

SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS OF THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST:  
HOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND  
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS AFFECTING THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD  
HERITAGE PROGRAM

By

LAUREN MOULDER

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# **ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS**

Socio-Economic Trends of the World Heritage List:  
How the Relationship Between Developed and Developing  
Countries is Affecting the Future of the World Heritage Program

By LAUREN MOULDER

Thesis Director: Dr. Archer St. Clair-Harvey

As the World Heritage List approaches its 1000<sup>th</sup> site, the inevitable question is: “What is the future of the List?” Searching for this answer can only begin through an examination of the trends and data of sites and countries represented on the List. Through 35-years, 190 countries, and 982 sites, the List has consistently been reflective of major political and economic world events, as cultural health is directly related to economic, political, and social health. Countries that have the most stable socio-economic status, or Most-Developed, dominate the list. With this in mind, the World Heritage Committee established the Global Strategy in 1994 to balance the List and expand the World Heritage program around the world. The Asia and Pacific region was highly supported by the initiatives of the World Heritage Centre, including the Local Effort and Preservation program, and the financial support through the Funds-in-Trust of Most-Developed countries.

Whereas many developed countries once endeavored to designate many of their sites on the World Heritage List, now many of these countries are turning away from the inherited problems of listing. The turbulent economic climate in recent

years has made economic security and growth a priority for countries. Communities are willing to risk their World Heritage status in order to bring about new development. The first city to lose their World Heritage status over this situation was Dresden, in 2009. Now the United Kingdom has four sites in danger of losing their designation because of development projects.

This thesis aims to examine the changing situations that cause a declining participation in the World Heritage program, and how despite the World Heritage Committee's best efforts, many developing countries are losing international, national, and local support. Sites in developing countries or small communities may also face local political and social aversion to designation. When these situations are compounded with decreasing financial support, developing countries may also look to sacrifice their place in the program, just as has been becoming the trend for developed countries.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>AFR</b>	Africa
<b>APA</b>	Asia and the Pacific
<b>ARB</b>	Arab States
<b>EUR</b>	Europe and North America
<b>FiT</b>	Funds-in-Trust
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fun
<b>LAC</b>	Latin America and the Caribbean
<b>LEAP</b>	Local Effort and Preservation
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>SIDS</b>	Small Island Developing States
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
<b>UN-OHRLLS</b>	United Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States
<b>WHC</b>	World Heritage Centre
<b>WHL</b>	World Heritage List
<b>WHS</b>	World Heritage Site

## Chapter I: Introduction

In the celebration of important cultural and historical sites, monuments, and landscapes, the pinnacle of international accolades is an inscription on the United Nation's Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) World Heritage List. A place on the World Heritage List signifies the "outstanding universal value"<sup>1</sup> of a site among iconic monuments and natural wonders, such as the Great Pyramids of Giza (Egypt, designated in 1979), the Tower of London (United Kingdom, designated in 1988), Grand Canyon (United States, designated in 1979), and the Great Wall of China (China, designated in 1987).

The past 35 years of the World Heritage List (the List), started in 1978, has emphasized the importance of the shared legacy of our world's heritage.<sup>2</sup> UNESCO's World Heritage Convention and the programs of the World Heritage Centre (WHC) promote the recognition, research, and preservation of sites on a global scale. As the List approaches its 1000<sup>th</sup> site, it is important to look at the designation trends of the List over the past 35 years and 983 sites. The List showcases historical sites and cultural landscapes from nearly every country and culture in the world.

Attempting to completely examine the history of the List is impossible within the confines of the WHC's data, which only focuses on regional, categorical and thematic information. I propose a new system of labeling countries by their socio-economic status, based on the systems of the three major organizations of world

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<sup>1</sup> World Heritage Centre. "The Criteria for Selection," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>.

<sup>2</sup> World Heritage Centre. "World Heritage," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.

development: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations. This new source of information provides a different view of the trends of the List, the relationships between developed and developing countries represented on the List, and the impact of the similarities and differences between these two types of countries —especially when faced with the difficulties of designating a World Heritage Site or Sites.

The history of UNESCO's involvement with the protection and promotion of sites displaying outstanding universal value began in 1959 with the international campaign to save the monuments and temples of Nubia from the construction of the Aswan Dam. Construction of the vital dam would have submerged several monuments dating from as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE, including Abu Simbel and the temple of Ramesses II.<sup>3</sup> An international campaign was sparked by requests to UNESCO by Egypt's then-government, the United Arab Republic (UAR), and the Sudanese government, to help rescue these sites. Experts in preservation and engineering from around the world assisted in developing and implementing the 20-year project, with the UAR and UNESCO working closely throughout the process. Funding was provided through UNESCO, the UAR, and nearly 50 foreign nations. The United States was the largest foreign supporter, contributing USD\$14 million dollars (1960), only USD\$2.5 million less than contributed by the UAR.<sup>4</sup> France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom

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<sup>3</sup> Berg, L. "The Salvage of the Abu Simbel Temples." *Monumentum*, 17 (1978): 25-56.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 34



provided extensive funding in addition to teams of archeological and engineering experts.<sup>5</sup>

After the first stages of the Nubian Campaign showed promise of success, other nations petitioned UNESCO for assistance with safeguarding their most valuable sites from both natural and man-made destruction. During the 1970s, UNESCO began long-term preservation projects at the archaeological ruins at Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistan and the Borobudur Temple Compounds in Indonesia. In addition to these projects, UNESCO also rallied the international community to restore the city of Venice after record flooding seriously damaged its historic buildings in the fall of 1966.<sup>6</sup>

In the midst of these campaigns, UNESCO issued the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection and the Preservation of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, commonly known as the World Heritage Convention.<sup>7</sup> The states parties which adhere to this convention have agreed to ensure the recognition, protection, conservation and promotion of cultural and natural heritage within their borders and around the world. The cornerstone of this convention was the creation of the World Heritage List. Countries party to the World Heritage Convention are able to nominate sites, monuments, and landscapes to this prestigious list. As of June 2013, the World Heritage List contains 981 properties of both cultural, natural, or mixed

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<sup>5</sup> World Heritage Centre. "50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Nubia Campaign," March 31, 2009. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/497/>.

<sup>6</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Success Stories," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/107/>.

<sup>7</sup> World Heritage Centre. "The World Heritage Convention," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/>.

cultural/natural heritage, from 160 of the 190 states parties of the World Heritage Convention.<sup>8</sup>

The naissance of the World Heritage Convention highlights its most fundamental goal of making it a global responsibility to protect the cultural heritage of all communities. International accountability was established for countries with financial and professional resources to assist those without these resources. In the case of the Nubian campaign, which began in 1969, Italy, France, the United States and the United Kingdom— all economically- and educationally-developed countries— came to the assistance of Egypt and Sudan, which were still both developing countries. With the exception of the campaign for major restoration in flood-prone Venice, the other early UNESCO programs focused on the preservation and protection of sites within developing countries. Many of UNESCO's later major campaigns also focused on developing countries, including campaigns in Cambodia, Croatia, Kenya, Nepal, and Tanzania.

With the expansion of the World Heritage List, those nations with the most resources took advantage of their ability to nominate and designate numerous sites. This led to a perceived disproportion of the locations of World Heritage Sites around the world. Despite the early focus on the developing world, including designating sites in Egypt (five sites in 1979) and in Ethiopia (two sites in 1978 and one in 1979) the List was considered to favor Western, First-world, or developed

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<sup>8</sup> World Heritage Centre. "World Heritage," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.

countries. As a result, the World Heritage Committee announced its Global Strategy program in 1994. The program was created to assist developing nations nominate, designate, and manage World Heritage Sites. UNESCO's commitment to facilitating the expansion of cultural heritage in developing nations continued after the launch of the Global Strategy with programs aimed at specific regions. Of the five regions identified by UNESCO (Africa, Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, Latin American Countries), Asia and the Pacific (APA) is the second-largest region of developing nations (surpassed slightly by Africa). The Global Strategy, Local Effort for Preservation and Small Islands Developing States programs have since focused their efforts on the APA region.

The use of the terms developed and developing to describe a country, while often controversial, can be an important tool in understanding the history of an international program, such as the World Heritage List. Three major international organizations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nation's Human Development Index, use similar terms to categorize nations of the world based on their socio-economic status. While the WHC provides data on the World Heritage Sites, including organization by year, region, or country, it does not consider the socio-economic statuses of countries and their relationship to the listing of World Heritage Sites. By applying these techniques to the countries represented on the World Heritage List, the roles of these two types of countries, developed and developing, can be further examined by evaluating the trends over the List's 35-year history.

As this thesis will demonstrate, there is a well-established difference in the significance of a World Heritage Site designation between developed and developing countries. For many developed nations such as Italy, France, Japan and China, accumulating World Heritage Sites became a quest to collect as many as possible.<sup>9</sup> Although for many of the sites in these countries the financial gains are negligible (as many of these sites already had a robust tourism industry), it has traditionally been easier to finance the costs of site nomination and management than it is for developing nations. But for developing countries, the financial gains from new or increased tourism can be a major benefit for both the local and national community.<sup>10</sup> Unlike most developed nations, many of these countries lack the political and financial stability to fully participate in the World Heritage List. Therefore, these countries greatly rely on those programs created by the WHC and the international assistance provided by many developed nations, such as France, Germany and Norway—each of which have a large contribution program.

With recent global economic events— in particular, the Great Recession of 2008—affecting nearly every country, the effort to gain more World Heritage inscriptions among developed countries such as Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and the United Kingdom has slowed. Similar trends can also be seen in relation to other major economic and political worldwide events throughout the World Heritage

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<sup>9</sup> McGuire, M. P. "What's at Stake in Designating Japan's Sacred Mountains as UNESCO World Heritage Sites? Shugendo practices in the Kii Peninsula." *Japanese Journal Of Religious Studies*, 40(2), (2013): p. 329

<sup>10</sup> Francis-Lindsay, J. "The Intrinsic Value of Cultural Heritage and its Relationship to Sustainable Tourism Development: The Contrasting Experiences of Jamaica and Japan". *Caribbean Quarterly*, (2009): p. 152

program's history, including the Black Monday recession of 1989, the Dot-Com Bubble Burst and the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the early 2000s. The declining interest in the program by these countries during difficult economic and political times also affects the many developing countries supported by Funds-in-Trust and other programs financed by developed nations.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the economic factors that contributed to diminishing support for World Heritage Sites, the political relationship between certain developed countries and the World Heritage Committee can be strained when the goals of a country and the Committee are not in agreement with regard to a site. This situation was seen at Dresden Elbe Valley (designated in 2004), in Germany, the first World Heritage Site in a developed nation to be De-listed (in 2009),<sup>12</sup> and now at Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City (designated in 2004), in the United Kingdom,<sup>13</sup> which is also being threatened with De-listing. As illustrated in these examples, the limited economic gains, increased political negotiating, and regulatory oversight by UNESCO has begun to outweigh the prestige of having a World Heritage Site, especially for developed countries and sites that do not rely on the WHC's support for promotion, preservation, or management.

Developing countries have begun to experience similar difficulties. In addition to the economic burdens of site nomination, designation, and management, the political and social pressures put on local communities has lowered enthusiasm

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<sup>11</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Our Partners," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/partners/>.

<sup>12</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Dresden Elbe Valley," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1156/>.

<sup>13</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Committee Decision: Liverpool-Maritime Mercantile City (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)," WHC-12/36 COM 7B.93 (2012, July).

toward to the program. As for developed countries, these political issues are mainly based on issues of ownership and control, both in legality and in traditional or cultural understanding. In the APA region, where many of the world's developing nations are located, two sites have illustrated the economic and political difficulties associated with World Heritage Site designation: Levuka Historical Port Town (designated in 2013), Fiji, and the Town of Luang Prabang (designated in 1995), Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR). Both of these sites have been involved in special programs to assist developing nations in this region, yet many problems still remain, even long after designation.

This thesis aims to understand the future of the World Heritage List by examining the trends of the World Heritage List's 35-year history via the designation of sites by countries of different socio-economic status. To do this, we must first understand why it is important to distinguish the socio-economic statuses of the countries represented on the World Heritage List. We must also consider how the current participation of countries in the World Heritage program has been affected by trends in designation.

By focusing on developing nations of the APA region, we can see how these status distinctions have affected the programming of the World Heritage Centre and in which ways these programs have been both effective and unsuccessful. After examining the trends and programs that affect the nomination, designation, and management of sites in developing countries, I will focus on two sites in developing countries of the Asia and Pacific region: Levuka Township, in Fiji, and Luang Prabang in Lao PDR.

Some World Heritage Sites located around small communities in developed countries can face similar socio-economic difficulties as sites in developing countries. Two sites in Japan, the Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range (designated in 2004) and the Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama (designated in 1995), illustrate the relationship of social, political and economic problems in the sites of small communities. The problems in these developing countries and small community sites are similar to those faced by developed nations, such as Germany and the United Kingdom, even with consideration to their socio-economic differences. Germany and the United Kingdom have the socio-economic standing to change their situation, and they are choosing to move away from WHC control of their sites, which may prove the most beneficial for their cities and communities. Sites in developing countries, especially those still struggling to keep up with the responsibilities associated with World Heritage Sites, may look to the history of Dresden or Liverpool to ascertain how the history of those sites could affect future decisions regarding the designation or even De-listing of their own World Heritage Sites

## **Chapter 2: Understanding the Socio-Economic Status of Countries Represented on the World Heritage List**

Statistical information can be an important tool for both understanding the way an organization or program works and for gauging the success of said programs. The data created from analyzing a program's statistical information can become a valuable resource for advertising the work being done, and the potential impact of that work. The World Heritage Centre (WHC) tracks statistics of countries partied to the World Heritage Convention and the sites designated to the World Heritage List (the List), including regional and chronological data. However, there is no public information based on a country's economic status or political power, despite many programs and policies that are based on ideologies related to that information.

Many global organizations have methods in place to identify countries based on socio-economic factors. These systems use various terms to label countries such that data can be derived from a general understanding of their socio-economic condition. The terms developed and developing are vernacular terms used by academic and media sources to describe countries of higher and lower socio-economic status, respectively. In this chapter I will introduce the terms Most-Developed, Developed, Developing and Least Developed to categorize the countries represented on the World Heritage List. In addition, by observing how world economic and political events affect the history of the World Heritage List, we can further understand the designation trends throughout the List's history. By



examining the trends shown through this new way of tracking data, we can come to new conclusions, as well as reinforce former ones, about the sites and countries represented on the World Heritage List.

## **Part I: International Efforts to Label Countries**

The terms developing and developed, although commonly used in both academic and public reporting, have been widely criticized in recent years.<sup>14</sup> In common practice, Western or First-World nations are considered to be developed countries, while Second or Third-World nations are developing. Labeling nations First, Second, or Third started after WWII; the West was identified as First world, Communist nations as Second, and all else as Third. With the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the global economic boom of the 1990s, these terms lost their relevancy. However, there are still great divides between many countries of the world when considering economic, political, and social health.

Most international organizations have their own system for categorizing countries, which can be a useful tool in examining international trends in economic and political situations, and creating specialized programs for specific groups of countries. The three major international organizations, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are leaders in categorizing countries by their socio-economic development.

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<sup>14</sup> Olopade, D. "The End of the 'Developing World,'" *The New York Times*. February 28, 2014. Retrieved from [www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/opinion/sunday/forget-developing-fat-nations-must-go-lean.html?ref=opinion&r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/01/opinion/sunday/forget-developing-fat-nations-must-go-lean.html?ref=opinion&r=0).

These organizations' systems are often utilized by other international organizations and referenced together when commenting on a country's socio-economic status or overall development.

The United Nations (UN) uses the Human Development Index (HDI) to measure the general standard of living of nations through a numerical system. This separates countries into Very High Human Development, High Human Development, Medium Human Development, and Low Human Development.<sup>15</sup> The quality of a country's standard of living measured by the HDI encompasses education, child welfare, life expectancy, human rights, poverty rate, infrastructure and many other factors. The United Nations also uses another term, Least Developed Countries, to categorize 50 countries, including 34 African nations, 14 Asian-Pacific nations, and one American nation.<sup>16</sup>

The World Bank also uses four categories to organize countries by their Gross National Income, which gives an overview of the general economic health of a country. These terms include High Income, Upper Middle Income, Lower Middle Income, and Low Income. Eighty-four nations are considered Low or Lower-Middle income, with 22 of those nations being in East Asia and the South Pacific regions.<sup>17</sup> The World Bank also works closely with the Organisation [sic] for the Economic Co-

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<sup>15</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade and Developed "UN list of Least Developed Countries," (2013). Retrieved from <http://unctad.org/en/pages/aldc/Least%20Developed%20Countries/UN-list-of-Least-Developed-Countries.aspx>.

<sup>16</sup> The United Nations. "UN-OHRLLS homepage," (2014). Retrieved from <http://unohrlls.org/>.

<sup>17</sup> The World Bank "Countries and Economies," (2014). Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/country>.

operation and Development (OECD)<sup>18</sup>, an organization whose members have advanced economies, a very high HDI, and are regarded as developed countries.

The IMF uses two groups, Advanced and Emerging-Developing to generally categorize countries by their economic outlook. Several sub-groups, including Major Advanced and Low-Income Developing are used to further define countries. Thirty-four countries are considered Advanced Economies, including Taiwan and Hong Kong, two regions grouped with China in other organizations. The IMF considers 149 countries to be Emerging- Developing Economies, with 73 of the nations considered Low-Income Developing Economies. Of those in the Low-Income Developing Economies category, 19<sup>19</sup> are APA nations.<sup>20</sup>

Recent editorial reports have criticized these ways of categorizing countries to determine their development status. Reports in both *The New York Times*<sup>21</sup> and on *CNN Online*<sup>22</sup> discuss how these systems of organization tie countries to a defined status not reflective of the countries' actual development status. Dayo Olopade's article, "The End of the 'Developing World,'" discusses the usefulness of the terms developed and developing.<sup>23</sup> Olopade highlights the resourcefulness of developing nations in using their limited resources and the extensive social and economic problems facing developed nations. In the "Classifications on Countries Based on

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<sup>18</sup> Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. "The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)," (N.D.). <http://www.oecd.org/about>.

<sup>19</sup> Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Kiribati, Kyrgyzstan, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Vanuatu, Viet Nam

<sup>20</sup> International Monetary Fund. "World Economic Outlook," (2013, April). Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2013/01/index.htm>.

<sup>21</sup> Olopade, (2014)

<sup>22</sup> Rosling, Han. "Changing World: Why Developing vs. Developed is now Meaningless," *CNN Online*. December 10, 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/2013/12/10/opinion/gapminder-hans-rosling/>.

<sup>23</sup> Olopade, (2014)

Their Level of Development: How it is Done and How it Could be Done,” Lyng Nielsen explained the history of these three organizations’ efforts to categorize countries based on quantifiable data.<sup>24</sup> This study also showed some of the inconsistencies of categorizing countries, many based on the traditional roles of countries despite their changing economic status. While all three organizations share a similar group of countries in their categories reserved for developed countries, some countries are labeled developing in one classification and developed in another. According to the IMF, Brunei Darussalam is an Emerging and Developing Nation while it is a Very High Human Development nation in the UN and a High-Income Economy nation in the World Bank. Sri Lanka is also considered an Emerging and Developing Nation in the IMF, but a Low Middle Income by the World Bank and High Human Development by the United Nations.

Despite some inaccuracies among the major classifications systems and the criticisms of quantifying a country’s economic, political, and social health by sometimes irrelevant statistics, general terminology can help to describe an overall understanding of a country and show trends between nations of different socio-economic status. Nielsen concluded that these organizations do come to similar conclusions, each of which could be broken into the designating terms developed and developing.<sup>25</sup> In addition, each organization has either separated their general terms into more specific categories, created subgroups among the general terms, or

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<sup>24</sup> Nielsen, Lyng. “Level of Development: How it is Done and How it Could be Done,” International Monetary Fund Working Paper. (2011, February): p. 8-9

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 5-7

both. Olopade's critique of term developing is based on the stigma attached to those countries, with the historical connotation being that they will always be developing.<sup>26</sup> Ford's article is a direct response to the Gates Foundation's 2014 Annual Letter, "3 Myths That Block Progress for the Poor," in which the Foundation stresses the important work being done in developing countries with the help of foreign aid. In the public view, countries that are deemed developing need aid.<sup>27</sup> With this in mind, it can be deduced that the term developing encourages outside financial assistance. While more countries than ever can be considered middle-income nations (defined as countries with a strong middle-class), many of these countries still benefit — or even rely—on foreign assistance.

## **Part II: Applying Socio-Economic Labeling to the World Heritage List**

If applied to the past 35 years of the World Heritage Convention, the categorization of countries by the systems of the above-listed international organizations can expand our understanding of the history of the World Heritage List. The cultural health of a nation is directly related to a country's economic, political, and social health. By examining the relationship between the designation of World Heritage Sites and a country's socio-economic status, we can come to conclusions based on the designation trends of the World Heritage Committee. This information can be used to understand programs of the Committee, the influence of

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<sup>26</sup> Olopade, (2014)

<sup>27</sup> Gates, B. "3 Myths That Block Progress for the Poor," Gates Foundation Annual Letter. January, 2014. Retrieved from <http://annualletter.gatesfoundation.org/#section=home>.

world events on World Heritage List designation, and the relationships between countries in different socio-economic groups.

### **Section 1: Proposed Labeling Convention**

Taking into consideration the categorization systems by the UN, IMF, and World Bank, and the internal programs of UNESCO, I propose a four-term system of labeling countries<sup>28</sup> by their socio-economic status: Most-Developed, Developed, Developing, and Least-Developed.<sup>29</sup>

#### **Most-Developed Countries**

This category contains countries that are traditionally associated with the terms Western or First-World, such as the United Kingdom, France, and the United States of America. However, in addition to traditional Western nations, this group also contains Major Advanced, High-income, and Very High Human Development countries in Asia and the Middle East, including the United Arab Emirates,<sup>30</sup> South Korea, and Japan. The only major difference in categorization between the three major organizations and the system proposed here is the inclusion of China in Most-Developed. Although China has one of the largest economies, and the second highest nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) — second to the United States— the Communist government and low per capita GDP, caused by the income disparity among the large population, has kept the country categorized as developing in each

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<sup>28</sup> This system will be limited to countries represented on the World Heritage List.

<sup>29</sup> When referring to the labels established in this section, the terms will be capitalized.

<sup>30</sup> The IMF currently labels the UAE as a “Rapidly Emerging Economy,” which is a sub-category of “Emerging-Developing Economies.” The UAE has been under review to be upgraded.

system. China is ranked as Medium Human Development, Upper Middle Income and an Emerging-Developing Economy.<sup>31</sup>

With regard to public and private spending on cultural projects, however, China has been a leading figure since the mid-1990s. China's path to being the second biggest economy in the world began in the late 1980s and with the consistent economic growth has come the interest to promote arts and culture.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the economic interests associated with encouraging a cultural heritage industry, the arts and culture industry provides another medium for the government to grow its "soft power"<sup>33</sup> and add a stronger cultural aspect to its national identity.<sup>34</sup> In recent years, China has been building about 100 museums a year;<sup>35</sup> in 2011 alone, almost 400 museums were built.<sup>36</sup> By the end of 2013, China had amassed nearly 4,000 museums. Because of China's economic strength and intensive cultural pursuits, it has been listed as a Most Developed country for the purpose of this thesis.

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<sup>31</sup> Like the UAE, China is also considered an "economy in transition" by the IMF.

<sup>32</sup> Blumefield, Tami. & Silverman, Helaine. *Cultural Heritage Politics in China*. Springer Science+Business Media, New York, 2013: p. 206-212

<sup>33</sup> Soft power is described by the Oxford Dictionary as "a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence."

<sup>34</sup> Movius, Lisa. "Build First and Find the Art to Fill Them," *The Art Newspaper*. 2013, May 22, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.theartnewspaper.com/articles/Build-first-and-find-the-art-to-fill-them-later/29586>.

<sup>35</sup> Cotter, Holland. "A Building Boom as Chinese Art Rises in Stature," *The New York Times*. March 20, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/21/arts/artsspecial/a-prosperous-china-goes-on-a-museum-building-spree.html?pagewanted=2>.

<sup>36</sup> "Mad About Museums," *The Economist*. December 21, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21591710-china-building-thousands-new-museums-how-will-it-fill-them-mad-about-museums>.

### **Developed Countries**

Many of the countries in this category may be considered a more socio-economically advanced country within another system, but they are not consistently ranked across major world organizations. These countries are ranked as having a High and Very High Human Development Index, Upper-middle-income or High-income by the World Bank, and an Emerging-Developing economy by the IMF. Also, these countries are not traditionally associated as developed or First-World nations, such as most of those in the aforementioned Most-Developed category, including Brazil, Hungary, Cyprus and Chile. These countries are traditionally perceived as developing, but actually have the qualifying socio-economic factors of a developed country.

### **Developing Countries**

The term developing previously included all countries that were Non-Western, Third-World, or Non-Industrialized. These Developing countries are either ranked in the lower categories of the three major systems, or they are inconsistently ranked, from Upper-middle to Low-income and Medium to Low Human Development. All of these countries are described as Emerging-Developing economies by the IMF. As opposed to the traditional connotations of the term developing, these countries are generally progressing to more stable socio-economic situation with their own resources, but may still rely on foreign aid to subsidize economic programs and social services.



### **Least-Developed Countries**

As noted, historically, any countries that were not First-World, Western or Industrialized would be considered developing. In this way, a country like Mexico, a Developing country, could be grouped with one such as Mali, a Least-Developed country. Using the term Least-Developed separates those countries that are stuck in cycles of extreme poverty, unstable governments, and civil wars, from countries that are developing and progressing at a much higher rate, although not yet themselves developed. These countries are ranked lowest in human development and considered a Low-income and an Emerging-Developing economy. These countries, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, and Haiti, for example, rely heavily on foreign assistance, often financial, political, and even military.

### **Section 2: Applications of Labeling Convention to the World Heritage List**

Organizing the countries represented on the World Heritage List by their socio-economic status provides opportunities to show new data based on the trends in the designation of World Heritage Sites. Since 1978 the WHC has designated 983 sites<sup>37</sup> within 160 states parties.<sup>38</sup> UNESCO has organized its states parties into five regions: Africa (AFR), Asia and the Pacific (APA), the Arab States (ARB), Europe and North America (EUR), and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), and uses this information, along with the categories of sites (natural, cultural, mixed) and themes

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<sup>37</sup> This figure includes the 2 sites that have since been De-listed.

<sup>38</sup> This figure includes the Holy See and Palestine, both of whom are “observer states” in the United Nations.

(Cities, Forest, Marine, Landscape) to judge the balance<sup>39</sup> of the List. Whereas developed countries are often situated in Europe and North America, new Most-Developed nations are appearing in other regions, notably LAC and APA. With the slowly changing demographics of world regions, analyzing sites by region and type alone does not provide in-depth insight into the true content of the List, especially with regard to socio-economic factors.

Figure 1 illustrates the number of sites designated to the List every year since its inception in 1978. As shown, the List has expanded both times of steady economic growth and large economic fluctuations. A simple view of the history of the World Heritage List does not provide specific information about the program itself, although it can be postulated that the major declines in site designations can be correlated to world political and economic events. As described by economists Junior and Franca, financial markets are often associated with other current events, so major global events are often correlated. Examples of these events, as related to the history of the World Heritage List will be explained in detail following Figure 1.

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<sup>39</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy' and Thematic Studies for a Representative World Heritage List," WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6 (1994, October 13).

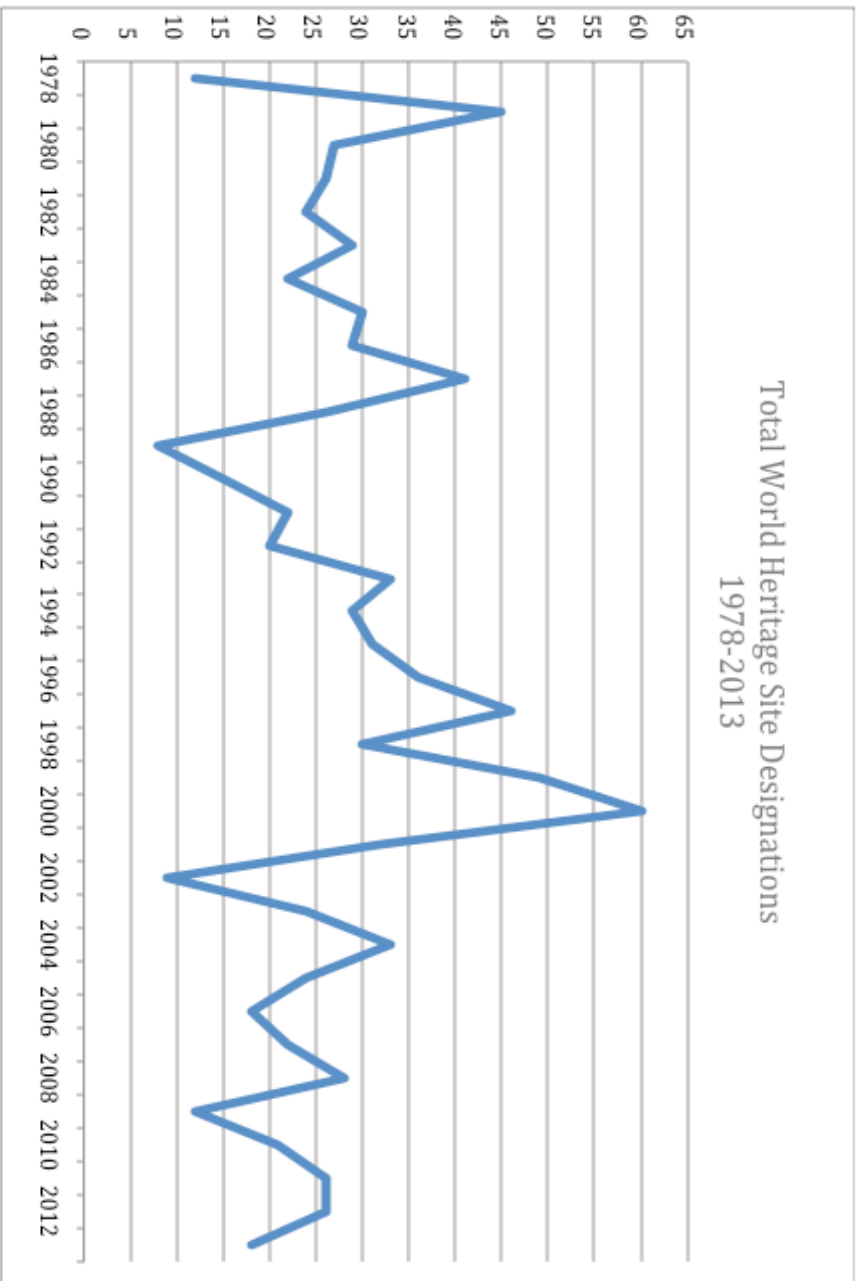


Fig. 1 Total World Heritage Site Designations, 1978-2013

After the first two years of inception, the List maintained a constant level of designations until the end of the first 10 years, when there was a sharp decline through 1989. Within two years, the designation rate went from a high of 41 sites in 1987 to the List's lowest rate to date of eight sites in 1989. When looking at world events at this time, the major economic event called Black Monday in 1987<sup>40</sup> could be understood as a factor in the major decline during this period. The Dow Jones Industrial Average had its largest one-day percentage decline in stock market history, at 22.6%.<sup>41</sup> This financial crisis quickly became a global event seriously affecting many economies in Most-Developed nations. At the time of Black Monday, major unrest was spreading across the Communist states, which later resulted in the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.<sup>42</sup> Many of the countries affected by the dissolution of the Soviet Union were Developed and Developing countries.

The 1990s' overall trend was a major increase in the number of listed WH List sites, which can be related to the economic boom that occurred in many Most-Developed countries. This boom was related to the Dot-Com Bubble, which saw record increases in the Dow Jones Industrial Average. In contrast to the general economic prosperity in these countries, many Developing and Least-Developed countries saw inconsistent economic growth.<sup>43</sup> In 1994, UNESCO established its Global Strategy (detailed in Chapter 3), which reflects the overall prosperity in

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<sup>40</sup> Sandoval Junior, L., & Franca, I. D. P. "Correlation of Financial Markets in Times of Crisis." *Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and Its Applications*, 391(1), (2012): p. 196-197

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.198.

<sup>43</sup> Lin, Justin Yifu. & Rosenblatt, David. "Shifting Patterns of Economic Growth and Rethinking Development," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper. (2012, April): p.34-36

Most-Developed countries and economic insecurity in Developing and Least-Developed countries.

After the highest peak in designation, 60 sites in 2000, the List saw its largest drop to nine sites in 2002. Two major factors could be attributed to this massive decline over two years: the burst of the Dot-Com Bubble in 2000, and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States. The Dot-Com Bubble is the colloquial term for the mass crash of technology companies that had built a major part of the economic boom of the 1990s. With the expansion of Internet usage on an international level, especially in the financial sphere, the effects of this burst were worldwide. In addition to these financially difficult times, the world was shocked by the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001. The attacks had a significant economic impact, shutting the US stock market for six days, and causing a 14.3% drop in the Dow Jones Industrial Average.<sup>44</sup> This action started the United States' Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq respectively. The political and economic global instability at the beginning of the decade could be partially responsible for the limited growth of the List, relative to the 1990s, as well as the turbulent rises and falls in designations from year to year. The events affected countries of all types, from Most-Developed to Least-Developed.

The last major economic event to affect the global financial sphere was the Great Recession of 2008-2009, but its effects are still being felt seven years later. This event was unique compared to those previously described because it was the

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<sup>44</sup> Junior, p. 201-204

first economic decline to reach the IMF criteria for being a global recession. One of the IMF's criteria was the overall decline in annual Real World GDP per-capita, meaning that national GDPs fell at a rate sufficient to lower the entire world average.<sup>45</sup> This recession was especially difficult for most of Europe's Most-Developed countries such as Spain, Greece, Portugal, Italy, the United Kingdom and France; it also affected Most-Developed nations outside of Europe, such as Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, the United Arab Emirates and South Korea. Many Developed and Developing countries were also affected.<sup>46</sup> Contrary to Junior and Franca's observation that financial events often follow political ones, the Great Recession contributed to the civil unrest in many Most-Developed and Developed countries, including the United Kingdom, Spain, Greece, Iceland, Russia, and the United States. Massive protests, riots, and strikes caused national strife for many of these countries by disrupting public services and creating divides between large corporations, national governments, and the general population. The Arab Spring that began in Tunisia, 2010, started a cycle of protests, riots, and civil wars in Developing and Least-Developed Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East. These civil uprisings stemmed from economic decline, high unemployment, human rights violations and political corruption.

UNESCO's relationship with the United States at this time also lead to decreased support for the World Heritage program. Because of UNESCO's decision to include the Palestine Liberation Organisation [sic] as an Observer State in 2011,

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<sup>45</sup> Islam, Iyanatul. & Verick, Sher. "The Great Recession of 2008-2009: Causes, Consequences and Policy Responses." IZA Discussion Paper Services. (2010, May): p.21

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 5-6

the United States withdrew from the organization.<sup>47</sup> The United States provided over USD\$60 million in contributions to UNESCO per year,<sup>48</sup> with USD\$1.5 allocated for the World Heritage Fund (WHF). In 2011, the total expected states parties contribution to the WHF was estimated at USD\$2.6 million.<sup>49</sup> The WHF saw a 58% decrease in yearly contributions because of the United States' departure from UNESCO.

As shown by this analysis, there is strong evidence of a correlation between major world economic and political events and the history of the World Heritage List. However, these observations are general and cannot give specific information on the behavior of countries in different socio-economic categories. Figure 2 shows the history of the World Heritage List by each category of country: Most-Developed, Developed, Developing, and Least-Developed.

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<sup>47</sup> Roy, Sandip. "I am Still Daddy' US Tells UNESCO. But is the World Listening?" *Firstpost Online*. November 1, 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.firstpost.com/world/i-am-still-daddy-us-tells-unesco-but-is-the-world-listening-120430.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> "Statement of Compulsory and Voluntary Contributions 2011-10-31" World Heritage Centre. October 31, 2010. Retrieved from file:///Users/lmo/Downloads/document-365-4%20(1).pdf.

### World Heritage Site Designations by Socio-Economic Status, 1978-2013

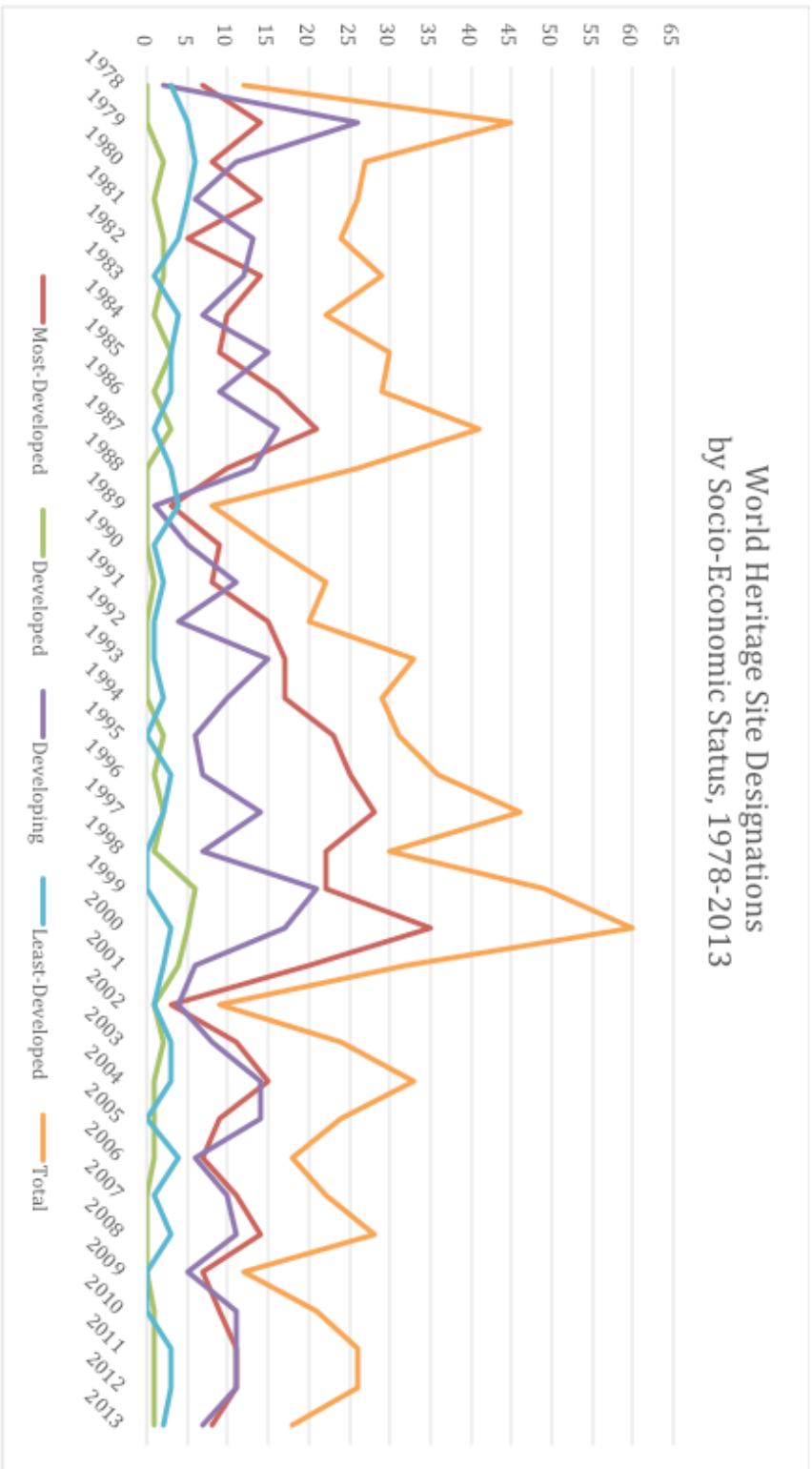


Fig. 2 World Heritage Site Designations, by Socio-Economic Status, 1978-2013



Keeping in mind the same economic and political events as outlined above, this detailed view of the different socio-economic statuses of countries further confirms the correlations between worldwide events and the World Heritage List designation rate. This data also shows how these countries behaved differently throughout each period. Although many of the individual paths followed similar trends (especially between Most-Developed/Developing and Developed/Least-Developed), there are specific periods where notable differences are observed. These differences can then be compared to programs initiated by the WHC for countries of certain socio-economic statuses, discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the first years of the WHC were dedicated to the preservation of heritage sites in mostly Developing and Least-Developed countries. It is not surprising then, that the first five years of the World Heritage List shows a higher concentration of Developing countries and the highest rate of Least-Developed countries in the List's history. After another five years of consistent growth, the List saw an overall decline surrounding the political and economic events of 1989, with the exception of Least-Developed countries, which saw modest growth. Following this drastic decline the 1990s saw increasing growth, with the List growing from a total of 281 to 579 sites between 1989 and 1999 (an addition of 298 sites). Although the mid-1990s saw a UNESCO-wide focus on developing countries, the majority of this increase came from Most-Developed countries, as shown in the graph below (Figure 3).

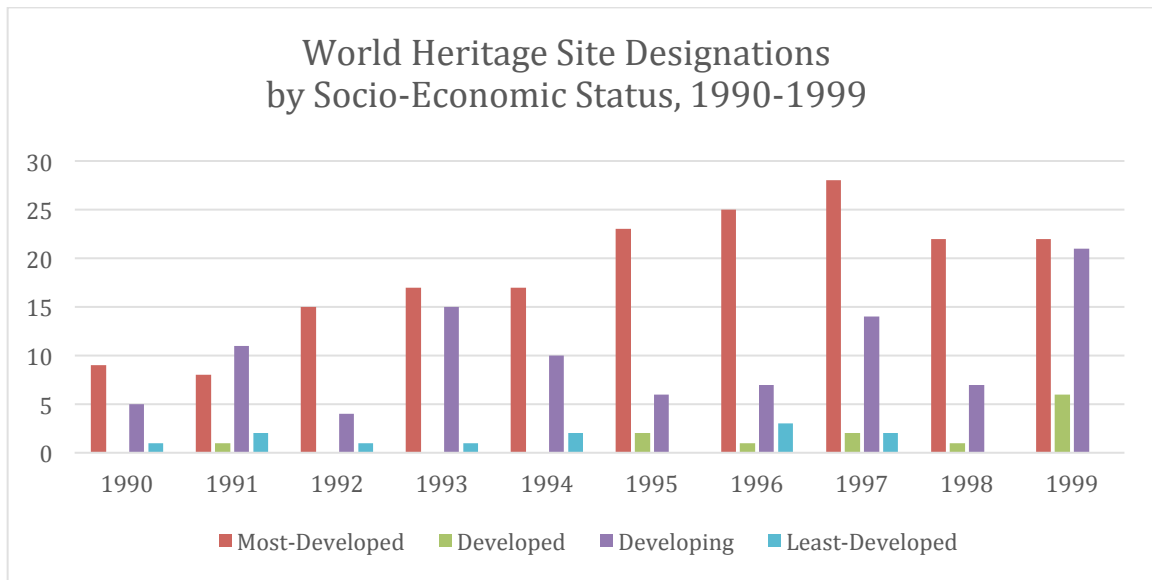


Fig. 3 World Heritage Site Designations, by Socio-Economic Status, 1990-1999

The sharp decline between 2000-2002 is seen in each category during this period, and following regrowth came the similar trends between Most-Developed/Developing and Developed/Least-Developed that occurred in the 1980s. New regulations associated with the Global Strategy program enacted by the World Heritage Committee in the mid-2000s—including adjusting the criteria for designation and limiting the number of sites nominated per country— changed the designation process such that continuing designation trends may never see the growth experienced in the 1990s. However, these changes were established with the Least-Developed countries in mind, and so far the countries have not had a significant change in their designation history of the past 10 years. The new focus of the World Heritage Committee regarding developing countries will be detailed in Chapter 3 with examples from the APA region.

The public data provided by the World Heritage Committee only examines the World Heritage List and its participating countries through regional, categorical and thematic information. This limited information leaves large gaps in understanding the relationship between the List and its participating countries. By examining the history of the World Heritage List through the political and socio-economic trends in site designation over the 35-year period, we are able to mark the correlation between the List and the major world events that affected countries both politically and economically. The fluctuating trends of socio-economic groups showed an overall prominence of sites in Most-Developed countries on the List. This can be expected based on these countries' economic and political power, which is represented in their development placement among the three major world organizations: the World Bank, IMF, and the UN.

Conscious of the socio-economic advantages of the Most-Developed and Developed countries, the WHC implemented programs to address the conjectured imbalance of the World Heritage List. In the following chapter, I will discuss the World Heritage Committee programs that came from efforts to increase the presence of developing sites on the List. Through examining the programs initiated in the Asia and Pacific region, specifically in Fiji and Lao PDR, and the relation to trends of the List, we can determine if or how these programs were successful.

## **Chapter 3: Asia and Pacific Regional Support from Most-Developed Countries**

The World Heritage Committee does not use socio-economic status as a tool to analyze the List, yet the Committee and UNESCO both have instituted programs specifically for developing countries. The United Nations has a history of advocating for, and working towards, development in countries of low socio-economic status. In 2001, the UN established the Office of High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Countries, and Small Developing Island States (UN-OHRLLS) as the central location for its development programs.<sup>50</sup> The three main programs (Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Countries, Small Developing Island States) are dedicated towards social, economic, and political development in those countries. UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee also focus efforts on the Least Developed Countries and Small Developing Island States groups. In particular, the WHC has initiated several programs and projects for the conservation, development, nomination, and designation of sites across the developing countries of the APA region. These programs include the Global Strategy, Local Effort And Preservation projects, Small Islands Developing States, and the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan.

In Section I of this chapter I will discuss the World Heritage Centre programs that have been developed to provide assistance to Developing and Least-Developed countries in the APA region. In Section II, I will examine the role that Most-

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<sup>50</sup> "UN-OHRLLS homepage," (2014)

Developed countries have played regarding the international assistance to developing nations in the APA region, focusing on the Funds-in-Trusts created for use in WHC projects. I will analyze the declining programming for developing countries financed by Most-Developed countries to evaluate the trends between their financial support and the worldwide political and economic events— in particular, the Great Recession of 2008.

## **Part I: Examining the Special Programs for Developing Nations: A Focus on the Asia and Pacific Region**

The Asia and Pacific region has been recognized as an area containing highly important sites of cultural and natural heritage, but as the second largest region of Developing and Least-Developed countries it has been historically more difficult to have sites preserved and designated on the World Heritage List. UNESCO began its focus on this region in the mid-1990s with the Global Strategy program. After the focused efforts of the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan, the WHC succeeded in assisting ten more countries from this region to ratify the World Heritage Convention, mostly small island nations. The region saw an increase in designated sites of 170%, from 82 (1978-1993) to 222 (1994-2013), which can be attributed to these efforts.

### **Section 1: Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List**

The World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy in 1994 to address concerns of an imbalanced World Heritage List. On the Global Strategy page

of the WHC website, it states that after 22 years, “the World Heritage List lacked balance in the type of inscribed properties and in the geographical areas of the world that are represented.”<sup>51</sup> This imbalance was attributed to an over-representation of historic towns and religious monuments (especially Christian), historic periods, European sites, and “elitist” architecture.<sup>52</sup> The Global Strategy has been a focal point of the WHC for the past 20 years and has been one of the key influences in creating programs in the WHC for developing countries. Through this program, a total of 39 countries have ratified the World Heritage Convention and the number of countries who have nominated sites grew from 33 to 132.<sup>53</sup>

If the socio-economic organization of countries proposed in Chapter 2 is applied to the World Heritage List at the time of introduction of the Global Strategy, developing countries actually accounted for slightly more World Heritage Sites than developed nations: between 1978 and 1993, 213 sites were designated in developing nations, and 196 in developed nations (See Figure 4, below).

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<sup>51</sup> World Heritage Centre. “Global Strategy,” (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>.

<sup>52</sup> World Heritage Committee. “Expert Meeting on the Global Strategy,” (2014)

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

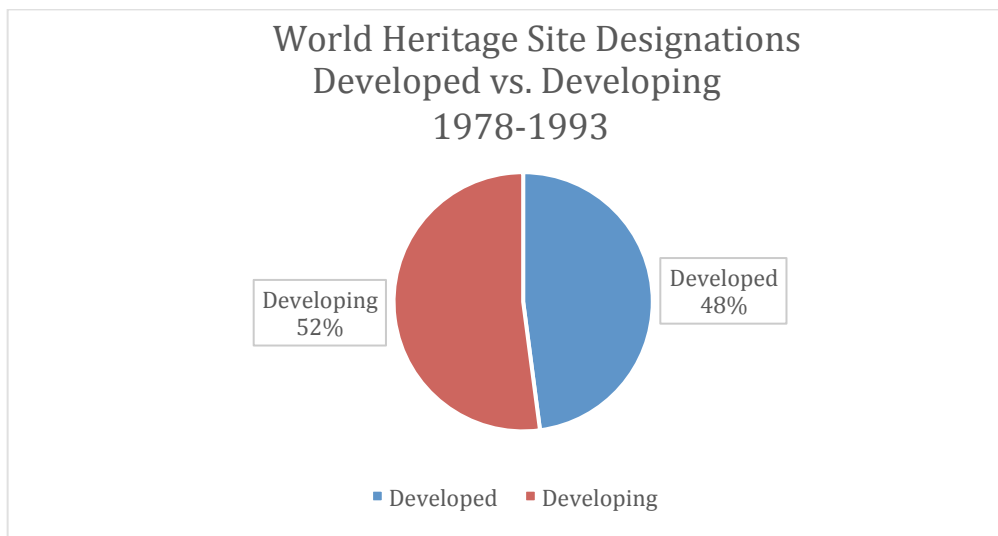


Fig. 4. World Heritage Site Designations, Developed vs. Developing, 1978-1993

The data shows that the European and North America region was heavily represented on the list with 160 sites, consisting of 46% of the total (See Figure 5, below). The APA region had the second-most sites, 82. Of those 82 total sites between 1978 and 1993, only 26 were located in the Most-Developed sites of the region.

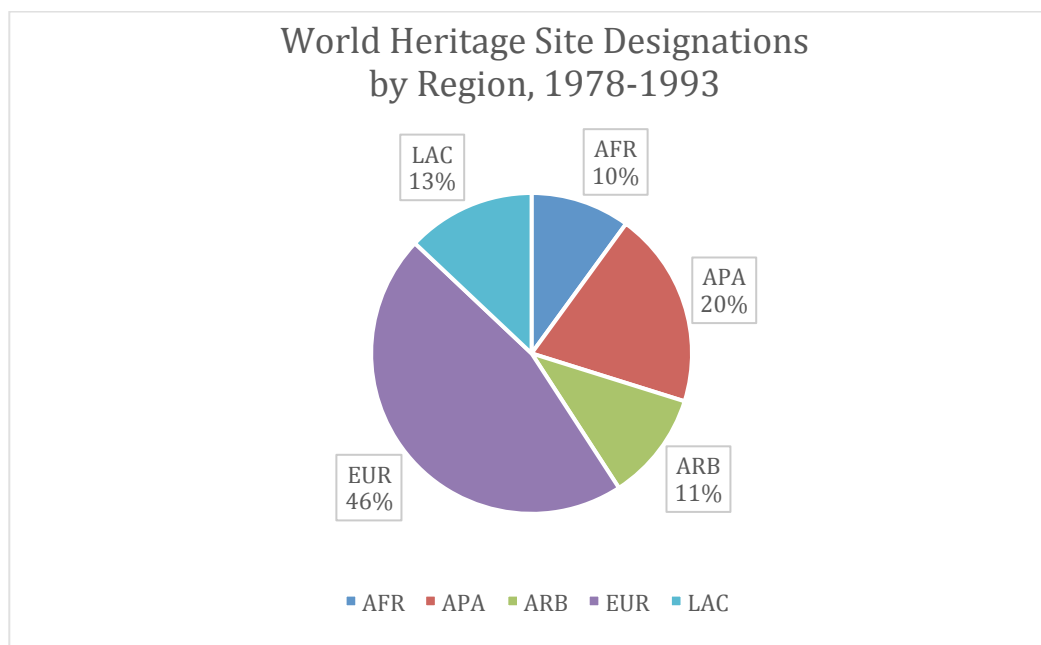


Fig. 5. World Heritage Site Designation by Region, 1978-1993

An important feature of the Global Strategy are the limitations that were set by the so-called Cairns Decision, formulated during the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in Cairns, Australia, in 2000.<sup>54</sup> The decision of the World Heritage Committee, in an effort to continue the work of the Global Strategy for a credible World Heritage List, was to limit the number of nominations for countries already represented on the list to one per year, and to set the maximum overall number of designations a year to 30.<sup>55</sup> This decision was to limit the extensive designation of World Heritage Sites by developed countries, expand representation of developing countries, and limit the high rate of nominations per year. In the APA region, 36 sites in five countries were designated in Most-Developed sites from 1994-2000. During that same period in the APA region, 12 countries of Developing and Least-Developed status designated only 18 sites. This data shows the great interest of Most-Developed countries during the 1990s in designating many sites to the List, even though this period directly follows the institution of the Global Strategy. This conclusion was also documented by Frey and Steiner, "The number of sites in Europe compared to other continents continued to increase after 1993. Moreover, economically more developed countries obtain relatively more sites."<sup>56</sup> Figure 6 demonstrates that even after the initiation of the Global Strategy in 1993, the EUR region accounts for 49% of the total World Heritage Sites.

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<sup>54</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Report of the Twenty-Fourth Session of the World Heritage Committee," WHC-2000/CONF.204/21 (2001, February 16).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 1

<sup>56</sup> Steiner, Lasse, and Bruno Frey. "Correcting the Imbalance of the World Heritage List: Did the UNESCO Strategy Work?." *Journal of International Studies*. no. 1 (2012): p. 36-38



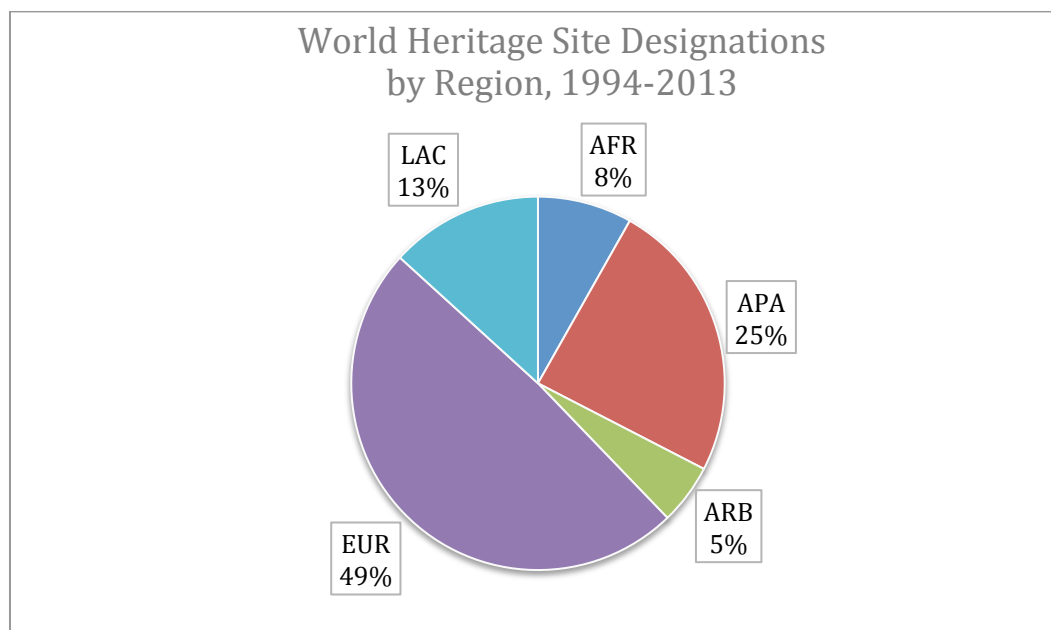


Figure 6. World Heritage Site Designations by Region, 1994-2013

Based on the increased discrepancy, the Cairns Decision, stipulated new regulations for nominating and designating sites to the List. The Committee decided on three measures to ensure “equitable representation”<sup>57</sup> on the World Heritage List, in line with the Global Strategy: (1) The Committee limited the number of nominations reviewed each year to 30; (2) Countries that already have sites on the List are limited to nominating one site per year, while those with none may nominate up to three sites; and (3) Priority of designation will be given to those countries with no sites on the List and to sites that illustrate underrepresented categories of cultural and natural properties.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> World Heritage Committee. “Report of the Twenty-Fourth Session of the World Heritage Committee,” (2001): Section 3.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid

The period following the Cairns Decision, 2004-2013, saw 49 sites designated by 20 Developing and Least-Developed APA countries, and 30 sites from four Most-Developed countries. The region as a whole saw an increase from 20% to 25% of total World Heritage Sites (Figures 5, 6). This data shows that designation trends are improving, but that the developed countries of this region and the EUR region still have advantages with regard to nominating and designation World Heritage Sites.

## **Section 2: Local Effort and Preservation (LEAP)**

The Local Effort and Preservation program was previously known as the “Integrated Community Development and Cultural Heritage Site Preservation in Asia and the Pacific through Local Effort,”<sup>59</sup> and is sometimes referred to as the Local Effort in Asia and the Pacific.<sup>60</sup> This program was designated for the challenges facing local and indigenous populations of APA region sites that were, or were attempting to be, nominated or designated to the World Heritage List. The original program began in the APA region in 1996 with five pilot sites: Luang Prabang, Lao PDR (designated 1995); Hoi An, Vietnam (nominated and designated 1999); Lijiang, China (designated 1997); Vigan, Philippines (nominated 1989 and 1999 designated 1999); and Kathmandu Valley, Nepal (designated 1979).<sup>61</sup> The goals were to empower the local population of World Heritage Sites to play leading roles in the management and even conservation of their site. LEAP implemented

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<sup>59</sup> Harrison, D. “Levuka, Fiji: Contested Heritage.” *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7(4-5), (2004): p. 350

<sup>60</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. “What is LEAP?,” (N.D.). Retrieved from <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/wh/leap/what-is-leap/>.

<sup>61</sup> Harrison, p. 350

activities around the region at sites in developing countries that provided management training, develop conservation plans, and education to the local communities on practices with which they could benefit financially from increased tourism. The LEAP method consists of 10 activities that focus on maintaining local social and religious traditions, and preserving historic and artistic techniques.<sup>62</sup>

The LEAP method, designed to protect both tangible and intangible heritage, was implemented through two other major regional projects: the Culture Heritage Management and Tourism (1999-2003) and the Cultural Survival and Revival in Buddhist Sangha (2000-2007.)<sup>63</sup>

### **Cultural Survival and Revival in Buddhist Sangha**

The Cultural Survival and Revival in the Buddhist Sangha: Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalize Traditional Decorative Arts and Building Crafts in the Temples of Asia project adapted LEAP's methods and activities towards the specific goal of reviving Buddhist communities in the APA region. The overarching goal of this project was to protect the tangible heritage of sites by saving the intangible heritage of Theravada<sup>64</sup> and Vajrayana<sup>65</sup> Buddhist communities. Phase I of the project took place from 2000-2003 in Luang Prabang, Lao PDR, which was designated a World Heritage Site in 1995<sup>66</sup>. Since the 1970s, the city's temples and

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<sup>62</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "What is LEAP?" (N.D.)

<sup>63</sup> *Sangha* is a term describing a community of Buddhist monks.

<sup>64</sup> Theravada is the main school of Buddhist for Lao PDR, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Thailand.

<sup>65</sup> Vajrayana is the main school of Buddhist for Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Mongolia.

<sup>66</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Town of Luang Prabang," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/479>.

historic buildings were increasingly being repaired by outside contractors and private companies rather than the monks who had traditionally worked on the buildings. Following the city's designation on the WHL, the WHC identified the revival of traditional techniques as the top priority for the site. Through the LEAP program, the Laotian Buddhist monks were encouraged to retake custodianship of the city's historic buildings. To achieve this goal, the monks— especially the novices and young monks— were given training opportunities in traditional arts and building crafts. Locals trained in the traditional arts were employed to lead the training, instituting a two-year course. After the four-year period of Phase I, Luang Prabang became the model for the implementation of this program to Therevada and Vajrayana Buddhist sites in the region.

In 2005, Phase II began by extending the project to 21 sites in 10 countries: Thimphu (Bhutan), Phnom Penh, Siem Reap and Udong (Cambodia), Sichuan and Xishuangbanna (China), Arunachal Pradesh, Ladakh and Sikkim (India), Bokeo, Champasak, Luang Prabang, Savanakheth and Vientiane (Lao PDR), Orkhon Valley (Mongolia), Mandalay and Shan State (Myanmar), Lalitpur and Mustang (Nepal), Kandy (Sri Lanka), and Nan and Nakhon Si Thammarat (Thailand).<sup>67</sup>

Of the Phase II sites, four are included on the World Heritage List in addition to Luang Prabang: Sichuan (China, designated in 2006), Champasak (Lao PDR, designated in 2001), Orkhon Valley (Mongolia, designated in 2004), and Kandy (Sri

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<sup>67</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Phase II: Regional Expansion of Project," (N.D.). Retrieved from <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/ich/cultural-survival-and-revival-in-the-buddhist-sangha/phase-ii-regional-expansion/>.

Lanka, designated in 1988). Five of the sites are currently nominated to the List: Vientiane (Lao PDR, nominated in 1992), Udong (Cambodia, nominated in 1992), Mandalay (Myanmar, nominated in 1996), Mustang (Nepal, nominated in 1996) and Nakhon Si Thammarat (Thailand, nominated in 2012).

Like Luang Prabang, these sites, with help from the LEAP program, conducted trainings and workshops on traditional artistic skills and building techniques. Phase II focused on creating partnerships to support these sites, from both within and outside of the community, and encouraging networking between these sites and others across the region.<sup>68</sup> In addition to training and networking, the traditional activities of the Theravada and Vajrayana Buddhist monks of these sites were researched and documented.<sup>69</sup> Though Phase II of the project ended in 2007, resources including guidelines, reports, presentations, and technical manuals were made available on the UNESCO-Bangkok Website; but none of the publically-accessible information on the site has been updated since 2006. Even the Website created as a network for these Buddhist communities, <http://www.SanghaNetwork.org>, is no longer functioning.

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<sup>68</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Regional Workshop for Reviving Buddhist Arts" Press Release (2007, November) Retrieved from [http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/culture/Cultural\\_Survival/Phase\\_II\\_regional\\_expansion/Final\\_caucus/Press\\_release\\_-\\_Monks\\_Evaluation\\_Workshop.pdf](http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/culture/Cultural_Survival/Phase_II_regional_expansion/Final_caucus/Press_release_-_Monks_Evaluation_Workshop.pdf)

<sup>69</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalize Traditional Decorative Arts and Buildings Crafts in the Buddhist Temples of Asia," (N.D.). Retrieved from [http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/culture/Cultural\\_Survival/Phase\\_II\\_regional\\_expansion/Final\\_caucus/Monks\\_Project\\_Leaflet.pdf](http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/culture/Cultural_Survival/Phase_II_regional_expansion/Final_caucus/Monks_Project_Leaflet.pdf).

## Culture Heritage Management and Tourism

Active from 1999-2003, the first project of the LEAP program was the Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders. This project implemented LEAP's methods in five phases to develop sustainable cultural tourism that is beneficial and respectful of the local communities, especially of World Heritage Sites. The project had eight pilot sites: Kathmandu Valley (Nepal, designated 1979), Hoi An (Viet Nam, designated 1999), Kandy (Sri Lanka, designated 1988), Levuka Township (Fiji, nominated in 1994, designated in 2013), Lijang (China, designated 1997), Luang Prabang (Lao PDR, designated 1995), Melaka (Malaysia, nominated in 1998, 2007, designated in 2008, Georgetown added in 2011<sup>70</sup>), and Vigan (Philippines, designated 1999).<sup>71</sup>

The goal of this project was to synchronize the efforts of those responsible for the conservation and management of a site with the tourism industry in a way that is economically beneficial and socially appropriate to the local communities.<sup>72</sup> The project began with research and presentation of the pilot sites in Phases I and II, and the creation of individual action plans formed during a regional workshop in Bhaktapur, Nepal, in 2000. During Phase III these action plans were implemented at each site, and Phase IV was the review of the results of these actions at a 2001

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<sup>70</sup> Omar, Shida Irwana, Masitah Muhibudin, Izatul Yussof, Mohd Fauzi Sukiman, and Badaruddin Mohamed. "George Town, Penang as a World Heritage Site: The Stakeholders Perceptions." *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 91(2013): p. 87

<sup>71</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Co-operation among Stakeholders. 'Introduction'" (N.D.), <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/wh/culture-heritage-management-and-tourism-models-for-co-operation-among-stakeholders/introduction/>.

<sup>72</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Co-operation among Stakeholders. 'Objective'" (N.D.), <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/wh/culture-heritage-management-and-tourism-models-for-co-operation-among-stakeholders/objective/>.

regional workshop in Lijiang, China.<sup>73</sup> After evaluating the results, the Lijiang Models of Cooperation for the Development of Sustainable Tourism in Asia and the Pacific was created as a plan at other sites.<sup>74</sup> In 2003, Phase V, the Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Evaluation and Mainstreaming workshop in Penang, Malaysia, presented the results to outside participants from the tourism industry for evaluation. The information gained from the entire project was made available for other World Heritage Sites and their governments.<sup>75</sup>

The project used LEAP's methods to educate and train the local population, again focusing on the community maintaining intangible heritage, which can be important part of the cultural tourism experience. The major focus of the project was developing models for increased local employment, maintaining site conservation with increased tourism, and creating a balanced relationship between tourism developers, the local population and cultural heritage conservationists.<sup>76</sup>

Currently there are no LEAP projects in progress, nor any being promoted for the future. Both the Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism<sup>77</sup> project and the

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<sup>73</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Co-operation among Stakeholders. 'Overview'" (N.D.), <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/wh/culture-heritage-management-and-tourism-models-for-co-operation-among-stakeholders/overview/>.

<sup>74</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Lijiang Models for Co-Operation," (N.D.). Retrieved from <http://www.unescobkk.org/fr/culture/wh/culture-heritage-management-and-tourism-models-for-co-operation-among-stakeholders/lijiang-models-for-cooperation-among-stakeholders/>.

<sup>75</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Co-operation among Stakeholders. 'Penang Workshop Introduction,'" (N.D.). Retrieved from <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/wh/culture-heritage-management-and-tourism-models-for-co-operation-among-stakeholders/penang-workshop/workshop-introduction/>.

<sup>76</sup> "Lijiang Models for Co-Operation," (N.D.)

<sup>77</sup> "Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Co-operation among Stakeholders. 'Overview,'" (N.D.)

Cultural Survival and Revival in Buddhist Sangha<sup>78</sup> project were supported in part by specific contributions from Most-Developed countries, as well as other private organizations. The LEAP program's goals for local authority, accountability and benefit of World Heritage Sites are important for long-term success of the site and the community. Ideally, the methods of these projects and the goals of the LEAP program are still being implemented at World Heritage Sites of the APA region.

### **Section 3: Small Island Developing States (SIDS)**

The Small Island Developing States program was adopted during the 29<sup>th</sup> session of the World Heritage Committee in 2005.<sup>79</sup> The program had previously been used in other organizations within the United Nations, after the UN recognized this group of countries at the Conference on Environment and Development in 1992.<sup>80</sup> Small Islands Developing States are recognized as having difficulties with developing their economy, infrastructure, communications, education and social programs. While this group is made of countries in the AFR, APA, and LAC regions, the APA region has especially benefited from this program, because although the APA region has the second highest number of sites (222 as of 2013), the many developing island nations of the region are underrepresented. As of June 2013, there are six Small Islands Developing States with six sites: Solomon Islands (East Rennell, 1998); Papua New Guinea (Kuk Early Agricultural Site, 2008), Vanuatu

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<sup>78</sup> UNESCO Bangkok. "Capacity Building on ICG in the Asia-Pacific Region. 'Project Partners,'" (N.D.). Retrieved from <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/ich/cultural-survival-and-revival-in-the-buddhist-sangha/cultural-survival-and-revival-home/project-partners/>.

<sup>79</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Decisions of the 29<sup>th</sup> Session of the World Heritage Committee," WHC-05/29.COM/INF.22 (2005).

<sup>80</sup> "UN-OHRLLS homepage." (2014)



(Chief Roi Mata's Domain, 2008), Marshall Islands (Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site, 2010), Palau (Rock Islands Southern Lagoon, 2012), and Fiji (Levuka Historical Port Town, 2013).

The main goal of the UNESCO SIDS program is to assist nations in developing system to achieve socio-economic growth. Executed through the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan (detailed in the Part II of this chapter), the WHC's Capacity Building Strategy for SIDS in this region included holding regional workshops to develop nomination files, management plans, and to increase the overall in-country capacity to identify, research, nominate, and manage their cultural and natural heritage sites.<sup>81</sup> Through the SIDS program, countries aim to rely less on outside support for the tasks related to their cultural and natural heritage sites. These goals and the successes of various SIDS programs throughout UNESCO are being celebrated this year, 2014, as the International Year of Small Islands Developing States.<sup>82</sup>

#### **Section 4: Pacific World Heritage Action Plan**

As a result of the Global Strategy meetings in Fiji<sup>83</sup> (1997) and Vanuatu<sup>84</sup> (1999), 10 Pacific Islands joined the World Heritage Convention, and showed their

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<sup>81</sup> World Heritage Centre. "SIDS Capacity Building Programme," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/662/>.

<sup>82</sup> UNESCO "International Year of Small Developing States- 2014," (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/events/prizes-and-celebrations/celebrations/international-years/sids-2014/>.

<sup>83</sup> World Heritage Centre "World Heritage – Pacific 2009 Programme," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/pacific2009/>.

<sup>84</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Second World Heritage Global Strategy Meeting for the Pacific Islands Region," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/595/>.

interest in nominating and designating sites onto the World Heritage List. These countries include: Vanuatu (2002), Tonga (2004), Singapore (2012), Samoa (2001), Palau (2002), Papua New Guinea (1997), Micronesia (2002), Marshall Islands (2002), and Kiribati (2000). Even with the work of the Global Strategy, as of 2003, only one Small Island Developing States in the APA region was represented on the List, East Rennell in the Solomon Islands.

In 2003, the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan, 2004-2009 was launched with several ambitious goals. The program aimed to achieve the ratification of the Convention in every Pacific nation and increase representation of Pacific cultural and natural sites on the List. The program's other goals related to creating in-country capacity for nominating and maintaining sites by building partnerships between the governments of these countries and international groups and organizations that can provide financial assistance, and increasing regional networking of site management and stakeholders.<sup>85</sup>

From 2003 to 2008, the Action Plan focused on these goals and then implemented the first capacity building workshop, located in Cairns, Australia. The Pacific Islands World Heritage Workshop Regarding Capacity-Building for Heritage Site Management was attended by most of the regions' Small Island Developing States including, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kirabti, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Nauru and Vanuatu.<sup>86</sup> A second Pacific

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<sup>85</sup> "World Heritage- Pacific 2009 Programme," (2014)

<sup>86</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Pacific Islands World Heritage Workshop 2009," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/609/>.

Islands World Heritage Workshop followed in 2009, at Maupiti, French Polynesia. Following this workshop, the Pacific World Heritage Action Plan, 2010-2015 was established to build upon the achievements of the Action Plan, 2003-2009. Some of those achievements included the formation of nomination lists in nine APA region Small Island Developing Nations (Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Soma, Tonga and Vanuatu), and increasing the awareness of the World Heritage List and understanding of the World Heritage Convention, and creating a regional network of heritage professionals.<sup>87</sup> The Government of Australia, which has made a specific commitment to Pacific heritage, supports the ongoing Action Plan workshops.

## **Part II: Financial Support for Developing Countries in the Asia and Pacific Region**

The distinction between developed and developing nations is always most prominent when examining economic issues. Although the WHC does not distinguish countries by socio-economic status, distinctions between countries by economic status is clear when analyzing the programs established for developing nations and which countries are supporting those programs. When developing countries have to rely on developed countries for program support, as they so often do, it leaves those developing countries highly vulnerable when political and economic events affect the world.

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<sup>87</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Pacific World Heritage Action Plan 2010-2015," (2008, October & 2009, November) Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/Apia/pdf/event-609-2.pdf>.

## Section 1: Funds-in-Trust (FiTs)

Several Most-Developed countries partyed to the World Heritage Convention have established Funds-in-Trust agreements to support World Heritage activities, mostly in developing countries. These trusts are either general, spreading throughout cultural heritage preservation programs around the world, or they have very specific goals and are focused within certain regions or countries. Many of the trusts are specified for regions or specific developing countries, which had previously been a colony of the supporting country. Most of these trusts were first established in the 2000s, with a four-year operating period. Several funds supported activities in the APA region, including the Netherlands, Norway, Australia, Japan, France, and Germany.

The Australian and Japanese trusts have been major contributors to projects and programs in the APA region. Since August 2008, the Australian Funds-in-Trust has helped finance several activities in the region, including the Pacific Islands World Heritage Workshops in 2008, 2009 and 2011, World Heritage Pacific 2009 Programme (initiated in 2003), and the Workshop on the Future of the World Heritage Convention in 2009.<sup>88</sup> The initial promise of AUS\$ 2.5 million was augmented by the end of 2008 with an AUS\$ 830,000 contribution. With the extension, AUS\$1.3 million was pledged for the continued conservation and management of Angkor, Cambodia.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Australian Funds-in-Trust Agreement Created to Support World Heritage Activities," October 16, 2008. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/464/>.

<sup>89</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Australian Government Reinforces its Funds-in-Trust for Conservation of Angkor and Other Heritage Properties," December 12, 2008. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/476/>.

The Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation of World Heritage in UNESCO was first established in 1989 to support projects around the world. To date, USD\$63.0 million had been provided for preservation and management efforts in 41 countries.<sup>90</sup> Even with its global reach, the Japanese trust has been especially active in the APA region, creating management plans, assisting in the creation of nomination files, and implementing preservation plans at sites in Viet Nam, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Mongolia, India, and Cambodia.<sup>91</sup>

Both the Japanese Funds-in-Trust and the Netherlands' Funds-in-Trust sponsored activities in conjunction with the Small Islands Developing States program. The Netherlands trust was established in 2001 with a €1.8 million contribution. In 2004, the trust was extended over another four-year period through 2008.<sup>92</sup> Unlike Japan and Australia's main focus on the APA region, the Netherlands set no restrictions on the allocation of funds to particular regions. Phase I of the Cultural Survival and Revival in the Buddhist Sangha: Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalize Traditional Decorative Arts and Building Crafts in the Temples of Asia project was one of the Netherland's FiT's first sponsored program.<sup>93</sup> The trust also provided support for the Small Islands Developing States program, whose efforts often focus on the APA region.

While the FiTs of France, Germany, and Norway support projects in all world regions, each have supported specific projects in the APA region. The Nordic World

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<sup>90</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. "Preservation and Restoration of Tangible Cultural Heritage," (2013, April). Retrieved from [http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/culture/coop/unesco/c\\_heritage/t\\_heritage/index.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/culture/coop/unesco/c_heritage/t_heritage/index.html).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Netherlands Funds-in-Trust," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/nfit/>.

<sup>93</sup> "Capacity Building on ICG in the Asia-Pacific Region. 'Project Partners,'" (N.D.)

Heritage Foundation is the non-profit organization that provides extra-budgetary support to WHC activities since 2002. This foundation serves as Norway's Funds-in-Trust and has worked with the Local Effort and Preservation (LEAP) project in Lao PDR.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, the Gesellschaft Für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), Germany's governmental organization for implementing the Funds-in-Trust, has worked with the preservation of Biosphere Reserves at World Heritage Sites. Their projects at natural heritage sites have been implemented in Africa and mainland Asia. The French Funds-in-Trust, France-UNESCO Cooperation Agreement (CFU), was established in 1997 and has helped support approximately 100 projects in more than 50 countries. This trust was able to stretch so far by using part of the €3.7 million budget for donor raising initiatives, which has so far mobilized more than €18 million.<sup>95</sup>

The trusts that have supported projects and sites in the APA region have mostly been active since their institution, even if they have not renewed their trusts such as those from Australia and the Netherlands.<sup>96</sup> Three other trusts primarily focused on other regions, including Africa, Arab States and Latin America and the Caribbean, have not been renewed since their periods ended. The Portuguese FiT, issued through the Portuguese Institute for Aid and Development, was last active in

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<sup>94</sup> Favis, Ricardo L. "Norwegian Funds-in-Trust" (N.D.). Retrieved from [http://www.nwhf.no/files/File/Donor\\_Profile.pdf](http://www.nwhf.no/files/File/Donor_Profile.pdf).

<sup>95</sup> World Heritage Centre. "France-UNESCO Cooperation Agreement (CFU)," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/cfu/>.

<sup>96</sup> "Netherlands Funds-in-Trust," (2014)

2009, with a rehabilitation project in Mozambique.<sup>97</sup> While the Italian FiT has been noted as a support partners in African and Arab Nations projects dating until 2014, including the World Heritage Earthen Architecture Programme (WHEAP)<sup>98</sup> and Biodiversity Conservation in Regions of Armed Conflict: Protecting World Heritage in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,<sup>99</sup> the trust has not been renewed since 2005. The Trust was instituted with USD\$3.3 million for the period 2001-2005 with an additional contribution of USD\$300,000 in 2004.<sup>100</sup> The Italian government did contribute an unspecified amount for the conservation of the Minaret and Archaeological Remains of Jam (Afghanistan, designated 2002) in 2012.<sup>101</sup> The Spanish Funds-in-Trust, instituted in 2002, has also not been renewed since 2008. The six-year trust dedicated €600,000 per year for projects in the LAC region, as well as aiding in the nomination process for countries in the LAC and AFR regions, including: Guatemala (Curenca Mirador, nominated in 2002), Columbia (the Coffee Cultural Landscape, designated in 2011), Sudan (Island of Meroe, designated in 2011) and Cameroon (Lobé Falls, 2006).<sup>102</sup> The Trust was not publically renewed

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<sup>97</sup> World Heritage Centre. "IPAD - Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/partners/371/>.

<sup>98</sup> World Heritage Centre. "World Heritage Earthen Architecture Programme (WHEAP)," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/21/>.

<sup>99</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Biodiversity Conservation in Regions of Armed Conflict: Protecting World Heritage in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/83/>.

<sup>100</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Italian Funds-in-Trust" (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/partners/275/>.

<sup>101</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Expert Working Group Releases Final Recommendation for Safeguarding Herat and Jam," November 21, 2012. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/959/>.

<sup>102</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Spanish Funds-in-Trust," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/sfit/>.

after 2008, but the Spanish government has contributed to meetings and workshops in the LAC region, as well as larger projects, such as WHEAP.<sup>103</sup>

Publically-available information does not include detailed financial information outside of the compulsory contributions, so the true financial support of these countries is not known. But while this analysis does not necessarily imply that the countries that had not renewed their trusts have not contributed to the WHC outside of their compulsory contributions, it does imply that these countries are not willing to commit themselves to a four-year contribution.

## **Section 2: The World Socio-Economic Environment and Support for the Developing Countries in APA Region**

The support provided by Most-Developed countries has been imperative to the expansion and survival of World Heritage Sites in the Developing and Least-Developed countries of the APA region. Relying on developed countries for program support leaves the sites of developing APA countries especially vulnerable to difficult socio-economic conditions affecting the world. As suggested in the section above, even economically-advanced countries are not always willing to commit to financial contributions over a period of years.

In Chapter 2 it was proposed that the socio-economic world environment affects cultural heritage programs and World Heritage Site designation. Coinciding with the recent Great Recession, which peaked at the end of 2008, the Funds-in-Trust of the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal and Australia were not renewed. Three

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.



years earlier, the Italian government also chose to not renew their FiT. Spain,<sup>104</sup> Portugal,<sup>105</sup> and the Netherlands<sup>106</sup> were particularly affected by the recession, only recovering from the event between mid-2013 through early 2013. All three countries experienced deep austerity measures, including the raising of taxes and the cutting of governmental spending. Along with the Great Recession, the overall decrease in funding to the World Heritage programs can also be attributed to the departure of the United States from UNESCO in 2011 and the subsequent loss of more than 50% of the World Heritage Fund's budget.

The effects of the Great Recession on World Heritage Site designations can be seen in Figure 7. After a modest recovery following the Dot-Com Bubble and 9/11 from 2000-2002, designations to the WHL fell sharply. The five years leading up to the 2008 Recession saw higher growth of Least-Developed countries than Developed countries, and a close designation trend between Most-Developed and Developing countries; however, at the decline in 2008, Most-Developed overtook Developing (and maintained above or near-even designations through 2013). More importantly, the designations of Least-Developed countries fell drastically between 2008 and 2010 (three sites in 2008, and zero in both 2009 and 2010), after seeing a steady average of 2.125 sites per year since 2000 (opposed to the previous decade's

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<sup>104</sup> Day, Paul. "Fragile Spanish Economy Limpes Out of Recession," *Reuters U.S. Edition*. October 30, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/30/us-spain-economy-idUSBRE99T0BH20131030>.

<sup>105</sup> Kowsmann, Patricia. "Portugal Emerges from Recession," *The Wall Street Journal*. 2013, August 14, 2013. Retrieved from <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323639704579012352926861682>.

<sup>106</sup> van Tartqijk, Maarten. "Dutch Economy Emerging from Two-Year Recession," *The Wall Street Journal*. March 4, 2014. Retrieved from <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304815004579418580231847454>.

average of 1.2 sites per year). Most-Developed countries saw a 50% decrease, Developed saw no change (zero sites from 2007-2009), Developing saw 54%, and Least-Developed saw a 100% decrease.

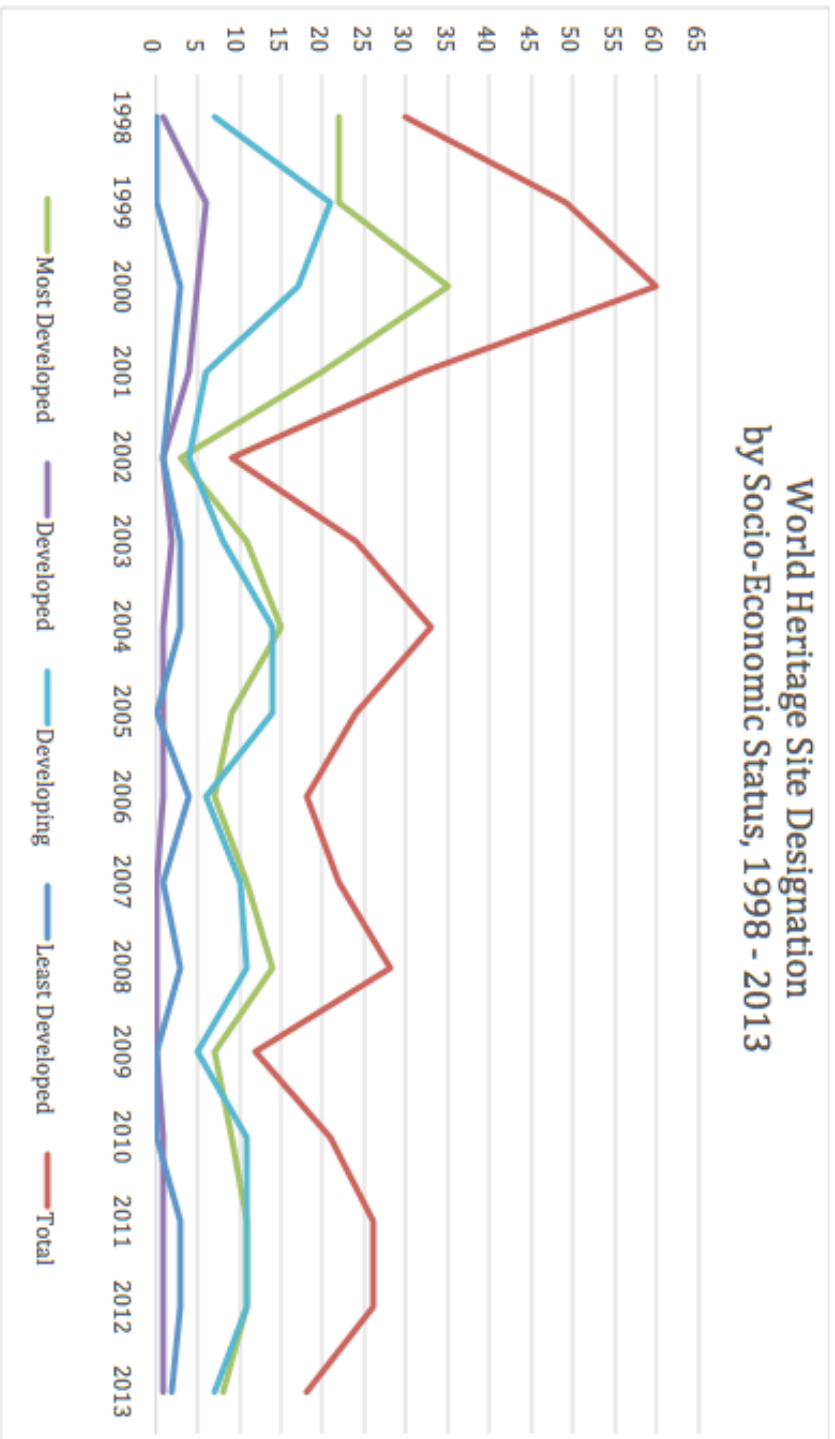


Fig. 7 World Heritage Site Designation by Socio-Economic Status, 1998-2013

As observed in Figure 8, the APA region also saw the decline in World Heritage Site designations during the Great Recession, although at a slightly lower rate than the total average; the total decline between 2008 and 2009 was 57%, and the APA region only declined 50%. Regionally, EUR saw the highest decrease, at 61%.

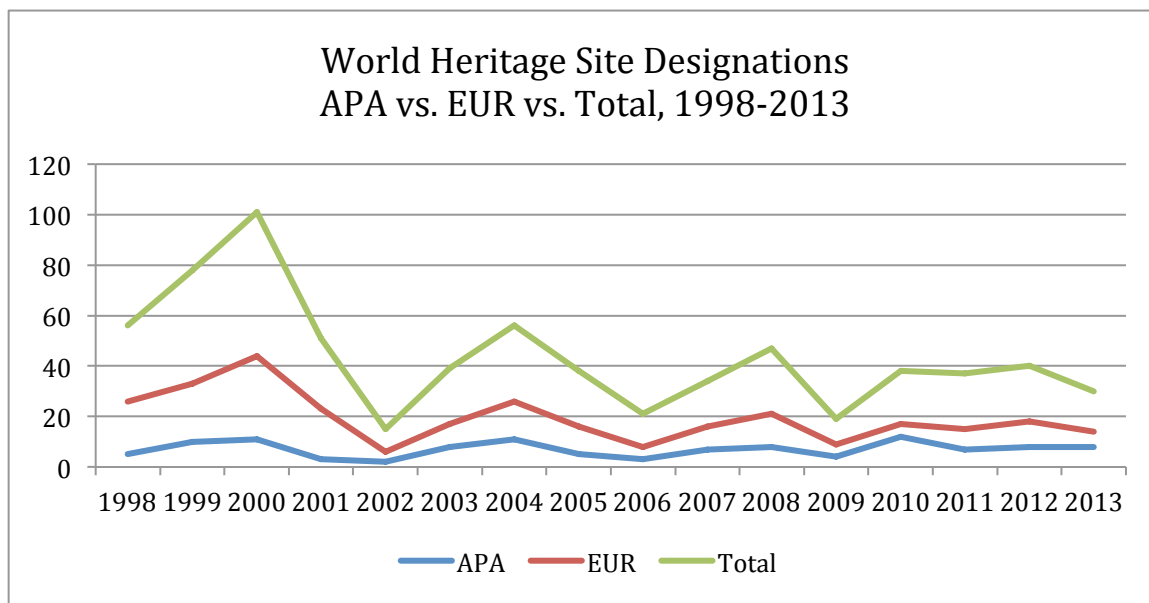


Fig. 8 World Heritage Site Designations APA vs. EUR vs. Total, 1998 -2013

While many countries cut their FiT programs, possibly as a result of the Great Recession, in 2011, the Japanese Government funded the Capacity Building to Support the Conservation of World Heritage Sites and Enhance Sustainable Development of Local Communities in Small Island Developing States.<sup>107</sup> Programs that focus on creating self-support in a developing country, such as this one, could be the key to continued success in the developing countries of the APA region. The extra-budgetary contributions are often cut completely or in part during an

<sup>107</sup> "SIDS Capacity Building Programme," (2014)

economic crisis, such as the Great Recession of 2008, which can leave developing countries without its previously anticipated financial support. Even with the numerous programs to help developing nations, the various economic world events have led to a slowing of site designation and diminished support for continued nomination and management. These are not the only issues facing developed countries in the APA region. In addition to the economic problems, there has been an increase of political issues, which are potentially more complicated because political issues are often related to economic events and/or social disputes. Continued focus on capacity building and management training can give developing countries a higher chance of success without the help of developed countries, but only if there is full support in the local and national community.

## **Chapter 4: Shifting Priorities: Movement Away from the World Heritage List?**

Cultural heritage programs are especially vulnerable to difficult economic, social and political issues. When a program is not a critical service or the country is not financially stable, as is the situation for many World Heritage Sites around the world, they are often the first programs to be eliminated or decreased to make budgetary room for programs or services deemed necessary. The significance of heritage sites on a personal, local, national or international level makes them particularly susceptible to social and political disputes, which can also be related to any ongoing economic issues.<sup>108</sup> These situations have been seen in developed countries, even those who have been less affected by economic and political world events. Germany and the United Kingdom both encountered the complications that arise when the goals of the country, local community, and UNESCO are not in line regarding a World Heritage Site. In Germany's situation, the inability to compromise with UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee lead to the De-listing of Dresden from the List in 2009. The United Kingdom is facing the same decision at World Heritage Sites in Liverpool and London.<sup>109</sup>

As analyzed in the previous chapters, many Least-Developed and Developing countries in the Asia and Pacific (APA) region rely on support from both Most-

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<sup>108</sup> Galis, Allan. "UNESCO Documents and Procedure: The Need to Account for Political Conflict When Designating World Heritage Sites." *Georgia Journal of International & Comparative Law*. 208 (2009-2010): p. 211-215

<sup>109</sup> "Liverpool's Heritage Status 'in Danger' UNESCO Warns," *BBC News*. June 26, 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-merseyside-18592334>.

Developed countries to participate in the World Heritage program. Therefore when world socio-economic events affect the World Heritage Sites, those developing countries are likely to be doubly affected, from their own weakened infrastructure and from the complete or partial loss of foreign support. Since the introduction of the Global Strategy and other programs specific to the APA region, there has been widespread expansion in developing nations of the APA area. Unfortunately, the political and economic advantages of designating World Heritage Sites are not guaranteed, nor will a designation on the World Heritage List satisfy all parties within a community. Regarding developing countries, Fletcher states:

World Heritage Sites are both an asset and a heavy obligation. Their management is challenged by conflicting demands of conservation, economic development and social equity and must necessarily be sensitive to these interactions, to local community opinion and to changes across space and time in the environment, the economy and land use and the distribution of people across the landscape.<sup>110</sup>

The shifting movements and waning support occurring in some developed countries leaves developing countries particularly vulnerable, because the World Heritage Sites of developing countries often have unpredictable financial support and unreliable support from within their own communities.

In Part I of this chapter I will examine the conditions that have led Most-Developed countries to trend away from UNESCO and the World Heritage program, with Dresden and sites in the United Kingdom as examples. In Part II, I will describe

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<sup>110</sup> Fletcher, Roland, et al., "Living with Heritage: Site Monitoring and Heritage Values in Greater Angkor and the Angkor World Heritage Site, Cambodia." *World Archaeology* 39, No. 3. (2007): p. 392

the social and political issues occurring at the first World Heritage Sites in Fiji (Levuka Historical Port Town, designated in 2013) and Lao PDR (Luang Prabang, designated in 1995), and how these situations are causing a decrease in support for the World Heritage program, even in a Developing country that could potentially benefit financially by expanding its involvement. Last, in Part III, I will introduce two World Heritage Sites from Japan, both of which are located in small communities, and whose social, political and economic problems are similar to those being faced in developing countries, such as Fiji and Lao PDR.

## **Part I: Changing Priorities in Developed Countries**

In recent years major developed nations— Most-Developed countries— have moved away from the World Heritage Centre model of cultural preservation. The United Kingdom and Germany have both taken steps that distance themselves from World Heritage Committee regulation of their heritage sites. The threat of having a site placed the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger, or De-listed from the World Heritage List completely, once swayed Least-Developed, Developing countries and Most-Developed, Developed countries alike, to comply with the World Heritage Committee's demands. Now countries are choosing to do what they think is best for their heritage, communities and socio-economic advances.

### **Section 1: The De-listing of Dresden**

Dresden Elbe Valley, Germany, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2004 in celebration of the cultural landscape of the city of Dresden, and its



extending urban and suburban landscapes along the Elbe Valley.<sup>111</sup> In a five-year period, the site was nominated and designated on the World Heritage List, placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger, and then De-listed from the World Heritage List. The decision to De-list Dresden was made in response to the plan to build a bridge, the Waldschlösschen, over the Elbe River that would alleviate traffic and improve the city's infrastructure. Plans for the bridge had been in motion since before World War II, but were not fully materialized until 1997.<sup>112</sup> As described by Albert and Gaillard, would actually lighten traffic on the city's seven historic bridges. The World Heritage Committee placed the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger in July 2006, after several warnings were given to the city. Although plans for the bridge were included in Dresden's nomination file to the Committee in 2003, exact descriptions were not detailed.<sup>113</sup> Dresden officials did suspend the construction after it was listed as endangered and tried to mediate a compromise with UNESCO. With no resolution between the city and UNESCO in sight, construction officially began in 2007.<sup>114</sup> UNESCO gave Dresden another year to stop construction,<sup>115</sup> but the city did not comply. In a survey conducted by the city council, nearly 68% of citizens supported construction of the bridge.<sup>116</sup> In their article, "The Bridge on the River Elbe: World Heritage in a Modern City," Santos and

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<sup>111</sup> "Dresden Elbe Valley," (2014)

<sup>112</sup> Albert, Marie-Theres, and Benedicte Gaillard. "The Dresden Elbe Valley: An Example for Conflicts Between Political Power and Common Interests in a World Heritage Site." In *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, edited by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon. (New York: Routledge, 2012): p. 328-329

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330-333

<sup>114</sup> Santos, C. A., & Zabler, K. A. "The Bridge on the River Elbe: World Heritage in a Modern City." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1), (2012): p. 480-481

<sup>115</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Committee Decision: Dresden Elbe Valley (Germany)," WHC-08/32 COM 7A.26 (2008, July).

<sup>116</sup> Albert, p. 337

Zobler summarized the situation, "The city was faced with a decision: weighing the benefits of traffic alleviation and improved infrastructure, against future heritage-related funding and potential tourism revenue; Dresden chose to build the bridge."<sup>117</sup>

When the site was De-listed in 2009, many German commentators suggested that this meant little to the overall importance of Dresden as a cultural landmark.<sup>118</sup> In local surveys, between 57 and 61 percent of the population in Dresden did not think the UNESCO title to be necessary for recognizing the city's cultural and historical importance.<sup>119</sup> Claims of a 10% decrease in tourism<sup>120</sup> a year after the De-listing cannot be substantiated because of the concurrence with the recent Great Recession, which in many countries reached its worst levels in 2009. Germany does not seem to have been affected by any claims of embarrassment or disappointment in their decision. In fact, other developed nations may have looked at what transpired between Dresden and the Committee to justifying their own desire for national autonomy in regulating and managing their sites. Since the De-listing of Dresden, Germany has nominated and designated only three sites each, excluding the Wadden Sea.<sup>121</sup> This site, a transnational natural site shared with the

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<sup>117</sup> Santos, p. 485

<sup>118</sup> Ward, Josh. "'Dresden Will Survive' UNESCO's Decision," *Spiegel Online*, June 26, 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-world-from-berlin-dresden-will-survive-unesco-s-decision-a-632845.html>.

<sup>119</sup> Santos, p. 483

<sup>120</sup> Amies, Nick. "Dresden Loses UNESCO World Heritage Status," *Deutsche Welle*. June 26, 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.dw.de/dresden-loses-unesco-world-heritage-status/a-4415238-1>.

<sup>121</sup> The Wadden Sea is a natural shared with The Netherlands. Interestingly enough, the Wadden Sea saw a lot of protestation on the Dutch side by the local population who didn't want to lose control of legislative issues regarding use of the area.

Netherlands,<sup>122</sup> was designated to the World Heritage List in the same committee session that De-listed Dresden in 2009. The proximity of the announcement of the Wadden Sea as a new site for Germany and the De-listing of Dresden in both its timing and media coverage makes the new site appear as a replacement of Dresden for Germany on the World Heritage List and even appears as a sort of appeasement from UNESCO.

The only other site to be De-listed from the World Heritage Site is the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary, a natural site in Oman designated in 1994. It was removed from the List in 2007 because Oman decided to reduce the size of the protected area by 90%.<sup>123</sup> Oman's decision was directly related to its need to explore the area for new oil sources, the country was concerned about its steady drop in oil output and the exploration on the sanctuary's land was deemed necessary. The chairwoman of the WHC at the time, Christina Cameron, said of the situation, "The country decided it had another priority for the land."<sup>124</sup>

## **Section 2: The United Kingdom: "In Danger" Across the Country**

At the time of Dresden's removal from the World Heritage List, Germany was the only developed country to have a site listed as endangered.<sup>125</sup> Now the United Kingdom has a site on the List of World Heritage in Danger, Liverpool – Maritime

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<sup>122</sup> World Heritage Centre. "The Wadden Sea," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1314/>.

<sup>123</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Arabian Oryx Sanctuary," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/654/>.

<sup>124</sup> Knickmeyer, Ellen. "Heritage in Peril: A Critique of UNESCO's World Heritage Program," *The Washington Post*. August 12, 2008. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/08/11/AR2008081102963.html>.

<sup>125</sup> The Everglades National Park, a natural site in the United States, was placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 1993, removed from that list in 2007, and relisted in 2010.

Mercantile City (designated in 2004<sup>126</sup>)– for reasons similar to Dresden’s situation. The site consists of six areas around the historic center, docks and marinas of Liverpool. The significance of the site comes not only from the city’s role as a center for trade in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the growth of the British Empire, and the movement of emigrants from northern European to America, but also from its maritime technology developed at the site throughout its history.<sup>127</sup>

The decision to list the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger stemmed from the Liverpool City Council’s 2011 approval of plans to redevelop the city’s waterfront, including the building of skyscrapers. The resistance to this plan by the World Heritage Committee was similar to their reaction to London’s so called skyscraper boom in the mid-2000s. The Committee threatened to place the Tower of London (designated in 1988), on the Endangered List in 2006 because of shadows resulting from the construction of a skyscraper, which would threaten the historical value of the site.<sup>128</sup> The leader of the Liverpool City Council at the time, Warren Bradley, weighed in on the debate by sharing his thoughts on the Committee’s upcoming inspection of the redevelopment plans: “I’m very confident that what they’ll say is what we want to hear, that is carry on Liverpool, carry on regenerating, carry on building on the back of World Heritage site status and we’ll see you in the future.”<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> World Heritage Centre. “Liverpool –Maritime Mercantile City,” (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1150/>.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> “UNESCO Warning on Tower of London,” *BBC News*. October 21, 2006. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/england/london/6072580.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/london/6072580.stm).

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

In fact, the site was placed on the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger in 2012 after the Committee concluded that the site would lose its integrity and outstanding universal value if the proposed project was implemented.<sup>130</sup> Officials in Liverpool said that the decision was premature, and the £5.5 billion Liverpool Waters development plan was still in its beginning stages.<sup>131</sup> While the Committee stressed that the plan would permanently alter the landscape of the site, the Liverpool City Council believed it could implement safeguards into the plan to protect the site's heritage. Perhaps more important to the city, the development plan would include a cruise liner terminal, thousands of apartments, and would create up to 20,000 jobs.<sup>132</sup> The government of the United Kingdom approved the plan to go ahead in March 2013,<sup>133</sup> which was followed by a WHC decision in June 2013 to "reiterate its serious concern"<sup>134</sup> over the project and retain the site on the List of Sites in Danger.

In 2013, the Committee issued a decision describing their concern about development around the site of Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church in London (designated in 1987).<sup>135</sup> All three sites are Gothic and neo-Gothic monuments to the English constitutional monarchy. Westminster Abbey has been the location of every coronation since the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and Westminster

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<sup>130</sup> "Committee Decision: Liverpool-Maritime Mercantile City (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)," (2012)

<sup>131</sup> "Liverpool's Heritage Status 'in Danger' UNESCO Warns," (2012)

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Smith, Mark. "Liverpool Waters Redevelopment Gets Government Green light," *The Guardian*. March 5, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/mar/05/liverpool-waters-redevelopment-green-light>.

<sup>134</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Committee Decision: Liverpool-Maritime Mercantile City (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)," WHC-12/37.COM/20 (2013, July).

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

Palace is the seat of Parliament.<sup>136</sup> As with the Tower of London, the Committee's concerns are related to development, particularly skyscrapers, in the surrounding areas of the city. The Committee is scheduled to decide if the site should be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger in mid-2014.<sup>137</sup> The situation was publicized locally, but met with only mixed concern.<sup>138</sup> As the Tower of London was never placed on the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger, it appears unlikely that the Westminster site will be placed alongside Liverpool on that List.

The Committee has also issued concerns about two other sites in the UK, Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast in Northern Ireland (designated in 1986) and Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscapes (designated in 2006), a multi-part site in southeastern England. Both sites are under review because of proposed development plans. In Northern Ireland, an £100 million resort development outside of the Giant's Causeway sites would create 360 jobs, a hotel, spa, and golf course, only 550 metres from the site's boundaries.<sup>139</sup> Hayle Harbour, part of the multi-site Cornwall and West Devon mining Landscape, is a small community in the far south of the country. The development plan in Hayle causing concern for the Committee includes a small housing project, shopping center, and supermarket.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret's Church," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/426/>.

<sup>137</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Committee Decision: Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)," 37 COM 7B.90 (2013, May).

<sup>138</sup> Doward, Jamie. "Westminster's World Heritage Status at Risk as UNESCO Condemns Plan for Skyscrapers," June 8, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2013/jun/09/westminster-world-heritage-status-risk>.

<sup>139</sup> O'Neill, Julian. "Giant's Causeway Resort Row: UNESCO Report Calls for Halt," *BBC News*. May 23, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-22645799>.

<sup>140</sup> "Permission Granted for Hayle South Quay Development," *BBC News*. May, 8, 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-cornwall-18000132>.

Whether it is a massive redevelopment, such as in Liverpool, or plans to help a small community, as in Hayle Harbour, these decisions to pursue development over the concerns voiced by UNESCO suggest that the priorities of communities in the UK are of their own needs and not of the requirements of an international organization. If any of these sites in the United Kingdom are faced with either being De-listed or adjusting the needs and wants of their community, I believe they will follow the path laid by Dresden.

## **Part II: Declining Interest in World Heritage Designation at Developing Sites in Asia and Pacific Region**

It is generally believed that the economic and social gains of a World Heritage List designation is wanted by the communities of developing nations and needed to support a cultural or natural site of global importance. Just as with developed nations, there are many concerns associated with the nomination and designation of a World Heritage Site regarding the impact on local communities. Since 2000, the APA region has seen an increase in site designation, with the 13-year period accounting for 77% of the region's designations. The fast growth in this region can be attributed to the focus on Developing and Least-Developed sites, through the work of the Global Strategy, Small Island Developing States, LEAP, and Pacific World Heritage Action Plan. The steady increase of designated sites in developing countries of this region has brought to light some of the difficulties of navigating a World Heritage Site nomination and designation. These difficulties have been particularly evident when trying to balance to goals of UNESCO's Global Strategy

while considering the actual needs and wants of those developing nations and their communities.

### **Section 1: Levuka Historical Port Town, Fiji**

The town of Levuka, located on Ovalau Island, is often described as being famous for many of Fiji's firsts; it is the site of Fiji's first bank, hotel, school, library, hospital, newspaper and many others.<sup>141</sup> The European settlement of the site began in the 1820s, and with Fiji's cession to the British Empire in 1874, Levuka became its first colonial capital.<sup>142</sup> The town's tenure as capital only lasted four years, and ever since then the town has battled a constant wave of economic instability. The largest source of employment is the fish cannery, built in 1963, that employs up to 600 of the 1000 eligible workers in town. While much of the town relies on the factory for financial stability, it often experiences long and unexpected periods of closure.<sup>143</sup> The period surrounding Levuka's term as the capital was marred by racial tensions between the European settlers and indigenous Fijians, much of it caused by the colonial control of both government and religion.<sup>144</sup> The tensions still continue in the community.<sup>145</sup>

Perhaps due to the low economic activity of the area since its time as capital and its isolation from the main island, the town is arranged mostly the same way it

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<sup>141</sup> Fisher, D. *The Socio-Economic Consequences of Tourism in Levuka, Fiji*. PhD diss., (Lincoln University, 2000): p. 99

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 22-34

<sup>143</sup> Harrison, p. 350

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 349

<sup>145</sup> Fisher, p. 94



was in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>146</sup> Because of this, the town is recognized for its historical value as a late 19<sup>th</sup> century Pacific port town, and its continued integrity and authenticity of the town plan, building materials, and site usage.<sup>147</sup> With the designation on the World Heritage List, Levuka also became Fiji's first World Heritage Site.<sup>148</sup>

The path to designation on the UNESCO World Heritage List began in the 1970s when a small group of residents formed the Levuka Historical and Cultural Society and began restoring some of the damaged buildings.<sup>149</sup> With this community upstart, the extended Fijian community saw potential to expand tourism in Fiji to cultural sites.<sup>150</sup> In the early 1990s, Fiji began to take steps to fund the restoration of sites across the country and prepare nomination lists to the World Heritage Centre. In line with the start of the Global Strategy, Fiji submitted its first list of nominations in 1994 with help from the LEAP program. When Levuka became a LEAP pilot site, Fiji delegates were able to start preparing the materials necessary to officially nominate Levuka to the World Heritage List by attending the regional workshops funded by Australia's Funds-in-Trust.<sup>151</sup> The process was stalled during the Fijian Coup of May 2000 and another in early 2006,<sup>152</sup> although it was already being slowed by limited support of the local community.

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<sup>146</sup> Fisher, p. 95

<sup>147</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Levuka Historical Port Town Nomination File," (2013) Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1399.pdf>

<sup>148</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Levuka Historical Port Town," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1399/>.

<sup>149</sup> Harrison, p. 351

<sup>150</sup> Harrison, p. 356-359

<sup>151</sup> "Australian Funds-in-Trust Agreement Created to Support World Heritage Activities," (2008)

<sup>152</sup> Fisher, p. 120

Harrison describes the aims of the Global Strategy in 1994 by noting, “Europe, historic towns and religious buildings, especially from Christian traditions...were all over-represented in the list of World Heritage Sites. However, ‘traditional cultures’ ...were largely absent.”<sup>153</sup> All of the historic buildings at the site represent Fiji’s British colonial past more than its indigenous history. Looking at these categories specified as over-represented by the World Heritage Committee, it is a wonder that Levuka was chosen for Fiji’s first World Heritage Site. Levuka’s colonial history became a point of contention when members of the United Fiji Party, a political party committed to indigenous Fijians, were elected into Levuka’s Town Council in 2002.<sup>154</sup> Harrison reported that indigenous Fijians were “largely dismissive of the need to conserve Levuka.”<sup>155</sup> Fisher describe the situation as,

The application process in the case of Levuka is being promoted by a small group of people, most of whom do not live in the Town. The UNESCO World Heritage charter appears to assume that what the government considers to be a place of National heritage is what local people assume to be of value.<sup>156</sup>

When Levuka was finally designated to the World Heritage List in July 2013, an article in *The Fiji Times*, “Ripple Effect for Town,”<sup>157</sup> highlighted the hopes of the Fijian tourism industry and the Levuka Town Council that the designation would increase tourism in the town and throughout Ovalau Island. The news was taken with heed however, as the CEO of the Levuka Town Council, Suli Sandys, stated that

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<sup>153</sup> Harrison, p. 353

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p. 358

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 359

<sup>156</sup> Fisher, p.128

<sup>157</sup> Tokalau, Torika. “Ripple Effect for Town,” *The Fiji Times*. June 27, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=238029>.

“the people [need] to change their mind-set to take ownership of their town.”<sup>158</sup> This sentiment reflects the observations in Harrison that parts of the local community were “dismissive of the need to conserve Levuka’s built environment.”<sup>159</sup>

Levuka experienced many of the problems that other developing nations face when nominating and designating a World Heritage Site, with perhaps more difficulties because of the limited local and national support. While Fiji received a large amount of financial, technical, and bureaucratic support from UNESCO and other international partners (including the Australian National Trust),<sup>160</sup> the time between the first nomination and designation was almost 20 years. In comparison, all 17 of Japan’s World Heritage Sites were designated within two years of their nomination.<sup>161</sup> As shown in this example, the political and social issues facing World Heritage Site designation in developing countries can be just as powerful as the economic difficulties.

## **Section 2: Luang Prabang, Lao People’s Democratic Republic**

The town of Luang Prabang, located on the peninsula formed by the Mekong and Namkhan rivers in northern Laos, was designated to the World Heritage List in 1995. It was recognized because of the settlement’s rich history, extended as far back as the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The name Luang Prabang can be translated as “Royal

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Harrison, p. 362

<sup>160</sup> World Heritage Centre. “Australian Funds-in-Trust,” (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/partners/374/>.

<sup>161</sup> World Heritage Centre. “The State Parties: Japan,” (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/jp>.

Buddha”<sup>162</sup>, which reflects the town’s royal and religious history. The town became the center for Theravada Buddhism after a 14<sup>th</sup> century king adopted the religion.<sup>163</sup> Its royal history was interrupted by repeated invasions, and the town was officially established as a French Protectorate in 1893. The French colonial and traditional Buddhist architecture of the town blend into a unique urban landscape.<sup>164</sup> In particular, the town has 34 monasteries<sup>165</sup> and many temples (called “Vats” or “Wats”.) These temples are some of the most sophisticated in Southeast Asia, and are decorated with remarkable sculptures, engravings, painting, and gilding. The most complex structure, Wat Xieng Thong, dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>166</sup> is an iconic monument of this town and perhaps of Lao PDR. Many traditional Lao homes still remain, as well as the colonial brick buildings.<sup>167</sup> One of the most important parts of Luang Prabang is the intangible heritage of the local community. The Prabang procession, a monk’s morning collection of alms, and other Buddhist ceremonies are still important daily events in the community. The traditional arts and crafts and buildings techniques are part of the town’s integrity and authenticity.<sup>168</sup> Although the intangible heritage of Luang Prabang is not officially recognized as an element on the Intangible Heritage List,<sup>169</sup> Phase I of the Cultural

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<sup>162</sup> Berliner, D. “Multiple Nostalgias: The Fabric of Heritage in Luang Prabang (Lao PDR).” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 18(4) (2012): p. 769

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> “Town of Luang Prabang,” (2014)

<sup>165</sup> Berliner, p. 770

<sup>166</sup> “Town of Luang Prabang” (2014)

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> UNESCO- Intangible Cultural Heritage “Lao PDR Intangible Cultural Heritage,” (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00311&cp=LA>.

Survival and Revival in Buddhist Sangha focused on preserving the practices in Luang Prabang.<sup>170</sup>

Since the site's designation in 1995, several Committee decisions have been issued citing various concerns on the condition of buildings and development activities in the city. The increase of tourism in the early 2000s,<sup>171</sup> road construction during 2002-2004,<sup>172</sup> and new construction in 2008 (including pedestrian paths and an extension on the airport)<sup>173</sup> all caused the World Heritage Committee to threaten listing the site as endangered. The threat was particularly strong after the completion of the airport expansion in 2012.<sup>174</sup> Berliner accounted the concern of the Committee over Luang Prabang losing its tangible and intangible heritage, in the Mission Report in 2007:<sup>175</sup>

[Luang Prabang needs to] halt the progressive loss of its fabric and traditions in the face of development pressures...if the Lao traditional heritage in particular continues its steady decline, the Town of Luang Prabang is heading towards a situation that would justify World Heritage in Danger listing.<sup>176</sup>

The development around Luang Prabang is often a result of the increased tourism at the site since its designation. Between 1997 and 2011, the city saw increased

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<sup>170</sup> "Documentation, Education and Training to Revitalize Traditional Decorative Arts and Buildings Crafts in the Buddhist Temples of Asia," (N.D.)

<sup>171</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Progress Report on the Regional Actions for the Implementation of the Global Strategy Action Plan," CONF 204 VIIIiii (2001, February).

<sup>172</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Committee Decisions: Town of Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic)" (2002, August) CONF 202 21B.54 ; Ibid. (2003, June) WHC-03/27 COM 7B.50 ; Ibid. (2004 June) WHC-04/28 COM 15B.60.

<sup>173</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Committee Decisions: Town of Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic)," WHC-08/32 COM 7B.74 (2008, May).

<sup>174</sup> World Heritage Committee. "Committee Decisions: Town of Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic)," WHC-12/36 COM 7B.63 (2012, July).

<sup>175</sup> Boccardi, Giovanni. & Logan, William. "Reactive Monitoring Mission to the Town of Luang Prabang World Heritage Property," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. (2007, November 22-28): p. 16

<sup>176</sup> Berliner, p. 774

construction of tourism-related businesses including hotels, restaurants and shops, resulting in the total increase of these businesses from 58 to 389.<sup>177</sup> The construction of new roads and expansion of the airport can also be attributed to an increase in visitors.

Threats from the Committee were also a result of an increase in unapproved reconstruction of historic buildings.<sup>178</sup> The preservation law of Lao, colloquially called Heritage House (La Maison du Patrimoine), was a result of Lao's ratification of the World Heritage Convention.<sup>179</sup> Signatories must have appropriate national legislation in place for protecting heritage sites before they can have a site designated to the World Heritage List.<sup>180</sup> As reported by Sunktikul and Jachna, "The majority of interviewees...felt that their business was in some way constrained by [Heritage House] regulations."<sup>181</sup> These business owners cited grievances over the high costs of undertaking approved repairs, the prohibitions on increasing structure size, and the requirements to use preservation appropriate materials.<sup>182</sup> Using the correct materials and plans to repair buildings also became a point of contention outside of its prohibited costs and limiting functions. Traditional techniques are also highly encouraged, including artwork and craftsmanship from the royal era, a sensitive issue in the community.<sup>183</sup> Although much of the local population benefit financially from the increased tourism brought upon by the World Heritage Site

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<sup>177</sup> Sunktikul, W., & Jachna, T. "Contestation and Negotiation of Heritage Conservation in Luang Prabang, Laos." *Tourism Management* 38 (2013): p. 57

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., p. 59

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 57

<sup>180</sup> World Heritage Centre. "The World Heritage Convention," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/>.

<sup>181</sup> Sunktikul, p. 62

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Berliner, p. 776

designation, they are less interested in complying to the preservation laws required to maintain Luang Prabang on the List. For tourism business owners, the inability to modernize their buildings is seen as a detriment to business. Businesses are not allowed to use foreign signage, build privacy fences, add pools, or even extend roofs or balconies.<sup>184</sup>

Unlike much of the community at Levuka, Fiji, the local population of Luang Prabang is highly invested in the heritage of their city, but the difficulties of maintaining the site to the World Heritage Committee's standards has been a consistent problem. In many ways, this site is similar to sites in Most-Developed sites, such as Dresden. If the community of Luang Prabang maintains confidence about the continued financial stability tourism industry, it is possible that they would they risk losing World Heritage status to expand the development and modernization of the city.

### **Part III: Small Communities in Developed Countries, Two Case Studies from Japan**

Many World Heritage Sites with small local communities— even in a Most-Developed country— do not have extensive economic and political support. Japan has seventeen World Heritage Sites, and not only is the global leader in contributions to the World Heritage Fund,<sup>185</sup> but also has a Funds-in-Trust program that has assisted many developing nations in the APA region to nominate and

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<sup>184</sup> Suntikul, p. 65-66

<sup>185</sup> Japan's yearly compulsory contributions are USD\$353,730, as of 2/28/2014.

designate World Heritage Sites. In the smaller communities of Japan there are also social, political and economic problems surrounding World Heritage Sites, similar to those faced by Levuka Township in Fiji and Luang Prabang in Lao PDR. Two Japanese sites in particular, the Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range (designated in 2004) and the Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama (designated in 1995) have experienced similar problems to those facing Levuka Township and Luang Prabang.

### **Section 1: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range**

The cultural landscape of the Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range was designated in 2004. Located in southeast of Japan, this site consists of three sites deep in the Kii Mountains.<sup>186</sup> Part of the Cairns Decision of 2002 included changing the available criteria for inscription to include underrepresented natural and cultural sites. Like the other aspects of the Cairns Decision, this change was to create equitable representation<sup>187</sup> in the World Heritage List. Cultural Landscapes was a category of sites deemed underrepresented in the Cairns Decision.<sup>188</sup> With this in mind, we can see that the designation of the Kii Mountain sites was, like the designation of Levuka Township in Fiji, a result of the Global Strategy.

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<sup>186</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1142/>.

<sup>187</sup> World Heritage Centre. "Cairns Decisions – Work of The World Heritage Reform Groups," (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en.d.ecisions/1218>.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.



Shugendo practitioners have used the sacred sites of the Kii Mountain Range for more than 1,200 years as part of pilgrimage routes. This landscape is an integral part of their religious practices and is considered a very spiritual place.<sup>189</sup> The community that uses this landscape— typically environmental and spiritual enthusiasts, and local industries that rely on the land— was mostly opposed to designating the site. This community wanted to maintain their practices and not be regulated by an outside organization.<sup>190</sup>

Two issues were particularly important to the community regarding the changes facing the mountains: “Stairway Hell”<sup>191</sup> and the prohibition of women on Mount Ōmine. Stairway Hell is what traditional ascetics call the increased building of stairways up the side of Mount Ōmine. These steps not only alter the landscape but they also allow many visitors to scale the mountain; previously ascending the mountain was a dangerous, but a sacred achievement for ascetics.<sup>192</sup> The modifications of these mountains for tourists change the traditional use and spiritual importance for those who still try to use the landscape traditionally. The ascetics of the Kinpusenji temple use certain paths on Mount Ōmine as designated spaces for male practitioners. With the designation of the Kii Mountain Range on the World Heritage List, the debates to open these paths to women have been a serious topic for the community. This tradition, more than 1,000 years old, is well respected in the community, even by female practitioners. The debate to allow opening the site to women had occurred once before, when the site was created a national park in

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<sup>189</sup> “Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range,” (2014)

<sup>190</sup> McGuire, p. 344-345

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p. 345-346

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

1932, but it did not succeed in altering the tradition.<sup>193</sup> As stated in McGuire, it is likely that both the continued building of stairways and the inclusion of women on Mount Ōmine will be instituted against the spiritual and historical traditions of the site and community.

Like Levuka, Fiji, the designation of the Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range is not necessarily supported by, nor is it completely representative of the local community. The designation of the Kii Mountain Range will change the significance of the site more than it will preserve.

## **Section 2: Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama**

The Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama were designated to the World Heritage List in 1995. The villages are known for their historic Gassho-zukuri houses, large wooden structures created with only rope, straw and distinctive thatched roofs.<sup>194</sup> Located in the mountainous region of western Japan, the environment is not well suited for producing rice, which meant that the land was harder to cultivate. In Japan, the Gassho-zukuri style houses “have been homes for people used to hardship.”<sup>195</sup> When the site was designated in 1995, the community was still living similarly to how it did at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century because of the

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., p. 346-348

<sup>194</sup> World Heritage Centre. “Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama,” (2014). Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/734/>.

<sup>195</sup> Francis-Lindsay, p. 156

area's remote location.<sup>196</sup> At that time there were approximately 1,800 gassho-style homes still in use, and by 2009 there were fewer than 200.<sup>197</sup>

In addition to their unique architecture, the communities of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama's traditional foods, festivals, dances, and religious practices make this site a popular tourist destination. In Shirakawa-go alone, more than 1.5 million tourists now visit every year. As with Luang Prabang, the increase in tourism has also seen an increase in infrastructure building— specifically for roads and highways— which have an irreversible effect on the landscape. Unlike Luang Prabang, there has been no opposition to the increased construction of tourism-related structures, such as restaurants, souvenir shops, cafes, and parking lots.<sup>198</sup>

The area has seen a loss of traditional industry and skills, particularly with farming, construction and forestry. Instead of working in these industries, the local communities are supported by tourist activities, particularly showcasing the gassho-style structures and highlighting aspects of their culture to the public.<sup>199</sup> Francis-Lindsay writes, "While these villages see an increased tourism presence, some residents continue to resist the glare of tourism development."<sup>200</sup> Many in the community understand that the increase in tourism is a positive economic addition, but perceive the increase negatively because of the social, cultural and

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<sup>196</sup> Inaba, Nobuko. "Cultural Landscapes in Japan: A Century of Concept Development and Management Challenges." In *Managing Cultural Landscapes*, edited by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon. (New York: Routledge, 2012): p. 118-122

<sup>197</sup> Francis-Lindsay, p. 158

<sup>198</sup> Jimura, T. "The Impact of World Heritage Site Designation on Local Communities--A Case Study of Ogimachi, Shirakawa-mura, Japan." *Tourism Management*, 32(2), (2011): p. 289

<sup>199</sup> Jimura, p. 293

<sup>200</sup> Francis-Lindsay, p. 161

environmental effects.<sup>201</sup> The changes to the tangible and intangible culture of these communities have not raised concern from the World Heritage Committee like they did at Luang Prabang. Perhaps this is because the changes were not as drastic as in Luang Prabang, but it can also be suggested that the socio-economic stability of Japan differentiates this site from Lao PDR's. If this idea is correct, what is differentiating this site from Dresden or Liverpool?

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<sup>201</sup> Jimura, p. 289

## Chapter 5: Conclusions

The trends examined in this paper assess the 35-year history of World Heritage Sites in a way not yet explored by the World Heritage Centre. Categorizing the countries represented on the List by their socio-economic status shows the difference in designation trends outside of the WHC's regional information. I have also demonstrated that the efforts started in the mid-1990s that were focused on correcting an "imbalance"<sup>202</sup> in the List may not have been based on facts, but rather, on an unsubstantiated perception. At the start of the Global Strategy and LEAP programs, Least-Developed and Developing countries had a slightly higher total than Most-Developed and Developed countries. Although the regional data showed a higher concentration in the Europe and North America region, as described in the Global Strategy's objective,<sup>203</sup> the data was still not a true representation of the work completed by the WHC.

Since the beginning of the World Heritage Committee and List, there has been a strong focus on developing countries. Many of the first programs, including the 20-year long Nubian Campaign, were aimed at protecting heritage in countries with low socio-economic status. In the first five years of the World Heritage List, Least-Developed and Developing countries had 81 sites, compared to 53 sites of Most-Developed and Developed countries. The developed countries did eventually overtake developing countries, and currently Most-Developed countries have 488 sites and Developed countries have 47 (for a total of 535), and Least-Developed

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<sup>202</sup> "Expert Meeting on the Global Strategy" (1994)

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

countries have 82 sites and Developing countries have 366 (for a total of 488). It should be noted that as per my analysis, there 112 total developed countries (29 Least-Developed and 83 Developing) and only 45 total developed countries (35 Most-Developed and 10 Developed). The real discrepancy is shown by the average number of sites in developed nations, which is approximately 12 and the average number of four sites in a developing nation.

The growth of the List to 982 sites (including the two De-listed sites, Dresden in Germany and the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary in Oman) was not always consistent, and experienced fluctuations in line with major world socio-economic events. As most developing countries rely on the support of developed countries, through programs financed by Funds-in-Trust, the socio-economic events of the world are likely to affect developing sites doubly: not only do they feel the effects of world events first hand, but then they may also experience the loss of support from developed countries that are themselves affected by the event.

The question as the World Heritage List quickly approaching 1000 sites is, where is the future of the program going? Most-Developed countries, the backbone of the program, are moving away from this system. Most notably, Germany allowed Dresden to take the necessarily steps to do what is best for the communities, with the consequence being the De-listing of the site from the World Heritage List. This was the first De-listing in a developed country, and only the second one altogether. Not dismissing the immediate comments on the situation, overall it appears that Germany and the city is unaffected by the outcome.

The United Kingdom is now potentially facing the same actions by UNESCO in not one, but four sites spread across the country. Sites in Liverpool, Cornwall, Northern Ireland, and London are possibly facing being labeled as endangered from the World Heritage Committee. Liverpool is facing complete removal from the World Heritage List. All of these sites are being targeted by the Committee because of development plans, each of which would provide economic benefits to their communities.

Developing countries are now facing similar situations, namely to follow the Committee's recommendations and halt development plans, or face being labeled endangered or even being De-listed. Luang Prabang in Lao PDR has been carefully treading the line between development and a place on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Much of the development in this city is vitally important to the local population, and part of the development is caused by the changing population and growing tourism industry. Fiji's Levuka Historic Port Town faces a lack of support from within their local community that could lead to the end of their participation in the World Heritage program. Without local support the economic burdens and consistent oversight by UNESCO, which would be taxing on a community fully invested in their site, Levuka poses the very real possibility that the community will choose their own interests over the goals of the World Heritage Committee. If another cannery were to open in Levuka but the Committee warned that its construction would mean the removal of Levuka from the World Heritage List, how would the local community decide? Based on my analysis, I have no doubt they

would they would surrender the accolade of World Heritage List designation in favor of the benefits of development for the community.

Situations similar to those seen in Lao PDR and Fiji are also being observed at smaller sites in developed nations, particularly those with a strong local community. In the case studies of the Japanese sites, Kii Mountain Range and villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama, the formerly isolated communities are experiencing changes to the built environment and their traditional practices because of the World Heritage Site designation. Unlike the response to Luang Prabang, UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee have not issued any concerns to these sites despite the increased development, changes to traditional culture, and resistance to designation by the local community.

With these case studies in mind, in both developed and developing countries, the question emerges: Will designation on the World Heritage List still be desirable for sites in every category of country? Even those who have few or none? As the examination of programs for developing countries in the APA region in Chapter 2 shows, many efforts have been made to expand the World Heritage program to developing countries and their local communities. Just as the situations of developed countries affect the financial support of projects in developing countries, is there now a correlation of the movements away from the WHC from developed to developing countries? Perhaps developing countries followed developed countries into the program, and now they are following those countries out. More importantly, if labeling sites as endangered or even De-listing sites becomes a regular occurrence,



how will that affect the reputation of the World Heritage program? *The Economist* published an article shortly after Dresden's De-listing, from September 10, 2009, stating:

As the number of sites nears 900, will not the currency of UNESCO's praise and scoldings(sic) be devalued? It is embarrassing for Dresden to be the only place delisted against its will; but if half a dozen cities decided to ignore UNESCO's ire and proceed with their own development plans, that could make the agency look foolish and toothless.<sup>204</sup>

The answers to the situations facing the relationships between the World Heritage Committee and countries represented on the World Heritage List are not only difficult, but quite likely impossible. The first step to solving any problem is to understand the data, the trends and the situations involved, which has been the aim of this thesis. Continuing to examine current events and trends affecting developed and developing countries is important to gain increased understanding of the differences and similarities of sites between the two categories. By continuing to expand the way the World Heritage List is analyzed, new trends may emerge and new information could provide a guide to the next steps in solving the problems facing the World Heritage Committee, and perhaps even show what direction the World Heritage List should take in the future.

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<sup>204</sup> "UNESCO and World Heritage Sites: The Limits of Soft Cultural Power," *The Economist*. September 10, 2009. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/14428543>.

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## Appendix

### Organization of Countries Represented on the World Heritage List by Socio-Economic Status

Most-Developed	Developed (con't)	Developing (con't)	Developing (con't)
Australia	Chile	Jordan	Tajikistan
Austria	Cyprus	Kazakhstan	Thailand
Belgium	Estonia	Kenya	Tunisia
Canada	Hungary	Kiribati	Turkey
China	Qatar	Kyrgyzstan	Turkmenistan
Czech Republic	Seychelles	Lao People's Democratic Republic	Ukraine
Denmark	<b>Developing</b>	Latvia	Uruguay
Finland	Albania	Lebanon	Uzbekistan
France	Algeria	Libya	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
Germany	Armenia	Lithuania	Viet Nam
Greece	Azerbaijan	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	<b>Least-Developed</b>
Holy See	Bahrain	Malaysia	Afghanistan
Iceland	Belarus	Marshall Islands	Bangladesh
Ireland	Belize	Mauritius	Benin
Israel	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Mexico	Cambodia
Italy	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mongolia	Central African Republic
Japan	Botswana	Montenegro	Chad
Luxembourg	Bulgaria	Morocco	Cote D'Ivoire
Malta	Burkina Faso	Namibia	Democratic Republic of Congo
Netherlands	Cabo Verde	Nicaragua	Ethiopia
New Zealand	Cameroon	Nigeria	Gambia
Norway	Columbia	Oman	Haiti
Poland	Costa Rica	Pakistan	Lesotho
Portugal	Croatia	Palau	Madagascar
Russian Federation	Cuba	Palestine	Malawi
San Marino	Dominica	Panama	Mali
Slovakia	Dominican Republic	Papua New Guinea	Mauritania
Slovenia	Ecuador	Paraguay	Mozambique
Republic of Korea	Egypt	Peru	Nepal
Spain	El Salvador	Philippines	Niger

<b>Most-Developed (con't)</b>	<b>Developing (con't)</b>	<b>Developing (con't)</b>	<b>Least-Developed (Con't)</b>
Sweden	Fiji	Romania	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Switzerland	Gabon	Saint Kits and Nevis	Senegal
United Arab Emirates	George	Saint Lucia	Sudan
United Kingdom of Great Britain & Northern Ireland	Ghana	Saudi Arabia	Tanzania, United Republic Of
United States of America	Guatemala	Serbia	Togo
	Honduras	Solomon Islands	Uganda
<b>Developed</b>	India	South Africa	Vanuatu
Andorra	Indonesia	Sri Lanka	Yemen
Argentina	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	Suriname	Zambia
Barbados	Iraq	Syrian Arab Republic	Zimbabwe
Brazil			