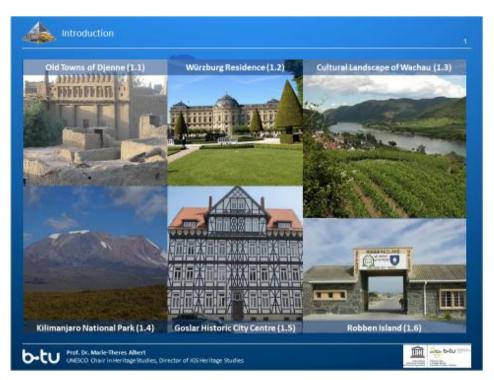
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Lecture

40 Years of the World Heritage Convention – On the Popularization of a Protection Concept of Cultural and Natural Assets



All image sources and references can be found in the annex.

Introduction

Ladies and gentlemen, what connects the Old Town of Djenné (1.1) in Mali with the Würzburg Residence with its court garden and residence place (1.2), Robben Island (1.6) with Kilimanjaro National Park (1.4) or the historic centre of Goslar (1.5) and the Rammelsberg in the Harz with the cultural landscape of the Wachau in Austria (1.3)? The places and sites mentioned are connected by the outstanding universal value ascribed to them by UNESCO. It is this so-called Outstanding Universal Value, which distinguishes them as a representative heritage of humanity, which needs to be protected. In this respect, it is clear what connects these World Heritage sites.

Typologies

But, how are they different? What makes them different are the typological classifications, which are as follows: a) archaeological heritage, b) rock-art sites, c) fossil hominid sites; d) historic buildings and ensembles; e) urban and rural settlements / historic towns and villages; f) vernacular architecture; g)

religious properties; h) agricultural, industrial and technological properties; i) military properties; j) cultural landscapes, parks and gardens; k) cultural routes; l) burial monuments and sites; m) symbolic properties and memorials; and, n) modern heritage. The buildings in the *Old Town of Djenné* in Mali are typologised as *vernacular architecture* (f) and the Würzburg Residence as an *Ensemble of Historic Buildings (d)*. Robben Island was inscribed with the criteria iii and vi (m), the most important criterion in the context of the World Heritage Convention, stating the intangible significance of the site. Kilimanjaro National Park is *Natural Heritage*. The Rammelsberg and Goslar stand for *Settlements, Historic City Centres (e)* and *Agricultural and Technical Monuments (h)*, while the Wachau is inscribed as a *Cultural Landscape (j)*.

It is interesting that the convention, or rather the Operational Guidelines, provides a wide range of types for the classification of World Heritage sites. Therefore, there should be many different concepts of usage. However, as I will show at the end of this presentation, mainly tourism usage seems to be known.

Contents of the World Heritage Convention

On Nov 16th, 2012, the World Heritage Convention celebrated its 40th anniversary. It has been highlighted in many events worldwide that with this Convention the international community has created an instrument to appreciate and protect their cultural and natural heritage. In 2016, 1052 sites in 165 countries have been awarded world heritage status. Of these, 814 sites are registered as cultural sites, 203 as natural sites and 35 as mixed cultural and natural sites. In other words, it can be said that the global networking of the heritage community, the global recognition of the concept, as well as the international efforts of the international community to protect its exceptional universal heritage has reached people worldwide.

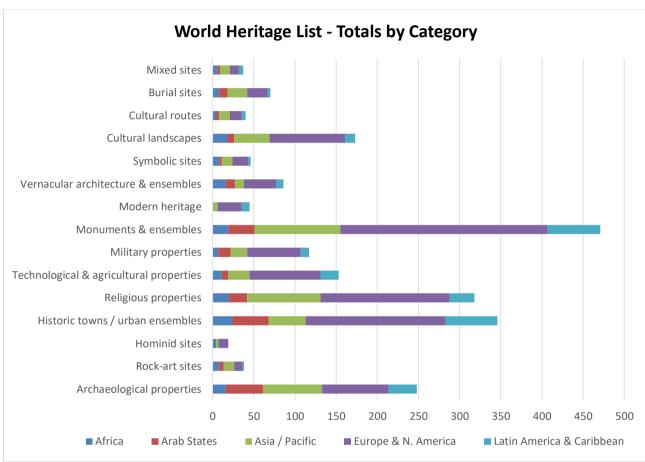
Region	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total	%
Africa	48	37	5	90	9%
Arab States	73	5	3	81	8%
Asia - Pacific	173	62	12	247	23%
Europe & North America	426	63	10	499	47%
Latin America & Caribbean	96	37	5	138	13%
Total:	814	203	35	1052	100%

World Heritage Inscriptions by Region and Category (2016)

Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat (September 2016)

However, and this is the problem, almost 50% of these sites are from Europe and North America; the rest of the world shares the remaining 50%. The other obvious problem in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention lies in the distribution of so-called World Heritage categories.

Looking at the typological framework, you can see that the spectrum of site classifications is very broad. As mentioned before, we have 14 different categories.¹



However, unfortunately, European sites also dominate the list typologically. It looks like this:

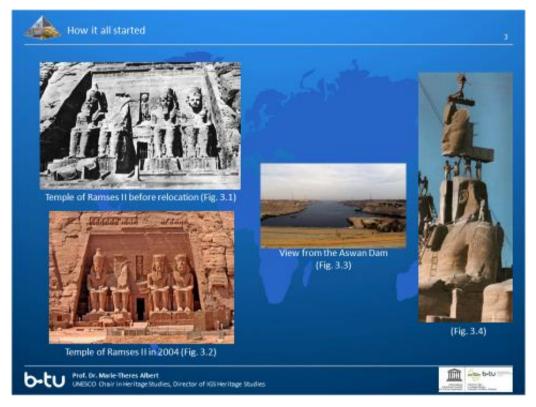
The dominance of cultural versus natural sites has to be mentioned and the totally over-represented monuments of *Christianity, baroque palaces and royal residences* as well as the *medieval town ensembles* with their various justifications for uniqueness. Some of the reasons for the repeated selection of the same type lie in the Convention itself, in which the construction of the outstanding universal value is largely determined materially and the possibility of intangible interpretations of the sites are limited.

¹ a) archaeological heritage, b) rock-art sites, c) fossil hominid sites; d) historic buildings and ensembles; e) urban and rural settlements / historic towns and villages; f) vernacular architecture; g) religious properties; h) agricultural, industrial and technological properties; i) military properties; j) cultural landscapes, parks and gardens; k) cultural routes; l) burial monuments and sites; m) symbolic properties and memorials; and, n) modern heritage.

How it all started²

But, let us go back to the beginning. I would like to quote a passage from the preamble to the World Heritage Convention: "Noting that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage...are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the conventional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions ..." the General Conference of UNESCO, in October 1972, approved the Convention for the protection of the World Cultural and Natural heritage of Humanity.

Abu Simbel

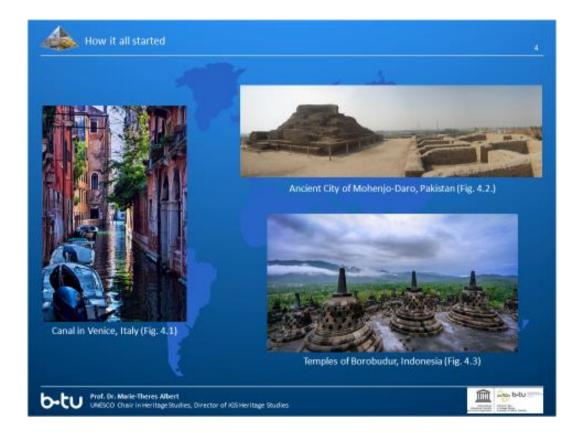


This was certainly not yet aimed at mass tourism or any other economic exploitation. Rather, in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, societies were dominated by visions of modernization, which saw material goods from the past less as a heritage worthy of protection than objects that obstructed developments. At best, such objects were removed and redesigned with reconstructions in the interest of the concept of modernity.

The construction of the Aswan dam and saving the temples of Abu Simbel was certainly the most striking example of the internationally evolving awareness of the value of historical goods. The construction of the dam threatened to have the temples sink into the water and thus to sacrifice three millennia of cultural history in the name of progress.

² For more in-depth reflections, please see Marie-Theres Albert and Birgitta Ringbeck, 40 Years World Heritage Convention: Popularizing the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, 2015: p. 46 - 58, De Gruyter.

What followed was an outcry around the world. In a worldwide solidarity campaign consisting of more than 50 countries half of the \$ 80 million needed to disassemble parts of the temple and rebuild it on higher ground was collected.



The success of the rescue of Abu Simbel motivated the international community to undertake further conservation campaigns, such as the preservation of the lagoon city of Venice, which was threatened by flooding, the preservation of the ancient city of Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistan, which was threatened by salinisation, or the restoration of the Borobudur temples in Indonesia, and to develop instruments to protect such unique heritage sites and to preserve them for future generations. Thus, it was only logical that in 1972 the World Heritage Convention was adopted.

First Stage 1978 - 1991

According to Bernd von Droste, the founder of the World Heritage Centre, the implementation of the World Heritage Convention spans four stages: 1978 - 1991; 1992 - 1999; 2000 - 2005; and, 2006 – ongoing.

Following the adoption of the Convention by the General Assembly of UNESCO and the constitution of the first World Heritage Committee in 1977, the first phase was mainly shaped by setting standards, formulating criteria and initial inscriptions. After 40 states had ratified the Convention in 1978, the Committee addressed, that year in Washington, first the modalities of the World Heritage Fund and the first inscriptions on the basis of the Operational Guidelines adopted in 1977. In retrospect, this first stage was interesting for two reasons.

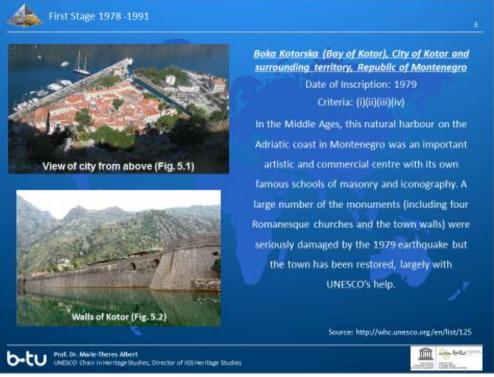
Zone	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total
Africa	16	22	2	40
Arab States	40	2	1	43
Asia - Pacific	41	17	7	65
Europe & North America	131	26	6	163
Latin America & Caribbean	32	11	3	46
Total:	260	78	19	357

World Heritage inscriptions, First Stage 1978 - 1991

Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat

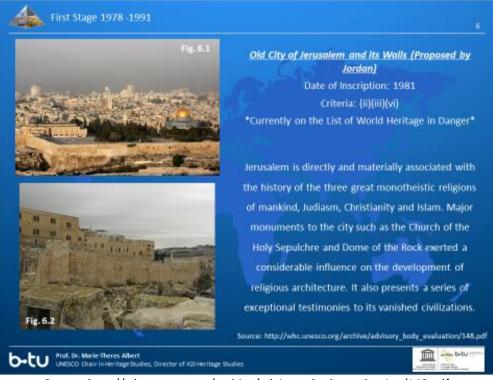
On one hand, the Committee acted explicitly in the context of the dichotomy of the separation of culture and nature present in society as a whole. In the Operational Guidelines, the OUV for the cultural and natural heritage was depicted in two separate lists and the concept of authenticity was strictly defined on the basis of the Venice Charter of 1964. On the other hand, the founding fathers and mothers in these years formulated categories for the protection of the natural heritage of mankind as well, despite the prevailing worldview of the dominance of culture over nature. Furthermore, particularly in these early years the committee still paid attention to a regional balance in the inscriptions and a relative balance in inscriptions of cultural and natural heritage sites.

The political seriousness with which the international community undertook the protection of heritage in accordance with the spirit of the Convention in these years can be measured by the fact that already in 1979 the first site, namely the town of Kotor in Montenegro, was inscribed on both the World Heritage List and, because of the destruction of large parts of the city by an earthquake, on the Danger List in the same year.



Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/125

A political issue that occurred already in this first phase, and that the committee deals with to date, was the application by Jordan for the registration of the old city of Jerusalem and its walls. The inscription was made against the vote of the United States and - history does indeed repeat itself apparently - caused the United States to suspend their voluntary contributions to the World Heritage Fund for several years.



Source: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/148.pdf

Second Stage 1992 – 1999³

The second phase can be considered as the establishment of the World Heritage Convention in the positive as well as the negative sense. It can be viewed positively in that, based on the work of the World Heritage Centre, which was established in 1992, the Convention with its variety of challenges could now be implemented with high quality. In this phase, the criteria for determining the OUV were adapted to the changing social condition several times. Accordingly, the Operational Guidelines were modified and monitoring was extended.

Zone	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total 1 st Stage	Total 2 nd Stage	Total WH Sites
Africa	3	7	0	40	10	50
Arab States	8	1	0	43	9	52
Asia - Pacific	41	16	2	65	59	124
Europe & North America	138	13	3	163	154	317
Latin America & Caribbean	29	11	0	46	40	86
Total 1 st Stage:	260	78	19	357		
Total 2 nd Stage:	219	48	5		272	
Total WH Sites:	479	126	24		·	629

World Heritage inscriptions, Second Stage 1992 - 1999

Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat

The adoption of the so-called *Global Strategy* in 1994, which was to ensure that the World Heritage List actually reflected the OUV specified for the cultural and natural heritage sites, is significant for this phase.

Cultural Landscapes

Following the convention text, this category was not provided in either article 1 of the Convention on the definition of culture or in article 2 of the Convention on the definition of nature. It was difficult to identify and assess the heritage inherent to cultural landscapes in the criteria of the convention,

³ For more in-depth reflections, please see Marie-Theres Albert and Birgitta Ringbeck, 40 Years World Heritage Convention: Popularizing the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, 2015: p. 72 - 76, De Gruyter.

namely the evolution of such landscapes through human influence. Therefore, cultural landscapes had to be included in the Convention via the Operational Guidelines.



Source: http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide12-en.pdf

It is furthermore interesting for this stage that the hitherto globally dominant understanding of authenticity was modified. According to Michael S. Falser, a shift from self-explanatory material monumental heritage towards interpretations took place, influenced in particular by the document *"on authenticity"* which was adopted in Nara, Japan, in 1994, and the *Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, adopted in Burra, Australia, in 1999. This change of meaning contained a potential that could have contextualized material heritage and its intangible interpretations and functions. Unfortunately, this development has not really influenced the sites inscribed. According to Falser, the concept of cultural heritage merely "shifted from monumental, elitist and exclusively superlative categories towards more ordinary ones." This development was accompanied by an "Expansion of Heritage typologies", which now included "among others, industrial, every-day, anonymous and commercial heritage next to sacred buildings and historic city centres" (Falser, 2011, p. 6).

Unfortunately, this development had no effect on the economic interest in the inscriptions. Even with the extensions of the heritage typologies, the gaps in inscriptions between Europe and China on one hand and the rest of the world on the other increased.

As a result, it happens more and more that monuments are stripped of their authenticity and are thus reduced to an outer appearance. Other monuments and historic city centers in particular are turned into museums or even Disneylands.

Third Stage 2000-2005

The 3rd Phase can be described as a phase of stabilization of the success. The members of an expanding heritage community, as well as all other stakeholders, nonetheless had to confront the positive and negative effects of the success of the convention more intensely. The world heritage community had to take note of the fact that the world heritage list had kept, and even increased quantitatively and qualitatively, its Eurocentric and tangible monumental character.

Zone	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total 1 st & 2 nd Stages	Total 3rd Stage	Total WH Sites
Africa	12	2	1	50	15	65
Arab States	8	1	0	52	9	61
Asia - Pacific	30	10	0	124	40	164
Europe & North America	82	10	0	317	92	409
Latin America & Caribbean	15	11	1	86	27	113
Total 1 st & 2 nd Stages:	479	126	24	629		
Total 3 rd Stage:	147	34	2		183	
Total WH Sites:	626	160	26			812

World Heritage inscriptions, Third Stage 2000 - 2005

Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat

The main features of this period are therefore a more intensive implementation of the Global Strategy, formulated in four strategic objectives: *credibility, conservation, capacity-building and communication*. To implement the goals, various measures for the restoration of a credible list were taken. These were adopted on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in 2002 with the *Budapest Declaration*.⁴

⁴ For more in-depth reflections, please see Albert and Ringbeck, 2015, *40 Years World Heritage Convention: Popularizing the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage*, p. 79, De Gruyter; and UNESCO, 2002, Budapest Declaration on World Heritage.

The implementation of the 4 C's can also be regarded as unsuccessful. Their intermediaries remained limited to a hermetic professional discourse and were not able to communicate the goals of the convention to the people. Thus, the implementation of the Convention remained stuck within the technical know-how of experts and not only did not solve the problems, but also enlarged them. In 2007, in New Zealand, the 5th C, for community involvement, was subsequently adopted.⁵ The goal was to bring the protection and usage of heritage back to the stakeholders where it belonged, namely, to the local populations. But the expected results have not yet been achieved with this strategy.

Fourth Stage 2006 – ongoing

Interesting observations about this ongoing fourth phase were made by Bernd von Droste in the previously mentioned article in the anniversary issue of the *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management*.

Zone	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total 1 st , 2 nd & 3 rd Stages	Total 4 th Stage	Total WH Sites
Africa	17	6	2	65	25	90
Arab States	17	2	2	61	21	82*
Asia - Pacific	61	19	3	164	83	247
Europe & North America	75	14	1	409	90	499**
Latin America & Caribbean	20	4	1	113	25	138
Total 1 st , 2 nd & 3 rd Stages:	626	160	26	812		
Total 4 th Stage:	190	45	9		242	
Total WH Sites:	814**	203*	35			1052

World Heritage inscriptions, Fourth Stage 2006 - ongoing

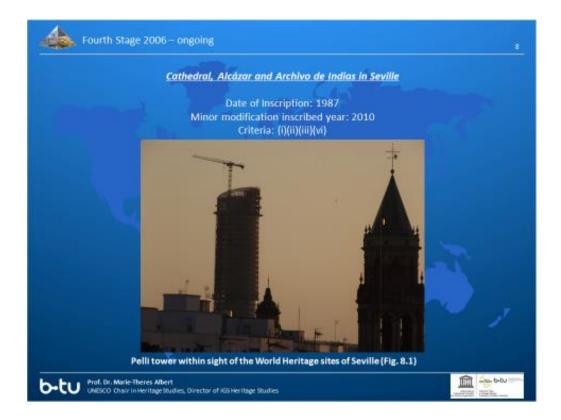
Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat

*Arabian Oryx Sanctuary delisted in 2007 **Dresden Elbe Valley delisted in 2009

He classified this phase as being characterized by a nominating boom that had led to an excess of work for all stakeholders and that had subsequently affected the efficient and effective operations of the committee. What furthermore strongly impacted the decisions of the changing committee is the fact that fewer and fewer experts and more and more international diplomats acted there.

⁵ WHC-07/31.COM/13B 23.5.2007, II, 2.

The diplomats naturally act less for the concern of the convention than for that of the states delegating them. It is therefore not surprising that decisions that are not defensible with the spirit of the Convention are increasingly made. I give you one example



The Torre Pelli in the buffer zone of the historic centre of Seville is one of the very striking examples. Already in 2010, it was regarded as problematic for the integrity of the world heritage and the historic city centre in the ICOMOS evaluation. Spain was asked to take measures to protect the integrity of the site and the OUV. And although in the 2012 committee session in St Petersburg, the majority of the committee has found that the threat to the integrity of the historic city centre has not been eliminated, they were not willing to put the site on the List in Danger. This discussion of Seville and the committee's decision reveal not only new forms of communication and, of course, new forms of the interpretation of the World Heritage Convention, it also shows new coalitions based on political interest.⁶

² Decisions adopted by the Committee in 2013: (UNESCO, 2013)

⁻ Notes the progress with finalizing and approving the Special Protection Plans is due for completion in 2013 and that the buffer zone will be completely covered by these plans; A full progress report should be submitted by February 2015.

For the wider setting, local authorities will be tested with establishing adequate control measures for new constructions;
 No collaboration with ICOMOS has been undertaken on studies necessary for avoid further high-rise buildings that would impact adversely the OUV, but the State Party has made a request to start this process.

²⁰¹⁴ Periodic Reporting: (UNESCO, 2014a)

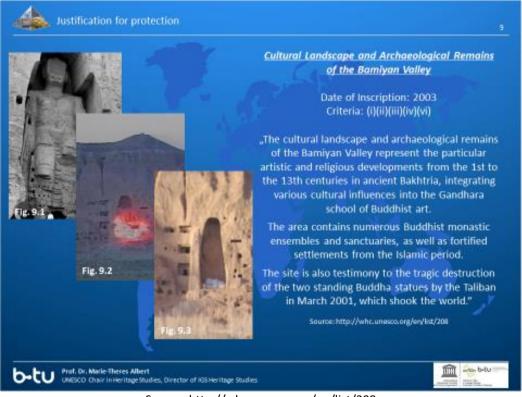
⁻ There are currently no action plans for the three buildings, but there are provisions for improving the area included within a buffer zone whose boundary is under consideration. Provisions made by the City Council include the completion of the Catalogues of buildings to be protected in both of the Conjunto Histórico sectors that have not yet been drawn up to replace the current precatalogues and there are plans to restore two buildings in the proposed buffer zone that relate to the colonization of Latin America, the Atarazanas (shipyard) and the San Telmo palace.

⁻ Problems affecting the ensemble are excess of light and humidity. The first problem is starting to be addressed.

Justification for protection

Against the background of different interests and political decisions in the World Heritage Committee, it is more important than ever that the aforementioned original justification for the emergence of the World Heritage Convention is focused on more strongly. The General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in October 1972 "noting that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions [...]"

This justification has brought about the establishment of the *list in danger* and thus made it possible for sites to be put on the *list in danger* through a resolution of the respective committee when there are threats to the authenticity or integrity of sites or when the OUV is endangered. The goal was to give special attention to these sites, but also financial support and specific advice. The *list in danger* was originally a special instrument of protection analogous to the objectives of the convention. This has also changed, at least in the perception of people.



Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/208

- Inadequacies in the buffer zone make it difficult to maintain OUV. Boundaries are known by management, but not by locals.

2014 State of Conservation Reports: (UNESCO, 2014b)

⁻ The Decree asks to define Special Protection Plans, but at the moment a plan for the "inner" sector is still missing and two plans for other sectors of "conjunto" are being approved.

Authenticity is preserved, integrity is intact. OUV has been impacted by factors and some deficiencies in the implementation of the legal framework undermines the OUV, but the situation is being addressed through effective management actions.
 Other important cultural and/ or natural values and the state of conservation of the property are predominantly intact.

The protection plan and precautions put in place by current legislation regarding heritage protection sufficiently guarantee the
protection of Properties declared as World Heritage Sites and their Buffer Zone. In terms of proposed monitoring measures to
prevent negative impacts on World Heritage Sites, it is believed that the proposed regulations will sufficiently protect the Sites.

The most striking example is the Buddha statues in the Bamiyan Valley. Destroyed by the Taliban in 2001, they were inscribed as world heritage in 2003 and simultaneously placed on the *list in danger*. The rationale for the positioning of sites on a *red list* has led to processes of rethinking also in Germany when sites are endangered by political, social or economic interests.



The debate about Dresden is present at least in my memory. Insofar as one needs to ask whether and in what manner the criteria for the achievement of world heritage status are still relevant. This also concerns the definitions of authenticity and integrity. One needs to ask whether and in which way the economic and social challenges of the 21st century, such as population growth, modernization and infrastructure development can be made compatible with the criteria of the OUV.

These questions have so far been asked and also answered most constructively in the context of the development of urban landscapes. For the first time, they also comprise the usages of the cities by local populations and thus feature real innovations.

Declaration on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes

"In view of the challenges to the preservation of the historic urban landscape, the General Assembly: encourages policy makers, urban planners, city developers, architects, preservationists, property owners, investors and concerned citizens to work together to preserve the urban heritage, while considering the modernisation and development of society in a culturally and historically sensitive manner, strengthening identity and social cohesion;". (UNESCO, 2005, p. 2, para. 3a)

I also think that the conservative understanding of authenticity and integrity must be reconsidered. This also applies to all potential concepts of use. There is now also an initiative in the context of UNESCO, which aims to relate the preservation of sites, in particular historic city centres, to modern urban development concepts and that finds its expression in the Historic Urban Landscape Declaration.

Nevertheless, the justification of the danger to heritage *"by changing social and economic conditions"* seems to me, especially 40 years after its adoption, more relevant than ever for inscriptions of world heritage (UNESCO, 1972, p. 1, para 2). Given interpretations of the significance of the heritage of mankind for future generations, which are changing internationally and politically, a paradigm shift seems to have prevailed that wants to provide world heritage status for material heritage precisely for economic reasons, and these developments are only just beginning.

World heritage and tourism

With the convention the heritage of humanity was supposed to be protected, among others, from the globalizing economies and the consequent adverse impact on the substances of the material and natural heritage. The situation today is that often the UNESCO status in fact triggers the dangers. Sites are no longer nominated in order to protect, but because economic interests are often pursued with the protection, regardless of the consequences for the heritage.



Mainly in the context of the raising tourism use, World heritage has mutated into an exclusive economic factor. Mass tourism in world heritage sites has converted such sites from goods to commodities, which are subject to the laws of the market.

The effects are catastrophic. World Heritage Sites have turned, in many cases simply because of their attractiveness for tourists, into commercial sites where the heritage itself is not the center of attention, but considered only as "trinkets". These are sold in actual or supposed variants of their multicultural, multi-ethnic or multi-religious productions, including appropriate production sites, and have thus become the actual event of the World Heritage Site.

This has turned many of these sites into market places where new and old forms of trading goods are practiced. As important as trade was, and still is, one should expect that the merchants at the World Heritage sites at least know the significance of the place or the site of their work. Unfortunately, this is hardly the case, so that even with these stakeholders the importance of a heritage site has been replaced by the functionality of the economic interest.

Organizer sustainable tourism

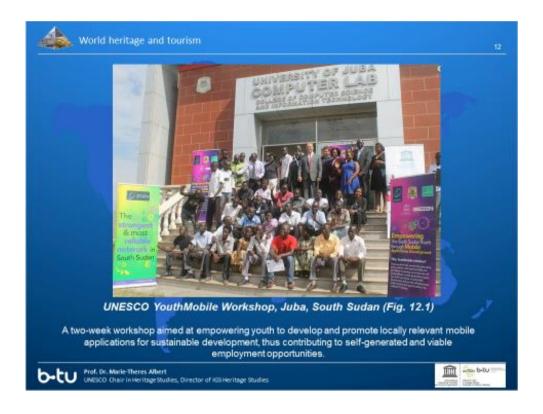
The effects brought about by this change of values are of a fundamental nature. Approaches to solving the problem should thus be fundamental and comprehensive. For example, usage concepts in which sustainability in tourism is reduced to buzzwords like "eco-tourism", "sustainable tourism" or more recently "monument-compatible tourism" is insufficient. Even if that tourism acts with an assumed combination of ecology, economy and social compatibility, these concepts fall short because they cannot solve the fundamental problem.

Criteria Monitoring

Studies on the effects of over-exploitation can be done by processes of monitoring sites, in which the usages resulting from economic interests are presented both qualitatively and quantitatively and compared with the substance of the material site. For the other nominated sites, potential hazards of any kind would have to be reported during the nomination process and to be evaluated in regard to their impact on the sustainable use of the site. In other words, the demand of sustainability, sustainable use or use in the interest of sustainable development is already in place, but should be applied particularly to any type of usage concept.

Because if one looks at the impact of tourism usages on many World Heritage sites, we are still far away from creative approaches.

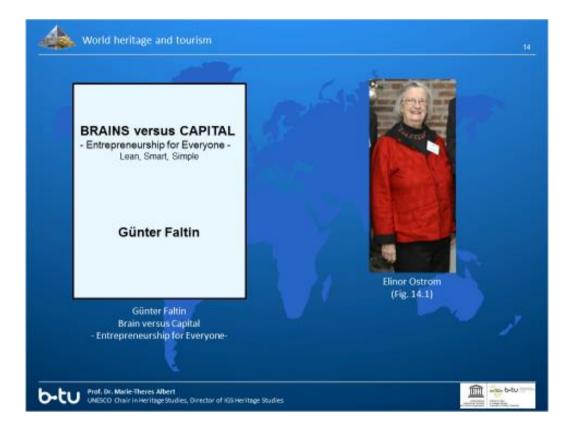
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Criticism of constructs of sustainable use of World Heritage Sites is also aimed at those approaches that demand sustainability in the context of social and economic development without considering the interests of stakeholders involved. In other words, sustainability and local participation in development processes is a demand that is well known in political discourse and relatively widespread. It is also known that for the implementation of this strategy, a concept of "capacity-building" or "empowerment" is needed. The question that must be answered, however, is to find out why the strategies employed are rarely successful.



In my view, reasons for failures are to be sought where demands are made that are detached from real existing constellations of interests and power, for example, the large differences between the local population's interest in keeping the environment and the economic developers in expecting profit. One needs to ask which alternatives could there be beyond the quantitative tolerance calculations of world heritage sites that are daily overrun by tourists or beyond economic development strategies exploitation of mineral or oil enterprises.



To conceive inheritance under economic criteria means to include innovative ideas from f.e. *entrepreneurship*, from *public-private partnership*, but also from the concepts of the Nobel laureate Elinor Ostrom involving the *Commons*. Concepts of sustainability that include alternative models of thought should also be included in those concepts that are not directly related to economic interests. I think in the combination of innovative economic factors, such as approaches of entrepreneurship, with cultural policies for human development lies the future potentials for the usage of world heritage.

Thank you for your attention!

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Figures:

Fig. 1.1: *"Djenne"* by Frank in Guinea. Licensed under CC BY 2.0. (www.flickr.com/photos/guineaswerve/409847442)

- Fig. 1.2: *"Würzburg Residence gardens"* by Julie Corsi. Licensed under CC BY 2.0. (www.flickr.com/photos/corsinet/7291553918)
- Fig. 1.3: *"Wachau Donau"* by Pentcheff & Wetzer. Licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0. (www.flickr.com/photos/9841930@N03/765067675c)
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