

**Global Heritage Cities:
Managing Complexity of Cultural World
Heritage Sites in Global Cities**

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ABSTRACT

This doctoral research focuses on the management of historic urban areas in global cities that are inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List, which are referred to as *global heritage cities* hereafter. In this rapidly globalising world that is market-driven, the binary approach of managing change in historic cities while promoting their sustainable development and transmission to future generations has been a daunting task. The management challenges are especially intensified for global cities because of their exacerbating effect on urban and economic development pressures which are not always sympathetic with historic urban settings. The unique urban morphologies and historic stratification of heritage sites, the limitations of their existing administrative, legislative and planning structures, inefficient policies and management tools, and the participation of a broad range of stakeholders to the decision-making processes bring to the fore complexities for the management of global heritage cities. Thus, this study aims to understand and explain the complexity of managing cultural heritage in these cities, to assess their existing management and decision-making mechanisms, and to identify effective strategies and instruments for coping with these challenges in the future.

In the contemporary era of globalisation, the traditional planning and heritage discourses fail to provide a convincing framework for values and roles attributed to historic cities by modern societies, while addressing to the interests of global actors, as well as governmental bodies, citizens and users. The theoretical contributions have thus far mostly focused on general definitions and toolkits imposing a one-size-fits-all approach intending to embrace all urban scales. The case studies, moreover, which are limited in scope, scale and geographical distribution, have clearly showed that practices vary considerably based on the size and geo-cultural background of the sites. Hence, there has been a compelling need to define a particular term and conceptual approach that position urban conservation within the overall urban management process specific for global cities. In response to this gap in literature, a new conceptual framework has been developed in this study that defines global heritage cities, and addresses their conservation and management challenges.

Relying on this conceptual framework, a multiple-case study is employed where the multi-layered historic urban landscapes designated as World Heritage Sites within the global cities of Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris are selected as case cities based on a set of criteria. Then, the broad scope of these cities is narrowed down to specific cases, which are designated as large-scale development projects that threaten the heritage attributes, integrity and authenticity of these sites, and are recognised as a concern or threat by the World Heritage Centre, thus stipulating the development of certain actions and tools by the local actors. The examination of both effective and ineffective strategies, policies and instruments employed in these three cases makes an original contribution to literature by introducing the size, scope and complexities of global cities to the heritage management discourse. In sum, the study has contributed to knowledge by developing a conceptual framework relevant to urban heritage management in key cities of the global urban network, which has been practically tested, and can be used by other researchers. The research has also contributed to knowledge through the development of methods to investigate and illustrate the complex management and decision-making mechanisms operating at such cities. Being the first study to address the management practices of global heritage cities, hence it makes an essential contribution of practical relevance that address the issues of complexity and attempts to integrate urban processes in ways that will allow management planning and public participation in creation of alternative management systems.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xv
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	xvii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Research Background.....	1
1.2 Research Aim and Objectives.....	2
1.3 Summary of Methodology.....	3
1.4 Significance and Limitations.....	3
1.5 Dissertation Outline.....	4
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
2.1 Introduction.....	5
2.2 Complexity of Global Cities.....	5
2.2.1 Formation of global cities.....	5
2.2.1.1 Emergence of global cities.....	6
2.2.1.2 Global urbanisation discourse.....	7
2.2.1.3 The global urban network.....	9
2.2.2 Governance of global cities.....	12
2.2.2.1 Urban governance.....	12
2.2.2.2 Governance of global cities.....	14
2.2.3 Complexity.....	17
2.2.3.1 Complex systems.....	17
2.2.3.2 Complexity of global cities.....	17
2.3 Management of Global Heritage Cities.....	19
2.3.1 Globalisation and World Heritage listing.....	19
2.3.1.1 Globalisation and cultural heritage.....	19
2.3.1.2 World Heritage listing and role of multinational agencies.....	21
2.3.2 Urban heritage and global heritage cities.....	25
2.3.2.1 Urban heritage.....	25
2.3.2.2 Historic Urban Landscapes.....	27
2.3.2.3 World Heritage Cities.....	30
2.3.2.4 Introducing a new concept: Global Heritage Cities.....	32
2.3.3 Management of global heritage cities.....	35

2.3.3.1 World Heritage management.....	35
2.3.3.2 Management of historic cities.....	38
2.4 Discussion: Complexity of Managing Global Heritage Cities.....	40
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	45
3.1 Philosophical Approach and Design of Research Methodology.....	45
3.2 Multiple Case Study Analysis.....	46
3.2.1 Selection of case cities.....	46
3.2.2 Multiple-case assessment.....	48
3.3 Data Collection.....	49
3.3.1 Literature review.....	50
3.3.3.1 Documents.....	51
3.3.3.2 Visual records.....	51
3.3.2 Fieldwork.....	51
3.3.3 Focused interviews.....	53
3.4 Data Analysis.....	54
3.4.1 Analytical strategy.....	54
3.4.2 Impact assessment of cases.....	56
3.4.3 Complexity mapping.....	57
3.4.4 Effectiveness assessment of actions.....	59
3.4.5 Decision-making analysis.....	60
3.5 Conclusion.....	62
CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY I - MEXICO CITY.....	65
4.1 Introduction.....	65
4.2 The Megalopolis: Mexico City as the Global City.....	65
4.2.1 Historical urban development.....	65
4.2.2 Global city formation.....	66
4.3 The World Heritage Site.....	68
4.3.1 Site description.....	68
4.3.2 Inscription and statement of Outstanding Universal Value.....	71
4.3.3 Threats and state of conservation.....	71
4.4 Management of the WHS.....	73
4.4.1 Urban governance system.....	74
4.4.2 The decision-making mechanisms and roles of stakeholders.....	75
4.4.3 Legislative and planning frameworks.....	78

4.4.4 The management tools.....	79
4.5 The Case Study: BRT Metrobus Line 4 Project.....	80
4.5.1 Case description.....	80
4.5.2 Impact assessment of the case.....	81
4.5.3 Effectiveness assessment of the action.....	84
4.5.4 Assessment of the decision-making mechanism.....	85
4.5.5 Results of the case analysis.....	88
4.6 Summary and Concluding Remarks.....	89
CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY II - ISTANBUL.....	91
5.1 Introduction.....	91
5.2 The Megapolis: Istanbul as the Global City.....	91
5.2.1 Historical urban development.....	91
5.2.2 Global city formation.....	94
5.3 The World Heritage Site.....	95
5.3.1 Site description.....	95
5.3.2 Inscription and statement of Outstanding Universal Value.....	96
5.3.3 Threats and state of conservation.....	98
5.4 Management of the WHS.....	99
5.4.1 Urban governance system.....	99
5.4.2 The decision-making mechanisms and roles of stakeholders.....	100
5.4.3 Legislative and planning frameworks.....	103
5.4.4 The management tools.....	106
5.5 The Case Study: The Golden Horn Bridge Project.....	106
5.5.1 Case description.....	106
5.5.2 Impact assessment of the case.....	107
5.5.3 Effectiveness assessment of the actions.....	108
5.5.4 Assessment of the decision-making mechanism.....	111
5.5.5 Results of the case analysis.....	114
5.6 Summary and Concluding Remarks.....	115
CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDY III - PARIS.....	117
6.1 Introduction.....	117
6.2 The Metropolis: Paris as the Global City.....	117
6.2.1 Historical urban development.....	117
6.2.2 Global city formation.....	119

6.3	The World Heritage Site.....	121
6.3.1	Site description.....	121
6.3.2	Inscription and statement of Outstanding Universal Value.....	122
6.3.3	Threats and state of conservation.....	123
6.4	Management of the WHS.....	124
6.4.1	Urban governance system.....	124
6.4.2	The decision-making mechanisms and roles of stakeholders.....	126
6.4.3	Legislative and planning frameworks.....	129
6.4.4	The management tools.....	131
6.5	The Case Study: The Berges de Seine Project.....	131
6.5.1	Case description.....	132
6.5.2	Impact assessment of the case.....	134
6.5.3	Effectiveness assessment of the actions.....	135
6.5.4	Assessment of the decision-making mechanism.....	138
6.5.5	Results of the case analysis.....	140
6.6	Summary and Concluding Remarks.....	142
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS.....		143
7.1	Introduction.....	143
7.2	Key Research Findings.....	143
7.2.1	New conceptual framework for global heritage cities.....	143
7.2.2	Management complexities.....	145
7.2.2.1	Urban and economic development pressures.....	146
7.2.2.2	Multi-layered historic stratification.....	148
7.2.2.3	Unique urban administrative status.....	149
7.2.2.4	Plurality of stakeholders and complex decision-making mechanisms.....	150
7.2.2.5	Limitations of existing legislative and planning frameworks.....	152
7.2.3	Effective management tools and policies.....	152
7.2.3.1	Management planning.....	153
7.2.3.2	Establishment of site management units.....	154
7.2.3.3	Public-private partnerships.....	155
7.2.3.4	Community engagement and citizen participation.....	156
7.2.3.5	Heritage impact assessments.....	157
7.3	Conclusion.....	157

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	161
8.1 Introduction.....	161
8.2 Revisiting the Research Aim and Objectives.....	161
8.2.1 Development of a conceptual framework.....	161
8.2.2 Design of a research methodology.....	161
8.2.3 Multiple case study assessment.....	162
8.3 Summary of Findings.....	162
8.4 Contribution to Knowledge.....	163
8.4.1 Contributions of theoretical relevance.....	163
8.4.2 Contributions of methodological relevance.....	164
8.4.3 Contributions of practical relevance.....	165
8.5 Reflections on Research Design and Conduct.....	166
8.6 Recommendations for Further Work.....	167
8.7 Final Comments.....	168
APPENDICES.....	169
APPENDIX I: Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form.....	171
APPENDIX II: Sample Interview Guide.....	175
APPENDIX III: Anonymous Sample of a Transcribed Interview	177
APPENDIX IV: Preliminary Progress Analysis for Case Projects.....	181
APPENDIX V: Conference Paper based on the Research.....	185
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	193

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1: Map of global cities and their connectivity developed by the GaWC team, 2010 (http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc).....	11
Fig. 2: Map of World Heritage Cities including historic urban areas and centres inscribed on the WHL.....	31
Fig. 3: Map of Global Heritage Cities.....	33
Fig. 4: Spatial comparison of WH properties in cities of Safranbolu and Istanbul, and their territorial range within the urban agglomerations in scale.....	39
Fig. 5: Decision-making mapping of Safranbolu WHS.....	40
Fig. 6: Decision-making mapping of Istanbul WHS.....	40
Fig. 7: Preliminary mapping of management complexity for global heritage cities.....	41
Fig. 8: Complexity mapping for global heritage cities based on the multiple case study analysis.....	41
Fig. 9: The iterative data collection and analysis processes.....	46
Fig. 10: The Global Heritage Cities selected as case cities.....	48
Fig. 11: The case projects selected within each case city.....	59
Fig. 12: The management complexity map for the global heritage city of Istanbul.....	58
Fig. 13: The overall complexity mapping for global heritage cities.....	59
Fig. 14: The progress analysis map for the global heritage city of Istanbul.....	59
Fig. 15: The decision-making analysis for the global heritage city of Istanbul.....	61
Fig. 16: The island city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco around 1519 by Luis Covarrubias, National Museum of Anthropology's Mexico Gallery, Mexico City (Source: mexicomaxico.org).....	66
Fig. 17: General view of the colonial Mexico City in 1628 by Juan Gómez de Trasmonte, Mexico City Museum, Mexico City (Source: mexicomaxico.org).....	66
Fig. 18: Carlos Tejeda, <i>La ciudad de Mexico alla por 1970, 1947</i> . Foto: Pedro Cuevas, 1992. (Source: Archivo Fotográfico IIE-UNAM).....	67
Fig. 19: Protection zones A and B depicted in the map of Historic Centre (Source: Comprehensive Management Plan of Historic Centre of Mexico City, 2011-2016).....	68
Fig. 20: The <i>Zócalo</i> square enclosed by Templo Mayor and the colonial architecture.....	69
Fig. 21a, b: Informal economic activities in the Historic Centre.....	70
Fig. 22: The decision-making structure of the Historic Centre of Mexico City.....	76
Fig. 23a: The route of Metrobus Line 4 running along the Historic Centre (Source: Metrobus Reforma).....	81
Fig. 23b: The Metrobus stop at the heart of the city (Source: Ilustracion).....	81
Fig. 24: The progress mapping of the activities.....	83
Fig. 25a: Interaction of stakeholders.....	86
Fig. 25b: Participation levels of main stakeholders.....	86
Fig. 26: The complexity mapping of the case.....	87
Fig. 27: The analysis of the decision-making structure.....	86
Fig. 28: Historical development stages of Istanbul (Enlil and Kaptan, 2011: 26).....	92
Fig. 29a, b: The Historic Peninsula.....	95
Fig. 30a: Timber houses in Zeyrek (Author: Junaid Sorosh-Wali).....	96

Fig. 30b: The Pontacrator Church (Author: M & G Therin Weise).....	96
Fig. 31: Map showing the inscribed property, the management area and the buffer zones, 2009 (Source: ISMD)	97
Fig. 32: The decision-making mechanism of Istanbul WHS.....	101
Fig. 33: The almost completed Golden Horn Bridge, on the left (Source: Enzo Siviero & Partners).....	106
Fig. 34: The progress mapping of the activities.....	109
Fig. 35a: Interaction of stakeholders.....	112
Fig. 35b: Participation levels of main stakeholders.....	112
Fig. 36a: The complexity mapping of the case.....	113
Fig. 36b: The main issues regarding the case study, simplified version of the complexity mapping.....	114
Fig. 37: The analysis of the decision-making structure.....	112
Fig. 38: The historic urban morphology of Paris (Source: Collection Terre des Villes).....	118
Fig. 39a, b: The development of river banks between sixteenth to nineteenth centuries (Source:Collection Terre des Villes).....	121
Fig. 40: Delimitation of the World Heritage Site (Source: UNESCO WHC, 2011).....	123
Fig. 41a, b: Heavy car traffic on the banks.....	124
Fig. 42: The decision-making mechanism of the Paris, Banks of the Seine WHS.....	127
Fig. 43: The Berges de Seine Project objectives (Source: APUR, 2011).....	133
Fig. 44a: Pedestrianisation objectives (Source: Luxigon).....	133
Fig. 44b: The pedestrianised left embankment (Francois Guillot/AFP).....	133
Fig.45: The progress mapping of the activities.....	136
Fig. 46a: Interaction of stakeholders.....	138
Fig. 46b: Participation levels of main stakeholders.....	138
Fig. 47: The complexity mapping of the case.....	139
Fig. 48: The analysis of the decision-making structure.....	138
Fig. 49: Comparative complexity mapping of the case studies.....	145
Fig. 50: Comparison of decision-making mechanisms for the case cities.....	151
Fig. 51: The preliminary chart depicting management complexities for global heritage cities.....	158
Fig. 52: Comparative complexity mapping of the case studies.....	158

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: List of Alpha and Beta level global cities, 2012. (Adapted from: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc).....	11,12
Table 2: World Heritage Cities by region in the years 1994 and 2016.....	31
Table 3: Classification of Global Heritage Cities.....	33, 34
Table 4: Sources of data collected fro case study analysis.....	50
Table 5: Processes of data analysis.....	55,56
Table 6: Management complexities specific for global heritage cities.....	146
Table 7: Effective management tools and strategies employed in each global heritage city.....	153

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AB.....	Advisory Bodies
APUR.....	Parisian Planning Office
AUC.....	Historic Centre Authority of Mexico City
BRT.....	Bus Rapid Transit
CCS.....	City conservation strategy
CDS.....	City development strategy
CoE.....	Council of Europe
CONACULTA.....	National Council for Culture and Arts
CONALMEX.....	Mexican National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO
CONAPO.....	National Population Council
EIA.....	Environmental Impact Assessment
FCH.....	Historic Centre Trust of Mexico City
FD.....	Federal District
GaWC.....	Globalisation and World Cities Group
HIA.....	Heritage Impact Assessment
HUL.....	Historic Urban Landscape
ICCROM.....	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS.....	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IGO.....	Inter-governmental Organisation
IMM.....	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality
INAH.....	National Institute of Anthropology and History
INBA.....	National Institute of Fine Arts
ISMD.....	Istanbul Site Management Directorate
IUCN.....	International Union for Conservation of Nature
NGO.....	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD.....	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OG.....	Operational Guidelines
OUV.....	Outstanding Universal Value
OWHC.....	Organisation of World Heritage Cities
PPP.....	Public-Private Partnership
SEDUVI.....	Ministry of Urban Development and Housing
SEP.....	Ministry of Public Education
SETRAVI.....	Ministry of Public Transport and Highway Administration
SOC.....	State of Conservation
SoOUV.....	Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
SP.....	State Party

UN DESA.....	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UN-HABITAT.....	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNAM.....	National Autonomous University of Mexico
UNESCO.....	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WH.....	World Heritage
WHC.....	World Heritage Centre
WHCom.....	World Heritage Committee
WHL.....	World Heritage List
WHS.....	World Heritage Site

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

The crisis in the world economy in the 1970s resulted in fundamental economic, political, social and cultural changes occurring at global level (Harvey, 2005). This contemporary globalisation period has entailed the emergence of a new types of urban agglomeration, referred to as *global cities*, which are characterised as central basing points for the worldwide activities of transnational corporations, and major focal points for command and control within international commodity networks (Sassen, 2001). Having important ramifications for the cultural heritage discourse, global cities have precipitated a current rise in urbanisation and development tendencies which tend to threaten the historic built environments. Incompatible urban interventions, unsustainable tourism and environmental degradation have all brought new challenges to the conservation of urban heritage. Paradoxically, these leading cities compete to stand out through the promotion of their cultural assets, thus illuminating the essential role heritage plays in fostering economic benefits.

Under these circumstances, cultural heritage is brought forward as a driver for sustainable development. Heritage sites – particularly those located in cities within global urban networks- play multiple roles (Labadi and Long, 2010): They create certain images for place branding of the cities, they compete for intense tourist flows and business investments to generate revenues, they validate a sense of community and a local/national identity, and they promote the adoption of policies to mitigate the impact of climate change and development. Nevertheless, the development of sustainable solutions for the preservation of heritage sites and their transmission to future generations in global cities remains a palpable challenge. Complexities emerging from ineffective administrative, planning and legislative structures, the operation of complex decision-making mechanisms for heritage sites, and the implementation of rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation models create an adverse impact on the integrity and authenticity of urban heritage sites. Despite the tensions potentially arising from issues of socio-economic restructuring and environmental degradation, however, the safeguarding of cultural heritage currently emerges both as an opportunity and a challenge for the sustainable development of cities.

Confronted with these 21st century globalisation trends, multilateral agencies and conservation bodies, such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, have played a vital role in defining and creating a global perspective of cultural heritage. The adoption of the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972) promoted the inscription of historic urban sites with Outstanding Universal Values (OUV) on the World Heritage List (WHL), introducing an international level to their designation, monitoring and protection. Although their inscription assures a shared responsibility for their safeguarding, the elected World Heritage Committee (WHCom) carries the sole role of monitoring and standard-setting for these heritage sites. Thus, it is primarily the duty of national and local authorities to take appropriate measures for their integrated conservation and effective management. This brings to the fore a prominent practical challenge encountered by national and local bodies; the need to adhere to the international conservation principles imposed by international charters and guidelines, while still ensuring development and economic stability. Accordingly, an increasing number of concerns are raised by the WH Centre (WHC) in regards to the management deficiencies and aggressive development threats causing impacts on WHS in urban areas. In response to these expressions of concern multilateral agencies have been encouraged to take action to cope with these challenges.

Despite these significant efforts to address all management challenges emerging in historic cities, there is still a gap between the theory and practice of urban heritage management. The theoretical contributions have thus far

mostly focused on general definitions and toolkits imposing a one-size-fits-all approach intending to embrace all urban scales (Orbasli, 2000; Leask and Fyall, 2006; Rodwell, 2008; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2015). Aiming to encompass all historic urban areas in a holistic perspective for instance, the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) Recommendation adopted by UNESCO in 2011 functions as a general instrument for adapting this landscape approach to specific local and national contexts. Still in the adaptation process, its potential has been tested in a limited number of candidate cities of various sizes under the supervision of professional experts (Van Oers and Pereira Roders, 2013; Van Oers and Haraguchi, 2013; Bennink *et al.*, 2013; Bruin *et al.*, 2013; De Rosa and Di Palma, 2013; Xu, 2014; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2015; Buckley *et al.*, 2016, Siguencia Avila and Rey Perez, 2016). The case studies, moreover, which are limited in scope, scale and geographical distribution, have clearly showed that practices vary considerably based on the size and geo-cultural background of the sites.

As indicated by Van Oers, the management of historic cities, with special attention to their sustainable development, is “one of the most daunting tasks” of this urban century (2007: 44). The management challenges are especially intensified for global cities because of their exacerbating effect on urban and economic development pressures which are not always sympathetic with historic urban settings. At a time in which cultural heritage has become a driver for urban sustainability, there is void in literature that specifically addresses the conservation and management challenges of historic urban sites located within the key cities of the contemporary global urban network, referred to as *global heritage cities* hereafter, which also identifies innovative approaches and documents best practices. Hence, there has been a compelling need to define a particular term and conceptual approach that position urban conservation within the overall urban management process specific for global cities.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

In this regard, this study questions the challenges that arise from the management of cultural World Heritage Sites (WHS) in global cities, and also how and to what extent they are effectively managed. Thus, it aims to understand and explain the complexity of managing cultural heritage in these cities, to assess their existing management and decision-making mechanisms, and to identify effective strategies and instruments for coping with these challenges in the future.

This aim is achieved through the development of a conceptual framework and employment of a multiple-case study analysis to respond to the following objectives:

1. To conceptualise the global heritage city within a framework that integrates the global urbanisation discourse to the field of urban heritage management;
2. To identify research methodologies that analyse the complex nature of heritage cities and their decision-making systems;
3. To identify and map the factors contributing to the management complexities of global heritage cities;
4. To identify the key decision-makers and their involvement with the sites, and to assess their participation levels to the existing decision-making mechanisms;
5. To evaluate the effectiveness of their management policies and instruments adopted, and to identify the best practices.

1.3 Summary of Methodology

To accomplish this purpose, the methodology adopted in the study has been principally qualitative, following an iterative process where the data collection, analysis and the consequent theory building phases occurred in a systematic and sequential manner. A multiple-case study approach is employed as the main research strategy in accordance with its compatibility to holistically encompass the wide range of factors and actors examined in the research.

In this regard, the historic urban landscapes inscribed on the World Heritage List in the global cities of Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris are selected as the case cities based on a set of criteria which includes their multi-layered historical urban morphologies, their population sizes (over 10 million), their designation as global cities, and the existence of some sort of effective management mechanisms approved by the WHCom. In each selected case city, the broad scope of the WHS was narrowed down to the evaluation of specific large-scale development projects that threaten the heritage attributes, integrity and authenticity of these sites. These cases are recognised as concerns or threats by the WHC, and thus stipulated the development of certain actions and tools by the national and local actors that could be used to interrogate the effectiveness of the management mechanisms that were in place.

For the collection of qualitative data, initially, a critical literature review was carried out for the purpose of building a conceptual framework. At this stage, data was gathered from official documents, reports, publications and mass-media outputs. Then three separate field studies were conducted in each heritage city to collect further evidence from documents and semi-structured interviews. Following the fieldwork, a specific qualitative data analysis methodology was designed and employed for this study, which applied cognitive mapping techniques drawn from the field of managerial and organisational cognition to the heritage management research. This four-stepped methodology included the conduct of impact assessments for the cases, the examination of the main issues of concern and the mapping of the management complexity for each heritage city, the modelling of progress analysis for the cases projects which demonstrates the interactions between various parties spanned over time, the mapping of the decision-making mechanisms and assessment of the participation rates of main decision makers through the conduct of social network analysis, and the assessment of the effectiveness of their strategies and actions. In sum, the analysis of these cases led to the identification of complexities and the evaluation of tools adopted to cope with the management challenges. By deploying methodologies drawn from cognitive mapping and social network analysis, this methodology designed for the assessment of global heritage cities has also provided a better understanding of all the parameters constituting the complex decision-making protocols.

1.4 Significance and Limitations

This research makes an original contribution to literature by introducing the size, scope and complexities of global cities to the heritage conservation and management discourse. It develops a conceptual framework that enables the characterisation and classification of World Heritage Sites located in the key cities of the worldwide economy and their complex decision making structures, which has been practically tested, and can be used by other researchers. The research has also contributed to knowledge through the development of methods to investigate and illustrate the complex management systems operating at such cities. Being the first study to address the management practices of global heritage cities, it enriches the limited number of practices examined in the literature concerning urban heritage management.

Keeping in mind that this research examines three case studies, its scope is limited to the challenges, actors and systems operating in these cities. The practical implications of this research are open to elaboration and further

analysis, though when complemented with the assessment of other cases in global cities. This may also lead to the development of specific management guidelines in further studies, which may provide a road map for local and national governments that guide the better integrated and inclusive management of global heritage cities.

1.5 Dissertation Outline

The dissertation is structured in accordance with the methodological design, which follows the coinciding sequence of research phases involving data collection, analysis and concept building. It starts with the inclusive literature review that considers contemporary global urbanisation and urban heritage management discourses separately, eventually leading to the definition of global heritage cities, and the construction of a conceptual framework emanating from this new notion. The third chapter is concerned with the methodological approach, and it is followed up with the assessment of each case comprehensively in individual chapters. It concludes with the presentation of the multiple-case study results and the concluding remarks.

To be more descriptive, the introductory chapter explains briefly the nature of the subject, outlines the research aim and objectives, summarises the design of methodology, and highlights the significance and limitations of this study. The literature review which follows is composed of three sub-chapters including the definition of global cities and explanation of their attributes on cultural heritage, a critical evaluation of existing theoretical and practical research in this area, identification of the gap in literature and introduction of the novel scope of global heritage cities, which are followed up with a discussion of management complexities. The initial conceptual framework deduced from the critical review of the existing literature is later elaborated to portray the actual complex nature of decision-making for global heritage cities based on the results derived from the case analyses.

The subsequent methodology chapter initially provides a comprehensive description of the philosophical approach behind the research inquiry, the design of the multiple-case study, and the selection of cases. It then explains in detail the sources and techniques employed to gather and analyse data. The case studies are then examined in the following chapters, appearing in sequence based on the sizes of mega-cities where the WHS are located. First of all, the impacts of designation as a global city on the attributes of each multi-layered historic site are evaluated, and the rest of the sub-chapters are then concentrated on the assessment of case projects further analysed in every city. These cases are the Metrobus Line 4 urban infrastructure project implemented in the Historic Centre of Mexico City, the Golden Horn Bridge urban transportation project in the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul, and the Berges de Seine urban development project executed on the Banks of the Seine River in Paris.

The subsequent discussion chapter discusses the findings drawn from the newly formulated conceptual framework and the empirical study, examines their wider implications and integrates them to the context of the existing knowledge. It covers the new conceptual framework defining the global heritage cities, the management complexities specific for such cities, and the strategies and tools emerging from the cases that are successful at coping with the management challenges. The concluding chapter then revisits the research aim and objectives, and explains the original contributions of theoretical, methodological and practical relevance that this research makes to knowledge. Later it goes over the methodology conducted, reflects on the research process, and explains the limitations of the study. It is followed by the examination of areas for further research and practice, and is concluded with final remarks.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

For the purpose of integrating the global urbanisation discourse into the cultural heritage framework, this comprehensive literature review chapter initially examines the subject areas of global cities and of World Heritage and urban heritage management individually. The first section dedicated to the complexity of global cities begins with a discussion on the formation of global cities, and analyses the existing research to decide on the most appropriate term to signify the key cities of the worldwide economy. It then explains the urban governance structures operating worldwide, with special attention to the existing mechanisms employed in global cities. This is followed by a concise definition of complexity theory, before the first section terminates with reflections on the association of the complexity approach with global urbanisation discourse.

The second section focusing on the management of global heritage cities initially discusses the ramifications of globalisation on cultural heritage and the impacts of inscription on the World Heritage List on the safeguarding and sustainable development of heritage sites in urban settlements. Following an evaluation of the existing main concepts and instruments, it brings to the fore the new notion of *global heritage cities* to designate the World Heritage Sites located in global cities, and to identify the complex amalgamation of qualities, issues, tools and actors specific to these urban sites. Then it continues with the examination of strategies and policies adopted over the years for the management of World Heritage Sites, with a special focus on historic cities.

Thus, this chapter critically evaluates the key definitions, approaches and arguments emerging in both fields. Following the identification of the gap existing between these discourses, the new classification for global heritage cities is introduced and a preliminary conceptual framework is constructed to analyse their management complexity.

2.2 Complexity of Global Cities

The twenty first century is characterised by cities, which entail major economic, demographic and socio-cultural trends of change worldwide. Globally, more people now reside in urban areas, with 54 per cent of the world's population living in cities as of 2014 (UN DESA, 2014). According to the *World Urbanisation Prospects* of UN DESA (2014), this proportion is projected to rise to 66 per cent with an addition of 2.5 billion people to urban populations by 2050. These projections for rapid acceleration of urbanisation processes position cities as the focal point of present-day issues related to globalisation.

Regarding these urbanisation trends, it is essential to identify the roles and motives of key cities operating as central focal points for worldwide activities within the global urban network. This will lead to a better understanding of why urban policies and decision-making systems are increasingly significant as a global, national and local task for the sustainable development of cities where all the citizens enjoy socio-economic and cultural progress, and how cultural heritage plays a significant role in this as a driver for sustainability. This will also emphasise what kind of impact the characteristics in regards to scale, size and complexities inherent in global cities have on the safeguarding and management of historic urban areas of universal significance within.

2.2.1 Formation of global cities

The global urbanisation discourse has been a fashionable area of academic dispute for the past few decades, bringing forth new terminologies and classifications derived from a wide variety of empirical data (Friedmann

and Wolff, 1982; Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1991, 2001; Taylor, 2004; Brenner and Keil, 2006). Briefly explaining these trends, this section draws on recent literature to examine the global city formation and the emergence of the global urban network, and concludes with an evaluation of current issues raised in relation to the contemporary urbanisation studies.

2.2.1.1 Emergence of global cities

The downturn in the world economy in the 1970s resulted in fundamental economic, political, social and cultural restructuring occurring at global level. This globalisation period entailed a grand leap of advancement in transportation and information technologies, permitting rapid flows of capital globally, expanding the cross-border integration of production chains for services and goods, and broadening the socio-economic interconnectivity across borders (Marcuse, 2002). It is, hence, marked with the transition from national economies based on production to the global integration of dispersed economic and service activities under key cities that function as global centres of regulation, monitoring and control.

These globalisation processes also led to an economic restructuring within the framework of international division of labour where multinational corporations were identified as new primary actors (Fainstein and Campbell, 2002). The rapid spread of these international corporations and the broad reach of new telecommunication and information technologies made feasible by changing global conditions shifted the organisation and management of global production units, while creating the urgent need for central coordination and servicing mechanisms. This demand negated the mainstream vision of globalisation which asserted that intensified mobility of capital and information technologies would undermine the significance of locality. While these advancements did facilitate the dispersal of economic activities, they also enhanced the spatial concentration of central regulation and control functions for markets and firms (Sassen, 1991). In parallel to the growth in service intensity and worldwide spread of economic activities, this led to the centralisation of command and control capacities within major urban centres of the world economy. Cities have thus become prominent strategic sites that the organisational commodities fundamental to the management and coordination of global economic systems are dependant upon.

In sum, this contemporary globalisation period has entailed the emergence of a new type of city, *the global city*, which has become the central basing point for the worldwide activities of transnational corporations and the focal point for management and control within international commodity networks in the late 20th and early 21st centuries (Sassen, 2001). Global cities provide a wide variety of place-bound socio-economic assets and capacities that offer knowledge and technology-rich environments specific for the production of specialised services such as accountancy, consultancy, and international law. These are essential for the production of capital mobility and the service of global operations of the world economy, which give way to the emergence of a transnational urban system that crosses national borders and boundaries (Brenner and Keil, 2006). Materialised in a worldwide grid of urban financial centres, a global urban network is hence consolidated as a new economic geography of centrality connecting global cities worldwide.

In parallel to their universal functions within the world economy, global cities share a number of common characteristics (Short, 2006): Economically, an agglomeration of management, regulation and monitoring functions, advanced services and innovations, along with creative and cultural industries is inherent in these cities. Socially, global cities embrace multi-ethnicism and polyculturalism presented in a wide array of social classes, ethnicities and cultural diversities. Politically, they perform as the major centres of economic and political power. By means of interconnectivity, they provide key nodes for the flows of goods, technologies, people and cultures worldwide. Despite these common traits though, global cities are also extremely diverse, based upon the qualities, tendencies and strategies associated with the distinct patterns of formation in each case.

The developmental trajectory of each global city is premised on its political-economic system, regulatory frameworks, spatially specific institutional arrangements, as well as its distinctive historical legacy and geography. Their economic, social, cultural and spatial trends of development are, in fact, clear manifestations of these attributes.

The growth and significance of central corporate functions in the globalisation of economic activities has triggered the development of multi-national headquarter functions and the acceleration of service intensity in the organisation of the world economy. This in turn has fed the augmentation of services for internationally oriented firms in all sectors, which have been subject to agglomeration economies (Sassen, 2001). Linked to the concentration of economic command functions, global cities have thus become the major nodes of international market trading, business support services, places of innovation, a conglomerate of highly skilled labour, and a centrality of business organisation that permits information to be easily generated and disseminated. The high rise towers accommodating specialised service firms and high-level human capacities have induced acceleration in the level of spatial and socio-economic inequality existing in these cities.

In this regard, processes of economic globalisation are materialised in the interaction of two dimensions of the built environment and contemporary urban life evident in global cities (Derudder and Witlox, 2008). The first dimension is expressed in the verticality of central business districts where the global financial industries and functions are densely centralised in high-rise office towers, and also in luxury housing development projects extended to the former working class neighbourhoods and historic quarters. In order to meet the intensified international competition for foreign investments and globally oriented economic growth, regeneration and development of the built environment have become a priority of local and regional municipalities. New urban infrastructures are thus established to enhance global connectivity. Large-scale property developments and mega projects are constructed, and constellations of urban spectacles, including global mega-events such as the Olympic Games and international music and art festivals are organised, and flagship buildings by signature architects are commissioned to promote and market the city.

The other dimension lies within “the horizontality of the sprawling urban region”, which accommodates urban spaces in which social and cultural diversities are produced, contested and recreated within global cities (Brenner and Keil, 2006: 4). The wide-ranging urban transformations have resulted in uneven development, regionalisation and territorial inequality within the built environment. While metropolitan business centres and downtowns have received large investments in real estate and telecommunications, the consequences for low-income groups and disadvantaged populations have been gentrification and residential displacement in the wake of rising housing prices and rents, along with pollution and congestion. The political implications of this socio-spatial polarity have been the formation of an arena of contestation in terms of new claims on cities. It has been generated between the foreign firms and their highly skilled labour force making immense claims on the city as new users, and the social actors competing for recognition and entitlement. This has occasionally resulted in the proliferation of urban struggles and mobilisations over issues of land use, urban design and public space.

2.2.1.2 Global urbanisation discourse

The genesis of the global city discourse resides in the examination of how global socioeconomic trends and dynamics impact regional and local social spaces. The initial argument had been to approach global city formation as an age-old phenomenon, which claimed that certain cities have functioned as key nodal points of large-scale economic structures both prior to and throughout the capitalist industrialisation era (Timberlake, 1985). Initially coined by Geddes (1915) and followed by Hall (1966), these early world city theories conceived cities as centres of political power, finance and commerce. Hall (1966: 240) defined world cities as “a few major information centres where the economic life of the world will be concentrated”. His definition embraced their

multiple roles and functions as loci of international politics, trade, finance and service, information and consumption. His treatment of world cities was demarcated by national territories though, which serve to channel global forces towards national interests.

The post-1970s approaches, on the other hand, criticised these state-centric nationalised assumptions and drew upon the seminal contributions of radical urban theorists such as Lefebvre (1968), Castells (1972) and Harvey (1982) in order to decipher the turbulent processes of urban restructuring. These Neo-Marxist urbanists focused on the capitalist character of contemporary urban processes, and associated the spatial materialisations of social processes with the capitalist way of production. Harvey (1985), for instance, identified various types of urban development resulting from the contradictions arising in the processes of capital accumulation, which yields to a displaced class struggle. This conception of capitalist urbanisation manifested in processes of uneven spatial development contributed to the positioning of global cities within a macro-geographical context that crosses the boundaries of state territoriality at global, national and local scales. Building upon these analytical foundations, global urban theorists developed a wide array of concepts, strategies and methods to analyse contemporary urban formations under conditions of globalisation.

Some urban researchers demarcated their focal point with reference to cities as settlement types characterised by certain indicators, such as numerical population thresholds (Davis, 2004). Instead of focusing on the socioeconomic, functional or morphological trends, the term *megacity* has been developed to define large-scale urban agglomerations with populations above a given threshold. Depending on the rapid growth of the population sizes in cities, currently the threshold is set as 10 million (Taylor, 2010). According to the World Urbanization Prospects of the UN Population Division, while in 1950 only New York and Tokyo could be categorised as megacities, today 26 cities are defined as ‘mega’ with population sizes over 10 million¹ (UN-Habitat, 2012). The wide geographical spread of these cities in the past two decades has clearly reflected the rapid rise and expansion of urbanisation in developing countries. Jenks and Burgess (2000) indicate that even though the populations of megacities in developing countries might be equivalent or larger than some in developed countries, they span over highly concentrated urban areas. Marcuse (2008) associates this to the position of developing megacities in the globalised world under the threads of uneven development, colonisation, global competition and division of labour. This population-centric concept of the city has been highly criticised though for not adequately embracing the complex scale, attributes and diversity of agglomeration processes that connect urban regions to the global system of economic relations, and thus misleading the basis of understanding the contemporary global urban network (Brenner and Keil, 2006).

In this regard, the global urbanisation discourse has mainly been employed extensively to study the interplay between globalisation and urban restructuring under contemporary conditions. The early theorists of global urban formation analysed the shift towards a city-centred configuration of global capitalism in regards to the crisis of the Fordist-Keynesian economic system and the emergence of a new international division of labour dominated by transnational corporations. Following the initial use of the term *world city* by Hall (1966), two interrelated publications by Friedmann and Wolff (1982) and Friedmann (1986) focused on the positioning of transnational headquarters as the main indicator for the designation of world cities within the global urban hierarchy. World cities are thus described as urban locales that are integrated into the global system as control centres with a concentration of producer services. He also provided a global vision that transcends state boundaries and re-interprets inter-city relations.

¹ As of 2011, the following cities are designated as mega-cities based on the population sizes of their urban agglomerations, respectively: Tokyo, Guangzhou, Seoul, Delhi, Mumbai, Mexico City, New York, Sao Paulo, Manila, Shanghai, Jakarta, Los Angeles, Osaka, Karachi, Kolkata, Cairo, Buenos Aires, Moscow, Dhaka, Beijing, Tehran, Istanbul, London, Rio de Janeiro, Lagos, Paris (Taylor, 2011).

Eclipsing Friedmann's (1986) world city hypothesis, two axioms have sustained the contemporary global urbanisation discourse. The initial axiom argues that the global distribution of worldwide economic activity requires key command and control centres for strategic producer and financial services, which is best illustrated in the global city thesis of Sassen (1991). She pointed out the emergence of producer service complexes that commit to major leading cities functioning as key nodes for finance, global servicing and management (Sassen, 1994). Thus, producer service firms are considered as the key agents of global cities which depend on intense business activity rather than national economy, and attention was shifted from transnational headquarters to the advanced servicing of worldwide production. She indicated that the increasing geographical dispersal of production centred on leading cities under contemporary globalism created worldwide networks covering major cities and led to the formation of cross-border urban systems (Sassen, 2001). These cities provide transnational corporations with essential services – such as law, accounting, finance, advertising and consulting – that empower them to manage and control the global producer and financial networks. Thus, the economic foundation and driver for global cities are defined as the producer and financial services complexes under contemporary globalisation circumstances.

The second axiom is best demonstrated by the world city network thesis of Taylor (2004), which focuses on the exercise of command and control by actors in these global cities based on their capacity to network. While both axioms depend on different empirical support - Sassen relies on independent inter-firm data, whereas Taylor bases his research on interdependent intra-firm data - they both generate an understanding of cities and economies as socio-technical assemblages. Alternatively, a post-structuralist approach has also been developed that highlights the capacity of global cities to dominate globalisation and to assume functions of service, management, command and control of transnational nexuses (Smith, 2011). Contrary to the neo-Marxist conceptualisation of the city as a product of global finance, this approach acknowledges the power of global cities to dominate the world economy.

It is evident that each approach varies based on its own substantive rationality of starting point, prime function, key agents, territorial basis, and/or the general structure of the transnational network as a whole along with links between cities. Within this broad scope of the global urbanisation discourse, the global city concept of Sassen is more attuned to research that relates to the contemporary strategic components of the world economy under globalisation than to the world city concept that conveys historical references. Sassen's global city concept is distinguished from the earlier cohort of Neo-Marxist writings and world city theories by her emphasis on centralisation of key command and control capacities in global cities, which are associated with the global dispersion of production. Her theory emphasises the network economy based on finance and specialised services through the recognition of cities as focal points of the global urban network. It also addresses issues in relation to urban socio-spatial formation, urban governance restructuring, and socio-spatial inequality leading to contestation, which are essential for this study with its focus on the complex nature of global cities.

2.2.1.3 The global urban network

As economic globalisation and technological advancements gather pace, global cities worldwide are networked in highly complex systems of global interaction and interdependence. Thus the quantity of cities operating within these cross-border networks, whose intensity, complexity and global span also vary, accelerates with increasing speed. For a better analysis of these complex systems of global urban connectivity, it is essential to understand the trajectories of empirical research that relies on a wide variety of data sources. Sassen (2001) focuses on the geography of centrality, and grounds the formation of global urban systems upon the myriad connections between producer service firms located in global cities worldwide. Taylor (2004) additionally draws on multi-layered accumulations of various functional networks, such as those stimulated by developments in communications technology, to link cities across the world.

One of the pioneering works to describe the inter-city relations has been the hierarchical thesis. Friedmann and Wolff (1982) consolidated a world urban hierarchy of influence and control where world cities are positioned at the apex connected to each other through control, management and finance. They also proposed seven theses to describe the integration of urbanisation processes to global economic forces, including functional, hierarchical and global-local factors. They also manifested a diagram of the world city hierarchy dominated by an archipelago of upper-tier global cities including Tokyo, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, London and Paris surrounded by a network of secondary cities. This attempt is noteworthy for providing an innovative global vision of cross-border connections between world cities. Camagni (1993) also developed a “hierarchy of city-networks” composed of three layers of urban networks where global cities are positioned firmly at the top, national cities in the middle and regional cities at the bottom. Wallerstein (1974), on the other hand, proposed a characterisation based upon a zonal implementation of core-semi periphery-periphery models. These hierarchy configurations presenting a territorialist framework with clear geographical boundaries have been harshly criticised though for reifying geographical scales and being derived from unverified assumptions (Brenner and Keil, 2006). In fact, Friedmann (1995; 2002) also acknowledged the limitations of building a solid urban hierarchy in his later articles due to the lack of distinct criteria for world city selection and sufficient evidence for placing them in the worldwide system.

Contrary to the placement of global cities in fixed spatial containers embedded within a global hierarchy, the more recent research on global urban networks has employed two main sets of data to designate the importance of cities: the corporate organisation and the infrastructure data. Following Friedmann’s study, Sassen (2002) has engaged locations of transnational service firms to create a network model for the analysis of multiple patterns of connections between cities. While her initial studies focused on the case-to-case comparative analysis of three core cities –New York, London and Tokyo-, she later broadened her selection of inter-city relations to include numerous other cities with similar trends that are located in developing countries, such as Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Mumbai, Bangkok and Beirut (Sassen, 1991, 2001). Meanwhile, some urban network theorists have employed new empirical indicators and additional criteria for world city formation including quantity of banks and stock market capitalisation levels, as well as the roles of cities in telecommunications and transportation networks (Short et al., 1996; Rutherford et al., 2004). Albeit relying on the connectivity built on such infrastructure networks, this approach encounters certain limitations derived upon the dearth of data on international airline-passenger statistics associated with global city processes.

Following the corporate organisation approach, the Globalization and World Cities group (GaWC, <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc>) conducted a series of innovative investigations on urban-centred spatial analysis premised upon the assessment of location strategies of advanced producer-service firms with transnational fields of activity (Beaverstock et al., 2000). This team adopted a relational approach focusing on the levels of connectivity among global cities, and mapped dynamically evolving networks of connections and interdependencies. In this respect, they initially designated 55 global cities of ‘alpha’, ‘beta’ and ‘gamma’ levels of significance, generating a more explicit mapping of the global urban network. They later relied on a variety of new data sources and generated new mappings (**Fig. 1**) showing the dynamic inter-city relations and levels of linkages among global cities (Taylor et al., 2010). The work of the GaWC team is hence premised upon a more robust set of empirical indicators and consolidates a more sophisticated conceptualisation of the dynamic global urban system.



Fig. 1. Map of global cities and their connectivity developed by the GaWC team, 2010 (<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc>)

As for this research, the classification of world cities developed by the GaWC research team based upon relational measures is used to designate the global cities and their levels of network integration. This categorisation divides highly integrated cities into tiers of alpha++, alpha+, alpha and alpha- according to their international connectedness, and distinguishes all beta level cities based on their instrumental role in linking their region into the world economy. It also identifies gamma level cities as global cities whose global capacities are limited to less important advanced producer services. Accordingly, the alpha and beta tiers of classification for global cities (**Table 1**) derived from this set of data are employed in this study, which includes 45 alpha level and 78 beta level cities that are more evenly dispersed worldwide. The network analysis of global urban connectivity drawing on recent literature manifests the roles of cities as articulators of global economic relations, and enables the assessment of complexities derived from their attributes and their inter-city relations.

LIST OF GLOBAL CITIES		
	ALPHA (α) CITIES	BETA (β) CITIES
Alpha/Beta++	London, New York	
Alpha/Beta+	Hong Kong, Paris, Singapore, Shanghai, Tokyo, Beijing, Sydney, Dubai	Bangalore, Lisbon, Copenhagen, Santiago, Guangzhou, Rome, Cairo, Dallas, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Athens, Manila, Montreal, Philadelphia, Tel Aviv, Lima, Budapest, Berlin, Cape Town, Luxembourg, Houston, Kiev, Bucharest, Beirut
Alpha/Beta	Chicago, Mumbai, Milan, Moscow, Sao Paolo, Frankfurt, Toronto, Los Angeles, Madrid, Mexico City, Amsterdam, Kuala Lumpur, Brussels	Ho Chi Minh City, Bogota, Auckland, Montevideo, Caracas, Riyadh, Vancouver, Chennai, Manchester, Oslo, Brisbane, Helsinki, Karachi, Doha, Casablanca, Stuttgart, Rio de Janeiro, Geneva

Alpha/Beta-	Seoul, Johannesburg, Buenos Aires, Vienna, San Francisco, Istanbul, Jakarta, Zurich, Warsaw, Washington, Melbourne, New Delhi, Miami, Barcelona, Bangkok, Boston, Dublin, Taipei, Munich, Stockholm, Prague, Atlanta	Guatemala City, Lyon, Panama City, San Jose, Bratislava, Minneapolis, Tunis, Nairobi, Cleveland, Lagos, Abu Dhabi, Seattle, Hanoi, Sofia, Riga, Port Louis, Detroit, Calgary, Denver, Perth, Calcutta, San Diego, Amman, Antwerp, Manama, Birmingham, Nicosia, Quito, Rotterdam, Belgrade, Monterrey, Almaty, Shenzhen, Kuwait City, Hyderabad, Edinburgh
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Table 1. List of alpha and beta level global cities, 2012 (<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc>)

2.2.2 Governance of global cities

Urban management is concerned with the provision of services, regulation of public acts and ensuring access of the citizens to basic infrastructure, shelter and employment, while sustaining the standards of living and environmental quality in cities (Hambleton, 2007). The effectiveness of urban governance systems depends upon a broad range of factors including economic buoyancy, political stability and social cohesion, and the governance structures, processes and resources play a vital role in it.

In this regard, this sub-chapter initially defines urban governance and the roles of actors at different levels. It then explains the transition from top down to bottom up approaches with the emergence of recent trends of governance involving privatisation, decentralisation and community involvement in urban management. It later examines the governance models employed in global cities worldwide, and points out the main challenges and concerns raised that have an impact on the effectiveness of their decision-making and governance models.

2.2.2.1 Urban governance

Urban governance is about meeting the needs and demands of all who live in the city through the formulation of policies, generation of resources, provision of services, and implementation of urban infrastructure (Brenner, 2014). Associated with specific complexities and challenges amplified by universal issues such as climate change, world economic crises and technological disruption, the ability of global cities to address these risks and concerns depends on the institutional capacities of their urban actors, their participation and leadership skills, and the degree of transparency, flexibility and accountability of their decision-making structures. The practical manifestations of their urban management systems, though, are characterised by various levels of territorial and functional fragmentation, which add to their levels of complexity. Geographical fragmentation exists where an urban area and its surroundings are divided between numerous jurisdictions operating within varying hierarchical relationships. The functional fragmentation resides in a complex network of national, regional, local and popular actors with separate and sometimes interlocking responsibilities, tasks and legislative frameworks.

The interplay between different levels of government is crucial for urban management. Historically, most of the urban governance tasks were undertaken by municipal administrators. Davey (1992) explains how early modes of self-management were initially performed in European medieval cities based on the demands of citizens to intervene in urban commerce and civic improvement, and later followed by European industrial cities, developing towns in Asia and Americas, and were then fostered in the colonial cities of Africa and Asia. The 1960s and 70s, on the other hand, were demarcated by the direct or semi-direct - through parastatal agencies - inclusion of national and/or state governments. It was prompted by the incapacities of municipal authorities exhausted by rapid urban growth to provide services, and as a post-Independence reaction against decentralisation (Hambleton and Grossi, 2007). This trend was reversed with the empowerment of local governments in the 1980s as the prominent actors to plan and manage urban development. Dillinger (1994) explains how this type of empowerment is a better method of urban management for development involving

public participation and addressing urban needs. It involves a shift from government to governance structures, and describes a more moderating than directing role in the plurality of stakeholders. It also promotes the modification of closed system planning processes executed by professionals in the top-down management scheme of cities to include local stakeholders whose interests were addressed by open processes of spatial planning (Portugali, 2012).

The central-local relations are critical to urban governance. They basically rely on the financial and regulatory autonomy of different levels of governments. The central and state governmental bodies still retain a vital role in many countries by means of supervising local authorities, command over investment funding, and establishing the legal framework. For effective management though, they need to be as open, positive and collaborative as possible. The recently emerging trends in urban governance involving privatisation, participation, transparency and accountability promote cooperation with private agencies, voluntary bodies and community organisations in the provision of services and financial investments.

The division of urban management functions between public and private sectors, and their allocation among national, regional and local stakeholders at various stages varies enormously from country to country, and even from city to city. The involvement of national governments in urban governance is generally concentrated on direct operations, establishment of legislative framework, and the planning and execution of investment (Davey, 1996). Direct operations undertaken by national ministries or their subsidiaries are confined to primary civic services such as education, medical services, policing and transportation. National governments are also responsible for adopting the relevant policies and legislations to define the activities of other urban governmental bodies and set out their powers and conditions of employment. They may also regulate revenue sources for urban investments, even for the services that are not under their direct control.

In federal countries, some of these duties are assigned to state or provincial governments. These actors may operate direct services like education or urban planning, or be responsible for the assignment and supervision of local governments that are ascribed these activities. In certain cases, the federal governments are heavily involved in urban management either where metropolitan jurisdictions incorporate numerous smaller municipalities, or where the delineation of states resembles metropolitan governments rather than regional ones. Complementary to the empowerment of national and/or state governments in the 1960s, specific public corporations have also been established to operate services in areas such as water supply, housing and public transport.

At the local scale, there is a common assumption that conflates urban government with municipal administration where towns are administered effectively by the municipal government. Tinker (1968) associates this assumption of self-managed cities to their early analogies in Ancient Greece, the chartered corporations and free cities in the Middle Ages, and their advanced versions in effect under the influence of the civic improvement act of the nineteenth century. The role of the municipal authority has been diminished in the past three decades though, as a consequence of the growing involvement of national and regional governmental bodies, along with non-governmental agencies. The responsibilities, functions and resources of local governments vary widely depending on national policies and traditions of urban governance. In Anglophone and Hispanic countries, the municipal governments possess properties, budgets and employees of their own, and function separately from national and/or regional administrations (Davey, 1996). The Francophone and Ottoman traditions, on the other hand, emphasise the hierarchy of governance, and approach local governments as branch organisations. In such cases, the local authorities perform dual functions, both devolved from the upper tiers and their autonomous statutes. Their levels of administration also show distinction. There are specific cases with single level local authorities that own corporate status. There are also multi-tier systems that embody both a lower tier primarily

responsible at urban level and a higher tier embracing a region composed of numerous towns and intervening rural zones. In sum, the local governments vary enormously in the size, status and tiers of their jurisdictions.

The local governments are generally distinguished from other forms of governance based on their representation at local level and their electoral accountability. The constitution of municipal or city councils contributes to the local accountability of municipalities, which are governed by locally elected councils. In addition to their formal representative character, other channels of popular participation also exist in urban management. Various forms of community organisations may also perform at neighbourhood or urban level, where they participate in specific tasks and self-help projects, and regularly communicate with the local authorities, either directly or indirectly. Besides these government-sponsored community representative structures, there are also independent non-municipal agencies that operate under the control and supervision of municipal governments. Both of these community representative actors contribute to the public participation and representation of community interests at decision-making mechanisms, and community commitments to service provision through self-help projects.

Various forms of partnerships are also available where state agencies and private actors work in parallel in a mutual endeavour. The introduction of the private sector, either as providers or producers, into public service supply chain mainly aims to increase efficiency and responsiveness to urban needs through competition. There are diverse means of private involvement in urban management, which vary enormously depending on the government intervention and capacity of actors. While in some cases the involvement of the private sector is associated with insufficiency of the public sector capacity, in others privatisation is a deliberate neoliberal strategy of shrinking the state. In numerous countries, public services such as education, transport, housing and garbage disposal commonly involve private partnerships (Davey, 1996). Land development also usually involves public-private partnerships where the state undertakes land acquisition and infrastructure aspects, and private parties invest in on-site services and construction.

2.2.2.2 Governance of global cities

In global cities, the urban governance systems adopted and the actors who execute them vary enormously from one country to another. In addition, what seems to operate effectively during one period and under certain circumstances may not work in another. These significant differences in urban performance between the key cities within the global urban network are intrinsic to their governance models, which stem from their individual sociopolitical structures, legislative frameworks and cultural origins. The 1997 Development Report issued by the World Bank clearly articulates the major role of governments in promoting development. Despite the regional differences though, there are certain compelling similarities in the challenges and complexities confronting urban managers today.

One of the biggest challenges that global cities encounter is related to the issues of scale and municipal fragmentation. Uniting the whole urban and peri-urban areas of a city within a single jurisdiction was strongly emphasised in the 1960s and 70s. In many large-scale cities, this resulted in the creation of numerous agencies in many large-scale cities responsible for planning and coordination at conurbation level. Even within the boundaries of a single city, governance structures and decentralisation mechanisms might be highly complex, which are further complicated by the growth of urban agglomerations. Coordination of services and communication among stakeholders can be challenging in the complexity of numerous urban and suburban areas of different sizes and economic functions. With this in mind, various strategies have been adopted to address the acute problems of territorial fragmentation including municipal amalgamations, boundary extensions, two-tier governmental structures, and establishment of joint bodies and/or metropolitan planning and development authorities (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000). Turkey, for instance, has adapted the extension strategy where core municipalities annex adjoining areas of peri-urban growth. They have also reorganised the local governments of

major cities on a two tier basis where each city is administered by a metropolitan authority and a number of district municipalities (Pierre, 2011). Similarly, Mexico City is governed by a single corporate and elected level of local administration but it is also divided into delegations of smaller territorial units (Parnieiter, 2010). The French system of urban administration, on the other hand, encourages the formation of joint bodies, *syndicats*, which equally represent the member commune councils.

Another challenge addresses the question of which functions are run by whom in the management of global cities. Urban tasks are shared between numerous actors functioning at different levels of government. In theory, services benefiting the local communities exclusively are provided by municipal agencies, the ones that are in the interest of the city and its hinterland are undertaken by the regional governments, and those serving the country as a whole mainly engage the central government. Hall (2000) explains that the stabilisation and distribution tasks are generally reserved for the central/federal governments, whereas allocation functions are undertaken by the local actors. It is further asserted that municipal provision is more responsive to local demands, whereas central provision requires the participation of numerous governmental bodies from varying levels (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000).

In the global economy however, 'delocalised cities' that require arrangement of new governance models are emphasised (Savitch, 2002). Despite the general emphasis in literature that strongly associates globalisation with political decentralisation (Taylor, 1996), globalisation stimulates national and/or provincial governments to take a leading role in the policymaking of global cities for political centralisation and to enhance global competitiveness. Sassen (2001) explains why the national scale is emphasised at the global level. Savitch and Kantor (2003), furthermore, highlight the prominent role of central governments in providing regulatory frameworks and financial investments for regional development. Recent studies on global cities clearly demonstrate the direct involvement of national governments in policymaking and development of global cities despite the decentralising trends (Hambleton and Gross, 2007). This is particularly significant in cities located in developing countries with high urban population growth and lower incomes where allocative functions are mostly performed by higher-level governments which are better equipped to provide for the urban needs with their higher capacities.

In the provision of services and execution of investments, moreover, cooperation with private agencies, voluntary bodies and community organisations is also achieved in many large-scale cities. Some European cities, particularly those with wealthy local governments and long-lasting traditions of self-governing, integrate high standards of local management and public participation. They demonstrate high levels of democratic participation within the active decision-making mechanisms to meet the wide span of urban demands in many developed global cities. In cities of the developing world which experience hyper-growth and encounter difficulties in integrating the informal sector of the population to the existing economic system though, securing balanced participation and representation remains as a great challenge of urban management.

In urban administration, political accountability, professional values and a firm legislative framework of rules and policies are critical to enable responsive and effective performances of public and private actors. Effectiveness and efficiency are two different aspects of performance for urban governance models (Davey, 1996). Effectiveness is associated with the quality and range of services and how successful they are in meeting the demands of the whole urban population. Efficiency, on the other hand, is related to economical use of human and financial capacities in providing these services. Davey (1996) further identifies the criteria to be adopted in order to assess the performances of urban administrators: Efficiency in the engagement and management of physical, human and financial capacities, technical capabilities of executing investment in infrastructure, responsiveness to the needs of all the social groups populating the cities, and concern for environmental

protection. Effectiveness of urban governments thus depends upon a wide range of factors including political stability, economic buoyancy and social cohesion.

Urban governments are composed of a complex network of agencies with varied lines of accountability, and that is particularly the case in global cities. Accountability is ensured by public pressure and scrutiny exerted through local democratic control. Hence, the extent to which the local governments are accountable to a local electorate is regarded to have a predominant impact on their effective management (Pierre, 2011). Based on this assumption, local accountability is supposed to be the hallmark of urban governance. While it is true that political exposure usually encourages urban administrators to be more responsive to local needs, it does not always guarantee a balanced attention and representation. It may also help to create conditions where certain levels of corruption may take place in return for political support. Corruption, which is defined as the abuse of official powers against public interest and for private gain, has been one of the major political and economic challenges at subnational level in the developing world (Newman and Thomley, 2005). Corruption is regarded as a prime symptom of malfunction in subnational governments, which jeopardises their legitimacy as the foundation of democratic polity in the eyes of their populations.

Decentralisation is blamed by several scholars for breeding local government corruption as a result of weakened channels of monitoring, controls and audits by central agencies (Dininio, 2009). Ivanyina and Shah's (2011) econometric analysis of 158 cases of local governments worldwide manifests the adverse impact of decentralisation on corrupt activities, regardless of the measures taken to prevent them. They also highlight the significance of local accountability to combat corruption. Some, on the other hand, argue that decentralisation has an affirmative impact in reducing corruption since it offers enhanced accountability by bringing governments closer to local communities through empowerment of local governments. (Arikan, 2004).

The extensive literature on corruption points out three primary conditions for the emergence of corrupt public sector activities (Aidt, 2011): Discretionary power of public authorities in the deliverance of public duties, extraction of certain benefits from these activities, and poorly enforced procurement regulations. Despite the increasing number of corruption cases in the developing global cities though, certain actions have also been adopted by regional and local administrations for corruption prevention and more democratic urban governance. Accountability and transparency allow the monitoring of agents' behaviours. In parallel with efforts of increasing transparency and local community engagement in decision-making, a rise in participatory budgeting, for instance, has been effective in the reduction of corruption (Bland, 2014). Establishment of stronger legislative bodies to provide better internal control and monitoring over the executed actions of public/private agents has also played an essential role in this.

Urban administrators of global cities, in sum, encounter certain similar complexities in very different contexts. They include the management of urban growth, promotion of sustainable urban development, and the challenge of ensuring a balanced, representative and just urban management model, while attracting investment in a highly competitive global environment. The power balance and levels of collaboration among actors of different governmental status have a significant impact on the effectiveness of urban governance. Contrary to the widespread consensus that nation-states are in decline in the globalised world (Jessop, 1993; Taylor, 2004), recent findings demonstrate that higher levels of governments actively participate in urban management and that power is actually centralising (Hambleton and Gross, 2007). While there is no single best way of management, each global city adopts different urban strategies and governance models that cope effectively with these challenges.

2.2.3 Complexity

Complexity is linked to dynamic processes of change and development where a wide range of elements intrinsic to complex systems constantly interact and affect each other. As these systems expand into new dimensions by virtue of successive instabilities and invasions, they evolve structurally with emergent properties and effects that lead to new attributes and performance measures. The complexity thinking thus provides a holistic paradigm retaining multiple subjectivities, differing perspectives and approaches. Incorporating this logic into the contemporary planning discourse, cities are regarded as complex self-organising systems subject to processes of continuous change over time. In this regard, this sub-chapter initially examines the attributes and dynamics of complex systems. It then introduces the complexity theory as a new basis for urban planning studies, and discusses how it contributes to a better understanding of urban governance and management of global cities in the light of complexity.

2.2.3.1 Complex systems

The interdisciplinary understanding of reality is composed of dynamic open systems possessing flexible properties with transformational potentials. Originating from the scientific realism approach that recognises this non-linear nature of reality, complexity thinking explains the emergent and distinctive character of the social world which constantly changes over time (Innes and Booher, 2010). Dealing with non-linear relations, it asserts that complex systems cannot be fitted into a linear law basing upon a single cause and effect statement (Byrne, 1998). In reality, causes interact in non-linear fashions which determine combined effects. Outcomes are products of contingent causal mechanisms, and they can be drawn from a set of more than one alternative in an area of determined chaos. Hence complex systems gravitate within a realm of complexity between order and chaos.

In such multi-dimensional environments consisting of diverse variables evolving over time, changes in the forms of phase-transitions and bifurcations take place at various degrees of intensity (De Roo and Silva, 2010). Phase-transitions stand for changes occurring between phases of stability as manifestations of evolutionary processes. Bifurcations, on the other hand, represent critical shifts in systems caused by significantly small changes in their elements. They associate complex systems with attributes of “adaptation, emergence, self-organisation and co-evolution” (De Roo, 2010: 20). Contextual influences and iterative interactions between its variables incite complex systems to evolve continually over time. Their robustness and capabilities of self-organisation facilitate their adaptation to external developments and transformation into the best configurations for a given moment. Their emergent nature bolsters their capacities of handling micro/macro inter-relationships.

In this context, the idea of such systems evolving over time in a non-linear and dynamic way contributes to our understanding of processes of change, development and progress. The complexity theory provides a holistic conception of nested systems, and focuses on the larger dynamic structure in which a multitude of variables exist and act (Portugali, 2012). It is concerned with the implications of local/micro context expressed in terms of time and space, and how it is aggregated into something beyond the sum of its components. It helps us to comprehend the nature of society constituted by sets of attractors within a wide range of spatial potentials, and how certain changes trigger the reformation of these attractors. In sum, complexity thinking builds up a better understanding of reality where situations are seen as non-linear and evolutionary. This contributes to the emergence of new approaches for the analysis of complex systems, such as the growth of cities and population dynamics, and offers a toolbox for coping with them.

2.2.3.2 Complexity of global cities

Despite the early negative connotation of complexity regarded as a potentially unpredictable and unmanageable phenomenon in planning, complexity thinking brought up the idea of non-linear environments confronted with

discontinuous and dynamic processes. As complexity has brought the issues of change and development into focus, cities put forth a distinction between their evolution and the planning processes through representative systems where multiple actors participate and various unconnected situations interfere with their development over time (Batty, 2005). Basically, three main points of the complexity theory contributed to the development of new planning approaches. These can be summarised as: open systems evolving from orderly to very complex, representing the transition witnessed in planning as well, characteristics of complex systems as emergent and adaptive, and the inclusion of the time factor in changing processes (Hillier and Healey, 2010).

Planning constellations are composed of a multitude of actors with varying concerns and interests. The orientation towards complexity shifted the role of planners to a more self-regulatory approach. The early technical-rational thinking suggested the direct control of planners over the shaping of a desired physical environment where decisions are dictated from top down, and with minimal regard to their wider public impacts. The complexity theory, on the other hand, gave impetus to the emergence of counter-arguments where planners are no longer regarded as the creators of a desired physical environment but as mediators, advocates and guides for the actors involved in the planning practice via managing change (De Roo, 2010). The role of planners is no longer defined to create realities based on certainty, but rather to respond to them in order to adapt positively to a constantly changing environment, to optimise the interests of actors, and to minimise the adverse impacts.

Many scholars participated in the enhancement of tools to manage non-linear and evolving planning processes by means of interrelating networks, communicative, collaborative and participative behaviours. As one of the pioneers to study cities in terms of complexity, Geddes (1915) was one of the first theorists to use analogies between urban and biological systems, and he coined the notion of “conservative surgery” to take into account the physical, social and symbolic attributes of urban landscapes for allowing a favourable future development. He also addressed complexities through local action in order to improve the urban life from the bottom up. In her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs (1961) took the next step and argued for organised complexity in cities. She embraced an emergent complexity theory that claims the organic development of cities from the bottom up as the result of a wide variety of local decisions and adaptive mechanisms to support the diverse functions and habitability of cities. Hillier (1996), later on, presented the theory of the universal city that described cities as networks of linked centres at all scales, and he used his space syntax approach as a basis for the analysis of these spatial networks. This led to Johnson’s hypernetwork theory (2006) explaining the complex structure of cities as “systems of systems of systems” with a methodology to model the urban hyper systems.

Hypernetworks have been highly important for representing unique multi-level structures including global cities. Their co-evolutionary and mutually interdependent behaviours as the result of contextual factors and internal developments of the past provide numerous potential responses to perturbations. Planning issues in global cities are often multi-faceted and dependent on contextual pluralities. Given their degree of complexity, development occurs by successive and incremental adjustments that implies control at the basic level. The complexity science enables communication with all agencies that exercise planning, management, control and policy-making, and it makes it possible to connect issues, approaches and consequences. These multi-level constellations of networks generate a complex decision-making structure demanding communicative, participatory and collaborative behaviours. Mass democratic participatory processes are not only preferable but necessary for the unification of non-divisive urban forms existing in global cities (Batty and Marshall, 2012). The complexity theory provides a collaborative rationality allowing processes of dialogue and consensus building among the diverse range of agents. Given the adaptive nature of such complex systems built from the bottom up, complexity enables the achievement of optimality in making logical decisions.

Modelling of global cities as multi-level complex systems contributes to the understanding of their self-organising dynamics, identification of the range of actors and their interactions in the act of management, and

the formulation of their most appropriate planning and decision-making structures. These models represent the different types of agents involved and their interactive behaviours in the urban system as they modify their actions and responses based on changing opportunities and pressures, and pursue their own interests. Thus they allow the generation of observed behaviours conducted by multi-level actors by assuming their preferences and goals. Although the assumed behaviours might vary in response to changing spatial conditions, their goals and intentions persist over a longer period, which demonstrate properties of path dependence and historicity in relation to the evolving and self-transforming nature of the complex systems (Allen, 2012). The examination of potential decisions and responses enables the assessment of different possible trajectories of the systems, which are crucial for making effective policy decisions, designs and investments in global cities. The complex system models hence encourage planning in the realm of globalised urban complexity, and help cope with the integrated overall impacts of the coupled decisions given by a multitude of actors while providing better insight into the outcomes of potential actions and policies.

2.3 Management of Global Heritage Cities

2.3.1 Globalisation and World Heritage listing

This section initially discusses the impact of globalisation on cultural heritage discourse, with a specific focus on the significance of urban heritage as a driver to develop sustainable urban environments in the global city network. It will be followed by the examination of the role of multinational agencies, such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, and World Heritage listing in creating a global perspective of heritage, as well as in contributing to the integrated conservation of the designated urban areas.

2.3.1.1 Globalisation and cultural heritage

Globalisation today extends far beyond the financial attributes of worldwide economic integration. It disturbs the traditional patterns of governance and decision making, stipulates the adoption of new policies, disrupts social behaviours and living habits, and changes popular cultural expressions. These socio-political and economic shifts are most commonly associated with neoliberalism and the role it plays in processes of urban restructuring (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). This neoliberal ascription of globalisation relates to more adverse ramifications linked to the global expansion of capitalism and its tendency to override economic and social justice worldwide. Jokilehto (2007), on the other hand, identifies two types of globalisation; one dictated from above, and the other emerging from below. Depending largely on international flows of capital, information and service, globalisation from above leads to the standardisation of production and to the homogenisation of world markets. Globalisation from below, on the contrary, relies on local economic and cultural resources, and addresses to global concerns such as environmental degradation and human rights. As the antithesis of the unilateral and homogenising trends of globalisation, this approach leads to the acknowledgement of hybridised forms of cultural diversity.

These diverse forms of globalisation induce a growing tension between global demands and local concerns for development. Processes of decentralisation assigning more authority and autonomy to urban governments have contributed greatly to the economic and political performances of cities. In addition, the acceleration of integration of the world economy has prompted the worldwide expansion of global cities, which are driven to act in a competitive environment. To achieve competitive advantages, these urban centres engage in efforts of to market and brand themselves. While they compete to attract more transnational investments, business opportunities and tourists, which in return generate financial revenues, they also need to promote liveable and healthy urban environments. The global cities that are the most successful at meeting employment and growth aspirations, while promoting poverty alleviation and social inclusion are the ones that harness all their resources to differentiate themselves from their competitors (Licciardi, 2012). Among these resources, cultural heritage is

recognised and valued as a crucial socio-economic asset that enhances the distinctiveness and sense of place of global cities worldwide.

Recently acknowledged as the fourth pillar of sustainability², culture in its multifarious guises plays a crucial role as a driver of sustainable development (Nurse, 2007; Pereira Roders, 2013). Cultural properties and assets in urban environments provide unique expressions of identities, which are essential for cities to stand out in the global competition. They have the potential to boost local and national economies, to generate local employment opportunities, and to endorse the liveability and productivity of their urban settings. In addition to the economic incentives, the values ascribed to historic sites are representative of the collective memory and attachment that anchor people to their roots. The changing interpretations of heritage assets validate national and local identities in such a way as to promote community spirit, social cohesion, and to celebrate their cultural diversity.

Globalisation has also accelerated mobility, thus global tourism has emerged as one of the leading sectors in the world. Cultural properties are embraced as icons to market destinations and to foster tourism development. They are employed to provide diverse income opportunities, to attract foreign investments, and to enhance growth in numerous sectors. The rapid rise of tourism in global cities, on the other hand, has shifted the characterisation of historic built environments to exist beyond the local and national contexts in order to create tourist attraction habitats. Global tourism has transformed heritage sites into tourism destinations, and converted cultural expressions into artistic performances and objects (Salazar, 2005). This phenomenon has been clearly evident in redundant historic city centres, which have acquired new dimensions through urban renewal in recent decades (Labadi and Long, 2010). Associated with tourism development strategies, revitalisation complements the efforts of branding heritage sites for urban marketing.

In regards to increasing economic and ecological sensitivity, the stewardship of cultural heritage through adaptive reuse of existing building stocks imposes a lower impact on the environment. As an alternative to replacement with new buildings, maintenance of historic properties entails recycling and reuse of natural resources of materials, and reduction of energy consumption (Orbasli, 2008). Hence, the preservation of derelict historic buildings to meet contemporary needs represents a more economic and sustainable means of development. On a broader scale, attention has now focused on the regeneration of redundant historic urban areas. They are renewed to attract more investments and tourists, and to generate local employment opportunities. As Sassen (1999) confirms, the global urbanisation drive has accelerated the employment of urban regeneration and development projects in the historic cores of global cities that engage a wide range of stakeholders, such as local governments, developers, proprietors and users.

Parallel to these recent trends, historic cities have also borne the brunt of the adverse impacts of globalisation. Rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation models, at times, stipulate incompatible interventions in historic urban settings, contribute to the loss of distinctive traits and public spaces, cause socio-spatial fragmentation triggered by gentrification, and yield to unsustainable tourism. Thus, there has been an inherent tension between heritage protection and economic development, and the challenge has been to reach a consensus between meeting contemporary needs of various stakeholders with distinct priorities, without losing the unique characters of cities embodied in their historic cores. Thus, it is essential to incorporate the safeguarding of cultural heritage into territorial and regional development strategies, and to finance integrated conservation projects for historic built environments (Rodwell, 2009).

In this context, this broad scope of cultural heritage is no longer limited to the sole purpose of protecting historic buildings. It has moved beyond to the limits of the past, and is promoted more as a development strategy for the

² According to the 1987 Brundtland Report, the three main pillars of sustainable development are defined to be environmental protection, economic growth and social equity (United Nations, 1987).

future. This has also led to a shift in the role of heritage in the way it is appropriated by communities, local and national governmental bodies, along with the private sector ‘as a public commodity with economic value’ (Araoz, 2011: 56). In this respect, conservation also addresses economic and social dimensions through delivering financial, social and ecological benefits. Thus, priorities are set not only to safeguard heritage attributes of sites, but also to ensure social inclusion and sustainable development of communities. In this way, cultural heritage plays a critical role in achieving the goals of sustainability in terms of ensuring the welfare of cultural, social and economic systems within cities.

2.3.1.2 World Heritage listing and role of multinational agencies

Cultural heritage has become significant in a diverse range of fields within the globalised urban network, which no longer limits it to national boundaries: It plays an essential role in place marketing; it is integrated into global tourism and other worldwide economic development strategies; and it contributes to efforts to cope with climate change and other environmental concerns. Numerous international efforts, developments and conventions adopted in recent decades have endorsed its integration into global processes of political and socio-economic interactions. In particular, the establishment of the World Heritage system and the involvement of international conservation bodies in cultural heritage issues have stipulated their cultivation as a universal concern.

In the aftermath of World War II, proactive international campaigns to save endangered cultural and natural properties from depredation led to a growing awareness and concern amongst developed countries in regards to global threats to cultural and natural heritage worldwide. On the request of the Egyptian government, an initial international assistance mission was launched to safeguard Nubian monuments in Egypt, which faced the threat of submerged as a result of the construction of the Aswan Dam. Followed by international meetings by experts, a White House Conference was conducted in 1965 that recommended the establishment of a World Heritage Trust for the “identification, establishment, and management of the world’s superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites”. This initiative was triggered by IUCN, and later taken up by ICOMOS and UNESCO in 1965, which resulted in the adoption of the World Heritage Convention at the 17th session of the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972. It was initially ratified by 20 countries and came into action in 1977 (Leask and Fyall, 2006). These early cooperation and exchange dimensions of cultural diplomacy formed a strong basis for the networks of collaboration that strengthened with the Convention.

The World Heritage Convention was primarily conceived as a standard-setting mechanism to ensure international cooperation for the protection of cultural and natural properties of universal significance. This aim is defined as to “ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value” (UNESCO, 2005a). Hence, it was constituted as a set of obligations for their protection, coupled with aspirations for global solidarity and a shared sense of belonging. It was followed by the establishment of UNESCO’s flagship programme of World Heritage listing, which is made up of cultural and natural heritage sites around the world which are considered to be of outstanding value to humanity.

Sites of OUV are nominated to be included in the World Heritage List as natural, cultural or mixed sites, reliant upon the criteria against which they are ascribed. Nominations are assessed based on a set of six cultural and

four natural criteria, which were combined into a single set of ten in 2005³. Each site needs to meet at least one criterion for inscription⁴, which constitutes the OUV when complemented with its definition of significance, integrity and authenticity. Despite these inclusive standards and classifications, ICOMOS (2004) still highlights the ambiguity in the definition of OUV, especially for cultural heritage sites, which are mainly fragmented and hard to classify. As of 2016, the World Heritage List represents 165 State Parties (SP), and includes 814 cultural, 203 natural and 35 mixed sites, adding up to 1052 cultural and natural properties in total.

The *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*⁵ have been adopted to set forth the procedures for the nomination, inscription and monitoring of the WHS, as well as for their protection and conservation, for the mobilisation of international support and granting of international assistance under the World Heritage Fund. Accordingly, State Parties (SPs), the World Heritage Committee, the Advisory Bodies (ABs) and the World Heritage Centre are involved in protection the of properties inscribed on the WHL in a number of ways. Cultural and natural properties to be inscribed on the List are nominated by national governments in whose territories these sites are currently to be found. Hence, the World Heritage List mainly depends on the ability and willingness of each SP to nominate sites. The initial step towards nomination relies on the SP to make an inventory, known as the Tentative List, which involves a list of significant cultural and natural properties within its areas of responsibility to be submitted for inscription in near future. The SP then selects a site from the Tentative List, and prepares a nomination file that includes a proposed definition of the OUV, the significance, authenticity and integrity of the property, as well as documentation relevant to its protection and site management. The World Heritage Centre provides advice and assistance to SPs in site nominations. Established in 1992, the Centre is also responsible for the organisation of the annual sessions of the World Heritage Committee, and coordination of the reporting mechanisms and emergency actions undertaken when a site is under threat. Basically, the Centre acts to maintain coordination within UNESCO to all matters related to the Convention. The nominations are then delivered by the Centre to the appropriate Advisory Bodies for evaluations. Comprised of experts from international conservation bodies such as ICCROM, ICOMOS and the

³ To be of OUV, the property has to meet one or more of the following criteria (UNESCO, 2005a):

- (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 civilisation 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;
- (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 on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- (x) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation.

⁴ The World Heritage Committee prefers the criterion (vi) to be used in conjunction with other criteria, which basically addresses to the intangible and social attributions of a property.

⁵ The Guidelines are flexible, and are revised regularly by the World Heritage Committee to reflect new concepts, knowledge and/or experiences.

IUCN⁶, the Advisory Bodies provide expertise, make evaluations and conduct monitoring missions. The nominations are then presented to the World Heritage Committee directly by the Advisory Bodies to be evaluated at the General Assembly conducted each year. The WH Committee consists of twenty-one elected delegates representing a SP, with each serving a four-year term. Hence, it is the Committee, on the advice of the ABs, which makes the final decisions on inscriptions. It either accepts, defers the inscriptions, or requests further information from the SPs.

Ratification of the Convention imposes mandates on State Parties with binding rules on regulatory conduct. Listing is accredited as a mean of soft power by nation states to promote their cultural, natural and social credentials to the rest of the world. Although it does not enforce a standard legislative or regulatory framework, most of the WHS are under the protection of the national and/or local legislation and regulation. Inscription on the List depends on a consensual approach between international agencies and national governments, which need to collaborate for the safeguarding of the heritage sites (Leask and Fyall, 2006). Once a site is inscribed on the List, the SP commits to adopting the Operational Guidelines, the monitoring and reporting systems of the World Heritage Committee, and to ensuring its safeguarding and effective management. It is now required that for each nominated site the SP has to show evidence of the existence of “an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the OUV of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means” (UNESCO, 2015).

Over the past two decades, one of the significant contributions of World Heritage listing has been the establishment of standards, principles and tools for the monitoring, management and promotion of World Heritage Sites (WHS). Listing has been employed enthusiastically as a pragmatic development strategy by State Parties to gain international recognition, prestige, and ultimately, increase in visitation and income generation. Besides these well-known economic motivations, nation states have also utilised WH listing for their domestic agendas to enhance their political and cultural dominance, and to emphasise their state nationalism. Relevantly, there have been several concerns raised in regards to the whole nomination, inscription, monitoring and reporting processes. Initially, the selection of the sites to be nominated by central governments leads to a subjective and highly politicised process of selection for the Tentative List and nomination. The incurrence is priority of status and power inherent in the global agendas of national governmental bodies over balanced representation of cultural diversity (Harrison, 2005). The whole inscription process, in fact, has been criticised for its intricacy, demand for financial and technical capacity, and political bias. Thus, the challenge for UNESCO has been to include all the complexities of heritage sites, devise strategies and policies accordingly to ensure that they are inclusive and beneficial for all. The Advisory Bodies regard the Convention as an effective framework but agree on the necessity for it to be better adapted at national and local scales, and on ensuring civic engagement (ICOMOS, 2004).

It is crucial that soft law and hard law are employed in accordance with international standard setting of cultural heritage discourse, which should be enhanced by the mutual cooperation of inter-governmental organisations, State Parties and non-governmental organisations (Galla, 2012). Today, the Convention functions as an all-inclusive tool of international cultural heritage law that derives a holistic vision from the universal principles of heritage protection as a vector of sustainable development. In this respect, the commitment of nation-states to abide by the principles of the Convention and Operational Guidelines, along with the participatory engagement of local populations in the decisions concerning their common heritage and quality of life, as well as

⁶ The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the World Conservation Union (IUCN) are two of the Advisory Bodies mandated by the Convention to provide the Committee with evaluations of each nominated site. The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), on the other hand, is responsible of providing expert advice on issues related to the conservation of cultural heritage sites and training activities.

incorporation of their interests in management plans and policies, have been essential for ensuring sustainable socio-economic and environmental outcomes in WHS.

The early years of Convention were marked by the rapid rise in the quantity of cultural and natural properties inscribed on the World Heritage List. Following the uncontrolled growth of the List by 1992, studies were carried out by ICOMOS between the years 1990-1994 verifying that the listing for the first two decades of the WH system had been quite selective and highly corresponded to the European principles of architectural conservation focusing on monumental built heritage. The analysis showed that there had been an over-representation of European historic towns and religious, notably Christian, buildings. In response, the WH Committee decided to adopt an action plan named the Global Strategy, to cope with these concerns and challenges. With the intention of bringing in a more systematic approach to listing, it aims to ensure a more balanced and equitable representation of the diversity of heritage properties with OUV, both geographically and thematically. Hence, it entailed thematic and geographic definitions to embrace this diversity and encouraged more countries to ratify the Convention and become State Parties, as well as to ensure more nominations from under-represented groups (Van Oers, 2006). Numerous scholars admit that these goals have only been partially achieved though, and the List still needs to be more balanced and representative of the diversity residing in various geocultural sites (Leask, 2006).

Additionally, the Western criteria and principles relying on historical context also had to be reassessed and adapted to embrace the variety of traditions, practices, expressions and value systems existing worldwide. One of the cogent criticisms addressed towards UNESCO has been that, being developed from the Western principles and practices, the supposable ‘universal’ criteria have actually been Eurocentric (Labadi and Long, 2010), and it is these principles and approaches that have been predominantly imposed on the rest of the world (Bryne, 1991). The location of the headquarters of the World Heritage Centre in Paris, and that of the Advisory Bodies specifically named in the Convention in Gland, Switzerland (IUCN), Paris, France (ICOMOS) and Rome, Italy (ICCROM) have also endorsed the claims of Eurocentrism, jeopardising the credibility of the List. The adoption of the *Global Strategy* and the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, both in 1994, had been initial efforts to mitigate this Eurocentric impact, which led to the recognition and appreciation of various facets of cultural expressions and interactions practiced all around the world. The implementation of the *UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)* has also reflected the shift away from the Western approach with the embrace of cultural expressions and other intangible assets not fully covered in the 1972 Convention (Askew, 2010).

The Convention initially defined three classifications for cultural heritage, namely “monuments, groups of buildings, and sites” (WHC, 1972). This was evident in the earlier narrow approach limited to historical, monumental and aesthetic value attributions. Today, the wide range of UNESCO Conventions adopted since then and the amendments made to the Operational Guidelines embrace the broad spectrum of concepts, definitions and tools introducing a more significance-oriented approach to cultural heritage. In parallel with the motives of the Global Strategy, the inscription criteria were extended to include categories of cultural landscapes in 1992, and intangible heritage in 2003 (UNESCO WHC). Moreover, the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (ICOMOS, 1994) promoted a shift away from the conventional means of understanding heritage towards the appreciation of diverse cultural expressions within their individual contexts and recognition of intangible cultural heritage assets and spiritual places. Another step forward has been the nomination of trans-boundary sites, which motivate various SPs to collaborate in the preparation of joint nomination folders and to exchange expertise in conservation methods. Similarly, historic urban areas were designated as WHS primarily based on their aesthetical values in early years. In the years following the implementation of the Global Strategy, on the other hand, inscriptions of heritage cities were in regards to their urban landscape context, along with their social and

cultural aspirations. Cultural heritage is currently acknowledged as “a process of engagement, an act of commitment and an act of making meaning in and for the present” that embraces all forms of interactions between human activity and physical environment, complemented with the wide range of values and understandings attributed to them (Smith, 2006: 1). Hence, this broadened perception now encompasses cultural landscapes (1992, 2015), intangible cultural heritage (2003), cultural diversity (2005), cultural routes (2008), spirit of place (2008), and historic urban landscapes (2011). Moreover, the 28 scientific committees of ICOMOS covering diverse range of fields from Polar heritage to underwater archaeology demonstrate the broad spectrum of the current lexicon of definitions. This shift in the terminology and scope of cultural heritage has also been evident in the frameworks, policies and instruments adopted by the World Heritage Committee⁷.

The post-war period has also witnessed the acknowledgement of heritage sites as focal points of memory, commemoration, contestation and identity building in Western societies (Fairclough, 2008). Cultural heritage has always been involved in the production of power, dominance and identity politics. David Harvey (2001) asserts that tangible cultural properties from the past have been employed to influence the opinions of individuals and communities throughout history. Its association with the narratives of nation-building and modernity, though, has been the characterisation of nineteenth century Europe. Smith (2006) also argues that heritage is precisely utilised to build, rebuild and negotiate identities, values and meanings. Historic landmarks and heritage sites have been subjected to vandalism and destruction in conflict zones, along with undemocratic political agendas that may even lead to hostile attitudes towards opposition groups. The recent destruction and looting of a wealth of archaeological sites, landmarks of sacred heritage, and art works in Middle East have been a devastating manifestation of the adverse impact of political conflict on cultural properties. Heritage can be utilised to foster respect for cultural and social diversity, though, through elucidation of numerous layers of meaning and values ascribed to those tangible and intangible assets, and to challenge prejudice and misrecognition of communities. This also demonstrates that there is a clear link between cultural heritage and human rights issues. As Irina Bokova -the tenth Director-General of UNESCO- pointed out in a speech, the Convention contributes to the devising of a global map that exhibits “bridges that link societies, blurring the geographical boundaries between countries... This is a map for peace, and a network for cultural exchanges that crosses the planet” (Bokova, 2012). In this regard, the WH system also contributes to building dialogue between diverse parties in respect of cultural heritage, which contributes to the fundamental objective of UNESCO for peace-making.

2.3.2 Urban heritage and global heritage cities

This sub-chapter initially presents a concise review of the evolution of theories and trends related to urban heritage, shifting towards a more holistic and integrated landscape approach. It then analyses the existing lexicon specific to urban sites, including Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL) and World Heritage Cities, while pointing out the gap in literature for more elaborated definitions. It is finally complemented with the introduction of a new concept, *Global Heritage Cities*, which defines a new perspective for the adaptation of the HUL approach to the globalised urban context.

2.3..2.1 Urban heritage

The theoretical framework concerning urban heritage has a century-old history evolving from an object-based approach focused solely on the tangible dimension, including isolated historic sites and urban settings, referring to the physical remains of the past, towards a broader landscape approach. The landscape approach captures the wider character of historic urban areas that engages communities and their intangible attributions at a larger scale.

⁷ The Operational Guidelines have been revised thirteen times since its first implementation in 1977, and defined twelve different versions of the criteria of OUV.

A historic urban view was initially developed by Camillo Sitte (1889) who highlighted the historic and aesthetic values attributed to cities, and expressed the significance of a holistic approach towards the urban fabric as a whole. Patrick Geddes (1915) elaborated the historical context of cities through describing the city as a living organism that is subject to birth, growth, decline and decay. He also invented the concept of conservation surgery, based on analogies with biology, which referred to the renovation of historic structures with careful insertion of new buildings. Supporting a similar harmonious coexistence between historic and modern city, Gustavo Giovannoni (1931) was the first to define the notion of *urban heritage*. He promoted the protection of heritage at an urban scale, and suggested interventions to be respectful to the elements of urban fabric, along with the spirit of places. His primitive integrated conservation approach that embodied heritage conservation within urban planning was later overruled by the modernist trends though, which resulted in expanding diversion between urban development and urban conservation⁸. Nevertheless, both Geddes and Giovannoni have been the pioneers of urban thinking that integrates historic conservation into larger policies of planning.

Although the earliest attempts to designate, protect and conserve cultural properties appeared in the nineteenth century, it was not until the adoption of the *Venice Charter* in 1964 that historic urban areas were globally acknowledged and referred to in international policy documents⁹. An integral and holistic approach toward urban heritage has been highlighted in the subsequent heritage-related cultural policy documents since then. The *Nairobi Recommendation* was the first international document to assert the relationship between urban heritage, communities and socio-economic development (UNESCO, 1976). Adopted at around the same time, the *Amsterdam Declaration* promoted public participation in the processes of integrated conservation, involving both local authorities and citizens (Council of Europe, 1975). The *1987 Washington Charter* amplified the importance of harmonious adaptation in historic towns and urban areas (ICOMOS). In parallel with the growing global awareness on urban conservation, comprehensive, area-based conservation legislation for urban sites also emerged in the mid-twentieth century to ensure their safeguarding. Paris was credited with being the first city to implement major urban conservation projects in Europe, following the enactment of *Loi Malraux* in France in 1962¹⁰. Such pioneering practices of urban conservation had been an incentive for the international doctrine to develop appropriate conservation/development tools and terminology. Since then, a global consciousness has been raised on the significance of urban heritage, which has allowed the protection of numerous historic urban areas and cities.

Jokilehto (1993) points out a trend towards urban scale in the heritage management discourse by the late twentieth century, which marked a shift from singular objects, namely the historic monuments, to larger concepts of site, settings, historic settlements, historic urban areas, and cities, respectively. This is evinced in the content analysis conducted by Veldpauw (2013), which quantify and comparatively assess the number of references given to urban-related terms – such as town, urban, city, landscape, district, settlement etc – in cultural heritage policy documents adopted by transnational agencies. According to this study, there has been a significant rise in the use of notions referring to the urban scale since 1960s, along with the new lexicon of urban-related concepts. Along with the shift in scale, successive enlargements of the conceptual framework on heritage included the intangible attributions ascribed to historic cities, such as traditions, events and rituals, which are then embraced by the more

⁸ The Plan Voisin developed by Le Corbusier (1925), which proposed the preservation of single monuments but demolition of historic quarters to be replaced by new neighbourhoods, clearly manifests this diversion, both in theory and practice.

⁹ Historic urban settlements were embraced within the category of “historic monument” as “urban setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or an historic event” (ICOMOS, 1964).

¹⁰ The Malraux Law established the legislative framework for the protection of *sectors sauvegardés*, the conservation areas in France. The first urban conservation programme was activated in the Marais quarter of Paris, which included the adoption of the first conservation plan and revitalisation of the built heritage within the quarter.

general and inclusive concept of landscape. The urban trends which have emerged in the last twenty years with the intention of integrating heritage management and urban development have also been the catalysts for the development of a landscape approach, both in the theory and practice of urban heritage. Urban heritage has recently been recognised as a resource for cities and their sustainable development. Hence, a more holistic terminology is now being used to describe and manage heritage sites that mirror environmental and sustainability thinking.

2.3.2.2 *Historic Urban Landscapes*

The post-war attempts to integrate conservation and planning in historic cities failed to cope with the emerging global processes of development. Parallel to the global trends of economic globalisation, supplemented by the rapid rise in the population sizes living in urban areas worldwide, historic cities have been under the pressure of regeneration, development and sometimes social gentrification. An increasing number of concerns were hence raised by the World Heritage Committee in the last decade in regards to the management deficiencies and aggressive development threats, such as high-rise buildings and contemporary architectural design solutions that have had impacts on WHS in urban settlements. A quantitative study carried out by Turner *et. al.* (2012) analysing the impact of development threats on World Heritage Cities identified that 193 out of 476 WH properties located within urban settings had been presented to the Committee as being threatened, mainly, by development pressures to varying extents. Cases such as high-rise development projects in Vienna, St Petersburg and Cologne, or insertion of new infrastructure elements in Dresden and Istanbul, which are considered incompatible within the historic context of heritage cities have been subject of investigation by the Committee, and caused intense and controversial debates. The inefficiency of the existing doctrinal framework and the professional toolkits to deal with these challenges encouraged multilateral agencies to take adequate actions.

Now established as one of the international partners of the World Heritage Centre, the Organisation of World Heritage Cities (OWHC) was founded in 1993 to foster cooperation and international solidarity among World Heritage Cities, and to develop efficient tools for their management (OWHC, 1993). The Organisation has conducted a number of international symposiums¹¹ on the issue of sustainable management of heritage cities, adopted the 'City2City' Programme to promote exchange of experience¹², and compile case studies to guide local governments. In parallel, the *Programme for the Safeguarding and Development of World Heritage Cities* was launched in 1996 as a contribution to the Plan of Action of Habitat II, which implemented pilot projects in several Asian cities and provided support to local authorities in managing WHS as part of their economic and urban development strategies. This led to the adoption of the World Heritage Cities Programme by the World Heritage Committee in 2001 with the intention of developing a new conceptual framework that would assist and guide State Parties in the effective management of urban heritage sites inscribed on the List. Through regional consultation meetings and investigation of the impacts of modern architecture on historic urban environments, the Programme aimed to extend cooperation and establish partnerships between relevant parties (Yang and Phares, 2002).

Motivated by the increasing concerns raised by State Parties and international conservation bodies in regards to development projects that mostly threaten the integrity and authenticity of historic urban areas inscribed on the WHL, UNESCO also felt the urge to step in to develop a new approach, along with a professional toolkit, to cope with the current trends of globalisation. The Vienna Memorandum, which was issued by the World Heritage

¹¹ The international charters that were adopted at the of the international symposiums of OWHC include: Quebec City Declaration (1991), the Fez Charter (1993), Bergen Protocol (1995), Evora's Appeal (1997), Santiago de Compostela Manifest (1999) and Puebla Declaration (2001).

¹² As part of the City2City Programme, project partnerships were established between Bergen (Norway) -Mozambique (Mozambique Island) and Vilnius (Lithuania) – Warsaw (Poland).

Committee in 2005, proposed a list of principles and guidelines for the conservation and integration of contemporary design solutions. Most importantly, it has been the first document to define the term *Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL) that embraces all the tangible and intangible assets, along with cultural and natural heritage attributions within the broader urban landscape context¹³. It also acknowledged that continuous change is inherent in the nature of HUL, and thus promoted an integrated approach to contemporary architecture, economic and urban development, as well as conservation of WHS. Although the Vienna Memorandum was criticised by some scholars as being a rather preliminary document (Pendlebury 2009), Van Oers highlighted its intention as a “consensus-product” contributing to the further development of the concept and relevant tools (Van Oers, 2007). Hence it was followed by several regional consultation and planning meetings working on the elaboration of the *Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation*.

Questions about the tolerance for or limits of change have been the main issues of debate among professionals concerned with the paradigm shift in heritage protection. During the course of policy review and best-practice analysis conducted between 2005 and 2011, four types of tools were identified to regulate and facilitate urban heritage management. Later developed as a toolkit for historic urban landscapes in the Recommendation, it included civic engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory structures and financial tools. Civic engagement tools aim to foster community participation in processes of decision-making concerning conservation planning and urban management. Knowledge and planning tools are essential for documentation, protection, monitoring and management of tangible and intangible heritage attributes. The regulatory systems comprise the legislative and institutional frameworks including relevant ordinances, acts, codes or decrees concerning the conservation and management of urban heritage, along with traditional and customary systems of safeguarding. The fourth set of instruments relate to the financial tools to be employed in the urban heritage management process. The systematic and integrated use of this toolkit has been highly recommended for the adaptation of the HUL approach to local urban contexts. An Action Plan also accompanied the Recommendation with the intention of developing novel approaches and instruments to enhance processes of urban conservation and management (UNESCO, 2011).

This six-step Action Plan¹⁴ was elaborated in order to stimulate the adaptation and adoption of the HUL approach by local governments and city councils according to their local contexts. Its first three steps are concerned with the identification, assessment and mapping of the significance, values and vulnerabilities inherent in historic cities. It suggests the employment of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) and Heritage Impact Assessments (HIAs) during the preparation of development and intervention plans within the

¹³The HUL concept refers to “ensembles of any group of buildings, structures and open spaces, in their natural and ecological context, including archaeological and paleontological sites, constituting human settlements in an urban environment over a relevant period of time, the cohesion and value of which are recognized from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, scientific, aesthetic, socio-cultural or ecological point of view” (UNESCO, 2005: Art. 7).

¹⁴ “While stressing the need to take account of the singularity of the context of each historic city and urban settlement, which will result in a different approach to its management, nevertheless six critical steps can be identified for Member States to consider when implementing the HUL approach. They would include the following:

1. Undertake the comprehensive surveys and mapping of the city’s natural, cultural and human resources (such as water catchment areas, green spaces, monuments and sites, view sheds, local communities with their living cultural traditions).
2. Reach consensus using participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on what values to protect and to transmit to future generations and to determine the attributes that carry these values.
3. Assess vulnerability of these attributes to socio-economic stresses, as well as impacts of climate change.
4. With these in hand, and only then, develop a city development strategy (CDS) or a city conservation strategy (CCS) to integrate urban heritage values and their vulnerability status into a wider framework of city development, the overlay of which will indicate (a) strictly no-go areas; (b) sensitive areas that require careful attention to planning, design and implementation; and, (c) opportunities for development (among which high-rise constructions).
5. Prioritise policies and actions for conservation and development.
6. Establish the appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks for each of the identified projects for conservation and development in the CDS/CCS, as well as to develop mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors, both public and private. (UNESCO, 2011: 1).”

landscapes. The next steps deal with building a consensus among all the interested parties, and establishment of relevant policies and actions that position the historic city at the core of urban management processes as a driver for sustainable development. It further proposes a continually evolving toolkit that summarises a range of interdisciplinary policies and actions that are classified under four categories to be adapted for the better implementation of the Recommendation. These instruments to be adapted for local application are categorised as community engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems and financial tools (UNESCO, 2011).

In opposition to the binary approach employed in the Venice Charter, the HUL Recommendation proposes these strategies to mitigate the adverse impacts that are tailored into asset of urban management, public participation and financial tools to be incorporated into the framework of urban development. Jokilehto stresses out the fact that the Recommendation does not designate another category of cultural heritage, but rather suggests “a critical process” that allows the connection of heritage conservation with sustainability, while ensuring social stability and flows of resources in heritage sites that have become the cores of attractiveness and growth. (Jokilehto, 2015: 205). It further highlights the importance of informed involvement of communities in the integrated conservation and management processes for all historic urban landscapes. The HUL Recommendation is hence defined as a “milestone document” intending to identify the parameters to be employed in managing the protection and integration within the wider urban decision-making process (Van Oers, 2015: 316).

Following the adoption of the Recommendation, numerous field studies have been dedicated to the testing of the adaptation of the HUL approach within local contexts in various geo-cultural regions of the world. These include workshops and pilot projects organised by multilateral agencies in collaboration with the local authorities, scholars and practitioners in cities including Baku (Azerbaijan), Lamu (Kenya), Zanzibar and the Island of Mozambique (Tanzania), Ballarat (Australia), Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Naples (Italy), Beirut (Lebanon), Shanghai and Suzhou (China), Cuenca (Ecuador), Rawalpindi (Pakistan) and Amsterdam (Netherlands) (UNESCO, 2013; Roders, 2013; Bruin *et al.*, 2013; De Rosa and Di Palma, 2013; Van Oers and Haraguchi, 2013, Bennink *et al.*, 2014; Xu, 2014; Buckley *et al.*, 2016; Siguencia Avila and Rey Perez, 2016). Among them, the pilot cities selected for the implementation of the HUL programme, such as Ballarat, Cuenca, Shanghai and Suzhou and Rawalpindi, clearly manifest how a range of HUL tools suggested in the Recommendation are applied and adapted to the unique contexts of each city. The book series on *Managing Historic Urban Landscapes* (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2013 and 2015; Bandarin and Roders, 2017), the *HUL Guidebook* (2016) and the *International Journal on Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* are also noteworthy in their efforts to manifest a broad range of examples that disseminate knowledge and experience on the implementation of the HUL approach.

The guidelines, publications and case studies elaborated by international scholars and practitioners thus encourage a critical process of sharing and promoting policies, tools and practices successful at fostering urban conservation and management. Within this framework lies a large variety of methodologies, tools and models that, in general, employs the following methodological and operational processes intending to connect the domains of urban conservation and development within the broader landscape context: the analysis of the urban morphology, identification of urban values and the spirit of place, understanding of the administrative structures operating in historic cities, promotion of civic engagement and public participation, and identification of the socio-economic roles of heritage sites. Envisaged as a non-binding policy tool, the HUL approach is tailored for governments to implement to their national frameworks in order to ensure urban conservation models that embody cityscapes, cultural and natural heritage attributes, along with the associated intangible values. As more cities adapt to this holistic context and more cases in varying scales and geospatial distribution are investigated,

the HUL approach provides a more elaborated road map for local and national governments that guide the better integrated and inclusive management of heritage cities.

2.3.2.3 World Heritage Cities

In parallel with the growing interest in the designation and protection of urban heritage sites, historic urban landscapes constitute the largest category of inscriptions in the World Heritage List. A glance at the sites designated as World Heritage Cities manifests a plethora of typologies embraced by this notion though: They represent a wide scope of properties ranging from cultural landscapes to metropolitan cities, to towns and city centres, to monumental ensembles within cities, even to villages within rural landscapes. In this broad spectrum, it is difficult to clearly identify the sites embraced by this definition, which is reflected in the varying categories and quantities deduced from recent studies.

Until the end of the twentieth century, historic towns nominated to the List were basically regarded as “group of buildings”. Hence, cities with strong picturesque attributes were nominated and enlisted during the early years of inscription based on this monumental and aesthetic approach. The definition and adoption of the notion of “cultural landscapes” by the World Heritage Committee in 1992 was a turning point in the field of World Heritage though, which introduced a broader territorial context embodying urban areas within the landscape framework. Parallel to the implementation of the Global Strategy in the mid-1990s, more emphasis was placed on the setting and territorial dimensions of urban heritage, along with the socio-cultural and natural processes associated with them. The later adoption of the HUL Recommendation shifted the focus from the traditional concept of “historic area/centre/city” and positioned the historic urban landscapes approach at the forefront of urban heritage discourse. The elaboration of the theoretical and operational framework hence contributed greatly to the identification, designation, nomination and inscription of a wide variety of World Heritage Cities on the List.

One of the most comprehensive inventories of World Heritage Cities was conducted by Krogus in 2004, which designated “ensembles of monuments in historic cities, historic city centres, and towns and cities within cultural landscapes” as heritage cities. According to his study, out of 788 cultural and natural properties, as of 2004, there were 389 urban heritage sites, where 228 properties were classified as World Heritage Cities that include urban settlements where one or more WH properties are situated (Krogus, 2008). Complemented with the current list provided by the OWHC, this number has now risen up to a total of 280 cities located in 84 countries. Another recent study aiming to assess World Heritage Cities defined them as “all urban settlements with properties inscribed on the World Heritage List, located in or at the outskirts of their urban areas” (Turner *et. al.*, 2012: 25; Roders and Van Oers, 2011). Designating listed towns and historic centres also as Heritage Cities, for instance, this assessment increases the quantity up to 832 World Heritage Cities, as of 2016 (**Table 2**). Encompassing a broad range of inscribed properties including groups of buildings, towns and villages in urban setting, this high number fails to address the issues of concern raised in regards to global development processes. Hence, the typological designation developed by Krogus is more compatible with the contextual framework adopted by the HUL approach.

Relying upon the elaborated list provided by OWHC, a spatial analysis based upon the geographical distribution of World Heritage Cities has been conducted with a quantitative comparison of pre- and post-adoption of the Global Strategy and the landscape approach. As exhibited in Table 2, more than half of the World Heritage Cities are currently located in Europe and North America (58%), whereas only 5% of them are in Africa, and 14% in Asia and the Pacific region. This clearly reflects that historic cities are not evenly distributed and equally represented worldwide on the List. It also shows that after the implementation of the Global Strategy in 1994, the quantity of designated WH Cities nearly doubled in every region. In sum, it can be concluded that historic

urban landscapes inscribed on the WHL have been mostly Europe-centric since the first implementation of the Convention despite the efforts to achieve a more balanced representation. The illustrative mapping of historic urban areas and historic city centres designated as WH properties, as shown in Figure 2, also depicts the unequal distribution of World Heritage Cities worldwide.



Fig. 2. Map of World Heritage Cities including historic urban areas and centres inscribed on the WHL

REGION	NUMBER OF WHC (1994)	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF WHC (2016)	PERCENTAGE
World Heritage Cities in Africa	4	4 %	13	5 %
World Heritage Cities in Latin America and Caribbean	22	20 %	43	15 %
World Heritage Cities in Arab States	14	13 %	23	8 %
World Heritage Cities in Asia and the Pacific	10	9%	38	14%
World Heritage Cities in Europe and North America	59	54 %	163	58 %
TOTAL	109	100 %	280	100 %

Table 2. World Heritage Cities by Region in the years 1994 and 2016¹⁵

In addition, the scale, size and density level of each World Heritage City varies tremendously. Out of 280 heritage cities, only twenty-one of them have urban population sizes over 1 million¹⁶. Among them, there are seven World Heritage Cities that are classified as mega cities with population rates above the 10 million threshold: Mexico City, Cairo, Moscow, Istanbul, Rio de Janeiro, Paris and Lima. The urban typologies of the WH properties within these cities are also quite diverse. In Mexico City, Cairo and Istanbul, for instance, multi-

¹⁵ This table is prepared according to the list of World Heritage Cities acknowledged by the OWHC and categorised under each continent (<http://www.ovpm.org/cities>).

¹⁶ As of 2016, the World Heritage Cities with population sizes over one million are, respectively: Mexico City (22.100.000), Cairo (16.800.000), Moscow (16.900.000), Istanbul (14.300.000), Rio de Janeiro (12.700.000), Paris (11.200.000), Lima (9.950.000), St. Petersburg (5.450.000), Berlin (4.500.000), Rome (4.340.000), Brasilia (2.977.000), Aleppo (2.950.000), Damascus (2.700.000), Dakar (2.400.000), Tunis (2.325.000), Budapest (2.300.000), Tel Aviv (2.275.000), Havana (2.225.000), Warsaw (2.225.000), Puebla (1.970.000), Baku (1.928.000), Vienna (1.698.000), Algiers (1.520.000), Kyoto (1.465.000), Prague (1.370.000), Arequipa (1.150.000), Kazan (1.130.000) and Bam (1.016.000). The population figures are derived from <http://www.citypopulation.de>.

layered historic centres spanning over centuries-old civilisations are inscribed on the List, whereas the periodic representation of WHS in Moscow and Paris are comparatively brief. As one of the latest inscriptions, on the other hand, the WHS in Rio de Janeiro is categorised as a cultural landscape encompassing an exceptional urban setting with key natural elements. A further analysis of these seven World Heritage Cities has been conducted for the identification of case studies, as described thoroughly in the methodology chapter.

2.3.2.4 Introducing a new concept: Global Heritage Cities

Despite the earlier conservation approaches that aimed to avoid changes at all costs, the protection of urban heritage now embodies the management of changes, rather than prevention, in close partnership with the local communities and their sustainable future in a more inclusive and holistic approach. It is no longer limited to conservation of material assets of the past, but seen as a “process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present”, as well as for the future (Smith, 2006:1). Relevantly, there is a growing interest in the field to address the issues of concern which have emerged as a consequence of the impact of global processes of economic development, and to identify the best instruments and policies to cope effectively with these challenges of safeguarding historic urban landscapes worldwide.

An examination of the existing theoretical framework of urban heritage studies though reveals a gap that addresses the complexities of urban heritage sites located specifically in global cities. Historic urban landscapes situated within the key cities of the global urban network encounter a higher level of administrative, economic and social complexities, which further complicate their protection and effective management. The engagement with global actors, such as international multilateral agencies and private investors, in the decision-making processes, limitations of the existing legislative and administrative frameworks to meet the competing demands of all relevant parties, increasing development pressures that create a dilemma for local administrative bodies struggling to find a balance between global principles of urban conservation while securing adequate funding to ensure further development and better quality of life all factors which combine to add to the management challenges of historic urban areas within global cities. In fact, the issues of concerns raised by the World Heritage Committee in regards to urban development projects executed in World Heritage Cities, which then led to the adoption of Vienna Memorandum and later the HUL Recommendation, emerged largely in global cities: Vienna, London, Liverpool and St Petersburg to name a few. While the recently adopted professional toolkits and doctrinal documents contribute greatly to the adoption of a more inclusive landscape approach and provide guidelines for its adaptation to national and local contexts, their holistic perspective sometimes does not always embrace the problems, challenges and needs specific to various scales.

Functioning as a general standard-setting tool, the HUL Recommendation and definition intend to address all historic cities worldwide. In parallel, the wide scope of the World Heritage Cities terminology embodies various categories of urban heritage inscribed on the WHL, ranging from cultural landscapes in urban context to ensembles of monuments in historic city centres. Hence, the recent contributions have thus far mostly focused on general definitions and instruments suitable for a broad scope of urban heritage sizes varying in scale, scope and geographical distribution. However, this one-size-fits-all definition does not always align with the diversity of challenges that are being faced on the ground. Although the existing urban landscape approach carries the potential to embrace all urban scales, it is particularly apt to address the complexities of management at the global urban scale. This particular limitation of the existing terminology and methodological processes has also been pointed out by Bandarin (2015) with a reference to the international urban design competition recently launched with the intention of establishing a comprehensive development project for metropolitan Paris. This planning exercise allowed the emergence of a debate among contemporary theoreticians and practitioners concerning the current critical issues of urban planning at the very large metropolitan scale, where only a very few managed to embrace the concerns of social inclusion, civic engagement, environmental degradation and

sustainable development (Secchi and Viganò, 2011). It thus demonstrated how even the most recent approaches and development proposals fail to cope with the particular challenges brought by the processes of global urbanisation.

This study hence emphasises the need for a new concept that specifically refers to the management complexities of heritage sites located within the key cities of the global urban network. The notion of *Global Heritage Cities* is thus introduced to fill in the terminological gap. Addressing particularly global World Heritage Cities at its starting point, this term covers four different categories, as depicted in Table 3 and Fig. 3. The initial categorisation of global heritage cities depends on the contextual scope of World Heritage Cities: Class I Cities represent historic cities, towns and city centres inscribed on the WHL, whereas Class II cities stand for WH ensembles or groups of buildings in urban contexts. Hence, the Historic Centre of Warsaw is classified as a Class I Global Heritage City, for instance, whereas the works of Antoni Gaudí WH property positions Barcelona as a Class II Heritage City. In the map of Global Heritage Cities (Fig. 3) Class I cities are shown in red and Class II cities are represented in blue. They are further divided into two based on the alpha and beta classification of global cities, as elaborated by the Globalisation and World Cities (GaWC) team in accordance with their levels of global city network integration. This classification is illustrated with a dot and larger point for alpha, and a square and smaller point for beta categorisations in the map. According to this distribution, for example, Amsterdam is classified as an Alpha-Class I Global Heritage City with its seventeenth century Canal Ring Area designated as a WHS in a highly integrated global city.



Fig. 3. Map of Global Heritage Cities

GLOBAL HERITAGE CITIES	
GLOBAL CITIES	
ALPHA	BETA
<p>Amsterdam 17th century Canal Ring Area</p>	<p>Athens Acropolis</p>
<p>Mexico City Historic Centre and Xochimilco</p>	<p>Budapest The Banks of Danube, the Buda Castle Quarter and Andrássy Avenue</p>
<p>Paris Banks of the Seine River</p>	<p>Cairo Historic City</p>
<p>Vienna Historic Centre</p>	<p>Edinburgh Old and New Towns</p>

WORLD HERITAGE CITIES	CLASS I Cities and towns inscribed on the list	Warsaw Historic Centre	Istanbul Historic Areas
			Lima Historic Centre
			Liverpool Maritime Mercantile City
			Luxembourg City: its Old Quarters and Fortifications
			Prague Historic Centre
			Rio de Janeiro Carioca Landscapes between the mountains and the sea
			Rome Historic Centre
	CLASS II WHS in an urban context	Barcelona Works of Antoni Gaudi	Berlin Palaces and Parks; Museum Island; Modernism Housing Estates
		Beijing Imperial Palaces of Dynasties; Summer Palace; Temple of Heaven	Caracas Ciudad Universitaria
		Brussels La Grand-Place	Cologne Cathedral
		Delhi Humayun's Tomb; Qutb Minar and its monuments	Helsinki Fortress of Suomenlinna
		Lisbon Monastery of the Hieronymites and Tower of Belem	Kiev Saint-Sophia Cathedral and related Monastic buildings
		London Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church; Tower of London	Stockholm Skogskyrkogarden
		Melbourne Royal Exhibition Building and Carlton Gardens	
		Moscow Kremlin and Red Square	
		New York Statue of Liberty	
		Seoul Changdeokgung Palace Complex; Jongmyo Shrine; Royal Tombs	
		Singapore Singapore Botanic Gardens	
		Sydney Opera House	

Table 3. Classification of Global Heritage Cities

Given the way the lines are drawn for this terminology at this point, as of 2016, there are 26 global heritage cities with Singapore being the latest inscription in 2015. Among these twenty-six cities, Amsterdam, Mexico City, Paris, Vienna and Warsaw are classified as Alpha-Class I global heritage cities. Athens, Budapest, Cairo, Edinburgh, Istanbul, Lima, Liverpool, Luxembourg, Prague, Rio de Janeiro and Rome are further categorised as Beta-Class I; Barcelona, Beijing, Brussels, Delhi, Lisbon, London, Melbourne, Moscow, New York, Seoul, Singapore and Sydney as Alpha-Class II; and Berlin, Caracas, Cologne, Helsinki, Kiev and Stockholm as Beta-Class II global heritage cities. As the context of the concept is elaborated to include cities of similar attributes and new sites are being inscribed each year, the category is open to further additions.

At a time in which cultural heritage has become a driver for urban sustainability, there is void in literature that particularly addresses the conservation and management challenges of historic urban sites located within the key cities of the contemporary global urban network. Although the significant efforts of the historic urban landscape approach to embody all types of historic areas within their broader urban contexts are noteworthy, its potential has so far been tested in a limited number of candidate cities of various scales. This new notion of *Global Heritage Cities* steps in at this crucial juncture during the adaptation process of the HUL Recommendation to bring to fore the size, scope and complexities of World Heritage Cities of global economic significance. In this way, it encourages the investigation of specific tools and policies, and the study of best practices of managing global heritage cities in various parts of the world, as being accomplished in this research.

2.3.3 Management of global heritage cities

This sub-chapter focuses on the heritage management discourse associated with the historic urban landscape approach. It initially explains the management framework provided for cultural World Heritage Sites, in general, and introduces the instruments adopted by the operational actions of international conservation bodies. It then discusses issues related to the management of urban heritage sites. Grounded in this broad theoretical framework, it discusses the management complexity of global heritage cities.

2.3.3.1 World Heritage management

The protection and management of cultural heritage sites depend on the identification and clear articulation of why the properties are valued and which attributes contribute to their importance. The idea of “significance” was initially positioned to the core of heritage management discourse in the Australian Burra Charter (1988), which introduced a values-based management planning approach encouraging the involvement of all relevant parties to the identification and understanding of values attributed to heritage sites. Under the emerging global conditions where change is inevitable for historic environments, the management of change is imperative for World Heritage Sites whilst safeguarding and enhancing their cultural significance.

In this regard, world heritage management is based on the assessment of the significance of heritage sites. For each nominated property, the OUV are defined based on the ten criteria of assessment, as given in the Operational Guidelines. Then the significance, integrity and authenticity of the properties are identified. The statement of significance consists of a set of values intrinsic to the heritage site, which has been identified and validated by stakeholders involved in the management system. It is an instrument subjected to judgement and revisions periodically. The OG describes integrity as a “measure of wholeness and intactness” of WH properties and their associated attributes (UNESCO, 2013: Para. 88). Jokilehto (2006) further defines three dimensions of integrity that demonstrate the level at which the heritage values ascribed to the sites maintain their wholeness and completeness within their past and present contexts. These dimensions include structural integrity, which refers to the physical intactness; visual integrity that relate to their capacity to convey visual messages; and social-functional integrity that relies on the activities performed at and functions employed by the properties during their historical evolution. The Nara Document introduces a new definition of authenticity that is

formalised as a degree of measurement based on the level of credibility and accountability of heritage attributes in their capacity to bear witness to the values. Accordingly, the criteria of authenticity are further elaborated in the OG to include “form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language and other forms of non-material heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors” (UNESCO, 2013: para. 82). First appearing in the OG in 2005, the Statement of OUV (SOUV) acts as a “key reference for the future effective protection and management of the property” (UNESCO, 2013: art. 51). To understand the significance of WHS and the correct definition of its OUV, levels of integrity and authenticity are hence fundamental for the assessment of the state of conservation of each property and its future monitoring.

World Heritage Sites must have a management plan or some other form of adequate management system to ensure the effective protection of the properties for present and future generations. Management plans became a prerequisite for the nomination and inscription of properties in 1997. The *Operational Guidelines* recognise that “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” (UNESCO, 2013: Para. 110). The existing management systems should thus demonstrate the operation of effective mechanisms that ensure the shared understanding of sites by all relevant parties and stakeholders and their active participation to the processes of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback. A consensus must be built and collaboration should be enhanced among parties to allow the flow of necessary resources, skills and capacity. The management plans or other means of management system should thus provide a cohesive framework for communication and address such issues to be tackled in a holistic manner.

The following four action steps are thus defined as being involved in the management planning process: identification of the values and resources to be protected, adoption of necessary strategies and policies, implementation of management and monitoring tools, and assessment of change with potential adverse impacts. The elaboration of a full inventory and documentation of the property within its broader landscape through the employment of heritage information procedures is requisite for nominated properties. Activities involving preparation of inventories embracing the whole property, definition of boundaries delimiting the core and buffer zones, along with larger “areas of influence” and “viewpoints” (UNESCO, 2013: para. 104), and the assessment of the state of conservation are imperative for the identification of tangible and intangible attributes to be protected and managed. The OUV attributed to heritage sites constitute the parameters for defining the physical boundaries addressed by the management strategies and the diverse levels of control. Designations of the physical layers of protection are no longer limited to the delimitation of the property boundaries, which further complicate their management.

Over the years UNESCO has produced a significant number of normative tools, complemented with operational actions to facilitate the adaptation of the international policy documents to the legislative frameworks at national and local levels (UNESCO, 1976; UNESCO WHC, 2011; UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS, 2013). The *Operational Guidelines* stress out the importance of provisions necessary for shared awareness and participation by all the relevant stakeholders, as well as capacity building and allocation of resources. They not only require the implementation of an effective management system, but also support the development of policies to systematise heritage protection. However, as Rodwell (2007) points out, they do not provide comprehensive guidelines for their elaboration and operation. The two Advisory Bodies of UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS first prepared the official *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, formulated by Feilden and Jokilehto, in 1993. Providing directions for site managers of a broad range of WH typologies, it positions global conservation principles at the core of all actions. This publication was later criticised by several scholars for

mainly reflecting the traditional Eurocentric conservation approach of the period that favours minimal intervention and embraces four degrees of authenticity disregarding the non-Western conception of originality of materials (Labadi, 2010). The general commentary of such manuals also fail to address or to offer practical solutions to specific sites.

The assignment of a site manager and a multi-disciplinary site management team responsible for the safeguarding of the WHS and its sustainable development is highly recommended in the *Management Guidelines* (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1993). State Parties have the responsibility of ensuring an internal network for communication and coordination is established among responsible national governmental bodies (including ministries), regional and local planning offices, local administrations, and site staff. This formulation of responsible parties disenfranchising the community groups from decision-making manifests the former Western tendency to adopt top-down management models. International cultural heritage policy documents require political and financial support from national and local authorities in order to ensure sustainable solutions for conservation and management.

Although their ratification by State Parties stipulates their adaptation to the existing legislative frameworks, developed countries are more willing to abide by these principles in regards to their governmental, financial and human capacities. Developing countries, on the other hand, are not always in a position to commit to the long-term objectives and priorities of international conservation bodies. Still, most countries operate state-run heritage management systems that advocate procedures and responsibilities cascading from national governmental bodies down to local administrations. This authoritarian approach has shifted towards a bottom-up structure with the involvement of communities who have claimed their right to participate in the decision-making processes. The list of involved parties, which was limited to governments, experts and local administrations until recently, now extends to an expanded list of stakeholders which also embraces private bodies, developers, owners, IGOs and NGOs, and local community groups. The plurality of voices heard and involved in a more participatory and consultative means of decision-making enables participation and consensus orientation. This public participation approach endorsing a bottom-up administrative practice is still not feasible though, particularly in numerous countries where conservation duties and responsibilities reside in central authorities.

The World Heritage system actually empowers the national governmental bodies as the primary caretakers of the properties responsible to comply with the high standards of protection and management. State Parties engage in the management process through demonstration of the existence of a management plan or some other form of effective management system at the nomination stage, respect to its commitment to safeguard the WHS, and verify it to the World Heritage Committee through a series of WH procedures. As a formal requirement of the WH system, State Parties are responsible to submit a periodic report every six years which is concerned with the state of conservation of properties, along with any legislative and/or administrative provisions adopted. The Committee should also be informed about major interventions or projects affecting the properties in order for them to consider these proposals and offer technical assistance. In order for the Committee to act in advance, they should be well informed prior the implementation of these projects. In cases where such proposals impose a threat to the integrity and authenticity of the sites, the reactive monitoring process kicks in where the Committee most likely suggest a joint UNESCO / Advisory Body mission to be conducted in order to investigate the circumstances prior to considerations of Danger enlisting or other serious actions prior to imposing further sanctions. After examining the indications of threats and the actions taken by SPs to mitigate them, the mission provides a report to the World Heritage Centre which then submits a state of conservation report to the Committee. In exceptional circumstances where properties are seriously threatened and their protection requires major operations, the WHS may then be inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

Impact assessment is one of the essential instruments available to evaluate the impact of changes and to assist the decision-making process. A recent guidance was adopted by ICOMOS (2011) with the intention of adapting the EIAs specifically for cultural World Heritage Sites. Focusing on proposals for change to particular cultural properties or areas of cultural significance, Heritage Impact Assessments (HIAs) perform as environmental assessments at the project or more strategic level. They particularly analyse the impacts of such proposals on the OUVs attributed to heritage sites, and they evaluate the potential damages or benefits. HIAs may be conducted either by national or local governmental experts or by external consultants working on behalf of administrative bodies or project developers. The assessment process follows the following stages: Initially, the attributes conveying the significance of the site and its ascertained values are identified by means of content analysis. Then the factors affecting the property are determined and classified either as threat or cause. Following this designation of the list of factors, they are later positioned in the WHS. In this way, the evolution of threats and causes are depicted, and their effect on the property is rated on a scale of 1-4. It is then possible to relate these factors with the results of authenticity/integrity, determine the magnitude of their impact, and provide evidence on their potential causes. It is finally concluded with a proposal of potential scenarios.

The employment of the above-mentioned management tools to identify the values and significance of WH properties, to develop and implement relevant policies and strategies, and to assess the impact of new developments on historic environments is imperative for the sustainability of the existing heritage management structure. It is important to note that the significance of values and resources available obliges individual approaches to be taken for the effective management of each heritage site though.

2.3.3.2 Management of historic cities

The conventional heritage management approach where change was to be fully avoided has shifted to a management of change approach, which focused on the monitoring and mitigation of adverse impacts. In this way, World Heritage management has moved towards a more inclusive approach, especially in urban heritage sites that are in constant change to meet the demands of communities. It has now become more fundamental to define values and priorities, and to share them with all the interested groups to secure a common ground for safeguarding the historic urban landscapes.

The principal management tools are derived from the modern structural and spatial planning framework. They generally initiate with a set of methodologies analysing the urban morphology and typologies, which are essential for the definition of significance. A number of instruments are available that are used to evaluate their character and special interests. Conservation plans basically set out the cultural significance of a place, and determine the policies to retain it (Kerr, 1985). Inscription of historic cities on the WHL usually confers certain international statutory protection that requires approval of activities in the buffer zones and the extended boundaries including views and vistas. Relevantly, the World Heritage Committee recently conducted an expert meeting concerning the development of visual impact assessments and their integration into the existing spatial planning processes for World Heritage properties (UNESCO, 2013). The Action Plan adopted in accordance with the 2011 HUL Recommendation proposed the identification of resources available for historic cities, their significance and vulnerability to potential change within the overall landscape context. Jokilehto (2015) stresses that the HUL approach does not function as a spatial plan, but a holistic management tool to be integrated into the existing planning and management structures. Management planning has proved to be imperative for managing change in heritage cities.

The primary holistic, heritage-led management plans were devised for World Heritage Cities in the UK, with Bath and Edinburgh being the pioneers of the field (Historic England, 2009). Acting as visionary documents for the management plans to follow worldwide, both were drafted by the principal local governmental bodies. While

the plan for the Bath WHS addressed the whole city, the Edinburgh plan was confined to the historic centre. Rodwell (2007) has criticised the plan for Edinburgh for formulating a stand-alone framework for the city centre disconnected from its wider urban landscape context. He has further indicated that the scale and size of the WHS compared to the rest of the city has complicated the management planning process for Edinburgh to a certain extent (Rodwell, 2007). When the WHS and its setting embody a large part of the whole urban agglomeration, and the number of governmental bodies concerned with its safeguarding is relatively limited, as in the case of Bath, it is easier to develop a more inclusive approach to management. This demonstrates that as the World Heritage Cities get larger in scale, socio-economic significance and number of involved stakeholders, more complexities emerge in their management planning.

A comparative analysis of the WH properties and the existing decision-making mechanisms of Safranbolu and Istanbul World Heritage Cities in Turkey also clearly manifests this variation in levels of complexity. Inscribed on the WHL in 1994, the City of Safranbolu represents a typical Ottoman city with its traditional vernacular architecture remaining mostly intact. The WH property covers 193 ha of area at the centre of the historic city, which makes up almost 10% of the whole urban administrative area (**Fig. 4**). Since the site lacks a specific management plan or a local management unit, the relevant national governmental authority and the district municipality are the main decision makers for the heritage site. As shown on Fig. 5, the management scheme of Safranbolu also lacks the metropolitan level of participation in the decision-making where only international, national and local stakeholders are involved. As a global heritage city under the impact of global developmental pressures, on the other hand, Istanbul engages a broad range of international, national, metropolitan and local actors who participate actively in the management process. A comparison of the two decision-making structures (**Fig. 5 and 6**) demonstrates that the metropolitan municipality and its peripheral bodies, a variety of statutory agencies, the site management unit, developers, non-governmental agencies and various community groups are additionally involved in the decision making of Istanbul WHS, which further complicate its management. It is also important to note that the WH property encompasses less than 1% of the whole urban agglomeration (**Fig. 4**), which adds up to its socio-economic complexity.



Fig. 4. Spatial comparison of WH properties in cities of Safranbolu and Istanbul, and their territorial range within the urban agglomerations in scale

The management planning policy and guidance imposed by the World Heritage Committee rely heavily on local management units to possess the capacity and resources to identify and implement the requested actions. This long-term resource-intensive commitment is not always feasible for local actors though. There are certain barriers to adopting robust policies and their inclusion in the management plans: The required skills and knowledge might sometimes be available at national or regional level, but not accessible at local level. Furthermore, the means of communication among different actors might not be convenient enough to enhance

the sharing of documents and knowledge imperative for collaboration. The formulation of a sufficient budget and its fiscal provision are also constraining factors. Hence, the allocation of resources, skills, staff and time to the processes of plan development and implementation are fundamental to take forward the heritage management process for historic cities.

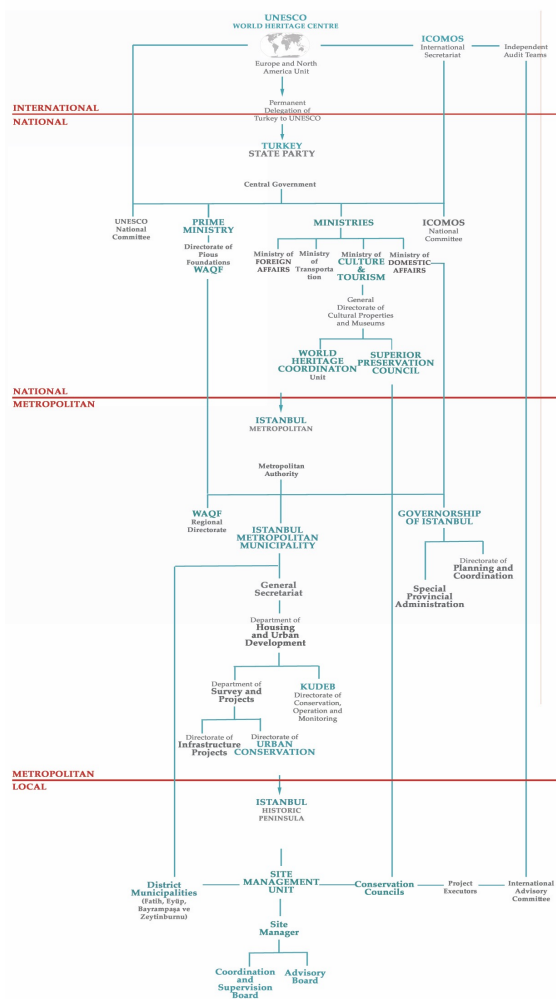
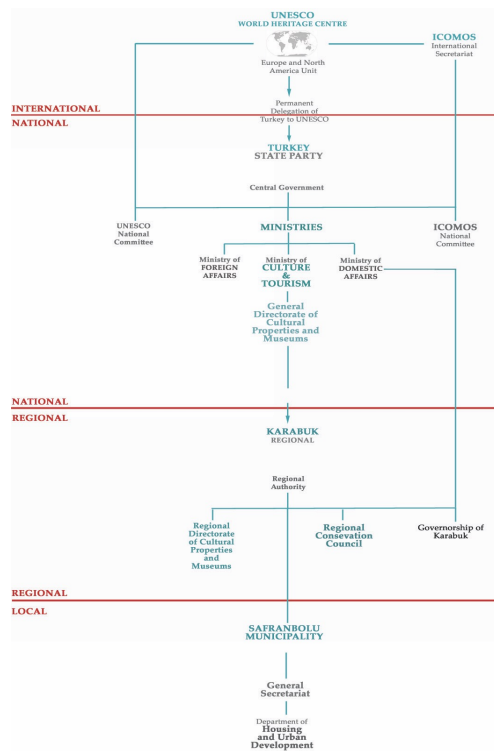


Fig. 5. Decision-making mapping of Safranbolu WHS **Fig. 6.** Decision-making mapping of Istanbul WHS

2.4 Discussion: Complexity of Managing Global Heritage Cities

In a rapidly globalising world that is market-driven, the binary approach of managing change in global heritage cities while promoting their sustainable development and transmission to future generations has been a daunting task. The complexities based on the limitations of existing urban governance and legislative structures, the multi-faceted decision-making mechanisms for World Heritage Sites, and increasing economic and urban development pressures having impacts on these properties generate great challenges for their effective management. The following image (**Fig. 7**) depicts the management complexities for global heritage cities deduced from the comprehensive review of the existing literature. This preliminary mapping is later complemented and elaborated with empirical evidence derived from the multiple case study analysis, as shown in Fig. 8. The significant rise in the level of complexity portrayed in the second draft (**Fig. 8**) clearly demonstrates how complex management of WH properties in global cities actually becomes in practice. For this reason, it is essential primarily to understand the recent emergence of key cities functioning as global command and control centres of the world

economy with their relations within a cross-border urban network, and to identify the complexities introduced by their attributes.

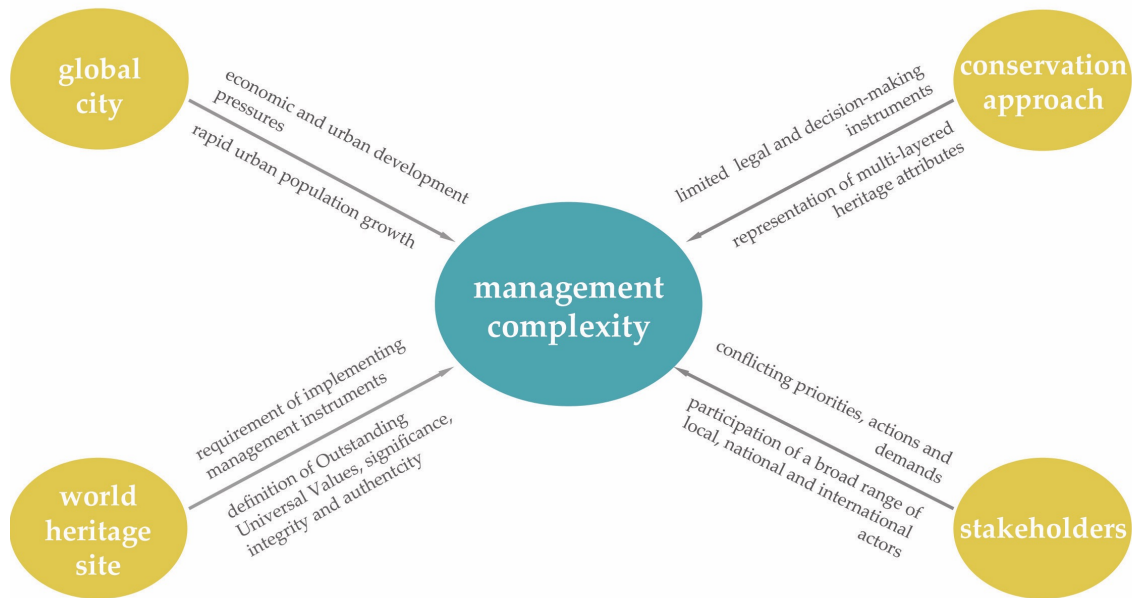


Fig. 7. The first draft mapping of management complexity for global heritage cities

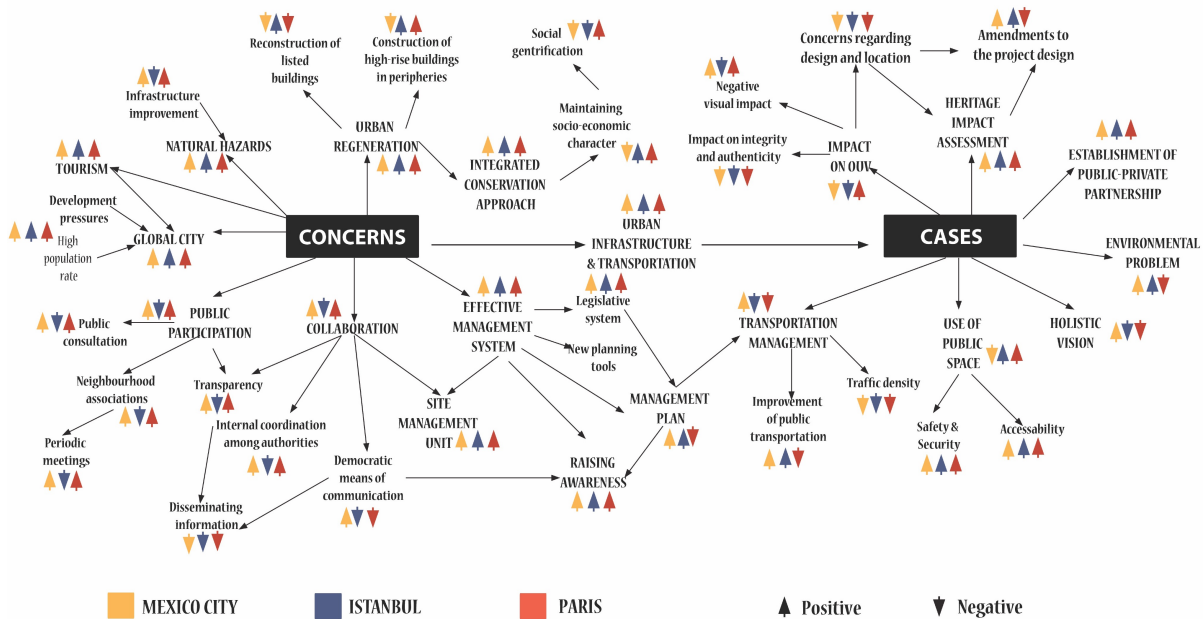


Fig. 8. Complexity mapping for global heritage cities based on the multiple case study analysis

Global cities function as the key nodes for the flows of capital, information and service within cross-border networks that cause rapid rise in urban population, and the emergence of new urbanisation and development tendencies. As a result of the rise of global urban connectivity, the social and economic inequality in these major cities increased in association with the new division of labour (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000). In the meantime, concerns are raised about issues regarding the quality of life, protection of local identities and environmental sustainability. Under conditions of concurrent dispersal of economic activities and integration of economic ownership and control worldwide, major cities compete to attract foreign investments and to become

the location of business enterprises. In this context, cultural heritage becomes an important element in place marketing agencies for attracting foreign tourists and investors. Furthermore, heritage attributes can also be promoted in order to re-create new global images for these cities. For this reason, governments and local authorities employ different instruments to advertise these major cities such as inscribing the cultural properties on the World Heritage List and/or hosting global mega-events such as the Olympic Games, music and art festivals (Labadi and Long, 2010). Thus, cultural heritage is embraced as an essential resource for tourism developments and local economic income.

Additionally, globalisation extends beyond economic factors in leading cities, and alters the structures of decision-making and urban governance. In this regard, the global city formation entails the participation of a broad range of stakeholders in the decision-making mechanisms. This wide range of participants involves local, regional and/or national authorities, transnational corporate members and local property owners or renters. As these cities attract foreign business and tourist investments, international developers join the list of stakeholders. In general, the central state institutions enable the participation of various actors in promoting global city formation through specific arrangements such as regulatory realignments or financial subsidies (Brenner and Keil, 2006). All these factors contribute to the complexity of global heritage cities.

In this contemporary era of globalisation, the traditional planning and heritage discourses fail to provide a convincing framework for values and roles attributed to historic cities by modern societies, while addressing to the interests of global actors, as well as governmental bodies, citizens and users. The strengths and weaknesses in the existing theoretical frameworks and international approaches are examined in this literature review chapter of the study. It first explored the global urbanisation discourse, the urban governance models employed in global cities and the studies on complex systems, which contributed to the better understanding of the complexities associated with global cities, and how these complex self organising systems that change continuously over time demand communicative, participatory and collaborative behaviours (Batty and Marshall, 2012). It then analysed how the concept of urban heritage has been theorised and used by international intergovernmental organisations. Being employed and developed in disciplinary isolation, the earlier manifestations have been limited in their ability to position the broad spectrum of values attributed to cultural heritage within the mainstream of planning policies and practices (Rodwell, 2012). The current literature is mostly focused on different aspects of urban heritage, which still regard heritage protection, urban development, economic gains and goals of sustainable development as different spheres of knowledge. Hence, the critical perspectives on these theoretical contributions and the current state of practice have emphasised the urge for a more inclusive and integrated approach in order to facilitate the balance between urban development and heritage management.

The development pressures inherent in global cities bring out the needs and complexities necessary to be addressed in different fronts, not just advocating developments to cope with the requests for more housing and infrastructure, but also to improve the quality of living, which is strongly rooted on their identity and manifested in their heritage attributes. The recent policy documents and supporting toolkits promotes such an ethical, inclusive and holistic approach that intends to create a stronger basis for the sustainable development of historic urban landscapes. The HUL Recommendation presents a wide range of new interdisciplinary tools including policies and actions organised under four categories to be adapted to suit each local context (UNESCO, 2011). Acting as a soft law, the Recommendation stimulates the State Parties and local governments to integrate this approach into their existing policies, management tools and regulatory systems on a voluntary basis (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012). Hence, its implementation depends on the commitment of the local administrators to adapt their existing management and planning frameworks in accordance with the toolkits and action plans provided.

The initial studies and pilot programmes concerned with the implementation of the HUL approach to local contexts contributed to the identification of gaps in the existing management strategies, and fostered the development additional actions by international intergovernmental bodies through technical and financial assistance packages, educational tools, and formation of a monitoring process. A number of pilot cities were then selected from around the world, which demonstrated how a variety of HUL tools were implemented in different local contexts, and contributed to building of a cooperative network for historic urban landscapes (Bruin *et al.*, 2013; De Rosa and Di Palma, 2013; Van Oers and Haaguchi, 2013; Bennink *et al.*, 2014; Buckley *et al.*, 2016; Siguenca Avila and Rey Perez, 2016). Considering the range of these pilot cities worldwide, it is observed that cities of small or medium scale with less stakeholders being involved in the management processes are more willing to engage with international intergovernmental organisations and advisory teams in order to test the adaptability of this approach into their existing national and local frameworks. These case studies have also clearly demonstrated that practices vary considerably based on the size and geo-cultural background of the sites (Roders, 2013; Caballero and Pereira Roders, 2014; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2015; WHITRAP, 2016). In the existence of a wide variety of theories, definitions and studies concerned with urban development and heritage management practices, complemented with policies, laws and regulations already available, it is essential to critically reflect, redevelop and reiterate the existing theoretical and practical understanding of the processes and actors engaged in the decision making of historic cities in the realm of globalisation and urban development. Referring to the limits of these existing frameworks and practices, hence, there has been a compelling need for a more thorough conceptualisation that position urban conservation within the overall urban management process specific for global cities.

In response to this gap, a new conceptual framework has been developed that defines the concept of a global heritage city, and addresses the development pressures and management complexities encountered by historic cities of global economic significance. This innovative approach incorporates the size, scope and complexities associated with global heritage cities into the existing urban heritage protection and development discourses. It further assists the elaboration of the recent policy documents and tools through testing how and to what extent they can be adapted to the context of global urbanisation. In this context, the case studies examined within this study point out the disjunctions and complexities that arise from the implementation of international normative statements at the national and local levels. They also demonstrate that new concepts and mechanisms that are available to decision makers in heritage cities, such as management plans and heritage impact assessments that assist the protection of cultural heritage through urban planning policies and programmes. In this way, this research presents theoretical arguments for, and case studies of, responsive and effective strategies that offer solutions to the management complexities in ways which respond both to the need to conserve cultural heritage and promote sustainable development in global heritage cities. The scope and contributions of this new conceptual framework are further discussed in sections 7.2.1 and 8.4.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Philosophical Approach and Design of Research Methodology

In accordance with the comprehensive conceptual framework defined for global heritage cities, a mixed research methodology is uniquely designed and employed in this research. Keeping in mind the complex nature of the existing management and decision-making systems operating in these heritage cities, the traditional methodological approaches employed in disciplinary isolation have failed to encompass and depict these complex structures. Exploring a range of research methodologies, hence, an individual methodology is designed for this study. As explained in detail throughout this chapter, this unique methodology aims to conduct a multiple case study, and to portray a more holistic image of all the relevant processes, issues and remedies.

This methodology follows an iterative process of data collection, multiple case study analysis and deduction of research outcomes employed systematically. In this approach defined as grounded theory, initial concepts are derived from the data gathered and assessed simultaneously, which then build up to form core categories that are generated through the comparative conceptualisation of data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). As one of the most widely used research techniques for qualitative data analysis, the grounded theory methodology is adopted for this research to build upon the existing theoretical framework deduced from the global urbanisation and heritage management discourses, to assess the existing administrative, legislative and decision-making structures of cases, and to identify the best mechanisms and tools of management derived from the multiple-case analysis.

Charmaz (2006) indicates that the grounded theory generally adopts a more objective approach that justifies a reality independent of social actors, and that it should have an alternative constructivist approach claiming a social reality where people maintain a reciprocal process of creation and interpretation. Despite the objectivist intention of achieving a value-free neutral research medium where the researcher is regarded as a passive observer, the recent studies on research of inequality emphasise how the social research takes sides. Empiricism suggests that knowledge is produced through observation and experience, and reality is the interpretation of the social world by people (Bryman, 2001). The emancipatory research methodology further questions the legislator status of the inquirer, whereas the post-modernists define the role of the researcher as the interpreter of truth (Trueman et. al, 2000). Building upon these approaches, in sum, it is intended to embrace a more objective and open-minded attitude during the inquiry and data collection stages of this research, but to formulate a more subjective approach while interpreting the data gathered.

Based on this empirical approach, a multiple-case study is employed as the main research strategy, which easily engage with the broad range of factors and actors examined in this research. This methodology also enables the assessment of individual cases and facilitates the deduction of general results comparable to similar cases (Ziesel, 2005). Accordingly, the global heritage cities of Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris are selected as the case cities to be further examined based on a set of criteria, and their broad scopes are narrowed down to specific cases, which are designated as large-scale development projects that threaten the heritage attributes of the WH properties within.

For the collection of qualitative data, initially, a critical literature review is carried out for the purpose of building a conceptual framework with the data collected from various sources. Then field studies are conducted in each heritage city to collect further evidence from documents and semi-structured interviews. Following the fieldwork, qualitative data analysis methodology is employed to examine the main issues of concern in regards to the heritage sites, to identify key actors participating in the management systems and the operation of their decision-making mechanisms, along with the assessment of the effectiveness of their strategies and actions. The

assessment of these multiple cases then leads to the definition of management complexities and identification of effective strategies, tools and policies adopted to cope with these challenges. The following image (**Fig. 9**) summarises the iterative data collection and analysis phases in accordance with the grounded theory.

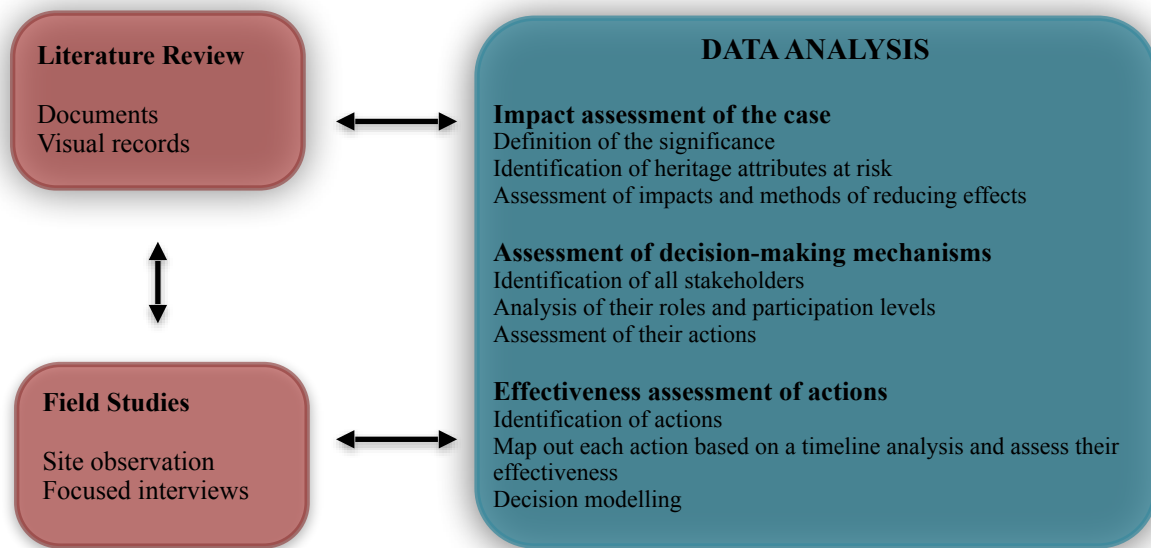


Fig. 9. The iterative data collection and analysis processes

3.2 Multiple Case Study Analysis

The multiple-case study is employed as the main research methodology of this study. Dealing with “the complexity and particular nature of the case”, case study research examines current events within real-life contexts, draws on multiple sources of evidence and aims to provide meaning in this context (Bryman, 2008: 52). This approach is concerned with why some decisions are taken, how they are implemented and what the consequences are. It provides a framework feasible for complex phenomena where the inquiry copes with many variables of interest, multiple sources of data, and complicated causal links between the data collected and its interpretations (Yin, 2003). The variety of urban governance systems, decision-making mechanisms and diverse roles of a broad range of actors correspond to the integrated and contemporary real-life approach of this method, and make this all-encompassing method the most suitable for this research. The assessment of the selected global heritage cities will lead to generation of concepts that can be generalised to similar sites.

In this context, this section focuses on the multiple case study approach designed for this study. Initially, the criteria adapted to select the case cities for analysis are described and the respective global heritage cities are identified. Then, the case projects to be further examined are determined.

3.2.1 Selection of case cities

Addressing explicitly to global heritage cities, this multiple case study intends to understand and explain the complexities associated with their management and decision-making, and to identify effective instruments to deal with them. In the conduct of this multiple case study, hence, it is important to select the best exemplary cases that lead to the better understanding of the exclusive status of global heritage cities and the future adoption of effective instruments convenient for worldwide practices.

In this context, three global heritage cities encompassing historic urban areas inscribed on the World Heritage List are selected as case cities. The preference for World Heritage Sites is that in accordance with the Convention such sites will have agreed statements of Outstanding Universal Value which can be used to benchmark changes along with effective management systems put in place by the State Party which may include appropriate

management plans or other management tools that ensure the protection of sites. World Heritage Cities are thus highly eligible for the identification of management complexities, and effectiveness of the existing management systems and tools. Building upon this inclination, case cities to be analysed are selected based on the following set of criteria.

The initial classification depends on the population sizes of cities, which generates social pressure and brings up another level of complexity to the site. Urban agglomerations with populations in excess of 10 million are categorised as megacities (Jenks and Burgess, 2002). In such cities, rapid urban growth and global development pressures further complicate the safeguarding of historic environments coping with the challenges of high touristification, and inappropriate urban regeneration and social gentrification projects. Based on the elaborated inventory on World Heritage Cities, as of 2016, 21 out of 280 cities have population sizes over 1 million. Among them, only seven are classified as *megacities*: Mexico City, Cairo, Moscow, Istanbul, Rio de Janeiro¹⁷, Paris and Lima¹⁸. As this study was initiated in September 2010 and the case selection methodology was designed and employed in 2011, Rio de Janeiro and Lima were not qualified as candidate case cities. Hence, the criteria to identify the case cities were focused on the five World Heritage Cities of Mexico City, Cairo, Moscow, Istanbul and Paris.

The next criterion is related to the function of cities in the global urban network, which is essential for the designation of global cities that serve as global service centres in the world economy. In global cities, international developers and actors are actively involved in the management of heritage sites, which add up to the wide range of stakeholders participating in the decision-making mechanisms. Among these five World Heritage Cities, Mexico City, Moscow, Istanbul and Paris are classified as global cities, whereas Cairo is excluded due to its weak connectivity in the global economy. These four global heritage cities are further divided into two based on the alpha and beta classification of global cities, in accordance with their levels of global city network integration. According to this distribution, Mexico City, Paris and Moscow are further categorised as Alpha Global Heritage Cities, whereas Istanbul is designated as a Beta Global Heritage City.

Another criterion depends on the co-existence of numerous historic layers encompassing a combination of monuments and historic urban fabric dating from different periods that exist in unity within the historic urban landscape. This quality brings up an additional physical level of complexity that further complicates the interpretation and representation of each layer. Hence, the selected World Heritage Cities would embrace multi-layered historic urban areas where single monuments and historic quarters from different periods exist in integrity at the site. In this regard, the World Heritage City of Cairo inscribed on the List as an historic urban area manifesting Islamic urban morphologies and the WHS in Moscow comprising of individual monuments dating from 14th to 17th centuries are disqualified. In contrast, Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris, cities which integrate different layers of urban morphologies, are all eligible for this criterion.

Finally, the last criterion of selection relies on the adoption of some types of effective management tools that ensure the safeguarding of heritage sites. Based on the Operational Guidelines, the appropriate instruments might include the implementation of a management plan, existence of effective protective measures, establishment of a local management unit specific for heritage sites, and the designation of conservation areas, buffer zones and/or vistas. Accordingly, four out of the five World Heritage Cities have established some form of appropriate management system excluding Cairo, a fact which has raised concern with the World Heritage Committee

¹⁷ For this research initiated in September 2010, the multiple case selection criteria was determined and employed mainly in 2011. Inscribed on the WHL in 2012, hence, Rio de Janeiro was not considered as as candidate case city even though it is qualified for almost all the criteria. A discussion on the exclusion of this case city is conducted in the limitations section of the concluding chapter.

¹⁸ When the case selection methodology was initially employed in 2010, the population density of Lima was set as 8.437 million. Hence, this World Heritage City was not designated as a megacity, and was excluded from the list of candidate cities.

regarding the limitation of protection and management tools, the lack of a management plan and limited access to data.

Consequently, Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris are classified as global heritage cities with multi-layered historic urban areas designated as World Heritage Sites that have implemented appropriate management tools for the safeguarding of heritage sites, and thus selected as the three case World Heritage Cities which have been studied.



Fig. 10. The Global Heritage Cities selected as case cities

3.2.2 Multiple-Case Assessment

At these complex urban heritage sites located in global cities, the broad scope of Global Heritage Cities is narrowed down to focus on specific cases emerging in those sites that manifest the operation of the existing decision making mechanisms and tools adopted to cope with management challenges. These cases are recognised as threats to the OUV, integrity and authenticity of the World Heritage properties, which are addressed at State of Conservation Reports or Mission Reports submitted to/by the World Heritage Committee. In recent years, these threats have generally been identified as a broad range of large-scale development projects (Fig. 11) including the construction of new roads, bridges, tall buildings, along with incompatible developments, renewals, demolitions and new infrastructure typologies, and excessive or inappropriate tourism. These projects have the potential to impact adversely on the attributes reflecting the OUV of WHS such as the buffer zones, skylines, vistas and key views.

In this respect, these cases focus on single large-scale development projects that are either realised or in the implementation process in each city, which threaten similar attributes contributing to the Outstanding Universal Value of each site as set out in the SoOUV. They demonstrate how different stakeholders are involved in the decision-making mechanisms at local, national and international levels, and highlight conflicts or controversies arising between different parties. Moreover, these projects are addressed by the World Heritage Committee as a concern or threat, and thus compel local and national authorities to develop actions to resolve these issues. They hence contribute to the identification of the diverse roles and positions of each decision-maker, and the

effectiveness assessment of the policies and instruments adopted through the employment of the heritage impact assessment methodology.

Once the cases to be further analysed are determined for each Global Heritage City, a respective data collection methodology is designed that gathers relevant data through a critical literature review and field studies. The rest of the chapter describes in detail the data collection and data analysis methodologies adapted specifically for this research.

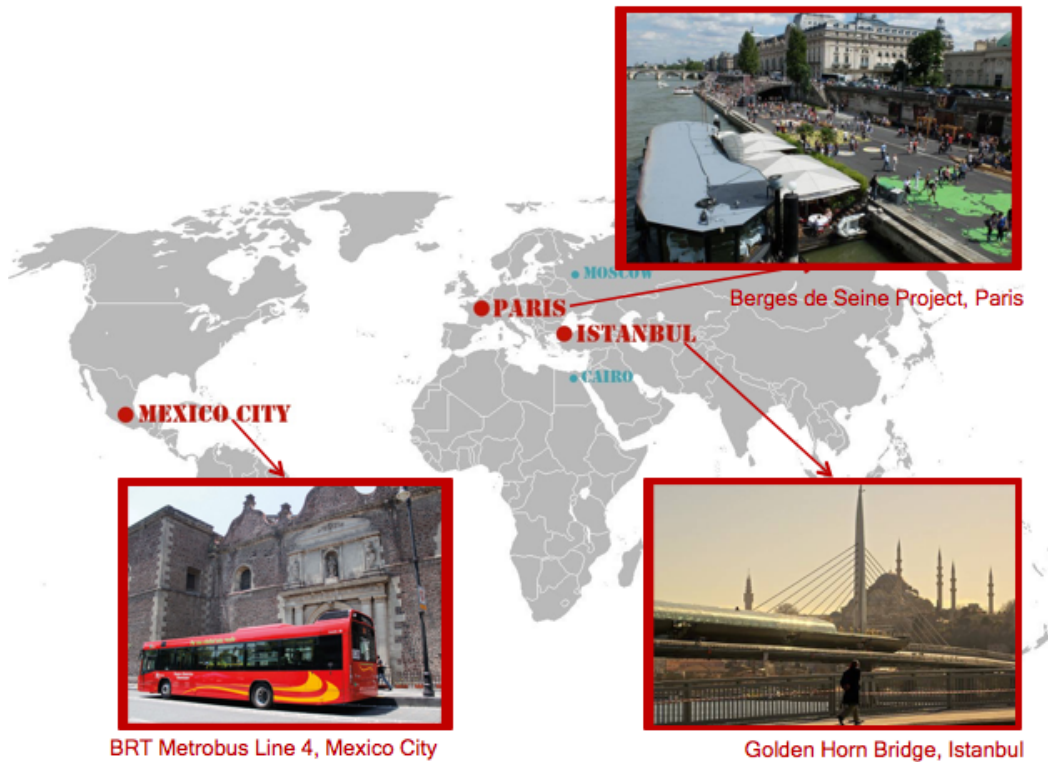


Fig. 11. The case projects selected within each case city

3.3 Data Collection

For case study research, the sources of evidence may include documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 2003). These data collection sources augment the credibility and authenticity of case studies when used as multiple sources of data focusing on similar facts and findings. Certain principles are also imperative to construct a data base for each case that acts as a collection of evidence, and to map out the links between research questions, data gathered and the results drawn from the research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

In the following sub-sections, the main data collection tools employed in this study are explained in detail. The initial step is the literature review that enables the development of a conceptual framework and the design of research methodology. The following step is the fieldwork conducted in each case to collect further evidence from the documents and semi-structured interviews with a broad range of stakeholders having a role in the decision-making mechanisms. The following chart (Table 4) summarises the sources of data gathered for each case city and project, and categorises them based on the collection methodology employed.

Documentary Sources	Mexico City	Istanbul	Paris
National/regional/local policies, laws and regulations	Yes	Yes	Yes
Conservation area planning documents	No	Yes	Yes
Site management plans	Yes	Yes	No
Inscriptions, SOCs and other reports submitted by SP to UNESCO WHC	Yes	Yes	Yes
Evaluation reports by national/local authorities	Yes	Yes	Yes
UNESCO WHC Decisions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Evaluation reports by Advisory Bodies	No	Yes	Yes
Heritage Impact Assessments	No	Yes	No
Official reports and internal records by stakeholders	No	Yes	Yes
Administrative documents	Yes	Yes	Yes
Formal studies and examinations	Yes	Yes	No
Mass-media outputs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Visual records	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sources collected from Fieldwork			
Interviews with stakeholders	Yes	Yes	Yes
Formal meetings	Yes	Yes	No
Site observations	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 4. Sources of data collected for each case study

3.3.1 Literature review

As a data collection technique, a critical literature review is carried out for the purpose of building a conceptual framework, gaining better understanding of different approaches to global urbanisation and urban heritage management discourses, and collection of evidence for the assessment of cases.

A conceptual framework covers the main topics studied, and explains the relationships between the key factors of the research (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Relevantly, the conceptual framework developed specifically for this study integrates the key concepts brought forward from the fields of urban conservation and heritage management to the context of urban studies and globalisation discourse. Hence, this framework contributes to the identification of factors related to the management of global heritage cities, and the assessment of the existing legislative structures, administrative systems and decision making processes.

Part of the literature review is concerned with the design of the research methodology, as discussed in this chapter. It describes the multiple-case studies as the main research strategy, explains the sources of evidence and tools employed to collect data, along with the methods conducted to analyse the data to draw general conclusions. In parallel, it also involves the collection of data and evidence related to the cases examined. The sources of data are determined as written official reports, administrative documents, formal studies, mass media clippings, and visual records such as photographs and maps related to the sites. These documentations are further explained in the following sub-sections.

3.3.1.1 Documents

Documentary evidence lays the foundation for this multiple case study, which provides factual information for each case and corroborates evidence gathered from other sources. The documentary sources used in this research take variable forms, and they are evaluated based on their levels of credibility, authenticity, meaning and representativeness (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

The principal source of data consists of official documents derived both from the State and private sources. The documents collected from the State include national legislation and regulations related to the safeguarding of historic areas, conservation and management plans, inscription, state of conservation and other relevant reports submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee about the WHS, evaluation reports submitted by national, regional and local authorities, administrative documents related to the administrative structures of national and local authorities responsible for the management of heritage sites, and agendas and meeting remarks of such authorities. The official documents derived from private sources comprise of international conventions and charters adopted by international conservation bodies such as ICOMOS, UNESCO, Council of Europe, official mission reports and decisions submitted by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee on each case, written reports and internal records of national, regional and local organisations that take a role in the decision-making mechanisms of heritage cities. For these documents, authenticity and credibility are rarely issues because they are official statements that provide primary sources of data.

The second source of data consists of formal studies and evaluations of the same heritage site under examination. Hence, these documents include formal publications, articles, conference proceedings, and post-graduate dissertations focusing on the cases. Since most of these sources are academic publications, they are accepted as being credible and representing an objective and/or authentic view on the issues while providing analysed data.

The third source of evidence consists of mass-media outputs. They include national and local newspaper clippings and other articles appearing in the media, periodic professional journals, community newsletters and online publications. In the case of mass-media outputs, selection of sources is an essential aspect to maintain the principles of authenticity, credibility and representativeness. In this way, sources representing different approaches of stakeholders participating in the decision-making process are selected and evaluated.

The documentary information collected from the aforementioned sources of evidence are analysed by qualitative content and controversy analysis techniques, which are explained in depth in the following data analysis section.

3.3.1.2 Visual records

Complementary to the documents described in the previous sub-section, visual documents and records are also crucial sources of evidence utilised in this research. They include site maps, relevant conservation and management plans of the WHS prepared as scaled drawings, aerial photographs, and photos of the historic landscapes portraying the state of conservation before and after the implementation of the projects. These visual documents are collected from official reports and plans derived from national and local authorities, the files submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, and official archives of photography for each case. Additionally, photographs taken by the researcher during the site observation phase of the fieldwork display the current state of the sites and the interaction of users with it. The data analysis method that is specifically conducted for this source is also described in the following section.

3.3.2 Fieldwork

As the second step of data collection, fieldwork is conducted in each Global Heritage City in order to gather documents from relevant sources, to conduct site observations, and to employ focused interviews with major decision-makers participating in the management of the WHS.

Prior to site visits, contacts were established to gain access to key institutions and sources of evidence including potential interview subjects and background data to be used in the field was collected and organised, while being prepared for unanticipated events. Relevantly, establishment of contacts has been one of the biggest challenges of this phase. Since most of the potential subjects are senior representatives and administrators, it proved difficult to access them through online means of communication. Since the researcher was fully or semi-fluent in all the three languages, the initial correspondence and interviews were undertaken in the native languages of the officials. Elimination of the language barrier facilitated gaining access to documents and officials, and attenuated the communication gap in between. The interviewees were more communicative in their native languages, and they expressed themselves more fluently.

In this context, the initial fieldwork was conducted in Paris between the dates November 21st-December 2nd, 2011. The reason for the selection of Paris as the first field study relied on the convenience to test the feasibility of the research methodology there in accordance with its proximity, the presence of the UNESCO Headquarters, and the organisation of the annual ICOMOS General Assembly in the city during those dates. Parallel to preliminary site observations, primary sources of data were collected from the archives of UNESCO World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with a Programme Specialist from the Europe and North America Unit of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, a senior representative of the French National Commission for UNESCO, an official representing the National Ministry of Culture and Communication, and the former Vice President of ICOMOS France.

Following the preliminary analysis of the Paris case and the revision of the research methodology, the next field study was undertaken in Istanbul between the dates April 2nd-21st, 2012. During this site visit, official documents from the relevant national and local administrative bodies were gathered. Most of the state authorities were reluctant to provide access to these documents and they consistently questioned the reason of inquiry. Limited access to documentary evidence was later highlighted as an issue of concern restricting collaboration between actors at different stages. This fieldwork was followed by other visits to the city to attend to UNESCO/ICOMOS Mission conducted in November 2012 and expert meetings conducted by the Istanbul Site Management Directorate in 2013. These meetings gathering almost all of the relevant stakeholders participating in the management of the heritage site contributed greatly to the portrayal of the existing decision-making mechanism and the participation levels of each actor. They also facilitated access to numerous administrators, which were interviewed directly on site. They included representatives of the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO, ICOMOS National Committee of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Istanbul Heritage Committee functioning within the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the former Site Manager from the Istanbul Site Management Directorate, the project developer and the relevant NGO.

After the preliminary analysis of the Istanbul case and the re-design of the research instruments, the final fieldwork was then carried out in Mexico City between the dates July 18th-August 9th, 2012. The administrators and involved parties engaged in this field study were more eager to participate and share their experiences compared to the other cases. In addition to rapid responses to online correspondences, some officials also willingly provided contact details of other relevant actors and allowed attendance to official meetings including gatherings with UNESCO officials and local community groups. This openness facilitated the data collection phase for this case, which was complemented with focused interviews conducted with the following stakeholders: Mexican National Commission for UNESCO, National Institute of Anthropology and History, National Council for Culture and Arts, Historic Centre Authority and Fideicomiso (Historic Centre Trust), and the relevant departments of universities.

Due to the limited access to the national and local stakeholders in Paris, another 10 day-long fieldwork was conducted in November 2013 to collect more data, observe the progress of the case project, and to elaborate on

the previous findings. During this period, interviews were carried out with the recently-established Banks of the Seine Mission dedicated to the safeguarding of the WHS within the Paris Council, and a representative of the Paris Urban Planning Agency. The impact of the partially implemented project was observed and visually documented on site.

The fieldwork process covered the collection of data from relevant documents and the conduct of focused interviews with the major local, national, regional and international decision-makers that play a key role in the management system of these global heritage cities. These site visits were complemented with site observations concerning the case projects. Attendance to formal meetings with international conservation bodies, national and local administrative units, and community groups contributed to the manifestation of the decision-making structures and the roles carried out by the stakeholders. These gatherings also provided access to numerous administrators and experts in the field with whom formal and informal exchange of knowledge and experience were conducted. The stakeholders that are interviewed, their roles and participation in the decision-making mechanisms, along with their reflections on the cases are further indicated in the following chapters covering the case description and analysis.

3.3.3 Focused interviews

Focused interviews are basic data collection tools integrated with other methods used in social research studies that are suited to identifying the personal reflections of respondents on complex situations (Bryman, 2008). This methodology enables the researcher to define a certain situation in the way respondents see and interpret it, and to clarify their responses to certain actions. These qualities make this research tool highly feasible for this research by means of gaining information on the roles and perspectives of various stakeholders, and discovering the personal interpretations of participants representing such parties. It is hence employed not only to identify the official viewpoints and approaches of different bodies to the cases, but also to gain insights on their own interpretations and intentions.

In this respect, the focused interviews address the specific cases selected within each global heritage city for manifesting the complex structure of decision-making mechanisms. The intention of this method is to gather information about the position of the people interviewed in relation to the heritage site, the duration of their correspondence with the heritage site, the role which they represent in the existing management system, their levels of participation in the decision-making mechanisms, their perspective and approach to the specific case, the relevant actions taken by the body, their participation in the case and the personal reflections of the respondent on the role and approach of their representative party in the whole process.

Accordingly, the selection of the most appropriate respondent is important to gather the required data. The quantity and source of respondents also depend on their accessibility and availability for interviews. In this regard, the potential participants to be interviewed from each case are determined as follows, even though only a limited number of them were willing to participate in this research: The international party respondents include the chief of regional unit and specialists involved with the specific WHS from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, and representatives of international developers that are concerned with the proposed development projects selected as cases. The national respondents for each case involve representatives of UNESCO National Committees including the head of the UNESCO WHC Unit and specialists involved with the specific sites, representatives of the Ministries of Culture concerned with the conservation and management of WHS, relevant members of ICOMOS National Committee, national experts such as advisors, specialists or academics who are involved in the cases, and national representatives of the developers. The regional respondents are the representatives of regional authorities concerned with the heritage site that participate in the decision-making. Then the local respondents for each case are representatives of metropolitan and district municipalities working in the relevant units, representatives of WHS management units including the head manager, a representative of

the advisory board and a representative of the coordination and inspection board, representatives of local NGOs concerned with the safeguarding of the WHS, and local community representatives who are affected by the development projects and participate in an organisation or NGO.

As for the design and operation of the interviews, a semi-structured formulation was employed where specific questions were outlined in an interview guide but the process remained flexible. These questions posed to the respondents presented the general intention of gaining information on the roles and approaches of each stakeholder, and discovering the personal interpretations of participants representing certain parties. Moreover, probes were used during the conduct of interviews, which are described by Ziesel (2005) as questions to keep the flow of conversation and to ascertain the definitions of respondents, in order to encourage in depth discussion and get respondents to explain their personal reflections on the efficiency of management structures. The research information sheet and the consent form which were provided to the respondent beforehand, briefly outlined the research, the intentions and what was expected from them. In this way, the respondents had been informed beforehand and were better equipped to provide sufficient responses. Each interview took approximately 30 minutes and encouraged the participants to run through the plot of activities related to each case by addressing the role and participation level of key actors, the perspective and approach of the stakeholders to the projects and the relevant actions taken by themselves. The interviews did not always follow the pre-designed outline. Depending on the flow of conversation, new questions were posed in order to elaborate on certain details. Some respondents also provided additional sources of evidence or passed on new contacts for the researcher to get in touch with, which complemented the data collection process. At the end of each interview, the research consent form was filled in and signed by the subjects.

Almost all of the interviews were audio recorded excluding one respondent who refused. Some notes were also taken during the interviews, which were later used as references during the transcription process. Since four different languages were utilised during the conduct of interviews, each of them were later translated and transcribed in English. At this phase, special care was taken to use the exact word-translations for the terminology adopted by the subjects. These transcriptions were later used to generate codes for the mapping of management complexity, and elaboration of case assessments. These steps are further described in the four-step data analysis methodology explained in the next section.

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Analytical Strategy

Every case study requires a general analytical strategy to identify what data to analyse and why, as well as how to analyse the data. In this multiple-case study, the general analytical strategy is based on explanation building that aims to stipulate a presumed set of causal links between different approaches to case projects in each case city in order to build an explanation about similar cases that reflect some theoretically significant propositions (Cresswell, 2007).

For the assessment of the findings derived from the multiple case study analysis, a unique research methodology is designed and employed in this research. Exploring a range of methodological approaches, it is the first study to apply cognitive mapping techniques drawn from the field of managerial and organisational cognition to the heritage management research. In cases where traditional management approaches fail to encompass the complex nature of heritage cities and sites, this methodology portray a more holistic image of all the relevant processes, issues and remedies. As for the employment of this new methodology, the focused interviews have been an imperative tool for collecting initial data and further developing categories. The outcomes of the initial interviews and preliminary assessment of the first case yielded to the formulation of the approach to the

following cases. The key codes and concepts derived from the initial cases are later integrated to the analytical framework and were addressed in the following field studies. Hence, the data collection and analysis processes have operated iteratively during the whole research process.

Based on the general analytical strategy developed and the conduct of the grounded theory as a qualitative research approach, the following data analysis and explanation building processes are employed. Complementary to the multiple-case study assessment techniques and data collection tools explained above, initially, the cases selected in each heritage city are analysed in depth through the methodology adopted for heritage impact assessment (ICOMOS, 2010). Then, the management complexity of each case is depicted through cognitive mapping methodology, which portrays the codes and categories derived from the content analysis of a variety of data sources. It is followed by the assessment of the actions taken by the broad range of stakeholders participating in the management structures, and manifested in a timeline analysis in order to identify effective tools of management in similar cases. Finally, the decision-making mechanisms of each heritage site are further analysed which involves the identification of all the relevant stakeholders, assessment of their roles and approaches, and their participation levels in the management system.

For a better understanding, these main processes of data analysis are summarised in the following chart (**Table 5**) in terms of their purpose, data sources used, methodologies and analysis techniques employed, outcomes derived and their applicability to the case city and project. Referring to this chart, it is deduced that the methodologies employed for the case study analysis are mainly case specific but the complexity maps and decision-making maps derived from individual case results are also transferrable to the broader global heritage city level with space for case-specific variations.

Data Analysis	Purpose	Sources	Process	Methodology	Outcomes	Applicability
Impact assessment of case projects	Manifesting the operation of the management systems	1. Statement of OUVs 2. HIA reports 3. WHC decisions and reports 4. Visual documents	1. Identifying heritage attributes at risk 2. Assessing the scale of impact 3. Methods to mitigate adverse effect	Heritage impact assessment	Assessment of actions taken and tools developed by actors	Specific to case projects
Complexity mapping	Depicting the management challenges and actions taken	1. Interviews 2. Official reports and documents 3. Mass media outputs	1. Producing concepts signifying management issues 2. Depicting them in complexity maps 3. Linking the actions to concepts 4. Formation of overall complexity map	Cognitive mapping techniques - content analysis, causal mapping and cluster analysis	Simplified representation of the complex process of management for the case cities and projects	Individual case results applied to the broader global heritage city level

Data Analysis	Purpose	Sources	Process	Methodology	Outcomes	Applicability
Effectiveness assessment of actions	Describing the development process of projects and analysing the effectiveness of actions	1. Interview transcripts 2. Documentary sources - mission reports, WHC decisions, SOC reports 3. SOUVs and HIAs	1. Identifying actions taken by actors 2. Mapping the progress analysis over a timeline depicting the whole process 3. Decision modelling concerning actions 4. Effectiveness assessment of activities	Progress analysis mapping - content analysis and decision modelling Assessment of impact mitigation rate	Identification of effective management instruments for global heritage cities	Specific to case projects
Decision making analysis	Assessment of decision-making mechanisms for the global heritage cities	1. Documentary sources - WHC and SP reports, internal records of authorities 2. Interviews 3. Progress analysis maps	1. Identifying all the decision makers 2. Mapping out all the actors hierarchically in a network display 3. Measuring frequency of interactions among actors 4. Calculating participation rates	Social network analysis - degree of connectedness and actor centrality measures	Decision making maps and patterns	Actor centrality measures derived from case analysis; applicable to the city level but open to variations based on cases selected

Table 5. Processes of data analysis

3.4.2 Impact Assessment of the Cases

In this multiple-case study, cases that stand for urban development projects introducing some form of change with a direct impact on the OUV attributed to the heritage sites, which also manifest the operation of the management systems for these sites are further analysed in depth. The assessment processes for these cases include the examination of the SoOUV of each WHS, identification of the heritage attributes that are at risk and how they contribute to OUV, assessment of the impacts of these cases on the OUV and the methods of avoiding or reducing their effects on sites.

The core documentation for the identification of attributes that convey OUV is the Statement of OUV formulated for each property inscribed on the WHL. It presents a comprehensive description of heritage attributes, parameters of integrity and authenticity. It also presents individual or collective conditions, indicates the importance of inter-relationships and sensitivity, and sets out potential indication of capacity of change.

For identifying impact on these attributes, relevant information is collected from official documents and field studies about the cases that include the justification for the development project, the statement of conditions present on the site and its environs, the details of any alternative development projects being considered and the delimitation of the area affected from the case. An important tool to present this information is appropriate mapping that include modelling to predict impacts on heritage assets. The modelling techniques are linked to the development proposal and employ virtual 3D scale models displaying visually the potential impacts. A detailed inventory is also essential to give information about the effects on each element in detail. These visual documents are mainly drawn from the documentation submitted by State Parties to the Committee, drawings

elaborated by project developers, and the independent HIAs carried out by international experts. The general threats to the sites, along with impacts of the projects are also described thoroughly in the mission reports, State of Conservation reports and Decisions adopted by the WH Committee. The data collected from these sources are then utilised in the elaboration of threats and impacts for each case.

The second step of impact assessment includes the identification of the scale or severity of impact on attributes for each case. As stated in the *ICOMOS Guidance of Heritage Impact Assessment* (2010), impacts might take many forms varying from direct or indirect, cumulative, temporary or permanent, reversible or irreversible, visual, physical, social and cultural etc. Furthermore, they can result in physical loss and/or changes to the setting of heritage sites. Hence, the scale of these impacts is based on the proportion of the attribute/s affected, and how much it affects the OUV. As set out in the ICOMOS Guideline (2010), the scale or magnitude of impacts is evaluated based on their direct and indirect effects and whether they are temporary or permanent, reversible or irreversible. Based on the ranking of severity of separate impacts, the overall impact is then determined by means of the importance of attributes affected and the scale of change caused by the case. Hence, the significance of the effect of impact is evaluated by a nine-point scale ranging from beneficial to adverse. However, it is crucial at this step to set out criteria to designate the benefits and adverse-effects. The parties who receive the benefits (public benefits or financial benefits for developers) are clearly articulated and the main determinant is fixed as the OUV of heritage sites.

The third step includes the identification of potential methods to mitigate or offset the adverse effects of a development proposal. As the HUL approach promotes the management of sustainable change, it is essential to develop alternative tools to eliminate or minimise adverse impacts on heritage attributes, which intend to balance the public benefit against the harm to the site. These alternative methods are either deduced from the HIA reports, suggestions proposed by the World Heritage Centre, Advisory Bodies or international experts, or from similar cases that are evaluated as effectively-managed in the state of conservation and mission reports of the UNESCO WH Committee (UNESCO, 2011; Roders and Van Oers, 2011). These proposals are suitable for each WH property and for the changes proposed. In this respect, they contribute to the assessment of actions taken and tools developed by authorities for each case.

3.4.3 Complexity Mapping

Following the impact assessment, the management complexity of each heritage city is mapped out to depict the challenges expressed by stakeholders in regards to the cases, and the cities in general, and to portray the actions taken in response. This methodology used for this analysis is drawn from the field of managerial and organisational cognition. This approach relies on the individuality of reflections derived from the personal set of beliefs, thoughts and knowledge of each decision maker (Edkins *et. al.*, 2007). In cases where traditional management approaches fail to encompass the complex nature of heritage cities and sites, this methodology draws upon cognitive mapping techniques to portray a more holistic image of all the relevant processes, issues and remedies. They provide a better understanding of all the parameters constituting the complex decision-making protocols, whereas the traditional methods pursue arbitrary simplification and standardised means of explanation building.

In this context, cognitive mapping techniques involving content analysis and causal mapping are employed to graphically exhibit the issues and/or concerns raised by each decision maker and relevant actions taken for each case. Commonly used in qualitative data analysis, the content analysis is employed at this phase to produce concepts signifying the management issues deduced from interviews, official documents and mass media outputs. Then they are depicted in complexity maps developed for each city based on Eden's causal mapping approach (1989). It is a decision-support tool that demonstrates individual experiences and captures the complexity of decision making. It is supported with an advanced software package, the Decision Explorer, which

allows the formation and analysis of cognitive maps. Codes and concepts derived from the aforementioned sources of data are typed into text blocks in this software, and maps are built out of these categories that are linked to each other by arrows in a hierarchical form. For illustrative purpose, the complexity map of Istanbul global heritage city is presented in Fig. 12. These textual materials are categorised as core issues concerning the global heritage city, in general, and the case project, specifically, and these are depicted in grey boxes. The actions taken by various actors are exhibited, which are linked to core categories and each other. These actions are shown in oval-shaped bubbles and coloured in accordance with the level that these parties participate in the decision-making. International actors are depicted in green, for instance, whereas yellow stands for local participants. The results are preliminary text-based maps exposing a large number of concepts ranging from 50-100. Varying in terms of size and complexity, these early maps were then recreated in simplified versions in Adobe Photoshop to eliminate looped arguments, and to be more explanatory and easy to read. These summary maps were later used to elaborate a complexity mapping for the case cities, in general.

From these summary complexity maps, looped factors for each case city were determined. Through cluster analysis, the looped codes were segregated into various clusters depending on the links between them. Then these clusters were interpreted and summarised into short titles. An overall complexity map (Fig. 13) was then developed, to reconnect cluster titles to each other based on the links originally connecting the issues or concerns. The next step was the analysis of whether actions had been taken in response to these issues by the stakeholders active in each city. Different colours were assigned to each heritage city (yellow for Mexico City, blue for Istanbul and red for Paris), and the existence of responsive tools or activities were depicted with positive/negative indicators. An arrow facing upward stands for affirmative actions, whereas an arrow facing downward signifies the lack of effective actions. In this way, the common issues of concerns for all the three cities, and their individual responses are demonstrated in this overall mapping. Bringing together the individual case results and applying these to the broader global heritage city level, in conclusion, this cognitive mapping methodology allows the simplified representation of a very complex process of management.

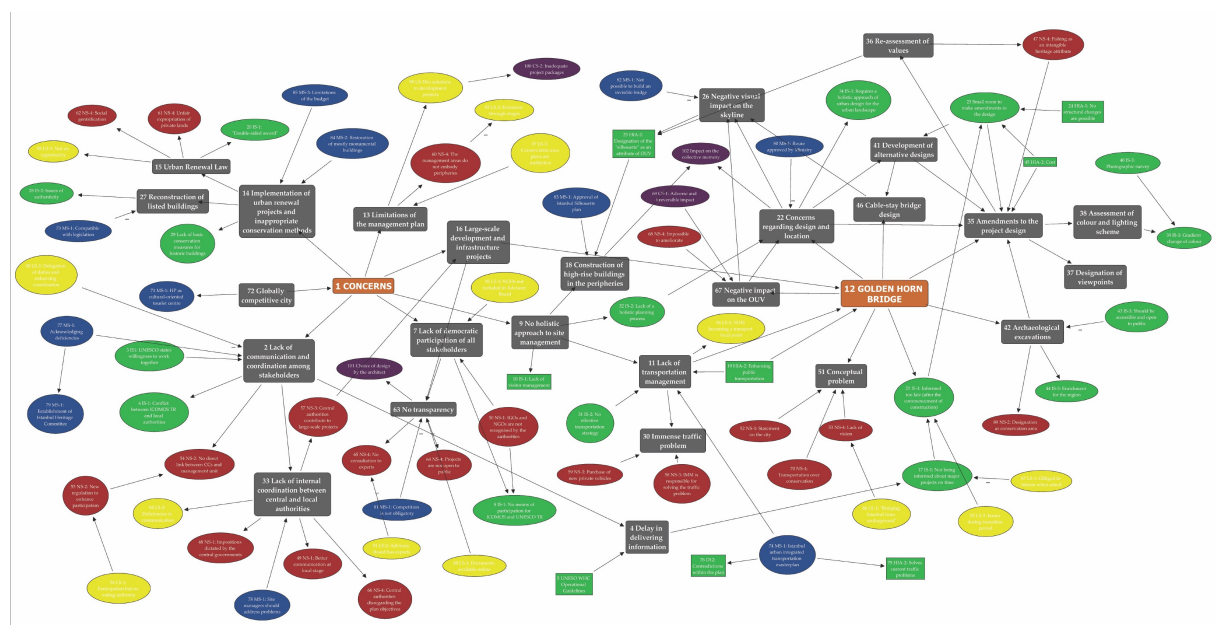


Fig. 12. The management complexity map for the global heritage city of Istanbul

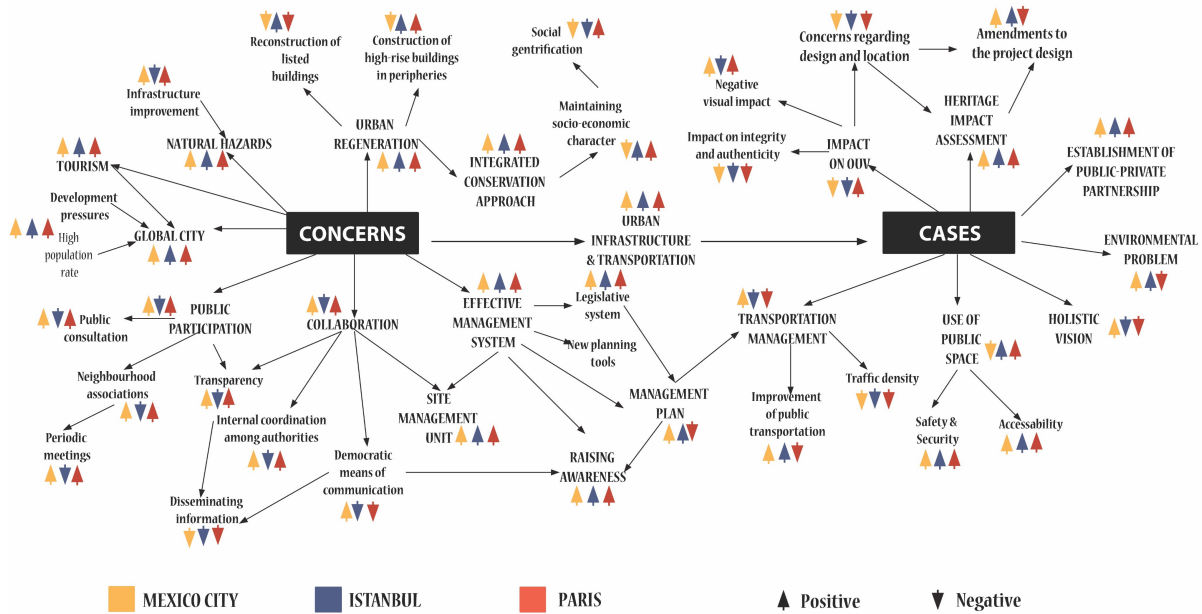


Fig. 13. The overall complexity mapping for global heritage cities

3.4.4 Effectiveness Assessment of Actions

In the framework of the cases, when a development project affecting the OUV is proposed for World Heritage Sites, certain measures are taken and significant tools are developed by several stakeholders in order to eliminate or minimise the impact of these proposals. These include actions, tools, decisions, formal and informal feedback and reactions that are employed by various parties participating in the management structures for each heritage site. In order to describe the processes that lead to the development and implementation of the case projects, and to analyse the effectiveness of the actions taken by different parties, a progress analysis (Fig. 14) was mapped out including a temporal dimension to portray the processes as sequences of a series of actions and interactions taken in response to situations and/or obstacles.

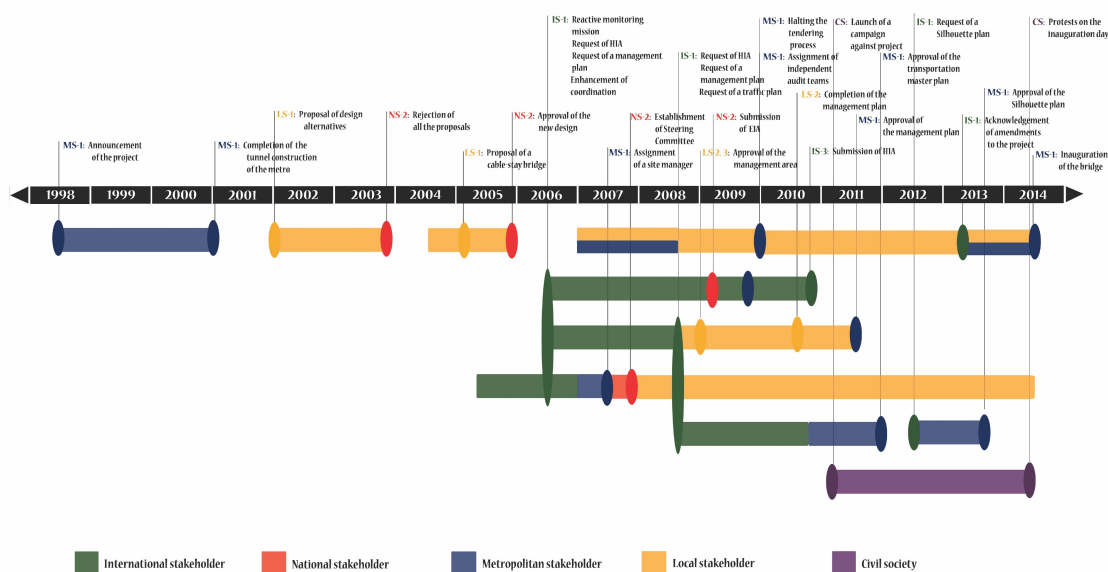


Fig. 14. The progress analysis map for the global heritage city of Istanbul

In this context, the initial step for progress analysis focuses on the identification of the aforementioned activities. This specific data is collected from the interview transcripts and documentary sources including mission reports and decisions given by the WH Committee, state of conservation reports submitted by State Parties and other relevant primary documents. As all forms of activities and actions taken by management actors are identified, they are analysed using coding where codes are assigned to sections of data and later organised in a timeline.

Since the cases selected from each heritage city represent complex structures of management at heritage sites, it is essential to analyse the complex configuration of processes within each case and understand the local dynamics in order to show the patterns of activities that transcend particular cases. In this context, the plot of each case is mapped in a timeline through progress analysis for the display of these complex configurations. This methodology re-creates the plot over time with a graphical explanation and shows the complex interactions of tools developed by different parties throughout the duration of the case. Hence, the progress analysis is laid out on a timeline depicting the whole process initiated usually with the announcement of the case project until its completion and/or operation. For instance, the progress analysis for the Istanbul case starts with the first announcement of the project in 1998 and ends with the inauguration of the bridge in February 2014.

The design of this tool is based on decision modelling, which combines the activity records with decisions, plans and official statements (Bernard, 2000). Initially, all the activities undertaken by stakeholders are coded. Next, each of the activities is positioned in the timeline. Then, the interactions between these activities are presented with links and appropriate signage. The involvement of stakeholders from different levels to these actions is shown in different colours, and the process is articulated at key points. Thus, this technique displays the complex configuration of activities as a single flow chart spanning the duration of the event, and exhibits the relationships between the main decision-makers.

This step is followed by the effectiveness assessment of the activities. For this step, the alternative proposals for the development projects designated during the impact assessment process play an important role. The success of the actions in mitigating the impacts threatening the heritage site, and the consequences of interactions intending to alter the existing situations manifest the effectiveness of each activity. They are evaluated based on a seven-point scale ranking their rate of effectiveness in reducing or eliminating the adverse impact of the development projects. The elements acting as descriptors of this evaluation include the heritage attributes recognised in the SoOUV of the sites, the significance of the effect of the impact, the impact mitigation rate of the activity, their comparison with the alternative proposals and their practicality.

In sum, the activities operated by different parties concerning the selected cases in each instance are initially identified and fixed on a decision modelling, which presents their interactions spanned over time. Then, the effectiveness of each activity is analysed based on their impact mitigation rate. It later contributes to the identification of effective management instruments for global heritage cities, in general. It also complements the following assessment of decision-making mechanisms for heritage sites. The participation levels of main decision-makers are also derived from this mapping, which portray the involvement rate of actors for each action.

3.4.5 Decision-Making Analysis

The management systems for World Heritage Sites in global heritage cities engage with a broad range of stakeholders who directly or indirectly participate in the decision-making mechanisms at different stages. The exchange of knowledge and the collaboration between these actors are the main drivers for the implementation of these management structures. Hence, their level of connectedness and participation in these social networks and the strength of the ties between them are highly influential in the decision-making analysis.

The methodology for the assessment of decision-making mechanisms is drawn from the social network analysis. As argued by numerous scholars, social networks are imperative for the exchange of complex knowledge

between individuals, and in this case, institutions (Hansen, 2002; Fong, 2003). Cohesiveness of these networks relying on the degree of interconnectedness among network members is important for the strength of the operating decision-making structures. Strong ties facilitate the transfer of tacit knowledge, and they empower the actor with higher level of authority. This methodology also enables actor centrality measures, which are essential for investigating which actor plays a more central role in the decision-making, and at which level most of the decisions are taken.

For the conduct of decision-making analysis, initially, all the decision-makers involved in the management structure of each heritage city are identified. Data derived from the documentary sources including official UNESCO WHC and State reports, internal records of local and national authorities are utilised for this purpose. The interviews conducted with different parties further assists with the identification of specific roles that they play in the decision-making mechanisms. As all the actors that are directly or indirectly involved and the stages where they participate are determined, they are mapped out hierarchically in a network display starting from international stage and descending towards the local level. As exemplified in Figure 13, these decision-making maps clearly portray which actors are involved and how they interconnect. These maps are initially prepared by the usage of Decision Explorer software package in order to demonstrate the ties among actors better, and then represented as an infographic using Adobe Photoshop.

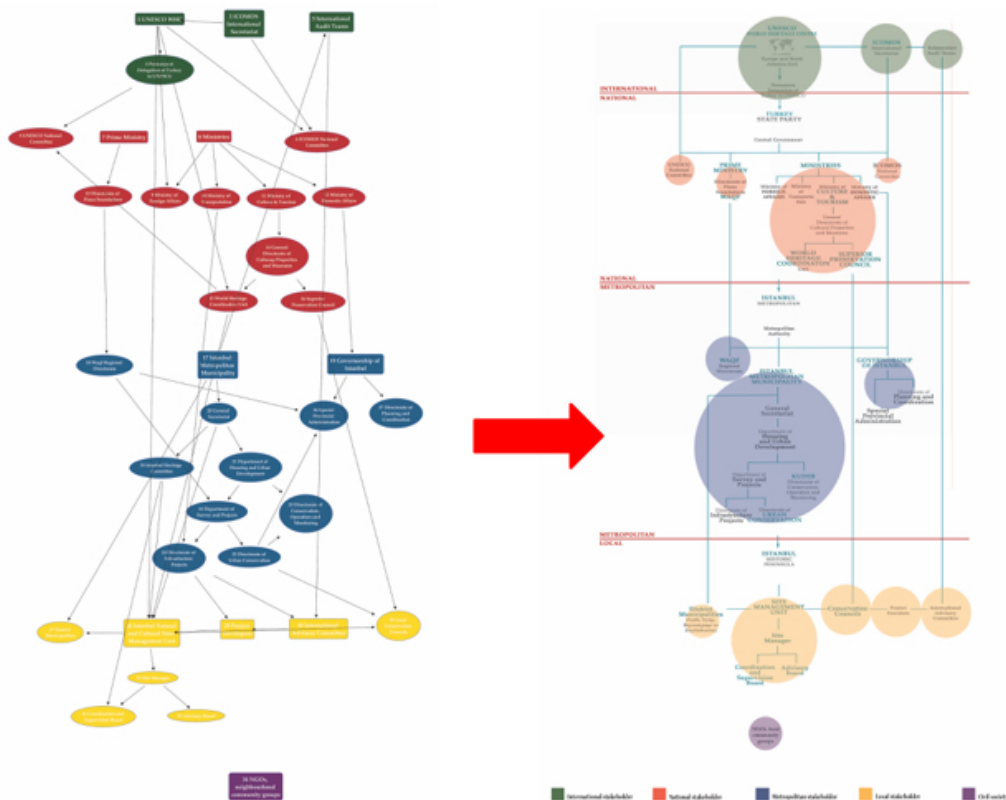


Fig. 15. The decision-making analysis for the global heritage city of Istanbul

These maps of decision-making are further elaborated through the manifestation of ties and interconnectedness between actors. Again using the Decision Explorer software, the actors in direct collaboration and exchange of knowledge are linked to each other. The link direction is from the recipient to the knowledge source. Then, the frequency of interactions between actors is measured to quantify the number of links directly engaging each party. Such degree calculations are utilised as actor centrality measures, and the result illustrates the activeness of each stakeholder as a decision-maker. The frequency of actions taken by these parties, as portrayed in the progress analysis map is also complemented to the degree calculations. This quantitative data is later employed

to manifest the participation rates in circles of various sizes, which are integrated with the decision-making maps, as shown in Fig. 15. This assessment clearly exhibits the centrality and activeness of each stakeholder. As presented in Fig. 15, for instance, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality comes to fore as the most central actor with the highest degree of connectedness. This analysis later on yields to the overall evaluation of the existing decision-making mechanisms at different management stages.

These decision-making maps form networks of hierarchy among parties and clearly exhibit the relationships between local, regional, national and international actors. They are later used to formulate decision-making patterns in the shape of triangles or diamond that position central actors at the longest edge and parties with lowest degree of participation at corners. The overall evaluation of the three decision-making mechanisms is illustrated in the Chapter 7 on case study results, which portrays and compares these patterns. At this point, it is important to note that the actor centrality measures rely on the frequency of involvement of various stakeholders in the case projects. Hence, the participation rates of actors might display variations depending on the case projects studied. For instance, the Ministry of Transportation, Maritime Affairs and Communication has been more actively involved in the implementation of another large-scale urban transportation project, the Eurasia Tunnel, which was also recognised as a potential threat to the World Heritage Site of Istanbul by the WH Committee (WH Decision 37COM7B.85, 2013). The assessment of actor involvement for this case project, thus, would present a higher rate of participation for national stakeholders in the decision making analysis. In sum, such potential variations in actor centrality measures might yield slight distortions in the overall decision-making patterns for the heritage cities. Thus, it can be concluded that this specific assessment methodology leads to more case-specific results, rather than generic conclusions.

3.5 Conclusion

For the assessment of the findings derived from the multiple case study analysis, a unique research methodology is designed and employed in this research. By deploying methodologies drawn from cognitive mapping and social network analysis, this methodology provides a better understanding of all the parameters constituting the complex decision-making protocols, whereas the traditional methods pursue arbitrary simplification and standardisation means of explanation building. Hence, the separate research endeavours adopted specifically for this multiple case study have been successful in depicting the layers of complexity associated with global heritage cities.

The next three chapters examine the three case cities: Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris. These cities are presented in a sequence depending on the sizes of their urban agglomeration and population, as well as the intention of demonstrating the unique status of their heritage management systems. For each case city, initially, the urban development trends within their historical and global city contexts are summarised. Then the values attributed to each World Heritage Site are described, their state of conservation is examined, and their unique urban administrative systems and decision-making mechanisms, their existing legislative and planning frameworks, and the management tools adopted are investigated. Focusing on the case projects, the subsequent section describes the case studied, assesses their impact on the attributes of the sites, identifies the actions taken by each decision maker throughout the projects and assesses their effectiveness, determines the participation frequencies of each stakeholder, and finally analyses each decision-making mechanism. Following the case assessments, Chapter 7 discusses the findings drawn from the newly formulated conceptual framework and the multiple case study, and examines their wider implications which integrates them into the context of the existing knowledge. Finally, the last chapter concludes this study with the explanation of the original contributions of theoretical,

methodological and practical relevance that this research makes to knowledge, reflections on the research process and its limitations, and with conceptual and practical recommendations for further work.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY I - MEXICO CITY

4.1 Introduction

As a Spanish colonial city built over the ruins of the old Aztec capital in the sixteenth century and complemented with the modern architecture of the twentieth century, Mexico City is a multi-layered historic city embracing the cultural assets of multiple civilisations that are mostly concentrated in its historic centre. The urban stratification of the historic city manifests its changing role in historically varying networks. While the Aztec temple portrays the connection of the pre-conquest city to the regional trade networks, the Catholic cathedral represents its urban transformation into a colonial centre relying on transcontinental flows. This urban morphology embracing the built heritage of three subsequent civilisations at the heart of the city constitutes the tangible cultural assets of the city endorsed for its worldwide promotion within the global urban network.

Expanded vastly in the second half of the twentieth century as a result of neoliberal economic development and rapid urbanisation trends, Mexico City is now one of the largest global cities. Its rapidly growing population of over 21 million at urban agglomeration level, as well as the presence of risks of multiple natural hazards including earthquakes, flooding and landslides, in addition to various socio-economic, political and cultural factors emerging from the challenges of striking a balance between global positioning strategies and creating a liveable, equitable and sustainable habitat for a growing number of citizens generate a high number of complexities in regards to its urban administration and sustainable development. All these factors overwhelm the management system of this historic urban landscape, which was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987.

In this context, this chapter is divided into four main sections: Initially, the urban development trend of the city is described historically, clarifying the physical challenges of cultural interpretation and representation arising from its historic stratification. Subsequently, the trends, policies and strategies operated in effect for its transformation into a global city are explained in accordance with the economic, social and cultural attributes it possess. In the second section focusing on the Historic Centre of Mexico City WHS, the site description, its significance and the OUVs attributed to the areas, the threats and impacts on its authenticity and integrity, along with its state of conservation are covered. Then in the third sub-chapter, the management and decision-making structure for the WHS are examined through the study of its existing urban governance system, its decision-making mechanism, legislative and planning frameworks, and the operation of existing management tools and strategies. Finally, the fourth section focuses on the case of BRT Metrobus Line 4 project, a large-scale urban infrastructure project causing physical and visual impacts on the WHS. Following these four sections, the main results and outcomes of the Mexico City case study are summarised in the conclusion.

4.2 The Megalopolis: Mexico City as the Global City

4.2.1 Historical urban development

Mexico City was initially founded by the Aztecs, also known as the Mexica, in the early fourteenth century and was established as the new capital named Tenochtitlán. The city was built on the drying Lake Texcoco based on a cruciform layout enclosed with a complex system of infrastructure including islands, canals, aqueducts and ditches constructed due to the necessity of controlling the water levels (Sánchez Paredes, 1997). Estimated to have accommodated up to 300,000 inhabitants, the central urban layout of Tenochtitlán comprised of the main plaza used for ceremonial and commercial functions, the pyramid-shaped Great Temple (*Templo Mayor*) complex that still exists today, the palace of the emperor, along with the dwellings dispersed throughout based on the social classes of the citizens (Ruiz Abreu, 2012).



Fig. 16. The island city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco around 1519 by Luis Covarrubias, National Museum of Anthropology's Mexico Gallery, Mexico City (Source: mexicomaxico.org)

Fig. 17. General view of the colonial Mexico City in 1628 by Juan Gómez de Trasmonte, Mexico City Museum, Mexico City (Source: mexicomaxico.org)

Following the conquest of the city by the Spanish in the sixteenth century, the entire built environment of the Aztec metropolis designed as floating islands, canals and causeways was demolished, and the capital of New Spain was reconstructed on the ruins of the same site due to its strategic benefits. The destroyed infrastructure system was hence renovated; the Aztec cruciform layout was retained and extended with a grid-iron street configuration that was compatible with both the existing canal morphology and the tradition of military town planning. New massive colonial buildings were constructed based on the design principles of the Renaissance Spain for the purpose of supplanting the remaining pre-Hispanic culture (Herzog, 2006). In this regard, the new city was built upon the Aztec physical layout with distinctive colonial architectural features. Thus, Mexico City portrayed a dual layering of the Mesoamerican and Spanish urban cultures.

Additionally, the urban structure of Mexico City was based upon an open system where the streets emanated from the centre and expanded continually outward. Until the nineteenth century, the city exerted a gradual growth following the grid-iron plan scheme. Following Independence in the early nineteenth century, new urban design policies were applied through the construction of main avenues and new roads, along with the re-arrangement of public spaces consistent with the European landscape programmes of the time. By the end of the nineteenth century, the perimeter of the city had apparently expanded as a result of the development of infrastructure and public services, and Mexico City became a modern city with prevailing amenities such as gas and electric lighting (Krieger, 2006). Following the onset of modernisation in the early twentieth century, Mexico City transformed into a rapidly growing megalopolis manifesting paradoxical economic, demographic, political and urban conditions¹⁹.

4.2.2 Global city formation

The rapid changes occurring at multiple levels starting from the mid-twentieth century triggered the emergence of derogatory reflections expressed through cultural and intellectual means. For instance, the painting of Carlos Tejeda entitled *Mexico City in 1970* (**Fig. 18**) portrays a catastrophic image foreseen by the painter for the future of the city. Expressing a similar sentiment, a well-known contemporary Mexican author, Octavio Paz, depicts this pessimistic vision with an allegory of cultural disorientation²⁰ in his book called *El Labirinto de la Soledad*. All these pieces reflect the negative cultural projections against the rapid development of metropolises common in the second half of the century, similar to 'from megalopolis to necropolis' vision of Mumford for

¹⁹ Referring to the Urban Age Project data set of London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank, the population of the metropolitan zone of Mexico City was recorded as 400.000 in 1900, 3.100.000 in 1950 and 19.000.000 in 2000.

²⁰ "No nos queda sino la desnudez o la mentira. Pues tras este derrumbe general de la Razón y de la Fe, de Dios y la Utopía, no se levantan ya nuevos o viejos sistemas intelectuales, capaces de albergar nuestra angustia y tranquilizar nuestro desconcierto; frente a nosotros hay nada (Paz, 2004: 174)."

Rome²¹. Unlike the pessimistic prospects voiced in the mid-century, Mexico City experienced persistent 'boom and bust' cycles of economic and urban development consistent with political upheavals that, nevertheless, lead to its positioning in the global urban network.

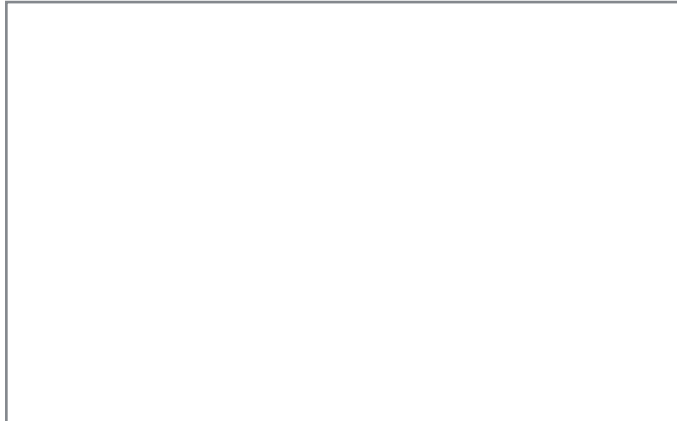


Fig. 18. Carlos Tejeda, *La ciudad de Mexico alla por 1970*, 1947. Foto: Pedro Cuevas, 1992. (Source: Archivo Fotográfico IIE-UNAM).

Following the expansion of oil production and the shift from industrial and manufacturing production to services, large-scale state interventions to open the national economy to regional and global markets via promoting the devaluation of the *peso* and the ratification of cross-border free-trade agreements with the US, along with the implementation of

neoliberal fiscal and monetary policies based on privatisation that attracted foreign capital and increased the competitiveness of Mexico in the global economy in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Graizbord, 2003). As the Mexican economy oriented towards the world market, Mexico City underwent extensive transformations in its metropolitan economy, urban governance system and urban structure. One of the major economic trends had been the rise of producer services that indicated the shift of Mexico City from a predominantly national production capital to a transnational node for financial and service flows (Kanai, 2009). Moreover, the headquarters of major national and international corporations operating in Mexico started to concentrate mainly in Mexico City. Complementary to its transformation into a destination and departure point for many international flights, Mexico City is currently acknowledged as a global city²² (Parnreiter, 2010).

In this context, the restructured urban economy of the city demonstrates a dual development and intense polarisation. While there has been an evident growth in the formal sector driven by the expansion of financial, commercial and touristic services depending on transnational investments, concurrently the informal sector expanded intensely due to cheap labour policies and income inequalities. The incapacity of the urban economy to generate sufficient opportunities of employment led to a rapid rise in the emergence of informal economy and delinquency in the city, which raised a serious social challenge to be encountered by the governing bodies (Ward, 1998).

This polarised social situation is manifested in the fragmentation and heterogeneity of the current urban fabric as well. Depending on the capacity of local authorities in delivering public services and increasing public revenue, the quality of life of the citizens reflects the territorial heterogeneity (Sudjic, 2008). Relevantly, the urban infrastructure system generally fails to cope with the requirements of uneven growth and development. On account of the malfunctioning of certain means of public transportation, the lower income groups that are mostly accommodated in the outskirts of the metropolitan area spend numerous hours commuting, which results in extreme congestion and journey stress (Castillo, 2007). Furthermore, the industrial and economic activities are scattered in the metropolitan zone, showing functional disorganisation. These dispersed facilities are poorly associated to the land use policies and to the urban infrastructure, which complicates the regeneration in the

²¹ In his book *The City in History* (1961), Mumford describes the decline of Rome from megalopolis to necropolis due to internal and external corruptions.

²² According to the contemporary global urbanisation a designating global cities (Sassen, 2001) and world cities (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Taylor, 2004), Mexico City is classified as a 'semi-periphery world city' or a 'second-tier global city' based on its positioning in the world economy.

cases of underuse or abandonment. Additionally, the enlargement of the commerce and service sectors results in territorial fragmentation where the isolated public spaces are occupied by street vendors and unlicensed activities.

In sum, Mexico City currently confronts dual conflicting conditions: first, the increase in worldwide economic activities, accelerated by the North American Free Trade Agreement, which transforms Mexico City into a global city; and second, a series of socio-economic, political, spatial and environmental problems associated with globalisation and uneven urban development trends. These factors also have a strong impact on the challenges encountered and policies adapted for the safeguarding and management of historic urban areas within the metropolitan city.

4.3 The World Heritage Site

The Historic Centre of Mexico City was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987 based on its significant urban stratification manifesting the accumulation of historic layers representing the great periods in the history of the Mexican capital through urban landscape transformation. It is important to identify the significance of this World Heritage Site, along with the current threats and impacts on the values attributed to it prior to the further analysis of the case study.

4.3.1 Site description

The Historic Centre of Mexico City is a hybrid historic urban landscape interspersed with juxtaposed historic buildings, monuments, archaeological remains, gardens and public space illustrating the urban transformation of three successive historical eras in a period of 700 years. The accumulation of these layers and its inherent tangible and intangible cultural assets within a living city is where its universal value lies.

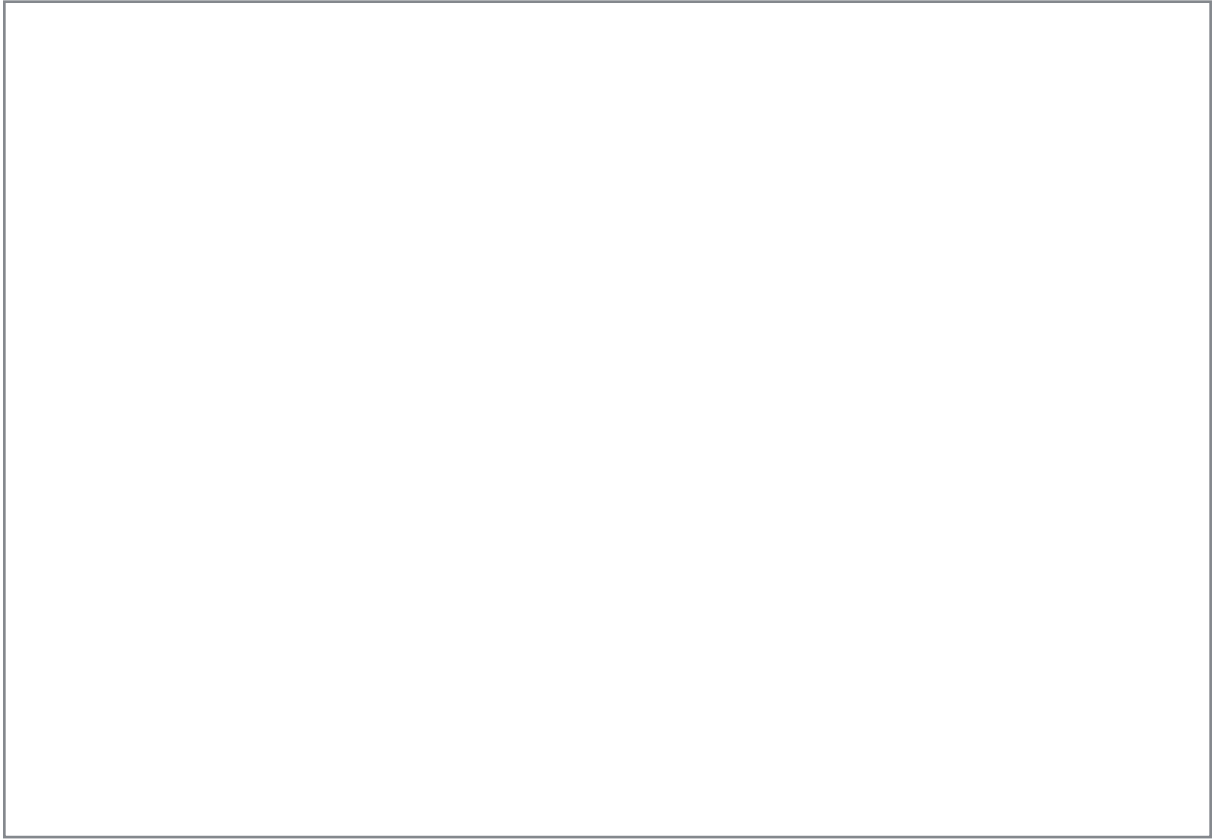


Fig. 19. Protection zones A and B depicted in the map of Historic Centre (Source: Comprehensive Management Plan of Historic Centre of Mexico City, 2011-2016)

The territorial range of the Historic Centre WHS coincides with the occupied area as designated by the presidential decree in the nineteenth century. This rich patrimony includes approximately 1550 listed buildings outlaying an area of 10.2 hectares²³. It was designated as a Historic Monuments Zone in 1980 by the federal governmental body, and was subdivided into two perimeters (A and B): Perimeter A stands for the multi-layered historic core where the majority of the buildings with historical and cultural values are concentrated, and Perimeter B forms the external borders of the Historic Centre where the late nineteenth and twentieth century modern buildings are located²⁴ (**Fig. 19**). Currently, Perimeter A defines the limits of the World Heritage Site inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987, and Perimeter B stands for the buffer zone surrounding the designated site (Suarez Pareyon, 2010). This delimitation relying on the geographical boundaries of the nineteenth century was acknowledged by a regional representative of the National Institution of Anthropology and History (INAH) as an extension passing beyond the previous designation encompassing solely the sixteenth century traces of the city (NS-3, 2012).

Lying on the vestiges of the fourteenth century Aztec civilisation, the Historic Centre is a manifestation of multiple histories overlapping with one other. The central plaza, the *Zócalo*, occupies a prominent position at the heart of the site²⁵, representing the integration of the Mesoamerican and Hispanic physical and functional traditions of public spaces, which is surmounted by symbolic pre-Hispanic, colonial and post-colonial monumental buildings (**Fig. 20**). These include the archaeological site of Templo Mayor, the Great Temple dedicated to the gods of war and rain that was discovered in 1978, the Metropolitan Cathedral, which is the largest church in Central and South America built between 1573 and 1810, the National Palace that was erected on the site of an Aztec palace in seventeenth century with the addition of murals by Diego Rivera depicting the independence struggle of the Mexicans, along with the impressive nineteenth and twentieth century public buildings such as the Palacio de las Bellas Artes (Herzog, 2006). Consequently, the Historic Centre possesses the largest collection of colonial period buildings and public spaces in Latin America, symbolising the supremacy of Mexican national identity.



Fig. 20. The *Zócalo* square enclosed by Templo Mayor and the colonial architecture

It is also regarded as one of the most people-oriented historic urban centres in the world, functioning as a central meeting point for habitants, workers, vendors, shoppers and tourists, as well as for social events and political activities. Although it has been a popular visitor location at the core of the city, it has encountered a substantial

²³ According to the management plan of the Historic Centre of Mexico City, the designated area consists of 668 blocks and 9263 properties among which 1463 are under protection by the federal law.

²⁴ Perimetre A covers an area of approximately 3,6 km² that is located within the territories of the Cuauhtémoc Delegation, whereas the Perimere B outlays an area of 5,5 km² occupying the territories of both Cuauhtémoc (75%) and Venustiano Carranza (25%) Delegations. (Suarez Curayon, 2010).

²⁵ Zócalo is the second largest open space in the world after the Red Square in Moscow, Russia.

population loss since the second half of the twentieth century²⁶. The Director General of the Historic Centre Trust (Fideicomiso) listed the causes of this depopulation during the interview as follows: a) the loss of economic centrality with the transfer of the manufacturing sector to the peripheral areas; b) the relocation of the National University (UNAM) which used to be situated at the Historic Centre to the University District campus in 1958, causing the loss of young people and student activities; c) the pro-tenant decree enacted in 1948 that indefinitely extended the term of leases in Mexico City and prohibited the eviction of tenants, resulting in the abandonment of residential buildings in the Historic Centre; d) the alteration of district borders that evokes loss of vitality; e) the earthquakes of 1985 that affected the Historic Centre significantly, causing severe deterioration and loss of the built fabric²⁷ (LS-2, 2012). As a result of these factors, the Historic Centre suffered from a gradual loss of local community, which has been regenerated and regained the vitality in recent years as a result of the implementation of a series of urban revitalisation projects in the region encouraging investment and development²⁸.



Fig. 21a, b. Informal economic activities in the Historic Centre

Relevantly, the Historic Centre accommodates mixed land uses that are spatially aggregated in accordance with the segregated division within the historic core. In terms of economic activity, the centre manifests a bi-polar socio-economic nature where the middle-class residents and the business district including offices and insurance companies, along with several cultural and art centres such as galleries and exhibition halls are mostly accumulated in the west; whereas the small-scale production units, workshops and related commerce are mainly concentrated in the east²⁹. This divergence is also manifested in its social fragmentation where the east section generally accommodates the working class and the west is currently in the process of social gentrification. Additionally, the informal sector plays an important role in the central commerce through an extensive network of street vendors, which presents a challenge to local authorities to maintain the quality of life within the urban heritage site (Crossa, 2009). All these aspects complement the highly complex physical, political, socio-economic and cultural attributes of the Historic Centre, associated with a very dynamic popular culture.

²⁶ According to the RENAPO (National Population Registry) records, the Historic Centre lost more than half of its habitants. In 1970, 335 thousand people used to live in Perimetre B and this rate reduced to 165 thousand in 2000 and to 145 thousand in 2005. The major population loss occurred within the borders of Perimetre A where the population dropped to 90 thousand after the earthquakes in 1985, to 40 thousand in 2000 and to 32 thousand in 2005.

²⁷ The earthquakes caused the loss of nearly 40 thousand dwellings at the central zone and resulted in 15 thousand mortalities in total (Polanco, 2009).

²⁸ Based on the final census conducted in 2010, the current population within the Perimetre A regions raised to 35 thousand.

²⁹ The small-scale industrial establishments involve high-skilled labour such as sewing, dress-making, shoe-making, jewellery and the making of musical instrument (Ward, 1998).

4.3.2 Inscription and statement of Outstanding Universal Value

The Historic Centre of Mexico City was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1987 jointly with the southern lakeside colonial town of Xochimilco as a serial cultural property under the name of “Historic Centre of Mexico City and Xochimilco”³⁰, referred with the inscription number 412³¹. They were registered on the World Heritage List on the basis of criteria ii, iii, iv and v. According to the WHC Decision 11COM VIIA approving the nomination of the site, criterion ii is attributed in regards to its contributions for the development of architecture, criterion iii is associated with the vestiges of Templo Mayor testifying the extinct Aztec civilisation, criterion iv is justified as the manifestation of the early Spanish settlements in the Americas, and criterion v focuses on the uniqueness the lacustrine landscape of Xochimilco. Furthermore, the authenticity and integrity attributes of the Historic Centre of Mexico City are ascertained to be originality of the existing urban morphology sustained through multiple eras and the functional integrity of urban fabric, as it was summarised in the integral management plan (APDF, 2011).

Despite being inscribed together, the Historic Centre and Xochimilco illustrate very distinctive heritage typologies and geographical disparities. The Historic Centre of Mexico City is conceived as a multi-layered historic urban landscape, whereas Xochimilco is a cultural landscape composed of a network of artificial islands, canals and floating gardens built by the Aztecs and preserved during the colonial era, which lies 28 km to the south of Mexico City. The Director General of the Directorate of World Heritage within INAH explained the reason behind this dual inscription as that at the time the Historic Centre could only be designated as a World Heritage Site if it was inscribed together with Xochimilco (NS-2, 2012). She further asserted that the World Heritage Committee had shown more interest in the safeguarding and management of Xochimilco in the first years after the inscription. The initial decisions focused on the state of conservation of this site and an extra-budgetary fund of 5,000 USD was granted for the preparation of guidelines for a management plan for Xochimilco in 1999 for 5 years (WHC Decision id 1999-044). ICOMOS further affirms this condition in their advisory body evaluation where they stated that:

“It is difficult to formulate a nomination concerning the monuments, group of buildings or sites that are located at the heart of the major contemporary city whose origins and growth they most fully and clearly illustrate. In the case of the capital of Mexico, it is truly a case of attempting the impossible. (ICOMOS, 1987)”

This statement by ICOMOS also demonstrates the earlier limitations of the previous lexicon and doctrinal documents to cope with the challenges of managing change in complex global heritage cities, prior to the adoption of the HUL approach embodying a broader and holistic landscape perspective.

4.3.3 Threats and state of conservation

Although the Historic Centre of Mexico City has been capable of preserving and sustaining the Outstanding Universal Values attributed to the site, there have been serious conservation challenges encountered especially in the second half of the twentieth century. Keeping in mind that the historical city was built on the shifting silt and mud of the former lakebed in an area of continuous seismic activity and in close proximity to two active volcanoes, the historic urban area is constantly threatened by natural disasters and catastrophes. In addition to these natural risks, the Historic Centre is under the threat of numerous socio-economic, urban and cultural

³⁰ According to the Decision 32COM8B.1, the State Party proposed to change the name of the property in 2008 but this proposal was rejected by the World Heritage Committee.

³¹ There are two other sites that are inscribed on the World Heritage List within the borders of Mexico City, which are the “Luis Barragán House and Studio” designated in 2004 and the “Central University City Campus of the *Universidad Autónoma de México (UNAM)*” designated in 2007 (WHC Decision 28COM14B.54 and Decision 31COM8B.52)

elements, which can be summarised as follows:³² urban and economic development pressures, deterioration and decay of the historic built fabric, congestion and environmental pollution, lack of adequate infrastructure, absence of effective legislative framework and management mechanisms, lack of sufficient human and financial resources (WHC SOC Report, 2008).

In the existence of such threats and the substantial decline of the Historic Centre since 1950s, specific actions taken for the revitalisation of the historic urban quarter and the restoration of the built heritage were initiated by the local authorities in late twentieth century. They culminated with the creation of the Archaeological Project of Templo Mayor in 1978 that kindled an interest in the pre-Hispanic past of the city centre, the designation of the area as a Historic Monuments Zone in 1980 and the inscription of the site on the WHL in 1987. Complementary to these preservation policies, the earthquake in 1985 that caused massive destruction, especially in the heritage site, enhanced the development of preservation practices by awakening political and economic interest in regards to the urban heritage at the heart of the city. In response, the Historic Centre Trust (Fideicomiso - FCH) was established by the representatives of the federal and city government, private sector and the NGOs for the purpose of operating and funding regeneration projects. The initial programme implemented in the Historic Centre was entitled “*¡Échame una manita! / Give me a Hand*” and undertook the partial rehabilitation of the business district with the incorporation of the private sector and promoted the relocation of itinerant commerce to 28 different shopping malls. Furthermore, the Metropolitan Cathedral, one of the significant monumental buildings at the city core, was restored and this \$33 million intervention was funded by both public and private investment (Polanco, 2009). The creation of the Trust and such preservation programmes thus formulated the framework for public-private partnerships.

Following these preliminary architectural regeneration actions, a more holistic approach was later employed as new revitalisation programmes were adapted to the development politics by the newly elected Federal District Government in accordance with the decentralisation and democratisation acts. In 1997, the Programme for the Municipal Urban Development of Cuauhtémoc and Venustiano Carranza³³ was approved and three urban development parcel plans were prepared for three diverse regions of the Historic Centre between the years 1998 and 2000³⁴ (Suarez Curayon, 2010). The goals of these plans were stated as the recovery of the architectural heritage, the enhancement of the residential function, the rearrangement of the public space and the improvement of formal economic activities. Differing from the plans limited to the built-up areas of delegations, these plans were developed to be parcel-based and focused on land use. However, as confirmed by the representative of the INAH Directorate of Historic Buildings during the interview, these plans were not activated due to political reasons even though they were approved by the relevant governmental bodies (NS-3, 2012).

From 2002 to 2006, one of most comprehensive urban revitalisation programmes was implemented within the Historic Centre under the name of “the Rescue of the Historic Centre” with the participation of both the federal and local governments, private institutions, the Bank of Mexico and experts from universities like UNAM (Rocha, 2010). The objectives and action strategies of the Programme involved the reactivation of the central economy, generation of private investments and formal employment, improvement of the liveability and the quality of life, regaining of the local population and the solution of security and congestion problems. Then, these strategies were realised in three stages through the development of a commercial passage that connects the

³² These threats are identified and derived from the State of Conservation Reports submitted by the State Party to the WHC in the years 2006, 2008 and 2009.

³³ The municipal districts (delegaciones) of Cuauhtémoc and Venustiano Carranza enclose the area designated as the Historic Centre.

³⁴ These parcial plans cover the Historic Centre within the Cuauhtémoc delegation, Alameda region in the Cuauhtémoc delegation and the la Merced region in the Venustiano Carranza delegation.

Zócalo, the central square, to the business district³⁵, the renovation of the Alameda public park, and the revitalisation and repopulation of the Historic Centre via the enhancement of the infrastructure and public transport (Martinez Martinez, 2012).

Although the execution of this programme contributed to the socio-economic and urban rehabilitation of the Historic Centre, it was also criticised for promoting social and commercial gentrification in the region (Crossa, 2009). Associated with the “Programme for the Reorganisation of the Popular Commerce” launched in 2007 within zone A with the intention to evict the street vendors and informal sector from public spaces, these projects resulted in the transformation of the Historic Centre. Furthermore, the Federal District government expropriated and demolished 14 historical buildings in 2007 in order to relocate the informal street commerce, which was expressed as a serious concern by the World Heritage Committee (WHC Decision 32COM7B.124). In this context, a UNESCO-ICOMOS joint reactive monitoring mission was conducted to the site in January 2009 to assess the impacts of the demolition and relocation actions on the authenticity and integrity of the site. The mission report explained the cause of demolitions as a lack of coordination between the federal government, INAH and other institutions and acknowledged the efforts made by the authorities to ameliorate the collaboration and coordination among stakeholders (WHC SOC Report, 2009).

In response to the lack of effective coordination between diverse parties, the Historic Centre Authority (Autoridad - AUC) was established in 2007 with the aim of coordinating and managing the decision-making processes through the involvement of all the relevant actors. Relevantly, the previous urban rehabilitation programme was elaborated and restarted with the extension of the renovation zone. The Recovery of the Historic Centre Programme 2007-2010 involved the renovation of public spaces and street rehabilitation, renewal of the infrastructure networks and the improvement of the public services (Polanco, 2009). This Programme also entailed the development of new means of public transportation, which will be further explained in the final section. Lastly, an integral management plan for the Historic Centre was prepared and approved in 2011 under the supervision of the Authority.

In sum, it is asserted by international conservation bodies and independent scholars that the Historic Centre of Mexico City is generally well preserved in spite of all the physical, socio-economic, cultural, urban and environmental challenges encountered. Numerous measures were adopted by the national and local authorities in order to cope with these complexities, which are well acknowledged by the WH Committee and its Advisory Body ICOMOS.

4.4 Management of the WHS

This section focuses on the management system of the heritage site. In order to have a better understanding of the operation of its decision-making mechanism and the roles of diverse stakeholders participating at different levels, it is essential to perceive the challenges arising from the functioning of a unique urban governance structure in the city. The assessment of the existing legislative and planning frameworks concerning the historic centre and the management tools adopted over time are also imperative for the effectiveness analysis of the management system, which are covered in this section.

³⁵ As part of the Recovery Programme (2002-2006), the local government rehabilitated an area of 100 thousand m² within the Business District. This Project was then expanded to include the east and west of the perimeter A and cost approximately 535 millions of pesos of public resources in total (Martinez Martinez, 2012).

4.4.1 Urban governance system

Resembling the US confederation system, the Mexican governance structure is constituted as a federal system consisting of thirty-one states and a single Federal District. All states and municipalities possess constitutional autonomy where elected authorities govern.

Individually, Mexico City included the Federal District, which was an exceptional political entity established in 1928 with a unique administrative status within the Federation. The reasons for the formulation of such a particular administrative structure for Mexico City were stated as lack of sufficient financial support for municipalities, the deficiency in delivering essential services, and the internal political conflicts among opposing parties (Garza, 1999). The Federal District was initially divided into a central department consisting of several quarters (*cuarteles*) and thirteen political-administrative units called *delegaciones*. Then in 1970, the *cuarteles* were reorganised as *delegaciones*, totaling the 16 *delegaciones* that still exist today. In January 2016, an amendment to the national constitution officially changed the capital's status from a federal district to an autonomous entity, simply known as Mexico City. This new entity takes on some of the administrative power and responsibilities of the rest of the states, such as having its own constitution and congress, and the *delegaciones* will act as municipalities with their own elected mayors (Scruggs, 2017).

The built-up area of Mexico City is not only limited to the borders of the Federal District though. Extending to the surrounding states, the metropolitan zone is composed of four concentric areas: at the core exists the central city centre, then a first ring including the *delegaciones* and municipalities surrounding the Federal District, which is encompassed by a second ring consisting of outlying *delegaciones* and municipalities within the State of Mexico, and finally a third ring of surrounding fast-growing municipalities (Ward, 1998). According to CONAPO (National Population Council), hence, the metropolitan area currently includes the Federal District and thirty-eight municipalities in total.

Since the initial formation of the Federal District, this special configuration has mainly been politically rather than spatially driven. Formerly, the federal district administration represented the national power, and the national president was asserted to act as the governor of the Federal District until the first federal elections held in 1997 (Wirth, 2006). Instead of being locally elected, the mayor used to be appointed by the president along with the other sixteen local mayors (*delegados*), and the appointed mayor commissioned his own cadre to run the city hall. Hence, the Federal District was governed by the national president through delegated federal and local authorities, and the national congress was responsible for policy-making at both national and federal levels. Consequently, the power had been heavily centralised in administration and execution even though the existing legislation promoted regional autonomy.

Corresponding to the reform of the Constitution Article 115 in 1983, some progress was achieved by means of decentralising public administration³⁶ (Gaitan, 2010). The public health and education systems were decentralised, and the opposition city governments started to operate more independently. Clearly, the new regulation asserted greater municipal autonomy and provided more power to the grassroots. However, these improvements were not enough to commit to full decentralisation. Following the implementation of the New Federalism Programme in 1994-1995³⁷, the most profound act of decentralisation was the direct election of the Federal District governor in 1997 for the first time in 70 years, which completely changed the political arena of Mexico City and engendered a democratic transition. With the recent amendment that changes the administrative

³⁶ This modified legislative act states that municipalities should formulate, approve and administer the zoning and municipal urban development plans, authorise, control and monitor the land use, and grant licenses and permits for constructions.

³⁷ This Programme was constituted to achieve greater decentralisation through administrative initiatives executed at national and state levels, such as revision of federal revenue, and distributions and management of public services by the states (Ward, 1998).

status of Mexico City, the city's autonomy is further boosted within the federal system based on more powers delegated to the mayor, transformation of boroughs into municipalities with elected local mayors and councils, and the decentralisation of certain decision-making duties to neighbourhood-level elected councils.

These processes of neoliberalisation, decentralisation and democratisation have altered the urban governance structure in Mexico through grassroots empowerment with the participation of private and voluntary sectors, and the promotion of entrepreneurship in policy goals (Guerneros-Meza, 2009). Moreover, the new federal government system promoted multi-actor partnerships through encouragement of public participation in decision-making and the cooperation of public, private and voluntary sectors in order to foster national and local economic development with the support of international organisations like the UN, World Bank and OECD. The rise in voluntary associations also stimulated an increased involvement of grassroots-oriented groups relying on neighbourhood and/or community movements in the local decision-making mechanisms.

The private sector mostly appears in partnership arrangements; either through involvement in the government investment planning committees, through joint ventures with local governments in land development projects, or as contractors in public works (Davey, 1996). However, the creation of such public-private partnerships (PPPs) has been a slow process due to the lack of specific legal instruments, inefficient collaboration between authorities and the private sector, and the absence of an independent body responsible for coordination and management. The participation of wealthy business groups in such partnerships has also had a great impact on their effectiveness. One of the initial actualisations of such PPPs was through participation in urban development and regeneration projects conducted in the Historic Centre of Mexico City in the 2000s, which were operated by public - private actors and citizens, and which will be further analysed in the next section.

4.4.2 The decision making-mechanisms and roles of stakeholders

Closely associated with the urban governance structure, the Historic Centre of Mexico City has a highly complex decision-making mechanism with the participation of a broad range of international, national, regional and local stakeholders in the management process at different stages (**Fig. 22**). The conflicting priorities and overlapping functionalities of certain actors, paired with the uniquely fragmented nature of national and federal governmental bodies generate a number of complexities complicating the effective operation of the management structure.

The main international decision-maker, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, carries out the role of monitoring the inscribed sites through periodic reporting and reactive monitoring mechanisms. In regards to the standard setting duty of UNESCO for inscribed properties, the broad scope and generality of the principles and guidelines adopted have been criticised by several national and local authorities. For instance, a senior representative of the Historic Centre Authority censured the WHC for being too Euro-centric and not capable of providing instruments suitable for large-scale historic urban centres (LS-1, 2012). On the other hand, the same representative also added during the interview that the World Heritage Centre is open to innovative formulations, and that they managed to sustain an accord of collaboration and good will. At this point, it is important to note that the local authorities were not well informed about the HUL approach and its adaptation strategies to local levels at the time of the interview, which was conducted in 2012.

The National Committee of ICOMOS and the Mexican National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO (CONALMEX) serve as catalysts between the international inter-governmental bodies (UNESCO and ICOMOS) and the national and local governmental bodies. As it is declared in their manifesto, ICOMOS Mexico is an independent non-governmental organisation that gives advice to public and private entities through doctrinal documents, and makes recommendations for the safeguarding of the inscribed sites to the management unit or to the international bodies in accordance with its monitoring responsibility. CONALMEX, on the other hand, is a governmental body created under the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Education (SEP), whose

main objective related to WHS is to be the main partner of UNESCO for actions related to the planning, operation and evaluation of the conservation and management programmes. The essential role of CONALMEX to foster better coordination among diverse decision-makers has been acknowledged by the World Heritage Committee, which was expressed as “facilitator of negotiations among the various stakeholders as a catalytic tool (WHC Decision 31COM7B.128, 2007).”

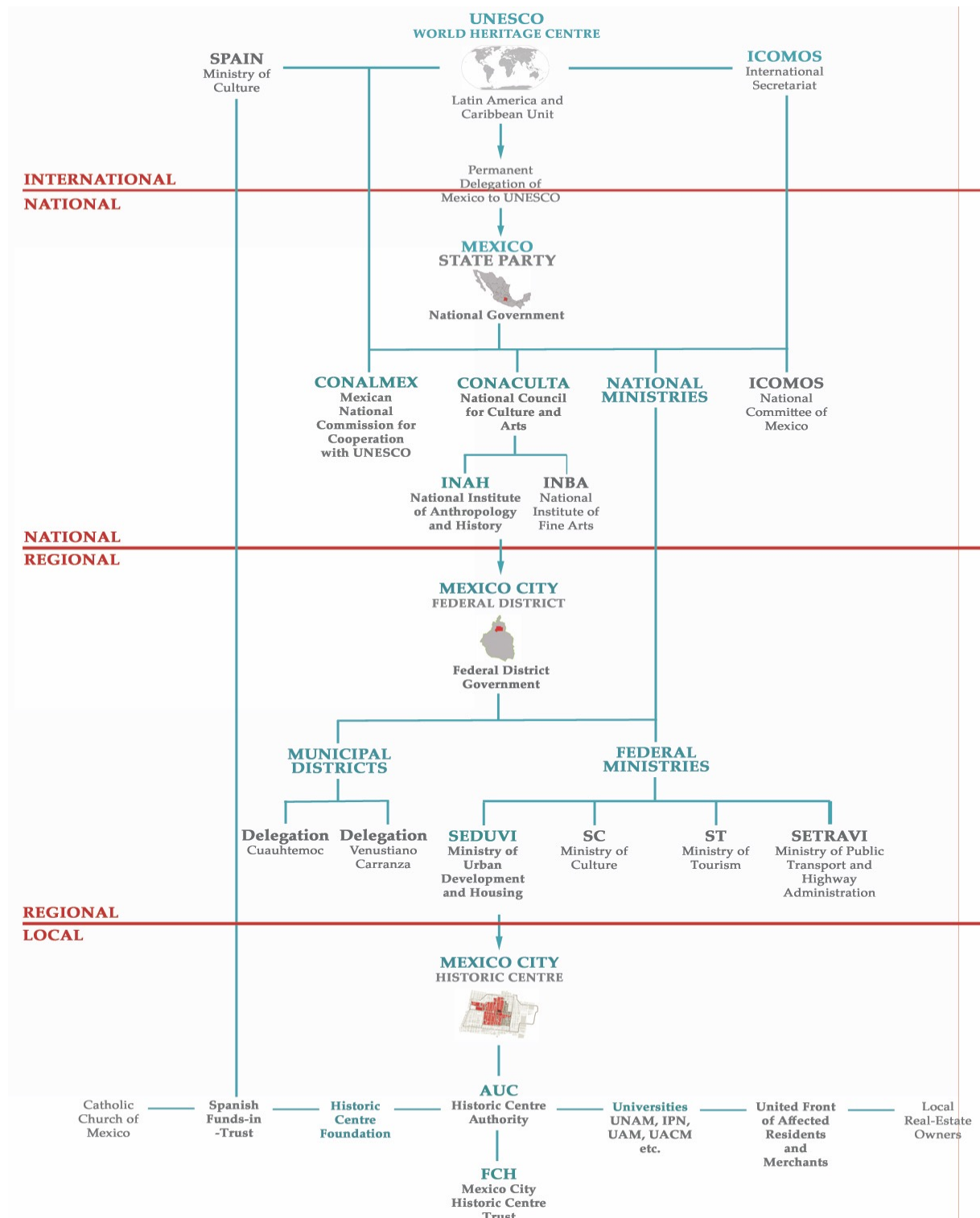


Fig. 22. The decision-making structure of the Historic Centre of Mexico City

The prominent national institutions responsible for the historic buildings, monuments and ensembles within the Historic Centre are the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) and the National Institute of Fine

Arts (INBA). As sub-branches of the National Council for Culture and Arts (CONACULTA), INAH is in charge of the protection, preservation and promotion of the archaeological, anthropological and historical heritage of Mexico, whereas INBA monitors and administers the twentieth and twenty-first century heritage. Responsible for the protection of over one hundred thousand historical monuments and the supervision of a hundred museums since its establishment in 1939, INAH embodies two sub-divisions that are directly involved with the cultural heritage of the Historic Centre: the Directorate of Historic Buildings and the World Heritage Directorate. The WH Directorate was created in 2000 with the purpose of supervising all the activities related to the inscribed or nominated sites. INAH is asserted to dominate the decision-making processes based on its highly institutionalised structure and its technical specialisation on conservation (Guarneros-Meza, 2009). This role was also affirmed by the former sub-director of CONACULTA during the interview for the cases of overlapping duties actualised by different governmental bodies (NS-2, 2012).

At regional level, the Federal District (FD) government is responsible for the regulation and administration of the territory. Prior to the independent federal elections, the decision-making used to be a rather closed mechanism with low levels of public debate and involvement. Following the democratisation of the FD though, the local government began to exercise greater autonomy that raised its administrative capacities to respond to the demands of the local community. Enactment of the Law for the Safeguarding of the Urban and Architectural Heritage of the Federal District in 2000 enhanced the active involvement of the federal government in the protection of the historic urban areas through participatory mechanisms (Suarez Curayon, 2010). In accordance, the local government has intervened in the decision-making of urban revitalisation programmes for the Historic Centre through the establishment of public-private partnerships and provision of financial resources, which has sustained the governmental centralisation of power (Guarneros-Meza, 2009). Thus, while the federal and local governments have acquired more transparency, the cultural policy-making has become more open to citizen participation.

In this regard, the initial regeneration partnership for the Historic Centre was fostered through the creation of the Historic Centre Trust (FCH) in 1990. Originally a private institution, it was delegated to manage and administer the initial urban rehabilitation projects, and operated small-scale projects from monetary funds, donations and investments from the private sector. Its board members consisted of representatives of the federal and city government, private actors and civil society organisations, thus manifesting the PPP collaboration. It was then reactivated in 2002 as a federal governmental body fund in order to coordinate the activities undertaken by numerous public institutions and private investors. As the sub-director of FCH explained during the interview, the Trust functions as a decentralised entity of the government that primarily focuses on the operation of practical activities in the Historic Centre (LS-2, 2012). Furthermore, they have established specific platforms of dialogue and cooperation for the society to be involved in the decisions given. The Director General of FCH stated that public participation is ensured through regular meetings with neighbourhood councils (*la junta de vecinos*) that represent the diverse range of community living and working in the Historic Centre (LS-2, 2012). He also indicated that FCH organises formative courses and distributes publications to raise awareness among citizens.

The second urban revitalisation PPP was constituted with the formation of a Consultative Council in 2001 to coordinate various stakeholders involved in the rehabilitation of the Historic Centre, and to promote the rescues and preservation of the site in response to the concerns of abandonment and dereliction. This Council was comprised of 125 members including representatives of various social groups, along with an Executive Committee composed of three ministers of the federal government (Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Finance), three federal secretaries (urban development, economy and tourism) and four representatives of the civil society that includes a well-known journalist, a historian, the Archbishop of the Catholic Church and a global finance

figure and investor, Carlos Slim. This initiative was widely criticised by numerous social groups as being dominated by business elites and transnational real estate interests mainly due to the direct involvement of Slim (Crossa, 2009).

Slim founded the Historic Centre Foundation in 2002, a non-profit organisation that aims to promote the revitalisation and integrated conservation of the Historic Centre. The Director General of the Foundation phrased this objective as “working for and with the people who live at the Historic Centre” during the interview (LS-3, 2012). The actions undertaken by the Foundation, as of 2013, have been the acquisition 63 vacant historic buildings and their renovation for the interest of middle and upper class groups, collaboration in projects for the improvement of the infrastructure, amelioration of the public health and education services, and the support for cultural and artistic events organised at the buildings renovated by the Foundation³⁸. Although Slim contributed greatly to the revitalisation of the Historic Centre, his role was overrated by the mass media as highlighted by the Director General of the FCM and the representative of the Authority (LS-1, LS-2, 2012). The FCM representative indicated that the Foundation financially supported the restoration of only the buildings he acquired (LS-2, 2012). Furthermore, he denoted that the Foundation covers only 5% of the total budget of the Recovery Programme, whereas the Federal Government is responsible for the 90% of the financial support (LS-2, 2012). Hence, the Foundation plays a slightly less important role than the governmental institutions in spite of its overstated reputation.

The latest established urban regeneration PPP to be established has been the Historic Centre Authority assigned by the city government in 2007. Bearing in mind the absence of a coordination body for the Historic Centre to implement of the Popular Commerce and the Recovery Programmes, the Authority was created to coordinate the projects, policies and strategies developed for the integral management of the Historic Centre. The positions of the relevant governmental bodies were reformulated after the establishment of the Authority, and the FCH was assigned as a branch responsible for providing financial support and realising the decisions of the Authority. The sub-director of the Fideicomiso defined this relationship with this expression, “Authority is the mind, whereas the FCH makes up the limbs” (LS-2, 2012).

4.4.3 Legislative and planning frameworks

The legislative framework concerning the designation, protection and management of cultural heritage in Mexico relies on a periodic categorisation that groups historic sites and properties in accordance to their historic periods. The authorising legislation enacted by the Federal Law of Archaeological, Artistic and Historic Monuments and Zones in 1980 designates cultural heritage under three categories: archaeological heritage for sites originating from the origins of human occupation until the Spanish Conquest in 1521; historical heritage for properties dating from the Conquest until the end of the nineteenth century; and artistic heritage for assets belonging to the twentieth or twenty-first century (Lopez, 2007). In fact, the main distinction between the delineations of responsibility of two national administrative bodies responsible for cultural heritage, INAH and INBA, depends on a similar periodic division that separates heritage properties as historical or artistic assets. This legal delimitation relying on a timeframe was criticised by some experts for giving priority to one period over another by means of heritage representation and interpretation (Escalante Carrillo, 2013).

The same legislative act is also in effect for the regulation of cultural heritage through the designation of protected areas by the President and their denomination of Monuments Zone, either as archaeological, historic or artistic properties, accordingly (Guzman, 2011). The Direction of Sites Operation appointed within INAH for the administration and safeguarding of heritage sites open to the public under its custody in 1994 was later delegated

³⁸ According to the statements of the Director of the Foundation, it spent more than \$150 million for the restoration of the 63 buildings, \$130 million for social programmes, and another \$150 million for rehabilitation projects (LS-3, 2012).

the responsibility for the coordination and development of management plans for the integrated conservation and sustainable use of these sites. INAH and CONACULTA also recently issued technical guidelines for the management of cultural heritage properties and development of management plans nationwide (CONACULTA-INAH, 2006). Bearing in mind that there is no planning legislation specified for the safeguarding of World Heritage Sites, the Historic Centre of Mexico City is under the statutory protection of the national preservation legislation. The site was designated as a Historic Monuments Zone in 1980, which brings to fore its colonial heritage over the pre-Hispanic and subsequent periods.

4.4.4 The management tools

In response to the global call from World Heritage Committee for the enforcement of some sort of effective management systems for the WHS, a new inclusive management model was implemented for the Historic Centre of Mexico City following a series of urban regeneration interventions activated by the Recovery and Public Commerce Programmes that respond to these demands and empower the civil society for participation. Relevantly, the federal government collaborated with the Historic Centre Authority and the Historic Centre Trust to commit to the coordination and management planning. The Authority was in fact created for the sole purpose of coordination and management of the heritage site, and to execute and monitor the management plan together with the FCH. The planning process engaged various other actors participating at different stages, including the governmental entities, independent local governmental parties, private actors, universities and experts. The integral management plan took about three years of elaboration before being adopted in 2011 due to the confrontations with the regulation challenge embracing the management plan and its action strategies.

The management plan sets a framework of principles and guidelines to promote the protection and revitalisation of the historic core, and to support its sustainable development. In accordance with this approach, the representative of the Authority stated during the interview that the management plan was designed as a strategic planning instrument capable of managing the process rather than a constant state (LS-1, 2012). Its objectives are listed as follows: to protect and maintain the outstanding universal values attributed to the site; to preserve both the tangible and intangible heritage attributes of the centre, to foster social, economic and urban development; to generate participatory mechanisms, and to build tools for evaluation and monitoring (APDF, 2011).

The management plan further covers the management model, the mission and goals of the plan, the operating schemes, evaluation and follow-up mechanisms, and the lines of strategy for the sustainable preservation of the site. The operating schemes involve the participating agents from the public and private sectors and the civil society, the institutional agreements between the federal premises for preservation issues and the autonomous local government organs, and the components such as policies, programmes, projects, actions, follow-up, evaluation and feedback, strategies and the diffusion. Furthermore, the short, medium and long-term strategy guidelines are also determined within the context of urban and economic revitalisation, habitability (public health, security and accessibility), heritage conservation, mobility (pedestrianisation and improvement of public transport), risk prevention against natural hazards, and the improvement of the quality of life (APDF, 2011).

This plan was conceived as an effective tool open to regular modifications to meet the constantly changing requirements. Regarding the assessment and monitoring mechanisms described in the plan, the Advisory Council created in 2011 and its Executive Committee, along with a Committee of experts, scholars and public figures are responsible for the monitoring and the elaboration of the plan based on the indicators identified. Meanwhile, the Authority is in charge of the orientation and supervision of the operations undertaken by the agencies mandated with the heritage site. The reflections of the interview subjects representing numerous decision-makers are generally affirmative of the management plan as an effective management tool that facilitates inter-institutional coordination and strengthens the capacities of relevant parties to execute the strategies and programmes

indicated within (NS-1, NS-3, LS-2, 2012). The success of the plan to cope with the management complexities of an urban landscape under constant transformation is reliant on the policy of permanent action adapted by the plan, as it was asserted by a UNAM scholar at interview (LS-4, 2012). The Authority representative further highlighted its pioneering role within the Latin America and Caribbean region in elaborating management strategies and instruments adequate for complex historic city centres (LS-1, 2012).

4.5 The Case Study: BRT Metrobús Line 4 Project

For a better understanding and assessment of the management system of the Historic Centre, the case of the BRT Metrobús Line 4 project is selected for further analysis. It is a recently realised large-scale urban development project associated with the improvement of the public transport objective of the management plan that has threatened certain attributes contributing to the values of the site. Furthermore, it manifested the participation levels of various stakeholders to the decision-making mechanisms at different stages and brought up issues of controversy between the involved parties.

In this context, extensive data was collected concerning the project from the existing literature and from the semi-structured interviews conducted with the representatives of the main decision-makers during the 15-day fieldwork. The data gathered consisted of official documents, academic publications and mass-media outputs that included national and local newspaper clippings appearing in the media and online publications³⁹, along with the reflections and interpretations of the interviewed representatives⁴⁰. The collected data is later used in the case analysis covered in the following sub-chapters: Initially, the project is briefly described, the heritage attributes at risk are identified, and their impact on the OUV is assessed. Secondly, all the participating stakeholders are identified; their interactions with each other are mapped out through the use of cognitive mapping methods, their involvement in the case is evaluated, and the participation levels of all the actors are quantified in the decision-making map. Additionally, the progress analysis documenting the whole project and depicting the activities and actions operated by the main stakeholders is mapped out for assessing their effectiveness.

4.5.1 Case description

Since the 1970s, Mexico City has encountered a serious transportation problem caused by the predominance of low-capacity vehicles, both in terms of collective and private transport means, which also generated severe air pollution, especially within the Historic Centre. In order to solve these long-term issues, the federal government introduced several measures addressing the mass transportation and pollution problems, including the establishment of a Metropolitan Area Transport Council, weekly limitations for the use of private vehicles, and the launch of high-capacity transportation systems including an underground metro, electric trams and trolley-buses (Ward, 1998).

As one of the State interventions to reduce road congestion and contaminating emissions, the Federal District government promoted the construction of a dedicated-lane bus system entitled BRT Metrobús (Bus Rapid Transit) in 2002. The BRT systems were preferred over other means of public transport like the underground system due to its economic advantage generated from the utilisation of the existing road infrastructure (Navarro

³⁹ The sources of the mass-media outputs were selected from credible national and local newspapers representing both the left and right-wing viewpoints (*Periódico La Jornada* and *La Capital*, respectively), and the official local publication of the Historic Centre Authority (*Km.Cero*).

⁴⁰ The interviewed respondents represented the Mexican National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO (NS-1), the National Committee of Mexico, the National Council for Culture and Arts (NS-2), the National Institute of Anthropology and History (NS-3), the Historic Centre Authority (LS-1), the Mexico City Historic Centre Trust (LS-2), the Historic Centre Foundation (LS-3) and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (LS-4).

Benitez, 2008). Officially inaugurated in 2005, the Metrobús system currently consists of four lines that travel along 95 km within the city and connect to other forms of transit with a transport capacity to carry 800.000 passengers daily.



Fig. 23a. The route of Metrobus Line 4 running along the Historic Centre (Source: Metrobus Reforma)

Fig. 23b. The Metrobus stop at the heart of the city (Source: Ilustracion)



As the final expansion of the BRT system, the Metrobús Line 4 was introduced. This line runs along the Perimetres A and B of the Historic Centre in two separate routes (**Fig. 23**), starting from Buenavista at the western terminus, connecting to the International Airport with an express service and terminating at San Lázaro at the eastern end. It employs 54 articulated buses running bidirectional on low-emission engines for 28 km. As a result of its traversing the Historic Centre, an issue of conflict was emerged between contradictory parties including local administrators, residents and users, causing the intervention of numerous actors and the implementation of a range of actions to cope with this challenge.

4.5.2 Impact assessment of the case

As a large-scale urban infrastructure project that crosses the Historic Centre longitudinally, the Metrobús Line 4 project causes significant physical, visual and socio-economic impact on the values attributed to the heritage site. Although most of the parties involved agree on its facilitating role in public transportation, the issues voiced by the various social groups focus on socio-economic concerns and civic society (LS-5, 2013).

The physical hazard is associated with the deterioration of the historical buildings situated at two sides of the Metrobús lane. The local community members, along with national conservation experts from INAH and ICOMOS, expressed their concerns in regards to the potential structural damage caused to the built heritage by the infrastructure work and vibrations occurring during the operation of the system (NS-3, NS-4, LS-5, 2012). The economic threat is concerned with the decline of the formal and informal economic activities being employed on the route of the BRT system, which directly affects the merchants of the neighbourhood, and the final threat is related to public security and mobility. Bearing in mind that the Metrobús passenger circulation is dense and the streets are considerably narrow, this lane introduces risks for both vehicles and pedestrians⁴¹.

Following the authorisation of the project in 2011, a group of dissident citizens organised in a short time to create the “United Front of Affected Residents and Merchants” in order to obstruct the realisation of the project. Uniting the local community groups affected directly or indirectly by the Metrobús line, the organisation confronted the national and federal governmental bodies through mass protests, press releases and social media networks. The involved residents and merchants were mainly concerned about the suspension of their economic

⁴¹ It was reported in the *El Universal* newspaper that a car accident occurred during the test run of Line 4 on March 29th, 2012.

activities, and hence they proposed the routes to be changed in order to ameliorate their situation (LS-5, 2012). This motivation was also verified by the INAH representative, highlighting the fact that these groups would not protest if the Metrobús line passed through another route (NS-3, 2012).

Further expressing their distress about the potential structural damage to historic buildings, the Front members submitted a report to CONALMEX in order to call upon an intervention from UNESCO. Taking into consideration this concern, a brief semi-formal mission was conducted in August 2011 by the Chief of WHC Latin America and Caribbean Unit. Accompanied by several members of the National Committee of ICOMOS, the mission visited the site, conducted official meetings with various decision-makers and finalised the case assessment in favour of its implementation. Following the endorsement of the project, the management plan was completed and presented to the World Heritage Committee, the federal government authorities and the governor, respectively, for official approval.

In the following few months, the social discomfort continued and the Historic Centre Trust introduced new means of communication and dialogue between the local authorities and the civil society. Informative campaigns were launched to raise awareness, and weekly meetings were organised with the representatives of various social groups to discuss the relevant issues. As a result of the orientation of the Authority and the Trust, INAH applied numerous structural consolidation and restoration projects for the historical buildings at risk. Relevantly, several archaeological findings were revealed during the construction work, which was brought to the attention of relevant authorities by the Front, yielding to a suspension of two weeks for archaeological excavations conducted by INAH archaeologists. Concurrently, the Director of Metrobús declared that they had been collaborating with INAH since the beginning of the project, despite the dissident common opinion (*La Jornada*, 14 November 2011).

Complementary to the actions taken by INAH, the federal premises for conservation issues also adopted several measures to mitigate the adverse impacts of the Line 4 project. SEDUVI operated the application of new devices to minimise the vibrations and the improvement of the infrastructure work to enhance public security, and SSP temporarily relocated the formal trade affected seriously by the construction work. Following the inauguration of the Metrobús Line 4 on 1 April 2012, SETRAVI removed all the low-capacity minibuses from the city centre. Even though these measures were considered as insufficient by the Front as indicated in the press released published on their website on the inauguration day, the decline of the protests showed that the public concerns and demand were mostly met (Front, 2012).

According to the assessment conducted by the UNESCO mission, the above-mentioned physical, social and economic hazards do not holistically disturb the authenticity of the multi-layered urban morphology or the integrity of the urban fabric (WHC, 2011). Although these threats are note-worthy, they do not directly impact the Outstanding Universal Values attributed to the heritage site. Moreover, some of these impacts had been temporary and were expected to be minimised after the termination of the construction work, such as the potential structural damage to the built heritage and the delimitation of the mobility. In sum, the cumulative effect of these impacts is ranked as “minor change” on the basis of the impact assessment scale adopted by ICOMOS (2011).

Consequently, the alternative methods of avoiding or reducing these impacts embody the structural consolidation and restoration of the historical buildings at risk, the improvement of the utilised devices to minimise the effect of vibration on the adjacent buildings, the adoption of certain measures to revitalise the formal economic activities on the route, and the implementation of effectual infrastructure mechanisms like an active signalling system, alternative modes of crossing etc to enhance public safety. Accordingly, most of these measures were

taken by federal and local governmental bodies to resolve the threatening issues expressed as a concern by the World Heritage Committee or raised by civil society voices.

4.5.3 Effectiveness assessment of the actions

In order to describe the process that leads to the execution of the BRT Metrobús Line 4 project and to analyse the effectiveness of the actions taken by various stakeholders, a progress analysis (**Fig. 24**) is mapped out which depicts the process as sequences of discrete series of actions and interactions taken in response to situations and/or obstacles. In this context, the progress analysis is laid out on a timeline depicting the whole process initiated with the announcement of the project by the Federal Government in October 2010 until the inauguration of the Metrobús line and final measures taken by the national authorities in July 2012. The progress of five main actions including the project design and construction phases, the request, the development and approval of the management plan, the monitoring role of the UNESCO WH Centre, the activities undertaken by national actors to mitigate the potential threats, and the participation of civil society are mapped out in this analysis. The involvements of stakeholders from different levels with these actions are shown in colours, and the process is articulated at key points. The success of the actions in mitigating the impacts threatening the heritage site, and the consequences of interactions intending to alter the existing situations manifest the effectiveness of each activity. Furthermore, the participation levels of main decision-makers can also be derived from this mapping, which portrays the involvement frequency of actors for each action.

Emerging from the necessity to reduce vehicles circulating in the Historic Centre and promoting low-emission, high-capacity transportation systems, the Metrobús Line 4 project was announced to be constructed in October 2010 by the Governor of the Federal District. In early July 2011, INAH issued the construction permit for the actualisation of the Line 4 project as the authorised institution and the project implementation commenced immediately. One of the remarks to be derived from this analysis is that this project was immediately included in the integral management plan as a mobility strategy to be implemented through the enhancement of the existing routes in the short-term, and the agent responsible for the execution was determined as SETRAVI. Further actions were also described in the plan to improve the connectivity among various means of public transportation, involving the linking of Metrobús Line 4 to the suburban train, Metrobús Line 1 and 3, and numerous underground lines which would be undertaken by SETRAVI, SSP, the Historic Centre Authority and Historic Centre Trust. In this way, the public transport system circulating in the Historic Centre would be unified and commuting between different residential areas, activity sectors and tourist sites would be facilitated. The representative of the Authority indicated during the interview that the addition of the Metrobús project to the management plan ensured its proper implementation and monitoring (LS-1, 2012). In this way, the project is integrated into the existing planning and management frameworks, and the duties of the responsible authorities are clarified.

Another important result to be deduced from this analysis has been the existence of communication with the UNESCO WH Centre. Following the announcement and planning moves of the federal and local authorities, the Centre was informed about the project, and later requested the delivery of comprehensive technical information in June 2011 (WHC Decision 35COM7B.127). CONALMEX also acted as a mediator between the opponent social groups and the Centre, who rapidly responded to the official report submitted by the Front. Regarding the mission report and the subsequent decisions taken, it is noteworthy to highlight that the Committee did not ask for the compilation of EIA or HIA relating to the project (WHC Decision 35COM7B.127, 2011; SOC Report, 2013). Agreeing on their significant role in identifying the overall impact of such projects on the safeguarding of the WHS, the local authorities did not have a response to the reasons for their absence (LS-1; LS-2, 2012).

The progress analysis also depicts that good means of communication and collaboration have also been established among responsible national, federal and local parties. The direct involvement of INAH at national, SETRAVI and SSP at federal, and Authority and Trust at local levels with the implementation of the project and the relevant management plan objectives, their rapid responses to the obstacles encountered and the issues of concern raised, and their collaborative approach to solving the problems demonstrate the pluralist and participatory management system in effect for the Historic Centre. The objections raised by civic groups at an early project development stage illustrate that comparatively transparent processes of design, execution and monitoring prevail, albeit, in this case they proved not to be very informative. The subsequent measures taken by the local management units to engage the local community groups in the decision-making process through regularly set meetings are also noteworthy efforts to enhance democratic means of participation. These participatory strategies formulated for citizens were also acknowledged in the State of Conservation report submitted by the State Party as an affirmative action for effective urban heritage management (SOC, 2013). In sum, the issues expressed as a concern by the WH Committee or the civil society organisations were confronted and mainly resolved by the actions taken by the national institutions, federal governmental organs, and local administrators.

4.5.4 Assessment of the decision-making mechanism

For the case of the Metrobús Line 4, the international, national, regional and local stakeholders involved in the decision-making process are identified as: UNESCO World Heritage Centre participating at international level, CONALMEX, ICOMOS Mexico and INAH at national level, Ministry of Public Transport and Highway Administration (STEERAGE), Ministry of Public Security (SSP) and Ministry of Work and Public Services (SOBSE) within the Federal District government and the Metrobús entity as a decentralised public body at regional level, and the Historic Centre Authority and the Historic Centre Trust as autonomous local governmental bodies, along with the civil society participating through NGOs at local level. The participation rate of each actor, which is highly associated with its role and responsibilities, is measured and evaluated (**Fig. 25, 26**).

As an inter-governmental body, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee was involved in this case on the basis of periodic monitoring and a reactive-monitoring mission. Taking into account its sanction power and its direct interactions with the inter-governmental agencies, such as CONALMEX and ICOMOS National Committee, and a number of national and local agents including INAH, it emerges as a prominent international stakeholder in this case. Its involvement in three out of five main actions depicted in the progress analysis map is another manifestation of its active engagement with the project and the heritage site. Although it has a dominant role in the decision-making though, its distance to the actual operations makes it a less influential actor.

At national level, INAH stands out as the main decision maker as the peripheral body of CONACULTA directly concerned with the Historic Centre registered as a Historic Monuments Zone. Associated with its full authority to administer the operations related with historical buildings and sites, INAH directly communicates with CONALMEX, the interested federal governmental bodies, municipal districts, and the Historic Centre Authority and Trust on issues regarding the safeguarding of the built heritage within the WHS. Hence, it is evaluated as a major participant of the management structure stepping in at national level. Another national stakeholder, CONALMEX functions as a catalyst between UNESCO and the public and private actors. Despite its essential role in establishing and maintaining coordination between the WHC and the Front, as it is demonstrated in the progress analysis map, it is not directly engaged with the decision-making. An even less influential actor, ICOMOS Mexico, serves as the advisory body but also does not possess the capacity to enact directly. Consequently, INAH emerges as a national governmental body with the highest level of interactions with

stakeholders from varying positions, whereas other national actors have limited direct involvement with the case project. Hence, the national parties pursue a secondary role in the management system in general.

At regional level, the decentralised federal government delegates authority to its relevant departments and the semi-autonomous district municipalities. The most active federal governmental entity with highest participation frequency is SETRAVI, which is in charge of the planning, actualisation and monitoring of the whole urban transportation system. Similarly, the Metrobús is another dominant stakeholder participating as an independent governmental actor administering the whole construction and operation processes related with the Line 4 project. The other federal ministries and district municipalities are moderately involved in the case project with limited participation and communication confined mainly to the local management unit. According to the social network analysis, the most prominent decision-maker is the Historic Centre Authority which acts as a catalyst for maintaining a dialogue with thirteen diverse stakeholders participating at different levels. In partnership with the other autonomous governmental agent, the Historic Centre Trust, both of these entities are responsible for all the projects employed at the Historic Centre. The Authority is in charge of the preparation and execution of the management plan, which includes a line of strategy to be implemented in relation to the Line 4 project, and it coordinates and controls the whole project. In association, the Trust operates the decisions given by the Authority and formulates communication and action mechanisms. In this respect, both of these local stakeholders are classified as major participants and decision-makers within the heritage management structure.

Another main local actor is the United Front of Residents and Merchants which represents diverse social groups affected directly or indirectly by the implementation of the Metrobús project. Through democratic means of public participation, this organisation is involved in the process as an opposing party protesting the decisions incompatible with the public interest. Expressing their objections by means of demonstrations, press releases and social media, this group is actively involved even though it does not have the authority to make any amendments on the project or the relevant decisions. Their interactions and direct communication with national, federal and local actors award a high participation frequency to the NGO in the decision-making process.

4.5.5 Results of the case analysis

Focusing on a single large-scale urban infrastructure project, this case study explores the impacts posed on the integrity of the historic urban landscape, examines the actions taken by the key stakeholders and their involvement with the case, assesses their participation levels to the existing decision-making mechanism, and evaluates the effectiveness of the management instruments adopted. It introduces a holistic view revealing the complexities of managing the heritage site. The complexity mapping (**Fig. 26**) derived from the content analysis of interviews and reports depicts all the issues of concern raised by the broad range of decision-makers and their association with the BRT Metrobús Line 4 project. The complexities rendered for the case study are the condensed manifestations of the management challenges concerning the historic city as a whole.

One of the general results that can be derived from the case is that the Mexican government, as a State Party, maintained good means of communication with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Specific inter-governmental bodies, such as CONALMEX and INAH WH Directorate, were established for the purpose of coordinating the evaluation, monitoring and feedback mechanisms between the WHC and the relevant national and local actors. Furthermore, the federal government abided by Paragraph 172 of the Operational Guidelines, informing the WHC about the projects that might cause an impact on the heritage attributes prior to their realisation and organising reactive-monitoring missions in the cases of controversy.

Secondly, it has been observed that even though there have been cases of poor communication between different federal premises with irreversible consequences in the past years (the demolition of 27 buildings during the implementation of the Popular Commerce Programme), the national, federal and local public actors addressing

heritage issues acted in coordination during the operation of the Line 4 case. It is assumed that the reason behind the establishment of good collaboration among governmental bodies with divergent roles and responsibilities relied heavily on the main coordinator role of the Historic Centre Authority and its effective operation. In this way, different federal ministries (SETRAVI, SEDUVI and SSP) managed to react rapidly to cope with the management challenges, and to implement rehabilitation activities related to the improvement of the Metrobús project.

Thirdly, this case clearly demonstrated the participation means and levels of the local community to the decision-making process. Apart from the civic protests, the representatives of the civil society managed to express their concerns directly to the relevant authority members through regularly scheduled meetings with the local management units. These democratic means of communication created by the Historic Centre Trust enabled the voices of the community to be heard and thus acted upon. It is clearly associated with the high rate of public participation with the management structure engendered after the democratisation of the Federal District. Lastly, it has been witnessed that the federal and local authorities have the capacities to react to the obstacles encountered during the management and development processes, and to create valid responses that mitigate the adverse impacts and challenges.

4.6 Summary and Concluding Remarks

Mexico City is one of the most populous megacities on Earth as a result of rapid urban expansion and population growth which has occurred in the last few decades. The impacts associated with its aspirations to be a key player in the global urban network create major challenges in terms of land use, mobility, resilience and socioeconomic equality. The designation of its Historic Centre as a WHS of universal significance residing in its multi-layered urban configuration contributes to its global city image. However, its protection and effective management becomes a daunting task in presence of economic and urban development pressures materialised in terms of large-scale urban infrastructure and regeneration projects, which are not always sympathetic to its historic urban setting. In this context, the study of the Mexico City WHS enables the examination of both effective and ineffective strategies, policies and instruments that actually underpin the distinctiveness of each historic urban landscape.

As this case study demonstrates, mobility of the large population sizes comes out as a main issue for global cities to be properly handled at local and metropolitan levels. Bearing in mind its impact on global competitiveness, productivity and the environment, urban governments allocate major investments for large-scale infrastructure projects. As a result of such large public expenditures in favour of private transportation for some time, long commutes, high levels of traffic jams, and high rates of pollution have been a serious concern causing a strong impact on public health and the quality of life in the city. In response, certain measures have been taken by the metropolitan administration that integrates the mobility system, which prioritises public transportation over private means. Their efforts towards more sustainable models of transportation enabled the development of new Metrobus and Metro lines, which ameliorated the existing mobility system. However, their potential effects on the historic centre and the local community residing within also have to be taken into consideration prior to its implementation. The concerns raised in response manifest the necessity for a holistic approach that integrates heritage management into the broader urban planning scheme.

The limitations of the existing legislative and planning frameworks have a direct influence on the confinements to an integral management approach. The fragmentary nature of the protection policy in Mexico fails to address historic cities and world heritage sites as coherent entities. The periodic designation of heritage sites and the preference of one period over another also affect the protection criteria for multi-layered historic landscapes,

such as the Historic Centre. Escalante Carillo (2013) points out the lack of management strategies specific for the pre-Hispanic archaeological heritage within the city in his dissertation. World Heritage designation, moreover, carries no specific formal status in terms of designation, organisational management and financial support. For a more holistic approach that embraces the multileveled cultural, natural and intangible heritage assets associated with the Historic Centre, thus, management strategies and policies that conceive the city as a Historic Urban Landscape should be adopted. The integral management plan, in this regard, is considered as an ideal tool to guide the daily decision-making process with regards to the holistic management of the World Heritage property. The Management Plan for the Historic Centre recognises the significance of the Templo Mayor and other pre-Hispanic archaeological remains in enhancing the development of protection policies for the whole site.

Another result to be derived from this study is that the existing urban governance structure directly influences the operation of the decision-making for heritage sites. The local government is formulated in a two-tier basis where a single corporate and elected level of municipality is in function with delegated smaller territorial units performing as delegations. This decentralisation empowers the local administrative units where the Historic Centre Authority plays a mediator role with new bonds of reciprocity engaging all the relevant parties in dialogue about their shared objectives concerning the heritage site. Its effectiveness resides in its ability to foster better communication and collaboration among all the concerned stakeholders, including the local community groups. In addition, innovative partnership models are employed in the Historic Centre where voluntary groups, experts and local administrative bodies collaborate, using public and private grants to enforce self-help and develop low-cost solutions to small-scale obstacles. Relevantly, the decision-making mechanism for Mexico City WHS (**Fig. 27**) manifests a bottom-up approach that portrays the local administrative units including the Authority and the Trust as the most prominent actors that are actively engaged with most of the stakeholders as part of the management process. This case also evidently shows that the establishment and enhancement of dialogue-structured activities and participatory mechanisms that embrace all the relevant stakeholders, including the local communities, are vital for effective management.

In sum, the findings of this study evince that the implementation of a participatory and communicative approach is fundamental for the creation of a new common ground for dialogue and joint action engaging various interested parties involved at different stages. The unique public-private partnership models and grassroots initiatives established for the Historic Centre are specific examples that empower the local actors in a bottom-up management structure. Furthermore, the integral management plan embracing the Historic Centre as a whole comes out as a crucial normative tool imperative for the effective management of the historic urban landscape. It can be concluded that the management strategies and tools operating for the Mexico City WHS have been effective in promoting local-level participation and dialogue building among all the interested parties.

CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY II - ISTANBUL

5.1 Introduction

Located in a strategic geo-political position that straddles two continents, Europe and Asia, Istanbul has been a world city for over two thousand years as the capital of three successive empires and their associated civilisations: the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman. The city followed a particular historical trajectory based on its prominent status as a political, economic and religious⁴² centre for centuries. Although Istanbul is not the government seat of Turkey today, it has maintained its hegemony as the national commercial and cultural capital with its rapidly growing population over 14 million, and has striven for a leading role within the worldwide economy as a global megacity.

On account of the multi-layered historic urban morphology of Istanbul, its rich historical, cultural and landscape assets induce potential for the endorsement and marketing of the city within the global city network. The inscription of the historic city centre on the World Heritage List and selection of the city as one of the European Capitals of Culture in 2010 manifested the significance of cultural heritage for its worldwide promotion to attract new investments and tourists. On the other hand, the aspirations of Istanbul as a city of global standing generate a number of complexities emerging from the challenges of striking a balance between global positioning strategies and creating a liveable, equitable and sustainable habitat for a growing number of citizens. Moreover, the participation of a broad range of stakeholders in the decision-making for the future of the city also brings about a major challenge of urban administration.

In this regard, this chapter is divided into three sections; the first describes the historical urban development of the city in order to point out the physical challenges arising from its historic stratification, and explains the policies and strategies adopted for the formation of Istanbul as a global city along with the economic, social and cultural attributes it possess. The second section examines the Historic Areas of Istanbul WHS by means of description of the site, definition of its significance and the OUVs attributed to the areas, and identification of the threats and impacts on its authenticity and integrity through the critical review of reports submitted to and by the UNESCO WHC and ICOMOS. Then, the third section identifies the management and decision-making structure for the WHS through the study of its existing urban governance system, its decision-making mechanism, legislative and planning frameworks, and the operation of existing management tools such as HIAs and the management plan. Finally, the fourth section focuses on the analysis of the case of the Golden Horn Bridge, a large-scale urban infrastructure project causing a visual impact on the WHS. Lastly, the concluding section summarises the main results and outcomes of the Istanbul case study.

5.2 The Megapolis: Istanbul as the Global City

5.2.1 *Historical urban development*

Accommodating the archaeological remains and built heritage of three successive civilisations, Istanbul currently embodies numerous strata of urban morphologies, monuments and historic urban areas developed during the reign of each empire. The public works, urban infrastructure and the administrative systems of the city formulated in tandem with the dominant political and religious structures throughout the course of urban history of Istanbul have also contributed to the evolution of the complex networks of urban governance and the

⁴² Istanbul used to be the centre of two religions: the Greek Orthodox patriarchy, which has still been domiciled in the city, and the Islamic caliphate for almost four centuries in between the appropriation of the title by the Ottoman Sultan in the sixteenth century and its abrogation after the establishment of the Republic (Keyder, 1999).

urban formation existing today. In this respect, the historical urban development scheme of the city plays a key role in achieving a holistic approach to the management of its historic fabric.

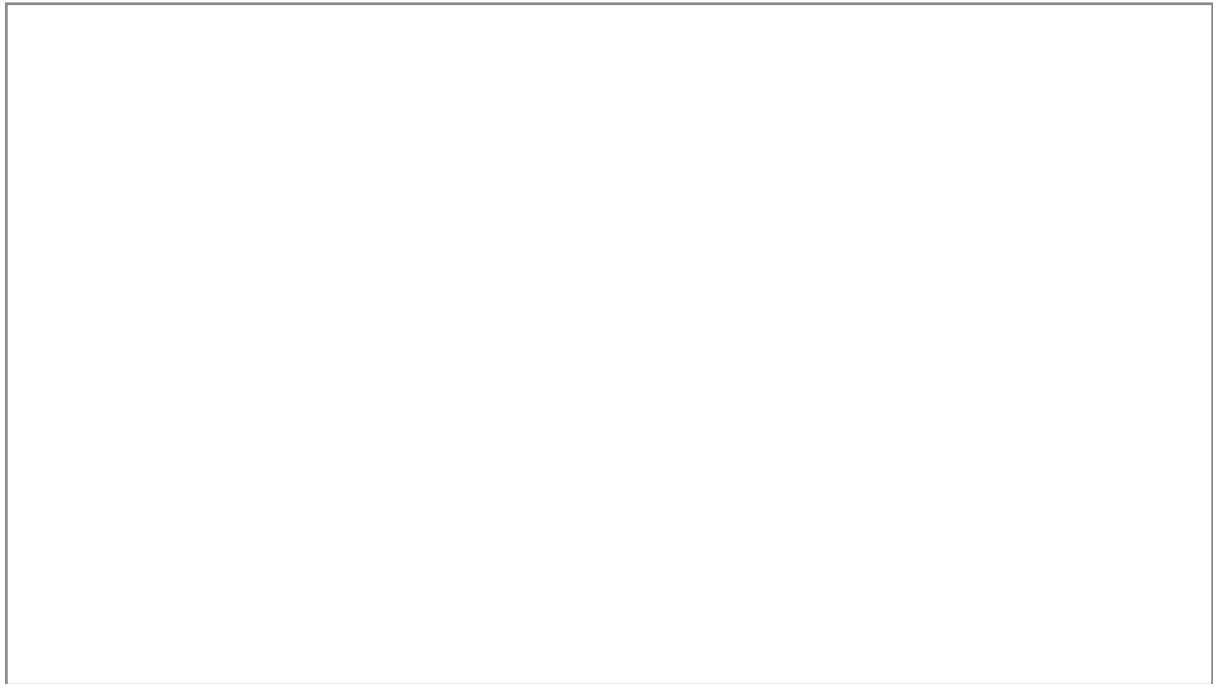


Fig. 28. Historical development stages of Istanbul (Enlil and Kaptan, 2011: 26)

The initial settlement that built the foundation of the present city (**Fig. 28**) was established by a Megaran community maintaining maritime business and trade in the seventh century B.C. Named as Byzantium in honour of one of its rulers, the city enjoyed a strategic position at the western end of the peninsula, a small urban area encircled by fortifications where the Acropolis marked its highest point along with public and open spaces and an ancient harbour (Freely, 1998). The city was later occupied by the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans with intervals of independence. Subsequently, the city was designated as the new capital of the Roman Empire in the fourth century A.D., which was initially called ‘Nova Roma’ to signify New Rome but its name eventually became Constantinople, as the City of Constantine, its founder (Kuban, 2010). This geopolitical shift of the capital led to the expansion of the city with the addition of new imperial buildings and defence walls, and the implementation of a new administrative system. The urban governance system of Constantinople embodied fourteen regions, each managed by a curator under the administrative power of the prefect. Moreover, new monumental building types were introduced to the city such as the Hippodrome and the Great Palace, the remains of which still exist underground at the lowest level of the historic centre. Additionally, a new set of fortifications, the Theodosian Walls⁴³, were constructed in the fifth century which delimited the western boundary of the capital until the mid-twentieth century.

The fall of Constantinople and the designation of the city as the capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1453 inaugurated a new period of building activities, urban policies and administration for the conversion of Byzantine Constantinople into Ottoman Istanbul in the fifteenth century. In this regard, Christian monuments, such as Hagia Sophia, were converted to be used as mosques and new Muslim neighbourhoods were formed around religious complexes constructed at the highest points of the hills within the old city, many of which encroached upon the previous Byzantine arteries (Ahunbay, 1998). The building programme of Istanbul

⁴³ The Theodosian Walls enclosed an urban topography including seven hills, six of them rising parallel to the Golden Horn and the last one situated at the south-western section of the ancient city. The topographical resemblance of Rome and Istanbul consisting of seven hills was initially pointed out by the French scholar Petrus Gyllius in the sixteenth century (Freely, 1998).

culminated in the classical Ottoman architecture of the sixteenth century marked by the monumental masterpieces of the Architect Sinan, whose work still forms the main characteristic of the current skyline. Following the golden age of the Ottoman city, it gradually reached a period of stagnation consistent with the imperial political and economic status. Thus, numerous reforms were carried out in the nineteenth century categorised under the themes of gradual secularisation, centralisation of authoritative power and the establishment of a new legislative system adopted from European precedents. In parallel with the formation of new institutions and policies as an effect of modernisation, the urban structure of Istanbul was also transformed by means of centrally governed, top-down modernisation realised in a fragmented basis (Celik, 1986). This resulted in the piecemeal regulation of the urban fabric through the establishment of new governmental departments and adoption of new legislation, the development of new urban design principles endorsing the creation of public squares, regular street networks and façades, and the introduction of new means of public transport such as trams, ferries and suburban trains. Furthermore, the residential areas within the city were differentiated according to the nationality and social class of the residents. This period of fragmentary urban transformation influenced by the Western modernisation acts laid the basis for the integration of Istanbul with the capitalist world economy, which continued with liberal policies adopted in the late twentieth century.

Following the establishment of the new Republic in 1923, Istanbul lost its administrative status after the designation of Ankara as the capital city of the new nation-state. The new government allocated most of its limited post-war budget to the building programme and industrialisation of small-scale Anatolian cities and the construction of railway networks to link the domestic market. As a result of this political and economic shift in the early twentieth century, Istanbul turned into a shrinking city with significant population loss caused by the exchange and expulsion of the non-Muslim communities and the transfer of the government bureaucrats to the new capital (Keyder, 1999). In this period, the regeneration of the urban economy and the revitalisation of the neglected neighbourhoods was not a national priority. This undervalued status gradually changed following the appointment of the French town planner Henri Prost who developed a master plan for the expansion of the city in early 1940s. Subsequently, the post-war years were marked by a rapid urbanisation and industrialisation phase that had an irrevocable impact on the development of the city. The transition to the multi-party political regime gave rise to the development of the private sector, which led to the reclaim of Istanbul its privileged position as the central hub of large-scale, private manufacturing enterprises (Enlil and Kaptan, 2011). The mechanisation in agriculture and the existence of a large commodity market in the city initiated a massive migratory flow from the rural to the urban areas. Rural to urban emmigration in the 1950s led to an immediate demand for investment in sufficient housing and urban infrastructure to accommodate the growing population, and especially the lower income groups, as sufficient investment was not allocated by the local government. Thus, the new urban settlers handled the issue themselves by means of the construction of informal dwellings on mostly publicly-owned land circumscribing the historic urban core without official permission (Tekeli, 2010). Instead of resolving the mass housing problem, the local authorities legitimised the informal housing due to reasons of political inertia and clientelism. Meanwhile, the middle class demand was met through mechanisms of commercialising private property for apartment building, of reaching an agreement between the landowner and the entrepreneur, and of establishing building cooperatives for specific professional groups (Keyder, 1999). Furthermore, the construction of international highways and the first bridge over the Bosphorus delimited the expansion of the city. In this way, the construction sector grew rapidly for the appraisal of the highly speculative land market between 1950 and 1980.

In the 1980s, Istanbul implemented new neoliberal growth policies to endorse its global status within the worldwide economy, consistent with private sector led acts adopted by the national government. These policies led to the restructuring of the political, economic and legislative structures through the opening of the national

economy to international trade zones, the privatisation of public entities and the ratification of new legislation concerning local administrations (Enlil and Kaptan, 2011). In this regard, Istanbul shifted to a flexible production model and became a regional centre of command and control following the collapse of the socialist bloc. This economic shift required improvements in the urban administrative structure and the built environment for the substantial growth of the world city. Thus, the city transformed into a multi-centred metropolis through the generation of new modes of integration. Furthermore, the administrative and fiscal power of local authorities and public institutions such as the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Housing Development Administration were strengthened by new regulations, which played a vital role in the development of the city by means of mass housing and regeneration projects (Tekeli, 2011). As the physical and economic restructuring of the city continues, Istanbul strives to enhance its positioning in the global urban network.

5.2.2 Global city formation

Regarding the adoption of neoliberal policies and new strategies to integrate the national economy with global markets in the 1980s and its association with the consensus on transforming Istanbul into a global city agreed upon by national and local governmental agencies, this aspiration was predominantly achieved in the twenty-first century. The substantial economic growth and the political stability sustained by a single-party ruling regime⁴⁴ contributed to the intensification of transnational flows of capital, commodities, information and people that penetrated to the flourishing service sector in the city through joint ventures, direct investments and licensing (Keyder, 1999).

In the realm of political and economic transformations, this shift translated to land being made available for large-scale urban development projects manifested mainly as the improvement of the transportation infrastructure, legal construction on vacant land and the regeneration of the existing historic built environment. The access to land was facilitated through the implementation of new acts concerning land use and financial liberalisation enabled generous investment funds to be offered to national and international developers. Thus, real estate and construction became the highest profit sectors in Istanbul, leading to the execution of megaprojects in the city (Meray and Kaptan, 2009). Part of the new land and funds were provided for the expansion of central business districts in the form of office towers, residential housing, five-star hotels and shopping malls where there was demand from international finance enterprises and business headquarters. Furthermore, there was a large investment in the development of the transportation infrastructure, such as the rail tunnel under the Bosphorus, the third bridge across the straits and the third international airport at the north, to enhance the connectivity of the city to the domestic and global markets. The legislation enabling foreign nationals to buy property in Turkey stimulated global capital mobility and promoted the formation of public-private partnerships with international private stakeholders. Concurrently, the newly-structured national institutions including the Mass Housing Administration were entrusted with regeneration of the historic neighbourhoods with low quality housing. Thus, the original residents accommodated at the historic core of the city have become the subjects of urban regeneration programmes led by the local municipalities, resulting in their relocation to new developments at the peripheries of the city and the social gentrification of the historic centre (Aksoy, 2011).

This globalisation period has also entailed the introduction of new socio-spatial formations transforming Istanbul into a multi-focal city. The continuous rise in urban population reaching 14 million in 2016 and the emergence of new social groups including professionals and business executives with high incomes has sharpened social inequality. This has led to spatial segregation within the city, manifested in the formation of separate residential

⁴⁴ Following the futile attempts of the short-lived coalition governments to ease a series of economic crisis, the conservative Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in 2002, winning over two-thirds of the parliamentary seats, and has been the sole governing party since then.

zones reserved for homogeneous groups of the society. The vacant land or private estates expropriated by the authorities were developed into gated compounds for the middle and upper classes at the peripheries (Guvenc, 2013). The E-5 motorway that crosses the metropolitan area in the east-west direction currently functions as a boundary line segregating the upper and lower income groups. Consequently, the repercussions of these socio-spatial shifts have led to a more polarised and fragmented social geography in Istanbul.

According to the *Cities of Opportunity 2014 Report* of Pricewaterhouse Coopers, Istanbul is ranked 25th among the world's largest cities in economic terms. In spite of the decline of industrial activity in the city from the 1980s onwards, its contribution to the worldwide economy concentrated on finance but also on construction, real estate and trade. Akin to its role in the global urban network, the sustainable development of the city and the safeguarding of the historic centre ultimately depend on strategic decisions and policies to be adopted regarding spatial planning and the urban infrastructure system.

5.3 The World Heritage Site

The “Historic Areas of Istanbul” consisting of four protected historic urban zones of the Historic Peninsula was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1985. It is important to identify the significance of this World Heritage Site, along with the current threats and impacts on the values attributed to it in order to further analyse the case study.

5.3.1 Site description

The Historic Peninsula, surrounded by the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus on the east and the Sea of Marmara on the south, has been the heart of the successive civilisations the city hosted for over two thousand years. Its natural topography and relation to the sea have played a vital role in the formation of the historical urban morphology and the positioning of monumental buildings, many of which have been sustained to the present day. The multi-layered formation shaped as a result of the preservation of ancient road networks and the addition of new layers over the existing historic strata is a significant character of the site that is clearly portrayed in the distinctive skyline of Istanbul.



Fig. 29a, b. The Historic Peninsula

The four historic areas of Istanbul (**Fig. 29a, b**) designated jointly as a serial WHS within the Historic Peninsula include an amalgamation of monuments, building ensembles and urban quarters that embody the historical traces of the earlier civilisations, together with the contemporary architecture of the last century. The Sultanahmet Archaeological Park located on the first hill at the east of the Peninsula is the original site of the initial urban settlement in Istanbul. Embodying the underground remains of the ancient empires and the most prominent historical monuments dotting the urban landscape, such as the Hagia Sophia, Topkapı Palace and the Blue Mosque, this historic area has been the primary tourist attraction point of the city. Constituting the western boundary of the historic centre, the Land Walls are the second historic area inscribed on the List in respect of their significance as the most advanced military defence structure of the late ancient period and their materiality

in the delimitation of the size and development of the city. The third and fourth areas include the historic districts of Suleymaniye and Zeyrek located on the third and fourth hills at the north of the peninsula, respectively, which depict the traditional urban fabric composed of vernacular timber dwellings enclosing monumental religious complexes that they originate from, the Suleymaniye Mosque Complex and the Pantocrator Church, in an organic form.



Fig. 30a. Timber houses in Zeyrek (Author: Junaid Sorosh-Wali)

Fig. 30b. The Pantocrator Church (Author: M & G Therin-Weise)

The Historic Peninsula has until recently managed to maintain its original spatial formation consistent with the land use priorities. The east of the Peninsula, once the Acropolis of ancient Byzantium and subsequently serving as the main administrative centre through the construction of successive palaces on the site in the course of its history, was designated as an urban archaeological site with limited daily activity in mid-twentieth century. Furthermore, most of the districts characterised with traditional commercial and residential functions and customs have preserved their tangible attributes even though their social structures significantly changed. In the twentieth century, the prestigious neighbourhoods of the historic core were abandoned by their original inhabitants and replaced by successive waves of rural migrants. Then, the deindustrialisation process in the 1980s caused the loss of a considerable amount of historic industrial buildings, along with the social group of manufacturers (Ahunbay, 1998). Finally, the recent designation of twelve urban renewal areas within the Historic Peninsula, including the Suleymaniye, Sulukule and Beyazitaga districts within the WHS, yielded to a significant shift in the physical, socio-economic and cultural character of the historic centre.

5.3.2 Inscription and statement of Outstanding Universal Value

The Historic Areas of Istanbul WHS is inscribed on the World Heritage List as a cultural property on the basis of criteria i, ii, iii and iv. According to the WHC Decision 09COM XA approving its inscription, criterion i is associated with the prominent monuments such as the Hagia Sophia and the Suleymaniye Mosque that are classified as masterpieces of their historic eras. Criterion ii is justified by the substantial influence of significant monumental edifices on the development of built environment in Europe and Asia. The Hagia Sophia played a vital role in the structural development of domed structures, whereas the Land Walls were a key reference for the military architecture. Criterion iii is associated with its testimonial attributes of the Byzantine and Ottoman civilisations. Finally, criterion iv is attributed to the site for embodying the best examples of religious and administrative ensembles of buildings representing the Ottoman period. Additionally, it is highlighted in the nomination folder (1984) that the Outstanding Universal Value of the WHS resides in the significant historic urban setting and its distinctive silhouette defining the skyline of Istanbul.



Fig. 31. Map showing the inscribed property, the management area and the buffer zones, 2009 (Source: Istanbul Site Management Directorate)

The limitation of the heritage site to four historic areas (**Fig. 31**) within the Historic Peninsula was validated by the representation of key historical and cultural assets, and their protection by the national legislation as conservation areas at the time of inscription. (ICOMOS, 1985; LS-3, 2013). Following the official registration of the entire Historic Peninsula as an urban site in 1995, the subsequent planning, conservation and management tools encompassed the Peninsula as a whole instead of scattered urban areas at local level. However, the delimitation of the Peninsula has been further criticised for not including the peripheral historic areas, such as Yenikapi and Yedikule, where the implementation of development projects might still impose adverse impacts to the values attributed to the WHS (NS-4, 2013). Additionally, intangible cultural values derived from the interplay of historical layers and collective memories of spaces, the manifold cultural, ethical and spiritual values ascribed to the shared heritage, along with the assorted socio-spatial compositions constitute the essence of the site. Hence, the universal significance of the site does not only reside in the historic and architectural values accredited to individual monumental buildings, ensembles and historic districts within the inscribed areas at the heart of the city, but to the sum of all the tangible and intangible assets the historic urban landscape embodies holistically.

5.3.3 Threats and state of conservation

The conservation of the Historic Areas of Istanbul has been in state of flux since its inscription on the List. Major monuments have generally been well preserved as a result of periodic maintenance and architectural restoration programmes implemented against the adverse effects of natural disasters and material deterioration. The vernacular dwellings situated in the historic districts, however, have been in poor shape or completely lost due to lack of attention, abandonment, unlicensed demolition and urban renewal pressures. Moreover, large-scale development and infrastructure projects realised in the historic core have impacted on the values attributed to the site. As a result of these threats and the lack of an effective management tool, the site had been proposed to be included in the List of World Heritage in Danger, which stipulated corrective measures to be taken by the authorities (WHC Decision 28COM 15B.80, 2006; 32COM 7B.110, 2008; 34COM 7B.102; 35COM 7B.111, 2011).

The historic core of Istanbul had been subject to a wide range of research projects and practices conducted by national and international teams after the exhibition held as part of the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year activities to raise international awareness for the safeguarding of the historic city. Thus, an international campaign was launched by UNESCO jointly with the local authorities for the preservation of the architectural heritage in 1984 (Ahunbay, 2011). Following the inscription on the List, UNESCO appointed international expertise and provided financial support for architectural conservation projects, such as the restoration of mosaics in Hagia Sophia, complemented with two expert missions during the period 1986-1997. Although only a small amount of the funds granted was collected by the State Party, this international assistance contributed to the conservation of major monuments and the implementation of preliminary safeguarding measures for the site.

According to the Statement of Conservation (SOC) and mission reports submitted to the Committee and the decisions periodically taken at General Sessions, the main concerns expressed by the WHC in the last decade have focused on the lack of coordination among diverse decision-makers, the delays in the adoption of effective planning regulations and management tools, new transportation infrastructure projects that threaten the physical and visual integrity of the site, and implementation of urban renewal projects and inappropriate conservation methods having adverse impacts on the attributes of authenticity. Notably, the heritage site was initially considered to be inscribed on the List in Danger in 2004 when a series of actions including the development of a proactive management plan and improvement of coordination were requested to be undertaken by the State Party (WHC Decision 28COM 15B.80). Followed by a process of reactive monitoring lasting for seven years, the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies prepared annual reports on the state of conservation and executed three joint missions to assess the progress of the State Party in safeguarding the site. As a result of the adoption of tangible remedial measures by the local and national governmental bodies to prevent the loss of the OUV, the Istanbul WHS was no longer considered for removal from the list (WHC Decision 35COM 7B.111, 2011). The members of the Executive Committee of ICOMOS Turkey claim that this decision was taken for political concerns by the Committee though, despite adverse reports submitted by the World Heritage Centre (NS-4, 2011).

Finally, the final UNESCO WHC/ICOMOS joint reactive monitoring mission was conducted on the site in 2012 primarily concerning the Golden Horn Bridge and the proposed renewal and conservation projects to be realised in the historic areas of Suleymaniye and Zeyrek. Describing these regeneration projects as a “double-edged sword” (IS-2, 2012), the ICOMOS member who joined the mission pointed out the factors induced by them such as threats to social cohesion through gentrification, erosion of traditional lifestyles and vernacular building techniques, the proliferation of tourism-related activities. Furthermore, the mission report highlighted the impacts of urban development around the Golden Horn on the visual integrity of the site. Subsequently, the Committee (Decision 37COM 7B.85) requested the implementation of the recommendations included in the

mission report and doubled the duration of the reporting in 2013. Consequently, the national and local authorities have been better equipped over the years to manage the impacts of urban development on the heritage site despite the initial lack of capacity and appropriate tools, but there are still numerous concerns addressing the lack of a holistic planning process and of basic measures to mitigate negative impacts.

5.4 Management of the WHS

This section focuses on the management system of the heritage site. In order to have a better understanding of the operation of the decision-making mechanism and the roles of diverse stakeholders participating at different levels, it is essential to perceive the challenges arising from the dual-functioning of the urban governance structure of the city. Moreover, the assessment of the existing legislative and planning frameworks concerning the historic centre and the management tools adopted over time are crucial for the effectiveness analysis of the management system, which are all covered in this sub-chapter.

5.4.1 Urban governance system

Turkey is a unitary state with a highly centralised public administration system. Istanbul, on the other hand, is governed by a dual urban administration mechanism involving the participation of both an elected mayor and a governor appointed by the national government that has perpetuated the centralised state authority for over 150 years. This dichotomy of urban governance has yielded to the emergence of conflicts and tensions between actors operating at different levels of public administration.

Akin to the fact that provinces and counties are peripheral units of the central state, governors and county-level administrators are directly appointed by the Council of Ministers in order to represent the central authority at local level. Moreover, the national government utilise its powers of policy-making to endorse its influence on urban and regional development. Nevertheless, the democratisation process compliant with the acts of integration to the global market led to the restructuring of the urban administration system (Baraldi, 2012). The enactment of the Metropolitan Municipality Law in 1983 adapted new policies endorsing the decentralisation of metropolitan areas. Defining the metropolitan city concept for the first time, a two-tier structure in the urban administration of metropolitan areas was introduced that delegated decision-making powers for both the metropolitan city and district municipalities. The Istanbul Metropolitan City comprised of the mayor elected every five years and a Municipal Council formed by selected members of the district municipalities and the mayors who share the executive powers is responsible for macro-level decisions concerning the entire metropolitan city. The district municipalities administered by elected mayors, on the other hand, are in charge of decisions related to local municipal services (Uzun, 2010). The Municipality Law also increased the revenues of municipalities and delegated the authority to make urban development master plans, which enabled them to conduct large-scale infrastructure projects.

Nevertheless, the decentralisation process has generated complexities arising from the conflicting priorities and overlapping functionalities of the central and local governments, and the lack of institutional and personal capacities. Furthermore, the lack of participatory and consultative mechanisms and transparency in decision-making manifest the top-down nature of municipal governments. Closely associated with the administration of the ruling party in the metropolitan municipality, the central government has enhanced its controlling power at metropolitan level and adopted numerous acts of legislation that facilitated urban governance and development. Moreover, clientelism and patronage relations are enhanced due to the dominance of a “powerful mayor and weak council” governmental model (Uzun, 2010). This model clearly demonstrates the deficiency of democratic means of participation where the power is mediated through the metropolitan municipality instead of at local

level. Being the single city in Turkey that is governed by such an expanded authority, this form of organisation introduces another level of complexity regarding the management of the historic city centre.

5.4.2 The decision making-mechanisms and roles of stakeholders

The decision-making mechanism of the Historic Areas of Istanbul WHS (**Fig. 32**) involves the participation of a broad range of international, national, metropolitan and local stakeholders to the management process at various stages. The conflicting priorities, overlapping functionalities and the lack of communication and coordination between actors generate a number of complexities complicating the effective operation of the management structure.

The main international decision-maker, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, carries the role of monitoring of the inscribed sites through periodic reporting and reactive monitoring mechanisms. Regarding the international assistance programmes and missions executed jointly by UNESCO and ICOMOS for the case of Istanbul since its inscription, it is perceived that there have been numerous concerns raised by the WHC addressing the deficiencies in establishing an effective means of communication between the Committee and national authorities, and the disregard of requirements specified in the *Operational Guidelines* (2012). In fact, the representative of the Europe and North America Unit has drawn attention to the malfunctioning of the notification and feedback mechanisms between the Centre and the State Party, and the lack of transparency in regards to the urbanisation and development projects realised by the authorities (IS-1, 2012). Although the SP has ostensibly met certain demands and the schedules set in the decisions, the WHC still expresses concerns due to the slow operation and the lack of sufficient communication among actors (IS-1, 2012). The representative also pointed out the deficiencies in internal coordination, which are mainly shaped by the decisions imposed by the central government, and that the opinions of semi-governmental and non-governmental organisations are neglected in general (IS-1, 2012).

The same issues of concern were repeatedly articulated by the members of the UNESCO National Committee and the National Committee of ICOMOS, two national bodies that serve as intermediaries between the international inter-governmental organisations and the national and local authorities (NS-1, NS-4, 2013). Established as a non-governmental organisation manifesting the European community participation approach, the national committees of ICOMOS intend to enhance a bottom-up structure in cultural decision mechanisms. Contrary to this participatory approach, the ICOMOS National Committee of Turkey was established centrally as a semi-governmental body reflecting the dominancy of central authorities. As a result of the decentralisation movement in administrative systems, this institution has become more independent in the last twenty years. This autonomy, on the other hand, has cultivated certain disagreements with local authorities, who it is claimed, appear indifferent to the views of ICOMOS Turkey (NS-4, 2013).

At national level, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is the prominent actor that delegates the decision making powers concerning the cultural heritage to the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums. Affiliated to the Directorate, the Superior Conservation Council is the main national body in charge of registered buildings and sites that operates through its peripheral bodies. Thus, there are thirty-four Regional Conservation Councils, which are responsible for the standard-setting, monitoring and approval of physical interventions and functional changes of listed sites. Furthermore, the UNESCO World Heritage Coordination Unit was structured as a peripheral branch of the Directorate in order to coordinate the inscription, management and monitoring of WHS in Turkey. In addition to the Ministry, the heritage administrative system of Turkey involves two other national institutions that manage the cultural properties under their authorities: The General Directorate of Pious

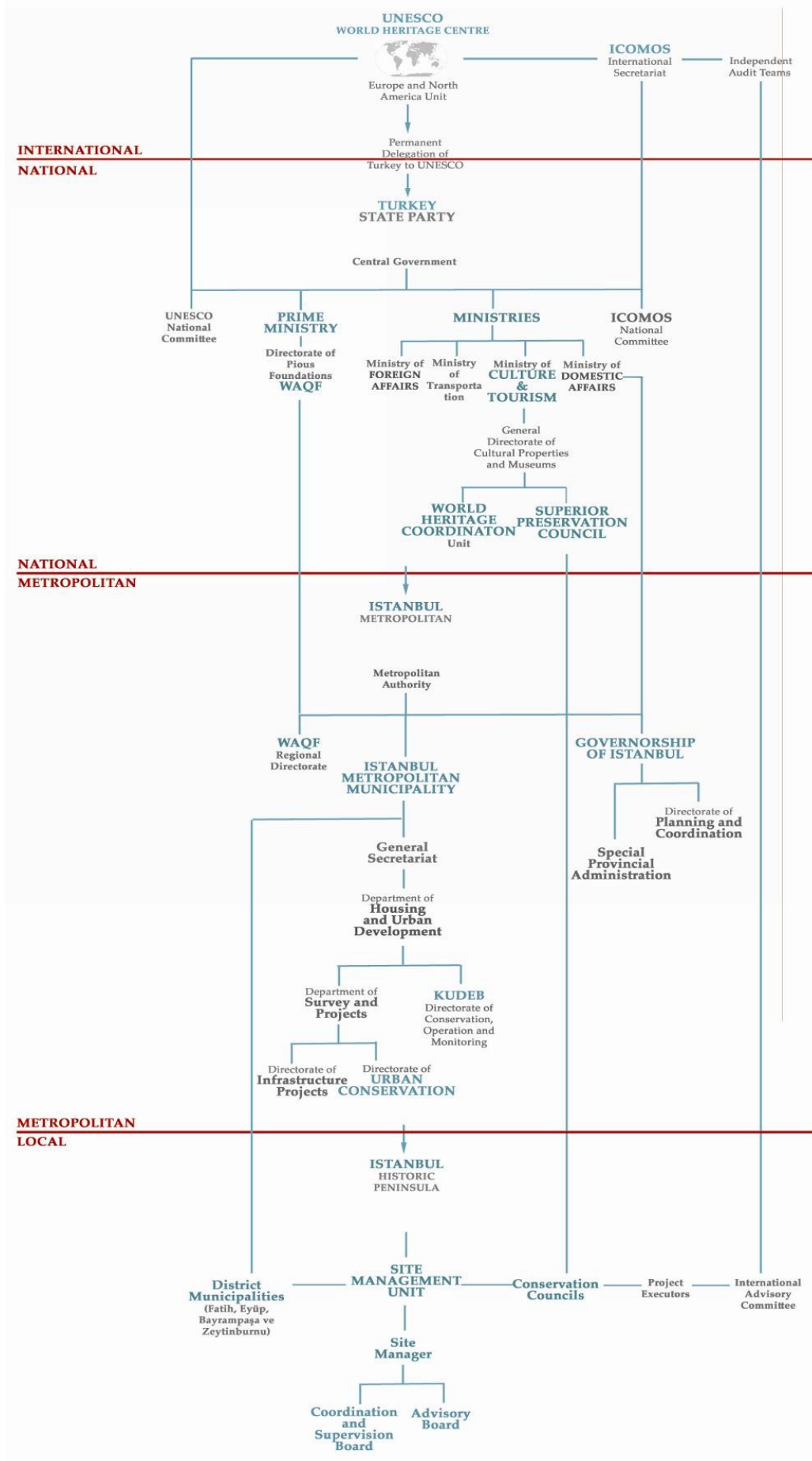


Fig. 32. The decision-making mechanism of Istanbul WHS

Foundations (Waqf) is responsible for the safeguarding of monuments constructed by the Ottoman Waqfs⁴⁵, whereas the Directorate of National Palaces is in charge of historic palaces and parliamentary buildings under its administration. Both of which are responsible for properties within the WHS. (Baraldi, 2012). This multilateral national administrative structure manifests the centralisation of the governance system based on the little autonomy possessed by the regional branches lacking independent budgets and decision-making powers, and the fragmentation of the heritage practice involving the participation of a wide range of national actors.

In accordance with the urban governance system, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) is the primary decision-maker responsible for the safeguarding of all the conservation sites and registered historic buildings under its jurisdiction. It is the proprietor of the historic properties that serve the whole city, such as the Land Walls, waterworks structures and fountains. Furthermore, the IMM carries the role of monitoring and controlling projects related to the built environment through issuing building permits and approvals. It delegates authority to peripheral units concerned with heritage activities that broaden the fragmentation of heritage institutions. The Directorate of Conservation, Operation and Monitoring established in 2004 manages the cultural heritage sites within their respective jurisdictions. Moreover, the IMM Committee of Heritage formed by elected members and bureaucrats within the Metropolitan Municipality in 2010 acts as an advisory body and intends to facilitate the implementation of policies and activities related to the Historic Peninsula. These new institutions endorse the authorities of the Municipality over the national bodies.

The most prominent actor at local level is the Site Management Directorate for Cultural and Natural Sites of Istanbul. Established by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipal Council in 2006, it plays a vital role in the coordination of management planning processes for the WHS. Assisted by the Advisory Board and the Coordination and Supervision Board composed of national experts and bureaucrats, the Directorate functions as the main coordinating body stipulating the coordination and collaboration of all the responsible stakeholders. As indicated by a member of the Executive Committee of ICOMOS Turkey, the assignment of the Directorate directly by the Metropolitan Municipality belies the autonomy and objectivity of this local authority (NS-4). Aside from the Directorate, the local Conservation Councils and the district Municipalities in charge of the encompassed area are also important actors. Although the merger of two districts responsible for the Historic Peninsula under the authority of the Fatih Municipality facilitated the administration of the site, the involvement of three other district municipalities embodying the buffer zone in the management process introduces another level of complexity for decision-making at local level. Another noteworthy actor complicating the management process is the independent audit team who was assigned to conduct a Heritage Impact Assessment of the Golden Horn Bridge Project. Following the submission of the report, this international team was employed by the project design team as a consultant to proceed with the amendments. The participation of the same actor at different stages of the process diminishes the credibility of the independent auditing.

Finally, the lack of democratic means of communication and participatory mechanisms restrains public participation substantially. Parallel to the current urban governance system and the political scheme of representation, the existing administrative structure fails to improve dialogue with community and social groups (CS, IS-1, 2013). The limited involvement of all stakeholders with decisions concerning their habitats and everyday lives eventually caused the elevation of contestations and civic protests to reclaim their right to the city, like the June 2013 popular uprising in Turkey initiated to safeguard Gezi Park, a memorial green space located at the main square of Istanbul from demolition. This recent civil protest clearly portrays the quest of alternative

⁴⁵ Highlighting the long-lasting history of pious foundations for the safeguarding of monuments during the era of Ottoman Empire, Aygen (2013) disagrees with the Eurocentric argument asserting the genesis of historic conservation as a discipline to be based in Europe during the Enlightenment period.

means of participation to the decision-making due to the highly limited form of representation in the existing administrative framework.

Consequently, the lack of public participation and the close association of the site management unit to IMM endorse the top-down administrative structure that empowers the Metropolitan Municipality. In addition, the establishment of new units within the Municipality that are responsible for the operation and monitoring of conservation projects and the fragmentation of national institutions related to cultural heritage enhance the heritage administration authorities of the Municipality. Thus, the decision-making mechanism of Istanbul WHS brings forth the Metropolitan Municipality as the most prominent actor within the management process.

5.4.3 Legislative and planning frameworks

The current legislative and planning frameworks in Turkey are generally built on Western European planning principles. The implementation of the regulations and planning policies do not operate as effectively as it had been preset in the national legislation though, due to the paradoxical nature of the existing planning structure involving an amalgamation of statutory urban master plans, small-scale local plans and informal infrastructure investment plans (Tekeli, 1994). In combination with the operation of inefficient bureaucracy, failure of monitoring and feedback mechanisms and the lack of public participation, there are numerous challenges encountered in the implementation of the legal framework of the conservation-led planning system.

Keeping in mind that there is no planning legislation specified for the safeguarding of World Heritage Sites, the Historic Areas of Istanbul is under the protection of the national conservation legislation. The primary regulation concerning the preservation of listed buildings and conservation areas is the 1983 Conservation Act that enhanced the engagement of conservation in the statutory planning system and introduced the new instrument of conservation oriented development plans for implementation. Despite the early adoption of this legislation, the Historic Peninsula was initially designated as a conservation area in 1995 and its conservation plan was approved in 2003 (Kocabas, 2004). Another substantial law directly concerning the heritage site introduced the notions of “management area” and “management plan” to the legislative framework for the first time in 2004. In addition to the definition of these notions, this regulation identifies the provisions for the assignment and operation of a site management unit, and sets the procedures for the preparation, execution, monitoring and revision of the management plan. The adoption of this law was immediately followed by the establishment of the Istanbul Site Management Directorate. Other legislative amendments devolved the management of historic urban areas to municipalities, and introduced financial incentives to private investors for the conduct of architectural restoration and conservation bodies (Pulhan, 2010). Lastly, the Master Plan for the conservation of the Fatih district was approved in 2011 that involves decisions regarding protection priorities of conservation zones within the management area.

Nonetheless, manifold urban planning policies and initiatives have been adopted that contradict with the conservation priorities in the past decades. As part of a series of informal strategic planning frameworks, a new measure concerning earthquake mitigation of historic buildings was taken that enforced the application of inappropriate preservation methods. Furthermore, the 1982 Tourism Encouragement Act facilitated the construction of high-rise ‘tourist’ facilities, often with adverse impact on the historic core. Finally, the enactment of the Urban Renewal Law in 2005 allowed the expropriation of historic private dwellings and the implementation of renewal projects on the historic sites designated as renewal areas (Islam, 2010). This legal act has threatened the authenticity and integrity of historic quarters and stimulated social gentrification. Consequently, the operation of such complex set of zoning and environmental plans elaborated by various public administrators generates challenges for the safeguarding of the WHS. There are three plans embodying the whole Historic Peninsula, numerous special conservation plans for the four Historic Areas inscribed on the List,

and a special tourism development plan (IMM, 2009; ISMD, 2011). Concurrently, the assignment of diverse authorities and tools for the execution of plans and policies enhance the paradoxical and fragmented nature of the existing legislative framework concerning the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul.

5.4.4 The management tools

The absence of an appropriate management instrument and lack of coordination among various decision-makers have been one of the biggest concerns expressed by the World Heritage Committee until the establishment of the Site Management Directorate and the completion of the management planning processes for the site. Following the approval of the Istanbul Historic Peninsula Site Management Plan in 2011, ostensibly, an effective management system had been acquired for the safeguarding of the heritage site.

Abiding by the Site Management Act of 2004, one of the initial actions taken after the foundation of the Directorate had been the appointment of a site manager for Istanbul. Following this, the management area and buffer zones (**Fig. 31**) were delimited and approved by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Accordingly, the management area was not limited to the four historic areas and designated to encompass the Historic Peninsula completely. Since the Historic Peninsula bears the OUV and is protected by national legislation as a whole, as indicated by a member of the former Advisory Board, partial consideration of the site would disturb its integrity (LS-3, 2013). UNESCO advocated the embodiment of an expansive planning area covering the opposite banks of the Golden Horn and the Marmara Sea including the districts of Galata, Pera, Kadıkoy and Uskudar. Although these historically significant urban areas are already under legal protection, they are not designated as buffer zones or vistas in spite of their presence on the contour of the skyline of the Peninsula. The reason for the exclusion of these districts grounded on the intention of developing consequent management plans for these areas in the near future by the site manager (LS-2, 2012).⁴⁶ Thus, the delimitation of the buffer zone was limited to an area of 548 hectares lying parallel to the Land Walls within the boundaries of three other districts.

As the next step, the management plan was prepared by the Directorate of Conservation of the Historic Environment appointed by the IMM, including a national team of experts and consultants, under the sponsorship of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency (Istanbul Site Management Directorate, 2011). According to the management plan, the preparation process of the draft plan involved stages of data collection, definition of the project vision, mission, objectives and strategies, the development of action plans, and the revision phase. A criticism of the management planning process expressed by an international expert had been the lack of feedback mechanisms for the elaboration of the plan (LS-3, 2011). Nevertheless, the completed draft was acknowledged by the WHC and approved by the Coordination and Supervision Board. This management plan defines the vision, identifies of the planning principles, and sets out plan objectives, strategies and actions, development of project packages and the explanation of the implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes. For each project package, the institutions in charge, the resources and the duration of the action plan are determined. In compliance with the legislative framework, the authorised governmental bodies are responsible for the allocation of the funds and resources and the implementation of the action points they are assigned. Furthermore, the management plan is to be revised quinquennially and formulate the timetable and budget plans for the projects to be implemented (Istanbul Site Management Directorate, 2011).

In this context, the delays in the assignment of responsible authorities and in embedding the action plans into the budgetary processes after the approval of the plan were harshly criticised by the specialists interviewed (NS-1, NS-4, LS-3, 2012). Given the fragmented network of decision-makers with their specific priorities, limited

⁴⁶ Despite being legally responsible for the management of all the registered sites in Istanbul, The Istanbul Site Management Directorate has been actively involved in the decision-making concerning solely the Historic Peninsula. No significant efforts have been taken either by the Directorate nor the IMM for the management planning of the aforementioned historic districts circumscribing the WHS in the past ten years.

budgets and administrative structures, they failed significantly to cope with the resources, personnel and time commitments preset in the project packages. The emphasis on public administrations as the key institutions to undertake the project packages also manifests the secondary role of the public as users and inhabitants in the management structure. The local authorities have been slow in issuing regulations to harmonise the management plan with the existing planning framework. Furthermore, a holistic response mechanism was not introduced concerning environmental degradation and disaster preparedness. Lastly, the delay in the assignment of a Supervision Unit to undertake annual performance evaluations and the lack of working and budget programmes for the forthcoming years clearly demonstrate the deficiencies in the implementation and monitoring of the management plan (NS-4, 2013).

Addressing only some of these concerns, a revision plan is being finalised that introduces amendments to the site analysis, and make additions to the project packages and actions plans that are categorised under the themes of risk management, accessibility and mobility, visitor management, education and raising awareness, conservation and planning, conservation and restoration, and management and organisation (Istanbul Site Management Directorate, 2015). Although these efforts of improvement were acknowledged by the World Heritage Centre and the representatives of ICOMOS International as progressive steps addressing the previous problems in regards to limited internal communication and coordination, large-scale infrastructure projects and sustainability of cultural heritage, the prevailing limitations of the action plans and lack of specific packages for the four WHS areas are still expressed as issues of concern by ICOMOS Turkey (ISMD, 2016; NS-1, 2014). In sum, it can be concluded that the management planning process has not proceeded as it was planned and the progress has been slow. Developments should be regularly monitored, the monitoring and evaluation processes should be operated, and stakeholder community participation need to be ensured for the management plan and revisions to be effective.

5.5 The Case Study: The Golden Horn Bridge Project

For a better understanding and assessment of the management system of the Historic Areas of Istanbul, the case of the Golden Horn Bridge Project is selected for further analysis. It is a recently realised large-scale urban infrastructure project incorporated in the improvement of the public transport objective of the management plan. Impacting certain attributes contributing to the values of the site, this project was recognised as a threat by the World Heritage Centre. Thus, numerous corrective measures were taken by the local authorities and private actors to mitigate the negative impact. Opposing these effects, on the other hand, numerous campaigns and objections were raised subsequently by national experts and non-governmental organisations. Hence, this case is a good example of the participation levels of various stakeholders to the decision-making mechanisms at different stages and portrays the issues of controversy between involved parties.

Having investigated the broad themes of managing the global heritage city of Istanbul, a framework on which to structure an approach that enables the outputs of the existing management structures and tools conducted for the WHS to be addressed holistically is required. Providing such a framework, this case study helps to identify the internal conflicts, challenges and critical components that are needed to be fully addressed for the effectiveness analysis of the management system operated in Istanbul. For this purpose, initially, the project is briefly described, the heritage attributes at risk are identified, and their impact on the OUV is assessed. Secondly, all the participating stakeholders are identified; their interactions with each other are mapped out through the use of cognitive mapping methods, their involvement in the case is evaluated, and the participation levels of all the actors are quantified in the decision-making map. Additionally, the progress analysis documenting the whole project and depicting the activities and actions operated by the main stakeholders is mapped out for assessing

their effectiveness. In this way, this case study analysis serves as a catalyst to reflect on the true nature of the heritage site.

5.5.1 Case description

Associated with the large scale transportation infrastructure projects undertaken by the Metropolitan Municipality in the past two decades, the Golden Horn Metro Bridge Project is formulated to link the Taksim-Yenikapı metro line project connecting the Historic Peninsula to the historic districts of Galata and Pera. Enabling metro and pedestrian transition upon it, “Bridging Istanbul from underground” has been defined as the vision of this project. Underlining its contribution to the improvement of public transportation, its importance for the sustainable urban and transportation development of Istanbul has been one of the main arguments of the Metropolitan Municipality. Asserted as a positive outcome of the project, moreover, the HIA report prepared by the international audit team (IS-3, 2012) also took into consideration the function of the bridge in the metro/transportation network of the city, and highlighted its contribution to solving the current traffic problems through introduction of secure pedestrian and cycling routes to the Historic Peninsula (HIA-2, 2011). According to the projections of IMM, it is expected to have approximately 750,000 passengers per day on the metro line, which intends to reduce individual motor traffic at the heart of the city (HIA, 2011).

Following the approval of the metro line by the local Conservation Council and completion of the metro tunnels to be connected, the initial construction tender for the metro crossing bridge was issued by the Metropolitan Municipality in early 2005. Among the 21 design proposals submitted to the Conservation Council, none of them were officially approved due to their incompatibilities with the historic cityscape. Thereafter, the assignment of the design project to a national private firm, Hakan Kiran Architects, was announced by the newly-elected Mayor who claimed to have a bridge design proposal of his own (Erdem, 2005). This appointment was highly criticised by national experts and professional groups due to the lack of transparency in the closed bidding process issued without the launch of an architectural competition (NS-4, CS, 2013). Following the revision of the design and the tendering phase, the construction work was started in January 2009, and planned to be completed within 600 days. On account of the delays caused by amendments to the design and alterations in implementation, however, the construction time was extended. The bridge project was finally completed in February 2014 at a total cost of 671 million dollars, in spite of the concerns and contestations voiced by diverse parties.



Fig. 33. The almost completed Golden Horn Bridge, on the left (Source: Enzo Siviero & Partners)

Spanning of 460 metres over water, the project (**Fig. 33**) is designed as a “cable-stayed” suspended bridge carried by two pylons connected to the bridge floor by steel ropes. As the main subject of criticism, this metro bridge sets the deck level 12 metre above the sea level, and with 65 m high pylons, it becomes the largest and tallest structure in the Golden Horn estuary. The complex soil formation of the Golden Horn, the instable hanging formations on the Historic Peninsula, along with the high risk of earthquakes, generate difficulties for the construction of bridges over the Golden Horn (HIA-2, 2011). In addition to these factors, the presence of stable soil formation upon which foundations can be laid at a depth over one hundred metres stipulated the traditionally construction of pontoon bridges over the years. Albeit their flat appearance, however, these bulky floating structures are claimed to restrict the fresh water supply of the Golden Horn and pose detrimental effects on the water quality (HIA-1, 2011). According to the statement of the project executor (LS-1, 2012), the cable-stayed design disrupts the flow of the river as little as possible and has a minimal impact on its ecological formation. Keeping in mind the present location of the bridge based on the already completed metro tunnel, this design alternative is presented as the best solution from an environmental and economic standpoint.

Despite the physical restrictions, on the other hand, it has still been claimed by numerous experts that the design of the metro bridge as a whole has been problematic (NS-4, 2012). The 12.6 m wide bridge carries two metro line tracks in the middle and a sidewalk in each direction. Furthermore, there is a metro station located in the middle, with an open canopy covering. A 120 m long section of the bridge is designed as a cantilever structure with the capacity to open to enable safe course of the ships (Seibert, 2011). The access to the pedestrian passages is provided with partially-sheltered entrance platforms at both banks with access through elevators and shafts. Furthermore, the bridge piers are placed in an urban archaeological site on one side and within the boundaries of the buffer zone on the other. All these elements have certain impacts on the integrity of the historic urban landscape, which yielded to amendments to be made addressing to the design of the bridge and the cityscape in order to mitigate the impact.

5.5.2 Impact assessment of the case

As a large-scale project implemented in a historically and culturally important urban silhouette, the Golden Horn Metro Bridge causes significant physical and visual impact on the values attributed to the Historic Areas of Istanbul, albeit not being located within the inscribed site or the buffer zone. Several national conservation experts and civic groups (NS-4, CS, 2012) associate these impacts to the intention of the local actors to impose a statement on Istanbul with a clear conceptual shift of vision. Voiced by diverse range of actors, on the other hand, the issues of concern regarding the project heavily focused on the visual effects, while paying less attention to other tangible and intangible values that are equally important and directly affected by the project. In this context, it is essential to embody all the factors attributing to its significance and to address these concerns in a holistic manner.

The primary concern, as successive reports and studies have pointed out, is the visual impact of the metro bridge on the silhouette of the Historic Peninsula and the setting of its prominent monuments, particularly the Suleymaniye Mosque, a landmark shaping the historic skyline. Defined as an OUV contributing to the integrity of the WHS, the silhouette of the historic centre is considered to be vulnerable to development (MP, 2011). Remarking on the historic silhouette, the HIA report (2011: 36) clearly asserts that this project “has a negative impact on people’s ability to appreciate the OUV of the WH property”. The elevated bulk of the bridge and the metro station partially covering its central span, based on the visual impact assessment carried out by the Steering Committee (HIA-1, 2011), obstruct the lower-level views of the historic centre. The pylons are also claimed to visually compete with the minarets of the Suleymaniye Mosque, which has been stated as “adding the fifth minaret to the masterpiece of Architect Sinan” (Vardar, 2014). In this context, the Steering Committee

designated principal viewpoints for impact assessments, and scientific studies were carried out to mitigate the visual impacts.

The project was initially considered by the WHC in 2006, when a concern regarding the impact of an elevated bridge was expressed and environmental impact assessments were requested to be conducted for such large-scale development projects (Dec30COM7B.73). The potential visual negative impact of the proposed bridge and the need for HIA were repetitively articulated in the subsequent decisions and reports, which were acted upon only in 2011 through minor amendments to the bridge design and establishment of a Steering Committee to form international audit teams to undertake HIA (HIA-1, 2011). Although the Committee urged the local parties “to abandon the project or consider alternatives” (Dec33COM7B.124, 2009), this did not lead to an alternative design but the refinement of the adopted one. Claimed to be the best alternative by an independent expert team in terms of cost efficiency, relation with context, coherence with the shape of the context and impact on OUV (HIA-2, 2011), the overall design of the proposed cable-stay bridge was not changed. It had also been due to the fact that the construction contracts had already been finalised and the construction work had commenced at the time the assessments were commissioned. Under these circumstances, only minor amendments were executed including the reduction of the height of the pylons from 65 m to 55 m, diminishing the section of cables and the reduction of the station cover by half. Still intervening into the skyline of the urban landscape though, these actions taken to mitigate the visual impact were eventually agreed upon by the WH Committee despite the adverse remarks stated in the *UNESCO WHC/ICOMOS Joint Mission Report (2012)*.

In addition to its adverse visual impact, the metro bridge also affects the setting of the two banks of the Golden Horn. The archaeological findings, dating back to Roman and Byzantine periods, unveiled at the abutments of the bridge contribute greatly to the historiography of the city. Regarding the archaeological excavations, though, several concerns were raised by international experts (IS-4) questioning the credibility of the archaeological conservation approach undertaken. Furthermore, the interpretation and presentation of the historical layering also remains ambiguous, an issue not debated publicly. Complementary to the intangible values ascribed to the site, a member of the ICOMOS National Committee expressed doubts concerning the impact of the bridge on the collective memory of the historic city (NS-3, 2012). Another expert drew attention to the impact on the socio-economic character of the area, where traditional small-scale industries, such as fishing, still thrive (NS-4, 2012). These comparatively esoteric, but equally important, concerns have not been addressed in any of the reports; hence, no noteworthy measures were taken to sustain these intangible assets.

5.5.3 Effectiveness assessment of actions

In order to describe the process that leads to the construction of the Golden Horn Bridge and to analyse the effectiveness of the actions taken by various stakeholders, a progress analysis (**Fig. 34**) is mapped out that depicts the process as sequences of a series of actions and interactions taken in response to situations and/or obstacles. In this context, the progress analysis is laid out on a timeline depicting the whole process initiated with the announcement of the project in 1998 until the inauguration of the bridge in February 2014. The progress of six main actions including the project design and execution phases, the request, study and submission of EIAs and HIAs, the development and approval of the management plan, along with transportation and silhouette plans, and the participation of the civic society are mapped out in this analysis. The involvements of stakeholders from different levels to these actions are shown in different colours, and the process is articulated at key points. The success of the actions in mitigating the impacts threatening the heritage site, and the consequences of interactions intending to alter the existing situations manifest the effectiveness of each activity. Furthermore, the participation levels of main decision-makers can also be derived from this mapping, which portrays the involvement frequency of actors for each action.

The primary result to be derived from the progress analysis is concerned with the hiatus between various stakeholders, and the lack of communication and sharing of data among the involved parties. Although the two sections of the metro line were completed at the end of the century and the alternative bridge design proposals were developed and evaluated in the first five years of the twenty-first century, it was not until 2006 that the UNESCO WHC was informed about the project, and requested visual impact assessments to be undertaken (Dec30COM7B.73). Indicting the State Party for acting against the clauses of the Operational Guidelines (2012), the WHC voiced their discontent ad nauseam, in successive reports and interviews, for being lately informed and not being consulted prior to the development of the project (Dec32COM.7B11, 2008; JMR-2, 2009; IS-1, 2013). Requesting repetitively the conduct of EIA and HIA addressing to the project, the international audit teams and a Steering Committee were finally assigned to compile HIA reports in 2010. Failing to abide by the requirements of international conservation bodies on time, the national and local authorities resorted to dilatory acts in taking measures to mitigate the adverse effects of the proposed bridge. As indicated in the HIA Report (2010), the investigation was commissioned when the foundations were already partially in place and most of the prefabricated materials were already built. This little room to make amendments in the overall design of the bridge.

The lacks of transparency about the progress of the project, and limited participatory means of communication and participation have also been the prominent concern expressed by national experts and members of non-governmental organisations. Regarding the progress analysis map, no objections were raised by civic groups until the commencement of the bridge construction. This was because the overall context of the project had not been publicly shared, and no participatory mechanisms were employed to gather public opinion. Excluded considerably from the decision-making process related to the bridge, the Chamber of Architects and numerous NGOs, such as Istanbul S.O.S, petitioned the City Council to alter the plans for the bridge, launched a campaign to raise awareness about the adverse impacts of the project, and organised several demonstrations to oppose it.

In addition to the participation frequencies of diverse range of stakeholders, the progress analysis map also depicts the policies and tools adopted by national and local bodies, and their effects on the better management of the heritage site. The mandatory commitment of State Parties to adopt an appropriate management system to sustain the inscription of their cultural and natural sites on the WHL, in accordance with the *Operational Guidelines* (2012), yielded to the enactment of the Site Management Law enforcing the assignment of a site manager and adoption of a management plan for listed cultural properties. The progress mapping makes clear that the construction tendering was halted by the project developer and the HIAs were commissioned by the IMM after the approval of the management area and buffer zones. Furthermore, the development and approval of the management plan also improved the dialogue between the WHC and local actors. The local plans adopted subsequently - on the other hand - such as the Transportation Master Plan and the Silhouette Plan, are complementary to the management plan, and they enhance its planning framework to hinder further potential impacts. For instance, the new clearance heights designated by the Silhouette Plan approved in 2013 confine the construction of high-rise buildings within a certain diameter circumscribing the inscribed site. Finally, the results of the HIA reports resulted in alterations in the project design, and mitigation of some negative impacts. If executed at the project development stage, as asserted by a member of the international audit team (IS-3, 2013), the HIA would be a more effective tool to identify the threats on the integrity of the urban landscape in advance and take the necessary precautions. Despite the delays in the progress and the overall negative visual impact of the project, these management instruments are proven to be effective, at least partially, and the project is no longer defined as a threat in the decisions adopted since 2013.

5.5.4 Assessment of the decision-making mechanism

For the case of the Golden Horn Bridge project, the international, national, metropolitan and local stakeholders involved in the decision-making process are identified as: The UNESCO World Heritage Centre and international audit teams participating at international level, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism with its relevant peripheral bodies, the Directorate of Pious Foundations and ICOMOS Turkey at national level, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Governorship of Istanbul at metropolitan city level, and the Istanbul Site Management Directorate, along with the district municipalities as local governmental bodies, the project developers, executors and independent consultants directly concerned with the project at local level, and lastly the civil society participating by means of NGOs. The participation rate of each party, which is highly associated with its role and responsibilities, is measured and evaluated.

Being the most prominent international actor, the UNESCO WHC, as an inter-governmental body, has been involved in this case on the basis of periodic monitoring, reporting and four reactive-monitoring missions. Taking into account its direct interactions with other inter-governmental agencies and the relevant peripheral bodies of the main national and local authorities, it is in close association with ten diverse actors. It also participates in five out of six actions manifested in the progress analysis map. The contacts of the International Secretariat of ICOMOS, on the other hand, are limited to the WHC and the National Committee. Commissioned by the IMM to compile impact assessment reports, the international audit teams are intended to be composed of independent groups of experts. In this context, the WHC is the most prominent international stakeholder that has a distinct role in the decision-making due to its sanction power and influence on the national and local agents, even though the inefficiency of communication between the Centre and the State Party, and its distance to the actual operations makes it a less influential actor.

At national level, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in association with its related units stands out as the main decision maker associated with the maintenance of listed historic buildings and ensembles. Communicating with the WHC, other Ministries, the regional and local Conservation Councils and the Site Management Directorate, its participation frequency is measured as seven. Keeping in mind that their responsibility within the WHS is restricted to registered cultural properties though, they are only involved in decisions regarding the approval of the project design and the reports. Despite being the main proprietor in the Historic Peninsula, the Directorate of Waqf is only in relation with its regional body and the Department of Survey and Projects delegated by the IMM due its administrative role solely concerned with the properties under its responsibility. Lastly, the National Committee of ICOMOS serves as the advisory body but do not possess the capacity to act directly. They National Committees of UNESCO and ICOMOS are not involved in any of the management activities, which is correlated with the negligence to involve civic and expertise groups in decision-making. In sum, the interactions of national actors are confined mainly to their peripheral bodies and other national actors, along with their limited involvement with the project, as illustrated in Fig. 35b, clearly illustrating their secondary role in the management system.

According to the social network analysis, the most prominent decision-maker is the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality that acts as a catalyst for maintaining a dialogue with thirteen diverse stakeholders participating at different levels. Delegating authorities to its relevant departments and the semi-autonomous district municipalities, it carries the duties of tendering, approval and monitoring for all the major development and infrastructure projects undertaken in the city, including the Golden Horn Bridge project. Its responsibilities and direct involvement with the project yield the highest participation level based on its interactions and participation in the actions. The two associated units of the Governorship of Istanbul, on the other hand, function solely in coordination with the Regional Directorate of Waqf and the Directorate of Urban Conservation, which are both concerned with the execution of architectural conservation projects.

Lastly, the community involvement in the decision-making mechanism is measured as minimal due to the absence of public arenas operating periodically for community involvement. As depicted in Figure 8, they do not have any direct mean of interaction with other stakeholders operating at various levels. The lack of participatory mechanisms averts the democratic and social inclusion of civic society. As indicated by the representative of the Istanbul SOS Initiative (CS), a NGO formed to struggle against government-led urban projects causing adverse impacts on the historic core, the civic groups and specialists responded to the planning application for the bridge but they were not effective in overturning the course of the construction. Only being able to render their opinions through means of resistance and struggle, the participation level of civic society is hence merely negligible.

5.5.5 Results of the case analysis

Focusing on a single large-scale urban infrastructure project, this case study explores the impacts posed on the integrity of the historic urban landscape, examines the actions taken by the key stakeholders and their involvement with the case, assesses their participation levels within the existing decision-making mechanism, and evaluates the effectiveness of the management instruments adopted. It introduces a holistic view revealing the complexities of managing the heritage site. The complexity mapping (Fig. 36a) derived from the content analysis of interviews and reports depicts all the issues of concerns raised by the broad range of decision-makers and their association with the Golden Horn metro bridge project. Regarding the simplified version of the complexity map (Fig. 36b), it can be deduced that the complexities rendered for the case study are the condensed manifestations of the management challenges concerning the historic city as a whole.

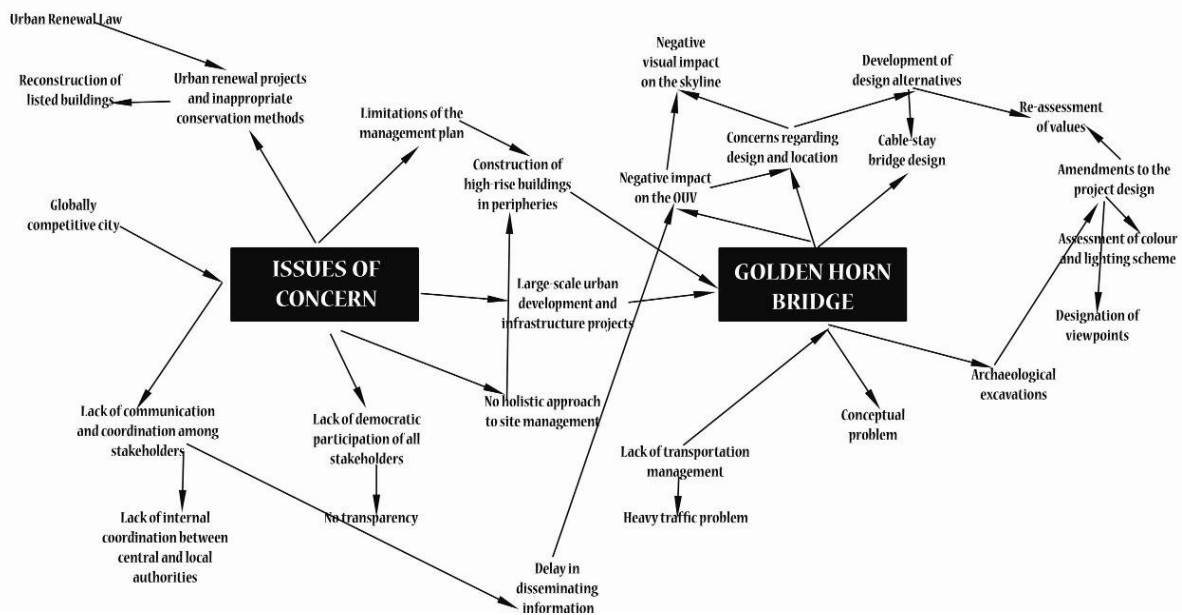


Fig. 36b. The main issues of concern regarding the case study, simplified version of the complexity mapping

Transport is one of the major factors to attract investment and enhance competitiveness of global cities. Worldwide, global cities stand to gain economic opportunity by upgrading their public transportation networks even though lack of adequate financial resources might often constrain their abilities to invest. The Golden Horn metro crossing bridge, in this regard, is considered as a targeted investment for the improvement of the public transport to secure the attractiveness and competitiveness of the city. Thus, the primary intention of this large-scale urban infrastructure project, as articulated by both the members of IMM and the Ministry of Transportation (MS-1, 2013; NS-3, 2012), has been to foster the aspirations of Istanbul for a global standing.

These global endeavours, on the other hand, have certain ramifications that often threaten the authenticity and integrity of the heritage site. Although the most prominent issue of concern expressed by the concerned international, national and local parties has been the evident visual impact of the cable-stayed bridge with two

high pylons on the historic skyline of the Historic Peninsula, the unique silhouette of the historic centre is not the only cultural asset attributed to the WHS. The setting of the bridge, built upon archaeological edifices, also causes significant impacts on the representation of the historical layering of the city and the intangible values attributed to the site, which are not tenaciously voiced as the visual effect. This highlights the necessity to embrace a holistic approach when developing an urban development project in a historic city. The absence of such an integrated approach to site management, as pointed out by ICOMOS experts (IS-2), bolstered by the lack of appropriate tools for transportation and traffic management, bring to the fore another level of management complexity arising from the fragmented nature of the existing legislative and planning frameworks.

Another important result deduced from this case study is concerned with the lack of coordination and participatory means of communication among the stakeholders participating in the decision-making process at different stages. The progress of this bridge project clearly portrays how the hiatus in communication, in general, has yielded to the imposition of an irrevocable mark on the historic urban landscape, jeopardised the state of conservation and inscription status of the WHS, and become time and cost-deficient. Despite the attempts of local actors in establishing a certain level of coordination between key decision-makers, the tools adopted at a late stage in the project have not been as efficient as intended. It has consequently led to numerous protests to be lodged by inter- and non-governmental organisations who ascribe these obstacles to a lack of transparency and an absence of public participation in project development and management. Thus, this case also highlights the need for constant engagement for the mutual cooperation and support of authorities and communities.

5.6 Summary and Concluding Remarks

Designated as a World Heritage City, the universal significance of Istanbul resides in its multi-layered configurations as a multi-national, cultural and religious centre. Its articulation as a global city, on the other hand, has a catalytic effect on urban and economic development pressures, and the rise in financial investments, such as large-scale urban infrastructure and regeneration projects, that are not always sympathetic to its historic urban setting. Complementary to these tendencies, the limitations of its existing administrative, legislative and planning structures and the deficiencies in its decision-making processes generate complexities unique to this case. In this context, the study of the Istanbul WHS enables the examination of both effective and ineffective strategies, policies and instruments that actually underpins the distinctiveness of each historic urban landscape.

One of the main results to be derived from this study is that the obstacles and deficiencies existing in the dominant urban governance structure directly influence the operation of decision-making for heritage sites. The dichotomy of the urban administrative structure in Istanbul arising from the elected and delegated decision-making powers is manifested in the overlapping functionalities and duties of the Metropolitan Municipality and the local authorities assigned by the national government. The areas of responsibilities coincided between different stakeholders often lead to conflicts and contradictory responses that jeopardise the safeguarding of the site. For instance, the responsibility of urban renewal sites designated within the conservation areas are delegated to the Renewal Councils, while the decisions associated with the whole area are made by the Conservation Councils. Furthermore, the projects and policies induced by the national governmental bodies located in the capital can often be in contradiction with the practices of local actors. The Eurasia Tunnel Project imposed by the Ministry of Transportation in Ankara, for example, has not been integrated into the Istanbul Transport Master Plan developed by the IMM. While the representative of the Ministry (NS-3) justifies the contribution of the central government to large-scale development projects, the member of IMM (MS-1) argues that it is their responsibility to solve the traffic problem in the city. This internal conflict clearly portrays the lack of communication and coordination among stakeholders participating at different levels.

Established to play a mediator role in order to maintain an effective means of communication amongst parties concerned with the heritage site, the local management unit has to function as an independent and unbiased body. Being assigned by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, on the contrary, it is an interdependent unit under its dominancy. Nevertheless, the Site Management Directorate has managed to strengthen the internal coordination to a certain level despite the absence of legislation to favour this role. While the national and metropolitan authorities expect site managers to be concerned with development projects conducted in their area of responsibility, the new policy adopted in 2012 enables their participation to the meetings of the local conservation council. Keeping in mind that this act has not yet been legitimised, the SMD does not fully fulfil the duties delegated to its authority. Additionally, the lack of participatory and consultative mechanisms and transparency in decision-making manifest the top-down nature of urban management in Istanbul. Consequently, the decision-making mechanism for Istanbul WHS (**Fig. 37**) illustrates a diamond shape that portrays the Metropolitan Municipality as the most prominent actor and where the local community is only remotely engaged with the management process. This case also evidently shows that the establishment and enhancement of dialogue-structured activities and participatory mechanisms that embrace all the relevant stakeholders, including the local communities, are vital for effective management.

The fragmentary nature of the protection policy in Turkey fails to address to historic cities and world heritage sites as coherent entities. World Heritage designation, thus, carries no specific formal status in terms of designation, organisational management and financial support. The cultural and natural heritage properties have to be integrated into planning policies that recognise them as parts of a whole entity rather than detached fragments. In this regard, the management plan is an ideal tool to guide the daily decision-making process with regards to the management of the World Heritage property. Although it was supposedly developed as a participatory document being the product of numerous workshops and conferences, the public administrators drove the planning agenda. This is another manifestation of the high-degree of governmental centralisation and weak public participation within the decision-making mechanism operating in Istanbul WHS. The incompetence of these planning processes to foster democratic participation, which eventually marginalise the professionals and civil society was also noted by other scholars (Shoup and Zan, 2013). Despite the intentions to introduce a holistic management approach for the safeguarding and development of the site, the ongoing communication and coordination gap yields to deficiencies in the implementation, monitoring and revision of the management plan. The same goes for the HIA, which is an appropriate tool to mitigate the potential impacts of development affecting the heritage site if implemented accurately.

In conclusion, the findings of this study evince that the traditional internal conflicts and lack of communication can be partly reconciled through a more pragmatic and communicative approach that brings to the fore a new common ground for dialogue and joint action. Furthermore, the employment of normative tools that embrace the heritage cities holistically, such as management plans and heritage impact assessments, is crucial for the effective management of historic cities. It can be concluded that the WHS management in Istanbul has been fragmented, mostly spontaneous and often fuelled by public initiatives, but it has also adopted some level of an effective management approach that has been partially successful.

CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDY III - PARIS

6.1 Introduction

An important settlement for two millennia with a centralised administrative status since the thirteenth century, Paris is one of the oldest capitals of the world that currently functions as an essential focal point for the flows of economic, political, social and cultural assets within cross-border networks worldwide. Portraying the multiplicity of its significant urban historical geography, the cultural heritage attributes are promoted to foster economic benefits in order to stand out within the global urban network. On the other hand, the economic and urban development pressures generate different levels of complexities that challenge the preservation of the integrity and authenticity of this multi-layered historic city. In this respect, it is important to perceive the historical urban formation and the factors leading to the emergence of complexities associated with its political, economic, social and cultural aspects in order to understand the significance of this global heritage city and to assess its existing urban administration and management systems.

In this context, this chapter is divided into five sections: Initially, the historical urban development trend of the city is described in order to identify the physical challenges of cultural interpretation and representation arising from its historical stratification. Subsequently, the trends, policies and strategies operated in effect for its transformation into a global city are explained in accordance with the economic, social and cultural attributes it possess. Focusing on the Paris, Banks of the Seine WHS, the second section covers the site description, its significance and the OUVs attributed to the areas, the threats and impacts on its authenticity and integrity, along with its state of conservation. Then in the third section, the management and decision-making structure for the WHS are examined through the study of its existing urban governance system, its decision-making mechanism, legislative and planning frameworks, and the operation of existing management tools and policies. The fourth section focuses on the case analysis of the Berges de Seine urban regeneration project implemented within the WHS on which it has a direct physical impact. Finally, the main results and outcomes of the Paris case study are summarised in the concluding section.

6.2 The Metropolis: Paris as the Global City

6.2.1 Historical urban development

Paris is an exceptional city with a rich historic background (**Fig. 38**). The earliest archaeological findings in the city indicated the initial settlement of a Mesolithic community on the site. Subsequently, a Celtic sub-tribe called the *Parisii*⁴⁷ inhabited the island on the Seine River, today known as the Île de la Cité, which was selected based on its locational benefits occupying a strategic position for controlling river shipping and commerce at the centre of the Paris Basin. Conquered by the Romans around 52 BC, the island and the left bank became a regional centre of the new settlement originally entitled Lutetia, which perpetuated the geopolitical advantages as a key node of trade that were also emulated during the Middle Ages (Rouleau, 1988). Expanding vastly during the Middle Ages until the eighteenth century, the Roman town grew into a prosperous city whose remains still mark the urban road formation of the historic city.

⁴⁷ It is asserted that the name of the city is derived from the original Celtic name of *Parisii*, which was called *Lutetia* or *Civitas Parisiorum*, the town of the Parisii, during the Roman period (Rouleau, 1988).

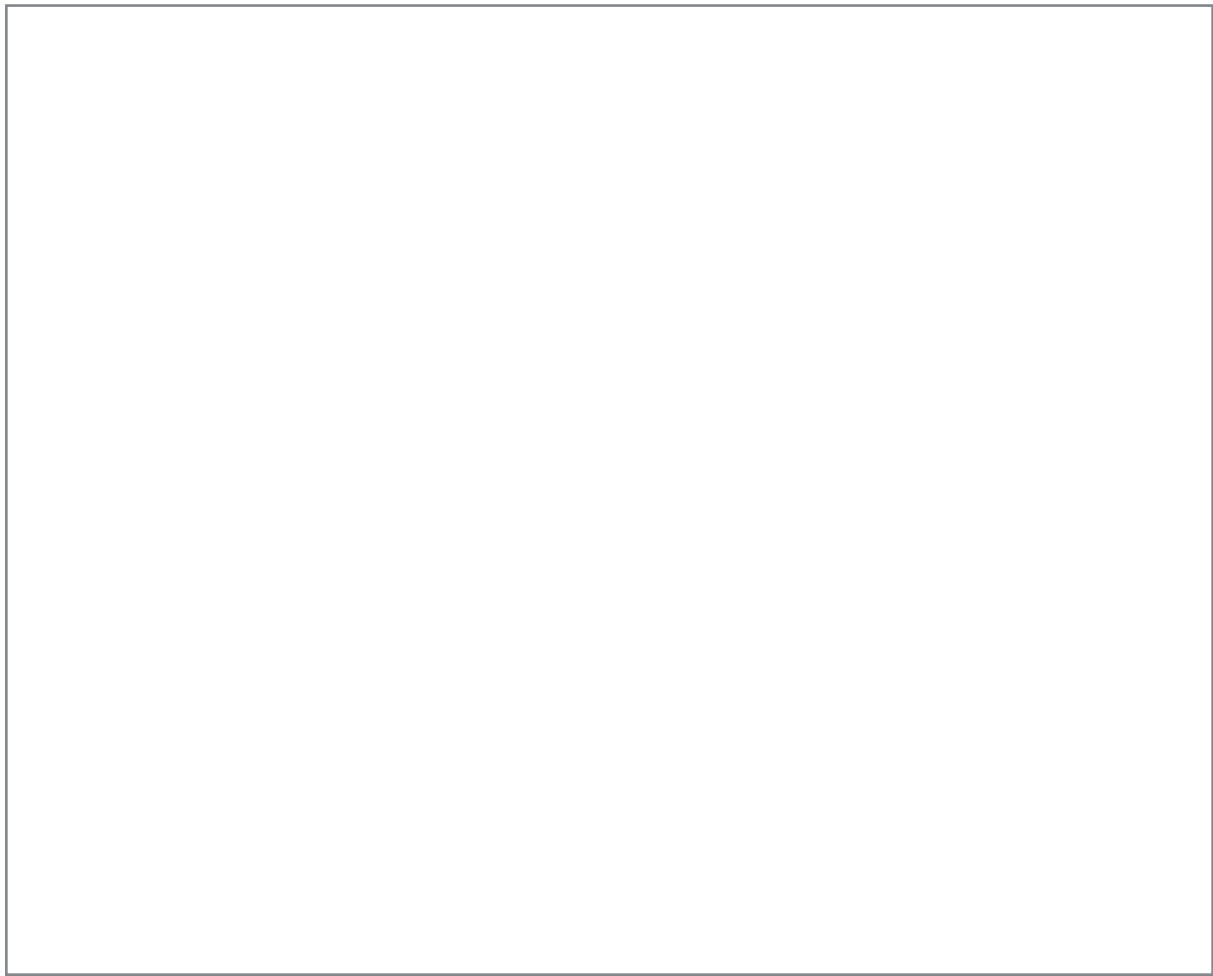


Fig. 38. The historic urban morphology of Paris (Collection Terre des Villes)

In this respect, the initial fortifications built for military dominance and control in the late twelfth century on the right and left banks of the Seine delimited the urban expansion until their removal where the patterns of the current road network clearly exhibit the paths circulating the exterior of the city walls. The second set of fortifications constructed in the fourteenth century that consisted of a defensive wall and ditches had a salient influence on the urban morphology by means of leading to the formation of the Marais region through the draining of the bank marsh and giving way to the construction of boulevards after its displacement. Following the dismantling of the fortifications on both banks of the Seine river in mid-seventeenth century, Paris developed into an open city with the exception of the tax wall built on an irregular plan outside the built-up area to administer the tax and customs around the city in late eighteenth century, which still exists within the urban landscape (Noin and White, 1997). The final set of a defensive system was constructed during the Napoleonic era against threats of invasion, but was demolished shortly after to defeat the Paris Commune.

Relevantly, the medieval urban infrastructure and ideology transformed into modernity as a result of the radical change in the Parisian political economy and urban life in the nineteenth century. Following the nationalisation of the church estates, the principles of rational design endorsed during the Enlightenment period were implemented in the re-shaping of the city with an emphasis on the significance of the axis, addition of new means of transportation and the construction of monumental buildings as landmarks. During this period, new thinking on city formation and urban planning was also engendered yielding to copious utopian ideals and practical plans⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The launch of a journal entitled *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics* by César Daly in 1840 created a new mean of discussion focusing on the architectural, urban design and urbanisation queries and arguments of the period (Papayanis, 2006).

developed with the contributions of numerous officers and intellectuals (Papayanis, 2006). Closely associated to the socio-political, cultural and economic interests of the Second Empire promoting a financial and social restructuring through the establishment of new institutions including property development companies and the suburban expansions, all these factors contributed to the major transformation of Paris by Georges Haussmann in the second half of the nineteenth century.

To develop and implement the structures and methods of urban renewal based on the prevailing ideals of the Enlightenment rationality and imperial authority, Haussmann was appointed as the Prefect of the Seine department in 1853 to re-plan and renovate the city according to plan by the Emperor Louis-Napoleon. Being credited for the creation of what is now considered to be defining Parisian urban landscape, Haussmann fostered the perception of a grand shift from the past to modernity (Saalman, 1971). However, the modernity that he conceived was mainly rooted in tradition, which was primarily derived from the pre-existing notions and tools of urban design. Still, it is strongly asserted that his contributions to the transformation of the urban fabric marked a turning point in the historical geography of the city (Harvey, 2006).

In this regard, the urban space was attended in totality for the amelioration of the living conditions and better adaptation to the new needs emerging from the current socio-economic and political changes. Associated to the altered space relations, shifts in organisation, location, scale and methodology occurred that introduced new spatial perspectives on the city as a whole. The revision of space relations and reshaping in spatial scale were primarily conducted through the reorganisation of the transportation and communication systems. New roads were built in order to provide access and open up new areas for urban expansion, and a new rail network was developed for the strategic and economic reasons of promoting Paris as the principal manufacturing and marketing centre of the nation. Additionally, Haussmann created sewerage and water supply systems, and made proposals for open spaces and green areas by means of installing parks and cemeteries as a provision of the infrastructure for the property development within the metropolitan region (Harvey, 2006).

After the end of the Second Empire, Haussmann's plans and objectives pursued guiding the modifications undertaken in the physical structure of the city with little direct governmental involvement until the mid-twentieth century. A regional plan aiming for anti-growth was prepared in the 1930s, followed by the adoption of measures for slum clearance during the war years, and the execution of urban renewal and reconstruction projects after 1944 (Rearick, 2004). Subsequently, a common awareness was raised and the significance of the historic core of Paris was re-defined, which promoted the preservation of the monumental buildings and sites within the historic city. This perception also led to the appreciation of the nineteenth century Parisian modernism and the invention of a new architectural trend called 'nostalgic modernism'. Furthermore, strategic thinking and planning at the metropolitan level since the early 1960s resulted in the implementation of numerous major urban and regional development projects, such as the New Towns and the Regional Express Railway, which formulated the development of the Paris agglomeration in the late twentieth century. Consequently, the Paris metropolis grew into a four-ring structure consisting of the historic centre enclosing the banks of the River Seine with boulevards widened during the inter-war years at the core, a ring of social housing apartments as the second tier, surrounded by a stretch of land with public facilities as the third tier, and enclosed by the ring motorway around the city completed in 1970s that limits the city boundaries (Ward, 2013).

6.2.2 Global city formation

Paris has been a leading political, economic and cultural focal point within the global urban network as being located at the core of a metropolis with a population close to twelve million and a dynamic international outlook. It has prevailed a dominant hegemony over the French political economy as a result of its evolution as the capital of the national government for centuries. Besides being the political and financial centre of the country, it

communicates with ease to the rest of the continent and the world, enhancing the present and future world role of the city. Furthermore, Paris has a very significant political and cultural role as the capital of the French-speaking world, which was inherited from its colonial past. Keeping in mind the influence of French political institutions in the world scene and the effective relationships of international organisations with the city, Paris is the pre-eminent centre of the French language and culture, contributing to the diffusion of European cultural norms throughout the world. Thus, Noin (1976) defined Paris as a 'hypercapital' accorded to the coalescence of these national, supranational and international roles at three different levels. Noin and White (1997) also claimed that this broad dominance of a capital city is the result of a highly centralised administrative system and the concentration of manufacturing and service functions in the Paris region.

Despite the economic restructuring and deindustrialisation acts, the Paris agglomeration has remained an important industrial centre enhanced by the repositioning of the industrial production into the innovation and high-technology sectors. Although the city holds a vital position in the world economy, it was criticised as a global city for under-performing in attracting international capital and controlling the financial centres worldwide due to numerous reasons such as the adoption of nationalisation measures and complex regulations, high labour costs and the language barrier (Dijkstra, *et.al.*, 2013). These factors yielded to the generation of an imbalance between the foreign financial interest in the French economy and the relatively low level of external involvement of French enterprises, which eventually compensated with the rise in the skilled labour employment and the development of high value-added industries in the past years⁴⁹. The city also hosts a great number of headquarters of multinational corporations and is the house for important international political and administrative organisations like the UNESCO and the OECD. Additionally, Paris is designated as one of the top five tourist destinations in the world, attracting almost 28 million visitors per year (Strohmayr, 2013). Its rich historical and cultural assets are highly promoted in order to foster economic benefits as the world's premier touristic city.

Being one of the two biggest cities in Western Europe, along with London, designated as a megacity with a population size over 10 million, the Paris agglomeration conforms with the general demographic model of global cities with a decrease in the population at the centre and an increase towards the periphery. The factors impeding the population growth in the City of Paris since 1970s are mainly associated with the restrictive regional planning policies, uneven distribution of services and job opportunities within the agglomeration, increasing costs of housing and lengthy commutes (Bacqué, *et.al.*, 2011). Regarding the current population density map of the agglomeration, the City of Paris has a high overall density concentrated in the northern districts where green areas are rare and the dominant housing type is small apartment blocks built for the working classes, and in certain urban renewal areas of the east where high-rise buildings were erected. On the other hand, the lowest residential densities exist in the business areas of the central west where the pre-existing residential districts were regenerated for commercial uses, and on the left bank of the Seine where the administrative buildings and offices are abundant.

Recently, the municipality of Paris has initiated a major urban development programme involving the regeneration of the 10% of the city's land. This programme is announced to include formation of new neighbourhoods, revitalisation of neglected areas, and improvement of the living quality with the development of green spaces and new transport lines, aiming to build the heritage of tomorrow while preserving the past (APUR, 2008). It is also publicised to create a new image for the city with the construction of new architectural icons, to improve cross-border accessibility of the city and to promote sustainable development by means of adopting a

⁴⁹ According to the KPMG Global Cities Investment Monitor (2010), Paris ranks third, behind Shanghai and London, for the amount of foreign investments between the years 2005-2010. Moreover, the Paris region possesses the highest concentration of researchers and skilled technicians in Europe (Halbert, 2008).

climate plan to reduce energy consumption and increase renewable energy. Consequently, these new attempts of development complement the existing complexities emerging from the contemporary political, socio-economic, cultural and environmental positioning of the city. Thus, these complexities impose serious challenges on the protection and management of the historic centre of Paris.

6.3 The World Heritage Site

The historic urban riverscape embodying both embankments of the River Seine in Paris is designated as a World Heritage Site based on the Outstanding Universal Values attributed to the property. Its inscription on the World Heritage List brings up another level of complexity associated with the universal standards adopted by UNESCO for its safeguarding and the involvement of international actors in the decision-making mechanism. In this context, initially, the urban morphology of the site is described and the values attributed to the heritage city are explained. Then the impact of potential threats on the integrity and authenticity of the WHS are identified as part of the assessment of its state of conservation.

6.3.1 Site description

Developed around the River Seine that has shaped its urban morphology since the initial settlements, Paris is a multi-layered historic city embedded with a succession of monumental buildings and landmarks dating from sixteenth to twentieth centuries. In each strata of its urban history, the river has evolved with new functions and patterns that stipulated the formation of a remarkable urban riverside architecture on the embankments manifesting the evolution of the unique relationship between the river and the citizens (**Fig. 39a, b**).



Fig. 39a, b. The development of river banks between sixteenth to nineteenth centuries (Source: Collection Terre des Villes)

The major architectural compositions and masterpieces on the banks of the river were mainly constructed in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During this period, the architectural projects were executed through negotiated land purchase rather than land expropriation by the royal house, which was confined to unused areas outside the existing built-up boundaries of the city. Relevantly, the landed estate of Grenelle was acquired for the construction of the Invalides functioning as a shelter for disabled soldiers, the Ecole Militaire, the Military School, and its associated parade ground, the Champs-de-Mars on the left bank of the Seine. On the other hand, the right bank was reserved for the monarchical and aristocratic uses where numerous palaces including the Tuileries, the Place des Vosges, the Palais Royal, Place de la Nation, and the Louvre were built. Furthermore, the presence of the court on the right bank triggered the erection of mansions and places by nobles and courtiers especially in the Marais district. Following the confiscation of the Church lands and specific aristocratic estates after the French Revolution⁵⁰, the left bank sheltered institutional land uses with the construction of university and educational establishments (Couperie, 1970). The shift in land ownership also promoted the reshaping of the

⁵⁰ The church was a major landowner on the embankments of the Seine until the nationalisation of its properties in 1789, entrusting 400 ha of land in Paris corresponding to almost 12 percent of the total land of the contemporary city (Rouleau, 1988).

townscape, actualised through the extension of the Champs-Élysées and the building of a west-east route, which is currently called the Rue de Rivoli. Concurrently, numerous bridges and canals were created in order to regularise the river traffic, the low docks were developed.

One of the major urban interventions on the embankments of the Seine was realised as part of the urban transformation projects of Haussmann in the second half of the nineteenth century. He introduced a new regeneration plan for the banks of the Seine in order to regulate the river, promote trading and embellish the riverscape. Thus, the service of navigable routes were organised⁵¹, a river police department was established, the embankments were widened and the walls were built along the banks of the river, transforming it into a grand canal (APUR, 2010). As the common functions of the embankments were dominated by industrial and economic interests, Parisians became gradually estranged from the riverside until the urbanistic revival in late twentieth century. This alienation of Seine from Paris was enhanced by the decline in the river traffic due to the development of haulage services in the 1930s, and the introduction of motorways on the banks and their use of ad-hoc parking accordingly. A major intervention that would have a grand physical impact on the morphology of the river banks were aborted by a campaign mobilised against the instalment of an expressway on the right bank in 1970s (Ascher, 2007). This campaign induced a shift in the general perception of the Parisian river space, which was followed by the adoption of the 1978 planning charter promoting the pedestrianisation of the banks and the implementation of an extensive restoration programme for the regeneration of the footpaths. As a consequence, the Banks of the Seine River were designated as a World Heritage Site in 1991, which contributed greatly to the protection of this unique historic urban geography.

6.3.2 Inscription and statement of Outstanding Universal Value

The site “Paris, Banks of the Seine”, was registered on the List in 1991 on the basis of criteria i, ii and iv. According to the WHC Decision 15COM XV approving its inscription, criterion i is associated with the presence of a broad range of masterpieces dating from different periods of history, which contributed to the urban development of various European capital cities (UNESCO WHC, 1991). Criterion ii is attributed to the urbanism approach and practice of Haussmann based on its influence exerted on the urban design of the New World, especially in South America, along with the designation of the Eiffel Tower and the Palais de Chaillot as the living testimonies of universal exhibitions playing a vital role in the development of architecture and building technology during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, criterion iv is justified according to the significance of the relationship between the river and the people inducing the formation of an outstanding historic urban riverscape. Thus, the values attributed to the historic site are summarised as the historical value, the value of architectural influence and the integrated functional value of the river and its banks.

The inscribed site spanning over 367 ha is delimited to the zone between Pont de Sully and Pont d’Iena, which includes eminent monuments and historic quarters that manifest the prevailing Parisian architectural trends of different strata of history, such as the Notre Dame and Sainte Chapelle referring to the Gothic construction, Place de la Concorde, the Invalides and Cole Militaire exemplifying the European urban development schemes, and the epitomes of Haussmann’s urbanist interventions. In the Statement of Conservation report submitted by the State Party to the World Heritage Committee in 2006, the existing boundaries of the inscribed area were evaluated as inadequate, and it proposed an extension to include other significant monuments along the banks such as the Natural History Museum, the Institute of the Arab World, the City Theatre and the Châtelet. Hence, a minor modification on the delimitations of the inscribed property has just been undertaken by the Ministry of Culture, in agreement with the City of Paris, which will be in effect by 2018 (WHC SOC Report, 2014). This

⁵¹ During these years, the Seine was still the most practical and economical means of transport for the capital in spite of the natural hazards of flooding, low-water and ice formation for navigation. At the end of the nineteenth century, almost three hundred boats were passing through the Seine carrying on an average of ten thousand passengers daily (Dupavillon, 2001).

modification extends the delimitations of the site to cover some of the historically significant buildings, such as the Musée du Quai Branly, which were formerly excluded, along with certain vistas and viewpoints seen from the Seine, like the Jardins des Champs-Élysées. No buffer zones have been designated though that encloses the WHS, which was justified by the State Party on the basis of the legitimacy of the existing preservation legislation. The extended area within the old fortifications of the city was designated and approved in 2011, as shown in the map (**Fig. 40**) prepared by the Atlas of French Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List.



Fig. 40. Delimitation of the World Heritage Site (UNESCO WHC, 2011)

6.3.3 Threats and state of conservation

Paris, Banks of the Seine World Heritage Site has generally been in a good state of conservation as a result of the long-standing national legislation and planning regulations that ensure the integrated conservation of historic urban areas and the safeguarding of the Outstanding Universal Values attributed to the site. For this reason, the World Heritage Committee conducted a single mission to the site in order to inspect a complaint that they received, and requested solely periodic reporting afterwards.

Following its inscription on the World Heritage List, a concern was expressed by the Association for the Protection of the Alma-Champ de Mars concerning the insertion of a new high-rise building in the historic urban setting of Paris in March 1992. Regarding this letter, the World Heritage Committee assigned an ICOMOS expert, Jean Barthelemy, to visit the site for evaluation and submit a mission report. According to this report, the potential impacts of the new International Conference Centre were associated to its close proximity to the Eiffel Tower and its inconvenient height threatening the integrity of the skyline. Based on the reduction of medium height from 28 to 25 metres and the final decision delivered by the public inquiry, the mission evaluation concluded that the function, architectural simplicity, its physical entity and use of green space fit to the neighbourhood and considered it as a convenient addition to the urban landscape. Depending on this favourable

report, the project was approved by ICOMOS and affirmed by the World Heritage Committee as it was declared in the Decision 16COM VIII.



Fig. 41a, b. Heavy car traffic on the banks

In the State of Conservation reports submitted by the State Party in 2006 and 2014 by means of periodic reporting, the threats and risks for the site were indicated as the development pressures like the heavy traffic along the banks (**Fig. 41a, b**), natural hazards such as floods, and the tourism pressure causing an impact on the preservation of monuments. The measures taken to mitigate these threats were also specified in the report, which were the restoration and maintenance of the embankments and bridges, the implementation of a risk preparedness plan concerning the threats of inundations for the national museums, and the temporary or permanent closures of the embankments to automobile traffic. The issue of estrangement of Parisians from the river was initially raised in late 1990s, stipulating the temporary closures of the left bank and partially the right for pedestrians and cyclists every Sunday within the context of the Paris Breathes campaign, and the full closure between July and August in 2002 to be used for leisure and touristic purposes as part of the Paris Plage movement (APUR, 2010). The project proposal for the total pedestrianisation of the banks was introduced by the Paris Municipality in 2010, which will be further discussed as the case study.

In conclusion, international and national conservation bodies generally agree that the Banks of the Seine World Heritage Site is well preserved in spite of the physical, socio-economic and environmental challenges encountered. This long-lasting satisfactory state of conservation depends on the well-established national conservation legislative framework and the numerous measures adopted by the local authorities in order to cope with these complexities. These actions include the extension of the designated area and the regular architectural restoration projects undertaken for maintenance (WHC SOC Report, 2014). The hosting of the UNESCO Headquarters in the heart of the city also facilitates the immediate monitoring of its state of conservation.

6.4 Management of the WHS

This section focuses on the management system of the heritage site. In order to have a better understanding of the operation of the decision-making mechanism and the roles of diverse stakeholders participating at different levels, it is essential to perceive the centralised functioning of the urban governance structure of the city. Moreover, the assessment of the existing legislative and planning frameworks concerning the historic centre and the management tools adopted over time are crucial for the effectiveness analysis of the management system, which are all covered in this sub-chapter.

6.4.1 Urban governance system

As the capital of a highly centralised state, Paris has a unique urban governance system that differs from any other European metropolis. It is administered by a single municipality lying at the heart of a wider

agglomeration, which executes separately from the high proportion of the useful space of the agglomeration. Relevantly, the significant power of Paris is derived from its political role as the centre of the nation that is enhanced with its economic and cultural superiority. Based on its accessibility and connectivity to the rest of France as the central node of transport and commerce, it forms the principal arena in which French political and economic activities operate.

The city initially achieved total predominance within the state in the sixteenth century when the aristocratic sovereignty settled in the capital with absolute central power, which had indelible implications on the socio-political distinction between the urban and rural areas⁵², national financial affairs and the urban morphology of the city. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic period reinforced the centralisation of administration, finance and population in Paris through the development of the city into a transport hub, enhancement of direct economic control, and the creation of a central governance mechanism that reduces local autonomy. The Second Empire promoted a highly-supervised hierarchical form of territorial administration based on the division of the national territory into smaller administrative units called *départements*, which were planned to lessen the previous divisions between the earlier provinces (Harvey, 2006). Furthermore, the totality of Paris was reorganised by means of decentralisation and delegation of authority and command to the twenty newly-formed *arrondissements*. In this way, the concentration of decision-making powers in the city was ensured by the central and direct control of the Emperor over the prefects and subprefects, appointed mayors and local councils, labour commissions and relevant societies (Couperie, 1970).

From the French Revolution until the reform of local government arrangement in the Paris agglomeration in 1965, the administrative system designated *communes* as the lowest tier of the hierarchy administered by an elected local mayor with the sole exception of Paris that was directly controlled by a prefect assigned by the central government. Whilst the rest of the French communes had mayors elected by councillors since 1884, the City of Paris did not have a mayor except for the short interludes between 1789 and 1871. It was subject to the supervision of two prefects responsible for civil issues and security, which operated from the Department of the Seine including the city and partially the inner suburbs. Following the post-industrial revolution and the radical socio-economic shifts within the agglomeration, the three departments (Seine, Seine et Oise, and Seine et Marne) embodying the Parisian metropolitan region transformed into a poly-centric city-region (Savitch, 1988). Subsequently, the former departments of the Paris metropolis converted into eight new departments by a national decree in 1964 with Paris achieving a unique administrative status as both a municipality and a department. These eight departments spanning an area of 6000 square miles coalesced in the Paris region, later called the Ile-de-France, to obtain political unity through regionalisation. It was only by 1975 that the City of Paris was granted the right to have an elected mayor by a statute approved by the national government. However, the mayor was not assigned the power accorded to other mayors, and his/her freedom of action was limited through the conversion of the 20 *arrondissements* into *communes* according to national legal act (Noin and White, 1997). The decentralisation law of 1982 redefined the responsibilities and mandates of the local authorities though, which enhanced the authority of regional and local government. It also led to the adoption of deliberate measures to deliver public service and legitimate building permits at local levels. Thus, decentralisation was strengthened by forging a regional identity and improving accessibility of regional sub-centres to the urban core.

Currently in France, the national government is the sole regulatory authority, which can impose compulsions on the three main tiers of local authority: the commune, department and the region. These local administrations are

⁵² During the nineteenth century, the population size of Paris rapidly rised as a result of the seasonal or permanent immigration of rural peasants to join the urban labour force and the high taxes paid by the provinces to support the national government (Chevalier, 1973). Consequently, the gap between Paris and the larger provincial cities, along with the rural France, deepened under the Jacobin and Napoleonic ascendancies.

responsible of carrying out the administrative decisions taken at national level and equally possess a certain level of autonomy. Communes are the lowest tier of administrative hierarchy, which applies to all municipalities of all sizes⁵³. The decision-making organ is the municipal council and the chief executor is the mayor elected by the council every six years who is both the elected authority of the commune and the representative of the national government. The second tier of governance is the departments that have a decentralised local authority and play a prominent role in the administrative and geographical organisation of the state⁵⁴. Replacing the prefects appointed by the national government who used to be in charge of administrative supervision and enacting on the behalf of the state, the executive power has been exercised by the general council conferred its authority by the law of 1982. Lastly, the final tier is the region with a special administrative status commissioned to carry out regional town and country planning. The decision-making body at this level is the regional council composed of directly elected members, who are consulted in the preparation of the national plan and in the promotion of regional development. In this respect, the Ile-de-France region is divided into eight departments among which the City of Paris possesses a unique administrative status operating both as a department and a commune. However, the division between the centralised political and administrative powers of the City and the regional governance of the spatially and socially segregated region generates a fragmentation of command and control for the wider agglomeration⁵⁵.

One crucial aspect of the urban governance system in the Paris region has been the execution of local democracy through neighbourhood councils functioning as participatory mechanisms within the municipalities and departments since 2002 (Nez, 2010). Paired with the National Commission of Public Debate, an independent administrative body with the purpose of informing citizens, these participation forums have been established at neighbourhood levels that are consigned to consultation processes at micro-local stages of decision-making. This mean of participatory democracy limited to small scale has been elaborated in 2014 when a citywide participatory budget was allocated to launch a public voting on 15 projects proposed by the City of Paris, followed by an open invitation for project ideas concerning the general public interest. The Deputy Mayor acclaims the contributions of this participatory budget on the fostering of a sense of community and building a strong link with the citizens (LS-1, 2015). In this way, democratic and participatory means of communication and involvement is enhanced to engage local community members of various social background, age and gender in decision concerning the historic urban landscape as a whole.

6.4.2 The decision making-mechanisms and roles of stakeholders

Closely associated with the urban governance system of the City of Paris, the Banks of the Seine World Heritage Site is managed by a highly complex decision-making mechanism involving the participation of a broad range of international, national, regional and local stakeholders to the management process at various stages (**Fig. 42**).

⁵³ There are approximately 37,000 communes in France right now where 80% of them have a population size less than a thousand residents (Swift and Kervella, 2003). Thus, the national government has encouraged the communes smaller in size to coalesce in order to form associations or urban communities since 1992.

⁵⁴ There are one hundred departments where 96 of them are located in metropolitan France and four overseas.

⁵⁵ The City of Paris with nearly 3 million inhabitants in a 100 km² area is geographically and administratively separated from the Ile-de-France region with almost 12 million inhabitants spanning in an area of 12,000 km², lacking the adoption of metropolitan policies for the whole agglomeration (Fourcaut, 2005).

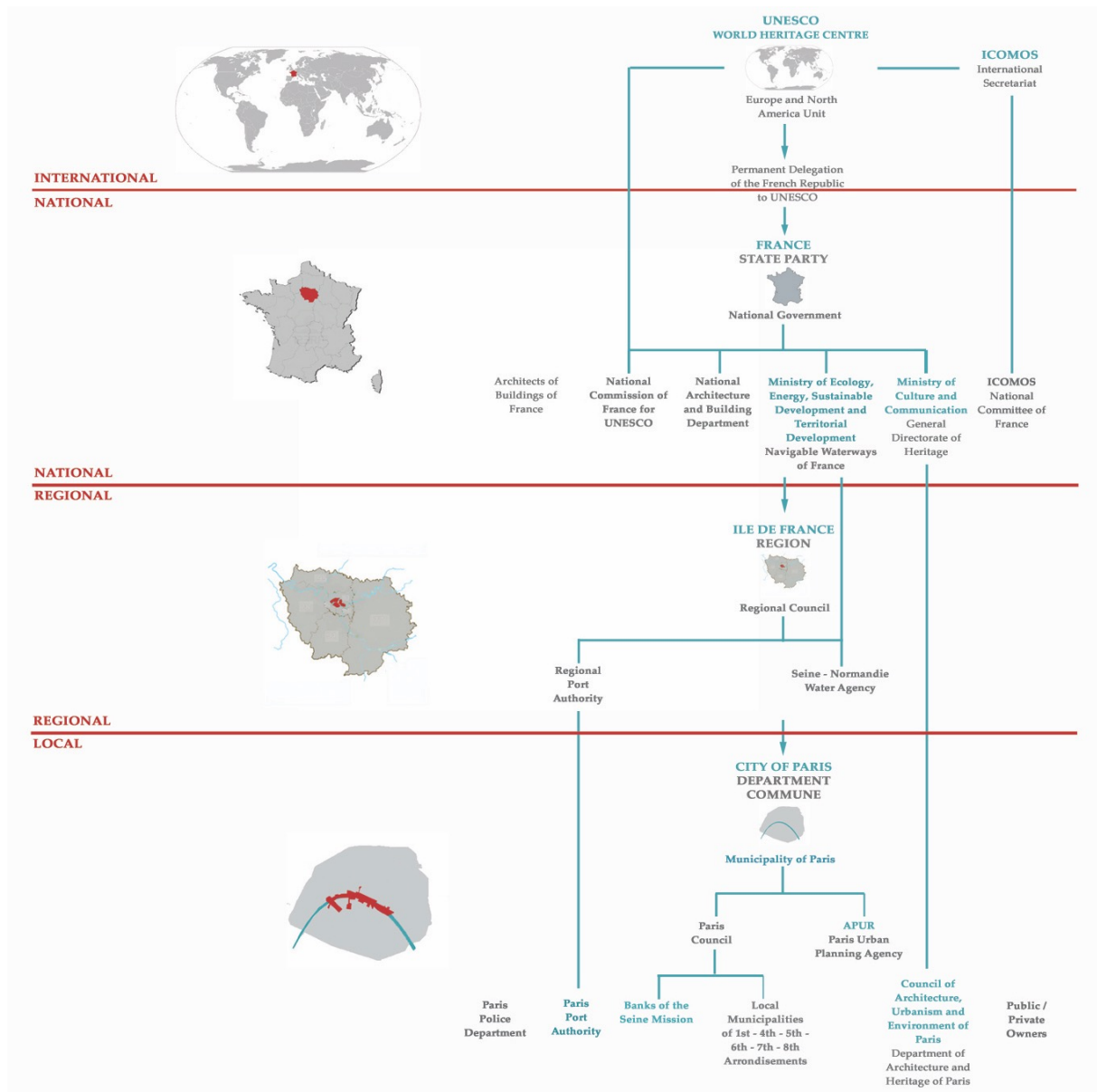


Fig 42. The decision-making mechanism of the Paris, Banks of the Seine WHS

The main international decision-maker is the UNESCO World Heritage Centre who carries the role of monitoring of the inscribed sites through periodic reporting and reactive monitoring mechanisms. Based on the periodic reporting and SOC assessments carried out for the case of Paris, no concerns has been raised in regards to poor management of the site, and good means of communication and collaboration have been maintained between the governmental bodies and the World Heritage Centre. The representative of the Europe and North America Unit within the WHC explained in an interview this was also because the UNESCO Headquarters are based in the city and there are established professional relationships between the Centre and the authorities (IS-1, 2011).

Relevantly, the Permanent Delegation of the French Republic to UNESCO, the National Commission of France for UNESCO and the National Committee of ICOMOS serve as catalysts between the international inter-governmental bodies (UNESCO and ICOMOS) and the national and local authorities. As declared in their manifesto, ICOMOS France is an independent non-governmental organisation that gives advice to public and private entities through statutory documents, and makes recommendations for the safeguarding of the inscribed sites to the management unit or the international actors corresponding to its monitoring responsibility. On the other hand, the French National Commission for UNESCO is a governmental body commissioning members

appointed from relevant national institutions, whose main objective related to WHS is to be the main partner of UNESCO for actions related to the planning, operation and evaluation of the conservation and management programmes. The President of the Commission affirmed its essential role in fostering better coordination between the WHC and the national stakeholders during the interview conducted with him, and pointed out its dual responsibilities as an interface through creating means of communication, providing expertise when it is requested and organising joint events (NS-5, 2011).

The primary national decision-makers responsible for the safeguarding of listed historic buildings, monuments and conservation areas within the WHS are the relevant departments of the Ministry of Culture and Communication, and the Architects of Buildings of France. Initially established as a private entity, which was adapted to the governmental body of Architects and Planners of the State in 1993, the Architects of Buildings of France assemble officials responsible for the conservation and monitoring of cultural properties. For the implementation of a project in the surroundings of monuments or in conservation areas is concerned, the official approval of an architect or planner assigned by the Architects of Buildings to the local architecture and heritage department is required. Furthermore, all work on protected buildings is subject to the approval of the relevant sub-departments of the Ministry of Culture. The General Directorate of Heritage, which was established as part of the Directorate of Museums of France, the Archives of France and the Directorate of Architecture and Heritage in 2010, is the main governmental body in charge of the historic monuments, protection zones and conservation areas, archaeology and national inventory. A consulted representative of the Directorate highlighted the importance of this new formation based on the embodying scope of this body embracing all the tangible assets of heritage (NS-1, 2013).

Keeping in mind the operation of highly-centralised administrative systems in France, each authority and institution associated with the conservation and management of the WHS at national level devolve their duties upon relevant government appointed regional and local sub-departments and agencies for better command and control. For instance, the Navigable Waterways of France functioning under the authority of the Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and Territorial Development delegates the Seine-Normandy Water Agency as the regional stakeholder to carry out the mission of financing the works and actions concerned with the river and the developing economic activities for the sustainable development of the areas under protection. Furthermore, the Regional Port Authority forms the superstructure of the local river authority, and the and Regional Prefecture of Police delegates a local police department in charge of issues relating to the security, accessibility and traffic. Thus, all the regional actors function as a middle tier between the national and local authorities that are the main participants of the decision-making mechanism of the site.

Then, at the local level, the City of Paris engages numerous actors jointly participating in the management of the Banks of the Seine WHS. As the key local authority, the Municipality of Paris delegated the responsibility for the planning of the site to a specialist planning agency, the Parisian Planning Office (APUR), created by the Prefect of Paris in 1967 prior to the election of the first mayor of the City. Initially constituted as a partnership organisation between public sector bodies that is mostly funded by the central and regional governments, the Planning Office has gradually turned into an agent controlled mainly by the municipality, which covers 75 % of its expenses (Nelson, 2001). Relevantly, even though the representative of APUR being interviewed halted the perception of an official direct link between the Municipality and the Office, she affirmed the existence of a strong coherence in practice (LS-3, 2011). In addition to the Municipality, another key actor responsible for the management of the site is the Paris Port Authority that was created for better environmental management of the embankments in 1970. As the main proprietor of the embankments of Seine River in Paris, the Port Authority prepared a comprehensive land use plan in 1999 in collaboration with the City of Paris, the Department of Architecture and Heritage of Paris, and the Seine-Normandy Water Agency for the integrated conservation,

environmental protection and sustainable development of the banks under its responsibility. As it was acknowledged by the responsible of APUR, the collaboration and partnership between the Municipality and the Port Authority developed very gradually until the establishment of a main coordinating body specific for the heritage site (LS-3, 2011).

Prior to the execution of a large-scale urban renewal project by the Municipality in 2010 concerning the historic urban area designated as the WHS, the agent responsible for the management of projects related to the site had been the Department of Architecture and Heritage of Paris, the local delegation of the Ministry of Culture concerned with the historic buildings and sites. Following the launching of this project, a specific public authority, the Banks of the Seine Mission, was constituted within the City of Paris in order to foster better coordination and to facilitate the implementation of the project. This Mission is solely involved with the conservation and development of the embankments of the river in Paris, and acts as an interface between the concerned national, regional and local actors. In this way, the involvement of all the relevant stakeholders to the management process is ensured, and the official decisions are taken easier and faster.

In conclusion, the centralised urban governance system is reflected upon the decision-making mechanism for the Paris, Banks of the Seine WHS through the dominance of national authorities that entrusted with the duties of supervision and approval of any projects undertaken at the protected site based on the national legislation. Furthermore, most of the local actors are delegated by the national and regional authorities, and act under their control. However, it is also possible to observe the emergence of partial decentralisation processes undertaken following the initiation of municipal elections. The responsibilities assigned to APUR as a local stakeholder and the creation of the Banks of the Seine Mission demonstrate the fragmentation of central power and authority.

6.4.3 Legislative and planning frameworks

As a consequence of the decentralisation acts of the local authority implemented after the first municipal election in the City of Paris, a series of planning policies and practices have been governing urban development in the city, turning it into one of most planned urban agglomeration worldwide. Furthermore, some of the earliest urban conservation regulations had also been adopted in Paris consistent with the comprehensive heritage approach existing for almost three hundred years, which contributed greatly to the formation of a well-established legislative framework for the safeguarding of heritage sites.

As a response to the destruction of historic monuments associated with the aristocracy after the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, numerous intellectuals and artisans of the period assembled in groups to conduct ideological debates and studies for the protection of historic buildings of Paris. Leading to the genesis of the notions of “patrimony” and “old Paris”, a dichotomous approach dominated the early nineteenth century: the valorisation of the aesthetics of the seventeenth century, the medieval built heritage in particular, and the development of a historical argument based on the reconstruction of pre-existing topographic histories (Fiori, 2012). In continuity with the revision of the urban history and the iconography of the 1830s devoted to the picturesque representation of the old city, these preliminary approaches subsided under an asset based approach in the second half of the century, interpreting the historic city as a historical, archaeological and artistic urban entity. Concurrently, successive associations and the initial department of historic monuments⁵⁶ were established for the purpose of validation of historic buildings, documenting the historic urban landscape and protecting the cultural heritage (Fiori, 2012).

⁵⁶ The associations and local commissions established for the conservation of the heritage of Paris in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include: the Society of Friends of the Parisian Monuments (1884), the Old Montmartre (1886), the Municipal Commission of Old Paris (1898), the Society for the Protection of the Landscapes of France (1902), and the Association of the Friends of Paris (1911) (Fiori, 2012).

Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the national authorities adopted a range of legal instruments designed for the protection of monuments, and subsequently their surroundings, landscapes and, lastly, entire historic urban areas. Jointly, the governmental bodies responsible for heritage designation and conservation were diversified and delegated more authority. Laying the foundations of the protection system still in use today, the Historic Monuments Act of 1913 constituted protective measures through classification and enlistment to the supplementary inventory. Following a series of amendments adopted to this Act, it is concerned with the protection of a broad range of cultural and natural properties including archaeological sites, churches, castles, public and private monuments, vernacular dwellings, industrial heritage, and historic parks and gardens (Longuet and Vincent, 2001). Then, the Act of 1930 broadened the scope of monuments to sites, and the Act of 1943 expanded the protection zone to the surroundings of listed historic buildings within a 500 metre radius. This trend led to the ratification of a more comprehensive approach entailing the safeguarding of entire urban areas delimited by the Act of 1962 (known also as the Malraux Act), which introduced a legal instrument for the designation of conservation areas (*secteurs sauvegardés*) and the adoption of preservation and enhancement plans for these sites. Furthermore, the Decentralisation Act of 1983 and its supplement adopted in 1993 provided for the creation of protection zones for architectural, urban and landscape heritage, and contributed to the delegation of safeguarding responsibilities from the central governmental agents to the local actors (Longuet and Vincent, 2001).

Following the enactment of the Loi Malraux in 1962, France is credited with establishing the first legislative framework for *secteurs sauvegardés*, and initiating urban conservation projects in Europe. This initial programme encompassed the 126-hectare Marais quarter in Paris. The first conservation plan elaborated for the quarter anticipated the renovation and adaptive reuse of existing residential buildings as office spaces, and its execution served as a model of integrated heritage-led regeneration for historic districts. As the Decentralisation Act is enacted, a polycentric regional development plan and strategy were adopted in La Defense region of Paris, outside the boulevard peripherique, protecting the city from over development. Regulation of land prices, and the monitoring of skyline and building heights also contributed to the protection of the visual integrity of the historic city.

Developed hand in hand with the legislative framework for architectural and urban conservation, the planning regulations and policies constituted in the 1960s stipulated the formulation of a new urban development scheme establishing coordinated development zones that gave more power to local authorities to manage change in the historic city (Savitch, 1988). Consistent with this act, a centralised planning authority was established in 1961 with the powers of tax-raising and taking grants. This local agent identified five objectives for the redevelopment of the historic centre of Paris in 1970s that involved the maintaining of its residential character, limitations on allocation of industrial and trading functions, improvement of the infrastructure, and the safeguarding of the values attributed to the historic city (Noin and White, 1997). Then the constitution of the Decentralisation Act led to the delegation of more authority to the local actors. For the City of Paris specifically, the recently adopted Local Urban Development Plan functions as a regulatory tool that safeguards over 3,000 listed buildings out of a total of 100,000 in Paris (WHC SOC Report, 2006). It is complemented with the “Cahier des prescriptions Urbains et Paysageres”, a reference document drawn up jointly by APUR, the State and the Port Authority to monitor all the activities and projects concerning the development of the Banks of the Seine River. These documents contribute to the formation of a strong regulationist framework for the protection and development of the city.

In conclusion, historic preservation and urban development had been administered by the central government until the gradual transfer of responsibilities to the regional and local governmental agents during the decentralisation process. This shift in authority prevailed upon the introduction of contractual and legal

instruments for urban conservation and management, transforming the city to the one of the most regulated metropolitans of the world.

6.4.4 The management tools

According to the UNESCO Operational Guidelines (2012), all the World Heritage Sites are required to have appropriate management plans or other sorts of management system that specify the methods of preserving the authenticity and integrity attributes of the sites through participatory means since 2004. While site management plans have been adopted for most WHS inscribed to the List since then, there are certain examples where it has not been a case of necessity. Emerging as such, an effective management system has been operating for the Banks of the Seine World Heritage Site, which is administered by a centralised decision-making structure acting upon a long-lasting legislative framework for heritage protection.

Although the site lacks a comprehensive management plan designed specifically for the safeguarding and sustainable development of the historic city centre, it has a well-established management structure ensured by the adoption of protective measures for maintaining its heritage attributes and managing change in the historic urban landscape. The binding requirements of the legislation on protection providing for the safeguarding of the boundaries of conservation zones under the supervision of an official architect, and the regulation of development work by a strict system of issuing permits and control under the preservation and enhancement plan create an effective protection framework. In addition to these regulatory tools, spatial development schemes also include numerous measures to safeguard the unprotected zones surrounding the protected areas (Longuet and Vincent, 2001). In the SOC Report submitted to WHC by the SP in 2014, the management documents in effect for the site has been listed as the “Cahier des Prescriptions” concerned with the development of the Banks, an annex Charter elaborated in 2013 specifically for the reuse of the left embankment after pedestrianisation, along with the Local Urban Planning Plan. These documents framing the developments undertaken within the WHS are referred as the management plan for the site.

The Statement of Conservation reports submitted to the WHC both in 2006 and 2014, as part of the periodic reporting repeated every six years, additionally affirmed the fact that this heritage site has established a sufficiently effective management system. They further underline the fact the site is managed by a complex group of stakeholders among which the site management duty is divided (WHC SOC Report, 2014). The approval of this report by the Committee who did not request an additional management plan also endorsed the efficiency of the existing management mechanism. Furthermore, the creation of the Banks of the Seine Mission with the intention of establishing communication and coordination among the various decision makers participating in the management process at different stages and its concentration on the conservation and sustainable development of the WHS also support the existence of an appropriate management system for site consistent with the Operational Guidelines of UNESCO.

6.5 The Case Study: The Berges de Seine Project

For a better understanding and assessment of the management system of the Paris, Banks of the Seine World Heritage Site, the case of the Berges de Seine urban project is selected for further analysis. It is a recently realised large-scale urban development project incorporated in the regeneration and reactivation of the embankments objective of the Land Development Plan. Criticised for threatening certain attributes associated with the site, numerous campaigns and objections were raised by non-governmental organisations against the project. Thus, numerous measures were taken by regional and local authorities to assess its impact and to build a consensus among all the interested actors. Hence, this case is a good example of the participation levels of

various stakeholders to the decision-making mechanisms at different stages and portrays the issues of controversy between involved parties.

Having investigated the broad themes of managing the global heritage city of Paris, a framework on which to structure an approach that enables the outputs of the existing management structures and tools conducted for the WHS to be addressed holistically is required. Providing such a framework, this case study helps to identify the internal conflicts, challenges and critical components that are needed to be fully addressed for the effectiveness analysis of the management system operating in Paris. For this purpose, initially, the project is briefly described, the heritage attributes at risk are identified, and their impact on the OUV is assessed. Secondly, all the participating stakeholders are identified; their interactions with each other are mapped out through the use of cognitive mapping methods, their involvement in the case is evaluated, and the participation levels of all the actors are quantified in the decision-making map. Additionally, the progress analysis documenting the whole project and depicting the activities and actions operated by the main stakeholders is mapped out for assessing their effectiveness. In this way, this case study analysis serves as a catalyst to reflect on the true nature of the heritage site.

6.5.1 Case description

In response to the reconciliation of the embankments with vehicles in the twentieth century and the estrangement of the inhabitants from the riverscape, numerous actions were taken by the City of Paris in order to enable the citizens and users to reclaim the Seine and the historic centre of the city. These actions included the temporary closures of the banks to vehicle traffic in the late 1990s and the full closure of banks for two months during the Paris Plague movement in 2002 (Connaissance d'Arts, 2011). However, the major intervention aiming to provide full access of pedestrians to the Paris embankments, which was drawn from these previous experiences, was introduced by the Municipality of Paris in 2010, whose main goal was defined as the "return of life to the banks of the Seine" by the former Mayor (APUR, 2010).

This urban development project entitled *Berges de Seine* had actually been part of a larger project encompassing all the river banks within the Ile-de-France region, including the embankments in Paris that are inscribed on the World Heritage List. The objectives of this regional project were expressed as the preservation of the economic activity at the banks, the development of river transportation and the amelioration of the landscapes (APUR, 2011). Relevantly, the *Berges de Seine* project aimed to transform the historic riverscape through the pedestrianisation of the banks formerly reserved for car traffic, the diversification of the functions of the river, and the offering of permanent and temporary activities. As framed in the legislative Charter, this project involved the full closure of the left embankments to vehicular traffic between the Musée d'Orsay and the Alma Bridge from June 2012, and the transformation of the expressway on the right bank into a Parisian boulevard from July 2013 (Connaissance d'Arts, 2011). In this way, the newly formed promenades allowed the implementation of reversible and temporary facilities to allow new social, cultural and leisure activities. Following the approval of this urban development project, a multi-disciplinary team including architects, planners, designers and artists was assembled for the purpose of designing new equipments and elements, enriching the uses of the embankments and the programming of events.

Regarding the scope and objectives of this project, the national and local governmental bodies executed a series of actions under their responsibilities following the commencement of the project. In March 2011, the General Directorate of Heritage within the Ministry for Culture revised the inscribed site plan delimiting the World Heritage property and submitted it to the World Heritage Centre to be evaluated in the next session of the Committee. Then, the Paris Port Authority approved a scheme of orientation of port related activities in June, contributing to the rehabilitation of the embankments formerly reserved only for automobile traffic. As a result

of the inquiry meeting held open to the public, the UNESCO WHC was informed about the project, and requested from the Municipality the reporting of the Heritage Impact Assessment in order to identify its potential impact on the Outstanding Universal Values attributed to the site.



Fig. 43. The Berges de Seine Project objectives (APUR, 2011)

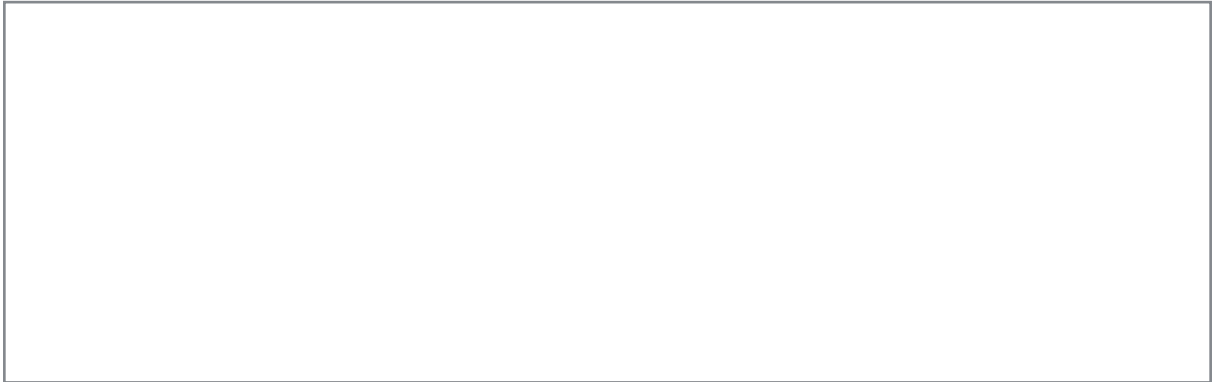


Fig 44a. Pedestrianisation objectives (Luxigon) **Fig. 44b.** The pedestrianised left embankment (Francois Guillot/AFP)

In the meanwhile, numerous concerns were raised by different parties associated with the relocation of the vehicle traffic and the pedestrianisation of the embankments, which delayed the implementation process. Despite the initiation of the tendering process for the pedestrianisation of the banks in 2012, the then approaching national presidential and legislative elections caused the postponement of the implementation of the project, which was initially expected to terminate by August of the same year. According to the report of the Deputy Mayor of Paris based on an official letter delivered to the Mayor, the former Prime Minister directly intervened in the process, stipulating its revision given the reason that the State prefecture, who is the owner of the left embankment via the Port Authority, could not abide by such a commitment, mainly due to the impacts of the pedestrianisation. Nonetheless, the project was resumed after the election of the new President of France. After a delay of approximately six months, the Municipality of Paris recommenced the implementation of the project.

In June 2012, the left embankment was partially closed to vehicle circulation, and the expressway on the right bank was transformed into an urban boulevard in September 2012. However, these practical applications were protested by a group of dissident citizens mobilised as the *40 million motorists* organisation, opposing the dislocation of the car traffic. Declaring their opinions through press releases and social media networks, they launched an online petition, which was widely supported. In the meanwhile, the approval of the Heritage Impact Assessment report adopted by the Ministry of Culture and Communication, and its endorsement by the WHC stimulated the finalisation of the riverbank project as it was designated. Finally, the initial phase of the project

was fully completed in July 2013 without further interruptions. Later, the Paris City Council approved the banning of all vehicles from the riverside road running along the right embankment as well. Taking the opposed voices into consideration, the other major decision-maker, the Paris's prefect of police hence decided to run a six-month trial in 2015-16 to monitor the impacts of the full closure of the riverside route on traffic and pollution. In sum, this case clearly manifests that such concerns lead to the involvement of various stakeholders to the decision-making process and the implementation of certain actions to cope with these challenges.

6.5.2 Impact assessment of the case

Developed to provide full pedestrian access to the riverside for the Parisians, one of the main interventions undertaken by the Berges de Seine urban development project has been the closure of the embankments to vehicular traffic. Relevantly, the biggest impact of the project on the significance of the WHS is associated with the pacification of the traffic and the regeneration of the public space.

According to the traffic simulation analyses carried out by the Directorate of Roads and Transport within the City of Paris as part of the Heritage Impact Assessment report, this project causes a 6 minute increase in the average journey time from East to West (travel time increases from 31 minutes to 37 minutes during rush hours), and a reduction in speed from 50 km/h to 40 km/h during off-peak hours (APUR, 2010). This rise in commuting pace led to the diversion of the traffic onto the Louvre-Champs Elysees stretch of the West-East transit, which directly affects one of the most visited tourist attraction sites of the historic urban landscape, and onto the Peripherique, the ring road encircling the city that bears the greatest load. Focusing on its environmental impact, A City Hall expert further indicated that this plan would cause a 15% reduction in nitrogen dioxide levels, along with reduction in noise pollution (LS-1, 2012).

In the meanwhile, this physical impact of the project on vehicular traffic gave rise to the emergence of numerous opposing responses and criticisms from various local authorities and public organisations. The mayor of the seventh arrondissement expressed its concern regarding the significant increase in the traffic load, affecting especially the smaller urban routes of inner Paris (LS-5, 2013). Furthermore, the Vice President of ICOMOS France pointed out the deficiency of large scale urban transport schemes implemented prior to this shift of car circulation (NS-4, 2012). Emphasising the physical limitations of the project to solve the major traffic problem, the *40 million motorists* organisation also claimed that daily journeys to the city centre would take up 20 minutes longer and the project would “simply push the problem elsewhere” (Hasselriis, 2012).

In response to these concerns, alternative methods to reduce these physical impact are identified as the promotion of the use of public transportation through means of alternative collective transportation and awareness rising, and the improvement of the vehicular traffic patterns. Accordingly, the Heritage Impact Assessment report appraised the replacement of existing parking lots with bike and bus lanes, the development of a popular bike-sharing network, and the promotion of green collective transportation as a travel policy at metropolitan level (HIA Report, 2013).

6.5.3 Effectiveness assessment of actions

In order to describe the process that leads to the implementation of the Berges de Seine urban development project and to analyse the effectiveness of the actions taken by various stakeholders, a progress analysis (**Fig. 45**) is mapped out that depicts the process as sequences of a series of actions and interactions taken in response to situations and/or obstacles. In this context, the progress analysis is laid out on a timeline depicting the whole process initiated with the announcement of the project in 2010 until the closure of both embankments to car

traffic in December 2016. The progress of five main actions including the elaboration of the new planning Charter and its integration to the existing legislative framework, the project design and execution phases, building means of collaboration and communication among stakeholders including the UNESCO WHC, the preparation of a HIA, and the participation of the civic society are mapped out in this analysis. The involvements of stakeholders from different levels to these actions are shown in colours, and the process is articulated at key points. The success of the actions in mitigating the impacts threatening the heritage site, and the consequences of interactions intending to alter the existing situations manifest the effectiveness of each activity. Furthermore, the participation levels of main decision-makers can also be derived from this mapping, which portrays the involvement frequency of actors for each action.

The primary result to be derived from the progress analysis is the integration of the local development plans into the existing broader scale planning schemes is essential to develop a holistic approach for the whole historic urban landscape and to hinder potential impacts that may arise from controversial acts and decisions. A planning charter specifically concerned with the regeneration of the banks after pedestrianisation was elaborated and incorporated into the pre-formulated “Book of Prescriptions for Development” encompassing the riverscapes within the whole Ile-de-France region. This Charter also functions as complementary to the management documents responsible for the inscribed site. In this way, this project has been integrated to the existing legislative and planning frameworks, and enhanced the the management system in action for the site.

Regarding the processes of project development, design and execution, another result to be deduced from this analysis is concerned with the operation of transparent, inclusive and participatory mechanisms from the initiation. Assigned the duty of preparatory project design by the City of Paris in 2009, APUR conducted the initial studies outlining several scenarios presented to the Mayor and released to the public at the official press conference announcing the project. Following the approval of the preliminary project objectives by the Paris City Council in July 2010, a holistic public participation approach was attained by creating different means of dialogue between the residents and local authorities through public meetings in each district, themed workshops (including youngsters and children), an exhibition during the Paris Plages, registers in the local town halls and social media forums. Complementary to this approach, a citywide meeting was organised for public inquiry in the summer of 2011, held in 44 public venues within the borders of ten arrondissements encompassing the Seine (APUR, 2011). The motivation behind these public consultations was considered within the context of the appropriation of public for the development and appreciation of the project, as it was acknowledged by the representative of APUR during the interview (LS-2, 2012). Furthermore, a multi-disciplinary team was assigned in November 2011 for the formation of project design oriented by the opinions and views deduced from the consultations carried out with the relevant stakeholders.

The progress analysis also depicts that good means of communication and collaboration have also been established among responsible international, national, regional and local parties. The direct participation of the Paris Municipality, APUR, the Paris Port Authority, and the Police Prefecture to the decisions regarding the project, their rapid responses to the obstacles encountered and the issues of concern raised, and their collaborative approach in solving the problems demonstrate the pluralist management system in effect for the Banks of the Seine. The creation of the Banks of the Seine Mission as a site management unit that plays a

mediator role among all these parties actively involved with the project has also been a noteworthy effort of building consensus and collaboration. Additionally, the inquiry and consultation meetings held open to the public have also functioned as tools of civic engagement and building dialogue where various social groups are actively involved in the decision-making. These gatherings also informed the UNESCO WHC about the project, who later requested the conduct of a HIA. The objections raised by civic groups at an early project development stage are another demonstration of transparent mechanisms. The concerns expressed by the WHC and the civil society were confronted and mainly resolved by the actions taken by regional governmental organs and local administrators.

6.5.4 Assessment of the decision-making mechanism

For the case of the Berges de Seine project, the international, national, regional and local stakeholders directly involved in the decision-making process are identified as: the UNESCO World Heritage Centre participating at international level, the Ministry for Culture and Communication and the Architects of Buildings of France at national level, the Seine-Normandy Water Agency and the Regional Waterways of France at regional level, and the relevant departments of the Paris Municipality, APUR, the Paris Port Authority, and the police prefecture as local governmental bodies, along with the Banks of the Seine Mission as the main management unit participating at local level. The participation rate of each actor, which is highly associated with its role and responsibilities, is measured and evaluated in this assessment (**Fig. 46a, b**).

As an inter-governmental body, the UNESCO WHC was involved in this case on the basis of periodic monitoring to ensure the safeguarding of the site. Taking into account its communication with other inter-governmental agents and national bodies, three actors are identified that it directly interacts with. Moreover, it participates in two out of five actions manifested in the progress analysis map. In this context, its limited involvement with the regional and local actors and its distance to the actual operations makes it a rather less influential actor in decision-making despite its distinct monitoring role and sanction power for WHS.

At national level, the Ministry for Culture along with its related peripheral units stands out as one of the main decision makers associated with the safeguarding of the inscribed site. Communicating with the WH Centre, other Ministries, the inter-governmental conservation bodies and APUR at local level, its participation frequency is measured as five. The other leading national actor is the Architects of Buildings Association, which assign official architects to be consulted on the protection and maintenance of enlisted historic buildings and ensembles. Since its responsibility within the WHS is restricted to registered cultural properties though, it is only involved in decisions regarding the approval of the project design and conservation practices. Keeping in mind the legal authorities entitled to both of these governmental bodies in terms of the national legislation, they actively participate in the management system through their peripheral bodies that carry administrative roles on heritage related operations. Another national stakeholder, the National Commission of France for UNESCO functions as a catalyst between UNESCO and the local administrative units but it is not directly engaged in the decision-making. An even less involved actor, the National Committee of ICOMOS, serves as the advisory body but also does not possess the capacity to act directly. The hosting of the headquarters of both of these international inter-governmental bodies the city, however, empower their National Committees to be more influential actors. Hence, the national parties carry a dominant role in the decision-making mechanism in general.

At the regional level, the regional government of Ile-de-France delegates authorities to its relevant departments. The main regional governmental entities are the Seine-Normandy Water Agency and the Regional Waterways Department of France, which are responsible of the operation of activities associated with the River Seine. The Water Agency is in charge of providing financial aid to the project for aspects related to the enhancement of aquatic areas and the improvement of the biodiversity. The Regional Waterways department, on the other hand,

is concerned with security and safety issues of floating establishments. Both of these authorities are moderately involved in the case project with limited participation and communication confined mainly to the Paris Port Authority. According to the social network analysis, the most prominent decision-maker is the Banks of the Seine Mission that acts as a catalyst for maintaining a dialogue with four diverse stakeholders participating at different levels. At this local stage, the Municipality of Paris, supported by its delegated departments, is one of the primary participants of the decision-making mechanism who is responsible for the execution and monitoring of the riverbank project. Commissioned by the City of Paris to carry out the duty of project design and planning, APUR is classified as another major participant, along with the Mission who is in charge of the whole programming, coordination and operation of the project. In addition to these main decision-makers, the Port Authority is also one of the top participants based on its essential role as the owner of the riverbank and the operator of the river. Finally, the local police prefecture is involved issues related to safety, accessibility and traffic. Despite the centralised administrative system operating in the city, the local governmental bodies are also classified as major participants and decision-makers within the heritage management structure in association with the decentralisation acts.

Lastly, the public/private owners of buildings and the residents of Paris also participate in the decision-making process regarding the case project even though their decisive influence has been less than the other stakeholders. The citizens have been asked for their opinions about the regeneration of the banks through different modes of communication. Through democratic means of public participation, moreover, the 40 Million Motorists Organisation is involved in the process as an opposing party protesting the decisions incompatible with the public interest. Expressing their contestation by means of press releases and social media, this group is actively involved even though it does not have the authority to make any amendments on the project or the relevant decisions. Their limited interactions and direct communication with national and local actors, however, point a low participation frequency to the NGO in the decision-making.

6.5.5 Results of the case analysis

Focusing on a large-scale urban development project, this case study explores the impacts posed on the significance of the historic urban landscape, examines the actions taken by the key stakeholders and their involvement with the case, assesses their participation levels to the existing decision-making mechanism, and evaluates the effectiveness of the management instruments adopted. It introduces a holistic view revealing the complexities of managing the heritage site. The complexity mapping (**Fig. 47**) derived from the content analysis of interviews and reports depicts all the issues of concerns raised by the broad range of decision-makers and their association with the Berges de Seine project. The complexities rendered for the case study are the condensed manifestations of the management challenges concerning the historic city as a whole.

This case project has been a reclamation of the right to the riverscapes by the citizens and visitors of historic Paris. Prior to the pedestrianisation attempts, Paris had two freeways stretching along the left and right banks of the Seine passing through the heart of the city. The amount of traffic saturated these highways, which contributed dramatically to the high levels of congestion pervading the historic city centre. Hence, this case shows that transportation comes out as a main issue for global cities to be properly handled at local and metropolitan levels. Bearing in mind its impact on global competitiveness, productivity and the environment, the urban governments allocate major investments for large-scale urban development and infrastructure projects. As a result of such large public expenditures in favour of private transportation for some time, long commutes, high levels of traffic jams, and high rates of pollution have been a serious concern causing a strong impact on public health and the quality of life in the city.

Another one of the general results that can be derived from the case is that the decision-making mechanism in Paris is highly centralised where the national authorities have the power to interfere with the local decisions. The delay of the commencement of the project due to the direct intervention of the Prime Minister and its pursuance after the national elections clearly manifest the hierarchy of administrative power controlled by the national governmental bodies. In fact, the delegation of power to the successive tiers of this hierarchy down from national to regional and local prefectures also endorse this statement. The authorities of national actors are ensured by the policies and legal acts adopted by the national government, assuring their positions as major participants in the decision-making mechanism. Additionally, the commissioning of the Banks of the Seine Mission by the Municipality, which should actually act as an independent coordinating unit, is a demonstration of the limits of decentralisation on the local authorities as well.

Thirdly, it is derived from the case that the French government, as a State Party, generally maintained a good communication with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. The main reason of this well-sustained dialogue is the location of the WHC in Paris. An established and amicable relationship enabled for example the request for a Heritage Impact Assessment to be made via a direct phone call to a senior authority within the Municipality (IS-1, 2012). Furthermore, the positioning of the WHC in the city also facilitates the delivery of information concerning urban development projects by means of mass media. Moreover, inter-governmental bodies have been created (National Commission for UNESCO, General Directorate of Heritage etc.) to coordinate the evaluation, monitoring and feedback mechanisms between the WHC and the relevant national and local actors. For these reasons, the WHC is a more active participant in the management structure of Paris, compared to other regions of the world, due to this geographical advantage.

Lastly, it has been observed that even though there have been periods of poor communication between different regional and local premises in the past years (such as the lack of direct contact between the regional state prefecture and the Port Authority), the national, regional and local authorities addressing heritage issues acted in coordination during the operation of the Berges de Seine case. It is assumed that the reason behind the good collaboration of governmental bodies with divergent roles and responsibilities has been the delegation of the Banks of the Seine Mission as the main coordination body. In this way, different local authorities acted together for the implementation of the urban regeneration project and undertook the duties assigned to each actor following the orientation of the Mission.

6.6 Summary and Concluding Remarks

As one of the oldest capitals of the world, the universal significance of Paris resides in its rich historic background which is visualised in the historic stratification of the two embankments of the Seine River, which is designated as a World Heritage Site. Its articulation as a global city has put the site on global watch, which has a catalytic effect on urban and economic development pressures, along with the rise in financial investments, such as large-scale urban infrastructure and regeneration projects. Complementary to these tendencies, the limitations of its existing administrative, legislative and planning structures and the controversial approaches of various stakeholders actively participating in its decision-making generate complexities unique to this case. In this context, the study of the Paris WHS enables the examination of both effective and ineffective strategies, policies and instruments that underpins the distinctiveness of each historic urban landscape.

In Paris, as in rest of France, the regulatory duties are delegated to municipalities directly by the national government, which are subjected to a greater degree of central appeal and supervision. This centralised urban administrative system is reflected upon the decision-making mechanism for the Banks of the Seine WHS where the national governmental bodies are entrusted with the duties of supervision and approval of any projects

undertaken at the protected site based on the national legislation. Furthermore, the delegation of the major local actors by national and regional authorities, as well as the site management unit, is another manifestation of this top-down managerial structure (**Fig. 48**). On the other hand, partial decentralisation processes has been under way in the past decade where more responsibilities and duties are assigned to APUR and the Mission. The empowerment of local actors is a manifestation of the fragmentation of central power and authority.

The legislative framework, operational tools and financial incentives adapted for Paris over the decades have forged an effective heritage protection and management system for the historic urban landscape. The urban planning regulations and protective mechanisms adopted after the Malraux Law since the mid-twentieth century that favour small-scale mixed-use urban morphologies, and control new inclusions played an essential role in keeping the historic city centre intact. The operation of such a holistic and effective management system has been assessed as sufficient for the safeguarding of the WHS, which does not necessitate the development of a local management plan for the site. Hence, the Paris WHS shows that if the existing frameworks and tools work satisfactorily, there might not be a need for the adoption of a management plan or any other normative tool suggested by Operational Guidelines. However, the impact of the close acquaintance of the World Heritage Centre with the site and the governmental bodies functioning as decision-makers is undeniable for the case of Paris. It is questionable whether the Centre would be that affirmative about the lack of a specific site management plan if the headquarters were situated elsewhere.

In summing up, the findings of this study evince that the implementation of democratic and participatory means of communication and decision-making is fundamental for the creation of a new common ground for dialogue and joint action engaging various community groups to the management process. Formerly being limited to small scale design decisions, the domain and efficiency of public consultations have been widened with the newly adopted participatory budget and citywide public forums. Inherited a legislative tradition of public participation, voluntary cooperation is thus enhanced in these new forms of networks of civic engagement. Issues relevant to a neighbourhood, as well as large-scale development projects concerning the whole city, are now decided and managed to a certain extent in an open discussion and process of decision-making involving concerned community groups. Hence, the existing legislative framework is paired with these newly adopted policies to promote civic participation and community engagement.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

Ron Van Oers (2007) defines the conservation of historic urban landscapes as “one of the most daunting tasks” of the century in regards to the imperative challenge of safeguarding the tangible and intangible heritage assets within historic cities, while meeting the contemporary needs of development. The cases of Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris are salient manifestations of the complexities associated with the management of global heritage cities. They portray the main issues of concern linked to the current state of management practices, assess the effectiveness of their existing decision-making mechanisms, and analyse the policies and tools tailored in each case to cope with these challenges. The results gathered from the analysis of the case studies, consequently, lead to the better understanding of the exclusive status of global heritage cities and the future adoption of effective instruments convenient for worldwide practices.

In this context, this chapter discusses the findings drawn from the newly formulated conceptual framework and the empirical study, examines their wider implications and integrates them into the context of the existing knowledge. It is divided into three main sections that cover the emergent conceptual framework defining the global heritage city, the management complexities specific for such cities, and the strategies and tools emerging from the cases that are successful at coping with the management challenges. The first part critically reflects upon the existing theoretical and practical framework concerned with urban heritage management, explores how it is translated to the global urbanisation discourse, and examines its limitations and how it leads to the development of a new conceptual framework characterising global heritage cities. A revised conceptual framework is hence presented, and conclusions are drawn accordingly. Then the second part focuses on the key issues of concerns specific for global heritage cities. It presents the management complexities emerging from each case study and their assessment in a holistic manner. The last section later examines the strategies and tools successful at mitigating the negative impacts and maintaining a good state of conservation and management.

7.2 Key Research Findings

This sub-chapter draws together the results of the three case studies, their comparative analysis, as well as the findings from the literature review covering the fields of global urbanisation and cultural heritage management. These findings are divided into three sections: Initially, the new conceptual framework elaborated specifically for global heritage cities is defined. Then their management complexities are elaborated under five headings covering the urban and economic development pressures, their multi-layered historic stratification, their unique urban administrative statuses, the plurality of stakeholders participating at the complex decision-making mechanisms, and the limitations of their existing legislative and planning frameworks. The last part focuses on the effective management tools and strategies derived from the case assessments, which are summarised as management planning, establishment of site management units, public-private partnerships, means of community engagement and citizen participation, and the conduct of heritage impact assessments.

7.2.1 New Conceptual Framework for Global Heritage Cities

In the contemporary era of globalisation where cities hold a central role in economic, environmental and social policy-making at the global scale, the traditional urban planning and conservation discourses from the last century have long ceased to respond to the contemporary needs of modern urban societies, in what Bandarin (2005) describes as “a paradox of today’s world” (Bandarin, 2005: 1). These classical urban conservation and planning schemes demonstrate their limitations of mastering contemporary urban processes that are dominated

by global market forces, and they fail to offer viable solutions. Contrary to these earlier approaches intending to avoid changes at all costs, the protection of urban heritage now embodies the management of change, rather than prevention, in close relationship with the local communities and their sustainable future in a more inclusive and holistic approach. A glance at the existing lexicon of urban heritage studies though reveals a gap in terminology to address the complexities of urban heritage sites located specifically in global cities. Historic urban landscapes situated within these key cities encounter a higher level of administrative, economic and social complexities, which further complicate their protection and effective management. Engagement with global actors, such as international multilateral agencies and private investors, in the decision-making processes, limitations of the existing legislative and administrative frameworks to meet the competing demands of all relevant parties, increasing development pressures that create a dilemma for local administrative bodies struggling to find a balance between global principles of urban conservation while securing adequate funding to ensure further development and better quality of life all add up to their management challenges.

While the recently adopted policy documents and supporting toolkits contribute greatly to the adoption of a more inclusive landscape approach and provide guidelines for its adaptation to national and local contexts, their holistic perspective sometimes fail to address the problems, challenges and needs specific to various scales due to the limited theoretical and practical understanding of this approach. Functioning as a general standard-setting tool, the HUL Recommendation and definition have contributed to the expansion of our understanding of all the complex elements and attributes associated with historic environments while taking into account their specific local contexts. However, the application of this approach and its supporting tools in historic cities of various sizes, scales, typologies and geographical distributions have so far been limitedly engaged with the diversity of challenges that are being faced on the ground. Intending to embrace all urban scales, they are particularly ill-prepared to address the complexities of management at the global urban scale.

In this respect, there has been a compelling need for a new conceptualisation that specifically refers to World Heritage Sites located within the key cities of the global urban network, which have been defined as *Global Heritage Cities*. Addressing particularly global World Heritage Cities, this term takes 26 global heritage cities, as of 2016, as its starting point which are further categorised based on the classifications employed for global cities and World Heritage Cities, as described in detail in Chapter 3.2.2.4. These cities include, in alphabetical order, Amsterdam, Athens, Barcelona, Beijing, Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Cairo, Caracas, Cologne, Delhi, Edinburgh, Helsinki, Istanbul, Kiev, Lima, Lisbon, Liverpool, London, Luxembourg, Melbourne, Mexico City, Moscow, New York, Paris, Prague, Rio de Janeiro, Rome, Seoul, Singapore, Stockholm, Sydney, Vienna, Warsaw,. While the morphologies of the heritage sites within these cities of varying positions within the global urban network also show variety, they unite in the complexities arising from their management systems. They are further explained in the next sections. As the scope of the concept is elaborated to include historic urban landscapes with similar global attributes and new sites are being inscribed each year, the category of global heritage cities is open to further additions.

This notion of global heritage cities heralds a new approach that positions urban conservation within the overall urban management process specific for global cities. In this way, the size, scope and complexities associated with global heritage cities are incorporated into the existing urban conservation and management frameworks. Hence, the recent documents and tools can be further elaborated with the adaptation of their recommended tools into the context of global urbanisation. The contributions of this new conceptual framework are further discussed in Chapter 8.4.

7.2.2 Management Complexities

The management complexities associated with global heritage cities lay beyond the intricacies of protecting the urban heritage. They reside in the accelerating pressures of physical and economic development abiding by globalising trends. They are linked to the challenge of advocating development for improving the living conditions for all the citizens, while being attuned to the essence of the historic space. While these complexities present an impetus for enhancing collaboration and communication among major stakeholders, as witnessed for the case projects, they can also yield to atrophy and inaction. Thus, their identification and analysis is critical for achieving the ultimate goal of devising an effective, holistic and conservation-oriented management structure for the heritage sites. The following chart (Fig. 49) derived from the complexity mappings formulated for each case study sums up the main concerns expressed for each heritage city, and their link to the studied case projects. It also depicts the pertinency of each issue of complexity to the cities and thus facilitates the assessment of their management systems and instruments.

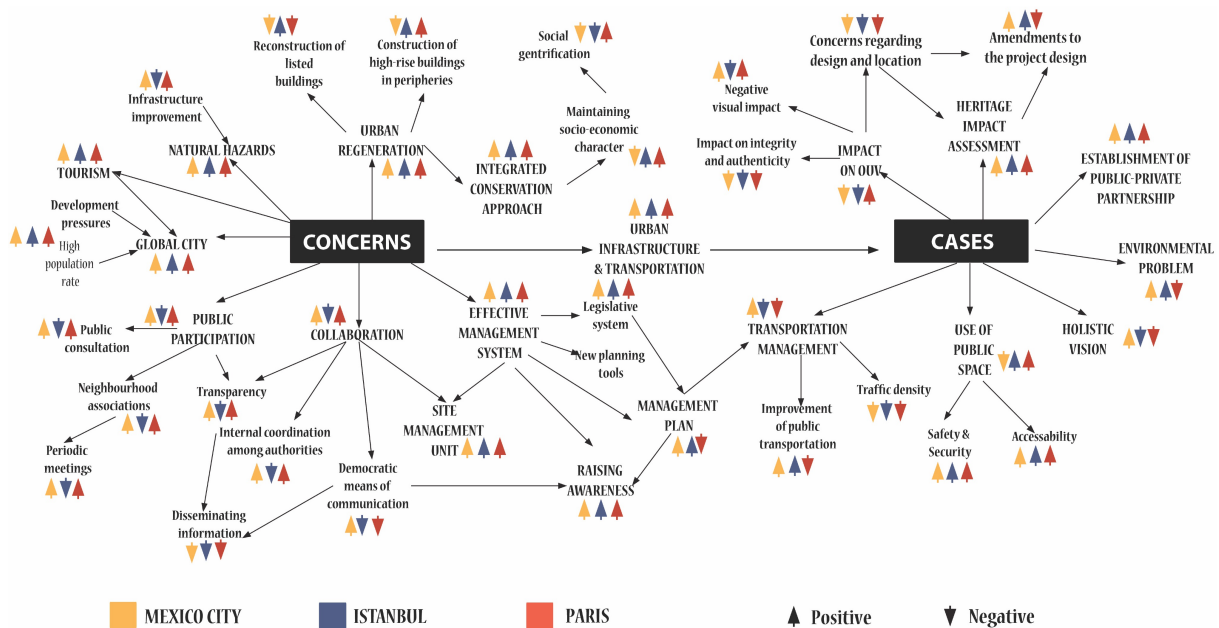


Fig. 49. Comparative complexity mapping of the case studies

The analysis of this comparative complexity map reveals the key concerns relevant to all the three case cities emanating from three conditions: the socio-political, economic and cultural attributes of being a global city, the operative structure of the governance and decision-making networks, and the implementation of some sort of an effective management system. These main concerns addressed as management complexities for each global heritage city are categorised under five themes including urban and economic development pressures, multi-layered historic stratification of these cities, their unique urban administrative statuses, plurality of stakeholders participating in the complex decision making mechanisms, and limitations of existing legislative and planning frameworks. The sub-themes/issues associated with these main challenges, their existence in each global heritage city and the sources of data and methodologies employed for their comparative analysis are depicted in the following chart (Table 6) summarising the management complexities. Referring to this chart, these main issues are described in more detail in the following sections:

Management Complexity	Issues related	Mexico City	Istanbul	Paris
Urban and economic development pressures	High population rate	Yes S: DE, SO	Yes S: DE, I, SO	Yes S: DE, SO
	Urban infrastructure/traansportation	Yes S: DE, I, SO	Yes S: DE, I, SO	Yes S: DE, I, SO
	Urban regeneration	Yes S: DE, I	Yes S: DE, I, SO	Yes S: DE, SO
	Tourism	Yes S: DE, SO	Yes S: DE, SO	Yes S: DE, SO
Multi-layered historic stratification	Adaptation to physical environment/natural hazards	Yes S: DE, I	Yes S: DE	Yes S: DE, SO
	Intangible layers/cultural representation	Limited S: DE	Limited S: DE, I	Yes S: DE, I
	Social gentrification	Yes S: DE, I	Yes S: DE, I	No S: DE
Unique urban administrative status	Urban governance model	Local level participation S: DE, I, SO	Strong local government S: DE, I, SO	Highly centralised S: DE, I
	Municipal fragmentation	Yes S: DE	Yes S: DE	Yes S: DE
	Collaboration among actors / transparency	Good S: DE, I, SO	Not Good S: DE, I, SO	Good S: DE, I, SO
	Public participation	Yes S: DE, I, SO	Limited S: DE, I, SO	Yes S: DE, I, SO
Plurality of stakeholders and decision-making mechanisms	Decision-making structures	Bottom-up S: DE, I, SO	Diamond shape S: DE, I, SO	Top-down with a strong local government S: DE, I
	Plurality of decision makers	Yes S: DE, I	Yes S: DE, I, SO	Yes S: DE, I
	Internal coordination among authorities	Limited S: I	Limited S: DE, I, SO	Good S: DE, I
Limitations of existing legislative and planning frameworks	Holistic approach in national legislation	No S: DE, I	No S: DE, I	Yes S: DE, I
	Statutory control for WHS	No S: DE	No S: DE, I	Yes S: DE, I
	Corruption	Yes S: DE	Yes S: DE, SO	Unknown

Table 6. Management complexities specific for global heritage cities (As for sources, DE: documentary evidence, I: interview, SO: site observation)

7.2.2.1 Urban and economic development pressures

The recent *Cities of Opportunity* analysis conducted by the Pricewaterhouse Coopers (2014) on the trajectory of global cities highlights that the cultural influence of cities need to be bolstered by economic power (PwhC, 2014). The built and urban heritage play an essential role in creating livelihoods within cities, in reviving local communities, as well as in establishing identity and sense of place. Hence, strategies that promote the built heritage as a positive asset contribute to urban dynamics while increasing the attractiveness and liveliness of global cities. The globalising urban trends thus stipulate the implementation of urban infrastructure,

transportation and urban regeneration projects in the historic cities in order to meet the contemporary needs of development and improvement. In reaction to the growing complexity of urban functions that the traditional city and urban management systems cannot support, there are responses stemming from such large-scale urban design projects involving construction of mega-structures. Today many cities promote large-scale projects to address the complexities of urban rehabilitation, which act as focal points of urban development strategies, and the instruments to reformulate development policies in relation to global market forces. These projects have also involved attempts to redefine the urban design parameters through focusing on the extended urban context, such as the territory and landscape.

Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris are classified among the top 30 cities that attract largest amounts of foreign investments in construction, trade, housing and other international financial services (PwhC, 2014). Parallel with the large size of the cities, their large population size generate challenges in regards to intensive use of natural resources, access to adequate infrastructure, sanitation, education and health facilities, socio-economic inequalities, along with environmental degradation. In response, these global cities stand to gain financial opportunity by smoothing the way for the implementation of major urban infrastructure and real-estate projects, and the upgrading of the existing public transportation systems. Relevantly, the case projects further studied in these cities are large-scale urban transportation and rehabilitation projects executed at the heart of the historic centres. Regarding the same report, Paris has the highest score in public transportation system that bears lower costs than the other two cities (PwhC, 2014). In relation to this fact, both of the cases analysed in these cities, the new Metrobus line in Mexico City and the Golden Horn Metro Crossing Bridge in Istanbul, are projects incorporated in the improvement of public transportation. As for the case study in Paris, the regeneration of the historic riverscapes stands out as a vital investment to secure allurements of the tourist-attraction site. Although the primary intention of this research had not been to select similar urban development projects as case studies, they emerged as primary concerns to be mitigated by the World Heritage Committee, which also involved participation of all the relevant stakeholders. This fact clearly affirms the prominence of urban infrastructure and transportation projects when advocating development in global heritage cities.

Correlated with the trends of urban development, the regeneration of historic neighbourhoods has been a common praxis in all the three cities for generating economic revenues through appropriation, reclamation and reuse of the existing building stock. These practices led to the emergence of antithetical reactions by diverse decision-makers: The local authorities highlighted the positive ramifications including the accelerating interest of buyers to the historic centre and the protection of historic properties, whereas the international conservation bodies and non-governmental associations indicated the impact on the authenticity and integrity of the spaces. This process of social gentrification and urban regeneration caused by the dynamics of redevelopment and change is perceived as the economic exploitation of heritage assets by several scholars (Pendlebury, Short and While, 2009). Named as the “touristification” of historic cities, this process results in the emergence of conflicts over space and ownership between different stakeholder groups such as the residents, local authorities and the developers (Evans, 2002). As shown in the comparative map, regeneration induced social gentrification emerges as an issue of concern in both Mexico City and Istanbul. This is mainly associated with the shifts in functionalities, land uses and the dominant socio-economic character residing at the heart of the cities. The lack of an integrated conservation approach prior to the development of management plans lead to the displacement of street vendors in the Historic Centre of Mexico City, and the forced eviction of Roma population in Istanbul, causing the loss of intangible heritage assets and the ‘spirit of place’ ascribed to the sites.

Urban revitalisation is usually paired with tourism development strategies in global cities to brand their historic city centres and sites, and to market them as tourism destinations. The rapid transformation of historic built environments into tourist attraction sites causes a shift in their characterisation as well, which might again result

in the depreciation of authenticity and integrity of the sites. While the rapid rise of tourism in global cities and its impact on urban heritage in general have been raised by numerous experts, surprisingly, it did not come out as an issue of concern in either of the cases (Salazar, 2005; Labadi and Long, 2010). According to 2013 data of Euromonitor International, Paris is ranked as the tenth most visited tourist destination in the world with over 10 million visitors in 2013, which was followed by Istanbul right after with 9 million visitors per year⁵⁷ (Bremner, 2014). Despite their designation as top destinations, none of the national nor local stakeholders mentioned the negative impact of high number of visitors on the attributes asserted to these historic urban landscapes. This might be associated with the longevity of their touristic performances and the effective visitor management strategies employed in each case city. The management plans adopted in Mexico City and Istanbul also promoted the execution of visitor management projects and endorsed such policies for the WHS.

7.2.2.2 Multi-layered historic stratification

Cities are created as a consequence of gradual layering processes where each layer, as a product of interactions among people and the environment, represents a period in the history of the city. These layers manifest the cultural expressions, economic and social structures, technological developments and advancements, along with the adaptations to the physical environments of each era. Sometimes the stratigraphy of cities may span thousands of years, like in Istanbul and Rome, embracing numerous civilisations, whereas it may last just a few decades in some cities, such as in Brasilia and Tel Aviv. The geological settings also play a vital role in formulating the ways that cities are constructed. The urban morphologies, building types and materials have adapted to the hydrological and ecological constraints over ages, which contribute to urban histories of cities. Built on a former lakebed, for instance, the grid patterned layout of the Historic Centre of Mexico City is compatible with the former canal morphology of the Aztec capital. Hence, the understanding of urban layering and morphologies is essential for the resilience of historic cities with respect to natural disasters and climate change.

Complementary to the physical stratigraphy, intangible layers make up the socio-cultural dimension of cities. Bandarin (2015) emphasises the importance of engaging local communities in the cultural mapping and documentation of the sites in order to incorporate the values, traditions and memories they attach to these urban spaces, as promoted by the landscape approach. The interpretation and cultural representation of this plethora of layers holistically has been another management challenge for the three case cities. The World Heritage Committee has been condemned by numerous scholars and practitioners to endorse a nation-state-based governance structure and to bolster homogenisation through cultural globalisation, thus contradicting the axiom of cultural diversity (Turtinen, 2000; Logan, 2012). Deeming the national governmental bodies to be the only authorised representatives of the State Parties, the national political agendas designate meanings and values attributed to the sites, which usually endorse internal conflicts between national and local actors. In regards to the concept of “common inheritance” introduced in the WH Convention, conflicts have arisen in the decision making concerning who makes the decisions regarding shared heritage. In certain cases where the opinions of the less represented community groups and grassroots are disenfranchised, the responsibility of guardianship and the right to decision making might become highly contested. The problematic protection issue of Istanbul Yedikule gardens, the 1,500-year-old urban gardens situated right next to the Land Walls inscribed on the WHL, has been such a case of conflict. While the Metropolitan Municipality recently claimed its right to appropriate the land for regeneration, the gardeners, along with historians, architects and archaeologists resisted, emphasising its cultural significance as an intangible asset and a historical place of cultivation. The national

⁵⁷ The terror attacks of last year caused visitor numbers to drop around 7% in Paris, and more than 30% in Istanbul (AFP, 2016; Tursab, 2016).

legislations and planning charters might also prioritise the protection and representation of a single historical layer over the others. The legal delimitation and designation of cultural heritage relying on a timeframe in Mexico, for instance, is criticised for giving priority to colonial period over the pre-Hispanic and consecutive periods in the Historic Centre of Mexico City (Escalante Carillo, 2013).

In conclusion, a sum of all the tangible and intangible layers attributed to global heritage cities contributes greatly to the understanding of their physical, cultural and natural contexts, while orienting the design attempts. Hence, adoption of a holistic management approach promoting participatory mechanisms to engage socially diverse local groups is essential to embrace the multilevelled cultural, natural and intangible heritage assets associated with the heritage sites.

7.2.2.3 Unique urban administrative status

Another essential result to be deduced from the case studies is related to the operation of urban governance structures, its association with decision-making mechanisms and the channels of popular participation. Urban governance is a complex network of agencies with highly varied lines of dependencies and interactions. In this regard, the urban governance systems adopted and the actors who execute them vary enormously from one global city another. These significant differences between urban performances of these cities are intrinsic to their governance models, which stem from their individual sociopolitical structures, legislative frameworks and cultural origins. Despite these regional differences, there are also certain compelling similarities in the challenges and complexities confronting urban managers of global heritage cities.

For these three global cities, diverse actors participating at different levels stand out as the most prominent decision-makers with higher degree of authorities and jurisdictions. In Paris, the politically and economically centralised national government exercises numerous direct responsibilities in the urban management. In addition to retaining major regulatory powers like licensing, zoning and land acquisition, the central government is also involved in the provision of services such as education, health-care and policing. Administered by a single municipality, Paris is thus governed by a sole regulatory authority. This model demonstrates that the ability of federal or local governments to designate their own technical policies and programmes is correlated with the balance of influence in central-local relations. This demonstration of how higher levels of governments participate in urban management partially disposes the widespread consensus that nation-states are in decline in the globalised world (Jessop, 1993; Taylor, 2004).

Despite the general emphasis in literature that strongly associates globalisation with political decentralisation (Taylor, 1996), globalisation stimulates national and/or provincial governments to take a leading role in the policymaking of global cities for political centralisation and to enhance global competitiveness. Savitch and Kantor (2003), furthermore, highlight the prominent role of central governments in providing regulatory frameworks and financial investments for regional development. Such centralised models are usually adapted to cities from developing countries with high urban population growth and lower incomes where allocative functions are mostly performed by higher-level governments which are better equipped to provide for the urban needs with their higher capacities. In some global cities, on the other hand, the inflexibility of central governments to the growing demands for direct responses to local needs, enhanced by regional democratisation movements, led to adjustments to empower and popularise local governments. In Istanbul, for instance, the overlapping functionalities and accelerating conflicts among diverse national, regional and local decision-makers, coupled with decentralisation measures, enforced more direct government at the metropolitan level with more independent power. As a result of recent processes of decentralisation and democratisation, the unique administrative status of Mexico City as the Federal District has also promoted local-level participation as a fundamental tool of its urban governance.

Another challenge that global heritage cities encounter is related to the issues of scale and municipal fragmentation. Uniting the whole urban and peri-urban areas of a city within a single jurisdiction was strongly emphasised in the 1960s and 70s (Davey, 1996). This resulted in the creation of numerous agencies in many large-scale cities responsible for planning and coordination at conurbation level. Even within the boundaries of a single city, governance structures and decentralisation mechanisms might be highly complex, which are further complicated by the growth of urban agglomerations (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000). Coordination of services and communication among stakeholders can be challenging in the complexity of numerous urban and suburban areas of different sizes and economic functions. Various strategies have been adopted in this respect to address the acute problems of territorial fragmentation. In Istanbul, for instance, the local governments carry a dual role undertaking separate duties delegated both by the central government and assigned by the elected bodies. The State appointed governor coordinate government agencies, the elected Mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality exercise regulatory duties at city level. A two-tier administrative system also operates in Istanbul where the city fragmented between 41 municipalities is encompassed by a metropolitan upper tier. Another type of multi-tier system is active in Mexico City where the metropolitan area is divided between the Federal District and multiple municipalities in the surrounding state, and the city is fragmented into numerous municipalities without an overarching metropolitan level.

Urban administrators of global heritage cities, in sum, encounter certain similar complexities in very different contexts. They include the management of urban growth, promotion of sustainable urban development, and ensuring a balanced, representative and just urban management model, while attracting investment in a highly competitive global environment. The power balance and levels of collaboration among actors of different governmental status have a significant impact on the effectiveness of their urban governance models. As derived from the multiple case study, unique urban administrative systems operate in each of the three global heritage cities which delegate major decision-making powers to different local administrative bodies in association with their governance structures. While there is no single best way of management, each global heritage city adopts different urban strategies and governance models that cope effectively with these challenges.

7.2.2.4 Plurality of stakeholders and complex decision-making mechanisms

In parallel with their multifaceted urban governance structures, this multiple case study analysis clearly indicates that highly complex decision-making mechanisms operate for the heritage sites within these cities. Johnson's hyper-network theory can be associated with these complex structures of decision making where each unique hyper system operates differently as a result of contextual factors and internal developments of its past (Johnson, 2006). The co-evolutionary and mutually interdependent behaviours of decision makers provide numerous potential responses to issues and concerns.

The following figure (**Fig. 50**) illustrates that distinct decision-making structures operate for each case where the key urban governmental agencies also function as the prominent decision-makers. Hence, a bottom-up approach has prevailed in Mexico City where the local actors exercise greater autonomy and carry higher administrative capacities to respond to local demands through engaging in direct dialogue with the local community. The decision-making structure for Istanbul depicts a diamond shape where the Metropolitan Municipality resides in the middle with higher degrees of authority and responsibility than the other parties. Being the only city among the three which is not a national capital, the national administrative bodies carry a secondary role in its management system. The low rates of engagement for civic groups and organisations place them at the lower tip of the diamond. Paris, on the other hand, exercises a top-down managerial practice with the dominance of national authorities that are entrusted with major administrative duties. The empowerment of governance at local level through delegation of new responsibilities and jurisdictions to the local authorities, however, has caused fragmentation of central power and authority.

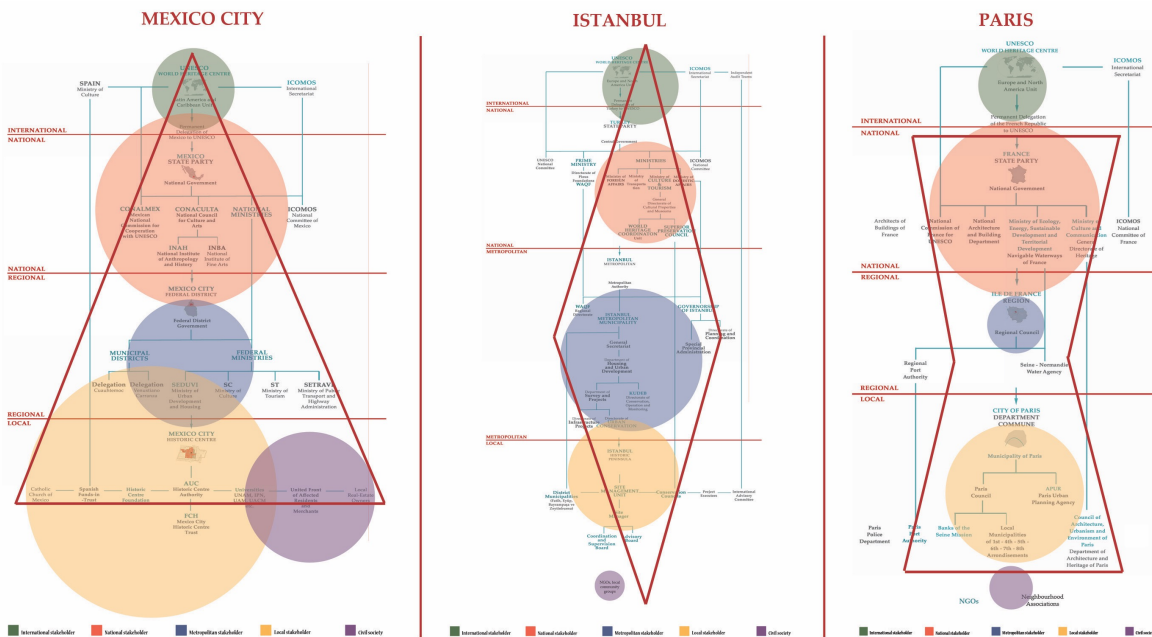


Fig. 50. Comparison of decision-making mechanisms for the case cities

Globalism has introduced a plethora of new players and interests into the fragile dynamics of heritage protection and management in global heritage cities. This plurality of decision makers include a broad range of international, national, regional and local stakeholders participating to the management process at different stages. The complexity science enables communication with all agencies that exercise planning, management, control and policy-making, and it makes it possible to connect issues, approaches and consequences entailed (De Roo, 2010). Given their degree of complexity, the decision making mechanisms in global cities are often multi-faceted and dependent on contextual pluralities. In such cities, global actors and business investors also express a particular interest in heritage sites where they are usually engaged in preservation actions through public-private partnerships. The involvement of Carlos Slim and his Foundation with the regeneration efforts concerning the Historic Centre of Mexico City demonstrates how cultural heritage sites have become attraction points for international investments in global heritage cities. Considering how a single urban development project, the Berges de Seine Project, had an impact on metropolitan elections and how it was affected by the national political affairs, the Paris case is also a remarkable example of global, national and local interests overlapping at global heritage sites.

Another result to be derived from the comparative complexity map is that temporal hiatus in means of communication and collaboration among various stakeholders at different stages of decision-making has been expressed as a concern in all the three cases at certain times. For the case of Istanbul, the lack of coordination and participatory means of communication had been one of the biggest problems jeopardising the state of conservation and inscription status of the WHS, while causing time and cost overruns. In Mexico City and Paris, on the other hand, sharing of information with all the interested parties had rather been an issue, which was resolved by strategies of raising awareness and regular meetings with diverse social groups. In response to the lack of effective coordination between diverse parties, the most effective tool of building cooperation and consensus for all the three cases was clearly the establishment of site management units. The complexity theory provides a collaborative rationality allowing processes of dialogue and consensus building among the diverse range of agents (Batty and Marshall, 2012). These multi-level constellations of networks generate a complex decision-making structure demanding communicative, participatory and collaborative behaviours. Mass

democratic participatory processes are not only preferable but necessary for the unification of non-divisive urban forms existing in global heritage cities.

7.2.2.5 Limitations of existing legislative and planning frameworks

The limitations of existing legislative and planning frameworks concerning the designation, protection and management of cultural heritage, and the WHS in particular, impose yet another management challenge for global heritage cities of universal significance. The national legislative systems in these three countries do not specify statutory controls specifically applicable to World Heritage Sites. Nevertheless, their protection at various levels depends on numerous provisions for listed buildings, conservation areas, buffer zones, and development control. Additional legislative support is provided in Turkey, for instance, with instructions on management planning for registered sites. In Paris, the long-lasting legislative and planning frameworks, supplemented with additional regulatory tools, ensure the protection of the Banks of the Seine WHS. Complemented with building height regulations and urban conservation policies, the French Sites Law encapsulates urban and natural landscapes in a single instrument that safeguards historic cities from over-development. The fragmentary nature of heritage protection policy in Turkey, on the other hand, fails to address historic cities and WHS as coherent entities. Thus, the Historic Areas of Istanbul WHS is under the protection of the national conservation legislation only. The periodic categorisation imposed by the Mexican legislation that groups historic sites and properties in accordance to their historic periods, on the other hand, prioritise the colonial heritage of Mexico City over the pre-Hispanic and consecutive periods. As a response, enactment of additional regulatory instruments is required to adapt a broader holistic approach in global heritage cities where the existing legislative and planning tools remain insufficient.

Akin to such limitations, the structural adjustments favouring rent seeking particularly in historic urban areas and centres with incentives of high profit for developers have usually allowed erosion in the processes of land development. It particularly has been evident in the case of Istanbul, as demonstrated in the project assignment and development phases of the Golden Horn Bridge project, major decisions are taken by the intuitive judgment of the local actors, acting under pressures of competing lobbies and interest groups. Decentralisation is faulted by several scholars for breeding local government corruption as a result of weakened channels of monitoring, controls and audits by central agencies (Dininio, 2009). They also highlight the significance of local accountability to combat corruption (Ivanyna and Shah, 2011). Accountability and transparency allow the monitoring of agents' behaviours. In parallel with efforts of increasing transparency and local community engagement in decision-making, rise in participatory budgeting, for instance, has been effective in the reduction of corruption (Bland, 2014). While such pressures also exist for the regeneration of the Historic Centre of Mexico City, the efforts of increasing transparency and community engagement in decision making seem to enhance the monitoring of the actions taken by public and private agents. A recent anti-corruption initiative by the Mayor of Mexico City to combat municipal corruption through digitalisation of city records, strengthening the ethics code for public officials, and a citizen hotline to report corruption has endorsed such efforts. Nevertheless, corruption comes out as a significant factor affecting the protective status of the heritage sites despite the empirical observance of commitment to public service in many of those interviewed during the field studies and limited mention of the corruption issue by governmental representatives.

7.2.3 Effective Management Tools and Strategies

For the effective management of WHS in global heritage cities, decision-makers need to concentrate on the emerging management challenges induced by global development processes, along with the increasingly complex nature of existing legislative, administrative and operative systems associated with the historic urban landscapes. In response, the existence of certain legislative acts, tools, and actors that strengthen collaboration

and democratic participation play a vital role in maintaining a holistic approach for the safeguarding of heritage sites. As demonstrated in the comparative complexity map, well-maintained paths for collaboration and public participation enhance better site management practices when supported by an integrated conservation approach. Hence, the extent to which these management systems are equipped to address the aforementioned complexities depend on the existence of certain tools and policies operating effectively at local level. The final results to be deduced from this comparative analysis are thus associated with the adoption of various management tools that better equip the national and local authorities to cope with the complexities and mitigate the adverse impacts.

In this context, this section introduces five effective management tools and strategies that have been successfully incorporated into the heritage management frameworks of these global heritage cities: management planning, establishment of site management units, public-private partnership models, community engagement and citizen participation, and heritage impact assessments. The means of employment of these management tools in the case cities and their association to the management complexities defined for global heritage cities as a response are explained in the following chart (Table 7). The data sources used for the assessment of each city are also depicted. The examination of these instruments in the following sections also make contributions of theoretical and practical relevance for further studies.

Management tools and strategies	Mexico City	Istanbul	Paris
Management planning	Site management plan S: DE, I	Site management plan S: DE, I, SO	Conservation-led planning and regulatory tools S: DE, I
Establishment of site management units	Yes (Historic Centre Authority) S: DE, I, SO	Yes (Istanbul Site Management Directorate) S: DE, I, SO	Yes (Banks of the Seine Mission) S: DE, I, SO
Public-private partnership models	Yes S: DE, I, SO	Yes S: DE, I	Yes S: DE
Community engagement and citizen participation	Yes Grassroots empowerment S: DE, I, SO	Limited S: DE, I, SO	Yes State sponsored participatory strategies S: DE, I
Heritage Impact Assessments	No S: DE	Yes S: DE, I	Yes S: DE, I

Table 7. Effective management tools and strategies employed in each global heritage city (As for sources, DE: documentary evidence, I: interview, SO: site observation)

7.2.3.1 Management planning

The submission of management plans was not considered a prerequisite for World Heritage Sites until the articulation of providing evidence and assurances in regards to the effective management of nominated and inscribed properties in the *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO WHC, 1997). In response to the global exhort from the Committee for the enforcement of some sort of effective management systems, comprehensive management plans were devised and approved for a high number of historic urban landscapes, including Mexico City and Istanbul even though they were inscribed on the List prior to this request. These management plans provide tools to designate the significance of the sites and determine the values attributed to them, to document and map their built heritage, to assess vulnerability of their attributes and their risk-preparedness, and to prioritise programmes of urban conservation and management (UNESCO WHC, 2013). They also serve as a basis for cooperation between national, regional and local stakeholders. Their operating schemes involve

participation of agents from the public and private sectors and the civil society, and enactment of institutional agreements between various governmental bodies.

In both cities, management plans are adopted as supplementary planning guidance, at the discretion of each local authority, and thus ensure its incorporation into the formal planning and development control processes. In this way, a framework for long-term participatory and proactive management through the establishment of governmental, non-governmental and local partnerships is formulated. In this regard, both of these integrated management plans are considered as appropriate tools to guide the daily decision-making process with regards to the holistic management of the World Heritage properties. However, limited financial and human resources, coupled with difficulties encountered during implementation phases, have complicated the management planning practice in Istanbul. The delays in embedding the strategies and actions plans into the budgetary processes of relevant authorities, and the deficiencies in the supervision and evaluation stages slowed down its progress. In order to mitigate such obstacles, the development of a monitoring system is suggested that is incorporated into the management plans, which provides capacity to inform the community about the results periodically (Galla, 2012). Drawn on the discipline of managerial studies, Badia (2012) further recommends the introduction of a set of indicators coherent with the mission of the plan, which sets a system of measurement, evaluation and performance reporting. Hence, it is essential to provide a system of monitoring, evaluation and feedback within management plans in order for them to be effectively implemented.

As for the case of Paris, on the other hand, the well-established management system embodying a number of conservation-led planning and regulatory tools does not compel the submission of a management plan for the heritage site. This shows that a management plan is not a direct liability to ensure effective management and development. The *Operational Guidelines* emphasises that existing management systems should demonstrate the operation of effective mechanisms that ensure the shared understanding of sites by all relevant parties and stakeholders and their active participation to the processes of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (UNESCO WHC, 2013). In the case of Paris, the direct acquaintances between the WHC and the national and local administrations demonstrate that a consensus has been built and collaboration has been enhanced among parties that allows the flow of necessary information and expertise. Hence, the commitment of nation-states to abide by the principles of the Convention and Operational Guidelines, along with the participatory engagement of local populations to the decisions concerning the heritage sites have been key for ensuring the operation of an appropriate management system.

7.2.3.2 Establishment of site management units

In response to the lack of effective coordination between decision makers, an essential management instrument adopted to cope with this challenge has been the establishment of local site management units for heritage sites that strengthen cooperation and coordination among responsible institutions, organisations and local community. *The Management Guidelines* developed by Feilden and Jokilehto (1993) have also recommended the assignment of a site manager and a multi-disciplinary site management team responsible for the safeguarding of the WHS and its sustainable development. The Historic Centre Authority in Mexico City, the Site Management Directorate in Istanbul and the Banks of the Seine Mission in Paris were assigned the task of managing and coordinating all activities that occur within the designated World Heritage areas. They play a mediator role with new bonds of reciprocity engaging all the relevant parties in dialogue about their shared objectives concerning the heritage site. The effectiveness of site management units for each site in fostering better communication and collaboration among all the concerned stakeholders is, in fact, acknowledged by the World Heritage Committee as it is clearly articulated in the decisions published after their establishment (WHC Decision 31COM7B.89, 2007; WHC Decision 35COM7B.127, 2011).

These units have superseded previous institutional hierarchies and established new lines of local-level governance. While state-run heritage management systems still operate in many countries which advocate responsibilities cascading from national governmental bodies down to local administrations, the establishment of local site management units has shifted this centralised approach towards a bottom-up structure. This is clearly manifested in the decision-making mapping of Paris where the participation rates of local actors are currently almost as high as the national bodies. According to the social network analysis conducted for Mexico City, moreover, the Historic Centre Authority comes out as the most prominent decision-maker who acts as a catalyst for maintaining a dialogue among stakeholders and is responsible for all the projects employed at the Historic Centre, in partnership with the other autonomous governmental agent, the Historic Centre Trust.

While the autonomy of these site management units is imperative for independent and objective decision making, the assignment of the Istanbul Site Management Directorate directly by the Metropolitan Municipality and the Banks of the Seine Mission by the Paris Council might belie the accountability of these local authorities. Logan (2012) relates this to the fact that the World Heritage system actually empowers the national governmental bodies as the primary caretakers of the properties responsible to comply with the high standards of protection and management. Coherent with their urban governance paradigms, public organisations are often assigned a steering role on such network systems involving public and private actors. Badia (2012) calls this type of decision-making as meta-management, which formulates the appointment of institutions responsible for site management by public governance (Badia, 2012).

7.2.3.3 Public-private partnership models

Although the protection of cultural heritage is not a primary target of public funding in many countries, certain subsidies and other means of financial assistance, such as loans and fiscal relief, are provided by state budgets as support mechanisms (Pickard, 2000). In France, for instance, municipalities and other governmental bodies may provide grant aid for the restoration of classified properties, and tax incentives are available for property owners within *secteurs sauvegardés*. In Mexico, numerous governmental agencies including the National Bank, Banamex, support architectural heritage projects through funding by their non-profit agencies. Private and charitable trusts have also been imperative financial resources for regeneration projects, such as the Historic Centre Foundation in Mexico City. The provision of income tax discounts by the state has also been effective for motivating the private sector to invest in heritage related projects. A fiscal exemption clause has been adopted recently in Turkey that offers tax recovery on expenditure incurred at conservation-led projects. This led to a rise in private investments for historic conservation projects. A different funding strategy is also active in the country that raises finance for built heritage through monument annuities where the use of monuments by private companies and institutions is liable to rent and tax (Aygen, 2013). The undermining of heritage conservation in the national structural budget plans is regarded as an acute problem, however, causing an even further shortage of finance for cultural heritage.

In all three cities, the case projects – along with the majority of other mega projects – stipulated the establishment of public-private partnerships where the national and local authorities are involved as proprietors or project managers, and the private actors are responsible for project development and execution. The global expansion of stock and currency markets, supported by the enactment of specific legislative instruments to facilitate property ownership and funding, formed common ground to facilitate the involvement of the private sector (Licciardi, 2012). In Mexico City, innovative mechanisms for the rehabilitation of the urban centre were developed through financial incentives and agreements with international institutions that kindled an interest among private partners, including global corporations and commercial actors, in cultural heritage projects when paired with a favourable legislation supporting the use of tax deduction. A similar project development scheme was executed for the Golden Horn Bridge in Istanbul that integrated private companies to the decision-making

systems as project developers. For the Berges de Seine project in Paris, though, the private actors solely participated at the operation and execution phases. In sum, these dual project development and execution schemes formulated as public-private partnerships are also a ramification of the global urbanisation praxis.

7.2.3.4 Community engagement and citizen participation

As Bandarin (2015) emphasises, centralised planning attempts to mould historic cities based on pre-set ideal schemes have failed. Planning institutions and authorities in global cities do not have sufficient resources to act alone. In response, the current landscape approach requires the involvement of private and public interest groups operating within the historic city (Van Oers, 2012). In order to mobilise the means of communication and resources, community groups should be involved both in the planning and implementation phases of the necessary policies and initiatives. In fact, a brief glance at the history of community participation in heritage management reveals the role of community in supporting the formulation of the conservation legislation in numerous countries, such as France (Aygen, 2013). In relation, participation is placed under scrutiny and considered as a fundamental aspect of ‘good governance’ by international organisations such as UN and the World Bank, in terms of decentralisation, democratic means of participation, and active citizenship (UNESCAP, 2009).

Despite the similar rationales behind public involvement, the ‘cultures of engagement’ are distinct for each region and culture though, in regards to different modes of interactions and administration. Hence, three different means of community engagement are practiced in the case cities: Parallel to the current urban management system and the democratic means of communication and representation, improved dialogue with stakeholder groups enabled better participation of local communities in Mexico City. This process bolstered grassroots empowerment with the engagement of public, private and voluntary sectors. In a different manner, state-sponsored participatory strategies of management are endorsed in Paris by the national legislation in order to respond to urban problems. For both of these cities, the formal representative institutions of local governments are duplicated by other forms of community organisation operating at neighbourhood or city-wide levels. In Paris, the neighbourhood organisations operate as part of the formal system of local administration, which play essential roles in communication with city government, social control and public consultations. The local associations and social organisation in Mexico City, on the other hand, are assemblages at grassroots level that are not directly controlled by the federal government. Engaging such bodies in the participatory decision-making process offers a veneer of legitimacy and accountability to the extent of political liberty and pluralism in society.

Contrary to these mechanisms of direct communication and participation, community involvement in the decision-making process is minimal in Istanbul. The decisions regarding the safeguarding and management of the heritage site are taken by a multitude of interrelated bodies without wider consultation. Thus, the lack of public participation to the management process in Istanbul points out the deficiencies of democratic transparency and legitimacy in the existing system. Aygen (2013) highlights the fact that community participation projects involving local community groups are no longer visible in global cities where there is no legislative support in favour. She associates it with the dominance of global developers and contractors in the decision-making, which suppresses the voices of local resistance. A particular example of this circumstance has been the case of the Sulukule district that lies at the historical centre of Istanbul, which has been considered as one of the oldest existing Roma settlements in the world. The Roma population had inhabited this district for hundreds of years, making a living out of their unique musical performances, entertainment houses and ironworking, which comprised the intangible values attributed to the site. However, the designation of the site as an urban renewal area in recent years led to implementation of renewal projects causing the replacement of vernacular urban fabric with new buildings, the relocation of the community and the loss of local identity. Consequently, these diverse cultures of community engagement and different degrees of democracy imply the impact of different traditions,

involving corporatism, participation and representation, on the comprehension and praxis of participation and decision-making.

7.2.3.5 Heritage Impact Assessments

Under the development pressures maximised for global heritage cities, tools that identify and mitigate their impacts are essential. In this regard, another common tool applied by the local authorities of all the three case cities is Heritage Impact Assessments that are confined to the impacts of proposals for change on tangible and intangible values attributed to the sites. Van Oers and Roders (2012b) emphasises the role of HIAs in consolidating the fields of heritage management and sustainable development. Fairclough (2006) supports this argument by highlighting the necessity to assess and mitigate the impact of new development on historic environments as a basic principle of sustainability.

For the Istanbul and Paris case projects, HIAs were committed or undertaken by statutory authorities in order to assess potential damages or benefits that may be accrued by their execution. Abiding by the *Guidelines on HIA*, the assessments were conducted prior to the approval and implementation of the urban infrastructure projects in Paris (ICOMOS, 2010). For the Golden Horn Bridge, on the contrary, the HIAs were committed to independent audit teams after the completion of the project development stage when a majority of the construction materials were already manufactured. Hence, only minor amendments could be made to the bridge design, which inevitably lead to adverse visual impact on the skyline of the historic centre. In this regard, it demonstrates that HIAs are effective instruments to mitigate potential negative impacts produced by urban development projects or policies if undertaken and disseminated on time. Thus, it allows the design to evolve in an iterative process with enough flexibility to improve design solutions.

7.3 Conclusion

The analysis of this multiple case study provides a framework which helps to identify the complexities need to be fully addressed for the sustainable management and development of global heritage cities, which constantly operate under pressures of global urbanisation. This framework facilitates the structuring of a holistic approach strengthened by various administrative and management structures, policies and instruments adopted by different cultures and practices of participation and decision-making. For the effective management of WHS in global heritage cities, hence, decision-makers need to concentrate on the emerging challenges as a result of global development processes, the increasing complex nature of existing legislative, administrative and operative systems concerning the historic urban landscapes, address the individual main issues of concerns, allocate the critically limited resources to cope with them and link them firmly to action.

In this regard, the findings of the research illuminate a broad range of management challenges emanating from the multiple case analysis, followed by a number of effective solutions generated to cope with the daunting task of managing global heritage cities. Although some of the issues that have emerged from the research clearly relate to determinants set out in the initial conceptual framework, some unexpected results are also derived from the case assessments, which have contributed to the development of the conceptual framework specific for global heritage cities. In fact, the comparison of the first draft preliminary chart depicting the management complexities as deduced from the literature review early on the data collection process (**Fig. 51**) with the final draft of the chart presenting the challenges derived from the multiple case study (**Fig. 52**) clearly manifest how complex the management processes actually are for global heritage cities. The initial chart defines four main issues associated with the aspirations to be a key player in the global urban network, limitations of the existing legislative and decision-making instruments, the often contradictory priorities and actions of various actors concerned with the safeguarding of the WHS, along with the operation of the existing management instruments.

The elaborated chart, on the other hand, depicts a wide array of issues of concern and complexities in relation to the management challenges emerged for each case city and project, as depicted in Table 6 and explained in detail in section 7.2.2.

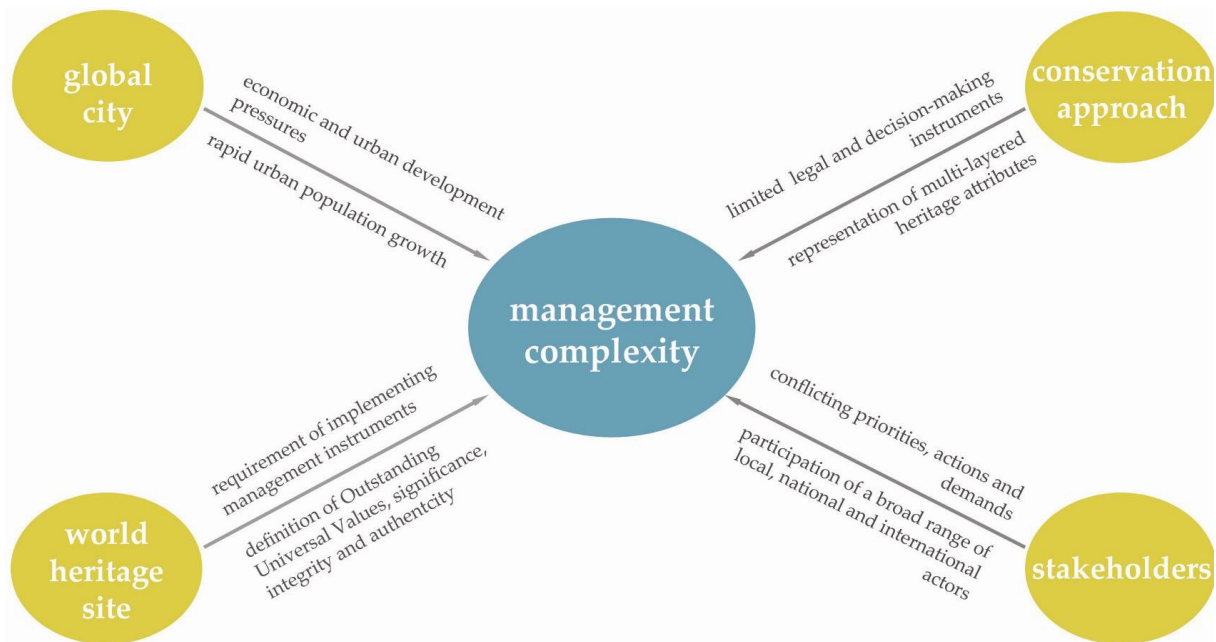


Fig. 51. The preliminary chart depicting management complexities for global heritage cities

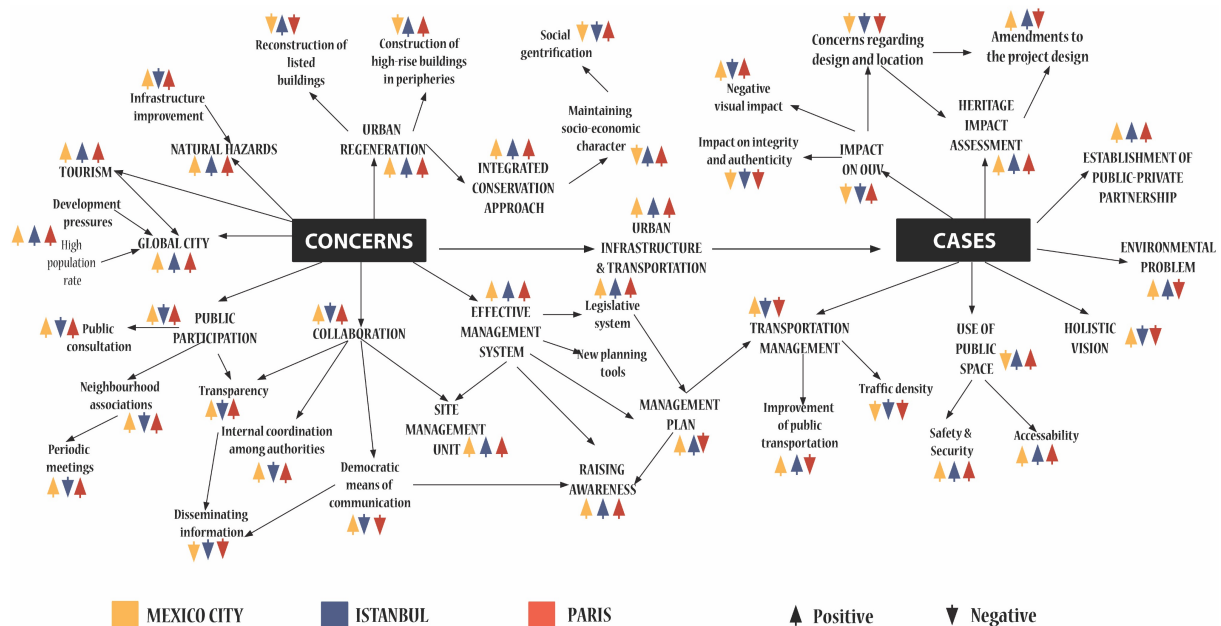


Fig. 52. Comparative complexity mapping of the case studies

The extent to which these management systems are equipped to address the aforementioned complexities depend on the existence of certain tools and policies operating effectively at local level. Referring to Table 7, it is deduced that similar management strategies and instruments have been implemented in each global heritage city studied but the processes and means of adapting them to their local contexts, along with the tools that they employ vary. While some instruments that embrace historic cities holistically, such as site management planning, come out from this study as a common policy and practice tool contributing to the effective management of these cities, their success generally relies on a number of factors including their traditional backgrounds, cultural contexts, socio-economic systems, administrative structures, institutional capacities, and performances of

participatory mechanisms specific for each case. One management tool promoted by multinational conservation agencies or national legislations does not have to be imperative for each city, as it has been for the case of Paris WHS that lacks a management plan. In a similar context, the community engagement strategy endorsed highly in the HUL Recommendation Action Plan for the implementation of a holistic management approach in historic urban landscapes have been employed in each of the case city but their means of engagement and adaptation showed variety in practice. While grassroots initiatives and community members have been engaged and empowered in the case of Mexico City, state sponsored participatory strategies, such as neighbourhood councils, have been implemented in Paris.

In sum, this research clearly shows that most of the effective management tools and strategies derived from these cases are far from being a globally applicable constellation of best practices, but are, in reality, a set of simultaneous but effective responses adopted to reconcile emerging concerns. Thus, they do not formulate a certain set of guidelines applicable for every historic urban landscape of similar size and scope, but rather present specific adaptations of certain policy and practice tools to the unique contexts of each case.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

Drawn from the key findings discussed in the previous chapter, this final chapter concludes this study with conceptual and practical recommendations for urban heritage management. It revisits the research aim and objectives, and determines the degree to which they have been addressed. It then summarises the key issues and findings, and explains the original contributions of theoretical, methodological and practical relevance that this research makes to knowledge. Later it goes over the methodology conducted, reflects on the research process, and explains the limitations of the study. It is followed by the examination of areas for further research and practice, and is concluded with final remarks.

8.2 Revisiting the Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study was to understand and explain the complexity of managing cultural heritage in global heritage cities, to assess their existing management and decision-making mechanisms, and to identify effective strategies and instruments for future coping with these challenges. This aim was carried out by working towards the eight objectives outlined in Chapter 1. The degree to which these objectives were satisfied are addressed in this section.

8.2.1 Development of a conceptual framework

An initial conceptual framework concerned with the management complexities of global heritage cities was developed through an examination of key literature on global urbanisation, urban governance, complex systems, World Heritage listing, urban heritage and their management. This initial framework, as illustrated in Fig. 51, pointed out four main factors contributing to the challenges of managing WHS within the global cities. This scheme was then tested and elaborated based on the findings derived from the fieldwork and interviews conducted at each case city, and the assessment of these multiple case cities and projects. The iterative process of data gathering and analysis contributed to the identification of pressures, tendencies and complexities attributed specifically to these sites, and yielded to development of a final conceptual framework, as presented in Chapter 7. This comprehensive framework addresses the gap in literature concerning the management of historical urban landscapes of global economic significance, defines global heritage cities, and designates a new category for their assessment, as explicitly described in Chapter 2.3.2 and later in Chapter 8.4. In this way, the objective of developing a conceptual framework specific to global heritage cities is met satisfactorily throughout the study.

8.2.2. Design of a research methodology

In accordance with the comprehensive conceptual framework defined for global heritage cities, a unique research methodology is designed and employed in this research in order to meet the subsequent objectives determined to assess the findings derived from the multiple case study analysis. Keeping in mind the complex nature of the existing management and decision-making systems operating in these heritage cities, the traditional methodological approaches used to evaluate cultural heritage management approaches have failed to encompass and depict these complex structures. Exploring a range of research methodologies, hence, an individual methodology is designed for this study that applies cognitive mapping techniques drawn from the field of managerial and organisational cognition to the heritage management research. As explained in detail in Chapters 3 and 8.4.2, this unique methodology has been instrumental to the comprehensive assessment of the cases, and to holistically portray and consider all the relevant processes, issues and remedies.

8.2.3. Multiple case study assessment

The rest of the objectives listed in Chapter 1 focus on the assessment of the multiple-case study conducted. For the achievement of the research aim, the following steps were determined: The examination of the WHS and analysis of their state of conservation based on the issues of concerns raised, the assessment of their existing urban governance, legislative and planning frameworks, the mapping out of the decision-making mechanism and processes, and the identification of their effective management instruments and practices.

The application of the specifically designed research methods, investigation of the management practices in the selected cities, and the evaluation of the findings from the case studies contributed to the achievement of the preset objectives to a great extent. In this respect, the existing urban governance structures, along with their conservation legislation and planning frameworks of each case city is examined to derive findings that would complement to the assessment of heritage sites. Then focusing on the case projects, the issues of concerns raised by various stakeholders and those derived from the data sources are analysed. These findings are later inserted to the comprehensive complexity maps elaborated for each city. This step is followed by the identification of all the stakeholders who are involved with the heritage sites, and assessment of their participation levels to the decision-making mechanisms through the application of social network analysis and cognitive mapping techniques. Finally, the effectiveness of the actions taken by the key decision makers are evaluated through the conduct of progress analysis.

In sum, the overall research aim and objectives were successfully met. They contributed to the further elaboration of the initial conceptual framework, examination of the management complexities specific for global heritage cities, in general, and the identification of effective management tools and policies drawn from the assessment of management practices in case cities. These key findings are summarised in the next section, Chapter 8.3, and the original contributions of this research are explicitly indicated in Chapter 8.4.

8.3 Summary of Findings

In this rapidly globalising world that is market-driven, the binary approach of managing change in historic urban landscapes while promoting their sustainable development and transmission to future generations has been a daunting task. The management challenges are especially intensified for global heritage cities where the international competition to attract investments and tourists, along with internal tensions are most profound. The designation of their built heritage as WHS of universal significance residing on their multi-layered urban configuration contribute to their global city images. Their articulation as a global city, however, also has a catalytic effect on urban and economic development pressures, and the rise in financial investments are not always sympathetic with the historic urban setting. Furthermore, the limitations of the existing administrative, legislative and planning structures, inefficient policies and management tools, and the participation of a broad range of stakeholders in the decision-making processes bring to the fore complexities for the management of the global heritage cities.

In the contemporary globalisation era, the traditional planning and heritage discourses fail to provide a convincing framework for values and roles attributed to historic cities by modern societies, while addressing to the interests of global actors, along with governmental bodies, citizens and users. The theoretical contributions have thus far mostly focused on general definitions and toolkits imposing a one-size-fits-all approach intending to embrace all urban scales. Moreover, the case studies, which are limited in scope, scale and geographical distribution, clearly demonstrated that practices vary considerably based on the size and geo-cultural distribution of the sites. Hence, there is a compelling need to define a particular term and methodological approach that position urban conservation within the overall urban management process specific for global cities. In response

to this gap in literature, a new conceptual framework has been developed in this study that specifically addresses the conservation and management challenges of heritage sites located within the key cities of the contemporary global urban network. In this context, the new concept of *global heritage cities* is defined and designated based on the classification criteria described thoroughly in Chapter 2.3.2.4.

Relying on this conceptual framework, conducting a multiple case study of heritage management processes as they unfold in complex World Heritage Sites within global heritage cities provides the opportunity to identify the management complexities for global heritage cities, and to assess the effectiveness of the specific strategies and instruments they adopt as a response to these challenges. One result to be derived is that the multifaceted and fragmentary nature of the urban administration and governance structures are directly manifested in the decision-making mechanisms for the heritage sites. The establishment and enhancement of dialogue-structured activities and participatory mechanisms that embrace all the relevant stakeholders are proven to be imperative for effective management, as supported by this multiple case assessment (Galla, 2012; Thorkildsen, 2013). Entities, such as local site management units play a mediator role here with new bonds of reciprocity engaging all parties in dialogue. Their effectiveness resides in their ability to foster better communication and collaboration among all the concerned stakeholders, including the local community groups. In global cities where global actors and business investors express an interest in heritage sites, their engagement in preservation actions through public-private partnerships have been regarded as a mean of creating financial revenues for their promotion. Thus, the implementation of a participatory and communicative approach is fundamental for the creation of a new common ground for dialogue and joint action engaging various interested parties involved at different stages.

The findings of this study also evince that the employment of adequate policies and management instruments that embody the breadth of the heritage challenge of the cities as a whole is also essential. The cultural and natural heritage properties have to be integrated into planning policies that recognise them as parts of a whole entity rather than detached fragments. Hence, the employment of policy and practice tools that embrace the heritage cities holistically, such as site management plans and heritage impact assessments, is crucial for the effective management of historic cities. These tools are important in assessing the vulnerability of sites and guiding the daily decision-making process with regards to the management of the World Heritage properties.

In sum, the examination of both effective and ineffective strategies, policies and instruments employed in these three cases actually underpin the distinctiveness of each global heritage city. Being the first study to address the management practices of global heritage cities, this research integrates the global urbanisation studies with the heritage management discourse. Subsequent to the detailed findings of this research as discussed in Chapter 7 and summarised here, the contributions of this study to knowledge are explained thoroughly in the following section.

8.4 Contribution to Knowledge

This study addresses the gaps in knowledge in regards to the context of global heritage cities. Regarding the key findings deduced from this research, as summarised above, it makes a number of original contributions, both empirically and theoretically. In this respect, this section examines these contributions based on their theoretical, methodological and practical relevances.

8.4.1 Contributions of theoretical relevance

At a time in which cultural heritage has become a driver for urban sustainability, this study intends to fill the gap in literature with a new conceptual framework defining global heritage cities. This terminology is derived from the examination of the existing theoretical framework, identifying its areas of weakness, and elaboration of this conceptual framework with findings and results emerging from the assessments of case studies.

In this regard, initially, this study has critically reviewed the global urbanisation discourse, the literature on urban governance models and studies on complex systems in order to derive findings that contribute to the understanding of the complexity of global cities. The progressive decentralisation of urban administration and decision-making processes, coupled with complicated and unpredictable development trends, and the inevitable domination of the global market processes in the economic and social scenes all complement to the complexities associated with global cities. These findings are then incorporated into the theoretical framework concerning urban heritage and its management. The examination of urban heritage discourses has highlighted a void in literature that particularly addresses the conservation and management challenges of historic urban sites located within the key cities of the contemporary global urban network. Referring them as *Global Heritage Cities*, this new terminology also brings in a new categorisation and perspective for World Heritage Cities of global economic significance. This definition and its contextual framework is described in detail in Chapters 2.3.2.4 and 7.2.1.

Although the significant efforts of the historic urban landscape approach to embody all types of historic areas within their broader urban contexts are noteworthy, its potentials have so far been tested in a limited number of candidate cities of various scales. Hence, the theoretical framework necessitates the examination of innovative approaches adopted by the best practices that successfully integrate heritage management into the processes of sustainable development. This new notion thus steps with a new conceptual framework that brings to fore the size, scope and complexities of global heritage cities. It further encourages the investigation of specific tools and policies, and the study of best practices of managing global heritage cities in various parts of the world, as being accomplished in this research. The multiple case assessment conducted as part of this study contributed to the identification of their management complexities, and detection of effective tools and strategies employed at specific case cities and projects, and through the investigation of their international, national and local contexts.

In sum, the study has contributed to knowledge by developing a conceptual framework relevant to urban heritage management in key cities of the global urban network, which has been practically tested, and can be used by other researchers. The research has also contributed to knowledge through the development of methods to investigate and illustrate the complex management and decision-making mechanisms operating at such cities. Its further contributions to research methodology concerned with the assessment of urban heritage management models, and to the management practices associated with the adaptation of the HUL approach and tools to local contexts are described in the next sections.

8.4.2 Contributions of methodological relevance

For the assessment of the findings derived from the multiple case study analysis, a mixed research methodology was designed and employed particularly in this research. Exploring a range of methodological approaches, it is the first study to apply cognitive mapping techniques drawn from the field of managerial and organisational cognition to the heritage management research. In cases where traditional management approaches fail to encompass the complex nature of heritage cities and sites, this methodology portrays a more holistic image of all the relevant processes, issues and remedies.

The cognitive mapping methodology is initially employed to map the management complexity for each heritage city. The complexity maps derived from the content analysis of interviews and reports and their causal mapping depict all the issues of concerns raised by the broad range of decision-makers and their association with the case projects. Secondly, all the actions taken by different actors at various stages in regards to the development and implementation of the case projects are identified and fixed on a timeline based on progress analysis. This type of decision modelling also demonstrates the interactions between various parties spanned over time. Thirdly, the methodology for the assessment of decision-making mechanisms is drawn from the social network analysis. At

this stage, all the stakeholders participating in each case are identified, their significant roles and positions in the management structures are mapped out. Building upon the social network analysis, the level of connectedness and participation rates of each stakeholder are then measured to determine the central actors and patterns of decision-making for each global heritage city.

By deploying methodologies drawn from cognitive mapping and social network analysis, this methodology designed for the assessment of global heritage cities provide a better understanding of all the parameters constituting the complex decision-making protocols. It is essential to analyse the complex configuration of processes within each case and understand the local dynamics in order to show the patterns of activities that transcend particular cases. In this context, it is important to note that the data analysis methodologies employed for this multiple case study are mainly case specific. The actor centrality measures and participation frequencies employed for decision making analysis, for instance, rely on the involvement rate of stakeholders in the case projects, and are open to variations depending on the projects examined. The complexity maps and decision-making maps derived from individual case results, on the other hand, are transferrable to the broader contexts of global heritage cities. These separate research endeavours adopted specifically for this multiple case study have been successful in depicting the layers of complexity associated with global heritage cities.

8.4.3 Contributions of practical relevance

The international charters and doctrinal documents until the HUL Recommendation barely address the practice of urban heritage management, and do not provide direct guidelines for practitioners. The HUL Recommendation has elaborated the urban conservation principles into broader management strategies. Following its adoption, its potentials have been tested in a limited number of cities of various sizes by international scholars and practitioners, which are not all inscribed on the WHL (Van Oers and Pereira Roders, 2013; UNESCO, 2013; Bennink *et al.*, 2013; Bruin *et al.*, 2013; De Rosa and Di Palma, 2013; Xu, 2014; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2015). These publications and case studies have encouraged a critical process of sharing and promoting policies, tools and practices successful at fostering the implementation of the HUL approach to the national and local contexts.

These limited number of cases are drawn from a broad geographic base, consider a broad range of heritage typologies and notably address issues through the lenses of varying disciplinary perspectives. At this point, it is important to highlight that these practices vary tremendously in different parts of the world though, as well as within the same geo-cultural divisions. In this broad perspective, it is essential to address issues, capacities, tendencies and complexities emerging specifically for global heritage cities. By bringing together a selection of case studies representing global heritage cities, this research is a timely and fundamental addition to a growing number of studies that examine urban heritage management practices.

While the HUL Recommendation and supporting policy documents and tools are formally produced and tested, many examples exist of methodologies that enable the implementation of effective policies and instruments by urban managers. Being the first study to address the management practices of global heritage cities, it makes an essential contribution of practical relevance that address the issues of complexity and attempts to integrate urban processes in ways that will allow management planning and public participation in creation of alternative management systems. It is also important to note that it is the first study that examines and comparatively analyse the management and decision making structures of Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris WHS. The assessment of these cases demonstrates the management complexities specific for historic urban landscapes of global significance, and introduces the normative management strategies and tools adopted to cope with these challenges in accordance with the broader landscape approach.

8.5 Reflections on Research Design and Conduct

Reflecting upon the research design and conduct, a number of issues have come up that demonstrates the successes, challenges and limitations of the adopted methodology. Associated with the grounded theory, an iterative process of data gathering and assessment was followed that enabled amendments to be made to the research design and methods applied based on the outcomes of initial fieldworks and preliminary assessments. It also contributed to the reformulation of the conceptual framework in accordance with the findings gathered from the comparative conceptualisation of data.

The first set of challenges arises from the criteria employed for the selection of case cities and projects. The application of the site selection criteria resulted in a good cross section of cases, which portrayed the complexities intrinsic to global heritage cities with different types of management and ownership systems, and employed various management tools that have been successful in meeting the challenges emerged. This variety led to issues being revealed which may not have emerged so clearly if the three sites had been more similar. Keeping in mind that these criteria were determined prior to development of the conceptual framework specific for global heritage cities though, they were identified based on their ability to introduce a level of complexity complicating further the management of WHS. Among the four selection criteria, the research findings reveal that the population sizes of cities do not impose a major challenge that has a significant impact on the heritage management processes. Hence, the designation of case cities as megacities with population sizes over ten million does not come out as a priority for case selection. Another limitation of case city selection has been in regards to the timing of the employment of selection criteria. Rio de Janeiro was not considered as a candidate case city even though it is qualified for almost all the criteria determined, due to the fact that it was inscribed on the WHL in 2012, after the selection of case studies and conduct of initial fieldwork.

As for the selection of case projects within the case cities, the scope of the study is narrowed down to focus on specific large-scale development projects emerging in those sites that manifest the operation of the existing decision making mechanisms and tools adopted to cope with management challenges. A limitation of the study was that in order to investigate the case cities in depth, the number selected had to be restricted to one project from each city. These projects had generally been useful in manifesting the participation of different stakeholders in the decision-making mechanisms and demonstrating the variety of actions taken by them. Examining more cases would have allowed more comparison and more understanding of which factors were context specific and which were generic. Another limitation had been that the projects selected in Istanbul and Paris were at the execution phase and were not fully completed when the fieldwork and interviews were conducted. While a second fieldwork was undertaken at a later stage in Paris, it would have been effective to visit both sites following completion of the projects to collect more data. In all three cases, reports and mass media outputs expressing the reflections of decision-makers and users were available, and functioned as a sufficient proxy.

Another set of challenges emerged from the processes of data collection and analysis. One of the biggest challenges of this phase had been the establishment of contacts and recruitment of interviewees from major decision makers. Since most of the potential subjects are senior representatives and administrators, it had been difficult to access them through online means of communication. Hence, there were limited number of participants to the study even though a higher number of decision makers were contacted. Official reports, publications and mass media outputs again contributed to the data gathering process at this point, which enabled the expression of different points of views from stakeholders. Another important factor to indicate here is that the initial correspondences and interviews were undertaken in the native languages of the officials. Elimination of the language barrier thus facilitated access to documents and officials, and attenuated the communication gap in between. Although this facilitated the communication with the interviewees, the transcription and translation of each interview to English lengthened the analysis process.

The case study research design, supplemented by site observations and interviews conducted with major decision makers, enabled both depth and breadth in the analysis of the management systems, and yielded valuable insights into the way in which decisions are made. The complexity mapping and social network analysis employing cognitive mapping techniques were not originally a part of the research design, but emerged from the necessity to depict the complexity of operating mechanisms. Identifying the most appropriate network building tool was complex. The preliminary analysis included the mapping of decision-making mechanisms and a timeline analysis of the case projects. Even though these tools indicated that the process was complex, they did not facilitate detailed analysis of the complexity of the processes and the relationships between their individual dimensions. Having considered a number of alternatives, cognitive mapping was considered to be a suitable tool. Whilst its development and analysis took considerable additional time, it proved to be useful in mapping contextual network systems.

8.6 Recommendations for Further Work

A gap in knowledge exists that incorporates the global urbanisation discourse into the field of urban heritage management, as has proved evident throughout this research. This study has made a significant contribution to this gap, in conceptual, methodological and practical means, however much more work is needed. In this regard, this section addresses to other opportunities for further work. The potential areas of study are numerous, but some ways in which this study could be extended are identified below.

There is scope to carry out similar assessments of decision-making and heritage management at further case cities, particularly those with different types of management structure and different heritage types. As it was indicated as a limitation of this study, the case of Rio de Janeiro meets the criteria preset for case studies. Hence, its assessment would complement the research with an addition of case city. The conceptual framework which has been developed through this research could also be tested at additional sites within the designated global heritage cities in order to further reveal both generic and context specific variables. This would enable the examination of its adaptation of varying local contexts, highlight how this could be enhanced, and to investigate the wider applicability of the conceptual framework. However, it is important to keep in mind that each World Heritage Site and global heritage city is, by their nature, unique with their individual complexities and responses to challenges. Examining more case cities and projects could allow more comparison and identification of more appropriate tools and strategies that ensure effective management of the sites. Care should be taken though in generalising findings from case studies, without taking into account site specific factors and local variations.

An obvious extension of the current research would be the wider trialling of the methodology proposed for the assessment of decision making and management schemes, and illustration of complexities. Whilst it was applied in the assessments of the case study sites in this research, and proved helpful in depicting the complex contextual mapping, its wider application in other case projects and cities would provide valuable opportunities to test and refine it. In this way, the research outcomes that are specific to the case projects will be identified, and generic findings that are transferrable to the broader scale will be adapted as effective management strategies and instruments for global heritage cities worldwide. Finally, the HUL Recommendation and approach was addressed in this research to identify the gap in terminology and to aid in the assessment of management tools and policies adopted at each case city. The adoption of the Recommendation and its testing in candidate cities at a later stage of this research restrained it from making a direct attribution and association with the toolkit provided. Hence, the findings gathered from this research could be refocused and developed to make a more direct contribution to the HUL approach, testing of its toolkit, and investigating how it might be adapted to local contexts of global heritage cities. It is achieved to a certain extent in a publication written by the author as a

conference paper concerning the adaptation of the HUL approach to the context of Istanbul case, which is attached to Appendix IV. As more global cities adapt their policies to this holistic approach and more cases in varying scales and geospatial distribution are investigated, the HUL approach provides a more elaborated road map for local and national governments that guide the better integrated and inclusive management of global heritage cities.

8.7 Final Comments

This doctoral study has fulfilled its aim of understanding and explaining the complexities of managing global heritage cities through a multiple case study analysis to assess their existing urban heritage planning and management systems, and identifying effective policies and tools that cope with these challenges specific to these sites. This has entailed a comprehensive critical review of the literature in the area, the development of a conceptual framework that defines global heritage cities, the design of a specialised research methodology and application of appropriate research methods, an in-depth examination and study of case study cities and projects, an investigation of their individual management and decision-making mechanisms and processes, followed by the detection of their actions successful in responding to their management challenges. Consequently, this research has produced well supported findings that make an original contribution to knowledge of theoretical, methodological and practical relevance with the development and application of this new conceptual framework. There is scope for further investigation in this field, and it is important that new cases are examined in order to further elaborate this framework and test the feasibility of adapting the pre-existing toolkits to the context of global heritage cities.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

INFORMATION SHEET

Title of Project: Managing Complexity of Cultural World Heritage Sites in Global Cities

You are kindly being invited to take part in a research student project supervised by the Department of Architecture, Oxford Brookes University. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study focuses on urban historic areas inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in global cities, which are often threatened by economic and urban development pressures. It aims to explain the complexities of managing global heritage cities, to assess their existing decision-making mechanisms, and to identify effective strategies and instruments to cope with these challenges.

In this regard, three individual cases selected within World Heritage Sites in the global cities of Mexico City, Istanbul and Paris are analysed in depth. In order to collect data for each case, semi-structured interviews will be operated with the representatives of key decision-makers participating in the management structures of these sites.

Why have you been invited to take part?

You are invited to take part in this research because of your current position as the *Directrice* of the *Direction du Patrimoine et de l'Architecture*. The interview will be concerned with the role and approach of the DPA to the issues related with the management of Paris, Banks of the Seine World Heritage Site.

Do you have to take part?

Please bear in mind that it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen if you take part?

The interview will take approximately 30 minutes, and you will be asked several questions concerned with the participation of the DPA in the management of this site. It will take place in your office or at your official address, and will be audio-recorded with your permission.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research will be used for academic purposes only. They will appear mainly in the PhD dissertation, which will be published after the successful completion of the Research Program and the awarding of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture. The audio-recorded interviews will be transcribed to be used in the data analysis process but the full versions of the interview transcripts will not be published in the dissertation. Furthermore, you will be asked whether you agree to the use of anonymous quotes in publications. The printed versions of the dissertation will be accessible via Oxford Brookes University Library after completion.

What are the confidentiality issues?

This study will at all times comply with the Data Protection Act in the UK. All the data provided by you, including your personal information, will be kept strictly confidential within the limitations of the laws. However, please bear in mind that where the sample size is very small, it may be impossible to guarantee anonymity/confidentiality of identity, which is subject to standard legal limitations.

What are the data protection procedures?

The data collected will be accessed by the researchers only and it will be stored at the University by methods complied with the University's guidelines for the management of research data and records. The lap-top and additional electronic storage devices that are going to be used during the field research will be security code encrypted and stored securely. Moreover, the data generated by this study will be retained in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity and will be kept securely in paper or electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project.

Who has organised or reviewed this study?

This research is conducted by a PhD student at the Department of Architecture, Oxford Brookes University, United Kingdom. It is monitored and supervised by Dr Aylin Orbasli and Dr Marcel Vellinga at Oxford Brookes University. It has also been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee.

Contact for further information:

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If you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee on **ethics@brookes.ac.uk**.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet. Your participation is very important and very much appreciated.

CONSENT FORM

Full title of Project: Managing Complexity of Cultural World Heritage Sites in Global Cities

Name, Position and Contact Address of Researcher:

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1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.
3. I agree to take part in the above study.
4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded
5. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications
6. I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research.

Please bear in mind that the confidentiality of the information you provide can only be protected within the limitations of the law, and where the sample size is very small, it may be impossible to guarantee anonymity/ confidentiality of your identity.

Name of Participant Date Signature

Name of Researcher Date Signature

APPENDIX II: SAMPLE INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW OUTLINE

Title of Project: Managing Complexity of Cultural World Heritage Sites in Global Cities

In order to collect data for this research, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with the representatives of local, national and international stakeholders that play a role in the management of the selected heritage sites, and they will respond to questions related to the role of their represented parties in the decision-making mechanisms, their approaches to specific projects and reactions to actions taken.

Here is a list of questions that might be addressed to respondents during the conduct of the interviews in order to encourage them to describe their own version of the plot of the cases.

1. What is your position in this institution?
2. How long have you been working in this position?
3. How long has your institution been participating in the decision-making mechanisms of the heritage site?
4. What is the role of your institution in the management system?
5. How and to what extent does your institution participate in the management system?
6. How long has your institution been involved in this specific case?
7. What has been their approach to this project?
8. Have they taken any actions about the project such as decisions, statements, publications, amendments, audits or alternative proposals?
9. What has been the extent of their actions and what kind of an impact did it have on the case?
10. Could you, in your own words, tell the whole plot of actions that have been taken about the project during the whole process?
11. What impact do you think the proposed project have on the values attributed to the site?
12. What is your personal opinion about the whole process?
13. What is your personal opinion about the role and participation level of your institution in the management system?
14. Do you think the actions taken by your institution have been effective in eliminating or minimising the impact?
15. What other alternative activities could the institution implement?

APPENDIX III: ANONYMOUS SAMPLE OF A TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW

Details of the Respondent

Name: Interviewee A

Institution/Organisation: Historic Centre Trust of Mexico City

Unit/Department:

Position:

Details of the Interview

Date - Time: July 24, 2013 – 1:30 pm

Location: Office

Duration: 75 minutes

Subject: The management of Historic Centre and the role of the institution

Recording: Audio-recording, hand-recording

Transcript

Interviewer: What is the position and role of the Fideicomiso in the management of the Historic Centre?

Interviewee: It is a public body established in 1990. Its establishment was promoted and administered by the city government. The city government was a department of the FD. Since the democratisation of the FD in 1997, important changes took place. For instance, when the Fideicomiso was initially established, it was a private institution supervised by the government. Initially, it was operating small scale projects such as the restoration of historic buildings. Following the democratisation of the city in 1997, the conservation and safeguarding of the Historic Centre became one of the main goals of the city. It was regarded as a profound way of emerging from a serious urban crisis that existed since the second half of the 20th century. Like many large cities around the world, the Historic Centre lost its economic centrality with the mobilisation of the industry to the peripheries, a large amount of the habitants moved away with this mobilisation. Actually, the situation of loss of population continued until last year. In 1958, UNAM who was spread over to different buildings in the HC used by different faculties went to the University District. In this regard, the HC lost more vitality, more habitants and the young generations, and more activities. In fact, it was a very silent process, it was not based on a political act. Then, there was the phenomenon of terror since 1942 when the Collection of Rents was established. The government established a regulation to protect the popular housing and prohibited that the tenants of the housing to request... And this act was valid for almost 50 years. Thus, for these 50 years many of the buildings were abandoned and habitants just left due to rapid urbanism. In 1982, the Centre of Vascos that is located southeast of the HC which has been the settlement of Vascos since the pre-hispanic era, and where connects to the canals of Xochimilco, was decided to be moved to another delegation. It added to the loss of vitality at the HC. Finally, another important indicator had been the earthquakes that took place in 1985, which affected the HC massively. The central zones of the Valle Mexico and the central zone of the city lost nearly 40 thousand dwellings and 15 thousand mortalities. Following this disaster, the HC was inscribed on the WHL in 1987.

The situation in the HC today is that it is designated as perimeter A and B in 1980. The Perimeter A has been the centre of Mexico City since the (name of the Mexica city), which was built on water channels. The perimeter B includes the areas created in the 20th century. Perimeter A covers approximately 3.6 m² area and perimeter B almost 6 m² area. Fideicomiso and Autoridad are both responsible for the Historic Centre consisting of

Perimeter A and B. The depopulation mostly occurred in perimeter A. In the whole area (A and B), there are 1800 historic monuments, which are under the protection of the federal law.

Interviewer: However, INAH approves the delisting of the historic buildings, right?

Interviewee: INAH is an official federal institution responsible for the protection of the heritage and the zones of historic monuments. The Federal Law for the Protection of Historic Buildings and Archaeological Zones indicates all this. In this regard, there are two definitions: historic monuments and the zones of historic monument based on this law. Thus, INAH is responsible for the protection of Perimeter A and B and it gives permissions for the restoration of buildings. However, the urban management and financial issues are operated by local bodies like us.

Mexico City possesses a governance system in transition. In this context, the whole Historic Centre is under protection. Thus, there are municipalities, 16 delegations and the metropolitan zone.

Interviewer: How is the social and functional division within the Historic Centre? How is the east is different from the west?

Interviewee: In Perimeter A, there have 300 thousand habitants since the end of the 20th century. After the earthquakes, the population dropped to 90 thousand. In 2000, the population was 40 thousand people and 32 thousand in 2005. Based on the final census in 2010, the current population in Perimeter A is 35 thousand.

Interviewer: Then what has been done for to increase the population in the HC?

Interviewee: There have been several measures taken for raising the local population to improve the living conditions. Many historic buildings were rehabilitated and popular housing was established. If we regard the economic situation at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, there is a great commercial use at the east of the HC. However due to the economic crisis, there had been some loss but there is currently 25 thousand shops. The most historical neighbourhood in the HC is where the working class is concentrated. Thus, the population living there is very poor. There have been several actions taken by the government to ameliorate the situation.

Interviewer: What kind of actions has been taken?

Interviewee: For instance from 2007 to 2009, all the area was renovated and the streets were rehabilitated. The infrastructure system was improved and the main historic buildings are going through restoration. 95 % of the habitants of Mexico City stopped passing through these streets but these are some of the most important spots of the historic city. Thus, the socio-economic situation today has changed since the rescue programmes. The west of the HC is where the banks and offices are situated and this area is more dynamic. It is like a corridor of finance and generally the middle class lives here. The area that has undergone the affirmative urban transition has been the southwest of the centre, which is a residential area. It is less deteriorated and has less urban problems. It is also the less depopulated area of Perimeter A and now there are university students that live here in the Regina zone. All the rehabilitation and urban conservation operations were undertaken in cooperation with the universities and experts including UNAM. The northern area is also going under rehabilitation.

Mexico City is one of the largest and most complex World Heritage Cities. Apart from its historic monuments and historic urban areas, there are other attributes that values it as the heritage of humanity. It is a live city. Apart from all the socio-economic problems, it is a very vivid city. Even though there has been an urban crisis, the popular neighbourhoods are very alive. Even though the Perimeter A includes 30000 habitants, it is one of the most important passages of Mexico City. Each day 2 million of people pass through the HC that includes visitors and users. These are the habitants, workers, clients and visitors. 80 % of the citizens of Mexico City come here for shopping, dining, entertainment, tourism etc. Thus, it is the heart and core of Mexico City. The problem was,

the HC had lost its living quality, motivation and citizen pride at the end of the 20th century. Currently, the motivation and the pride are back. It is important to express the civic culture and policies are useful and effective.

In this regard, Fideicomiso was created to realise these actions and projects in 1990 but it was quite small-scale. Following the democratisation of the city, Fideicomiso started to change as well. It became more and more of a public body . The initial federal government had a great vision for the HC. This is what HC is now: it is a popular, social, economic and cultural unity. From 1997-2000, the government prepared a partial plan for the HC. The plans are normally prepared based on delegations but this plan was different for the partial urban development. There have been three partial urban development plans but these focused on the land use. They were very useful because they regulated against another urban problem of open space. By the end of 20th century, 70% of the public spaces were occupied.

In 2000, the Fideicomiso was publicised for the implementation of these plans with the new leftist government. In 2000-01, several important spokespeople of the society interested in the HC gathered together to initiate a grand agreement to rescue the HC. These spokespeople had been important public figures including journalists, columnists and Carlos Slim. Carlos Slim had another important role. He is a good man. Then, there was the Cardinal and it was the Citizen Council and the governor signed an agreement to prioritise the preparation of a plan for the recovery of the HC. Since then, all the operations had been small-scale but there was a lack of an integral plan. At the same time, Fideicomiso signed a contract and became a public body in 2001. There had been an open debate with urban planners, architects, artists, conservators etc in order to initiate a physical intervention for the Zocalo and its environs. They also developed a methodology and adopted strategic lines that we still use. The main goal was identified as to make it a liveable city again. The actions included the rehabilitation of streets and buildings, the improvement of the infrastructure, make it more accessible.

The impression that Carlos Slim paid for the whole restoration of the HC is a wrong assumption. It is a shame that the literature and the mass media exaggerated his contributions so much. It is a mediatic lie. What Slim did was he purchased 69 vacant historic buildings at the HC. It doesn't mean that he bought the whole HC since there are 9000 buildings among which 800 were listed at the HC. And most of the purchased buildings are renovated to be used as offices. One of the goals had been to improve the housing at the HC. Today, the people who live in the renovated buildings are bureaucrats and young professionals. It has been a great change since these buildings were vacant.

Interviewer: What does the Fundacion do then?

Interviewee: The Fundacion was also created in 2001. He signed a pact with the Fideicomiso about the plan. Its main purpose has been to operate private activities since it is a private institution. It supports the renovation of historic buildings and supported the restoration of several important monuments that conducts cultural activities such as museums, touristic information etc. There are also several projects undertaken together. We restored 4-5 buildings together. Additionally, the Fundacion administers and supports 4 cultural centres. In conclusion, what Slim did has a great importance but he doesn't manage or finance the projects or process.

The financial support for the Recovery Programme is covered by the city government (90%). 5% comes from private agents that Fundacion contributes mainly and 3% from the Federal Government. GDF has to deliver much more. Slim is an important figure but nothing else.

Interviewer: There is totally different image created in the media.

Interviewee: Slim transformed his buildings. It is an important private intervention but it involves private properties only. However, the rehabilitation of historic buildings, monuments, streets and public spaces are undertaken by the city government.

Interviewer: How does the Fideicomiso promote public participation to the decision-making process?

Interviewee: From 2001-2006, there has been a new policy that involves citizen participation and a series of regulations were adapted accordingly. In 2006, there was a new governmental change in the city. The new government decided to pursue with this process and but they took a new measurement which is very important. Fideicomiso is a public fund and it operates public social and cultural activities. However, there are many other public bodies such as INAH, INBA, Secretaria de Obras, SEDUVI, CONACULTA and also the privates such as of Slim etc, and the Church. In this regard, the new government decided to adopt a new management model and create a central management body: la Autoridad.

It has been always an important aim to sustain the liveability of the HC. Thus, in 2007, a vital arrangement was ratified with 66 commercial organisations. They implemented the regulation of reorganisation of street trade to liberate the streets. It had been a very complicated battle. However, we are trying out an innovative model. It has been the first time that it has been possible to recover the whole HC based on these activities. In October 2007, following the action to clear off the street vendors, there had been an error committed. They demolished a historic building during the concussion. Then, they had to explain to UNESCO what happened, the causes etc. It was due to a communication problem. INAH didn't explain clearly that the building should not be demolished etc. These are irreplaceable interventions but anyway.

However, what this crisis between UNESCO and the national and federal authorities that it promoted the implementation of new communication and coordination mechanisms between different actors including UNESCO. It also triggered the initiation of the preparation of the management plan. The management plan is participatory process where the city and federal governments, UNESCO, INAH, Fideicomiso, civil society and for the first time the neighbours of the HC (Vecinos del Centro Historico) are involved in the whole process. As a reflection of this decision-making mechanism, the Fideicomiso promotes citizen participation through developing a permanent platform of dialogue and cooperation where the neighbourhoods participate in the decisions about the projects especially about the rehabilitation of public spaces, and they express their opinions, oppositions and ideas there. This citizen participation mechanism didn't exist before. We are organising a team for the citizen participation within these programs as well and it is a new participation dimension.

In conclusion, the management plan has developed very important strategies: 1. Consolidate the vision of completely live city, 2. Rehabilitate the living conditions of the HC for the people to come back to live here like improving the infrastructure, providing more social services etc; 3. Increase the dynamic of private property.

From 2005-2010, most of the building were inhabited by the original users and 4000 more habitants moved back to the city centre.

APPENDIX V: CONFERENCE PAPER BASED ON THE RESEARCH

ComplexCity Istanbul: Managing a Global Heritage City

Presented at Heritage 2014: 4th International Conference on Heritage and Sustainable Development, 22-25 July 2014, Guimaraes.

ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on multi-layered historic urban areas inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in global cities, which are threatened by economic and urban development pressures. The significance of each site, limitations of existing legal instruments and decision-making mechanisms, along with participation of a broad range of actors to the management process at different stages generate complexities in their management. In this respect, this paper aims to understand and explain the complexities of managing global heritage cities, to assess the existing planning and management systems, and to identify effective strategies and instruments to cope with these challenges. This aim is achieved through the employment of a case study analysis concerning the management of the World Heritage Site in Istanbul. In conclusion, this paper intends to make an original contribution to literature by introducing the size, scope and complexities of global cities to the heritage management discourse.

1. INTRODUCTION: GLOBAL HERITAGE CITY

The crisis in the world economy in the 1970s resulted in fundamental economic, political, social and cultural changes occurring at global level, associated with the shift from production-based national economy to the service-based global market (Harvey, 2005). This contemporary globalisation period has entailed the emergence of a new type of city, the *global city*, which has become the central basing point for worldwide activities of transnational corporations and the major spot for command and control within international commodity networks (Sassen, 2001). With the acceleration of financial integration, these global cities operate as key nodes for the flows of capital, information and service systems within the cross-border urban network. As a result of the exponential rise in urbanisation and population growth at a global scale, the socio-economic character and role of global cities have changed. Thus, the management of these cities and promotion of urban sustainability have become one of the major challenges of the century.

Under these circumstances, globalisation has had important ramifications for cultural discourse and cultural heritage is brought forward as a driver for sustainable development. Heritage sites – particularly those located in cities within global urban networks- have played multiple roles (Labadi and Long, 2010): They represent the cultural assets of cities through creation of certain images for place branding, they compete for intense tourist flows and business investments to generate revenues, they promote the adoption of policies to mitigate the impact of climate change, and they validate a sense of community and a local/national identity. On the other hand, the development of sustainable solutions for the preservation of heritage sites and their transmission to future generations in global cities remain as a palpable challenge. It is due to the complexities resulting from their ineffective administrative, planning and legislative structures, the operation of complex decision-making mechanisms for heritage sites, and the implementation of rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation models creating an adverse impact on their integrity and authenticity. Thus, even though it might be problematic concerning the tensions potentially arising from issues of socio-economic restructuring and environmental degradation, the

safeguarding of cultural heritage currently emerge both as an opportunity and a challenge for the sustainable development of cities.

In this respect, international conservation bodies, such as UNESCO and ICOMOS, play a vital role in defining and creating a global perspective of cultural heritage. The adoption of the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972) promoted the inscription of historic urban sites with outstanding universal values on the World Heritage List, introducing an international level to the recognition and protection of World Heritage Sites (WHS). Although the inscription of urban heritage sites on the List assures a shared responsibility on their safeguarding, the elected World Heritage Committee (WHC) carries the sole role of monitoring and standard-setting for heritage sites. Thus, it is national and local governmental bodies that are principally responsible for taking appropriate measures for the conservation and management of sites. Furthermore, nation-states regard World Heritage Listing as a means of promoting their cultural heritage assets for fostering economic benefits. This brings to the fore a prominent practical challenge encountered by national and local bodies to adhere the international conservation principles imposed by international charters and guidelines, while ensuring development and economic stability.

Accordingly, an increasing number of concerns raised by the WHC with regard to the management deficiencies and aggressive development threats causing impacts on WHS in urban settlements encouraged multilateral agencies to take adequate actions to cope with these challenges. Primarily, the establishment of an effective management system is required for all the inscribed WH properties (UNESCO, 2011), and ICOMOS (2010) published the *Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments* in order to evaluate the impact of development on values attributed to the heritage sites. As an integral part of these normative tools, UNESCO adopted a new policy instrument, the *2011 Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL)*, to elaborate updated international guidelines with a set of general principles in order to manage change in historic cities and link urban conservation, contemporary architecture and socio-economic development in a holistic manner (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012). Envisaged as a non-binding policy tool, this approach was tailored for State Parties to implement to their national frameworks in order to ensure urban conservation models that embody cityscapes, cultural and natural heritage attributes, along with the associated intangible values.

Despite the significant efforts to address all management challenges emerging in historic cities, there is still a gap between the theory and practice of urban heritage management. Aiming to encompass all historic urban areas in a holistic perspective, the HUL Recommendation rather functions as a general instrument for adapting the HUL approach to their specific local and national contexts. Still in adaptation process, the potentials of this approach have been tested in a limited number of candidate cities of various sizes under the supervision of professional experts (Roders and Van Oers, 2011). Furthermore, a body of literature on urban heritage conservation and management introduced new concepts and disseminated numerous practices for the management of cultural heritage properties (Orbasli, 2000; Leask and Fyall, 2006; Rodwell, 2008; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012). However, the theoretical contributions have thus far mostly focused on general definitions and toolkits suitable for small or medium-size urban sites, which are mainly located in the developed countries. Moreover, the case studies, which are limited in scope, scale and geographical distribution, clearly showed that practices vary considerably based on the size and geo-cultural distribution of the sites. Consequently, there is a lack of research that identifies innovative approaches and documents best practices for the management of global heritage cities in various parts of the world. At a time in which cultural heritage has become a driver for urban sustainability, there is void in literature that specifically addresses the conservation and management challenges of historic urban sites located within the key cities of the contemporary global urban network.

In this regard, this paper aims to understand and explain the complexities of managing historic urban areas designated as WHS in global cities, to assess their existing management and decision-making mechanisms, and to identify effective strategies and instruments for future coping with these challenges. This aim is achieved

through the employment of a case study analysis that comprises the following objectives: the identification of the significance of the site, and the analysis of its state of conservation based on the issues of concerns raised concerning the safeguarding of its integrity and authenticity, the assessment of the existing urban governance, legislative and planning frameworks, the mapping out of its decision-making mechanism and processes, and the effectiveness analysis of its existing management structures and practices.

For this purpose, the multi-layered historic urban landscape inscribed on the World Heritage List in the global city of Istanbul is selected as the case city based on a set of criteria including its multi-layered historical urban morphology, its designation as a megacity with population size exceeding 10 million, positioning in the globalised urban system, and the existence of some sort of effective management mechanism. For the case study analysis, qualitative data is collected through a critical literature review drawn on primary, secondary sources of data and mass media outputs, and the conduct of twenty-seven focused interviews with the representatives of key decision-makers participating in the management system at local, metropolitan, national and international stages. The analysis of the gathered qualitative data leads to identification of complexities and evaluation of tools adopted by different stakeholders to encounter the management challenges.

2.MANAGEMENT COMPLEXITY OF ISTANBUL WHS

Located in a strategic geomorphological position that stands astride two continents, Europe and Asia, Istanbul has been a world city for over two thousand years as the imperial capital of three successive civilisations: the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. Accommodating the archaeological remains and monumental edifices of these eras, Istanbul currently manifests numerous strata of urban morphologies and monumental architecture developed during the reign of each empire. The city followed a particular historical trajectory depending on its prominent status as the political, economic and religious centre for centuries, which was wavered during the twentieth century following the designation of Ankara as the capital city of the newly established nation-state. Although Istanbul is not the government seat of Turkey today, it has pursued its hegemony as the national commercial and cultural capital with its rapidly growing population over 14 million, and has strived for a leading role within the worldwide economy as a global megacity (Merey Enlil and Kaptan, 2009).

On account of the multi-layered historic urban morphology of Istanbul, its rich historical, cultural and landscape assets induce potentials for the endorsement and marketing of the city within the global city network. The selection of the city as one of the European Capitals of Culture in 2010 manifested the significance of cultural heritage for its worldwide promotion through such potent brand names to attract new financial investments and tourists. The aspirations of Istanbul for a global standing generate a number of complexities emerging from the challenges of striking a balance between global positioning strategies and creating a liveable, equitable and sustainable habitat for all its citizens. Moreover, the participation of a broad scope of stakeholders to the decision-making for the future of the city also brings about a major challenge of urban administration. The public works, urban infrastructure and the administrative systems of the city formulated in consistent with the dominant political and religious structures within the course of urban history of Istanbul have contributed to the evolution of the complex networks of urban governance and the urban formation existing today. Thus, the historical urban development scheme of the city plays a key role for a holistic approach to the management of the historic city.

2.1. *The World Heritage Site and Issues of Concern*

The Historic Peninsula, surrounded by the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus on the east and the Marmara Sea on the south, has been the heart of the successive civilisations the city hosted for over two thousand years. Its natural

topography and relation to the sea have played a vital role in the composition of the historical urban layering and the positioning of monumental buildings, which are clearly portrayed in the distinctive skyline of Istanbul, have sustained its *genius loci* to the present day.

In this respect, the four *Historic Areas of Istanbul* designated jointly as the WHS within the Historic Peninsula include an amalgamation of monumental edifices, building ensembles and urban quarters that manifest the historical traces of the earlier civilisations, together with the contemporary architecture of the last century. The limitation of the inscribed site to four historic areas within the Peninsula was justified by the inclusion of the key historical and cultural assets manifesting the significance of the site and their protection by the national legislation at the time of inscription (Ahunbay, 2012). Regarding the fact that these areas were designated as conservation sites prior to the inscription on the List, they were selected based on their historical context and full legal protection mitigating the potential impacts of urbanisation. Following the official registration of the entire Historic Peninsula as an urban site in 1995, the subsequent planning, conservation and management tools encompassed the Peninsula as a whole instead of scattered urban areas.

This WHS has been in a fluctuant state of conservation since its inscription on the List due to the threats and challenges arising from inconsistent demands and priorities of main decision-makers. Although major monuments have been well preserved in general, as a result of periodic maintenance and architectural restoration programmes implemented against the adverse effects of natural disasters and material deterioration, the vernacular dwellings situated in the historic districts have been in poor shape or completely lost due to lack of attention, abandonment, unlicensed demolishments and urban renewal pressures. Moreover, large-scale development and infrastructure projects realised in the historic core impact on the values attributed to the site. Akin to these threats and lack of an effective management tool, the heritage site was proposed to be included in the List of World Heritage in Danger, which stipulated corrective measures to be taken by the authorities.

According to the Statement of Conservation and mission reports submitted to the Committee and the decisions periodically taken at General Sessions, the main concerns expressed by the WHC in the last decade have focused on the lack of coordination among diverse decision-makers, the delays in the adoption of effective planning regulations and management tools, new transportation infrastructure projects that threaten the physical and visual integrity of the site, and implementation of urban renewal projects and inappropriate conservation methods having adverse impacts on the attributes of authenticity. Relevantly, the heritage site was initially considered to be inscribed on the List in Danger in 2004 when a series of actions including the development of a proactive management plan and improvement of coordination were requested to be undertaken by the State Party. Followed by a process of reactive monitoring lasting for seven years during which tangible remedial measures were adopted by the local and national governmental bodies to prevent the loss of the OUV, the Istanbul WHS was no longer considered to be delisted since 2011.

In conclusion, although the urban grain of the historic city centre has mainly survived intact, the fragmentary nature of the existing legislative and planning frameworks, complemented with the disparate interests of national and local actors that fail to maintain an effective mean of communication between each other yielded to a number of concerns expressed by the World Heritage Centre. In order to have a broader understanding of the challenges facing the heritage site, it is crucial to analyse the decision-making and governance structures of the city.

2.2. Governance and Decision-making

The administrative power schemes and tensions dominant in the urban governance structure of Istanbul are clearly manifested in the operation of the decision-making mechanism for the historic city centre. Thus, the

conflicts arising between actors participating at different levels of management are induced by the paradoxical character of governance and urban administration in the global city.

Turkey is a unitary state under the dominance of a highly centralised public administration system. On the other hand, Istanbul is governed by a dual urban administration mechanism involving the participation of both an elected mayor and a governor appointed by the national government that perpetuates the centralised state authority for over 150 years. Akin to the mere fact that provinces and counties are peripheral units of the central state, governors and county-level administrators are directly assigned by the Council of Ministers in order to represent the central authority at local level. Moreover, the national government utilises its powers of policy-making to endorse its influence on urban and regional development. Nevertheless, the democratisation process compliant with the acts of decentralisation and integration to the global market led to the restructuring of the urban administration system (Bonini Baraldi et al., 2012). The enactment of the Metropolitan Municipality Law in 1983 adapted new policies endorsing the decentralisation of metropolitan areas. Hence, there is a two-tier structure in the urban administration of the global city of Istanbul that delegated decision-making powers for both the metropolitan city and district municipalities. The Istanbul Metropolitan City comprised of the mayor elected every five years and a Municipal Council formed by selected members of the district municipalities and the mayors who share the executive powers is responsible for macro-level decisions concerning the entire metropolitan city (Uzun, 2010). On the other hand, the district municipalities administered by elected mayors are in charge of decisions related to local municipal services.

Nevertheless, the dichotomy of the urban governance structure currently operated in Istanbul has generated complexities arising from the conflicting priorities and overlapping functionalities of the central and local governments, and the lack of institutional and personal capacities. Furthermore, the lack of participatory and consultative mechanisms and transparency in decision-making manifest the top-down nature of municipal governments. Closely associated with the administration of the ruling party in the metropolitan municipality, the central government enhanced its controlling power at metropolitan level and adopted numerous legislations that facilitated urban governance and development. Moreover, clientelism and patronage relations are enhanced due to the dominance of “powerful mayor and weak council” governmental model (Uzun, 2010). This model clearly demonstrates the deficiency of democratic means of participation where the power is mediated through the metropolitan municipality instead of at local level.

The employment of this governance model also complicates the efficient operation of the management structure for the heritage site. The main international decision-maker is the UNESCO World Heritage Centre who carries the role of monitoring of the inscribed sites through periodic reporting and reactive monitoring mechanisms. Regarding the international assistance and monitoring processes executed for the case of Istanbul since its inscription, it is perceived that there have been numerous concerns raised by the WHC concerning the state of conservation of the site. The representative of the Europe and North America Unit accounted for the malfunctioning of the notification and feedback mechanisms between the Centre and the State Party, and the lack of transparency in regards to the urbanisation and development projects realised by the authorities. Although the State Party has ostensibly met certain demands and the schedule set in the decisions, the WHC still expresses concerns due to the slow operation and the lack of sufficient communication among actors.

Furthermore, the collision of power relations and functionalities, and the lack of coordination and communication between national, metropolitan and local authorities enhance these concerns. For instance, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is the prominent actor at national level that delegates the decision making powers concerning the cultural heritage to its peripheral bodies. In addition to the Ministry, the heritage administrative system of Turkey involves two other national institutions that manage the cultural properties under their authorities. Thus, this multilateral national administrative structure manifests the centralisation of the governance system based on the little autonomy possessed by the peripheral branches lacking independent

budgets and decision-making powers, and the fragmentation of the heritage practice involving the participation of a wide range of national actors.

In accordance with the urban governance system, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is the primary decision-maker that is responsible for the safeguarding of all the conservation sites and registered historic buildings under its possession since it is the proprietor of the historic properties that serves the whole city. Furthermore, they carry the role of monitoring and control of projects related to the built environment through issuing building permits and approvals. It delegates authorities to peripheral units concerned with heritage activities that broaden the fragmentation of heritage institutions. The establishment of the IMM Committee of Heritage formed by elected members and bureaucrats within the Metropolitan Municipality in 2010 acts as an advisory body and intends to facilitate the implementation of policies and activities related to the Historic Peninsula. These new institutions endorsed the authorities of the Municipality over the national bodies.

Finally, the most prominent actor at local level is the Site Management Directorate for Cultural and Natural Sites of Istanbul. Assigned by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipal Council in 2006, it plays a vital role in the coordination of management planning processes for the WHS. Assisted by the Advisory Board and the Coordination and Supervision Board composed of national experts and bureaucrats, the Directorate functions as the main coordinating body stipulating the coordination and collaboration of all the relevant stakeholders. As it was indicated by a member of the Executive Committee of ICOMOS Turkey, the assignment of the Directorate directly by the Metropolitan Municipality belies the autonomy and objectivity of this local authority. Aside from the Directorate, the local Conservation Councils and the district Municipalities in charge of the encompassed area are also important actors for the safeguarding of the site. Although the merge of two districts responsible for the Historic Peninsula under the authority of the Fatih Municipality facilitated the administration of the site, the involvement of three other district municipalities embodying the buffer zone to the management process introduces another level of complexity for decision-making at local level.

Consequently, the malfunctioning of democratic means of public participation to the decision-making process and the close association of the site management unit endorses the top-down administrative structure empowering the Metropolitan Municipality. Furthermore, the establishment of new units within the Municipality that are responsible for the operation and monitoring of conservation projects and the fragmentation of national institutions related to cultural heritage enhances the heritage administrative authorities of the Municipality. Thus, the decision-making mechanism of Istanbul WHS portrays a diamond shape that depicts the Metropolitan Municipality as the most prominent actor of the management process.

2.3. Management tools

Complementary to the complexities emerging from the administrative and decision-making mechanisms, the fragmentary and paradoxical status of the existing legislative and planning frameworks concerning the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul also add up to the heritage challenges. The legislation that relates to the historic built environment addresses to its fragmented parts: monuments, listed buildings, natural sites and conservation areas. Furthermore, there is no special provision reserved for World Heritage Sites in the planning process. There are no policies or legislative acts that focus on historic cities holistically either. Thus, the Historic Areas of Istanbul WHS is under the protection of the national conservation legislation only.

However, the implementation of the regulations and planning policies do not operate as efficiently as it had been preset in the national legislation due to the paradoxical nature of the existing planning structure involving an amalgamation of statutory urban master plans, small-scale local plans and informal infrastructure investment plans (Tekeli, 1994). In combination with the operation of inefficient bureaucracy, failure of monitoring and feedback mechanisms and the lack of public participation, there are numerous challenges encountered in the

implementation of the legal framework of the conservation-led planning system. Moreover, there have been numerous urban planning policies and activities that contradict with the conservation priorities in the past decades. These legal acts, such as the Urban Renewal Law, have threatened the authenticity and integrity of historic quarters and stimulated the rise of social gentrification. Consequently, the assignment of disparate authorities and tools for the execution of plans and policies enhance the self-contradictory status of the existing legislative and planning systems.

In addition to lack of adequate legislative and planning strategies and tools specific for the WHS, the absence of an effective management instrument and lack of coordination among various stakeholders participating at the decision-making system had been one of the biggest concerns expressed by the WHC until the establishment of the Site Management Directorate and the completion of the management planning processes for the site. Following the approval of the Istanbul Historic Peninsula Site Management Plan in 2011, ostensibly, an effective management system had been acquired for the safeguarding of the heritage site. Then, a site manager for Istanbul was appointed, the management area and buffer zones were officially delimited, and action plans and periodic project packages were developed, successively. However, the delays in the budgeting and the assignment of responsible authorities to undertake the project packages after the approval of the plan were harshly criticised by the specialists interviewed. Moreover, the absence of a Supervision Unit to perform annual performance evaluations and the lack of working and budget programmes for the forthcoming years has clearly manifested the deficiencies in the implementation and monitoring of the management plan. Thus, it can be concluded that the management planning process for the Historic Areas of Istanbul has not proceed as it was planned.

3.CONCLUSION

In the contemporary globalisation era, the management of historic cities, with special attention to their sustainable development, is “one of the most daunting tasks” of the urban century (Van Oers, 2007: 44). The management challenges are especially intensified for global cities where the international competition to attract investments and tourists, and internal tensions are most profound. The articulation as a global city has a catalytic effect on urban and economic development pressures, and the rise in financial investments are not always sympathetic with the historic urban setting. Furthermore, the limitations of the existing administrative, legislative and planning structures, inefficient policies and management tools, and the participation of a broad range of stakeholders to the decision-making process bring to the fore complexities for the management of the global heritage cities. In this respect, conducting a case study of a management process as it unfolds in a complex World Heritage Site provides the opportunity to identify the management complexities for such cities, and to assess the effectiveness of the specific strategies and instruments.

As it was indicated in numerous reports and decisions of the WHC, the main issues of concern addressing to historic urban landscapes in general, which also apply for the Istanbul WHS, are concerned with urban development projects incompatible with the historic urban settings and management deficiencies for the sites. Although it provides a professional toolkit and universal principles, the direct involvement of UNESCO to the decision-making is mainly limited since its management stipulations are mediated through the national and local authorities. Relevantly, the Committee has been condemned by numerous scholars and practitioners to endorse a nation-state-based governance structure and to bolster homogenisation through cultural globalisation, thus contradicting the axiom of cultural diversity (Turtinen, 2000; Logan, 2012). Deeming the national governmental bodies to be the only authorised representatives of the State Parties, the national political agendas designate meanings and values attributed to the sites, and they usually endorse internal conflicts between national and local actors.

In this context, the complexities and conflicts emerging from the deficiencies in the dominant urban governance structure directly influence the operational scheme of the decision-making mechanisms for the heritage sites. For instance, the dichotomy of the urban administrative structure in Istanbul arising from the elected and delegated decision-making powers is manifested in the overlapping functionalities and duties of the Metropolitan Municipality and the local authorities assigned by the national government. Furthermore, the policies and projects induced by the national governmental bodies located in the capital can be in contradiction with the applications of the local actors. sTh clearly portrays the lack of communication and coordination among stakeholders participating at different levels. Playing a mediator role to establish and maintain a good measn of communication between stakeholders concerned with the heritage site, the local management unit has to function as an independent and unbiased body. Being assigned by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, on the contrary, the site management unit for the Historic Peninsula is an interdependent unit under its dominancy.

Additionally, the lack of continuously operating public arenas for community involvement averts the democratic and social inclusion of the civic society to the decision-making process in Istanbul. As it was asserted by the representative of the Istanbul SOS Initiative, a NGO formed to struggle against government-led urban projects causing adverse impacts on the historic core, the civic groups and experts are informed about the projects after they are already initiated due to the intransparent policies of the Municipality, and are able to render their opinions only through means of resistance and struggle. Thus, this case evidently shows that the establishment and enhancement of dialogue-structured activities and participatory mechanisms that embraces all the relevant stakeholders, including the local communities, are vital for effective management.

Lastly, the employment of adequate policies and management instruments that embody the breadth of the heritage challenge of the cities as a whole is also essential for their sustainable development. The fragmentary nature of the protection policy in Turkey fails to address to historic cities and world heritage sites as coherent entities. The cultural and natural heritage properties have to be integrated into planning policies that recognise them as parts of a whole entity rather than detached fragments. In addition, the management plan is the most essential tool to guide the daily decision-making process with regards to the management of the World Heritage property. Approved in 2011, the management plan for the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul intends to introduce a holistic management approach for the safeguarding and development of the site. However, the ongoing communication and coordination gap yields to deficiencies in the implementation, monitoring and revision of the plan.

In conclusion, the findings of this study derived from the case study evince that the traditional internal conflicts and lack of communication can be partly reconciled through more pragmatic and communicative approach that brings to the fore a new common ground for dialogue and joint action. Furthermore, the employment of normative tools that embrace the heritage cities holistically, such as management plans and heritage impact assessments, is crucial for the effective management of historic cities. Being the first study to address to the management practices of global heritage cities, this paper integrates the global urbanisation studies with the heritage management discourse.

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