and development for the monument zones (World Heritage Centre, 2000b, p. 3-4).

The 2003 survey by the University of Venice provided statistical evidence of the transformation of the traditional built fabric. In Bhaktapur, considered to be in a favourable situation with regard to conservation, the contemporary built fabric (heavy hybrid buildings, reinforced concrete frame and

neovernacular) covered 52.8 per cent of the built fabric. The study noted that there were illegal constructions and illegally modified buildings throughout the urban agglomeration; all areas were equally affected. Notwithstanding the findings, the mission considered that the property still retained much of its outstanding universal value because:

'A certain degree of alteration is expected in every heritage site in the world, especially in the living context of a living city in a developing country's capital city, like Kathmandu conurbation.

It is clear that in 1979 the concept of protecting the jewel – the stupa – and the built ring around it, separated, as it was, from the urban growth was important. But was it feasible, in every sort of developing city in the world? Or it was just a dream, a desire of keeping the jewel as it was in the old days as long as possible?

It was clearly impossible, for the several reasons so well known to all professionals involved in planning in developing countries. And another question is: why something that is impossible in the rest of the world should be possible in Kathmandu Valley? (Fontanari and Gianighian, 2004, p.32)'.

So was it a dream to keep the "jewel" as it was in the old days for as long as possible? Was this the right approach when taking into consideration the urban transformations affecting the Kathmandu Valley? And based on the many missions throughout the years, to what extent was such an approach influenced by the international community?

There are no clear answers to these questions and a careful analysis of the role of the international community is necessary. However, it is important first to address the issue of boundaries, which is closely linked to the issues just discussed, and which can provide a better understanding of the distinction between the monument zones and their surroundings.

18.3 BOUNDARIES

The issue of boundaries has been at the heart of the discussions over the state of conservation of the Kathmandu Valley since the property was first discussed by the World Heritage Committee in 1992. The redefinition of the boundaries was one of the main concerns of the Committee and a requirement for the property to be withdrawn from the List of World Heritage in Danger. As explained in section 18.1, the initial boundaries of the property were not defined and until 2006, when the property's boundaries were formally corrected, it was unclear what exactly constituted the World Heritage property.

The Kathmandu Valley was one of the first properties to be included on the List and it was also a serial nomination – something unusual at the time. Partly for this reason, its nomination file lacks fundamental information and is ambiguous in certain points. On one hand, the description of these zones merely includes a list of 130 monuments located within them, implying that only these monuments are to be considered as having outstanding universal value (see section 18.1). On the other hand, the maps attached to the nomination files suggest otherwise: as shown in Figure 18.5, they included limits that imply a larger protected area.

Some of the maps seem to take into consideration the recommendations of the 1977 Master Plan. This is particularly true of the Bauddhanath Monument Zone, where it was recommended that a concentric circular strip of land, 500 metres wide, be established around the monument. There is no mention of this in the 1975 Protective Inventory (for further details on the importance of this document see Appendix 11). In the Inventory, it was suggested that the area between the stupa and the plateau was to form a buffer zone,

Figure 18.5 Maps of monuments zone in the nomination file (World Heritage Centre, n.d., nomination files)²⁷

Patan



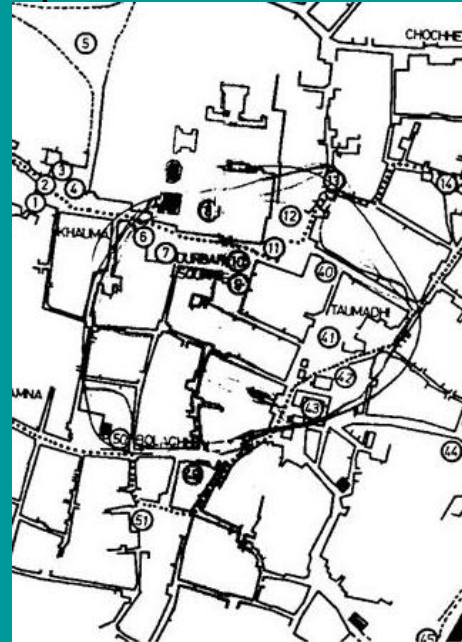
Bauddhanath



Kathmandu



Bhaktapur



²⁷ The images only show the relevant parts of the maps from the nomination file

and that no physical structures be built there (HMGN and UNESCO, 1975, p.136). The suggestion to include a buffer zone is innovative for the time.

The design of the boundaries in the nomination file also varies considerably from one area to the next: in Bauddhanath a circle was used; in Changu Narayan, the boundaries seem to follow the topography of the adjacent land; and in Patan, a perimeter is clearly defined including a considerable area around the Durbar Square, with boundaries drawn through the middle of the streets.

Whereas the maps suggest that some of the surroundings of the monuments were part of the property, the text of the nomination imply otherwise. It is therefore unclear if only the monuments were considered to have outstanding universal value.

18.3.1 The redefinition of boundaries proposed by the 1993 ICOMOS-UNESCO mission

In 1992, ICOMOS called the Committee's attention to the state of conservation of the property. It identified the delineation of the monument zones as one of the main threats. It noted that existing boundaries were demarcated through the middle of streets and squares and that no buffer zones existed. It urged the authorities to adopt a precise definition of the protected zones and of adjacent buffer zones as a high priority, given the strong development pressures in the Kathmandu Valley.

The 1993 UNESCO/ICOMOS mission sent to evaluate the situation recalled that prior to inclusion of the Kathmandu Valley on the World Heritage list, only Swayambhunath had been gazetted. By 1993 the Durbar Squares of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, and the areas of Bauddhanath and

Changu Narayan, had also been listed as “Preserved Monument Zones (ICOMOS, 1993, p.4). According to the mission report, the gazetted areas of Kathmandu and Patan corresponded approximately to the area defined in the annexed maps of the nomination (see Figure 18.5). For Kathmandu, the joint mission recommended that the Monument Zone be reduced in size to include only the monuments, based on a proposal made by the Department of Archaeology. This area was identified as a “core area” and ‘in view of the enormous development pressure it [did] not seem advisable to identify a larger buffer zone, which would impose restrictions upon new construction (ibid, p.6)’.

In Patan, the mission recommended that the gazetted area be enlarged to include ‘Secondary Monument Zones or buffer zones which would impose restrictions on new construction (ibid, p.7)’. In Bhaktapur, the joint mission considered that, although the settlement had retained much of its traditional townscape, the existing Monument Zone around the Durbar Square should be reduced. In addition, a second Monument Zone around Dattatreya Square should be created, including the entire area of the historic city as a buffer zone (ibid, p.9). This second monument zone had already been proposed in the Protective Inventory and in the Master Plan.

Swayambhunath retained the boundaries defined in the nomination file since it was the only Monument Zone gazetted prior to inclusion in the World Heritage List. Still, the joint mission recommended ‘enlarging the Monument Zone slightly and identifying a buffer zone along its northern edge’ (ibid, p.11). Baudhanath Monument Zone, gazetted in 1984, was restricted to the stupa and surrounding buildings, equivalent to a substantial reduction. Based on this, the mission proposed that the area defined by a radius of 500 meters around the stupa be defined as a buffer zone, with the area occupied by the stupa considered as the “core zone”. The rationale for this decision was that

the original boundary had been intended to protect the setting of the stupa but the area was now entirely built, regardless of the recommendations of the Protective Inventory which stipulated that in this area no structure should be permitted. In Changu Narayan, ‘the temple precinct and the adjoining village [were] still largely untouched by major changes and encroachments’ (ibid, p.13). The area gazetted in 1984 was different from the one defined in the nomination file. Therefore the mission recommended its adjustment to correspond to the latter. Furthermore, the joint mission recommended that the proposed boundaries of all monument zones were to be physically demarcated by stone markers²⁸.

But whereas the recommendations of the missions had differentiated “core zones” from buffer zones, the State Party was of a different opinion: the responsible agencies ‘decided that the effective enforcement of protection measures for the World Heritage Site require a single, simple, boundary rather than the hierarchy of protection afforded by core areas and buffer zones (Michelmores, 1994, paragraph 4.2.1)’.

18.3.2 Further redefinition of boundaries proposed by the 1998 UNESCO-ICOMOS-HMGN mission

By the time of the 1998 UNESCO-ICOMOS-HMGN mission, the boundaries of Patan, Bhaktapur and Baudhanath had been revised. In Patan, the gazetted area was extended to include the buildings on both sides of the streets and lanes (as previously the boundaries ran through the middle of the streets), the Kumbheshvar temple ensemble to the north-east of the Darbar

²⁸ During field work in Patan in October 2005, I had the opportunity to observe some of the stone markers while following the boundaries throughout the whole perimeter of the World Heritage area. Patan has an intricate urban fabric and the boundaries are not easy to identify. The stone markers provide some guidance but in such circumstances only a continuous wall would be able to do so – and most certainly show the incongruousness of the boundaries outside their definition in a map.

Square, and the square of the Nagbahal to the north-west. Nevertheless, the 1998 mission considered that there were significant monuments and important groups of domestic buildings beyond the Monument Zone, and it hoped that these would be protected through the efforts of Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City, as they formed an essential buffer zone (UNESCO; ICOMOS and HMG, 1998, p.57).

The boundary of Bhaktapur had been revised following some of the recommendations of the 1993 joint mission square by gazetting the Darbar square and Dattatreya monument zones plus the urban fabric that links them. In Bauddhanath, the newly gazetted boundary created a slightly larger area than the one proposed by the 1993 mission, with the 1998 mission's report stating that the new boundary aimed to protect the integrity of the stupa's setting (ibid, p.109). Pashupatinath had also been gazetted in November 1998 for the first time.

18.3.3 Redefinition of boundaries following the inclusion of the property in the List of World Heritage in Danger

Following the Committee's decision in 2003 to include the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger, it was requested that the State Party legally redefine the core and support zones of all Monument Zones.

The State Party prepared the requested redefinition of boundaries based on the recommendations of the 2004 technical workshop (for further details see Appendix 11). Accordingly, the core zones were defined as the areas with outstanding universal value with the buffer zones covering the remaining area within the existing monument zones. In the cases of Patan, Bhaktapur and Changu Narayan, the proposal did not include any buffer zones.

The 2005 ICOMOS/World Heritage Centre mission assessed the validity of the redefined boundaries presented by the State Party. The mission agreed with most of the proposals, with the exception of Patan and Bhaktapur, for which it strongly suggested the establishment of buffer zones. The State Party questioned this recommendation based on the argument that for these two monument zones, the 2004 technical workshop had suggested only core zones and no buffer zones. It argued that extending the protected area to a large part of the urban agglomerations of Patan and Bhaktapur would make it impossible to control and would only increase existing problems. The end result was a formal request by the State Party to the Committee proposing a minor modification to the boundaries of the property in January 2006. The changes are presented in Table 18.1.

Table 18.1 Proposed changes to areas of component parts of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley by the State Party

	Inscribed in 1979	Proposed “core” zone
Kathmandu Durbar Square	14.72ha	5.09 ha
Patan Durbar Square	12.73 ha	5.30 ha
Bhaktapur Durbar Square	14.23 ha	3.61 ha
Swayambhunath	32.13 ha	32.63 ha
Bauddhanath	78.54 ha	1.27 ha
Pashupatinath	78.38 ha	85.55 ha
Changu Narayan	45.13 ha	35.92 ha

Source: ICOMOS 2006

Like the 2005 mission, ICOMOS’s evaluation of proposed boundaries agreed with the modifications proposed expect for Patan and Bhaktapur Durbar Squares. The core zone for the Patan Durbar Square was proposed to be considerably reduced so it was suggested ‘to undertake further detailed

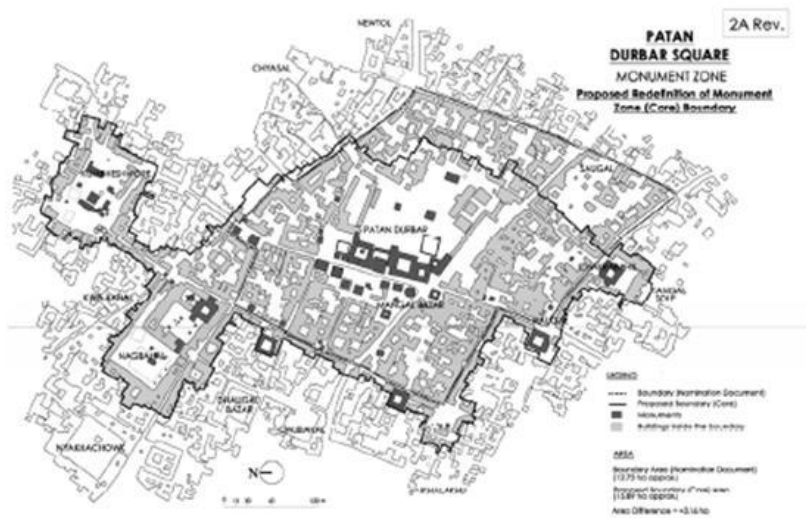
assessment of the historic area of Patan, and the possibility of rectification of illegal building constructions in order to retain a larger core zone (ICOMOS, 2006, p.79)'. As for the Bhaktapur Durbar Square, ICOMOS recommended that the original core zone should not be reduced and that a buffer zone should be set up. Overall, ICOMOS considered that a reduction of the property from 275,86 ha to 167,27 ha (a 40 per cent reduction) could not be considered as a "minor modification" but rather as a significant one. This assessment took into consideration that the buffer zones were not considered as part of the property.

ICOMOS recommended that the proposal should not be approved at that stage and that a mission should be requested to verify if the proposed boundaries adequately reflected the remaining outstanding universal value. Thus, another mission was undertaken in June 2006 to revise the boundaries for the Patan and Bhaktapur Durbar Squares. As a result, it was agreed to establish as the nominated property the areas currently gazetted by the State Party as the World Heritage property with the addition of buffer zones corresponding to the "traditional residential zones" considered within the Lalitpur and Bhaktapur Municipal Plans (see Figures 18.6 and 18.7). With these changes, the areas of the proposed redefined monuments zones were as presented in Table 18.2.

Overall, since buffer zones are not considered as part of the World Heritage property as defined in paragraph 107 of the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines, the redefinition of the boundaries resulted in a considerable reduction of the property. On the contrary, if the buffer zones are taken into consideration, the property has been extended. Another aspect that needs to be stressed is that the "core areas" and the buffer zones fall under different management authorities, which in my view reinforces the separation between the two areas, as already mentioned in the previous section.

Figure 18.6 Changes to boundaries of component part of Patan of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley (2005-2006)

As proposed by State Party:



As agreed after 2006 mission:

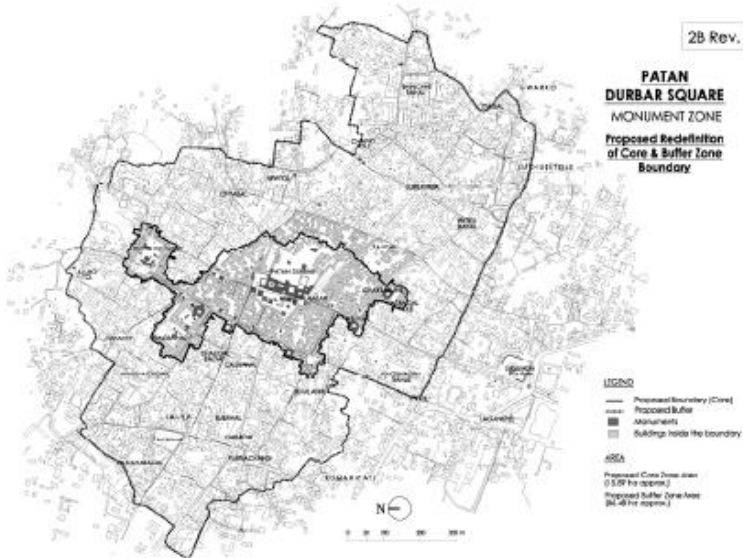


Figure 18.7 Changes to boundaries of component part of Bhaktapur of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley (2005-2006)

As proposed by State Party:



As agreed after 2006 mission:



Table 18.2 Proposed changes to areas of component parts of the World Heritage property of Kathmandu Valley after mission

	Inscribed in 1979	Proposed “core” zone	Buffer zone	Nominated property + buffer zone
Kathmandu Durbar Square	14.72ha	5.09 ha	6.47 ha	11.83 ha
Patan Durbar Square	12.73 ha	15.89 ha	86.48 ha	102.37 ha
Bhaktapur Durbar Square	14.23 ha	14.6 ha	106.83 ha	121.43 ha
Swayambhunath	32.13 ha	32.63 ha	25.18 ha	57.81 ha
Bauddhanath	78.54 ha	1.27 ha	2.83 ha	4.1 ha
Pashupatinath	78.38 ha	85.55 ha	11.55 ha	97.1 ha
Changu Narayan	45.13 ha	35.92 ha	-	-
Total	275.86 ha	188.95 ha	239.34 ha	394.64 ha

From the standpoint of architecture, and in particular of monumental architecture, the main areas of interest for conservation in the royal settlements of the Kathmandu valley are the Durbar squares with its religious buildings and palaces. But, as just presented, this is only one element of the urban fabric. In my opinion, the areas that form the World Heritage property should be defined in relation to the urban structure of the settlements and not merely based on the location of the main monuments. Using Patan as an example, the perimeter defined by the four Ashokan stupas should be the starting point for the identification of the World Heritage area. If drawing the boundaries through the middle of the public streets as initially defined in the nomination and later criticised by ICOMOS was a mistake, drawing it through the middle of the *chowks*²⁹ as they exist at present is again an error. Indeed, the *chowks* constitute an urban element as important as a public street or a square. While in most European traditional settlements the back of the buildings is considered of less importance than the urban open space defined

²⁹ Public and private courtyards in a house or a village.

by streets, in the settlements of the Kathmandu valley these backyards are, instead, an essential element.

Boundaries have to be drawn somewhere for management purposes but to be effective they should be based on the traditional organizational elements of the urban structure of the settlements. Again, the rationale used in the nomination of the property to the World Heritage List was based on the significance of the monuments, not the traditional architecture of the Kathmandu Valley as a whole. Similarly, different expert recommendations tended to point in the same direction by focusing on the monuments or at least the areas with large concentrations of monuments, giving less importance to their surroundings.

In this section, I have explored how the definition of boundaries – and with it the definition of what constitutes the World Heritage property – has been shaped by different recommendations made by expert missions. Linking the findings of this section with those of the previous one, and returning to the original question: to what extent have World Heritage Committee decisions contributed to an approach for the protection of the World Heritage property centred on the idea of keeping the “jewel” as it was in the old days for as long as possible, without taking into consideration the urban transformations occurring in the Kathmandu Valley?

Throughout this chapter, it has been made clear that the protection of the World Heritage property has been largely shaped by the influence of the international community, unlike the previous case studies. It is thus important to further explore to what extent the recommendations of the different international expert missions and the Committee’s decisions have influenced the state of conservation of the World Heritage property.

18.4 ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS AND COMMITTEE'S DECISIONS

It is important to recall that the Kathmandu Valley was discussed at every World Heritage Committee session between 1992 and 2009. This has resulted in extensive written information in the form of mission reports, Committee decisions, and State Party reports. I was able to collect most (though not all) of these documents, allowing me to compile a history of the conservation of the Kathmandu Valley, which I have included also in Appendix 11. I am aware that there are some missing elements and that the reader may experience the need to have more details on some issues. In this regard, it should be recalled that the purpose of this section is not to tell the story but to analyse the flow of decisions and how these have contributed to shape the situation at the national level.

In addition, before I enter into the details of what happened after the inclusion of the property on the World Heritage List, it is important to restate that the Kathmandu Valley has been the subject of considerable international assistance which shaped the nomination itself. UNESCO significantly influenced cultural heritage policies for the Kathmandu Valley prior to the nomination and helped develop the 1997 Master Plan. When Nepal accepted the World Heritage Convention and nominated the Kathmandu Valley to the World Heritage List in 1978,

'[the World Heritage] Committee decided that the nomination required greater precision in its definition of significant areas. As a result UNESCO commissioned W. Brown Morton III and John Sanday³⁰ in collaboration with the authorities to redefine the submission (Stovel, 1994, p.21)'.

³⁰ Both Morton III and Sanday had previously been involved with the property (see Appendix 9, chapter 1).

The nomination was therefore prepared with the help of international experts familiar with international conservation principles. In fact, for the time, the nomination of Kathmandu valley was a complex case including seven monument zones (ibid). This being the case, one can assume that the nomination emphasised monumental heritage deliberately and not because of the lack of recognition of other types of heritage.

The emphasis on monuments was highlighted by the UNESCO International Campaign launched the same year as the property was inscribed, and which lasted until 2001. The campaign supported the conservation of major monuments throughout the Valley, including the seven World Heritage monument zones. But despite this involvement and assistance from the international community, the vulnerability of the World Heritage property was only brought to the Committee's attention in 1992. The problems were mostly related to the traditional buildings surrounding the monuments rather than the monuments themselves and, as stated in the 1993 mission report, the international community shared a portion of the blame:

'Too little has been done and achieved over the last fourteen years. The severe deterioration observed by the mission could have been modified and to a great part avoided with much stronger control, support, and commitment by the international agencies (ICOMOS, 1993, p.15).'

This is an important issue because while the system of protection laid down in the World Heritage Convention establishes that the duty of ensuring the protection of the property belongs primarily to the State Party, it is the responsibility of the international community as a whole to co-operate. In this case, the international community was already directly involved through the International Campaign.

Although the main problems seemed to be related to the traditional buildings surrounding the monuments rather than the monuments themselves, the report of the 1993 mission noted:

“Living” monuments in the Monument Zones are actively worshipped and traditional practices of renovating, repairing and adding to monuments as a votive offering are part of the act of worship. Due to these activities, it has often not been possible to conserve the World Heritage Site in accordance with the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage as now defined (ibid, p.21’).

The statement implies that the activities associated with the traditional use of the monuments conflicted with its conservation in accordance with the Convention. However, the Convention does not determine intervention principles like the Venice Charter for instance. In no part is it stated how a property is to be conserved. Moreover, whereas the “living” character of the property was considered by the 1993 mission as a threat to its conservation, the present wording of criterion iii, which is one of the criteria that justified the inscription of the property on the World Heritage List, considers the same “living character” as contributing to the outstanding universal value of the property. This example further illustrates how much conservation concepts have evolved over the years, including the concept of outstanding universal value. It also demonstrates how much the implementation of the World Heritage Convention has been based on trial and error.

Based on the observations made on the state of conservation of the Kathmandu Valley, the 1993 mission recommended that the World Heritage property be put on the World Heritage List in Danger. When the report of the mission was discussed at the seventeenth session of the World Heritage Committee in December 1993, the Observer of Nepal opposed the mission’s recommendation, stating that,

'threats to the site were not so severe that listing on the World Heritage in Danger List would be appropriate.... The Committee concluded that the mission report should be studied in-depth and that the recommendations should be reviewed with the Nepalese authorities (World Heritage Centre, 2004a, p.7)'.

This decision was the beginning of a long series of discussions during the following years on whether or not to inscribe the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Different opinions were expressed as to what constituted the property but also on the importance of protecting its surroundings. For instance, statutory records show that in 1992, when the issue was first brought to the Committee's attention, the Delegate of Germany expressed his concern over the report presented by ICOMOS asking the Committee to consider extending the seven protected areas so as to include all the historic and artistic elements of exceptional value, and to create a buffer zone which would comprise the greatest part of the Valley (ibid, p.4). However, when the issue was discussed by the Committee following the 1993 mission,

'The German Observer highlighted the importance of concentrating efforts on the core areas, where the best results could be achieved, rather than on peripheral areas which might still be part of the monument zones but in which traditional buildings had since been demolished and replaced with concrete-framed structures (ibid, p.8)'.

It is interesting to note the change in Germany's position: whereas initially it had proposed the extension of the protected areas and the creation of a buffer zone comprising the greatest part of the Kathmandu Valley, it later suggested focusing on the "core areas".

Again based on the 1993 mission report, during its eighteenth session the Bureau recommended that the Committee, 'envisage partial delisting and redefinition of the part still intact and qualifying as World Heritage, which should be placed on the List of World in Danger to bring particular attention

to the need to avoid further deterioration (ibid, p.9)'. This caused the State Party to react by presenting a "Draft Review and Action Plan" to the World Heritage Committee showing its commitment to accomplish all of the 1993 mission's recommendations.

Despite the State Party's efforts, the Baudhanath and Kathmandu monument zones continued to pose problems and different reports emphasized that the situation was not likely to change as long as the law was not strictly enforced. Therefore by 1997, during its twenty-first session, the World Heritage Committee noted the State Party's incapacity to address the enormous development pressures influencing the state of conservation of the property, and requested another joint UNESCO/ICOMOS/HMG of Nepal mission to study the possibility of deleting selected areas within some monument zones and elaborate a programme for corrective measures. The approach was now one of mitigating the situation rather than reversing it.

The 1998 mission report concluded that 'The value of traditional houses [was] not generally recognised by their owners, who appear[ed] to think new buildings [had] greater status and commercial value (ICOMOS, 1998, p.21)'. The report stressed the importance of showing how traditional buildings could be rehabilitated into comfortable, present-standard dwellings. However, the examples used in the mission report were only for tourism purposes, not residential purposes (ibid, p.22). No examples were given on how homeowners could rehabilitate their households in order to improve their living conditions. This issue was only addressed much later with the adoption of the Home Owner's Manual. From the mission report and resulting decision by the Committee, it appears that this was not considered as a priority; the focus was still on conservation rather than development, and on World Heritage properties as entities isolated from their social and urban contexts.

In addition, the 1998 ICOMOS recommended new criteria for the classification of historical buildings and ancient monuments, as established in the Fifth Amendment of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. Classification was to be based on three grades: structures of international, national and local importance. Historical monuments and buildings of international importance were to be all the structures dating from before 1768 (marking the beginning of the Shah dynasty) and which survived largely in their original form; the best examples of the Shah period dating from before 1848 (considered the beginning of the Rana rule); and buildings dating from after 1848, only if they were of exceptional artistic and architectural significance, or if they were associated with people and events of great historical significance. Demolition or significant alterations of these structures were not permitted under any circumstances (ibid, pp.29-31). This classification, although very straightforward, raised new difficulties. Indeed most of the buildings had been reconstructed after the 1934 earthquake and in most cases had been considerably altered. Additionally, if only monuments and buildings of exceptional artistic and architectural significance were considered of international importance, common traditional buildings did not belong to this category, thus implying that they should not be part of the World Heritage property as they only had national or local significance.

Based on its assessment of the state of conservation of the property, the 1998 mission considered that:

‘Perhaps the best that can be hoped for in long-term preservation of the WH values of the KVVHS is that the MZs will provide protected islands of traditional Nepalese culture. The conservation of these areas is essential, not only for the benefit of visitors and to generate income from tourists, but more importantly for the benefit of Nepal as tangible reminders of their history and culture (ibid, p.9)’.

Thus, the findings and following recommendations of the 1998 mission were directed towards a conservation approach with the sole focus on the World Heritage area, especially the monuments, since these did not pose very complicated conservation problems – unlike the traditional buildings that surrounded the monuments – and excluding development issues, which were in fact at the root of the problem.

Based on the report of the 1998 joint mission:

‘The Bureau [of the World Heritage Committee] acknowledged that although continuous and large sums of international assistance and technical support had been provided to the Government from the World Heritage Fund, UNESCO Funds-in-Trust projects and numerous international donors over the years, the very serious degree of uncontrolled change and gradual deterioration of the historic fabric continued to threaten the authenticity and integrity of the site (World Heritage Centre, 2004a, p.23)’.

Based on the findings of the mission, at its twenty-third session in November-December 1999, the Committee decided to further defer the inclusion of the property on the List of the World Heritage in Danger but ‘It stressed that the gravity of the situation should not be underestimated’ (ibid, p.28) and requested yet another high level mission.

Like the 1998 joint mission, the first high level mission carried out in 2000 concluded that, with a few exceptions, palace buildings, temples, and public monuments were in good condition and well maintained whereas many private historic buildings had been destroyed and some of the remaining ones were in extremely fragile condition and would continue to be under serious threat unless urgent and large-scale conservation measures were undertaken. Overall, the mission considered that there was a lack of an integrated approach between conservation and development for the

monument zones (World Heritage Centre, 2000b, pp.3-4). This shows a completely different approach from that of the 1998 mission for which the monuments zones were to be conserved as “protected islands”.

The mission acknowledged that continuing and rapid population growth and housing shortage, were not issues that conservation policies were meant to tackle. In an individual mission report, Henrik Lilius, then the vice-president of the World Heritage Committee and the ICOMOS representative for the high-level mission, considered that:

‘Another problem is that there were originally, and even today continue to be, no protected areas.... it is quite clear that the WHC did not have enough experience in 1979 to ensure that the management plan was sufficiently comprehensive, and that the country had the required legislation and building control mechanisms. At that point, around 1980, Nepal also did not have enough people with the necessary training. It is therefore my view that the WHC should in the present situation also consider its own actions and the “negligence” it may have been guilty of in relation to the present state of the Kathmandu Valley. It was the early ‘90s before the WHC became aware of the deterioration in the situation which had undeniably taken place in some cases (World Heritage Centre 2000a, p.1)’.

The Chairperson of the World Heritage Committee, who was also part of the high-level mission,

‘stressed that the gravity of the situation should not be underestimated and reminded the Bureau that the decision of the Committee whether or not to inscribe this site on the List of World Heritage in Danger at its twenty-fourth session would reflect upon the credibility and moral responsibility of the World Heritage Convention and its Committee (ibid)’.

The observer of Nepal,

'informed the Bureau that they were unaware until 1992 of the world heritage conservation standards and the errors made.... [He] stated that Government instability up until 1998 had prevented the enforcement of measures to protect the urban heritage of the site (ibid, p.33)'.

He assured the Bureau of the HMG of Nepal's commitment to implement all the recommendations of the 1993 and 1998 missions and requested that the decision to include the property in the List in Danger be deferred until 2004.

In 2003 a second high level mission took place and reached the following conclusion:

'In light of the fact that Nepal annually receives a large amount of Official Development Assistance, and that International Technical Assistance has been provided by the World Heritage Fund and other donors for the preservation of the Monument Zones... the inscription of the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger may not lead in the present circumstances to a substantial increase in international assistance to benefit the conservation process of the property. Having noted this, the Mission recognized that the inscription of the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger could draw international attention and attract technical support, and could induce the government to take more decisive actions (World Heritage Centre, 2003c, p.9)'.

Hence, the inclusion of the property in the List of World Heritage in Danger, a move long resisted by the State Party, was perceived as a way of pressuring it into taking more decisive action and not to increase international assistance. This is in fact a distortion of the purpose of including a property on the World Heritage List as defined in the World Heritage Convention.

In view of the findings, the high-level mission suggested three possible options to the World Heritage Committee for consideration:

- 1) Deletion of the property from the World Heritage List and subsequent re-nomination following a redefinition of the core and support zones of the monument zones, accompanied by adequate management mechanisms to protect the property in the long-term;
- 2) Inclusion of the property on the List of the World Heritage in Danger and recommendation to the State Party that the core and support zones of the monument zones be redefined, accompanied by adequate management mechanisms which effectively address development pressures. Once these measures were taken the property could be withdrawn from the List in Danger; and
- 3) Recommendation that the State Party legally redefine the core and support zones of the monument zones, accompanied by adequate management mechanisms to protect the property in the long-term. These actions were to be carried out within a two-year period, after which the Committee would consider options 1 and 2 if necessary (ibid, p.10).

All three proposals required the establishment of adequate management mechanisms to protect the property in the long-term. Also, every proposal required the redefinition of “core” and “support” zones. The only fundamental difference was between deleting the property from the World Heritage List, inscribing it on the List of World Heritage in Danger, or not. Here I analyse the potential consequences of each option.

In principle, deleting the property from the List would mean that its outstanding universal value had been lost. But if the property was to be subsequently re-nominated, this would contradict the loss of outstanding universal value. Or that the assessments of outstanding universal value can

somewhat be manipulated based on the arguments put forward to sustain the nomination. The underlying argument is that there exist different levels of risk depending on what makes up the property. If the property was limited to the monuments, since they were in a good state of conservation, the property would no longer be at risk. Taking such an option would mean that the system would be solely concerned with the identification of the property and not on its protection.

The second option – including the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger – implies that the protection of the property is the main concern. That the property was in danger, there was no doubt, and so what would be the benefits of including it on the List in Danger? The Convention states that a property is to be included in the List of World Heritage in Danger mainly to allow for major conservation operations for which assistance has been requested under the Convention. As such, would inclusion draw considerably more international assistance? The answer would be: hardly, since in fact major international assistance had already been provided for the Kathmandu Valley. According to the mission however, inclusion would help draw international attention, attract technical support and induce the government to take more decisive actions. Thus possible support would be in fact external and not provided mainly by the World Heritage Fund, which points to the limitation of the system. Most importantly, the mission expected further commitment by the State Party if the property were to be included in the List in Danger. This implies that until then, the State Party had not fully fulfilled its obligations under the Convention.

At its twenty-seventh session in June-July 2003, based on the report of the second-high level mission, the Committee decided to follow the second option and inscribed the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger. This decision led to a series of actions, including the redefinition of the

boundaries of the properties (in 2006) and the adoption of the integrated management plan. The property was subsequently removed from the World Heritage List in Danger in 2007.

Based on the mission report, the delegation of Portugal,

‘sought further information from the Secretariat as to why the State Party had stressed that “the different UNESCO experts should not have given conflicting advice and that better coordination could be exercised by the appointment of a single technical advisor”.... [to which t]he Director of the World Heritage Centre explained that a number of experts had worked on the state of conservation of the property and there had been perhaps a “superimposition of opinions” rather than “conflicting advice” (World Heritage Centre, 2004d, paragraphs 1121-1122)’.

I have already mentioned this issue when I mentioned differences in the approaches followed by the 1993 and 1998 missions and their sets of recommendations.

The “superimposition of opinions”, as defined by the Director of the World Heritage Centre, raised further concerns following the report of the ICOMOS/World Heritage Centre 2005 mission on the redefinition of boundaries³¹. In a letter to the World Heritage Centre on the findings of this mission, the State Party questioned the recommendation to establish buffer zones for the Patan and Bhaktapur monument zones. According to the letter, HMG of Nepal had based the redefinition of the boundaries on the recommendations of the 2004 technical workshop, which in the cases of Patan and Bhaktapur had suggested to have only core zones without buffer zones (Department of Archaeology, 2005, p.2). Given the apparent contradiction with previous recommendations, the letter states:

³¹ Differences between the recommendations made on the redefinition of boundaries are presented on section 18.6.1 on the issue of boundaries.

'Thus, different international missions and experts have recommended in different ways in different times which pushed us into confusion. We are in difficult situation due to such multiple recommendations of conflicting ideas.

So far I understood the reason/cause of such conflicting ideas and recommendation is insufficient time for the international missions and experts to study about the problems and cultural realities as well as to assess the OUV of the Site available. They arrive with very short period of time on disposal and always run in hurry to prepare a report. In such situations they are bound to depend on the ideas and recommendation of the local based international experts and also they have the tendency to hear more and rely upon the ideas of those international experts than the local authorities. Therefore, the authorities of W.H. Committee and centre as well as the advisory bodies should try to be aware of such insufficiency (ibid)'.

These are serious accusations as they question the decisions of the World Heritage Committee but also the effectiveness of the system. Differences of opinion between the actors involved in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention are not new. By the time the State party submitted the redefinition of boundaries for the formal acceptance of the Committee, ICOMOS in its evaluation disagreed with the changes proposed. These changes were based on the recommendations made by previous missions but also prepared under the initiative of the State Party.

18.5 CONCLUSIONS

As is often the case with early inscriptions, the reasons that justified the inclusion of the Kathmandu Valley on the World Heritage List are not clear. The statutory records at the time of inscription point in different directions. For instance, whereas in the nomination file the property was proposed for inclusion on the List under criteria i, iii, and v, the property was ultimately inscribed under criteria iii, iv and vi. The criteria proposed in the nomination file suggested a monumental approach to the property by referring to its

uniqueness and rarity, to its unique artistic achievement, and as masterpieces of the creative genius; but it also proposed the use of criterion v, mentioning the property's vulnerability to irreversible socio-cultural and economic change. I consider this to be a fundamental point as it called attention to the threats posed to the protection of the property and the transformations of its urban context. The Committee's decision offers no explanation for the change in criteria, nor was I able to find any record of the relevant ICOMOS evaluation. Without this information, it is difficult to understand on what basis the property's outstanding universal value was established.

The report by ICOMOS to the Committee in 1992 reveals concerns over the state of conservation of the property and is equivalent to what is presently referred to as Reactive Monitoring. But as explained in chapter 6, a formal monitoring system under the World Heritage Convention, although first discussed in 1992, was only formally approved by the Committee in 1998. Under the adopted system, Reactive Monitoring only applies to properties whose state of conservation is considered under threat. But to be considered under threat, it is fundamental to know what the outstanding universal value of the property is, and this is not clear in the case of the Kathmandu Valley. Hence what the case study shows is that the implementation of the World Heritage Convention has been a process of trial and error. . On one hand, cases like the Kathmandu Valley have contributed to a better implementation of the World Heritage Convention over the years, through the establishment of specific mechanisms developed to address increasingly complex challenges and issues in the protection of World Heritage. On the other hand, the case study also sheds light on the system's flaws.

The case study also demonstrates how World Heritage creates or reinforces fault lines between World Heritage properties and their cultural, social and

urban context. In this context, it is obvious that the proper identification and delimitation of what constitutes the property is crucial. I have shown, that while the narrative information in the nomination file considers only the monuments, the maps suggest that parts of the immediate surroundings constitute part of the property. In all events, the area considered was still limited to the monumental zones. This in itself is not a problem considering that the Kathmandu Valley is a serial nomination and, as such, each component part of the property needs to relate to an overall framework that, as a whole, has outstanding universal value. But the information contained in the 1975 Protective Inventory and the 1977 Master Plan show the importance of the areas beyond the monument zones, and especially of the urban structure of the urban settlements, elements which were not taken into consideration by any of the expert missions. This issue is important for two reasons: first because it led to excessive emphasis on the monuments and created an artificial separation between the monument zones and their surroundings; and second because, as I have shown, many of the mission's recommendations were related to boundaries whereas a thorough understanding of the urban structure of the settlements was of the utmost importance.

Regarding the artificial separation between the monument zones and their surroundings, the 2006 modification of the property's boundaries and the official creation of buffer zones resulted in an institutional setup whereby different authorities were given responsibility for the monument zone and the buffer zone. Given the difficulties of effectively managing both areas as a whole, there is a sound rationale for this decision. Indeed, the challenges and limited capacity of the State Party in addressing development and population pressures are clear throughout the case studies and were at the basis of the discussion on the state of conservation of the property. However this division reinforces the notion that the buffer zones are not fundamental for the

protection of the monument zones. It further implies that the buffer zones can be protected and managed independently from the property.

Another important question is whether or not everything included inside the boundary of the nominated property has outstanding universal value. In the case of the Kathmandu Valley, the answer is obviously negative. Indeed, along with the monuments that are at the basis of the decision to include the property on the World Heritage List, there are many concrete framed structures that by no means can be considered of outstanding universal value. In principle, the identification of a World Heritage property does not exclude the protection of additional elements that may not have outstanding universal value but are fundamental to the protection of the property. I would propose that the area identified as possessing outstanding universal value should not necessary be identical to the conservation area at the national level.

Additionally, if buffer zones are defined as areas surrounding the properties and designed to give it an added layer of protection, they should not be considered as protected areas in themselves. That is, their role should be to help protect the nominated property, not what is included inside the buffer zone. But the current approach seems to be exactly the opposite: the buffer zones are set up to protect the surroundings themselves. Of course, the decision is based on the argument that the transformations in the surroundings of the property diminish the outstanding universal value of the World Heritage areas. But if this was the case and the property was not seen as separate from its setting – as defined in article 7 of the Venice Charter – what has been drawn as a buffer zone should in fact be part of the conservation area as a whole.

This separation within the management of the World Heritage areas and their respective buffer zones is justifiable if thinking solely on World Heritage terms as buffer zones are in principle not considered as part of the property as they do not have outstanding universal value, But at the national level, the two should be seen as a whole and in fact a much larger conservation area would be needed if a broader notion of heritage was considered taking into consideration the urban heritage of the settlements and not just the monuments. In fact, what is protected at the national level largely coincides with what has been defined as World Heritage, with the rest of the historic urban fabric left totally unprotected. Yet the 1975 Protective Inventory and the results of my field visit show that the planning and architecture of these areas are of sufficient quality to warrant inclusion or rival with other urban areas included on the World Heritage List.

The problem is that these qualities were never addressed in the inscription. Indeed, as the focus has always been on the monuments, no consideration has been given to the urban settlements as a whole or at least from the point of view of their urban heritage, either at the international or the national level. The 1975 Protective Inventory identified the areas south and north of the Kathmandu Durbar Square, the area defined by the four stupas in Patan, and the whole town of Bhaktapur as preservation districts. But the category of preservation district was never used outside the Inventory and was never integrated into any cultural heritage policies. In fact, the 1975 Protective Inventory and the 1977 Master Plan were never implemented. As shown, lack of implementation of these planning was one of the reasons behind the problems of urban and cultural heritage degradation in the Kathmandu Valley. In fact, throughout the case study, one sometimes has the impression that there was no political will to implement these planning documents.

Regarding the boundaries themselves, those adopted in the 2006 minor boundary modification run through the back of the buildings as expected in any western urban settlement where the streets are the main element that define the urban structure. In the case of settlements of the Kathmandu valley, the *chowks* have a huge influence in structuring the urban fabric. The boundaries, as they were defined, cut through the middle of the *chowks*, creating boundaries that the local community cannot relate to.

Another important issue is the importance of positioning conservation policies in relation to the cultural, social and urban contexts. Throughout the case study of the Kathmandu Valley I have shown that there has been a conflict between conservation and development objectives. The main threat to the property was and still is the demolition of traditional buildings and their replacement with concrete structures with heavy visual negative impact. But as explained in section 18.2.1., these demolitions are justified by the quest for better living conditions. In my opinion, although this issue was somehow mentioned within the different mission reports, it was never fully addressed and the different recommendations focused instead on the monuments, revealing a very narrow understanding of heritage. The adoption of the home owners' manual in 2006 points to a shift toward a more holistic approach, but I do not have information on whether or not the manual is being actively promoted by the responsible management authorities. What I experienced during the field visit was the very difficult living conditions of the Nepali population, and the negative impact of a very narrow view of conservation and heritage focusing mostly on monuments. Only when development needs are considered hand in hand with conservation needs will the situation of cultural heritage in the Kathmandu Valley improve.

The analysis of the Committee's decisions reveals persistent concern over the protection of the monuments but at the same time a certain inability to

tackle the real problems. While it is true that the Committee has a limited mandate, and that the State Party has sovereignty over the heritage on its territory, one would have expected a broader perspective and more effective recommendations from the international community and particularly from individual experts involved in technical missions over the years. For example, installing stone markers along the boundaries of the World Heritage areas seems both inappropriate and a waste of public resources, since they do not take into consideration the urban structure and the fundamental elements of the urban fabric, and moreover come across as an extravagance in communities that lack basic infrastructure and services such as potable water and latrines.

The case study also shows that, despite numerous and protracted discussions, little progress was achieved and the contradictory guidance provided through consecutive missions was damaging in itself. The situation seems to have improved with the adoption of new boundaries and the integrated management plan. But beyond the monument zones, the cultural heritage of the Kathmandu Valley is still threatened by enormous urban and development pressures. Traditional buildings continue to be replaced by concrete structures, meaning that the existing cultural heritage assets continue to disappear, and new ones are not being created.

PART VI

CONCLUSIONS

19.COMPARATIVE AND COMBINED ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES

19.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will discuss the key findings of my research based on the comparative and combined analysis from the four case studies. First I will elaborate on the urbanisation and development pressures occurring in the selected World Heritage settlements and I will discuss the various transformation processes that are taking place in these settlements, to highlight the implications for their conservation. This will be followed by a discussion on the management responses for their protection and how these address the negative factors affecting the state of conservation of the World Heritage properties. Last but not least, I will consider how the surroundings of the World Heritage properties have been protected under the different management arrangements. The chapter will end by highlighting key issues which emerge from my research findings. These issues will be further discussed in depth in the next chapter titled “Reassessing processes and practices for the protection of World Heritage settlements”.

19.2 IMPLICATIONS OF URBANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT PRESSURES

Although the urban, social and cultural contexts of the four case studies are completely different, in all cases, the World Heritage settlements have been affected by considerable urbanisation and development pressures that have resulted in deep transformations of the urban environment and their historic fabric. The degree to which each the properties has been affected by those pressures depends largely on the management responses to tackle them, which will be discussed in the next section. Some of the cases are also more affected by development pressures than urbanisations ones as the latter are

also linked to population pressures, which are different in the countries considered. This is the case of Angra do Heroísmo, where population growth is not an issue, as Portugal like most European countries has had and is expected to continue having a stable population. But in the three other case studies, population growth is an issue and has contributed to increasing urbanisation. In Kathmandu, the massive increase of the built-up area has resulted in encroachment on agricultural land and urban free spaces, destruction of traditional buildings, environmental degradation, unregulated urban sprawl, disruptions in the traditional urban structure and degradation of the urban fabric and human conditions.

Issues related to transformations of the traditional buildings and their authenticity in particular linked to development pressures have been identified in all case studies to different degrees. In Olinda, the construction of additional living quarters in the back of the orchards, and the expansion of constructions towards the backyard, have transformed traditional building typologies but most importantly have resulted in a considerable reduction in vegetation cover, which is considered to contribute as much to the significance of the property as the buildings themselves. In Angra do Heroísmo, it is still common practice and fully accepted by the legal authorities to destroy the entire internal organisation of the traditional buildings and just keep the main façades. The transformation of traditional buildings for tourism accommodation in Marrakesh has equally led to considerable loss of authenticity due on one hand to different use needs and on the other, to the wish of recreating an environment suitable to the tourist's expectations that in most cases does not exist. Hundreds of buildings have apparently been demolished due to it.

But transformations deriving from urbanisation and development pressures have mostly affected the surroundings of the World Heritage properties

concerned. In Angra do Heroísmo, although the cause is not so much urbanisation pressures as development ones, the municipality has promoted a series of tourism infrastructures with high visual impact on the fringes of the World Heritage property and in areas of high environmental risk. In Marrakesh, the palm grove surrounding the medina is being destroyed to make way for tourism and real estate developments promoted by the responsible management authorities. In Olinda, the green area surrounding the historical hill has been illegally occupied and not much of the vegetation cover is left. What is striking is that such deep transformations have taken place despite of the fact that in all three cases, the surroundings were legally protected. This shows that the legal protection was insufficient to respond to the pressures posed by urbanisation and uncontrolled development but also due to lack of political will to fully implement it.

The case of the Kathmandu Valley is somehow different as there were hardly any legal protection or management arrangements in place to mitigate the pressures. Of the four cases studied, it is the one in which the surroundings have undergone the most widespread transformation, considering that the property initially included only the monuments. The built-up area of the Kathmandu Valley expanded from 6,152 ha in 1978 (that is, one year before the property was included on the World Heritage List), to 8,917 ha in 1991 (that is, one year before concerns over the state of conservation of the property were brought to the Committee's attention) and to 16,472 ha in 2000. Under such circumstances, deep transformations of the built-fabric were inevitable.

19.3 PROTECTION AND MANAGEMENT RESPONSES

The degree in which each of the World Heritage properties used as case studies has been affected by urbanisation and development pressures, and

with it their state of conservation, depends largely on the management mechanisms in place and the actions taken to implement them and mitigate the pressures. The case studies provide different levels of assessment of the management arrangements in place and also a multitude of situations as it had been expected taking into consideration the diversity of the case studies and their contexts. What the overall findings show is that in all four cases, the management responses have been insufficient to effectively deal with the different factors that have affected the state of conservation of the properties concerned. And in some cases, they have gone so far as to contribute to the problem rather than providing solutions.

As exemplified in the case study of Angra do Heroísmo, rivalries between the municipality and the GZCAH not only complicated the management arrangements but finally led to a weakening of the management system as a whole (this conclusion builds mostly on information provided in the Appendices). The lack of appropriate management mechanisms, and in particular planning ones, facilitated the political decision to carry out significant transformations on the waterfront of the bay that triggered the Reactive Monitoring process and were considered by ICOMOS as having a negative impact on the outstanding universal value of the property.

In Olinda, the progressive weakening of the management system has resulted in a division of the management mandate of the property amongst the different authorities involved and gaps between the legal responsibilities of the different agencies. This has resulted in a lack of coordination between the agencies and an overall refocusing on the historic hill of Olinda with almost no management of the *área de entorno*.

In the Kathmandu Valley, the adoption of the integrated management plan has helped defining a clear institutional framework, with the Department of

Archaeology retaining the responsibility for the listed monuments whilst giving other management authorities a mandate over the monument zones within their respective areas of responsibility. This is particularly important as the Kathmandu Valley is a serial property. It is unclear however, if the integrated management plan is being implemented (as other plans adopted before it never were). Throughout the case study, it is obvious that the problem has not been the lack of appropriate legal and planning documents as so much as their lack of implementation. Rather than trying to considerably alter existing management arrangements or proposing an alternative system less adaptable to the existing situation (even if theoretically more suitable), building upon existing management arrangements will give the integrated management plan a higher probability of success than its predecessors.

Another difficulty identified in the case of the Kathmandu Valley is that existing legislation and management arrangements still reflect a very narrow vision of the notion of cultural heritage, with a focus on monuments as the main category of cultural heritage, and a failure to identify other categories of cultural heritage in the Kathmandu Valley. This for instance prevents an appropriate protection of the traditional buildings as reflected by the type of financial incentives given to home owners have favoured the development of the neovernacular style rather than the protection of the existing traditional structures. The same arrangements have failed to support and guide home owners in their search for better living conditions and there has been little or no involvement of the local community in cultural heritage issues.

While taking into consideration the wide range of management arrangements, as was to be expected in such different contexts, the findings of the case studies show that there is no particular evidence that management arrangements adopted take into consideration or build upon

what is considered as the outstanding universal value of the properties. In fact, the different management arrangements do not seem to differ from what one could expect in any historic city. This can partly be explained by the fact that all case studies are early inscriptions and have not attracted significant attention from the international community – again with the exception of the Kathmandu Valley.

Last but not least, the findings of the case studies show little or no integration of the planning and management arrangements for the World Heritage properties within their wider urban context. The conclusion is that the World Heritage properties are managed in isolation and that there is no integrated planning approach. The case study of the Kathmandu Valley also shows to what extent identifying an urban area as World Heritage can undermine other levels of cultural heritage significance. It shows that the management requirements of the World Heritage area have drained all existing financial and technical resources and that other areas of traditional built fabric are left to continuing being replaced by concrete structures of very poor visual and construction quality.

19.4 PROTECTION OF THE SURROUNDINGS

In the previous sections, I discussed that urban transformations have mostly affected the surroundings of the properties and I have also mentioned that in three out of the four cases studies, the surroundings are protected under national legislation. The findings of the case studies show the following range of management arrangements for the protection of the surroundings.

In the case of Angra do Heroísmo, the so-called protected landscape of Mont Brazil was already in place but did not surround the property in its entirety and it was not considered at the time of inscription. This area was included in

a much larger area of protection adopted in 1999, this time surrounding the whole property. But this so-called protection zone was never presented to the World Heritage Committee to be adopted as the equivalent of a buffer zone and therefore, the surroundings cannot be considered protected under the World Heritage Convention. In the case of Olinda, the area designated as *área de entorno* (corresponding to the surroundings of the historic hill of the settlement) which was to be protected as a green *non aedificandi* area, was recognised under national legislation at the time of inscription and was referred to in the nomination file and the maps annexed to it. However, in the ICOMOS evaluation and the Committee's decisions there is no reference to it and therefore it cannot be considered as having been adopted as a buffer zone. Similarly, in Marrakesh, the palm grove was protected under a *dahir* (a decree emitted by the King) at the time of inscription and this was mentioned in the nomination file but again was not considered by the World Heritage Committee. However, in this case the Committee made specific recommendations at the time of inscription for the protection of the surroundings of the medina and specifically for the palm grove. As for the Kathmandu Valley, as it was not very clear what constituted the property, no notion of surroundings existed at the time of inscription. However, the findings of this case study show that most of the issues emerging from the different mission's recommendations and Committee's decisions later on revolved around the protection of the areas surrounding the monuments.

The surroundings of the World Heritage properties examined have been deeply affected by transformations deriving from urbanisation and development pressures. In Angra do Heroísmo, the local authorities approved a series of tourism developments within 50m of the coastline, despite the regulation prohibiting the construction of any structure within this area – an extremely important measure, considering the strong sea storms that regularly affect the Azores Archipelago where the property is located, but

also the anticipated consequences of climate change in coastal areas. In addition the area is part of the protected area of Mont Brazil, in place since 1980, which should in principle prevent constructions of such high visual impact. Similarly, in Olinda, the *área de entorno* adopted as green *non aedificandi* area has been occupied by squatter settlements. Although this has been mostly the result of illegal activities, as the findings of the case study illustrate, in practice the management authority responsible for the World Heritage area and the *área de entorno* has no urban control over them and delegates responsibility to the Secretariat for Planning, Transports and Environment, which has no mandate to work on matters related to cultural heritage. Whereas in Olinda, the separated management of the World Heritage property and the *área de entorno* is a result of technical and financial constraints but is not legally defined as such, in the case of the Kathmandu Valley a similar arrangement has been agreed upon under the integrated management plan.

All these issues reinforce the differences between the World Heritage areas and the areas established for the protection of the surroundings as separate entities. Another issue is the lack of clarity over the purposes of the existence of such areas. Have they been adopted to protect the surroundings per se or in relation to the protection of the World Heritage property, as an added layer of protection? Can the two be truly differentiated?

In the case of Olinda for instance, which can be considered as the case study where the benefits of the existence of an area for the protection of the surroundings can best be evaluated, the *área de entorno* was adopted as green *non aedificandi* area. On the one hand, one can argue that its purpose was thus to protect the green framing of the historic hill of Olinda. In this case, the *área de entorno* would have been established as an added layer of protection to the property by helping to prevent the urban sprawl of the

nearby city of Recife. On the other hand, as shown in the case study, the vegetation cover of Olinda is considered as being one of the attributes of the outstanding universal value of the property. In this case, as there are almost no important historic buildings in the area, and therefore could not be considered as having the same significance as the historic hill, one could argue that the *área de entorno* was established to protect the vegetation cover per se and not as an added layer of protection to the property. This is a fundamental issue which relates to the double dimension of the concept of surroundings analysed in chapter 10.

Whilst the case of Olinda offers the perfect example of the duality of the concept of surroundings, in Marrakesh it is clear that the *dahir* adopted for the palm grove was intended initially to protect the area per se and not in relation to the medina. But since the Committee made a specific recommendation at the time of inscription that the palm grove should be protected, it automatically assumed the same duality as in Olinda.

While in Olinda and Marrakesh, the duality can be justifiable by the fact that none of the areas have formally been adopted as buffer zones under the World Heritage Convention, the case of the Kathmandu Valley is more complex as the buffer zones were formally adopted as such and do not derive from any other existing legal mechanism at the national level. The buffer zones would therefore be expected to fill the requirements adopted in the Operational Guidelines, which define a buffer zone as an area surrounding the nominated property and which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property. However, based on the findings of the case study, it is unclear how the buffer zones fulfil such purpose considering the factors affecting the state of conservation of the property. As shown in the case study, the main problem with the property is the

destruction of the traditional buildings therefore how is the buffer zone preventing this? It can be argued that further destruction of the traditional buildings would only increase the differences between the built fabric of the surroundings and that of the World Heritage property. This needs to be considered in relation to what has been defined as the outstanding universal value of the property. As seen in the case study, there is no clear agreement to what was included on the World Heritage List in 1979. The 2006 extension was accepted as a minor modification and therefore no new information was provided in relation to the significance of the property.

Overall, the case studies show the complexity and ambiguities around the concept of buffer zone and the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage properties. Three main issues are brought forward in relation to the protection of surroundings of the World Heritage settlements used as case studies. These are:

- despite existing legal mechanisms for the protection of the surroundings, these have continued to undergo considerable change since the time of inscription;
- the areas established for the protection of the surroundings are seen as separate entities in relation to the World Heritage properties and seem to have been mostly established to protect the surroundings themselves and not to add an additional layer of protection to the properties;
- in some of the cases, the areas established for the protection of the surroundings are managed by a different management authority than that of the World Heritage property, thus reinforcing the separation between the two.

These issues will be further discussed while reassessing existing processes for the identification and monitoring of World Heritage properties.

19.5 KEY ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FOR THE PROTECTION OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS IN PARTICULAR

In all four case studies, the transformation processes affecting the World Heritage properties deriving from urbanisation and development pressures have been progressive and have occurred despite legal and management arrangements in place. The findings of the case studies show that these transformation processes have mostly affected the surroundings of the properties. But can we consider that these transformations have affected the state of conservation of the properties concerned?

The answer is not a straightforward one for two main reasons. The first is that the state of conservation of a World Heritage property needs to be assessed against what has been determined as its outstanding universal value. The second is that, as the case studies show, these transformation processes have mostly affected the surroundings of the properties and in principle under the World Heritage Convention they are not part of the World Heritage property. Let us first discuss the first reason.

For a property to be considered as World Heritage it needs to be considered as being of outstanding universal value. Since 2005, the World Heritage Committee adopts a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value when it includes a property on the World Heritage List. This statement makes clear why the property is considered to merit inscription and will be the key reference for the future effective protection and management of the property. The Committee's decision to create this procedure derives from the fact, that especially in the case of early inscriptions, it was often unclear what exactly

constituted the World Heritage properties, for what reasons they were included on the World Heritage List, and consequently to assess their state of conservation.

As all four case studies are early nominations, and there is no statement of outstanding universal value, it is difficult to determine if the transformation processes affecting them have or have not had an impact on their outstanding universal value. This leads to the first key issue brought forward in the context of this thesis: how can the distinction be made between the factors affecting the property at large, and those affecting (or potentially affecting) its outstanding universal value?

This key issue is a central one in the case of the Kathmandu Valley and is closely linked to a second one, based on the findings of this case study: what is the role of the international community versus that of the State Party in such situations?

The Kathmandu Valley, in contrast to the other case studies, has been the subject of extensive review and discussion by the World Heritage Committee, though it is unclear that the numerous expert missions carried out over an extended period yielded the expected results. The issues underlying the conservation problems in the Kathmandu Valley were fundamentally linked to those of urbanisation and development and the findings of the case study show that these were hardly taken into consideration in the different mission's recommendations and consequent Committee's decisions. Given the difficult social and political situation of Nepal, it is hard to determine if the situation could have been prevented or significantly mitigated.

On the other hand, in the case of Marrakesh, the Committee made specific recommendations for the protection of the palm grove at the time of

inscription. The evidence presented in the case study shows that the palm grove is being progressively urbanised, that some professionals attempted to draw the international community's attention to the seriousness of the situation, but that the World Heritage Committee took no action and that the property was never subjected to Reactive Monitoring. Angra do Heroísmo has been subject to Reactive Monitoring but despite the unfavourable assessment by ICOMOS of the situation, the State Party was allowed to continue with the proposed developments and there was no follow-up by the Committee.

This situation presents us with another of the key issues deriving from the findings of the case studies: why has the Kathmandu case study attracted so much attention from the World Heritage Committee while the other case studies did not, even though they underwent similar transformation processes deriving from urbanisation and development pressures?

The findings of the case studies show that these transformation processes have affected mostly the surroundings of the properties. This brings us to a second critical issue: in principle, the surroundings are not part of the World Heritage properties. This again makes it difficult to determine if the transformations can be considered to be affecting the state of conservation of the properties.

The issue here is one of identification. The reasoning behind this is that only the areas that are considered of outstanding universal value constitute the World Heritage property. However, the findings of the case studies show that under national legal and management arrangements the surroundings of the properties are also protected. The findings also show that despite such arrangements the surroundings of the properties are increasingly affected by urbanisation and development pressures and, more and more, they are

managed separately from the property. These findings bring forth another key issue for the protection of World Heritage settlements: that the World Heritage areas are increasingly perceived and managed in isolation from their urban contexts.

At present, under the World Heritage Convention, the surroundings of a property can only be protected through the establishment of a buffer zone. The case studies are all early inscriptions and the areas established for the protection of their surroundings under national legislation have not been adopted as buffer zones at the time of inscription. Buffer zones have been formally adopted only in the case of the Kathmandu Valley, following the revision of the property's boundaries in 2006. In their present version, the Operational Guidelines define a buffer zone as an area surrounding the property and which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property. The buffer zones of the different components parts of the World Heritage property of the Kathmandu Valley were established after this definition was adopted, and therefore should conform to it, particularly in light of the fact that the revision of the property's boundaries was a process supported and followed by successive technical missions. However, the findings of this case study show similar ambiguities to those found in the other case studies: they seem to have been mostly established to protect the surroundings themselves and not to add an additional layer of protection to the property and are managed by a different management authority than that of the World Heritage property, thus reinforcing the separation between the two. Therefore the conclusion is that there seems to be no clear distinction between a buffer zone and any other type of mechanism for the protection of the surroundings.

In the context of my research findings, six key issues have been identified:

- confusion between, on one hand, factors affecting the historic urban settlement and its surroundings at large, and on the other hand factors affecting or with the potential to affect the outstanding universal value of the property;
- uncertainty regarding the expected role of the international community versus that of the State Party in responding to the factors affecting the property;
- lack of clarity on the selection process for the follow-up of the state of conservation of a property by the World Heritage Committee, through Reactive Monitoring;
- increasing separation of the World Heritage areas from their surroundings and their urban contexts from the point of view of management;
- weakening of existing protection of the surroundings, even when they are increasingly affected by urbanisation and development pressures; and
- ambiguity in differences between a buffer zone and any other mechanism for the protection of the surroundings.

With respect to the identified key issues various challenges emerge related to management policy for the protection of World Heritage settlements particularly in relation to identification and monitoring. These issues and associated challenges will be discussed in depth while revisiting the existing theories and processes established under the World Heritage Convention in the following chapter.

20. REASSESSING PROCESSES AND PRACTICES FOR THE PROTECTION OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

In my research I have used a combination of case studies and other sources of information to gain a better understanding of the key issues emerging from my findings. However, it is important to note that these different sources provide different levels of assessment which cannot always be compared but that together provide a more holistic understanding. I have considered three different levels of assessment reflecting the different levels of implementation of the World Heritage Convention: national (and at the same time local), regional and international. For instance, whereas the findings of the case studies related to a national level of assessment, the analysis of the results of the Periodic Reporting related to the regional level and any discussions relating to the World Heritage Committee's decisions and policies to the international level.

The purpose of this research is mostly to inform the international level. Thus the findings will be combined to reflect this level of understanding even if some of the sources at the basis relate to a different level of assessment.

20.1 REASSESSING FACTORS AFFECTING THE STATE OF CONSERVATION OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

All four case studies were chosen based on a regional representation and although they cannot be considered as representative of the region as a whole, in most cases they display similar urban trends and problems to those explored in Chapter 3. Therefore the combination of these difference sources of information can provide us with a better understanding of the factors affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage properties at the regional level. For instance, the case study of Olinda illustrates how

peripheral suburban growth of the city of Recife is linked with the illegal occupation of the *área de entorno* made of low density, informal housing, which is one of the identified urbanisation trends in Latin America. This also coincides with the results of the Periodic Reporting exercise in Latin America where uncontrolled urban growth and urban sprawl are amongst the most important factors affecting World Heritage properties in the region.

The cross-referencing of the different sources of information show that in an increasingly urbanised world, urbanisation and development pressures will continue affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements. Regions like Asia and the Pacific and the Middle East and North Africa, which still have large rural populations, will become increasingly urban, making urbanisation and development pressures on existing historic settlements more likely to increase as well.

Other important trends affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements, identified through the Reactive Monitoring process, are large infrastructure and public works developments with potential visual impact, and high rise buildings. Again, in most of the identified cases, the proposed developments would be located outside the property, mostly in the buffer zones and also beyond them. Buildings with conflicting architectural language were also reported in a considerable number of World Heritage Settlements. Interestingly, some of the identified problems are not new and in fact point to a resurgence of issues that were addressed decades ago. For instance, issues related to high rise buildings and contemporary architecture in historic areas were central to many of the conservation theories and documents from the 1970s.

The main issue behind these trends is development and in most cases development is seen as being in conflict with conservation. The simple fact

that these cases are considered under the Reactive Monitoring process automatically underlines the situation as a conflict. Cases involving infrastructure and public works point to a situation of urban redevelopment and to the larger functioning of the urban context. However, in most cases, the direction taken by the World Heritage Committee seems to be measured between allowing nothing or everything. An in-between solution, in most cases, does not seem to be considered. Although not a World Heritage settlement, the case of Dresden, which was deleted from the World Heritage List in 2009, is illustrative of this situation. The case was argued between building the bridge (the wish of the State Party) and not building the bridge (the will of the World Heritage Committee). An argument on “if a bridge is needed, what type of bridge?” does not seem to have ever been fully considered.

The findings also show that, increasingly, the threats are external to the World Heritage areas. This suggests, on the one hand, that the areas themselves are well protected, since the threats no longer originate within the property. On the other hand, this further highlights that they are seen in separation from their surroundings and that the management responses in place are not effective enough. The different sources show that existing management arrangements, and management plans in particular, are rarely integrated into larger territorial and development mechanisms. This is corroborated by the analysis of the Reactive Monitoring state of conservation reports in Chapter 8. This analysis also reveals that, in these cases, the responsible management authorities seem to have little or no mandate. These findings coincide with those of the case studies which, from the point of view of management, display an increasing separation of the World Heritage areas from their surroundings and their urban contexts.

As the evidence demonstrates that the factors affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage properties increasingly originate from beyond the properties' boundaries, a reassessment of the situation is thus needed: in an increasing urbanised world, the effective protection of World Heritage settlements depends on an integrated management approach that goes beyond the recognised boundaries to include the overall urban context.

But then again this is not a new approach. As discussed in Chapter 3, the 1987 ICOMOS' *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas* stated that,

'In order to be most effective, the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning at every level (ICOMOS, 1987, paragraph 1).'

Based on this principle, it added that conservations plans should aim at 'ensuring a harmonious relationship between the historic urban areas and the town as whole (ibid, paragraph 5)'. These guiding principles are still valid but they do not seem to be implemented.

20.2 REASSESSING MANAGEMENT RESPONSES

The analysis of international documents for the protection of historic settlements, discussed in Chapter 4, shows that when actions to control urbanisation and urban growth proved ineffective, conservation efforts were redirected to the physical survival of the historic areas and their integration within a new urban context. With time, continuous urban population growth and urban expansion has led to the majority of historic urban settlements being surrounded by modern built areas. This is true of all four case studies. The analysis demonstrates that under such circumstances, whereas in the

same international documents other types of cultural properties were increasingly perceived as inseparable from their setting, historic urban settlements were to be protected from their surroundings. The findings of the case studies and the results of the Periodic Reporting exercise show that increasingly the factors affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage properties originate beyond the properties' boundaries which seem to justify the need for such an approach. However, the same findings also show that the situation derives from the inadequacy of existing management responses and the absence of mandate, or lack of control, of the responsible management authorities.

The results of the Periodic Reporting, discussed in Chapter 7, show that although most States Parties have specific national laws for the protection of cultural heritage, these often are insufficient to tackle contemporary problems. In most cases, the existence of national legislation for the protection of cultural heritage does not necessarily ensure its integration into planning or development policies, as recommended in Article 5(a) of the Convention. In addition, the reports show that institutional structures are not up to the challenges that World Heritage properties are facing. Similarly, the analysis of the Reactive Monitoring state of conservation reports, discussed in Chapter 8, shows that one of the major issues behind these reports is the lack of appropriate conservation measures or management systems.

The findings of the case studies also point to management limitations. In Angra do Heroísmo, the lack of appropriate management mechanisms, and in particular planning ones, created favourable conditions for the political decision to carry out significant transformations on the waterfront of the bay and other tourism developments on the fringes of the World Heritage property. In Olinda, the management authorities have limited their range of action to the historic hill even if legally their mandate should be broader. The

Kathmandu Valley case study offers by far the most dramatic example of the inability of the management authorities to cope with the enormous pressures of urbanization and development. What the case studies also show is that management limitations are not only rooted in the lack of financial and technical resources but mostly in a lack of political and professional will. That is, all cases show either a progressive weakening of the existing management systems (as in the cases of Angra do Heroísmo and Olinda) or no serious reform of the existing ones to tackle the challenges (as in the case of the Kathmandu Valley). In the case of the Kathmandu Valley, the integrated management plan can be considered as an initial step to clarify and operationalize existing management arrangements. At the same time however, it is insufficient as it entails stronger legal protection for the monuments but not for the traditional urban fabric, nor does it result in additional professional capacity and financial resources.

If, as discussed in the previous section, the effective protection of World Heritage settlements requires going beyond the recognised boundaries to include the overall urban context, existing management arrangements need to be significantly reassessed. An integrated approach is needed between development and conservation which conservation management authorities alone are unable to deliver and to which other management authorities need to contribute. The mandate of conservation authorities also needs to be expanded to allow them to intervene beyond the boundaries of the properties and address external threats affecting or with the potential to affect the properties' values. This can be facilitated by including a clear statement of outstanding universal value as a fundamental part of any protection and management document. For instance, if one of the attributes of the property is the homogeneous townscape characterised by the bell towers in the midst of a green vegetation cover, as would be the case of Olinda, any proposal to

build a high-rise building within or closely located to the property would automatically constitute a threat to the property's values.

The modalities of what would be an appropriate management response differ from property to property. Taking Angra do Heroísmo as the example, if an integrated planning approach existed, a decision could have been made to relocate the marina elsewhere in the island, in another strategic location and preventing the total transformation of the waterfront of the bay.

Most importantly the protection of a World Heritage settlement needs to be seen in a more dynamic way and not something that is fundamentally linked to the definition of a boundary. At present, most management responses are structured around the definition of a conservation area, under a management authority whose mandate is limited to that same conservation area. Boundaries are drawn for the purposes of the identification of a property but may not coincide with those of its necessary protection.

Moreover, effective management responses are largely dependent on a State Party's will to fulfil its responsibilities under the World Heritage Convention. By accepting or ratifying the World Heritage Convention, as defined in Article 4, each State Party makes a commitment to do all it can, and to the utmost of its own resources, to ensure the protection, conservation, and transmission to future generations of the World Heritage properties situated within its territory. Certain actions presented in several cases discussed throughout this thesis represent a serious contravention to this agreement.

20.3 REASSESSING THE PROTECTION OF THE SURROUNDINGS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

The findings of the case studies brought to the fore three main issues: first, that urban transformations have mostly affected the surroundings of the World Heritage properties despite existing legal mechanisms for their protection; second, that the areas established for the protection of the surroundings are seen as separate entities in relation to the World Heritage properties and seem to have been mostly established to protect the surroundings themselves rather than just as an additional layer of protection to the World Heritage properties; and third, that in some of the cases, the areas established for the protection of the surroundings are managed by a different management authority than that of the World Heritage property, thus reinforcing the separation between the two.

The lack of clarity over the purpose of the surroundings is rooted in the notion of the surroundings itself. As explored in Chapter 10, the surroundings are not an element that can be defined objectively in an absolute form (Castillo Ruiz, 1997, p.10) but are dependent on the definition of the cultural heritage property to which they are linked. With the growing complexity of the definition of cultural property and in particular in relation to larger properties, the concept of surroundings has become ever more difficult to define. The double dimension of the concept of surroundings, also explored in Chapter 10, compounds the problem. The baseline question therefore is: do the surroundings of World Heritage properties need to be protected per se? The findings of the case studies and the results of the Periodic Reporting and Reactive Monitoring processes confirm such a need. Furthermore the findings show that there is no clear evidence of how the surroundings act as an added layer of protection for the property except through the protection of the surroundings themselves.

The conclusions of Chapter 10 confirm that the motivation behind the establishment of specific arrangements for the protection of the surroundings has mostly been the protection of the areas defined as such. This was rooted in the principle that a historic monument is inseparable from its setting for the purpose of preventing its separation from its context. In other words, continuity of the built fabric must be ensured even though the surroundings do not have the same significance of the cultural property. In the case of an historic urban settlement, as the surroundings are more difficult to define, the principles adopted in different national legislation and international documents for the protection of the surroundings related mostly to the notions of transition and integration between the historic built fabric and the modern urban areas.

Although the surroundings were not considered to be of the same significance as the property (as otherwise they would be considered as part of the property), but still needed to be protected, the two defined the conservation area and were thus inseparable. The identification of a property and that of its significance is not an end in itself but a means to an end: that of its protection. As such the definition of a property cannot be limited to the assessment of significance.

The findings of the case studies show the surroundings of the World Heritage properties need to be protected as they are increasingly affected by urbanisation and development pressures and furthermore that these pressures partly derive from the fact that they do not form part of the World Heritage property. That is, as the surroundings are not considered to be of outstanding universal value and the legal and management protections are less stringent than for the properties themselves, most pressures are directed to the fringes of the properties, that is, their surroundings. This leads us to the conclusion that the surroundings need to be twice as protected: first,

because the areas in themselves have values that although not considered as having outstanding universal value still deserve to be protected and second, and most importantly, because they are under threat because they surround the World Heritage property. The protection of the surroundings of World Heritage settlements has thus become as important as that of the World Heritage properties.

Thus the question remains as to whether or not the surroundings should constitute part of the World Heritage property. As discussed above, the definition of a property cannot be limited to the assessment of significance but should be based on protection needs, which could imply that the surroundings should be considered as part of the World Heritage property. But again, as already mentioned in relation to management responses, the identification and the protection of a World Heritage property are not necessarily the same thing. What the evidence shows is that the surroundings of the World Heritage properties need to be better protected than they are at present and that this is largely dependent on their interaction with the property and of the definition of World Heritage property itself.

20.4 REASSESSING THE CONCEPT OF BUFFER ZONE AND ITS APPROPRIATENESS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE SURROUNDINGS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

At present, the protection of the surroundings of World Heritage properties is only possible through the establishment of buffer zones. Although the surroundings of all four case studies are protected under national legal and management arrangements, buffer zones are only recognised formally in the case of the Kathmandu Valley. The analysis presented in Chapter 12 shows that in many cases, World Heritage properties whose buffer zones were formally recognised by the World Heritage Committee were not identified as

such at the national level. These areas were identified as buffers solely for the purposes of the inscription of those properties on the World Heritage List but at the national level are no different than the areas identified for the protection of the surroundings of the case studies of Angra do Heroísmo, Marrakesh and Olinda. In addition, the findings of the case study of Kathmandu Valley present no significant differences between the definition of buffer zone adopted and the definition of the areas established for the protection of the surroundings of the other case studies. In all four cases, these areas seem to have been established for the protection of the surroundings themselves and not specifically as an added layer of protection to the properties.

The analysis of the concept of buffer zone, explored in Chapter 11, shows significant differences not only between how the concept is used in other fields and under the World Heritage Convention but also what the concept meant when it was first used for the protection of natural protected areas and how it is now being used for cultural World Heritage properties.

In the first situation, a buffer zone is mostly seen as separation between two areas and in itself has no conservation interest. In the second situation, that of the use of the concept for natural protected areas, the findings show that the concept has evolved throughout the years to come to reflect an area which has restrictions placed on its use to give an added layer of protection to the protected area. But the findings also show that there is no agreed international definition of buffer zones and that it is not applied in a uniform manner.

The findings of the analysis of the use of buffer zones show that urban settlements have the highest proportion of buffer zones compared to other

categories³². An analysis of the maps of buffer zones for urban settlements reveals a wide variety of situations regarding size and configuration but few nominations include a clear statement on how the buffer zone protects the World Heritage property. These findings point to similar problems to those identified by different authors for natural protected areas namely: lack of consensus on objectives, location, shape and permitted uses of buffer zones; lack of legal authority to establish or manage buffer zones; failure to consider a wider landscape approach; and the perception that buffer zones are only needed in some circumstances.

Martino (2001), in his literature review on buffer zones, presented three different scenarios of natural protected areas to try to understand the ecological benefits of establishing buffer zones (see Figure 11.1). He argued that if a buffer is to be added to the protected area,

‘there has to be a difference between the management and the goals of the buffer zone and the management [and goals] of the protected area, if not, there would be no logical reason for buffer zones to exist.... [Thus, he concluded] that buffer zones have to be different from protected areas (Martino, 2001, p.6)’.

Using the same scenarios for World Heritage properties, scenario B corresponds to the present definition of buffer zones included in the Operational Guidelines. But Martino’s argument is that for buffer zones to exist they need to be different from the property. The analysis of the nomination files presented in Chapter 12 shows that the main difference between the World Heritage property and the buffer zone is that the former has outstanding universal value, while the latter does not. Both this analysis and the findings of the case studies show that buffer zones have been

³² It is important to note that other categories within cultural properties were not considered and further analysis could yield different results. The findings also compare natural and cultural properties in general.

established mainly with a view to protect the surroundings themselves. This demonstrates that there is the need to protect the surroundings of the properties or otherwise we would have concluded that scenario A proposed by Martino, would be more appropriate. On the other hand, as the surroundings are not considered of outstanding universal value, they are therefore different from the World Heritage property, thus excluding scenario C. In which case, it could be concluded that scenario B is the most appropriate.

However, this exercise relates to the identification of the World Heritage property and its surroundings but it does not imply that they need to be managed separately. The concept of surroundings does not exist if not in relation to the property and thus they are inseparable. So why should they be managed separately?

In Chapter 11, I have also explored the notion of buffer zone presented by Ebregt and De Greve (2000) (see Figure 11.2). The difference between the model presented by Ebregt and De Greve and that proposed by Martino is not so much the differences between the management and goals of the buffer zone and protected area but in terms of management authority. Ebregt and Greve argue that in most cases, possibility A was often used 'in order to facilitate the management of *core* as well as buffer zones and to ensure a single responsible authority' (Ebregt and De Greve, 2000, p.22). This was corroborated by Kozlowski and Peterson's analysis of buffer zones in Australia, where 'The inclusion of buffers within parks frequently occurred because protected area managers had little or no power to control lands external to protected areas (Kozlowski and Peterson, 2005, p.137)'.

I am led to conclude that under present circumstances, the protection of World Heritage settlements would benefit more by using possibility A than

possibility B if this would imply a better protection of the surroundings of the properties. In addition, model A does not conflict with the existing definition of a buffer zone in the Operational Guidelines, as it does not exclude the difference between World Heritage property and buffer zone. On the contrary, it acknowledges both while still determining a joint conservation area.

An additional issue is that a buffer zone does not bring any statutory protection in certain countries as the concept is not recognised in existing legal and management documents. This is partly the reason why areas with a different recognition at the national level have been accepted as buffer zones for the purposes of inscription of the property on the World Heritage List. It also points towards a situation where the term “buffer zone” no longer strictly relates to how the definition and concept is used for nature conservation, where it originated. This is partly recognised in the proceedings of the *International Expert Meeting on World Heritage and Buffer Zones* held in 2008, where it was proposed that the

‘concept should be regarded as a summary term used by the World Heritage Committee for a diverse range of buffer zone typologies that are used to provide additional protection to an inscribed World Heritage property.... [In addition, the meeting recommended that the] term “buffer zone” should not be mandatory’ (World Heritage Centre, 2009, p.161).

Although the term has become part of the terminology commonly used within the World Heritage system and is therefore widely accepted, it still brings up a perception of separation between the World Heritage property and its wider context. In some cases, this might in fact be desirable but it is hardly the case for urban settlements, where a better integration is needed. In fact, failure to consider a wider landscape approach has been recognised as one of the negative effects of the use of buffer zones for natural protected areas.

In addition, my research findings have not been able to demonstrate how buffer zones act as an added layer of protection to the World Heritage property, which is the underlining idea behind that concept. What the findings show is that the term is being used to designate an area surrounding the property whose purpose is to protect its surroundings. Moreover, my findings show that one of the major weaknesses of the present implementation of the concept of buffer zone is its limitation in addressing pressures originating from outside its boundaries. This partly seems to be based on the lack of a clear understanding of the purpose of buffer zones.

Kozłowski and Peterson's definition for environmentally sensitive areas point to a different direction that could be interesting to explore: that if a buffer zone is to exist at all, it has to reflect the area of operation of the identified threats (existing and potential) and must integrate the protected area with its surrounding landscape. In their definition, a buffer zone is not an area *surrounding* the environmentally sensitive area but *peripheral* to it and should be determined according to any identified threats and not solely on the basis of its location in relation to the property (Kozłowski and Peterson, 2005, p.145). A similar approach was suggested by the expert meeting on buffer zones, which proposed the use of a third concept called "area of influence", where anything in the area that impacts the World Heritage property would need to be considered; however this concept was considered as useful only for sites that might not have limits and boundaries (World Heritage Centre, 2009, p.161).

I believe this to be a fundamental question as it points towards a more comprehensible definition of the function of a buffer zone going beyond the present definition as an "added layer of protection" where it is not clear what type of protection is intended. This notion of a buffer zone as a tool to

address external threats would also suggest that it is not intended to protect the area per se, which is what buffer zones presently seem to do.

21. POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

21.1 INTRODUCTION

The World Heritage system is based on an agreed set of concepts and processes aimed at facilitating the implementation of the World Heritage Convention which set up what can be designated as World Heritage policy. Most of these concepts and processes are laid down in the Operational Guidelines, which are periodically revised to reflect the decisions of the World Heritage Committee. The numerous revisions of the Operational Guidelines reflect the extent to which the World Heritage system has evolved since the Convention was adopted in 1972. In this last chapter, I am proposing broad strategies for improving some of the processes and practices for the protection of World Heritage settlements and their surroundings in particular. These strategies are mostly oriented towards how the World Heritage system works and is implemented at the international level rather than at the national or site levels. They are based predominantly on my research findings but are also influenced by my professional experience and point to some essential shifts in existing policy approaches so that urban settlement settlements and their surroundings in particular can be better protected under the World Heritage Convention. Some are not specific to World Heritage settlements and could apply to any other category of properties as most of the concepts and processes under the World Heritage system make no such distinctions.

The underlying basis is that the set of concepts and processes under the World Heritage system have been increasingly oriented towards the identification of new World Heritage properties rather than towards their protection, which is the fundamental purpose of the Convention. This is demonstrated by the ever-increasing importance of nominations and their

politicisation at World Heritage Committee sessions. At the same time, more and more Reactive Monitoring reports are brought to the Committee's attention, which reflects the growing need for the monitoring of World Heritage properties. The analysis of those reports shows that in 2008 and 2009, almost half of them regarded World Heritage settlements. While these numbers alone provide conclusive evidence of the situation on the ground, the findings of the case studies also show that there are other settlements facing similar problems that are not being reported to the Committee; and that, if they are reported, may elicit a limited response in the form of the Committee's recommendations and expert missions, but no real and concrete international assistance, even when the property is included on the List of World Heritage in Danger, as was the case of the Kathmandu Valley.

For World Heritage settlements to be better protected, their identification and protection need to take into consideration the wider urban context, their management needs to be based on an integrated approach that goes beyond the boundaries of the World Heritage property, their surroundings need to be part of the conservation area, their monitoring by the World Heritage Committee needs to result in concrete actions but mostly, conservation and development needs must be considered jointly.

21.2 INTEGRATING CONSERVATION POLICIES IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND VICE-VERSA

Despite the many advances in conservation theory, development is still in many ways seen as antagonistic to conservation. A certain degree of change is considered as acceptable and desirable, particularly in relation to urban settlements, where it is less controllable than in other types of categories of cultural heritage, and particularly if done progressively. But when it comes to World Heritage, the term development often has a negative connotation. In

general, any proposal with the potential to have an impact (mostly visual) on the World Heritage property is received by the Committee with suspicion and the response tends to be to immediately halt the project. This is exemplified by many of the cases of Reactive Monitoring related to major public infrastructures; the case of the proposed construction of a bridge, leading to the delisting in 2009 of the Dresden Elbe Valley (Germany), is the utmost example. But in many of the cases, the arguments presented are limited to impacts on the outstanding universal value. What does this mean? What type of impacts? How do they affect the outstanding universal value of the property? And what is the outstanding universal value of the property?

At present, there is a general impression that any major intervention necessarily has a negative impact on the property and as such needs to be prevented. I propose that such situations should be analysed by the World Heritage Committee on the basis of impact assessments, to objectively make a decision. The question should not be between carrying on the intervention or halting it, but to define the acceptable degree of change and come up with the most appropriate solution. That is, a decision should not be made on the basis of “bridge or no bridge” but establishing if a bridge is needed in the location proposed and if yes, what type of bridge.

In addition, under paragraph 172 of the Operational Guidelines, States Parties are invited to inform the Committee of their intention to undertake or to authorize major restorations or new constructions which may affect the outstanding universal value of a World Heritage property. My suggestion is that States Parties should comply with such requests on a voluntary basis and to seek expert advice if needed, especially to carry out impact assessments of the proposed interventions. This, however, should by no means result in any Reactive Monitoring actions by the Committee. The

process should become increasingly participatory instead of corrective, in the collaborative spirit intended in the Convention.

Moreover, if conservation and management arrangements were integrated within the larger planning and development of the urban agglomeration, many of these situations could be prevented up-stream as more suitable locations could be found for some of the projects proposed. Therefore, I suggest that the requirements for protection and management of World Heritage settlements should not be limited to the area considered as the property and its buffer zone but should made clear how the legislative, regulatory and contractual measures are integrated within overall urban planning and development arrangements.

21.3 IMPROVING THE MONITORING PROCESS UNDER THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

At present, monitoring of World Heritage properties is divided into Periodic Reporting and Reactive Monitoring. Both represent major sources of information on the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements (and of course of all properties in general) but the results have been under utilised and should be used to formulate strategies for the protection of the properties.

21.3.1 Improving the Periodic Reporting process

The first cycle of Periodic Reporting ended in 2006 and a second cycle is under way. One of the major outcomes of the first cycle was the accessibility to data on the World Heritage Centre's website regarding nominations, evaluations and statutory records of the Committee's sessions. The reports compiled per region are also excellent sources of information regarding the

implementation of the Convention at the national level and on the state of conservation of the properties. However, it is not clear on how such data is being used towards the protection of the properties. Of course there are limits to what can be done at the international level to improve the situation at the national level, however for the moment it is unclear what the outcomes of the Periodic Reporting are, beyond data collection. Since Periodic Reporting is done on a voluntary basis by States Parties, the Committee cannot use the information for Reactive Monitoring purposes. However, the data can be used for other purposes like capacity building, which is a major need in certain regions. In addition, the results of the periodic reports also show major regional trends that often coincide with those from the Reactive Monitoring state of conservation reports and therefore could be developed into strategies up-stream to prevent future Reactive Monitoring processes.

The results of the first cycle were used as a basis to structure the second one, which resulted in a more comprehensive questionnaire for both sections I and II. Several meetings have been organised at the regional level to launch the process and explain the new procedure. Another innovation of the second cycle is the need to prepare Retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value for all properties, a document that can later be used as a reference to several processes under the World Heritage Convention. I had the opportunity to participate in some of the preparatory meetings of the launching of the second cycle, which provided me with a better understanding of the situation at the national and local levels. Although the meetings organised were useful, in my opinion they could be used not only for the purpose they were designed to but also serve as capacity building activities. Therefore, I propose that in any future Periodic Reporting meetings or similar type of meetings, which bring together people responsible for the protection of World heritage properties at the national and local levels, be designed as capacity building activities. These could be designed taking

into consideration the results of the previous cycle of the Periodic Reporting, to better address the needs of the region.

In addition, there were no serious follow-up actions and activities after the first cycle of the Periodic Reporting and a similar situation seems to be happening in the second cycle, as certain regions have already been through the process. Gathering data in itself is important but limiting if not resulting in a particular use of the information. I thus propose that any future cycle of the Periodic Reporting should take into consideration the following strategies:

- the planning of the Periodic Reporting should be designed both as a data gathering process and a capacity building process, prior, during and after the conclusion of the cycle;
- the cycle of the Periodic Reporting should not be limited to the process of reporting itself but should consider the follow up process to address the trends identified. Regional programmes would need to be developed and the necessary resources allocated to their implementation.
- the results should not be merely compiled at the regional level but should be cross-referenced in terms of categories, for instance for World Heritage settlements, and further-crossed referenced with the trends of Reactive Monitoring to provide a more exhaustive assessment of the state of conservation of the properties.

21.3.2 Improving the Reactive Monitoring process

This issue has been partly addressed in the previous section, when I mentioned the need to use impact assessments, particularly in the case of

large infrastructure and public works developments with potential visual impact (which is the main trend affecting the state of conservation of World Heritage settlements) to objectively take decisions on the best way to proceed.

The Reactive Monitoring process can only be applied to properties that are under threat. However, my research findings show some of the trends identified in the state of conservation reports presented the Committee can hardly be considered as threats as in the case of management and legal issues; these are not threats but weaknesses. Moreover, these threats are presented in isolation in the state of conservation reports and fail to provide a holistic view of the situation, which may consequently undermine the Committee's decision.

I do not question that only properties considered under threat should be the object of Reactive Monitoring, as the role of the international community in the figure of the World Heritage Committee is to support the efforts of the States Parties in protecting World Heritage and cannot replace them in this task. Nor should it act as if it was policing the States Parties' actions. What I do question is basing the state of conservation of the properties solely on the identification of threats. Therefore I propose that the Reactive Monitoring process be based on a more comprehensive analysis of the situation. A SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) analysis could provide such an assessment, as it is a well recognised analysis tool, in which threats is one of the main components but it is seen in relation to other factors and considers positive aspects as well. In addition, it takes into consideration internal and external factors, which are fundamental when determining differences between threats and weaknesses.

21.4 LINKING REACTIVE MONITORING WITH INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

One of the main problems identified through my research findings is how lengthily the Reactive Monitoring can be, without resulting in serious actions towards the reversal or improvement of the circumstances that resulted in the Reactive Monitoring process in the first place. To try to improve the situation, two issues need to be taken into account, which are themselves interlinked: one is the List of World Heritage in Danger; the other, international assistance.

The World Heritage Convention, in its Article 11, paragraph 4, stipulates that the List of World Heritage in Danger shall be established as a list of properties for which major operations are necessary and for which assistance has been requested. Moreover, that this list shall contain an estimate of the cost of such operations. At present, this is not being implemented though it constitutes one of the fundamental tenets of the Convention. The List in Danger has become a sort of dishonour list partly because it is not directly associated with international assistance. A property is included in the List of World Heritage in Danger because it is considered in danger but inclusion does not necessarily – and actually most often – does not result in further international assistance. Or this assistance is limited to missions, as in the case of the Kathmandu valley, which led to serious criticism by the State Party, as presented in Chapter 18. In fact, at present a considerable amount of international assistance is used for nominations. Another difficulty resides in the actual procedure for applying to international assistance, in which I will not enter into detail.

To improve this situation a better application of Article 11, paragraph 4 of the Convention should be made a priority by the World Heritage Committee. I understand the difficulty of actually calculating an estimate of the cost of

operations necessary and this would not be realistic when taking into consideration the challenges posed by some properties. And there are some cases where international assistance is not even possible, as in the case of armed conflict. There is no consistency and continuity on the use of international assistance for properties on the List of World Heritage in Danger. I propose that international assistance should be primarily and systematically used for properties on the List in Danger, for which a plan of action supported financially under the World Heritage Fund should be adopted at the same time that the property is included in that List. In such circumstances, the international assistance request should be made into a simple procedure for the State Party with the plan of action elaborated jointly with the Advisory Bodies and the World Heritage Centre and should be seen as part of the assistance already.

Further improvement could also be made by linking the Reactive Monitoring with international assistance. The same criticism made above in relation to the List in Danger applies here. Most of the Committee's decisions and recommendations to the Reactive Monitoring reports are dependent on the good will of the State Party to implement them and creates a sense more of imposition and obligation than that of cooperation. The role of the World Heritage Committee is not to police the actions of the States Parties but to support them in their efforts. Of course, this would require the States Parties to fulfil their responsibilities under the Convention, which I will discuss later. Therefore, I suggest that where possible and as most as possible, the requests made by the Committee should be accompanied with concrete suggestions that certain actions could be financed under international assistance requests. This could not only encourage the States Parties to carry out those actions but could possibly prevent the necessity to include the property on the List in Danger later on.

I am aware that such suggestions would require the better use of the World Heritage Fund but also additional funds to be implemented. This would require some States Parties to be more generous in their donations to the World Heritage Fund, which has been a source of major disagreement since the adoption of the Convention. However, no one can seriously expect to save the heritage of mankind by contributing approximately 32 USD per year as some States Parties do.

21.5 DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN IDENTIFICATION AND PROTECTION

The analysis of what exactly constitutes a World Heritage settlement and what forms part of the urban area is included within it, as discussed in Chapter 5, shows a variety of situations and that whilst it is possible to draw conclusions regarding the inscription of World Heritage Settlements, it is not possible to do so regarding the categories of the settlements themselves. The conclusions also show that the categories used in the Operational Guidelines to identify what towns are eligible for inscription on the World Heritage List are largely defined based on the relationship between the surviving historic urban fabric and the overall urban context; that is, on what exactly should be included in the nominated property. This is in line with the overall perception that only the area that is considered as having outstanding universal value can be considered as the World Heritage property.

In the case of World Heritage settlements, this would not be a problem, if at the national level there could be another type of designation to further support the protection of the property. But what the findings of the case studies show is that, more and more, these areas are seen and managed in isolation from their urban context and are in fact impeding or limiting the protection of cultural heritage of other levels of significance. My research findings also show that identification needs do not necessarily coincide with

those of protection and that the management responses should be more dynamic. Thus I propose that, where necessary, the area of protection should be made larger than that of the World Heritage property, to include all necessary elements that help protect the outstanding universal value of the property but is not limited to the area considered having outstanding universal value. This is also deeply linked with the concept of integrity, which is still being fully developed for cultural properties and is based on three fundamental elements:

- a) includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value;
- b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance;
- c) [does not] suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.

The second element is the key as it goes beyond the idea that everything within the World Heritage property is of, or needs to be, of outstanding universal value. In an urban settlement this is impossible. For instance, in the case of Patan, one the monument zones of the Kathmandu valley, whose urban structure is defined by the four stupas representing the cardinal directions, and whose Durbar Square, which constitutes the monumental zone, is at the cross-roads of these four stupas, if considering the processes which convey the property's significance, when drawing the boundaries this element should have been considered.

My proposal does not imply that this larger area of protection needs to be recognised as the World Heritage property. Such an area may be considered only at the national level. What I propose is that the World Heritage property

should be identified first and what is needed for its protection should be defined subsequently, as it might require different levels of protection and larger protection areas than the area of the property itself.

After all, the identification of a World Heritage property and its inclusion on the World Heritage List is nothing but a process of identifying which areas could receive the support of the international community but it does not grant any automatic protection either than that established by the State Party using national legal and management arrangements.

My research findings also show that the identification of a World Heritage property can even hinder the protection of other heritage of other levels of significance as efforts are directed and limited to the World Heritage property where the rest is often neglected and considered secondary. A broader area of protection that would include and protect those other levels of significance would also contribute to a more integrated protection of the property and its urban context. Using again the case of Patan, if the area of protection were to be extended to the area defined by the four stupas, not only would this help to protect certain elements and processes that are essential in the definition of what a durbar square is, it would also protect the larger urban structure and urban heritage of this settlement which although not of outstanding universal value, is of exceptional architectural and planning values.

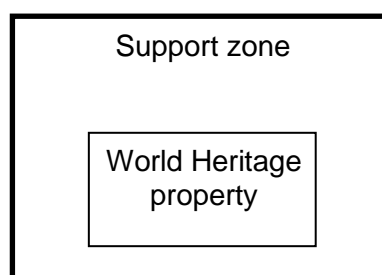
21.6 IMPROVING THE PROTECTION OF THE SURROUNDINGS OF WORLD HERITAGE SETTLEMENTS

My research findings show that protection of the surroundings of World Heritage settlements has become as important as the protection of the properties themselves, in light of the urbanisation and development

pressures they are faced with. The same findings show that they are also threatened due to the combination of their proximity to the property, the limitations posed to development within the properties, and the weakness of existing legal and management arrangements for their protection. This issue is also deeply related to that discussed above and the need to define broader areas of protection and more integrated management approaches.

Unlike in other international charters, where a cultural property is considered inseparable from its setting, under the World Heritage system a property is identified based only on its outstanding universal value, thus leaving no room for the notion of surroundings, except through the concept of buffer zones. However, my research findings show that the term and concept is not the most appropriate for what it is intended for, and that the areas identified as such seldom function effectively as buffers. Based on the application of Martino's and Ebregt and Greve's models for buffer zones, I would propose a model that takes into consideration the differences between World Heritage property and the buffer zone, as discussed by Martino; the limitations of the protection of buffer zones and the definition of boundaries as discussed by Ebregt and Greve; and the need to further protect the surroundings of the property. The proposed model would be the following:

Figure 21.1 Proposed model for World Heritage properties conservation areas



— Boundary of conservation area

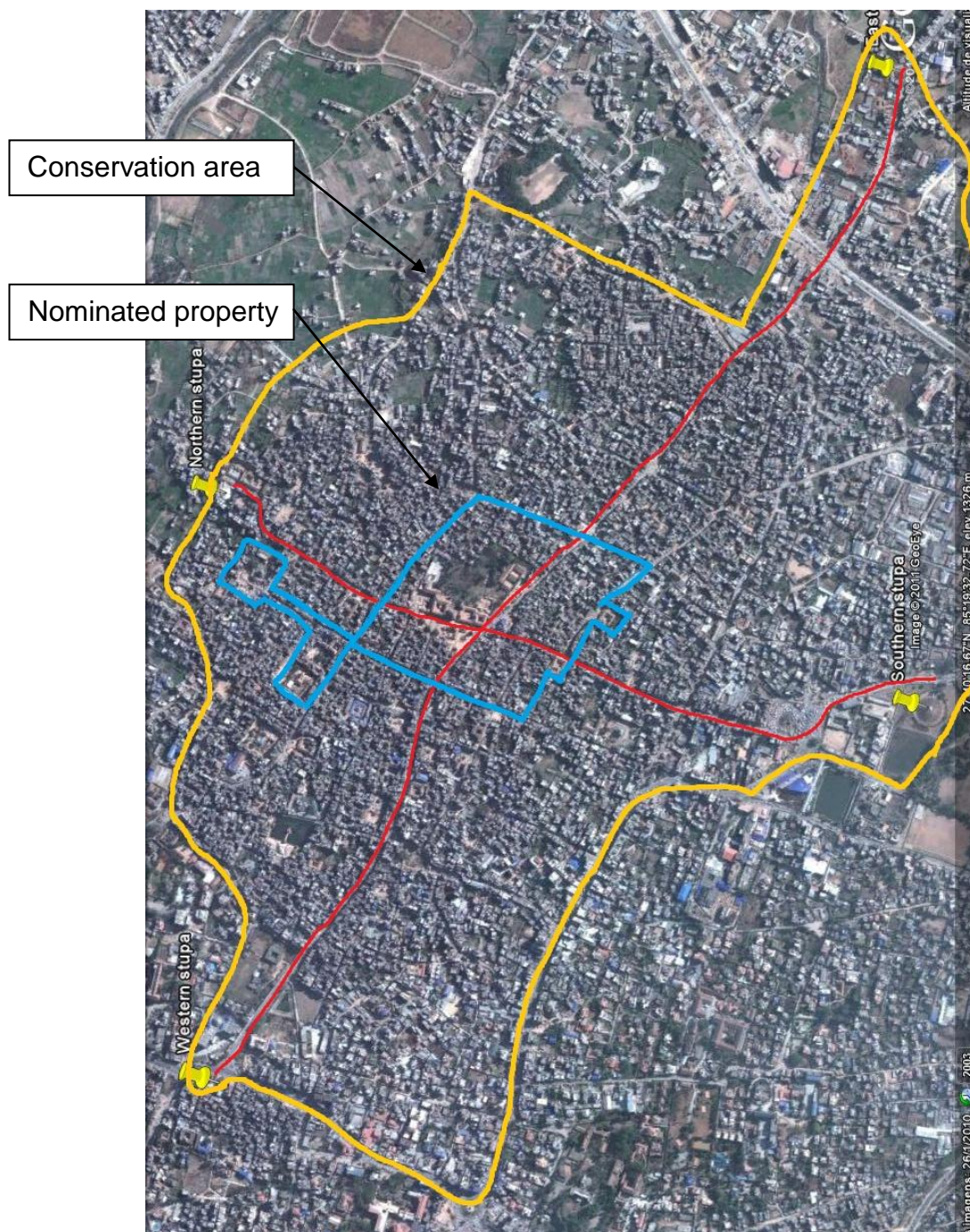
The choice of the term “area of protection”, although not very conclusive, is in fact used in different countries or is similar to terms used at national level, as identified through the analysis of the use of buffer zones for World Heritage properties, discussed in Chapter 12. This use, whilst differentiating what constitutes the World Heritage property from the rest, would acknowledge the need to protect the direct surroundings but mostly that the boundary of the conservation area is not limited to the World Heritage property even if the remaining area does not have outstanding universal value.

In addition, based on my research findings I believe that the concept of buffer zone as defined by Kozlowski and Peterson could largely contribute to the protection of threats originating from beyond the boundary of the conservation area, if understood as an area peripheral to the conservation area and determined according to any identified threats and not solely on the basis of its location in relation to the property. Applying this model to the urban settlement of Patan, would result in the proposal presented in Figure 21.2. The proposal respects the existing boundaries of the World Heritage property but would consider a larger conservation area. Please note that the boundaries are just indicative of the areas.

21.7 DELEGATING ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The implementation of the World Heritage Convention depends first and foremost on the States Parties. They are responsible for the protection of the World Heritage properties located in their territories. As members of the international community (but mostly as members of the World Heritage Committee), they are requested to support the efforts of other States Parties in doing so. One often encounters the mistaken perception that UNESCO is responsible for protecting World Heritage, when in fact responsibility resides

Figure 21.2 Example of the use of model proposal for conservation area using the example of Patan, Kathmandu Valley



with the States Parties and, in the end, entirely depends on a State Party's willingness to fulfil its obligations as a signatory of the World Heritage Convention.

The fact is the World Heritage system is limited and flawed. My research findings show that a World Heritage settlement does not benefit from any special protection under the World Heritage Convention except for what is implemented by the State Party, and is solely dependent on the State Party's resources. This is in line with what is stated on the Convention, i.e. that the protection of World Heritage properties depends primarily on the State Party where it is located. My research findings also show that the international community intervenes only if a property is considered to be under threat and that international assistance comes mostly in the forms of recommendations by the Committee or expert missions. They also show that in an urbanising world, World Heritage settlements will continue to face enormous pressures from urbanisation and development, to which existing legal and management arrangements are unable to respond effectively.

But the system seems mostly flawed because increasingly the international community is forced to intervene, as the increasing number of Reactive Monitoring reports shows. The dilemma is that States Parties are not fulfilling their responsibilities under the World Heritage Convention. Including new nominations on the World Heritage List seems to be the main interest and an end in itself, when it should be the beginning.

The system is also becoming increasingly complex, while the Committee's and the Advisory Bodies' mandates remain the same, which drains resources and professional capacity. Each revision of the Operational Guidelines results in an ever lengthier document and is slowly replacing the Convention itself. But the fundamental issue remains that the international community

can't ever replace the action of the State Party at the national level, and that is why a *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage* was adopted simultaneously with the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in 1972. But in the meantime, the Recommendation has been forgotten, which also reflects the state of affairs of the World Heritage system.

Whereas the international community, in the form of the Committee, cannot replace the States Parties in implementing necessary actions at the national level, it can certainly use the existing sources of information to formulate better policies for helping States Parties in their actions. It should start by acting as a technical committee, giving less importance to politics and concentrating on the task for which it was created: to support the States Parties' efforts in protecting the world's cultural and natural heritage, by granting international assistance. The whole system is in need of a fundamental reform similar to that proposed by Italy and the United States in the beginning of the 1990s, following the bombardments in Dubrovnik.

In this final section, I wish to write a more personal account of seven years of research on a topic that will always be close to my heart, not to mention a daily routine of my professional life – the idea, the reality and the challenges posed by World Heritage, and what this means.

This is defined first and foremost by the scope of the subject matter: an ever expanding number of World Heritage properties, including historic urban settlements at the four corners of the world. I cannot claim that this research was exhaustive or truly embraced the whole range of factors – political, cultural, economic, and historical – that affect urban settlements as they are not only managed but lived and experienced by their inhabitants. Believing

that conservation and development can be reconciled, having witnessed how heritage can be so easily destroyed, it was very consciously that I chose to explore how historic urban settlements might be better protected.

In terms of my personal research experience, I have been fortunate enough to see the extremes of research work. My experience analyzing the World Heritage files at the library of ICOMOS in Paris have shown me that there is still scope for considerable research based on the huge amounts of data that could easily form the subject of many PhD theses, and will certainly become even more precious with time as the cities they describe undergo even more radical change. At the same time, in the course of my travels, meetings, interviews and chance encounters with other professionals, I have come away with the conviction that there is a shared sense of purpose – though certainly not always agreement on the principles and methodologies – for the conservation of heritage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aalund, Fleming (1988). *Ghadames: "The Pearl of the Desert"*. A technical report commissioned by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS – Habitat) for the Organisation of Public Works, Urban Development Dept., n.p., UNCHS.

Abdelhamid, Rasid, Cataldi, Giancarlo and Selva, Fabio (1994) 'The town of Ghardaia in M'Zab: Between tradition and modernity in Algeria' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.68, pp. 67-110.

Abdulac, Samir (2003) 'The kasbah of Algiers' in *World Heritage Review*, no.2, pp. 36-47.

Adhikari, Ambika P. (1998) *Urban and Environmental Planning in Nepal: Analysis, Policies and Proposals*, Kathmandu, IUCN Nepal.

Agnew, Neville and Demas, Martha (eds.) (2004). *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China: English language translation, with Chinese text, of the document issued by China ICOMOS*, Los Angeles, The Getty Conservation Institute. Available from:
<http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/china_prin_2english.pdf> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Ainsa, Fernando (2000) 'Colonia del Sacramento at the frontier of two empires' in *World Heritage Review*, no.14, pp. 56-65.

Akbar, Jamel (1988) *Crisis in the Built Environment: The Case of the Muslim City*, Singapore, Concept Media Pte Ltd. Available from:
<http://archnet.org/library/documents/one-document.tcl?document_id=3550> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Algreen-Ussing, Gregers et al. (1997) *Urban Space and Urban Conservation as an Aesthetic Problem. Lectures presented at the international conference in Rome, 23- October 1997*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1997.

Alsayyad, Nezar (1991) *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism*, New York, Greenwood Press, 1991.

Álvarez, Ignacio (2004) 'Úbeda and Baeza: Renaissance towns' in *World Heritage Review*, no.34, pp. 24-35.

- Amatya, Shapahlya (1983) *Some Aspects of Cultural Policy in Nepal*, Paris, UNESCO.
- Amin, Ash and Thrift, Nigel (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Añon Feliu, Carmen (ed.) (2003) *Culture and Nature: International Legislative Texts referring to the Safeguard of Natural and Cultural Heritage*, n.p., Leo S. Olschki.
- Anonymous (n.d.) *Patan Heritage Conservation Actionplan (masterplan)*, working document, 82 pages.
- Anonymous (1980) *Restauração e Revitalização de Núcleos Históricos: Análise face à experiência francês*, Brasília, Ministério da Educação e Cultura.
- Anonymous (1990) *Centros históricos: América Latina*, Bogotá, Escala Ltda.
- Anonymous (1995) 'Informes sobre la puesta en marcha de la Convención del Patrimonio Mundial en los países de América Latina y el Caribe' in *Reunión de directores de patrimonio de América Latina e el Caribe, 9, 10 y 11 de mayo de 1995, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia*, Bogotá, Colcultura, pp. 64-86.
- Anonymous (2001) 'World Heritage conservation process' in *International round table of mayors of World Heritage fortress cities: urban development of the morphology of World Heritage fortress cities*, Seoul, Korean National Commission for UNESCO, pp. 201- 224.
- Anonymous (2002) 'Patrimonio Mundial 1972-2002' in *PH Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, year 10, no.40-41, pp. 141-177.
- Anonymous (2003) 'Les sites du patrimoine mondial et leur gestion' in *Donko Magazine* du Ministère de la Culture, no.1, pp. 22-26.
- Aparicio Vega, Manuel Jesús (2003) 'Cuzco: centre of the Andean world' in *World Heritage Review*, no.29, pp. 20-39.
- Ashford, Douglas E. (1961) *Political Change in Morocco*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.
- Asian for Cultural Affairs (2003) *Report on Hoi An Former International Port Town. Conservation Cooperation Project*, Tokyo, Agency for Cultural Affairs.

Askew, Marc and Logan, William S. (eds.) (1994) *Cultural Identity and Urban Change in Southeast Asia: Interpretative Essays*, Geelong, Deakin University Press.

Athens Conference (1931) *The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* [online]. Available from: <http://www.icomos.org/docs/athens_charter.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Ausseau-Dolléans, Chantal (1995) *Les protections: sites, abords, secteurs sauvegardés*, ZPPAUP, Paris, Editions Villes & Territoires.

Avrami, Erica; Mason, Randall and de la Torre, Martha (eds.) (2000) *Values and Heritage Conservation*, Los Angeles, The Getty Conservation Institute. Available from: <http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/valuesrpt.pdf> [Accessed 6 January 2011]

Badouli, Rachid (2003) 'La Médina de Marrakech: Patrimoine de l'humanité ou ville musée?' in *Patrimoine Culturel Marocain*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, pp. 145-175.

Bailly, G.H. and Desbat, J.P. (1974) *Historic Areas and Urban Revival*, n.p., Council of Europe.

Bajracharya, B.R.; Sharma, S.R and Bakshi, S.R. eds. (1993) *Cultural History of Nepal*, New Delhi, Anmol Publications.

Bajracharya, R. D.; Bhattachan, K. B.; Dahal, D.R.; and Khattry, P. K. (2005) *Cultural and Religious Diversity: Dialogue and Development*, UNESCO Kathmandu Series of Monographs and Working Papers no. 6, Kathmandu, UNESCO Kathmandu.

Balbo, Marcello and Pini, Daniele (1988) 'La città antica nei paesi in via di sviluppo' in *Urbanistica*, no.92, pp. 30-32.

Barreda, Fernando Moreno de (1999) *El Patrimonio Cultural en el Consejo de Europa: Textos, Conceptos y Concordancias*, Madrid, Boletín Oficial del Estado.

Barreto, Juliana and Lira, Flaviana (2009) 'Pesquisa Histórica Como Aporte Metodológico na Atualização da Legislação de Proteção federal do Sítio Histórico de Olinda – PE' in *Textos para Discussão* [online], Volume 35, 20 pages. Available from: <<http://www.ceci-br.org/ceci/en/publicacoes/59-textos->

para-discussao/317-textos-para-discussao-v-35.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Barron, Amalia (2000) 'Potosi' in *World Heritage Review*, no.17, pp. 30-41.

Bath and North East Somerset Council (2003) *City of Bath World Heritage Site Management Plan 2003–2009* [online], Available from: <<http://www.bathnes.gov.uk/environmentandplanning/worldheritagesite/Pages/DocumentAvailability.aspx>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Batisse, Michel and Bolla, Gérard (2003) *L'invention du "patrimoine mondial"*, Paris, AAFU.

Beckman, Richard M. and Ackerknecht, Dieter (1992) 'Growth as tradition: A traditional settlement in change' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.37, pp. 91-140.

Bell, Dana and Historic Scotland Technical Conservation, Research and Education Division (1997) *The Historic Scotland Guide to International Conservation Charters*, Edinburgh, Historic Scotland.

Bengoa, José Ignacio de Prada (1996) 'La protección del patrimonio cultural de la humanidad' in *PH Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, year 4, no.17, pp. 62-71.

Berberoglu, Berch (1994) 'The impact of globalization on traditional settlements in the periphery' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.58, pp. 105-120.

Bianca, Stefano (1980) 'Historic Islamic Centres and Outstanding Monuments to be Safeguarded' in *Symposium on Conservation and Restoration of the Islamic Architectural Heritage, Lahore, Pakistan, 6-12 April, 1980*, Paris, n.p.

Bianca, Stefano (2000) *Urban Form in the Arab World: Past and Present*, London, Thames & Hudson.

Bianca, Stefano and Jodidio, Philip (eds.) (2004) *Cairo: Revitalising a Historic Metropolis*, Genève, The Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

Bjønness, Hans Christie (1994) 'A Cultural Heritage Conservation Strategy in the Context of Urban Development – The Case of Kathmandu, Nepal' in *ICOMOS International Wood Committee (IIWC): 8th international*

symposium, Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, Nepal, 23-25 November 1992, Trondheim, Tapir Forlag, pp. 49-83.

Bonine, Michael E. (ed.) (1997) *Population, Poverty, and Politics in Middle East Cities*, Florida, University Press of Florida.

Bonnenfant, Paul (2003) 'Zabid, ville Yéménite classée au patrimoine mondial : sociologie d'un échec' in *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans le monde à l'aube du XXI^e siècle*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 743-772.

Bosi, Vera (1986) 'Núcleos históricos: a recuperação e revitalização; a experiência de Olinda' in *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, no.21, pp. 134-145.

Bouchenaki, Mounir (1987) 'Préservation des villes historiques et développement = The Heritage of the past and modernity' in *Revue de l'UCS = UCS Review*, 1986/1987, pp. 96-101.

Bouchenaki, Mounir (1995) 'L'UNESCO et la sauvegarde du patrimoine urbanistique et architectural des «Médinas»' in *Madina cité du monde*, no. 1, pp. 23-25.

Boukhari, Sophie et al. (1996) 'Dossier: Beyond the monument: a living heritage' in *UNESCO Sources*, no.80, pp. 6-16.

Boumaza, Nadir (2003) 'Expérience occidentale et construction maghrébine d'une approche du patrimoine' in *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans le monde à l'aube du XXI^e siècle*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 117-133.

Bousquet, Ch. (1982) 'Pérennité du centre ancien au M'Zab : le cas de Beni-Isguen' in *Present et avenir des medinas (de Marrakech à Alep)*, Tours, Institut de géographie/era, no.706, pp. 9-22.

Bouziane, Mohammed (1999) 'Relación del monumento con su entorno. Un caso especial: La casbah' in *Congreso Internacional de Restauración "Restaurar la Memoria", Valladolid, 1998*, Valladolid, Diputación Provincial de Valladolid and Instituto Español de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Valladolid, pp. 299-307.

Brebbia, C.A. (ed.) et al. (2000) *The Sustainable city: Urban Regeneration and Sustainability*, Southampton, WIT Press.

Brebbia, C.A.; Martin-Duque, J.F. and Wadhwa, L.C. (eds.) (2002) *The Sustainable City II: Urban Regeneration and Sustainability*, Southampton, WIT Press.

Brown, G. Baldwin (1905) *The Care of Ancient Monuments. An account of the legislative and other measures adopted in European countries for protecting ancient monuments and objects and scenes of natural beauty, and for preserving the aspect of historical cities*, Cambridge, University Press.

Brown, T.Louise (1996) *The Challenge to Democracy in Nepal: A Political History*, London and New York, Routledge.

Brunn, Stanley D.; Williams, Jack F. and Zeigler, Donald J (eds.) (2003) *Cities of the World: World Regional Urban Development*, Maryland, Rwoman & Littlefield Publishers.

Bucci, Federico and Sangalli, Matteo (2001) 'Valparaíso: Storia e recupero di una città spontanea' in *Ananke*, no.31, pp. 58-79.

Bwana, Omar (1986) 'Conservation and tourism: the case of Lamu' in *Conservation and Tourism 2nd International Congress on Architectural Conservation and Town Planning*, London, Heritage Trust, pp. 81-85.

Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary online (n.d.) [online]. Available from: <<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Cameron, Christina (1992) 'Caractéristiques positives et faiblesses de la Convention du patrimoine mondial' in *Nature & Ressources*, vol. 28. no.3, pp. 18-21.

Cameron, Christina (2009) *Context of the World Heritage Convention: Key Decisions and Emerging Concepts*, unpublished paper, 12 pages.

Cameron, Christina et al. (1997) 'Dossier: Growing pains: 25 years of safeguarding World Heritage' in *UNESCO Sources*, no.95, pp. 7-16.

Cantacuzino, Sherban (1984) 'Aleppo: Bab El Faraj. The importance of the townscape in reconstruction' in *Mimar Architecture in Development*, no.12, pp. 24-31.

Carrion, Fernando M. (1992) 'Quito: Una política urbana alternativa' in *Medio ambiente y urbanización*, year 9, no. 38, pp. 55-69.

Carruthers, Peter; Donkin, Lucy and Stovel, Herb (2001) *Monitoring for World Heritage Cities International Expert Meeting. Valletta, Malta, May 21-24, 2000: Final Report*, Rome, ICCROM, working paper.

Castillo Ruiz, José (1997) *El Entorno de los Bienes Inmuebles de Interés Cultural: Concepto, Legislación y Metodologías para su Delimitación. Evolución Histórica y Situación Actual*, Granada, Universidad de Granada.

Castriota, Leonardo Barci (1998) 'Living in a World Heritage Site: Preservation policies and local history in the city of Ouro Preto, Brazil' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.101, pp. 1-20.

Cervellati, Pier Luigi (1991) *La città bella: il recupero dell'ambiente urbano*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Cesari, Carlo (1984) *Considerations on the problem of integrated conservation*, Roma, n.p., working paper.

Chandani, Munasinghe (1999) 'Old town of Galle' in *World Heritage Review*, no.12, pp. 40-49.

Charles, Nathalie (1994) *Le système de protection des quartiers anciens en République Arabe Syrienne*, Lyon, IFEAD, working paper.

CIAM (1933) *Charter of Athens [online]*. Available from: http://www.getty.edu/conservation/research_resources/charters/charter04.html [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Ciciriello, Maria Clelia ed. (1997) *La protezione del patrimonio mondiale culturale e naturale a venticinque anni dalla convenzione dell'UNESCO*, Napoli, Editoriale Scientifica.

City of Bergen (1993) *The World Heritage City Bergen*, Bergen, City of Bergen.

Clark, David (2003) *Urban World/Global City*, London and New York, Routledge.

Clayton, Cathryn Hope (2002) 'Discourse on the city: identity formation and urban change in contemporary Macao' in *RC: Revista de Cultura = Review of Culture*, no.3, pp. 58-81.

Cleere, Henry (1995) 'The expanding concept of World Heritage' in *Restauro*, year 24, no.131-132, pp. 177-188.

Cleere, Henry (1996) 'The concept of 'outstanding universal value' in the World Heritage Convention' in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol. 1, pp. 227-233.

Clementi, Alberto and Perego, Francesco (1983) *La metropli "spontanea": Il caso di Roma*, Bari, Dedalo.

Cohen, Shana and Jaidi, Larabi (2006) *Morocco: Globalization and its Consequences*, New York, Routledge.

Colcultura (1976) 'Preservación de los centros históricos y monumentales en el urbanismo moderno' in *Boletín, División de Inventario del Patrimonio Cultural*, year 1, no.1, 47 pages.

Colcultura (1991) *Manual para la reglamentación de los sectores urbanos antiguos*, Santafé de Bogotá, COLCULTURA.

Cook, Jeffrey (1992) 'Coulisse construction in 18th-century Lunenburg, Canada: A dilemma of preservation' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.38, pp. 25-42.

Conservation Unit Urban Development & Economic Diversification Project, Lalitpur Sub- Metropolitan City Office (n.d.) *Managing the Built Heritage of Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City: Conservation Policies and Guidelines for Conservation Areas*, working document, 24 pages.

Corzo, Miguel Angel (ed.) (1995) *The Future of Asia's Past: Preservation of the Architectural Heritage of Asia. Summary of an International Conference held in Chiang Mai, Thailand, January 11-14, 1995*, Burbank, California, The J. Paul Getty Trust.

Cruz, Juan and Navarro, María Isabel (2000) *San Cristobal de la Laguna: Ciudad Patrimonio de la Humanidad de España*, Toledo, Artes Graficas.

de la Torre, Marta (ed.) (2002) *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, Los Angeles, The Getty Conservation Institute. Available from: <http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/assessing.pdf> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Denel, M. Bilgi (1989) 'Safranbolu: An Anatolian town with roots in urban form' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.1, pp. 45-72.

Denslagen, Wim (2001) 'The artificial life of heritage' in *Bulletin KNOB*, no.3, pp. 116-122.

Department of Archaeology, Government of Nepal (2005) *Letter to the Director of the World Heritage Centre Regarding the ICOMOS/WHC Joint Mission Report to the Kathmandu Valley, dated 1 June 2005*, unpublished document, 4 pages.

Department of Archaeology, Government of Nepal (2007a) *Integrated Management Framework*, unpublished document, 47 pages.

Department of Archaeology, Government of Nepal (2007b) *Management Handbook for Patan Durbar Square Monument Zone*, unpublished document, 29 pages.

Department of Town and Regional Planning, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim (n.d.) *Safeguarding the Urban Structure of Patan Monument Zone, Kathmandu World Heritage Site. Advance Course 14079, Project in Developing Countries*, working document, 285 pages.

de Salle, Jean (2000) *Les monuments et leurs abords, entre conservation et développement. L'exemple des villes de Bordeaux, Luxembourg, Mons et Valladolid*, Bruxelles, COOPARCH-R.U.

de Salle, Jean (2003) 'Sauvegarde et développement des abords des monuments et sites protégés en Europe' in *Patrimoine et développement des cœurs de ville: actes des 4^e assises du patrimoine du Grand-Ouest, Bordeaux 30-31 janvier 2003*, Bordeaux, Éditions Confluences, pp. 121-133.

Díaz-Berrio, Salvador (2001) *El Patrimonio Mundial Cultural y Natural: 25 años de aplicación de la convención de la UNESCO*, Ciudad de México, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

Direction de l'architecture et de l'Urbanisme (1994) *Quartiers anciens: Démarche de projet et intervention publique*, Paris, DAU.

Drakakis-Smith, David (2000) *Third World Cities*, New York, Routledge.

Dris, Nassima (1988) 'Le centre d'Alger : Evolution et aménagement urbain' in *Éléments sur les Centres-villes dans le Monde Arabe = Materials on City*

Centres in the Arab World, Research Papers in French and English no.19, pp. 151-158.

Dvořáková, Viera and Lalkova, Jara (2001) 'Bardejov: a medieval trading town' in *World Heritage Review*, no.22, pp. 20-29.

Dvořáková, Viera and Tóthová, Štefánia (eds.) (1995) *Banská Štiavnica: World Cultural Heritage*, Bratislava, Pamiatkový ústav.

Ebbe, Katrinka and Hankey, Donald (2000) *Case Study: Lijiang, China. Earthquake Reconstruction and Heritage Conservation*, Washington, World Bank.

Ebregt, Arthur and De Greve, Pol (2000) 'Buffer Zones and their Management: Policy and Best Practices for terrestrial ecosystems in developing countries' in *Theme Studies Series 5, Forests, Forestry and Biological Diversity Support Group*[online], Wageningen, The Netherlands , National Reference Centre for Nature Management. Available from: <<http://edepot.wur.nl/118089>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

El Faïz, Mohammed (2002) *Marrakech, patrimoine en péril*, Casablanca, Actes Sud/Eddif.

El Kadi, Galila (2003) La genèse du patrimoine en Égypte : du monument au centre historique' in *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans l'ère moderne à l'aube du XXI siècle*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 99-115.

Eloundou Assomo, Lazare (2004) 'African towns and heritage' in *World Heritage Review*, no.35, pp. 20-23.

Elsheshtawy, Yasser (ed.) (2004) *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope*, London, Routledge.

Enders, Siegfried R.C.T and Gutschow, Niels (1998) *Hozon. Architectural and Urban Conservation in Japan*, Stuttgart and London, Edition Axel Menges.

Engelhardt, Richard A. (2002) 'The Management of World Heritage Cities: Evolving Concepts, New Strategies' in *RC Revista de Cultura=Review of Culture*, no.4, pp. 17-25.

Faghih, Nasrine (1980) 'The Casbah of Algiers: An Urgent Problem of Conservation' in *Places of Public Gathering in Islam*, Philadelphia, Aga Khan Award for Architecture. Available from:

<http://archnet.org/library/documents/onedocument.tcl?document_id=2723> [Accessed 6 January 2011]

Fayolle-Lussac, Bruno (2003) 'Les ZPPAUP après 20 ans de mise en œuvre : regard critique et risques à venir' in *Patrimoine et développement des cœurs de ville : actes des 4^e assises du patrimoine du Grand-Ouest, Bordeaux 30-31 janvier 2003*, Bordeaux, Éditions Confluences, pp. 327-335.

Federal Research Division Library of Congress (n.d) *A Country Study: Nepal*. Available from:

<<http://rs6.loc.gov/frd/cs/nptoc.html>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Feilden, Bernard M. and Jokilehto, Jukka (1998) *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, Rome, ICCROM, 1998.

Fernández, Salvador Díaz-Berrio (1976) *Conservación de monumentos y zonas monumentales*, Ciudad de México, Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Fernández, Salvador Díaz-Berrio (1986) *Protección del Patrimonio Cultural Urbano*, Ciudad de México, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Fisher, Margaret W. and Rose, Leo E. (1970) *The Politics of Nepal: Persistence and Change in an Asian Monarchy*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press.

Fleming, Ronald Lee (1983) 'Lamu, Kenya: a special islamic townscape with a conservation plan and no policy' in *Monumentum*, vol. 26, no.1.

Fontanari, Enrico and Gianighian, Giorgio (2004) *Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site in the List in Danger: Bhaktapur and Pashupatinath Monument Zones. 2003 Mission Report*, unpublished document, 140 pages.

Foster, Sally and Linge, Lily (2002) 'World Heritage Site buffer zones: Statements of fact or aspiration?' in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol. 5, no.3, pp. 141-150.

Fox, Richard G. (1977) *Urban Anthropology: Cities in Their Cultural Settings*, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

Fresnais, Jocelyne (2003) 'Cinquante ans de gestion du patrimoine architectural en Chine: 1949-1999' in *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans*

Ide monde à l'aube du XXI siècle, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 77-98.

Friedrichs, Christopher R. (1995) *The Early Modern City 1450-1750*, London and New York, Longman.

Galvao, Marco António and Galvao, Vera Braun (2003) 'Villa Boa de Goiás' in *World Heritage Review*, no.32, pp. 24-33.

Gasparini, Graziano (1994) *Coro: patrimonio mundial*, Caracas, Armitano Editores.

Gazzola, Pietro (1969) *The Past in the Future*, Roma, ICCROM.

Gazzola, Piero, Sorlin, François and Lemaire, Raymond (1973) *Rescue Operation: the Face of Europe*, n.p., Council of Europe.

Gellner, David N. and Quigley, Declan (1995) *Contested Hierarchies: A Collaborative Ethnography of Caste Among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Gerner, Manfred; Green, Stephen; and Sjömar, Peter (1995) *Assistance technique à la ville de Safranbolu (Turquie)*, Strasbourg, Editions du Conseil de l'Europe.

Getty Conservation Institute and US/ISCOMOS (1999) *Proceedings of the Interamerican Symposium on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of the Cultural Heritage of the Americas, San Antonio, Texas, March, 1996*, Los Angeles, GCI.

Ghaidan, Usam (ed.) (1976) *Lamu: A Study in Conservation*, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau.

Ghosh, Pradip K. (ed.) (1984) *Urban Development in the Third World*, Westport, Greenwood Press.

Gibson, Michael (2000) 'Luang Prabang: a successful conservation story' in *World Heritage Review*, no.16, pp. 4-17.

Ginsburg, Norton (1991) *The Extended Metropolis: Settlement Transition in Asia*, Honolulu, Hawaii, University of Hawaii.

Giyasi, Jafar and Bayramov, Rizvan (2003) 'The walled city of Baku' in *World Heritage Review*, no.31, pp. 36-47.

González-Varas, Ignacio (1999) *Conservación de bienes culturales: teoría, historia, principios y normas*, Madrid, Ed. Catedra.

Government of Japan Agency for Cultural Affairs (1996) *Law for the protection of cultural properties*, Tokyo, Agency for Cultural Affairs.

Graham, Roy Eugene (1997) *Lunenburg, Nova Scotia: World Heritage Community Strategy*, Washington: Author.

Greenfield, Gerald Michael (ed.). *Latin American Urbanization: Historical Profiles of Major Cities* (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1994).

Gugler, Josef (ed.) (1996) *The Urban Transformation of the Developing World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Gurrieri, Francesco (1983) *Dal restauro dei monumenti al restauro del territorio*, Firenze, Sansoni.

Hagmüller, Götz (2003) *Patan Museum: The Transformation of a Royal Palace in Nepal*, London, Serindia Publications.

Hall, Peter (2002) *Cidades do Amanhã. Uma história intelectual do planejamento e do projeto urbanos no século XX*, São Paulo, Editora Perspectiva.

Hall, Thomas (1991) *Planning and Urban Growth in the Nordic Countries*, London, New York, Tokyo, Melbourne and Madras, E & FN Spon.

Hamm, Bernd and Muttagi, Pandurang K (1998) *Sustainable Development and the Future of Cities*, London, Intermediate Technology Publications.

His Majesty's Government of Nepal (n.d.) *Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site: Progress Report, February 2004 – January 2005*, working document, 66 pages.

His Majesty's Government of Nepal (n.d.) *Update Progress Report 2004 on Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site*, working document, 11 pages.

His Majesty's Government of Nepal and UNESCO (1975) *Kathmandu Valley: The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage. A Protective Inventory, Volumes I and II*, Vienna, Anton Schroll & Co. Publishers.

Hollé, Annick (2003) 'La ville de Bhaktapur (Népal) : exemple d'un patrimoine urban (re)inventé' in *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans l'ère moderne à l'aube du XXI siècle*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 693-711).

Holod, Renata (ed.) (1980) *Conservation as Cultural Survival. Proceedings of Seminar Two in the series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World held in Istanbul, Turkey, September 26-28, 1978*, Geneva, The Aga Khan Award for Architecture. Available from: <http://archnet.org/library/documents/onedocument.tcl?document_id=6016> [Accessed 6 January 2011]

Hou, Jeffrey and Yang, Chiao-Yen (2002) 'Remaking of a historic ethnic city: World Heritage Site in Lijiang as a contested place' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.153, pp. 1-17.

Hutt, Michael (1994) *Nepal: A Guide to the Art and Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley*, Stirling, Kiscadale Publications.

ICOMOS (1964) *The Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* [online]. Available from: <http://www.icomos.org/venice_charter.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (1967) *The Norms of Quito* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.icomos.org/docs/quito67.html>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (1968) *First Conference on the Conservation, Restoration and Revival of Areas and Groups of Buildings of Historic Interest, Caceres, Spain, 15-19 March 1967*, n.p., ICOMOS.

ICOMOS (1972) *Resolutions of the Symposium on the Introduction of Contemporary Architecture into Ancient Groups of Buildings* [online]. Available from: <http://www.icomos.org/docs/contemporary_architecture.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (1975a) *Declaration of Amsterdam* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.icomos.org/docs/amsterdam.html>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (1975b) *Resolutions of Bruges: Principles Governing the Rehabilitation of Historic Towns* [online]. Available from: <<http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/93towns7k.pdf>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (1975c) *Resolutions of the International Symposium on the Conservation of Smaller Historic Towns* [online]. Available from: <http://www.icomos.org/docs/small_towns.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (1984) *ICOMOS 1964-1984*, Paris, ICOMOS.

ICOMOS (1987) *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas* [online]. Available from: <http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.htm> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (1993) *Kathmandu Valley, World Heritage site, Nepal. Report and recommendations of the joint UNESCO/ICOMOS review mission, 14-30 November 1993*, unpublished document, 32 pages.

ICOMOS (1998) *Rapport de mission à Angra do Heroísmo, Açores*, working document, 6 pages.

ICOMOS (2000) *ICOMOS World Report 2000 on Monuments and Sites in Danger* [online]. Available from: <http://www.international.icomos.org/risk/world_report/2000/risk2000.htm> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (2006) Kathmandu Valley Advisory Body's Evaluation [online]. Available from: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/121bis.pdf> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS (2008) *Heritage at Risk: ICOMOS World Report 2006/2007 on Monuments and Sites in Danger* [online]. Available from: <http://www.international.icomos.org/risk/world_report/2006-2007/index.htm> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

ICOMOS Scientific Committee on Historic Towns (1993) *Historic Towns*, Colombo, Central Cultural Fund.

ICOMOS/WHC (2005) *ICOMOS/WHC Joint Mission to Kathmandu Valley World Cultural Heritage Property in Danger, 15-19 March 2005*, working document, 35 pages.

Imamuddin, Abu H. and Longeteig, Karen R. (eds.) (1990) *Architectural & Urban Conservation in the Islamic World*, Geneva, The Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico (1994) *Patrimonio y Ciudad: Reflexión sobre Centros Históricos. Contenido de las II Jornadas de Patrimonio, Priego de Córdoba, 26-29 de Octubre de 1994*, Sevilla, Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico.

Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico (1999) *Indicadores para la evaluación del estado de conservación de Ciudades Históricas*, Sevilla, Instituto andaluz del patrimonio histórico.

INTACH and Indian Institute of Technology (1990) *International Workshop on Integrated Urban Conservation: An Approach towards Development, Kharagpur, November 23.27, 1990*, Lucknow, INTACH.

lorio, Monica (2001) 'Marocco, la medina di Essaouira: problemi e riflessioni sul turismo' in *Urbanistica pvs*, year 12, no.29, pp. 23-30.

IUCN (1995) *Regulating Growth: Kathmandu Valley*, Gland, IUCN.

IUCN (2004) *The World Heritage List: Future Priorities for Credible and Complete List of Natural and Mixed Sites*, April 2004. Available from: <http://www.iucn.org/themes/wcpa/pubs/pdfs/heritage/ouv2004_english.pdf> [Accessed 6 January 2011]

IUCN (2009) *World Heritage in Danger: A Compendium of Key Decisions on the Conservation of Natural World Heritage Properties via the List of World Heritage in Danger*. Available from: <http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/wcpa_worldheritage/resources/publications/?uPubsID=3992> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Jenks, Mike; Burton, Elizabeth and Williams, Katie (eds.) (1996) *The Compact City: A Sustainable Urban Form?*, New York, E & FN Spon.

Jenks, Mike and Burgess, Rod (eds.) (2000) *Compact Cities: Sustainable Urban Forms for Developing Countries*, London and New York, Spon Press.

Jigyasu, Rohit (2002) *Reducing Disaster Vulnerability Through Local Knowledge and Capacity - The Case of Earthquake prone Rural Communities in India and Nepal*, PhD thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Jokilehto, Jukka (1999) *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford, Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

- Jordan, Bibi (2003) 'Lamu: coral garden of the Swahili' in *World Heritage Review*, no.29, pp. 54-63.
- Kathmandu Valley Town Development Committee (n.d) *Building Bylaws for Kathmandu & Lalitpur Municipal Areas as well as within the Town Extension Area of Kathmandu Valley*, working document, 128 pages.
- Khabibullaev, Nozim (1999) 'Itchan Kala: the inner city' in *World Heritage Review*, no.11, pp. 40-51.
- Kiabou, Bamba (1999) 'Timbuktu: a mystical site' in *World Heritage Review*, no.13, pp. 28-37.
- Kirikov, Boris M. (2003) 'Three centuries of Saint Petersburg' in *World Heritage Review*, no.30, pp. 4-19.
- Klotz, Arnold et al (n.d.) *Wien Städtebau - Der Stand der Dinge. Vienna Urban Planning - the State of the Art*, Wien, Stadtplanung Wien.
- Knapp, Ronald G. (ed.) (2003) *Asia's Old Dwellings: Tradition, Resilience, and Change*, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press.
- Kong, Ping (2008) *Social Quality in the Conservation Process of Living Heritage Site*, PhD thesis, Delft University of Technology.
- Kono, Toshiyuki (2000) 'The significance of the buffer zone under the World Heritage Convention' in *Art antiquity and law*, vol. 5, no.2, pp.177-184.
- Kostof, Spiro (1999) *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History*, London, Thames & Hudson.
- Kostof, Spiro (1999) *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, London, Thames & Hudson.
- Kozlowski, Jerzy and Peterson, Ann (2005) *Integrated Buffer Planning: Towards Sustainable Development*, Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing.
- Krier, Leon (1986) 'Developing the Traditional City' in *Design for High-Intensity Development*, Massachusetts, The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture. Available from:
<http://archnet.org/library/documents/onedocument.tcl?document_id=3829>
[Accessed 6 January 2011]
- Kugel, Seth (2006) 'Flip side of World Heritage status' in *The New York Times*, January 17. Available from:

<<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/16/travel/16iht-trherit.html>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Kursac-Souali, Anne Claire (2006) *Les médinas marocaines : une requalification sélective - Elites, patrimoines et mondialisation au Maroc*, PhD thesis, Université Paris Sorbonne – Paris IV.

Kuyken, F. E. (1967) 'The effect of the expansion of towns on their historic core' in *Principles and Practice of Active Preservation and Rehabilitation of Groups and Areas of Buildings of Historical or Artistic Interest. Symposium C. Bath 3-7 October 1966*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe.

KVMP (2002) *Regulations for Heritage Conservation*, Kathmandu, KVMP, working document, 10 pages.

Kyoto Commission for support of the 22nd Session of the World Heritage Committee (1998) *Kyoto: the capital of a thousand years. Historic monuments of ancient Kyoto (Kyoto city, Uji city, Otsu city)*, Kyoto, Commission for support of the 22nd Session of the World Heritage Committee.

Laidet, Myriam (2000) 'Hué: the spirituality of a garden-city' in *World Heritage Review*, no.17, pp. 56-67.

Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City Office (n.d) *Managing the Built Heritage of Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City: Conservation Policies and Guidelines for Conservation Areas*, working paper, 16 pages.

Lamarca, Ferdinand J. (2002) 'Macao's cultural significance and vision: are they, or can they be, compatible?' in *RC: Revista de Cultura = Review of Culture*, series 3, no. 4, pp. 27-34.

La Motte-Broöns, Roswitha de (1999) 'Strasbourg: an exceptional city' in *World Heritage Review*, no.11, pp. 28-39.

Lanchet, Walter (2000) 'World Heritage in practice: The examples of Tunis (Tunisia) and Fez (Morocco)' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.128, pp. 39-47.

Lane, Michael Barry (1996) 'Sana'a' in *World Heritage Review*, no.3, pp. 52-63.

Larkham, Peter J. (1996) *Conservation and the City*, London and New York, Routledge.

- Larsen, Knut Einar (1995) *Nara Conference on Authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention: Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994. Proceedings = Conférence de Nara sur l'authenticité dans le cadre de la convention du patrimoine mondial: Nara, Japon, 1-6 novembre 1994*, Trondheim, Tapir Publishers.
- Laureano, Pietro (1998) 'Desert cities' in *World Heritage Review*, no.8, pp. 68-79.
- Lawless, Richard (1978) 'Problems of conserving the Tunis medina' in *AARP Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, Year 1978, pp. 1-44.
- Leal Spengler, Eusebio (1997) 'Old Havana: city with a soul' in *World Heritage Review*, no.5, pp. 20-30.
- Le Corbusier (1957) 'Patrimoine historique des villes' in *La Charte d'Athènes*, n.p., Éditions de Minuit, pp. 87-91.
- Liauzu, Claude (1995) 'Médinas, mégapoles et ghettos' in *Madina cité du monde*, no. 1, pp. 17-21.
- Lichfield, Nathaniel (1988) *Economics in Urban Conservation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Light, Ivan (1993) *Cities in World Perspective*, New York, Macmillan Publishing.
- Lincourt, Michel (2000) 'The historic centre of Vilnius: a place for memories and hope' in *World Heritage Review*, no.18, pp. 52-63.
- Livingston, Morna (1994) 'Houses that dream in Havana: The crumbling of Old Havana' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.67, pp. 1-10.
- Logan, William S. (2001) 'Walled cities in Southeast Asia: The development and enhancement of the cultural values of fortress cities' in *International round table of mayors of World Heritage fortress cities: urban development of the morphology of World Heritage fortress cities*, Seoul, Korean National Commission for UNESCO, pp. 85-94.
- Logan, William S. (2002) *The Disappearing 'Asian' City. Protecting Asia's Urban Heritage in a Globalizing World*, New York, Oxford University Press.

- Lowenthal, David (1998) *Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, David (2002) 'La fabrication d'un héritage' in *Patrimoine et modernité*, Paris, L'Harmattan, pp. 107-127.
- Loyer, François (ed.) (2001) *Ville d'hier, ville d'aujourd'hui en Europe: actes des entretiens du patrimoine, Paris, 24, 25, 26 Janvier 2000*, Paris, Fayard.
- Lucarelli, Francesco (1985) *Ouro Preto e Olinda, centri storici del Brasile memória per l'umanità*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
- Lung, David (2002) 'The Future of Macao's Past: An Epilogue' in *RC: Revista de Cultura = Review of Culture*, series 3, no. 4, pp. 13-16.
- Maas, Pierre (1990) 'Djenné: Living Tradition' in *Aramco World Magazine*, January-February 1990. Available from: <http://archnet.org/library/documents/onedocument.tcl?document_id=4361> [Accessed 6 January 2011]
- Magana Juárez, José Maria (2003) 'Antigua Guatemala' in *World Heritage Review*, no.30, pp. 52-63.
- Marchand, Trevor H.J. (2000) 'The lore of the master builder: Working with local materials and local knowledge in Sana'a, Yemen' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.137, pp. 1-17.
- Marchettini, N. (ed.) et al. (2004) *The Sustainable City III: Urban Regeneration and Sustainability*, Southampton, WIT Press.
- Margolis, Mac (2006) 'Vanishing Acts' in *Newsweek International*, April 10-17, 2006 issue.
- Maron, Stanley; Rose, Leo E.; and Heyman, Juliane (1956) *A Survey of Nepal Society*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Marshall, Sir John (1923) *Conservation Manual. A Handbook for the Use of Archaeological Officers and Others with the Care of Ancient Monuments*, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing.
- Martino, Diego (2001) 'Buffer Zones Around Protected Areas: A Brief Literature Review' in *Electronic Green Journal* [online], Issue 15, December 2001. Available from: <<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/02n4v17n>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

- Massapina, João Vicente (2002) 'Desenvolvimento do tecido urbano da cidade de Macau: urbanismos e urbanidades' in *RC: Revista de Cultura = Review of Culture*, no. 3, pp. 42-57.
- Massey, Dorren; Allen, John and Pile, Steve (1999) *City Worlds*, London and New York, Routledge.
- Matousek, Josef et al. (1995) *Vienna: Preservation and Renewal of the Urban Environment. A Report on the Current State of Affairs*, Vienna, Vienna Urban Development and Planning.
- McKee, David L. (1994) *Urban Environments in Emerging Economies*, Westport, Praeger Publishers.
- Meier, Richard L. (1962) *A Communications Theory of Urban Growth*, Massachusetts, M.I.T. Press.
- Mélé, Patrice (2003) 'Qualification patrimoniale des espaces centraux des villes mexicaines' *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans le monde à l'aube du XXI siècle*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 519-538.
- Melissinos, Alexandre, Goodey, Brian and Vyncke, Herwig (1995) *Assistance technique à la ville de Telč (République Tchèque)*, Strasbourg, Editions du Conseil de l'Europe.
- Menon, A.G. Krishna and Thapar, B.K. (1988) *Historic Towns and Heritage Zones*, New Delhi, INTACH.
- Merriam-Webster online (n.d.) [online]. Available from: <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- Métalsi, Mohamed ; Tréal, Cécile ; and Ruiz, Jean-Michel (2001) '*Les villes impériales du Maroc*', Paris, Éditions Pierre Terrail.
- Michelmore, David (1994) *Report on the Strategy Meeting held in Patan, Nepal, 11-12 November 1994, Concerned with the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention with regard to the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site in Advance of Discussion at the Eighteenth Session of the World Heritage Committee at Phuket, Thailand*, unpublished paper, 10 pages.
- Milet, Vera (1995) 'A Experiência de Gestão e Proteção ao Sítio Histórico de Olinda' in *Estratégias de Intervenções em Áreas Históricas*, Zancheti, Sílvia ed., pp. 66-72. Recife, UFPE/CECI.

Milet, Vera; Pontual, Virgínia and Barreto, Juliana (2008) 'International Conventions, Organised Civil Society and Protection for World Heritage Cities: the Case of the Olinda Society for the Defense of the Historical Centre of Olinda' in *City & Time* 4 [online] (1): 3. Available from: <<http://www.ceci-br.org/novo/revista/docs2008/CT-2008-118.pdf>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Milinović, Dino (ed.) (1997) *World Heritage between Conservation and Development*, Zagreb, Croatian Commission for UNESCO.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1965) *Poblaciones de carácter histórico-pintoresco*, Instrucciones para la defensa de los conjuntos histórico artísticos no.11, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación Nacional.

Miossec, Jean-Marie (1988) 'L'évolution des quartiers centraux de Tunis' in *Eléments sur les Centres-villes dans le Monde Arabe = Materials on City Centres in the Arab World*, Research Papers in French and English no.19, pp. 131-148.

Miyashiro-machi, Saitama-ken (1981) *The Royal Buildings in Nepal: a Report on the Old Royal Palaces of the Kingdom of Nepal*, n.p., Nippon institute of technology.

Montalvo, Mauricio (2001) 'Cuenca in the Andes' in *World Heritage Review*, no.22, pp. 52-63.

Montanari, Armando (1981) *Towns: social and economic aspects*, Vienna, European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences.

Monti, Guglielmo (ed.) (1995) *La Conservazione dei Beni Culturali nei documenti italiani e internazionali 1931-1991*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.

Moor, Jay (2001) 'Cities at risk' in *Habitat Debate*, vol. 7, no.4, pp. 1-32.

Moreira et all (n.d) *Plano de Gestão do Sistema de Conservação do Sítio Histórico de Olinda*, unpublished document, 35 pages.

Mortada, Hisham (2003) '*Traditional Islamic Principles of Built Environment*', London and New York, Routledge Curzon.

Morton, W. Brown (1972) *Report on Nepal Tourism Project. Preparation Mission for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*,

October 12 to October 31, 1972, UNESCO and International Centre for Conservation Rome, 1972, Mission Report, 5 pages.

Munashinghe, Harsha (1992) *Transformation of Colonial Urban Space in Sri Lanka with Special Reference to the Port City of Galle*, Otaniemi, Master Programme in Architecture and Urban Design.

Municipalidad Provincial del Cusco (n.d.) Plan estratégico de desarrollo integral de Cusco y su área de influencia. 1ra versión, tomo b: Acciones prioritarias, n.p., n.p.

Musil, Jiří (1980) *Urbanization in Socialist Countries*, New York, M. E. Sharpe.

Musitelli, Jean (2002) 'World Heritage, between Universalism and Globalization' in *International Journal of Cultural Property*, vol. 11, no.2, pp. 323-336.

Musso, Stefano (1988) *Questioni di storia e restauro dell'architettura alla città*, Firenze, Alinea Editrice.

Mutal, Sylvio (1995) 'Aplicación de la Convención del Patrimonio Mundial en América Latina y el Caribe' in *Reunión de directores de patrimonio de América Latina e el Caribe, 9, 10 y 11 de mayo de 1995, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia*, Bogotá, Colcultura, pp. 45-47.

Mutal, Sylvio (1997) 'Island of Mozambique' in *World Heritage Review*, no.6, pp. 52-63.

Mutal, Sylvio (2001) 'Ciudades y centros históricos de América Latina y el Caribe: 50 años de trayectoria (1950-1999)' in *Centros Históricos de América Latina y el Caribe*, Quito: n.p., pp.113-138.

Mutal, Sylvio ed. (1995) *World Heritage Sites Latin America, the Caribbean and Mozambique: Systematic Monitoring Exercise. Findings and International Perspectives: Report 1991/1994*, Lima: UNDP/UNESCO Regional Project.

Myrvoll, Siri (1996) 'Bergen: the crossroads of the North' in *World Heritage Review*, no.3, pp. 34-39.

Nadeau, Barbie (2006) 'The Curse of Approval' in *Newsweek International*, April 10-17, 2006 issue.

Nara City (2000) *Development and Integrity of Historic Cities: 1999 Nara Seminar Report*, Nara, Nara City.

Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO (2003) *Conclusions et recommandations de la conférence: l'union des valeurs universelles et locales, la gestion d'un avenir durable pour le patrimoine mondial, Amsterdam, 22-24 mai 2003 = Conclusions and recommandations of the conference: linking universal and local values, managing a sustainable future for World Heritage, Amsterdam, 22-24 May 2003*, World Heritage Papers no.13, The Hague, Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO.

Neuman, W.L. (2000) *Social Research Methods – Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Boston, MA, Allyn and Bacon.

Nguyen, Quoc Hung (2005) 'Future Vision of Cultural Heritage and Protection Systems in Vietnam' in *The Future Vision of Cultural Heritage and Protection Systems. Proceeding of the Thirteenth Seminar on the Conservation of Asian Cultural Heritage, October 2005*, Tokyo, National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, pp. 48-60.

Njoku, Raphael Chijioke (2006) *Culture and Customs of Morocco*, Westport, Greenwood Press.

Okahashi, Junko and Selter, Elke (eds.) (2004) *Technical Workshop for the Conservation of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property in Danger, Kathmandu, Nepal, 3-7 May 2004*, Paris, UNESCO.

Orbaşlı, Aylin (2000) *Tourists in Historic Towns: Urban Conservation and Heritage Management*, London and New York: E & FN Spon.

Orloff, Alexandre (1987) 'The Casbah of Algiers in Peril. Time is running out for the ancient Islamic cities' in *Arts & the Islamic World*, vol. 4, no.4, pp. 13-14 and 89-96.

Ormachea, Américo Villegas and Iberico, Enrique Estrada (1990) *Centro Histórico de Cusco: Rehabilitación Urbana y Vivienda*, Cusco, UNSAAC.

Orum, Anthony M. and Chen, Xiangming (2003) *The World of Cities: Places in Comparative and Historical Perspective*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Otsuka, Kazuaki (2003) 'Historic monuments of ancient Nara' in *World Heritage Review*, no.30, pp. 36-47.

OVPM (1995) *Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium of World Heritage Cities, Bergen, June 28,29 and 30, 1995 = Actes du 3e Colloque international des villes du patrimoine mondial, Bergen, 28, 29 et 30 juin 1995 = Actas del 3er Coloquio Internacional de las Ciudades del Patrimonio Mundial, Bergen, 28, 29 y 30 de junio de 1995*, Québec, OVPM.

OVPM (2001) *Actas del 6º Coloquio Internacional de las Ciudades del Patrimonio Mundial, Puebla, 3-5 Octubre 2001 = Actes du 6º Colloque international des villes du patrimoine mondial, Puebla, 3-5 Octobre 2001 = Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium of World Heritage Cities, Puebla, October 3-5*, Québec, OVPM.

OVPM (2003) *Proceedings of the 7th international symposium of World Heritage Cities, Rhodes, 24-26 September 2003 = Actes du 7e colloque international des villes du patrimoine mondial, Rhodes, 24-26 septembre 2003 = Actas del 7º coloquio internacional de las ciudades del patrimonio mundial, Rodas, 24-26 septiembre 2003*, Québec, Secrétariat général de l'OVPM.

Pagès, Jean Louis (2002) 'Modern Cairo and its Islamic heritage' in *World Heritage Review*, no.26, pp. 36-46.

Paor, Liam B. (1965) *Nepal: Archaeology and Historic Monuments Preservation*, Paris, UNESCO.

Papatheodorou, Paris (2003) 'Rhodes: past, present and future of a living heritage' in *World Heritage Review*, no.32, pp.68-79.

Parajuli, Yogeshwar (1986) *Bhaktapur Development Project: Experiences in Preservation and Restoration in a Medieval Town, 1974-1985*, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur Development Board.

Parent, Michel (1987) 'Le Patrimoine Mondial et l'ICOMOS' in *ICOMOS Information*, Octobre-Décembre no.4, pp. 1-7.

Parent, Michel (1988) 'The world heritage concept' in *The Courier*, August 1988, pp. 32-33.

Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia and House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment, Recreation and the Arts (1996) *Managing Australia's World Heritage*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.

Pasic, Amir; Siravo, Francesco and Bianca, Stefano (2004) *Historic cities Support Programme: Conservation and Revitalisation of Historic Mostar*, Genève, Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

Pégurier, J. (1982) La Médina de Marrakech entre passé et son avenir in *Present et avenir des medinas (de marrakech a alep)*, pp. 73-82, Tours, Institut de géographie.

Pennell, C. R. (2003) *'Morocco: From Empire to Independence'*, Oxford : Oneworld Publications.

Pereira Junior, Clodomir (2004) *A Conservação da Cobertura Vegetal como componente do Patrimônio Cultural em Centros Históricos Urbanos. Estudo de caso: A Cidade de Olinda – PE*, Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco.

Perfeitura Municipal de Olinda (2002) *Morando no Antigo – Um Estudo Sobre as Transformações dos Espaços de Habitação do Sítio Histórico de Olinda*, unpublished document.

Petruccioli, Attilio (1989) 'The places of water in the Islamic city' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.10, pp. 11-32.

Petruccioli, Attilio (1996) 'Algiers 1830-1930: Towards a typological reading of residential building' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.82, pp. 1-17.

Phelan, Marilyn (ed.) (1998) *The Law of Cultural Property and Natural Heritage: Protection, Transfer, and Access*, Evanston, Kalos Kapp Press.

Piccinato, Giorgio (1993) 'All cities are historic (but some more than others)' in *Managing Historic Cities*, Cracow, International Cultural Centre, pp. 49-53.

Pickard, Robert (ed.) (2000) *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation*, Strasbourg, and London, Spon Press.

Pickard, Robert (ed.) (2002) *European Cultural Heritage. Vol. 1: Intergovernmental Cooperation: Collected Texts. Vol. 2: a Review of Policies and Practice*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing.

Pinol, Jean-Luc (2003) *Histoire de L'Europe Urbaine*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2 vols.

- Polito, Helvio (2000) *O Controlo Urbanıstico Como Elemento da Conservao Urbana nos Sıtios Historicos: O Caso de Olinda*, Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco.
- Pollaco, J.C. (1968) *Nepal: Development of Cultural Tourism*, Paris, UNESCO.
- Pordany-Horvath, Csilla (n.d) '*La genese des jardins en Islam et les jardins historiques de Marrakech*'. Available from: <http://www.unesco-paysage.umontreal.ca/travaux_marrakech/jardinscsilla.pdf> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- Pradhan, Pravakar and Perera, Ranjith (2005) *Urban Growth and its Impact on the Livelihoods of Kathmandu Valley, Nepal*, UMP-Asia Occasional Paper no.63.
- Pressouyre, Leon (1993) *The World Heritage Convention, Twenty Years Later*, Paris, UNESCO.
- Prott, Lyndel V. (1984) 'De l'admonition  l'action: le role de l'UNESCO dans la protection du patrimoine culturel' in *Nature & Ressources*, vol. 28. no.3, pp. 4-11.
- Qudsi, Adli (1984) 'Aleppo: A struggle for conservation' in *Mimar Architecture in Development*, no.12, pp. 20-23.
- Rammah, Mourad (2003) 'Kairouan' in *World Heritage Review*, no.28, pp. 24-33.
- Ranellucci, Sandro (2003) *Il restauro urbano: teoria e prassi*, Torino, UTET Libreria.
- Ranjitkar, Rohit K. (2006) *Heritage Homeowner's Preservation Manual Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, Nepal*, Kathmandu, UNESCO Kathmandu.
- Rapoport, Amos (1994) 'Sustainability, meaning, and traditional environments' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.75, pp. 1-64.
- Ravereau, Andre (1981) *Le M'Zab, une leon d'architecture*, Paris, Sindbad.

- Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (2004) *World Heritage site of Kotor, Montenegro: progress report 2004*, Kotor, Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage.
- Roald, Hans-Jacob (2000) *Sustainable Historic Cities? A Baltic-Nordic Approach. A report on urban development and cultural values, case studies of Tallinn, Riga, Visby and Alesund, urban design guidelines*, Oslo, Nordic World Heritage Office.
- Rogers, Richard and Gumuchdjian, Philip (2000) *Ciudades para un pequeño planeta*, Barcelona, Editorial Gustavo Gili.
- Rogers, Richard and Power, Anne (2000) *Cities for a Small Country*, London, Faber and Faber Limited.
- Rojas, Eduardo (1999) *Old cities, new assets: preserving Latin America's urban heritage*, Washington, Inter-American Development Bank.
- Romagnola, Antonella (2000) 'The insidious revival of tradition: Invisible fences "Castiglione of Sicily" in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.136, pp. 85-98.
- Rose, Leo E. (1971) *Nepal; Strategy for Survival*, London and Los Angeles, University of California Press Berkeley.
- Rose, Leo E and Fisher, Margaret W. (1970) *The Politics of Nepal: Persistence and change in an Asian Monarchy*, New York, Cornell University Press.
- Roth, Catherine (ed.) (2004) *Guidance on Urban Rehabilitation*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing.
- Rowe, Peter G. (2005) *East Asia Modern: Shaping the Contemporary City*, London, Reaktion Books.
- Royaume du Maroc Ministère d'Etat à l'Intérieur Agence pour la dédensification et la réhabilitation de la Médina de Fès (n.d.) *La sauvegarde de Fès, ville du patrimoine mondial*, n.p.n.p.
- Rykwert, Joseph (n.d) 'A Continent as a Museum' in *Central Europe: A New Dimension of Heritage*, Cracow, International Cultural Centre, pp. 93-99.
- Saito, Hidetoshi (ed.) (1996) *World Heritage. The Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama - Traditional Houses in the Gassho Style:*

- Ogimachi, Shirakawa-mura / Ainokura, Taira-mura / Suganuma, Kamitaira-mura*, n.p, n.p.
- Salastie, Ritta 'Ri' (1999) *Living Tradition or Panda's Cage? An analysis of the Urban Conservation in Kyoto. Case Study: 35 Yamahoko Neighbourhoods*, Helsinki, University of Technology.
- Samizay, Rafi (1992) 'Adaptability of traditional dwellings and its contemporary applications' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.45, pp. 59-77.
- Samona, Giuseppe (1960) 'Convegno sulla salvaguardia e il risanamento dei centri storico-artistici, Gubbio, 17-18-19 Settembre 1960' in *Urbanistica*, year 1960, no.32.
- Sanday, John (1978) *Building Conservation in Nepal: A Handbook of Principles and Techniques*, Paris, UNESCO.
- Sarmento, R. et al. (2000) 'Urban environmental quality indicators' in *The Sustainable City: Urban Regeneration and Sustainability*, Southampton, WIT Press, pp. 95-87.
- Savio, Isabel Rigol (n.d) *The Cuban National Experience in US/ICOMOS 2000 International Symposium*, working paper.
- Scheibler, Giovanni (1982) *Bhaktapur, Nepal: Building Today in a Historical Context*, Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- SEAMEO-SPAFA Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts (2001) *Luang Prabang*, Bangkok, SEAMEO-SPAFA.
- Sekler, Eduar F. (1999) 'Sacred Spaces and the Search for Authenticity in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal' in *Preserving the architecture of historic cities and sacred places: draft proceedings of a symposium, Washington, D.C., May 3-6, 1999*, Washington, World Bank, pp. 71-76.
- Serageldin, Ismail (1999) *Very Special Places: The Architecture and Economics of Intervening in Historic Cities*, Washington D.C., The World Bank.
- Serageldin, Ismail, Martin-Brown, Joan and Shluger, Ephim (eds.) (1999) *Preserving the Architecture of Historic Cities and Sacred Places. Draft Proceedings of a Symposium held at the World Bank, Washington, D.C. May 3-6, 1999*, Washington, World Bank.

Serjeant, R. B. (ed.) (1980) *The Islamic city*, Paris, UNESCO.

Sidorenko-Dulom, Anna (2004) 'Ancient Ksour of Mauritania' in *World Heritage Review*, no.34, pp. 40-51.

Signoles, Pierre (1988) 'Place des médinas dans le fonctionnement et l'aménagement des villes au Maghreb' in *Eléments sur les Centres-villes dans le Monde Arabe = Materials on City Centres in the Arab World*, Research Papers in French and English no.19, pp. 231-264.

Simmonds, Julia (1997) 'UNESCO World Heritage Convention' in *Art Antiquity and Law*, vol. 2, no.3, pp. 251-282.

Simoncini, Giorgio (1964) I centri storici: salvaguardia e attivazione in *Quaderni dell'istituto di storia dell'architettura*, serie 11, fasc. 62-66.

Siravo, Francesco and Pulver, Ann (1986) *Planning Lamu: Conservation of an East African Seaport*, Nairobi, The National Museums of Kenya.

Siravo, Francesco (1996) *Zanzibar: a plan for the historic stone town*, Geneva, Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

Skounti, Ahmed (2004) Pauvreté Versus «Elitisation»: Processus de Patrimonialisation, Pauvreté et Gestion de la Medina de Marrakech in *Patrimoine et Développement durable dans les Villes Historiques du Maghreb : Enjeux, diagnostics et recommandations*, Rabat, UNESCO, pp. 143-156.

Slatyer, Ralph O. (1983) 'The Origin and Evolution of the World Heritage Convention' in *Ambio A Journal of the Human Environment*, vol. 12, no.3-4, pp. 138-145.

Snedden, Robert (2003) *The Growth of Cities*, London, Franklin Watts.

Société pour la mise en valeur du Québec (1991) *Actes du 1er Colloque international des villes du patrimoine mondial, Québec, Canada, 30 juin au 4 juillet 1991*, Québec, Société pour la mise en valeur du Québec.

Solieman, Khalifa A. and Clark, Kenneth N. (1989) 'Characteristic Urban Features of the M'Zab Valley Communities of Algeria' in *Desert Architecture*, no.28 Available from:
<<http://ag.arizona.edu/OALS/ALN/aln28/solieman.html>> [Accessed 6 January 2011]

Sonnier, Jean (1989) 'Origine des missions et intervention de l'UNESCO' in *Monuments Historiques*, no.162, Février-Mars pp. 8-13.

Sorensen, André (2002) *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty-First Century*, London and New York, Routledge.

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de (2003) *ABC do Desenvolvimento Urbano*, Rio de Janeiro, Bertrand Brasil.

Spodek, Jonathan C. (n.d) 'Ancient Newari Water-Supply Systems in Nepal's Kathmandu Valley' in *APT Bulletin*, vol. XXXIII, no. 2-3, pp. 65-70.

Stanley Price, Nicholas; Talley Jr., M. Kirby and Vaccaro, Alessandra Melucco (eds.) (1996) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, Los Angeles, The Getty Conservation Institute.

Steele, James (1994) 'The translation of tradition: a comparative dialectic' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.74, pp. 1-42.

Stevens, André (2001) 'Zabid au Yémen. Première ville inscrite sur la Liste du Patrimoine mondial en péril' in *Les nouvelles du patrimoine*, no.94, pp. 42-43.

Stovel, Herb (1992) 'L'évaluation des biens culturels aux fins de leur inscription sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial' in *Nature & Ressources*, vol. 28. no.3, pp. 30-36.

Stovel, Herb (1994) 'Inscription of the Kathmandu Valley on the World Heritage List (1979) in *ICOMOS International Wood Committee (IIWC): 8th international symposium, Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, Nepal, 23-25 November 1992*, Trondheim, Tapir Forla, pp. 19-30.

Stovel, Herb (2001) 'The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage, Riga, Latvia, October 2000' in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol. 4, no.4, pp. 237-240.

Stovel, Herb (2002) 'Approaches to Managing: Urban Transformation for Historic Cities' in *RC Revista de Cultura=Review of Culture*, no.4, pp. 35-44.

Stovel, Herb (2004) 'An Advisory Body View of the Development of Monitoring for World Cultural Heritage' in *Monitoring World Heritage*, World Heritage Papers n. °10, Paris, UNESCO.

- Stovel, Herb (2005) 'An Overview of Emerging Authenticity and Integrity Requirements for World Heritage Nominations' in Morales, Francisco ed. *New Views on Authenticity and Integrity in the World Heritage of the Americas*, Paris, ICOMOS.
- Strasser, Peter (2002) 'Putting Reform Into Action – Thirty Years of the World Heritage Convention: How to Reform a Convention without Changing Its Regulations' in *International Journal of Cultural Property*, vol. 11, no.2 , pp. pages 215-266.
- Studio Quaroni S.r.l. (1983) *Safeguarding of Sana'a Historical Centre in Relation to the Urban Development of the City. Reconnaissance Phase*, Rome, working paper.
- Taylor, Brian Brace (ed.) (1983) *Reading the Contemporary African City Proceedings of seminar Seven in the series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World, Dakar, Senegal November 2-5, 1982*, Geneva, The Aga Khan Award for Architecture.
- Taylor, Nigel (1998) *Urban Planning Theory since 1945*, London, California and New Delhi, Sage Publications.
- Teixeira, Luiz Gonzaga (1984) 'Ouro Preto, monument town' in *Monumentum*, vol.27, no.2, pp. 137-153.
- Tellez, Germa (1995) 'Teoría y realidad del patrimonio arquitectónico y urbano' in *Reunión de directores de patrimonio de América Latina e el Caribe, 9, 10 y 11 de mayo de 1995, Cartagena de Indias, Colombia*, Bogotá, Colcultura, pp. 24-27.
- Teutonico, Jeanne Marie and Matero, Frank (eds.) (2003) *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment, 4th Annual US/ICOMOS International Symposium, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 2001*, Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institute.
- Thapa, Bhupesh (2000) *The Prospect of Urban Development within the Kathmandu Valley*, Master's thesis, Edinburgh College of Art.
- The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (n.d.) *International Workshop on Urban Conservation, Samarkand, 28-29 May, 1997: English working papers prepared by speakers invited by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture*, Geneva, Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (1997) *Historic cities support programme: Zanzibar stone town projects*, Geneva, Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (2004) *Historic cities support programme: Conservation and Revitalisation of Historic Mostar*, Geneva, The Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2000) *Cities in Transition: Executive Summary. A Strategic View of Urban and Local Government Issues*, Washington, The World Bank.

The World Bank (1979) *Nepal, Development Performance and Prospects*, Washington D.C., The World Bank.

The World Bank (1989) *Nepal, Policies for Improving Growth and Alleviating Poverty*, Washington D.C., The World Bank.

The World Bank (2000) *Culture counts: Financing, Resources, and the Economics of Cultural in Sustainable Development. Proceedings of the conference held in Florence, Italy, October 4-7, 1999*, Washington, The World Bank.

The World Bank and UNESCO (2000) *Conference on Culture, Heritage Management and Urban Development: Challenge and Opportunity, Beijing, July 5-7, 2000*, Washington, The World Bank.

The World Commission on Environment and Development (1989) *Our Common Future*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Thomas, Craig (2000) 'Hoi An. Preserved By Decree: A Vietnamese port finds new vitality — thanks to a conservation-minded bureaucrat' in *Asiaweek.com* [online journal], vol.26, no.49. Available from: <<http://www.asiaweek.com/asiaweek/features/asiacities2000/cities.hoian.htm>> [Accessed 6 January 2011]

Thomas, Friederike et al. (2000) *The Historic Centres of Stralsund and Wismar: World Heritage Nomination*, Stralsund, VWM Project.

Thomlinson, Ralph (1969) *Urban Structure: The Social and Spatial Character of Cities*, New York, Random House.

Thorsell, Jim (2003) *World Heritage Convention: Effectiveness 1992-2002 and Lessons for Governance*. Available from: <<http://www.iucn.org/themes/wcpa/pubs/pdfs/heritage/effectiveness.pdf>> [Accessed 6 January 2011]

Titchen, Sarah M. (1995) *On the construction of outstanding universal value. UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the identification and assessment of cultural places for inclusion in the World Heritage List*, Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University.

Titchen, Sarah M. (1996) 'On the construction of 'outstanding universal value': Some comments on the implementation of the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention' in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol. 1, pp. 235-242.

Tiwari, Sudarshan Raj (2001) *The Ancient Settlements of the Kathmandu Valley*, Kathmandu, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.

Toffin, Gérard (2005) *From Kin to Caste: the Role of Guthis in Newar Society and Culture*, Lalitpur, Social Science Baha.

Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties (1997) *The 7th Seminar on the Conservation of Asian Cultural Heritage. The World Cultural Heritage in Asian Countries – Sustainable Development and Conservation – Conclusion, October 13-18, 1997, Kyoto – Tokyo, Japan*, Tokyo, Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties.

Touqan, Shadia (ed.) (2004) *Jerusalem: heritage and life. The old city revitalisation plan*, Ramallah, Welfare Association.

Toxey, Anne (2002) 'Matera, Italy: Identity and tradition *sans frontières*' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.152, pp. 41-61.

Tung, Anthony M. (2001) *Preserving the World's Great Cities: The Destruction and Renewal of the Historic Metropolis*, New York, Clarkson Potter publishers.

Tunney, James (2005) 'World Trade Law, Culture, Heritage and Tourism. Towards a Holistic Conceptual Approach?' in *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation*, Clevedon, Channel View Publications, pp. 103-118.

Turner, Michael (2002) 'Acre: from antiquity to modernity' in *World Heritage Review*, no.27, pp. 66-79.

Tymowski, Michal (2004) 'Djenné: city of sands' in *World Heritage Review*, no.35, pp. 24-35.

UNDP (1998) *Nepal Human Development Report 1998*, Kathmandu, Nepal South Asia Centre.

UNDP (2002) *Nepal Human Development Report 2001: Poverty Reduction and Governance*, Kathmandu, UNDP.

UNDP (2004) *Nepal Human Development Report 2004: Empowerment and Poverty Reduction*, Kathmandu, UNDP.

UNDP and UNESCO (1977) *Master Plan for the Conservation of the Cultural Heritage in the Kathmandu Valley*, Paris, UNESCO.

UNESCO (1962) *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites* [online]. Available from: <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13067&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

UNESCO (1968) *Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works* [online]. Available from: <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13085&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

UNESCO (1972a) *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

UNESCO (1972b) *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage* [online]. Available from: <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13087&URL_DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

UNESCO (1974) *Programme on Man and Biosphere (MAB) Task Force on: Criteria and Guidelines for the Choice and Establishment of Biosphere Reserves* [online]. Available from: <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000098/009834EB.pdf>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

UNESCO (1975) *The Conservation of Cities*, Paris, UNESCO.

- UNESCO (1976) *Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* [online]. Available from:
<http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13133&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- UNESCO (1977) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* [online]. Available from:
<<http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- UNESCO (1980) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* [online]. Available from:
<<http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- UNESCO (1982) *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies* [online]. Available from:
<http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/12762/11295421661mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- UNESCO (1988) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* [online]. Available from:
<<http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- UNESCO (1980) 'Nature and Culture: the Human Heritage' in *UNESCO Courier*, August 1980, pp. 4-5.
- UNESCO (1991) 'Cities under stress' in *The UNESCO Courier*, January 1991, pp. 10-40.
- UNESCO (2004) *¿Credibilidad o Veracidad? La Autenticidad: Un Valor de los Bienes Culturales*, Lima, UNESCO.
- UNESCO. Huê (n.d.) *Understanding the Heritage of Urban and Landscape Feature & Principles for Conservation and Development. UNESCO Information Meeting – Huê, 17-18 April 2000*, working paper, 59 pages.
- UNESCO; ICOMOS and His Majesty's Government of Nepal (1998) *Report on the State of Conservation & Time-Bound Action Plan of Corrective Measures for Enhanced Management, UNESCO-ICOMOS- His Majesty's Government of Nepal Joint Mission, 10 March – 14 April 1998*, unpublished document, 195 pages.
- UNESCO Kathmandu (2004) *Conserve! Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, Potencial Areas for Cooperation*, Kathmandu, UNESCO Kathmandu.

UN-HABITAT (n.d.a) *Reassessment of Urban Planning and Development Regulations in Asian Cities*, working paper, 62 pages.

UN-HABITAT (n.d.b) *Reassessment of Urban Planning and Development Regulations in African Cities*, working paper, 56 pages.

UN-HABITAT (1976) *Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements* [online]. Available from:
<http://ww2.unhabitat.org/declarations/The_Vancouver_Declaration.pdf>
[Accessed 6 January 2010].

UN-HABITAT (1996) *An Urbanizing World – Global Report on Human Settlements*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

UN-HABITAT (2001a) *Cities in a Globalizing World. Global Report on Human Settlements 2001*, London, Earthscan Publications.

UN-HABITAT (2001b) *The State of the World's Cities 2001*, Nairobi, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements.

UN-HABITAT (2004) *The State of the World's Cities 2004/2005 – Globalization and Urban Culture*, London, Earthscan.

United Nations Population Division (2006) *World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision, Executive Summary* [online]. Available from:
<<http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/wpp2006/English.pdf>>
[Accessed 25 August 2010].

Unit for Housing and Urbanization Graduate School of Design Harvard University and Agence pour la Dédensification et la Réhabilitation de la Médina de Fès (ADER-Fes) (1999) *Case Study: Fez, Morocco. Rehabilitation of the Fez Medina*, Washington, World Bank.

Vaidya, T.R.; Manandhar, Tri Ratna and Joshi, Shankar Lal (1993) *Social History of Nepal*, New Delhi, Anmol Publications.

van der Aa, Bart J.M. (2005) *Preserving the heritage of humanity? Obtaining world heritage status and the impacts of listing*, PhD thesis, University of Groningen.

van der Meerschen, Michel (1987) *Les médinas maghrébines*, Paris, UNESCO.

- van der Woude, A.D.; Hayami, Akira and de Vries, Jan (eds.) (1995) *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Varanda, Fernando (1996) 'Twenty years of change in the built environment of Yemen' in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series*, vol.95, pp. 1-44.
- Vera Cruz Ch., Pablo de la (2002) 'Arequipa' in *World Heritage Review*, no.24, pp. 36-47.
- Vermeren, Pierre (2006) '*Histoire du Maroc depuis l'indépendance*', Paris, Éditions La Découverte.
- Villiers, Marq de (2001) 'Lunenburg' in *World Heritage Review*, no.23, pp. 68-79.
- Vilnius City Council Urban Development Department (2001) *Vilnius City Official Plan: Summary of main statements. Selected translation of annex to Vilnius City Council resolution n. 292 of December 18, 1998*, Vilnius, Municipal Enterprise "Vilniaus Planas".
- Viñas, Salvador Muñoz (2005) *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*, Oxford, Elsevier.
- Vinuesa, Miguel A. T. et al. (n.d.) *Ávila: Turismo y realidad urbana*, Ávila, Fundación Cultural Santa Teresa.
- Vosahlik, Ales (2000) 'Prague: a great centre of European culture' in *World Heritage Review*, no.14, pp. 30-41.
- Watanabe, Katsuhiki; Hatano, Jun; and Kurotsu, Takayuki (1998) *The Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal: a Report on the I Baha Bahi Restoration Project*, n.p., Nippon Institute of Technology.
- Weber, Adna Ferrin (1969) *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics*, New York, Cornell University Press.
- Weise, Kai (n.d.) *Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Property in Danger: Redefining the Monument Zone Boundaries, Vol. I*, working paper, 70 pages.
- Whelpton, John (2005) *A History of Nepal*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Wilboux, Quentin (2001) *La Medina de Marrakech: Formation des Espaces Urbains d'une Ancienne Capitale du Maroc*, Paris, L'Harmattan.

Wild, R.G. and Mutebi, J. (1996) 'Conservation through community use of plant resources: Establishing collaborative management at Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks, Uganda' in *People and Plants*, Working Paper No. 5. Paris, UNESCO.

Williams, Kevin (2005) 'The Meanings and Effectiveness of World Heritage Designation in the USA' in *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation*, Clevedon, Channel View Publications, pp. 132-135.

Wirth, Eugen (1988) 'Conservation or revitalization of the old city of Damascus? Modernization of the "centre-ville" as a means of attracting back residents and businessmen' in *Eléments sur les Centres-villes dans le Monde Arabe = Materials on City Centres in the Arab World*, Research Papers in French and English no.19, pp. 179-186.

Woodford, J.S. (1988) *The City of Tunis: evolution of an urban system*, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, Middle East & North African Studies Press.

World Commission on Culture and Development (1996) *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*, Paris, UNESCO Publishing.

World Heritage Centre (n.d.) Nomination files [DVD].

World Heritage Centre (1987) *State of Conservation Report of Kathmandu Valley*, WHC-97/CONF.207/INF.2, Paris, 1 October 1997, 8 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1998) *State of conservation of properties inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger and the World Heritage List*, document WHC-98/CONF.203/08Rev. [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/2733>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Centre (1999a) *Findings of the World Heritage Centre Mission in October 1999 on the State of Conservation of Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, Nepal, Responding to Questions Raised by the World Heritage Committee in previous sessions*, WHC-99/CONF.209/INF.17B, 15 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1999b) *Mission to Angra do Heroismo (Portugal) from 28 to 31 January 1999*, working document, 9 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1999c) *Report and Recommendations of a UNESCO Mission to Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, undertaken by an Independent International ICOMOS Expert, in October 1999*, WHC-99/CONF.208/INF.8C, Paris, 22 November 1999, 18 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1999d) *Report of the Rapporteur, Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Twenty-third Extraordinary Session, Marrakesh, Morocco, 26-27 November 1999*, WHC-99/CONF.208/8, Marrakesh, 28 November 1999, 84 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1999e) *Report on the Progress made by HMG of Nepal in implementing the 55 Recommendations of the UNESCO-ICOMOS-HMG of Nepal Joint Mission and the Time-Bound Action Plan of Corrective Measures for Enhanced Management of Kathmandu Valley, Nepal*, document WHC-99/CONF.204/INF.6, 14 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1999f) *Report Submitted by HMG of Nepal on the Progress Made in the Implementing the 55 Recommendations of the 1998 Joint Mission for Enhanced Management and Conservation of Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, Nepal*, WHC-99/CONF.208/INF.8A, Paris, 20 October 1999, 5 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1999g) *Update Progress Report on the Implementation of Measures to safeguard the integrity of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site, Nepal*, WHC-99/CONF.204/INF.19, Paris, 30 June 1999, 3 pages.

World Heritage Centre (1999h) *World Heritage Committee Twenty-third session, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November – 4 December 1999, Report*, document WHC.99 /CONF.209 /22 [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/23COM/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Centre (2000a) *Conclusions of Mr. Henrik Lilius, Vice-President of the World Heritage Committee and ICOMOS Representative during the High Level Mission to Kathmandu Valley, 24-29 September 2000*, document WHC.00/CONF.204/INF.22 [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/24COM/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Centre (2000b), *Report on the High Level Mission to Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, 23-30 September 2000*, document WHC.00/CONF.203/INF.4 [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/24EXTBUR/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

- World Heritage Centre (2000c) *Updated progress report on the implementation of the 55 Recommendations for Enhanced Management of Kathmandu Valley and Time-Bound Action Plan for Corrective Measures, submitted by His Majesty's Government of Nepal on 22 November 2000*, WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.21, Cairns, 25 November 2000, 14 pages.
- World Heritage Centre (2002) *International Symposium on the Restoration and Conservation of Islamic Cairo, February 16-20, 2002, Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt*, Paris, UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
- World Heritage Centre (2003a) *Partnerships for World Heritage Cities: Culture as a Vector for Sustainable Urban Development. World Heritage 2002 shared legacy, common responsibility associated workshops, 11-12 November 2002, Urbino, Italy*, World Heritage Papers no.9, Paris, UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
- World Heritage Centre (2003b) *Periodic Reporting Exercise on the World Heritage Convention: African Region*, World Heritage Reports no.3, Paris, UNESCO.
- World Heritage Centre (2003c b) *Report of the Second High Level Mission to Kathmandu Valley World Heritage site, Nepal, 19-22 February 2003*, document WHC-03/27.COM/INF.7C, [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/27COM/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].
- World Heritage Centre (2003d) *State of Conservation of Properties Inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger and on the World Heritage List: Summary Table of UNESCO's International Safeguarding Campaigns*, WHC-03/27.COM/INF. 7E, Paris, 7 June 2003, 3 pages.
- World Heritage Centre. (2003e) *State of Conservation of Properties Inscribed on the World Heritage List*, WHC-03/27.COM/7B, Paris, 12 June 2003, 86 pages.
- World Heritage Centre (2004a) *Compilation of World Heritage Committee and Bureau Decisions taken between 1992-2003 concerning Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Property, Nepal*, unpublished document, 43 pages.
- World Heritage Centre (2004b) *Periodic Report and Regional Programme: Arab States 2000-2003*, World Heritage Reports no.11, Paris, UNESCO.
- World Heritage Centre (2004c) *Periodic Report: State of the World Heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2004*, document WHC-04/28.COM/16

[online]. Available from:

<<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/28COM/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Centre (2004d) *Summary Record of the 28th session of the World Heritage Committee (Suzhou, 2004)*, document WHC.04 /28.COM /INF.26 [online]. Available from:

<<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/28COM>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Centre (2004e) *The State of World Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region, 2003*, World Heritage Reports no.12, Paris, UNESCO.

World Heritage Centre (2005a) *Background paper prepared by the World Heritage Centre on the Occasion of the Expert Meeting on the Concept of Outstanding Universal Value*, WHC.05/29.COM/INF.9A, Paris, 27 May 2005, 30 pages.

World Heritage Centre (2005a) *Keynote speech by Ms Christina Cameron and presentations by the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies*, WHC.05/29.COM/INF.9B, Paris, 15 June 2005, 47 pages.

World Heritage Centre (2005c) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, Paris, UNESCO.

World Heritage Centre (2005d) *Technical Workshop for the Conservation of the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage property in Danger, Kathmandu, Nepal, 3-7 May 2004*, Paris, UNESCO.

World Heritage Centre (2005e) *Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape* [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/5965>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Centre (2006) *Periodic Report for Europe*, document WHC.06/30.COM/11A.1 [online]. Available from:

<<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/30COM/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Centre (2007a) *Periodic Report and Action Plan: Europe 2005-2006*, World Heritage Reports no.20, Paris, UNESCO.

World Heritage Centre (2007b) *World Heritage – Challenges for the Millennium*, Paris, UNESCO.

World Heritage Centre (2009) *World Heritage and Buffer Zones: International Expert Meeting on World Heritage and Buffer Zones, Davos, Switzerland 11 – 14 March 2008*, World Heritage Reports n. ° 25, Paris, UNESCO.

World Heritage Centre and Korean National Commission for UNESCO (2001) *International round table of mayors of World Heritage fortress cities: urban development of the morphology of World Heritage fortress cities*, Seoul, Korean National Commission for UNESCO.

World Heritage Committee (1982), *Examination of a proposal to establish a programme for monitoring the conditions of sites inscribed on the World Heritage List, document CLT-82/CH/CONF.014/2* [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/06BUR/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Committee (1992), *Evaluation report on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, document WHC.92/CONF.002/03* [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/16COM/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Committee (1993), *Monitoring of the state of conservation of World Heritage cultural and natural properties, document WHC.93/CONF.002/05* [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/17COM/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

World Heritage Committee (1994), *Monitoring of the state of conservation of World Heritage cultural and natural properties, document WHC.94/CONF.003/06* [online]. Available from: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/18COM/documents/>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Yerasimos, Stéphane (1998) 'Istanbul: heritage and the hazards of modernity' in *World Heritage Review*, no.10, pp. 4-15.

Yin, Robert K. (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods, Third Edition*, London, Sage Publications.

Yuan, Liu (2000) 'Life in a Museum: Pingyao represents the struggle between history and modernity' in *Asiaweek.com* [online journal], vol.26, no.49. Available from: <<http://www.asiaweek.com/asiaweek/features/asiacities2000/cities.pingyao.html>> [Accessed 6 January 2011].

Zanchetti, Sílvio and Milet, Vera (2006) 'Management and Conservation of the Historic Site of Olinda: 1938-2006' in *World Heritage Site Olinda in Brazil; Proposals for Intervention*, Meurs, Paul and Verhoef, Leo G.W eds., Amsterdam IOS Press.

Zanchetti, Sílvio Mendes and Jokilehto, Jukka (1997) 'Values and urban conservation planning: some reflections on principles and definitions' in *Journal of architectural conservation*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 37-51.

Zanchetti, Sílvio Mendes et al. (2002) *Gestão do Patrimônio Cultural Integrado=Gestión del Patrimonio Cultural Integrado*, Recife, CECI.

Zouain, Georges S. (2000) 'La Convention du patrimoine mondial: origines et devenirs' in *Weltkulturgüter. Warum? Wieviel? Wozu? Akten der Tagung in Bern, 11 Juni, 1999 = Quel patrimoine culturel mondial, pour qui et comment? Exposés du colloque de Berne, 11 Juin 1999*, Bern, ICOMOS Suisse.

APPENDICES