
















WORLD HERITAGE STATUS

Is there opportunity for economic gain?

Research and analysis of the socio-economic impact potential of UNESCO World Heritage Site status

Rebanks Consulting Ltd and Trends Business Research Ltd on behalf of the Lake District World Heritage Project

Publication Supported by:

invest in cumbria

LAKE DISTRICT WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT

Northwest REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

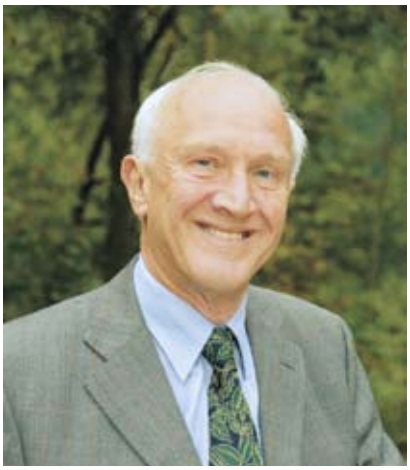
THE ECONOMIC GAIN:

Research and Analysis of the Socio Economic Impact Potential of UNESCO World Heritage Site Status

Rebanks Consulting Ltd and Trends Business Research Ltd

FOREWORD

by Lord Clark of Windermere

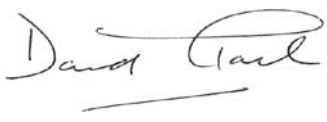


The Lake District is England's largest National Park; there are over 885 square miles to explore, including Scafell Pike—England's highest mountain and Wastwater—its deepest lake as well as thriving communities like Keswick and Windermere. The magnificent rural landscape and the bustling small towns have inspired great thinkers and encouraged positive, social and environmental changes since the 18th Century. In fact the Lake District has had such an impact on the way the world thinks about landscape and how nature and the environment are viewed, we are seeking UNESCO World Heritage Site designation.

Cumbria and the Lake District are vibrant, working places with a long cultural history. Generations of farming families have created the landscape millions of people enjoy today and international recognition for Cumbria is well deserved. However, the Lake District World Heritage Steering Group, which I chair, is not just seeking inscription for its own sake, instead the group has always strongly believed there should be economic and social impacts for Cumbria from the process and nomination itself.

In 2006 we commissioned a study of the potential economic and social benefits for Cumbria and further to this in 2009 we commissioned Rebanks Consulting Ltd to carry out the first ever international research project looking for examples of economic and social gain from World Heritage Inscription at sites around the world.

I believe the research findings are as valuable to existing sites as they are to potential new sites. In the true spirit of international cooperation Cumbria has decided to share the findings of the research and I hope you find the following report as useful as we have as we move forward with our nomination.



CONTENTS

Short Case Studies

Private Sector Responses To WHS Status

NOTE ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The report that follows will have different areas of interest for different readers. The basic structure of the report is as follows;

Executive Summary: Is a short summary of the full report covering the key findings.

Chapter 1: Is an overview of the existing research on the socio-economic impact evidence available from previous studies with commentary on the limitations of previous research.

Chapter 2: Is an explanation of the methodology used in the current study to identify best practice sites from the 878 designated sites and commentary of what this process revealed.

Chapter 3: Is the overview and analysis section of the report looking at key themes, insights and areas of impact across the sample.

Chapter 4: Consists of 14 case studies detailing the individual motives, actions and experiences of a number of sites that emerged from our filtering research of the 878 sites.

Annexe 1: Considers the implications of this research for a potential future World Heritage Site, the English Lake District, and suggests six models for delivering socio-economic impact.

THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

The Convention concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) in 1972, now referred to as the World Heritage Convention, embodies the idea that the international community has a duty to cooperate in the identification, protection and active conservation of cultural and natural heritage considered to be of outstanding universal value to the whole of humanity.

There are now 890 properties (July 2009) inscribed on the World Heritage list, of which 689 are cultural properties. These may be landscapes, places or buildings but all are considered to have Outstanding Universal Value, from the point of view of history, art or science, which we must pass on to future generations as an irreplaceable source of life and inspiration.

Places on the list include as unique and diverse Sites as Machu Picchu, the Pyramids of Egypt, and places like Stonehenge and Westminster Palace in the UK. What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application.

In recognition of the way in which certain valued places reflect the social and economic history of their particular community and the interface with the natural setting, the concept of cultural landscapes has been added to the World Heritage List. Cultural landscapes represent 'the combined works of nature and man'. Their special character needs to be maintained if the essential value of the site is to be conserved. Historic agricultural practises need to be respected in rural areas, and in villages, towns and cities local community activities and traditions are as important as the protection of the built fabric. In both rural and urban situations there is a need to support traditional social and economic activities as a means of sustaining the World Heritage Site's Outstanding Universal Value.

In the UK, Local Authorities generally take the lead in the care, protection and nurture of World Heritage sites. The Local Authority World Heritage Forum (LAWHF) represents urban and rural communities that have inscribed or Tentative List sites within their areas. It aims to assist Government to fulfil its responsibilities in relation to the Convention, and seeks to ensure that communities derive maximum benefit from their World Heritage status whilst at the same time being properly equipped and resourced to fulfil their responsibilities. Local Authorities seek to protect their individual World Heritage Sites, taking pride in their international recognition. Many seek to achieve social and economic benefits for the community from inscription.

Gillian Clarke, Secretary to Local Authority World Heritage Forum, UK

LAWHF

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In October 2008, the Lake District World Heritage Project commissioned Rebanks Consulting and Trends Business research to undertake a study into the potential social and economic benefits to the Lake District from WHS inscription. The brief called for research and analysis to identify best practice from existing UNESCO World Heritage Sites that had been successful at converting socio-economic **'opportunity from designation into advantage'**.

The work was commissioned to answer questions raised by previous studies on World Heritage Site status (which had confirmed some benefits, but questioned the evidence base for others) and also to identify models of best practice that new World Heritage Sites could learn from. The Cost of attaining World Heritage Site status is considerable – estimated in the UK to be up to €462,000 (£400,000), this has led to a national debate about the costs and benefits of getting the UNESCO designation and how its value can best be exploited for communities/sites.

Key Findings

Previous research (see Chapter 1) has shown that some benefits are relatively well-evidenced for some sites – including World Heritage Site status as a catalyst for more effective **conservation, partnership working, civic pride, social capital, learning and education and additional funding and investment**. But the existing body of research suggests the **tourism and economic development** impacts are limited or that the existing evidence base does not justify some of the claims made of WHS status.

However, previous research methodologies have failed to do justice to the complexities of World Heritage Sites; tending to ignore the differing **motivations and actions** of sites. This has resulted in a body of research that has shown some sites that have achieved a range of socio-economic impacts but offered no framework for understanding why or how these were achieved in some places and not others.

The current study involved innovative research of all existing **878 World Heritage Sites (May 2009)** with the creation of a new database that enables sites to be judged against 15 criteria to ascertain their defining characteristics, motivations and actions (see Chapter 2). This filtering approach has provided new insights into the activities and impacts of World Heritage Sites around the world.

The impacts of World Heritage Site status are rarely accidental or unintended – they are overwhelmingly the result of coordinated and well thought through efforts to achieve targeted change. In short, sites that have achieved significant impacts have had a **clear logic chain from the identification of the issues and problems they wished to address, a clear understanding of how WHS status could be used to catalyse change, following through to investing in the resources, activities and processes to deliver the impacts desired**. As a previous study noted,

> "*…it could be said that WHS status is what you make of it. Where the status has been used to full effect it has brought partners together, leveraged additional funding, led to new development and enhanced educational benefits, improved conservation and even led to regeneration in some locations. Where these opportunities have not been seized there have been more limited benefits. The benefits that the sites attribute to WHS status are therefore strongly related to the motives they had for bidding and correspondingly what they have used the status for*[1]."

The impact of WHS status is also heavily affected by the pre-WHS socio-economic profile of the site (including its existing designations, its tourism brand profile, and a range of other complex variables). But crucially, the research undertaken revealed for the first time the different motivations which led to places becoming World Heritage Sites (see Chapter 3). The research reveals four kinds of World Heritage Site, as defined by the perceptions held of WHS status;

A 'Celebration' Designation – Many places with a WHS treat it as a celebration or reward designation for heritage already preserved.

1 P24 World Heritage for the Nation: Identifying, Protecting and Promoting our World Heritage, A consultation paper, DCMS, UK Government, December 2008

A Heritage 'SOS' Designation – Many sites with a WHS treat it as an emergency attention designation for unique heritage at risk. The origins of the UNESCO WHS convention lie in this concept of WHS.

A Marketing/Quality Logo/Brand – A growing minority of sites have come to the realisation that the WHS designation has value as a marketing or quality brand for historic places.

A 'Place Making' Catalyst – This view treats WHS status as a powerful catalyst for economic development using heritage as a tool to develop powerful new identities for places, and powerful programmes of actions to change places fundamentally.

The critical lesson that emerged from our analysis of the 878 sites was that how the management organisation and stakeholders perceive WHS status matters – the impact of sites is markedly different depending upon which one of these four categories a site belongs to. The explanation for this appears to be very simple;

- Places that see the designation as a 'Celebration' do not use it to achieve socio-economic impacts – preserving the heritage was the achievement, WHS the reward.
- Places that want it as an 'SOS' to save heritage, go on to try and do just that, namely saving heritage – the result are efforts to preserve heritage.
- Places that want the designation for marketing or branding go on to use it in their marketing and branding with little additional activity other than that related to the development of tourism.
- Only the 'Place Making' WHSs use it to generate wider socio-economic impacts and fundamental change to communities and places.

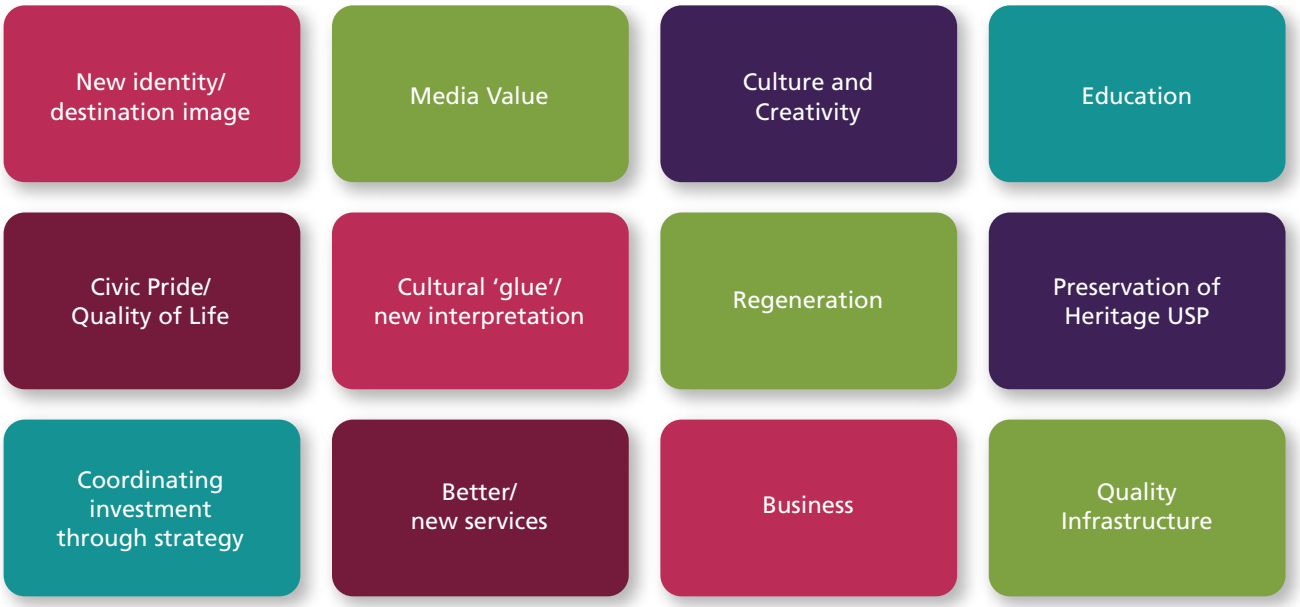
Only a very small minority of sites perceive World Heritage Site status as being about the third and fourth of these categories (i.e. as a tool for socio-economic impact), perhaps as few as 5–10% of sites. Previous research into the socio-economic benefits of WHS status has in many cases simply been based on analysis of samples dominated by sites that have not been trying to achieve socio-economic impacts; an exercise that proves little. The current research focused on the third and fourth categories of World Heritage Site.

The research revealed that socio-economic motivations for World Heritage site inscription are relatively recent in origin; from the first designated sites in 1978 until the late 1980s virtually no sites had a socio-economic motivation for designation; between the later 1980s and mid-1990s a small minority of sites innovated with the designation to achieve a variety of socio-economic impacts, and since the mid-1990s a growing but significant minority of sites have had socio-economic motivations of one kind or another for securing the designation.

This approach to using World Heritage Site designation is heavily focused on Europe, North America and Australasia, with a small number of other examples around the rest of the world. By filtering the 878 World Heritage Sites the research was able to identify shared characteristics of sites achieving socio-economic impact, and to reveal the ways that becoming a World Heritage Site had added value. The key finding was that whilst **World Heritage Site status has been a powerful catalyst for socio-economic change in some communities, the nature of the interventions made to achieve this were highly site-specific.**

A key concept that emerged from the research and analysis was the idea of a **'network effect'** resulting from the addition of new World Heritage Sites. In short, rather than the addition of new sites devaluing perceptions of the brand, the reality appears to be that the addition of new sites is increasing consumer understanding of the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation. Key World Heritage Sites believe they are succeeding in attracting high value cultural visitors because of their WHS status – this **'WHS Literacy'** appears to result in dynamic World Heritage Sites attracting disproportionately large numbers of high-spending cultural visitors.

The research resulted in 14 case studies (see Chapter 4) and revealed 12 distinct types of socio-economic benefit that can be generated as a result of World Heritage Site designation:



Better understanding of these areas of benefit and of the ways they can be achieved will result in better outcomes for existing or new World Heritage Sites in the future (see Chapter 3).

Attributing socio-economic impacts to the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation is complex and difficult. It is rarely the designation itself which achieves the impacts, and more normally the actions and investments of the local stakeholders. A useful parallel is the EU City of Culture designation; the benefit of which is not automatic or generic but is instead highly specific to the cultural programme and investments made by the host city. UNESCO World Heritage Site status similarly offers few easy socio-economic impacts – the potential impact has to be earned.

The research highlighted the fact that if the investment in attaining World Heritage Site status is made with the primary motivation of socio-economic impact, then scale is a significant factor. The recent evidence suggests that the tourism footfall impact of the designation is unlikely to exceed 0-3%. An established tourism destination might expect a neglible impact on overall visitor numbers as a result of becoming a World Heritage Site.

However, with effective marketing of a quality product, World Heritage Site status might be used effectively to change the visitor profile. **The key to payback is the scale of the market, and the ability to use the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation to attract higher spending cultural visitors.** For example, a relatively small shift (say 1%) in the visitor profile of a potential World Heritage Site like the Lake District with its 8-9 million visitors could result in an absolute economic impact of up to €23 million (£20 million) per annum. The critical point is that only a significant economic entity can justify the cost of attaining the designation if growth in tourism spend is a primary objective.

2 See for example, the research in 'The Power of Destinations: Why it Matters to be Different', Communications Group Plc, commissioned by Welsh Development Agency. It is now widely accepted that perceptions of a place and particularly of its cultural/lifestyle offer are key determinants of success in economic development.

Conclusion

The research revealed that for a significant minority of sites becoming a World Heritage Site creates a situation whereby the local stakeholders collectively ask themselves the critical question, **'Why is our place unique, special and globally important?'** This in itself is a critically important economic question. It is the basis of effective tourism marketing, the key to attracting inward investment or relocation of businesses[2], and often the key to adding value to commercial products and creating prouder more dynamic communities that are more confident to engage with the rest of the world.

A handful of World Heritage Sites have, as a result of answering that question, found themselves at the cutting edge of a movement around the world which seeks to **focus the economic development of places on their uniqueness, their authenticity, their distinct sense of place, and the depth of their identity and culture** (as validated and endorsed by UNESCO's 185 countries). They use the added stimulus of WHS status to engage with the rest of the world from a position of confidence selling distinct products and services at added value based upon their provenance. Achieving these aspirations is not easy, or achieved on the cheap, successful places direct significant effort and investment into achieving this – but it appears that WHS status, and the catalyst and confidence it provides, can play a significant role in this movement to high quality and distinctiveness.

CHAPTER 1
A REALITY CHECK ON THE VALUE OF WHS STATUS

Section 1 – What the Research to Date Tells Us About the Impact of WHS Status

In the past 18 months UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS[3]) status has come under greater scrutiny than ever before in terms of its costs and benefits. In socio-economic terms, one simple question has come to be asked of WHS status: Is it worth the cost and the effort?

There are, to our knowledge, three relevant and recent pieces of research which have looked at the generic or automatic cost/benefit impacts of WHS status by looking at the evidence from multiple sites. These studies are as follows:

In 2007 PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP (PwC) was commissioned by the UK Government's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), Cadw[4] and Historic Scotland to investigate the costs and benefits of World Heritage Site status in the UK. This research included a review of existing research literature, consultation with more than 70 organisations, a cost survey of 17 of the 24 UK domestic WHSs, six case studies, and surveys of more than 1600 residents.

In 2007 Scottish Natural Heritage commissioned Hambrey Consulting to undertake a study of the social, economic and environmental benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks. This research included studies of seven case studies (2 of which were World Heritage Sites) and analysis of all available evidence.

In July 2008 Professor Rémy Prud'homme of the University of Paris XII was requested by the World Heritage Centre of UNESCO to summarize three further studies of WHS development impacts undertaken by three separate research teams.

Between 2005 and 2009 a number of studies were undertaken on a range of World Heritage Sites in the UK and elsewhere, looking to evaluate the socio-economic impact that has resulted from the designation and associated activities – these include evaluations of the 'Jurassic Coast' and 'Hadrian's Wall' World Heritage Sites. Taken collectively these studies have a value and relevance to the debate.

These studies, and the cumulative effect of countless smaller studies from specific sites which cover a considerable geographical area and a wide range and number of sites, can be read by anyone who wishes to understand the individual nuances and findings – here we propose instead to summarise what this considerable body of research tells us in terms of the costs and benefits of WHS status. The research on best practice examples that follows later in this report needs to be contextualised by what these studies tell us about WHSs generically.

The first thing that needs to be said is that in totality these studies, created by respected authorities, represent a convincing body of evidence, confirmed by our own research for this study, about the 'generic' or 'automatic' economic impact of WHS status. In other words, this work focuses on the socio-economic impact that results from simply becoming a World Heritage Site without further initiatives beyond the inscription.

Whilst we will in the course of this report question the approach of these studies, nothing we write in this report should be read as disagreement with the basic findings of these reports or their robustness. For us they represent **the end point of a debate about generic impacts of generic samples of WHSs** – they have, we believe, proven that if you ask questions about the generic economic or tourism impact of unfiltered samples of WHSs you will by definition get unimpressive or negligible impact results. This is for one simple reason that we will document; namely that most WHSs are not trying to achieve significant socio-economic results, they are overwhelmingly about preservation of heritage.

What the WHS debate about socio-economic impacts represents, of course, is a clash of beliefs about a tool which was, and arguably still is for most of the

3 For the sake of brevity we will use the shorthand of 'WHS' in place of 'World Heritage Site', and 'WHSs' as the plural. We will refer to 'WHS status' when we are referring to 'World Heritage Site status'.

4 Cadw is the historic environment service of the Welsh Assembly Government.

global WHS community, primarily about universal recognition of the importance of conserving heritage sites, and the need, particularly in European states to justify such significant investment by being able to show it is good value for money relative to alternative investment opportunities.

The costs of getting WHS inscription have risen over the past decade as sites increasingly compete to get the nomination of their respective national authorities. Recent research has suggested a cost in the UK of up to €462,000 (£400,000) for achieving inscription[5]. This figure surprises sites inscribed more than 5 years ago, as their inscription was achieved at much lower cost due to having fewer requirements placed on them in terms of planning, evidence-base, consultation and management structures. This cost varies enormously from state to state, and is perhaps much greater in those European states where potential sites compete to be their state's nomination and where they have to make a compelling public benefit case for the investment that they receive in many cases from regional development agencies.

The net result of this escalating cost of getting WHS inscription has been to widen the pool of interested stakeholder organisations in the regions with potential WHSs. The costs are now more than individual heritage sites can raise from heritage sources. The result is that potential sites now have to raise this investment from other sources, some of which can only justify investing in WHS status if it has wider public benefit than the preservation of heritage – these new funders, including the UK regional development agencies, need to justify their expenditure by evidencing how WHS status can assist in creating wider socio-economic benefit.

This debate also reflects a wider intellectual, political and cultural shift in Europe and the English speaking world towards using culture and heritage as a key tool in regeneration. The involvement of the regional development agencies in the UK in part-funding the nomination process almost inevitably leads to a clash of values and focus between conservators and regenerators. But this may be a necessary result of a process of innovation and experimentation in how to do something with cultural heritage that has real and lasting transformational impact for communities.

Several of the sites which will be featured in case studies later in this report have been faced with impossibly vast expenditures to preserve whole towns, cities or landscapes. Whilst preservation of heritage is their primary goal for WHS status, stakeholders quickly realise that the majority of the investment required will often need to come from the private sector, and in many cases from hundreds or thousands of individuals and families who need to see these sites as dynamic living places where they can raise their families with an acceptable standard of living. These harsh realities mean that many WHSs have found themselves having to engage with socio-economic development to ensure the survival of their historic fabric.

It is a key finding of this analysis that whilst the meeting point of these two mentalitè on World Heritage Site issues may initially be uncomfortable for all concerned, it may actually represent an opportunity for both communities to change the way they view heritage and its role. In this context, the dynamic WHSs that are engaging with the socio-economic development agenda are actually at the forefront of a movement across the world that is realising the importance of place, identity, belonging and authenticity in the economic sphere.

Section 2 – PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP/DCMS 2008 Research Key Findings

Eight areas of potential WHS impacts were identified by the DCMS 2008 study; they are a useful summary and have been valuable to this current research. They are as follows;

- Partnership – WHS status is felt to increase the level of partnership activity through the consultation required to create and fulfil the requirements of the management plan. The PwC research 'tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit'.
- Additional Funding – WHS status is felt to increase the levels of investment in conservation and heritage directly and other areas indirectly. The PwC research 'tends to support with evidence this area of WHS

5 Department for Culture, Media and Sport, UK Government, News Release 02/12/2008

benefit' (with the caveat that most additional funding is local/regional)[6].

- **Conservation** – WHS status is felt to result in greater focus, planning care and investment of resources in good conservation of sites. The PwC research 'tends to strongly support with evidence this area of WHS benefit' as the 'quality of development around such sites may be superior'[7].
- **Tourism** – The PwC evidence suggests that the impact on tourism is marginal – with the UK research suggesting impacts of 0-3% and more for less well-known sites. Visitor awareness of WHS is often relatively low for existing sites.
- **Regeneration** – the assumption that WHS is somehow an automatic catalyst for regeneration, stimulating inward investment, inward migration, and increased tourism. This assumption is 'not borne out by the (PwC) evidence to date'.
- **Civic Pride** – WHS status is felt to be a mechanism for developing local confidence and civic pride. The research 'tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit as a strong benefit'.
- **Social Capital** – WHS status is felt to have the potential for providing increased social unity and cohesion through increasing opportunities for interaction and engagement with local communities. The PwC research 'tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit'.
- **Learning and Education** – WHS status is felt to be a stimulus to developing learning and educational projects. The PwC research 'tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit'

In summary, in 6 of the 8 areas of potential impact WHS appears to deliver according to the evidence looked at in the UK as part of the DCMS 2008 study. But in two key thematic areas (tourism and regeneration) PwC suggest the impact value appears to have been overstated. These two thematic areas have come to be important reasons why some UK sites wish to be WHSs; so careful consideration of the motivations of potential sites is required in future.

The DCMS 2008 study also highlighted the significant costs of achieving WHS status – the cost of achieving inscription being in the region of €485,000 to €658,000 (£420,000 to £570,000) for a UK site at this time, with additional ongoing management costs of up to €173,000 (£150,000) per annum.

The DCMS study also suggests that the marketing impact of WHS is far from well-evidenced, as the study states, 'Overall across all of the WHSs the impact WHS status appears to have made on visitors is minimal and it is unclear whether WHS status on its own is ever likely to be a significant enough factor in attracting higher numbers of visitors'. The PwC research suggests that an additional 0–3% of visitors may be expected to newly-inscribed WHSs[8]. But even here the causal relationship is complicated. The PwC study revealed that pre-WHS status in all areas is significant in terms of the benefits – a strongly protected conservation site will benefit less from WHS inscription in terms of conservation, just as a major visitor attraction with strong brand would benefit relatively less from the new brand than a destination with a pre-WHS weak brand.

In summary WHS is, as PwC state, an opportunity to use the process and brand as a catalyst for implementing change. Our research from across the world also strongly supports another finding of the Pricewaterhouse Cooper study, that the motivations for WHS status are critical,

6 The Reagan administration, for example, used the designation of the Status of Liberty to attract private sector funding for its restoration in the 1980s. See paper by Kevin Williams, Department of Geography, Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK – Commentary: The Meanings and Effectiveness of World Heritage Designation in the USA (Current Issues in Tourism, Vol 7, No. 4 and 5, 2004).

7 DCMS – News Release – Summary of PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP WHS study, 02/12/2008

8 P13 Executive Summary, World Heritage for the Nation: Identifying, Protecting and Promoting our World Heritage, A consultation paper, DCMS, UK Government, December 2008. This is reinforced by older research from the USA, which suggested that between 1990 and 1995, foreign visitation to American World Heritage Sites increased by 9.4%, whereas over the same period foreign visitors to all national parks increased by 4.2%. See paper by Kevin Williams, Department of Geography, Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK – Commentary: The Meanings and Effectiveness of World Heritage Designation in the USA (Current Issues in Tourism, Vol 7, No. 4 and 5, 2004).

> *"…it could be said that WHS status is what you make of it. Where the status has been used to full effect it has brought partners together, leveraged additional funding, led to new development and enhanced educational benefits, improved conservation and even led to regeneration in some locations. Where these opportunities have not been seized there have been more limited benefits. The benefits that the sites attribute to WHS status are therefore strongly related to the motives they had for bidding and correspondingly what they have used the status for.[9]"*

This focus on the motivations of WHSs is the starting point for our research and analysis later in this report (see chapters 4 and 5). This PwC finding is the key to unlocking this whole debate; WHS status achieves little automatically, and therefore many WHSs have few benefits to show for it, but some WHSs that have tried to achieve benefits appear to have used the WHS designation with value.

It is interesting that if one applies this insight about motives and actions to the case studies selected by PwC/DCMS then one finds that three of the case studies – Castle and Town Walls of King Edward in Gwynedd (1986); Studley Royal Park and Fountains Abbey Ruins (1986) and the Tower of London (1988) – appear to have few socio-economic motivations, and little in the way of socio-economic programmes. The fourth case study - Edinburgh Old and New Towns (1995) – has used its WHS status to support socio-economic development but in a way that would not be expected to result in easily attributable impacts (see Chapter 4). This leaves just two of the six PwC/DCMS case studies, Blaenavon Industrial Landscape (2000) and Dorset and East Devon Coast (2001) which have socio-economic motivations and some form of programme for impact creation. It is presumably these two case studies that PwC refer to when they acknowledge that some sites are achieving regeneration outcomes. It is also no coincidence that these case studies can be sorted by date of inscription into groups with different motivations; i.e. Pre 1989 – focus on conservation; Post 1995 - increasing socio-economic focus. This is a pattern we found in our case study selection (see Chapter 2).

In summary, the PwC analysis changes the question from whether the WHS designation automatically does deliver benefits (the PwC analysis suggests it doesn't), to whether it can deliver benefits (the PwC study is clear that it can for some sites). The critical issue becomes which kinds of WHSs achieve benefits and how they have 'seized' it and 'used it to full effect', and this will be the focus of our research and analysis in Chapters 3 and 4.

Section 3 – The Scottish Natural Heritage/ Hambrey Consulting Study Key Findings

In 2007 Scottish Natural Heritage commissioned Hambrey Consulting to undertake a study on the social, economic and environmental benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks. This research included studies of seven case studies (2 of which were World Heritage Sites, the West Norwegian Fjords WHS, and the Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast WHS (Northern Ireland) and analysis of all available evidence. Clearly, a study that looks at just two WHSs has limitations for the current study, but the approach taken provides valuable insights as it was effectively a study about the value of UNESCO designations.

Critically, the case studies undertaken suggested that benefits vary widely between sites, 'depending on the resource base of the site, the nature of the local economy, governance structures, and individuals involved[10]'. However the study did identify four areas of common benefit:

- Enhanced leverage to pull in funding for a wide range of projects
- Stimulus to awareness raising and educational initiatives
- Enhanced tourism image and profile
- Enhanced opportunities for niche branding of local products and services

9 P24 World Heritage for the Nation: Identifying, Protecting and Promoting our World heritage, A consultation paper, DCMS, UK Government, December 2008

10 P8 Social, Economic and Environmental Benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks, Scottish Natural Heritage, 2007

It was noted that these benefits were greater where the buy-in from the local community was greatest, and where the designation built upon 'local circumstance and tradition[11]'. The real strength of this report was in the insights it provided over other WHS studies regarding the variation between sites based upon what they do with the designations – in other words this study began to treat sites differently based upon what the designation had resulted in, rather than solely on the fact of designation alone. This study made three key observations that are of value[12]:

- The existing economic geography of the site matters – a remote site with a small local population and a finite tourist market will confer limited social and economic benefits
- The system of site governance matters – a system offering only limited and formal involvement to the local population will have a minimal impact on community capacity
- Local leadership matters – where confident site management leaves power with strong local businesses and community leaders, economic and social benefits may be marked.

Finally, the report makes some useful recommendations about the criteria that could be used to select or assess candidate sites in Scotland, based on social criteria, environmental criteria and the ability of a potential site to deliver impact. It is also worth noting that this study highlighted the diversity of approaches between sites – something that emerged from their analysis of the two WHSs. The West Norwegian Fjords WHS was delivering across a range of criteria, including 'business opportunities', whilst the Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast WHS (Northern Ireland) analysis seemed to reveal minimal impacts (see figure 1).

In summary this looks like further evidence that the impact value of WHS status is not automatically created by the designation itself, but is unlocked by the motivations and actions of the local stakeholders – something revealed by the PwC study above.

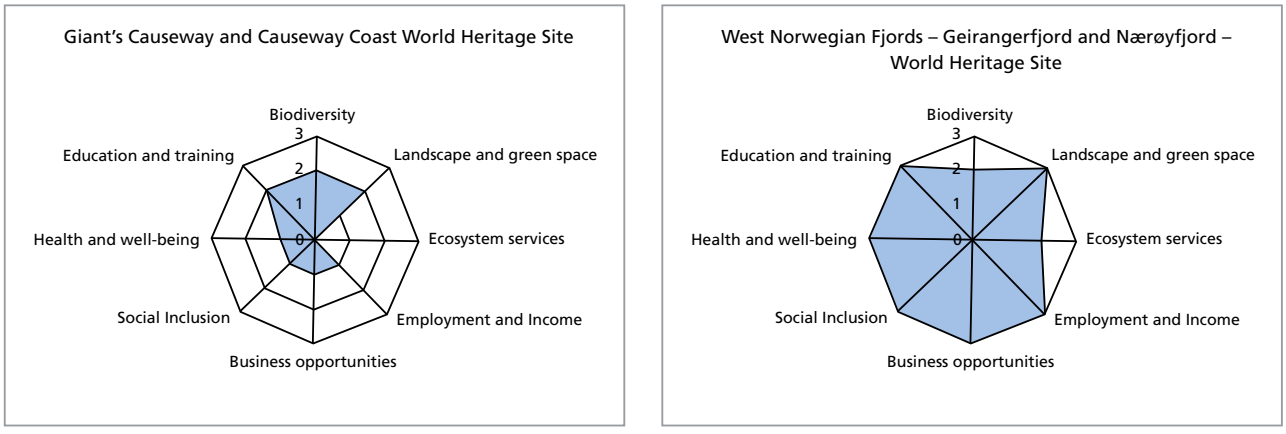


Figure 1: Same designation diverse impacts: The Scottish Natural Heritage commissioned research from 2007 reveals the diversity between UNESCO sites holding the same designation in terms of impacts achieved – clearly other variables are critical. (Source Social, Economic and Environmental Benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks, Scottish Natural Heritage, 2007)

11 P8 Social, Economic and Environmental Benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks, Scottish Natural Heritage, 2007

12 P8 Social, Economic and Environmental Benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks, Scottish Natural Heritage, 2007

Section 4 – The Professor Rémy Prud'homme/ World Heritage Centre Summary Key Findings

The Rémy Prud'homme report from July 2008, and the three studies it summarizes, presents one of the more objective and evidence-based analyses of the social and economic impacts of WHS status. This is – notably – evidenced by the acknowledgement that 'it is not enough to examine what actually happened, it must be compared to what would have happened in the absence of (WHS) status… all things being equal'[13].

In his literature review (Section II) Prud'homme places increased tourism as the primary economic consideration, but considers tourism through its relationship with 1) development, 2) heritage and 3) attractiveness of the location. He summarizes by saying that 'the link between WHS inscription and local economic development is probably quite limited...'[14] It is worth looking briefly at the findings of these three studies summarised by Professor Prud'homme;

The first of these studies, undertaken by **Maria Barbara and Gravari Sebastien Jacquot** (2008), was a literature review that touched upon a number of complex relationships including how much more attractive a heritage site would be if it were a World Heritage Site. The study suggests that the links between economic development and WHS status is 'uncertain and probably quite tenuous'[15]; and suggested that the relationship between WHS status and economic development was like a chain with many links – one can sometimes see the connection, but the links are often hard to establish with evidence and are fragile and uncertain. They found, as the previous studies have considered, that UNESCO WHS registration alone was not a sufficient causal factor for development[16].

The second study was undertaken by **Talandier Magali** (2008) and was an econometric analysis of heritage sites that tried to unpick the impact of different variables on economic development by a sophisticated qualitative approach. The study looked at the relationship in France between heritage and tourism, and the causation behind visitation to heritage sites (including consideration of the added value of WHS status). The study took an econometric approach to tourism in a number of French 'cantons' (local area subdivisions), and attempted to identify causal variables in the context of tourism attraction, local economic growth, and other variables. It also looked at before-and-after (WHS inscription) analysis on 5 sites. The findings were that WHS inscription alone is not a statistically significant cause for increased tourism attraction, all other things being equal.

The third of the three studies was undertaken by **Bernard-Henri Nicot and Burcu Ozdirlik** (2008) and was a comparative analysis of WHS inscribed and non-WHS inscribed sites in Turkey. This study compared two archaeological Ottoman heritage sites; Troy on the UNESCO WHS List, and Pergamum not on the UNESCO WHS list, and two Ottoman cities; Safronbolu with a UNESCO WHS and Beyparazi, which has no WHS.

The sites were chosen because they are similar in a number of respects; they are roughly the same size, they are located in the North West of Turkey, and have a high degree of comparability. The main difference between the cities is that Safronbolu has focused heavily on developing its heritage as a tourist offer, and does receive a higher number of international tourists. However, Beyparazi has a higher tourism marketing spend, places less emphasis on heritage, and uses heritage as an integrated part of a wider development strategy. The conclusion from this complex study is that whilst the WHS label has contributed to better heritage preservation and awareness in Safronbolu, it has not triggered dynamic development. But in Beyparazi more successful development has been achieved through a wider economic development programme. As Professor Prud'homme summarizes, 'in Beyparazi heritage is for development purposes, in Safronbolu development is for heritage purposes[17]'.

13 P1 Prof. Rémy Prud´homme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008)
14 P5 Prof. Rémy Prud´homme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008)
15 P7 Prof. Rémy Prud´homme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008)
16 P8 Prof. Rémy Prud´homme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008)
17 P15 Prof. Rémy Prud´homme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008)

For the archaeological sites, Troy and Pergamum, it was also found that other factors such as tourism infrastructure had a much bigger effect on economic impact than WHS status alone. Whilst both sites have a high through flow of tourists, their spending is not well harnessed within the local area. In addition, there is a large variation in the number of tourists based on seasonality. A questionnaire survey of tourists indicated that most had made up their minds to visit based on the sites' historical reputations regardless of WHS status, and – by inference – because the sites already had a strong brand value, the additional impact of WHS status was negligible.

As Professor Prud'homme states, the three studies effectively conclude that 'the impact of WHS inclusion on local development is largely exaggerated'[18]. Interestingly, the studies do not exclude the idea of using heritage (and even WHS-inscribed heritage) as a powerful part of economic development, they simply highlight the limited role it plays compared with other variables and drivers of economic development. Interestingly, Professor Prud'homme suggests that benefit even where it exists may be through a ripple effect, whereby: 1) the heritage enables WHS status to be gained; 2) the status promotes tourism; and 3) the tourism promotes local development. But all three studies provide an important reminder that WHS status alone is not sufficient to stimulate transformational change – the local authorities must plan to capitalize upon WHS status as much as is possible – and it must plan and invest well in the other links in the chain to gain benefit.

Section 5 – Site-specific Impact Evaluations

Between 2005 and 2009 a number of studies have been undertaken on a range of World Heritage Sites in the UK and elsewhere, looking to evaluate the socio-economic impact that has resulted from the designation and associated activities – these include evaluations of the 'Jurassic Coast' and 'Hadrian's Wall' WHSs. Taken collectively these studies have a value and relevance to the debate – particularly as the studies summarized above, whilst dismissing the idea of generic WHS impacts, also highlighted some sites that appeared to buck the trend by getting significant value from the designation. The evidence from a number of site-specific studies is that the designation had had a socio-economic impact and is valued in these terms by a range of partners including the private sector[19]. In other words, these studies appear to suggest that whilst generic or automatic WHS benefits across all designated sites may be negligible, something is occurring related to WHS status on other sites that appears to have an impact.

Section 6 – Concluding Remarks on WHS Socio-Economic Research to Date

In the chapters that follow: we will suggest that the approach of these previous studies and their understanding of WHS needs to be questioned. Our research suggests that a new conceptual framework is required for understanding WHS impacts. Looking at unfiltered groups of WHSs without looking at their motivations and actions is highly problematic. One can only sensibly assess achievements when measured against the motivations and actions set of the sites.

All of these studies have revealed problems with looking for generic or automatic WHS impacts, but critically all have also shown that some sites are achieving socio-economic impacts. This body of research also supports the idea that some of the 'softer' or less directly economic outputs like conservation or civic pride are aided by WHS status. There are also, of course, perfectly legitimate economic arguments for preserving heritage as an end in itself. Where places effectively trade upon their heritage, then preserving that heritage is a means of ensuring that this economic asset is preserved for the future[20].

18 P12 Prof. Rémy Prudhomme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008)

19 For more information see, for example, An Economic, Social and Cultural Impact Study of the Jurassic Coast, Jurassic Coast, Dorset and East Devon World Heritage Site (2008) – this study reveals significant majorities of businesses (in a sample of over 450 businesses) surveyed as valuing the brand, its influence on visitor profile, its ability to stimulate business, its impact on sustainability and its role in attracting additional investment.

20 Whilst there is an economic rationale to preserving the heritage of a location because that historic infrastructure is an economic asset, this study is not primarily concerned with this theme. Instead it will look for the role of WHS status in creating additional economic value

We believe that these studies represent the end point of a debate about generic impacts of generic samples of WHSs. They also signal the end of un-evidenced claims that the socio-economic impacts of WHS inscription are automatic – future sites will have to show how they will achieve socio-economic benefit by doing more than simply becoming a WHS, because that alone is not sufficient. The evidence is clear on this point.

These studies have, we believe, proven that if you ask questions about generic or automatic socio-economic impact of unfiltered samples of WHS you will by definition get unimpressive or negligible impact results. The questions asked are almost meaningless because they are based upon the belief that WHS is somehow one thing (a designation that in itself has innate value), when it is in fact a number of different things depending upon several important variables including: pre-WHS socio-economic status (including tourism profile and the complex architecture of existing designations and brands); geo-political location; WHS classification as natural, cultural or mixed site; nature of the site's 'Outstanding Universal Value (OUV); date of inscription; motivations for inscription; post-inscription governance and management; post-inscription investment structures; and programmes of action and aspirations.

World Heritage Sites are more diverse than any previous study has given them credit for – they are not one thing in socio-economic terms, they are a number of different things, and any serious study of their socio-economic impact probably needs to take these factors into account in the future. In the pages that follow we will suggest an alternative conceptual framework and provide case studies to demonstrate socio-economic best practice.

Figure 3: The sheer diversity of WHSs makes simplistic comparisons highly problematic – it is difficult to find common characteristics for all WHSs other than their shared designation and basis in cultural or natural heritage value. What other characteristics are shared by the centre of a modern city like Bordeaux, a major industrial heritage/cultural attraction like Völklingen, the pristine Komi Forest, the archaeological park at San Agustine, and the Berlin Modernism Housing Estates?

Outstanding Universal Value – Introduction

Sites wishing to become WHSs have to prove to UNESCO that they have something critical called, 'Outstanding Universal Value' (OUV). OUV means cultural and/or natural significance which is exceptional enough to transcend national boundaries and to be relevant and of importance to the global community now and in the future. The key here is that OUV is not what stakeholders in a given location believe is important about their site, but what a global community represented by UNESCO will recognise as being of OUV to all humanity. Sites must meet one or more of 10 criteria;

I. Represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
II. Exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design;
III. Bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
IV. Be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
V. be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
VI. Be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance;
VII. Contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
VIII. Be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
IX. Be outstanding examples representing significant ongoing ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
X. Contain the most important and significant natural habitats of in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

CHAPTER 2
A NEW APPROACH

Section 1 - Our Methodology and Approach

We believe the body of research and evidence in the previous chapter reflects the end point in a debate about generic or automatic socio-economic benefit from WHS status; but an end point that is also the start point for a more meaningful discussion that moves the WHS socio-economic impact debate to a new place.

The research and analysis that follows represents a new way of thinking about WHS socio-economic benefit based upon a more discriminatory approach that takes seriously the differences between WHSs. In short, our methodology has taken seriously the key finding of the PwC/DCMS WHS study which states that WHS is 'what you make of it', and that 'the benefits that sites attribute to WHS status are strongly related to the motives they had for bidding and correspondingly what they have used the status for[21]'.
Our research went through the following stages:

1) Literature review of the existing evidence-base for WHS socio-economic impacts
2) Consultation with over 100 global WHS specialists to identify the most progressive sites in terms of socio-economic development
3) Creating a database of all 878 current WHS sites capturing key information
4) Desk-based analysis of all WHS sites – looking at, where possible, the site websites, the marketing of the sites if they are tourism or investment destinations, and any other information about the sites, including WHS management plans
5) Using the database to identify sites with characteristics that make them most likely to be achieving socio-economic benefits
6) Identifying (short-listing) those sites that merited in-depth case study research

This process enabled us to focus our research efforts for the final stages of our approach which looked at the highlighted sites in more detail. We then began an intensive stage of interviews, questionnaires and site visits to WHSs that showed signs of using WHS status in progressive socio-economic development.
In summary, we did the following:

- Detailed interviews/investigation of 25+ sites and more than 60 stakeholders
- Site visits/investigations of more than 15 international WHS sites
- Creation of case studies of best practice and final analysis
- Overview and analysis of best practice and defining characteristics of success

Section 2 – The Key Challenge – A Framework for Filtering WHS Sites

If one accepts that WHS status is simply an opportunity to use the process and brand as a catalyst for implementing change – then one needs to identify the kinds of change that WHS sites have tried to bring about. The brief for this research was simply to find evidence of WHSs that have converted socio-economic 'opportunity into advantage'. But to achieve this one needs to identify WHS sites on the basis of their 'motives' and what they have 'used the WHS status for'. This is surprisingly difficult for the 878 WHSs for the following reasons:

- There is no single database with up-to-date contact details for WHSs
- There is no single source of information about WHSs that reveals anything about the sites actions and motives, other than their OUV criteria
- The uses made of WHS status do not necessarily relate to the site's OUV

The solution to this fragmentation or lack of information was to create a database of all 878 current World Heritage Sites. This developmental database sought to capture where possible the following information about each site, albeit sometimes from imperfect sources:

- Date of Inscription
- Country/Region
- WHS type – Cultural, Natural, or Mixed
- No. on WHS List
- WHS OUV Criteria
- Breakdown within WHS types into working sub-categories – i.e. monument/building

21 P24 World Heritage for the Nation: Identifying, Protecting and Promoting our World heritage, A consultation paper, DCMS, UK Government, December 2008

- Buffer Zone
- Urban/Rural status
- Populated/Unpopulated
- Tourism status – pre-WHS and post-WHS
- Core focus – working categories, i.e. Strict conservation
- Sustainable transport scheme
- Evidence base for impacts
- Property in danger
- Contact details

Whilst UNESCO have a database of very basic information on each site, most of this socio-economic information was being sought and compiled for the first time in a form that enabled analysis of the kind required. It necessarily involved judgments made on imperfect and changing information – but from this process emerged a picture that has never existed before of what these sites are and what they are trying to do.

The resulting database allows us to analyse sites in ways never possible before, and even where exact information may not be available for every site for every category the profiling that it makes possible ensures that even sites which have limited data are still identified as having the shared characteristics of other suitable sites, enabling further investigation. We rated each site according to a number of criteria (see figure 2);

Section 3 – Filtering Sites with the New Database

The criteria were designed to reveal their potential value as comparators – the results of this first stage analysis were as follows:

- 5–10% of sites appeared to be using WHS status in ways that were significant enough to make them examples of socio-economic best practice – and worthy of detailed investigation.
- 15–20% of sites had some potential merit as examples of best practice, but on closer analysis evidence of action/impact was weak or unobtainable.
- 70–80% of sites appeared from available evidence to have limited or no value as examples of best practice for socio-economic impact or marketing[22].

After further more detailed investigation of the 5-10% of sites with comparability/best practice potential value we divided them again into three grades to prioritise our research:

- 23 sites that had excellent potential for best practice case studies
- 17 sites that had good potential for best practice case studies
- 25 sites that had moderate potential for best practice case studies

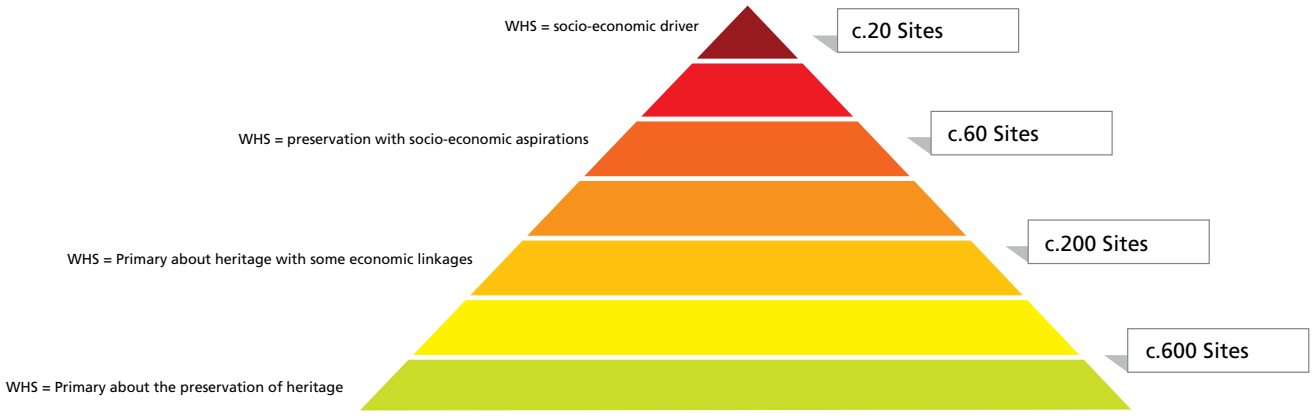


Figure 2: Filtering the 878 WHSs by their socio-economic actions and motivations as revealed by their key documents and marketing materials reveals how few have innovated in using the designation in this way.

22 As will be explained in Chapter 2, Section 1, these sites were not failing WHSs; they were simply places that either intellectually or in investment and marketing terms did not appear to be using the designation as a significant socio-economic catalyst.

The result is that we now know that in a small number of states, most of which are in Europe, with a handful in North America and Australasia, WHS status has come to be seen as a part of how places can significantly redefine themselves and their identity – in other words achieving UNESCO WHS status is used as a catalyst for significant social, cultural and economic change (see Chapter 3 and 4)[23]. But the following should be understood:

- This perspective on the use of WHS to assist in the socio-economic development of places is a minority pursuit – it is shared by a tiny percentage of WHSs around the world, perhaps as few as 5-10% of the total.
- The situation outlined above becomes even more testing when further detailed investigation is made of the minority of sites who are trying to use WHS status in the way that many potential sites wish to, for the following reasons:
  - Even amongst the small minority of WHS sites that have socio-economic aims only a few have moved beyond aspirations and planning to actual delivery and significant investment to these ends – it is literally only a handful of sites, perhaps less than 20, that have done this.
  - The scale of the direct investment by this minority of WHS sites in socio-economic regeneration (that can be attributed to WHS alone) is sometimes very limited – there are only a minority of examples where significant regeneration investment has a direct link with WHS sites[24].
  - This raises an issue about major cities or tourism destinations using WHS as a catalyst for socio-economic development – only the work done by a tiny handful of sites would provide robustly evidenced models of value.

But this also raises a bigger issue for this research, in that if we are literally down to a small handful of sites that have done anything of significant scale, we have a very small sample from which to evidence any kind of socio-economic impact. If these sites have not gathered robust or comparable evidence then it is difficult to be categorical about whether WHS works as a catalyst for socio-economic development. Instead this research offers most value in illuminating the opportunities being translated into advantage by the WHS stimulus.

After short listing our best practice WHSs, we then began a more detailed investigation of these sites, with the priority on those with the highest perceived value. This was made difficult because no single database of such information exists. Every individual site required individual investigation just to make contact and gather basic information. We contacted 54 of the 65 sites highlighted (on previous page) – and 20 sites (18 of the 23 rated excellent) have worked closely with us on this research. This has resulted in 13 site visits and investigations with another 7 sites to gather data. It should be noted that research like this is reliant upon the cooperation of multiple WHS sites and the information they have shared with us[25].

Section 4 – WHS Impact Attribution

Studies concerning the economic impact of designations like WHS status or EU City of Culture suffer a common problem; namely that the designation rarely delivers the impacts itself. More regularly, designations like this act as a form of catalyst for existing organisations, facilities and programmes to

23 There is anecdotal evidence from several of our consultees that the impact on visitor numbers of becoming a World Heritage Site in China and Japan is considerable, unfortunately accessible and verifiable evidence was not available for the purposes of this study to corroborate this. A number of other sites outside of Europe, North America and Australasia have interesting potential value as case studies, but further research and evidence is required.

24 These range from masterplans for several million pounds for improvement of visitor centres (e.g. Hadrian's Wall Roman Frontier WHS and the 'Jurassic Coast' WHS) to limited amounts of investment (> €1.2 million [£1 million]) in preservation and restoration schemes in the model of conservation areas (E.g. Derwent Valley Mills <€1.2 million [£1 million]) through to small amounts of investment in small projects at a range of WHS sites for marketing, interpretation, events, etc – sites like Quedlinburg WHS are very rare with regeneration programmes worth hundreds of millions of Euros.

25 We would like to put on record our thanks to all who assisted with the project, particularly those who helped by providing detailed information on the case study sites

offer something bigger than the sum of the parts, or to better spend of monies that might have been less effectively spent without the designation, or to result in additional activities that are again delivered by other organisations or partners. Even where stakeholders are utterly convinced that WHS status has made a difference to the trajectory of their community, it is rarely possible to unpick the degree of impact that WHS status has achieved. All communities are subject to a large number of economic variables, and even where economic data seems to show a 'WHS effect' it is rarely possible to be categorical in attributing this[26].

The most compelling case for this kind of impact will be positive change to the fortunes of communities over a longer timescale, as one key stakeholder in Blaenavon put it, **'If you're coming looking to prove impact, you might be 20 years too soon'**. By definition, WHS status always goes to places that have important heritage and in many cases an existing tourism profile. This means that WHS impact is often incremental and has a complex relationship with the existing profile of a site.

Section 5 – All WHSs are Equal, but Some are More Equal Than Others

The list of 878 WHSs contains sites with vastly differing approaches to using or not using the designation, globally a number of themes emerge. In terms of best practice/comparability value different areas of the world have different levels of value for this research project and we developed our methodology to take this into account:

- E.g. of the African sites analysed 93% showed no evidence of best practice value, and only 6% had even the potential to be comparators if more evidence existed. Similar issues exist for Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American and Russian sites which simply seem to use WHS in ways that appear to have little best practice value for a study looking at the relationship between WHS inscription and socio-economic development[27].
- E.g. At the other extreme, some states use WHS status far more dynamically than others – Germany has 31 sites, with 43% being judged as having high best practice value for this study, another 10% having potential value, and just 47% having no value[28].

Even within the UK, disparities and themes emerge between comparators – there is a marked divergence of focus between UK sites inscribed pre-1989 and those inscribed post 1995 (Britain has no sites between these two dates because of withdrawal from UNESCO). Of the UK's WHSs we judge them as follows (sites inscribed post-1989 in brackets);

- High value as comparators/best practice case studies = 23% (72%)
- Potential value as comparators/best practice case studies = 23% (18%)
- No value as comparators/best practice case studies = 54% (9%)

This reveals that the approach taken by potential sites from the UK appears to have changed over time – the socio-economic focus of this report is largely an anathema to the sites inscribed pre-1989 which have been far more focused on conservation issues. The table opposite illustrates this shift over time with reference to our international case studies (see chapter 4).

It quickly became apparent during our research that if one needs to identify WHSs that are aspiring to deliver socio-economic impacts then certain defining characteristics were more relevant than others:

- More recently designated sites were more likely to have a socio-economic focus.
- Geo-political situation matters – European, North American and Australasian sites appear far more likely to have a socio-economic focus because perceptions of the socio-economic role of heritage are different in these communities.

26 No WHS starts with a 'clean sheet' in terms of socio-economic performance at the point of designation; each site has its own complex existing identity, and existing architecture of brands and previous designations. Many sites that secure the designation are already National Parks or other designated cultural/natural assets – and this further complicates impact attribution across sites.

27 Again, it is worth stressing that this is not an implied failure of these sites, but a recognition that they use WHS differently and have less focus on WHS as a socio-economic driver – See Categories 1 and 2 (Chapter 3, section 1).

28 It is also surely no coincidence that the German sites have a greater collective structure than elsewhere

Best Practice WHS Case study	Date of Inscription	Focus Shift
Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump	1981	These sites were not initially focused on WHS-driven socio-economic impacts. They have, instead, reinvented themselves since the mid-1990s, learning the lessons of other destinations.
Canadian Rocky Mountains	1984	
Roman Frontiers/Hadrian's Wall	1987	
Town of Bamberg	1993	Sites like these were the innovators in starting to give WHS status a socio-economic focus and experimenting with how this could add value to existing initiatives.
Collegiate Church, Castle and Old Town of Quedlinburg	1994	
Völklingen Ironworks	1994	
The Old and New Towns of Edinburgh	1995	
Laponia Area	1996	Sites like these represent the emerging minority of WHSs that have from the start of the process had a clear socio-economic motive and a new perspective on using natural or cultural heritage as a key economic driver.
Portovenere, Cinque Terre and the Islands (Palmaria, Tino, and Tinetto)	1997	
Blaenavon Industrial Landscape	2000	
Dorset and East Devon Coast 'Jurassic Coast'	2001	
Derwent Valley Mills	2001	
Vegaøyan -- The Vega Archipelago	2004	
Bordeaux, Port of the Moon	2007	

- Cultural Landscape WHS sites were more likely to have this focus than Natural WHS sites – natural sites focused on the preservation of wilderness are almost by definition not focused on socio-economic development.
- Sites where the heritage is created by and preserved by a living socio-economic system are more likely to focus on preserving and developing that economic foundation[29].
- The more dynamic sites appeared to have written this socio-economic focus into their OUV statements and management plans and had thought about which WHS criteria they wanted on this basis.
- Urban sites were more likely to have a socio-economic focus than rural ones – in fact because of their socio-economic profile the cities had developed a more dynamic vision of WHS status that incorporated change[30].
- Certain kinds of WHS appear to be much more likely to have a non-economic focus; e.g. ecclesiastical sites and sites associated with aristocratic elites, archaeological sites and monuments and individual buildings[31].
- Sites that include significant populations and private sector businesses, obviously, had much greater focus on socio-economic issues and relatively less on strict conservation
- The tourism role of WHS was significantly affected

29 This is an important point; some WHSs have OUV that is sustained by a surviving socio-economic system, like the terraced wine-producing landscape of Cinque Terre or the Philippines Rice Paddies. In these circumstances the management of the site is often focused on ways of supporting that socio-economic system and by definition this has a socio-economic impact. In contrast to this, many other WHSs have an OUV focus that is about cultures or socio-economic traditions that long since ceased to exist, archaeological WHSs are a good example of this. This latter kind of site is much less likely to have a socio-economic focus, and, by definition, to create socio-economic benefits.

30 Cities like Vienna have been at the forefront of this debate, and have grappled towards a dynamic understanding of heritage preservation that incorporates and even encouraged change and development as part of the natural evolution of a cultural landscape. See Vienna World Heritage: The State of the Art, City of Vienna (2006)

31 Some WHS sites like Auschwitz are clearly not about economics

by whether the WHS site was identical in geography to the dominant tourism brand
- The management organisation for the site is critical. If the designation sits within a heritage or conservation organisation it will be more likely to have a preservation focus, where it sits within a planning department of a local authority it will be more likely to be about conservation of the built environment.

We used these insights from the database to filter sites by a range of different criteria until we were adept at identifying sites with a socio-economic focus, the results of which will be explained in the chapters that follow. Our seminal analysis, commissioned by the Lake District World Heritage Project, of the 878 WHS sites gives us a good feel for how WHS status is being used globally across the sites. In the chapters that follow we will illuminate how this process leads in some places to unlocking the socio-economic potential of sites.

The resulting picture is not the end of the debate. It raises many questions, but it does provide a more nuanced and intelligent basis from which to think about the socio-economic value of a designation like UNESCO WHS status.

CHAPTER 3
OVERVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF WHS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Section 1 – What is WHS Status in Socio-Economic Terms?

Our analysis of the 878 WHSs around the world, perhaps the first such analysis of its kind, has enabled us to answer a very simple and critical question that has not perhaps been answered previously, namely: **'What, in socio-economic terms, is World Heritage Site Status?'** The short answer appears to be, 'not one thing but a variety of things'. But after looking at this in some depth we would suggest that there are four basic kinds of World Heritage Site, resulting from four different perceptions of what the designation is[32]:

A 'Celebration' Designation – Many places with a WHS treat it as a celebration or reward designation for heritage already preserved; recognition from the global community that their historic fabric is world class.

A Heritage 'SOS' Designation – Many sites with a WHS treat it as an emergency attention designation for unique heritage at risk. In other words, they believe that WHS status will focus the world's attention on their at risk heritage in ways which will ensure that stakeholders invest in its preservation. The origins of the convention lie in this concept of WHS.

A Marketing/Quality Logo/Brand – A growing minority of sites have come to the realisation that the WHS designation has value as a marketing or quality brand for historic places.

A 'Place Making' Catalyst – The final perception of what WHS status is has emerged in a small minority of sites over the past two decades. This view treats WHS status as a powerful catalyst for economic development using heritage as a tool to develop powerful new identities for places, and powerful programmes of actions to change places fundamentally.

The critical lesson that emerged from our analysis of the 878 sites was that how the management organisation and stakeholders perceive WHS status matters – the impact of sites is markedly different depending upon which one of these four categories a site belongs to. The explanation for this appears to be very simple:

- Places that see the designation as a 'Celebration' do not use it to achieve socio-economic impacts – preserving the heritage was the achievement, WHS the reward.
- Places that want it as an 'SOS' to save heritage, go on to try and do just that, namely saving heritage – the result are efforts to preserve heritage.
- Places that want the designation for marketing or branding go on to use it in their marketing and branding with little additional activity other than tourism impacts.
- Only the 'Place Making' WHSs use it to achieve wider socio-economic impacts and fundamental change to communities and places.

Our analysis concerns sites that fit into the third and fourth categories for the simple reason that most world class heritage in the developed world is

32 It should be noted that this is a conceptual model, some sites arguably fit more than one category – but the vast majority we would argue can be categorized in this simple model.

relatively well protected and the first two categories of WHS focus are more about the preservation of the status quo than creating direct additional socio-economic impacts through change.

It could be argued that much of the current debate (see Chapter 1) misses the point in one crucial sense; namely that the primary motivation for being a World Heritage Site should perhaps always be preservation and celebration of outstanding cultural heritage, not socio-economic development. We believe however that this perception is too narrow.

Many WHSs are living and working communities that are home to tens of thousands of people and thousands of businesses – it is important to focus on more than the preservation of heritage, with an awareness of the impact both positive and negative on the society and economy of the sites. Indeed, as our case studies will show, the preservation of the historic fabric and cultural traditions that make places WHSs more often than not depends upon a thriving society and economy[33].

Section 2 – Motives and Actions Matter

In most communities with potential WHSs there is a level of debate about the desirability of the designation and its potential benefits - much of this debate both positive and negative is ill-informed. WHS status can be criticised by one side for being about 'fossilisation' of living communities as 'heritage theme parks' and simultaneously praised by the other side for being a 'once in a lifetime opportunity' for positive change for communities.

Sometimes this debate is at cross-purposes with people talking about two different kinds of WHS – some sites are about the strict preservation of heritage and some are about supporting dynamic improvements to communities and economies. In this context, the biggest question about WHS status may not be whether to have a WHS, but what kind of WHS is most desirable and beneficial for a specific place and community, and how the designation can be used to achieve the goals that are required. The potential value of WHS status to a site will differ depending upon its size, population, location, tourism profile, economic status, and a range of other factors[34]. Our analysis of the 878 sites to date suggests that sites have been making judgements of this kind for some time.

There are two simple rules for WHS when it comes to delivering socio-economic impact:
1) The motive for becoming a WHS is critically important, and
2) The actions that flow from that motivation deliver the majority of the socio-economic impacts.

In short, WHS status is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Sites looking for a free lunch from simply getting the designation are destined to be disappointed.

Section 3 – Not Failing, Simply Not Focused on Socio-Economic Impacts

As the analysis in the previous chapter suggested, by filtering WHSs on key criteria and evidence of motive and activities we established that the vast majority were not focused on socio-economic impact creation.

It is important to be really clear on this critical point; approximately 70-80% of WHSs appear to be doing little or nothing with the designation directly to bring about significant socio-economic impacts – **they are not failing to deliver economic gain, they are not even trying**. The vast majority of WHS sites across the world are, it appears, making no discernible effort to use the designation to bring about such changes (they are not investing any significant resource in any initiatives to bring about such changes and as such one would not expect to see any impact of this kind) because they are about preserving heritage.

33 As will be seen in the case study on Quedlinburg WHS several large WHSs have realised that the only way that the historic fabric can be preserved is by the site being a vibrant and liveable community with a vibrant economy that offers private individuals and businesses incentives to invest in preserving buildings and heritage in general.

34 It is worth noting that UNESCO WHS designation has many things in common with the EU Capital of Culture designation - the designation's long-term socio-economic impact is only as good as the actions and initiatives that it stimulates. There are Cities of Culture that are highly successful and others that fail to deliver – the designation simply offers an opportunity for action and global attention.

This suggests that there is a simple methodological misunderstanding in many previous analyses of WHS impacts; quite simply the studies are asking the wrong question of the wrong sites. Previous studies have repeatedly shown no 'automatic' tourism or regenerative impact from WHS status of unfiltered samples of sites – which by definition would be likely to have 70-80% of the sample made up of sites that are not pursuing these objectives. Put simply, most WHSs are achieving no tourism or regeneration impact because they make no connection between what they see as a conservation/heritage designation and these regeneration/economic objectives. All of the previous studies have looked for generic or automatic impacts that somehow flow automatically from WHS inscription.

And all have suffered from the inability to differentiate between WHSs. It is time to move beyond this now and accept that these large scale automatic/generic socio-economic impacts simply do not exist.

Section 4 – A Mixed Bag - What's Going On?

Our research suggests that previous studies have been correct to acknowledge the social or 'softer', or less directly economic, impacts of WHS status – benefits to better preservation, civic pride, partnership development, and education development. From the interviews we undertook, including speaking to investors in some sites, and from the site-specific evidence base, we believe there is a compelling case that WHS is capable of producing these softer outputs at a significant level.

For the 'harder' or more directly economic impacts we believe the evidence shows that the picture is mixed. As several of the studies in Chapter 1 suggest, the evidence is not that WHS does not produce these impacts, but that whether it produces them or not is all about the motivations and actions of the stakeholders on the ground. As with the EU City of Culture designation, a good WHS programme of activities can create an enduring and powerful socio-economic legacy. A poor programme creates little of lasting value[35].

The evidence to date suggests simply that some WHSs pursue and achieve socio-economic impacts and some, the majority, simply do not. Our analysis suggests that there is no such thing as a generic World Heritage Site – they change radically depending upon their geographical, social, and political context, and they are markedly affected by when they were inscribed and the prevailing ethos about the nature of WHS status at the date of inscription.

Section 5 – The Perceived 'Value' of the UNESCO WHS Designation

Much of the debate about the desirability or otherwise of having the WHS designation is couched in terms which suggest that the value is somehow absolute – fixed for all time. In heritage designation terms this is true. The UNESCO committee agrees OUV at the time of inscription, and its technical value does not change over time (as long as the responsible parties maintain and sustain its attributes over time and keep the designation). OUV has an absolute and fixed intellectual value.

However, the reality is that the perceived value of the WHS brand, like the perceived value of any other commodity, is variable and is largely shaped by the perceptions of consumers. This perceived value has changed, and will change over time, and it is in the interests of all current and future WHSs to ensure that this perception of value is maintained and if possible enhanced[36]. A key potential risk to this value, and a matter for consideration by any site wishing to become a WHS, is that of UNESCO devaluing the designation by cheapening it by either designating too many WHSs or lowering the quality of sites by poor additions. Were UNESCO to continue adding sites at the current rate (which is approximately 26 per year) this risk may eventually be realised. Like any other commodity the WHS brand's value may lie to a degree in its scarcity.

35 It is of interest that there is a degree of correlation between cities that have a WHS and those that have achieved or competed for City of Culture status – suggesting that both designations are viewed as ways of adding value to the reputation and profile of a city

36 Many sites around the world have realised this and as a result have as an explicit objective widening the understanding and appreciation of the designation – something UNESCO also encourages.

However, our analysis and interviews with people using the designation suggests that the value of WHS is more complicated than this classic value/scarcity model implies. A recurring theme in our interviews with WHS stakeholders was the growing recognition of the designation with a global audience. Within this observation was a shared belief that has been commented on in previous studies[37] that something that might be called 'WHS Literacy' exists. This results from a critical mass of WHSs being inscribed in any given region to the point where the designation starts to be part of the way that people think about places in their home region, and perhaps more importantly when they visit other places. This 'network effect' is not uncommon for products that require large numbers of people to use a product or understand an idea (see figure 4 on page 26).

In short, when there were 20 WHSs the designation may have been perceived by consumers as being an indicator of extremely high global historic value[38] – but any given WHS had to explain to visitors what the designation was and what it meant. In marketing terms, consumers did not recognise the 'brand', and as such did not value it or hunt it out as a 'product differentiator'. Once several hundred WHSs existed, the OUV value may be perceived as less exceptional by some consumers, but this may be overridden by the added brand recognition that results from many more people around the world recognising the brand from their own heritage sites, and as a result of looking for the equivalent when visiting other places[39]. Effective marketing of WHSs may require a critical mass of sites in states or even regions, and evidence of commercial tourism itineraries[40] suggests that being able to visit multiple WHSs in a short visit is an attractive package for heritage and cultural visitors (see figure 5 on page 26).

There are then perhaps two competing forces affecting the value of the WHS designation. In the short to medium term, the value appears to be raised by the network value of a larger number of sites spread across the globe, but ultimately the perception of devaluing the exclusiveness of the WHS brand over time through inscription of too many sites might still be expected to result in a loss of perceived value. The critical point in this slightly academic discussion is that there are signs that UNESCO's attention to maintaining standards for site selection may limit the addition of too many new sites. Current WHSs, and those inscribed in the near future, may be part of a designation that is not devalued by the addition of countless new sites; making them members of a network which remains exclusive to genuinely exceptional historic places (see figure 6 on page 27).

37 P6, Prof. Rémy Prud'homme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008). This insight emerged from the study by Maria-Gavaris Barbas and Sebastien Jacquot – 'There is a fairly good correlation between the number of tourists by country and the number of (WHS) sites classified by country; there are more sites in a country, then there are more visitors from that country'.

38 Interviews with non-specialists suggests to us that the general public are initially disappointed to learn that there are 878 WHSs – suggesting that they imagined the designation to be akin to being one of the 'seven wonders of the world'; a designation of exceptional, unique and rare places that must by definition by limited to a small number of sites. On this issue there appears to be a difference between the WHS 'insider' technical approach that OUV is not devalued by the addition of more sites, and the WHS 'outsider' belief that being in a club of 20 exceptional places has greater value than being in a club of 878 places. From a socio-economic perspective the latter perception is important because the perceived value of the brand by consumers is so important to economic impact.

39 This observation emerged from discussions with a number of European WHS management teams and their marketing colleagues in the relevant tourism authorities – including the marketing officers in Bamberg Germany who have excellent evidence to suggest that this network effect has been a factor in the growth of their tourism.

40 See, www.worldheritagetours.com/aboutus.htm for an example of private sector tour operators responding commercially to the interest in WHS from tourists around the world.

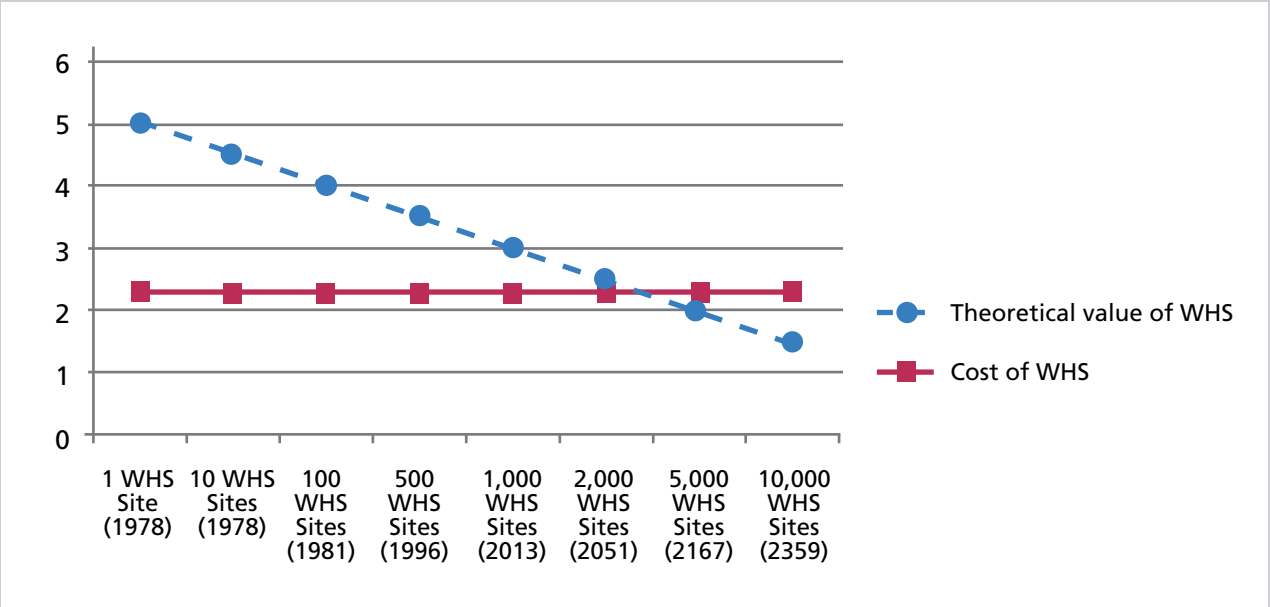


Figure 4: The classic scarcity/value model. The perceived UNESCO WHS designation value lies partly in its scarcity and the perception it carries that only exceptional and globally important sites secure it. Ultimately the addition of too many new sites would erode this perception and in due course the value of WHS as a designation. The blue line represents the devaluation of the brand in the perception of consumers. The point where the lines meet represents a hypothetical point in the future where the designation value may be diminished beneath the cost of securing it.

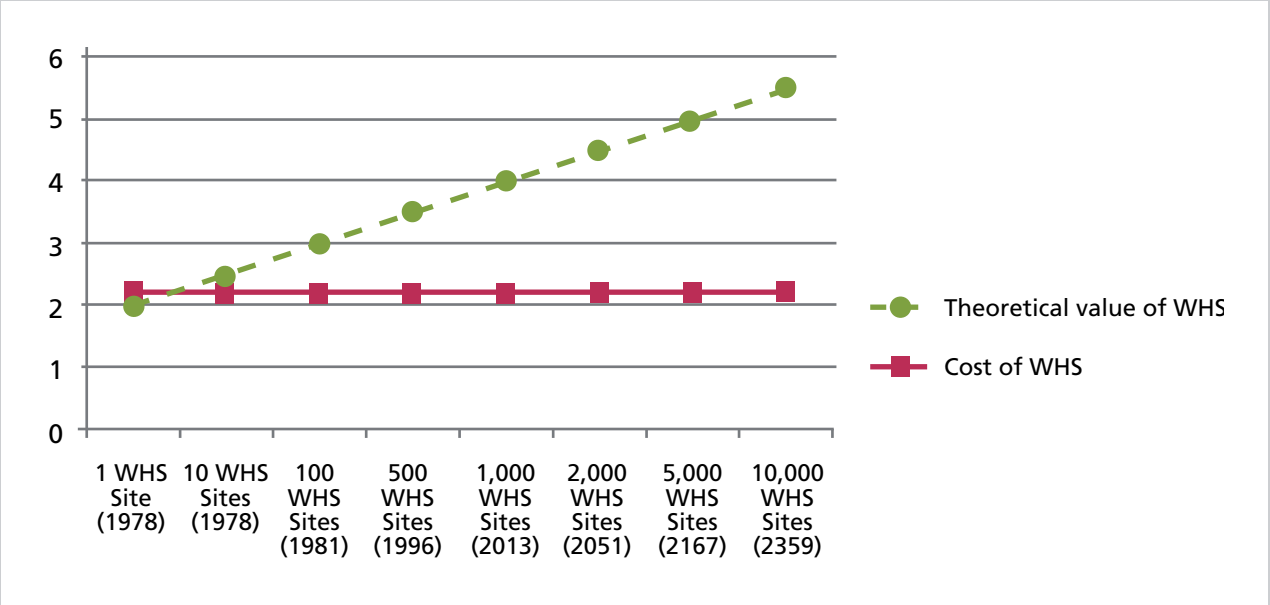


Figure 5: The 'Network Effect' of WHS status. Reflecting the experience of current WHSs that they can benefit from greater WHS literacy from consumers and the brand has grown and become recognised in more regions. In this model the value lies not in scarcity but in the growth in the number of sites, particularly in affluent countries which then results in high spending cultural visitors being attracted to sites.

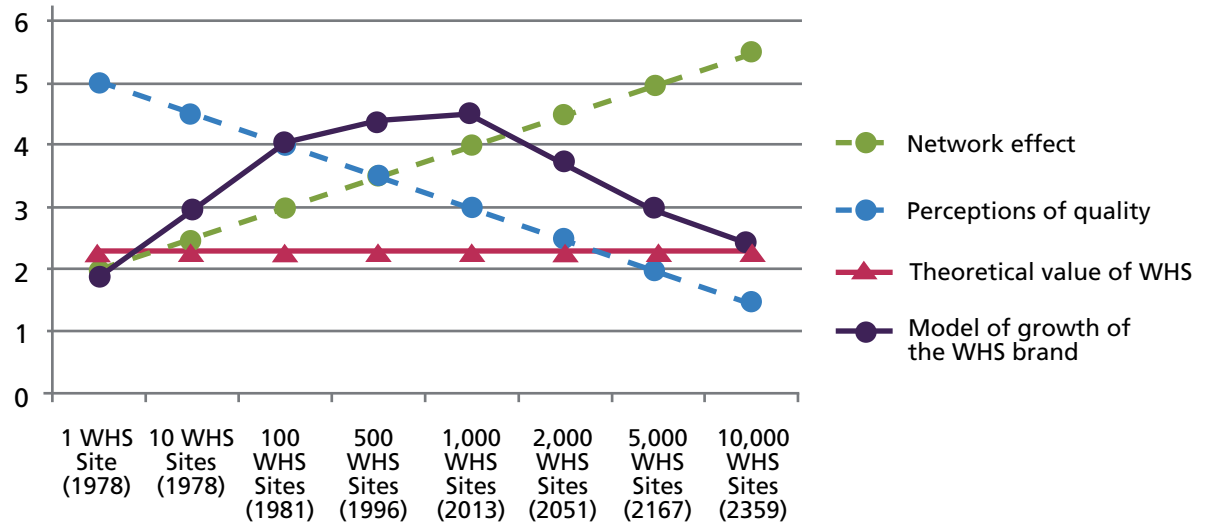


Figure 6: A conceptual model of the forces affecting the value of the WHS designation/brand. The point at which WHS status is devalued is a matter of debate represented by the purple line. The purple line represents the hypothetical value of WHS status rising initially as the network effect takes effect but potentially falling at a point in the future due to the increased number of sites, adversely affecting consumer perceptions of the brand quality.

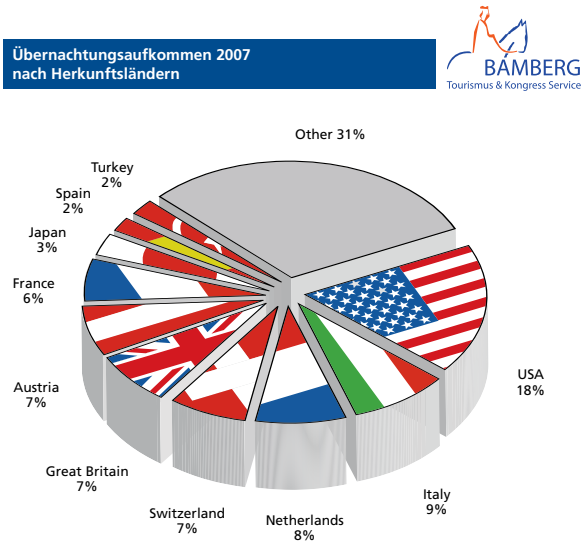


Figure 7: The marketing officers in Bamberg believe that WHS status gives them a competitive advantage in attracting visitors from other countries, especially those with a high degree of WHS Literacy, resulting from a critical mass of WHSs in their own countries.

Section 6 – Can 'WHS Literacy' Result in Economic Advantage?

Our research revealed WHSs where the tourism profile is suggestive of a correlation between 'WHS Literacy' and the visitor profile of the site. The best evidenced example of this kind was Bamberg in Germany where for some years the marketing team have noticed a degree of correlation between their visitor profile and the number of WHSs in any given country. The assumption is that these visitors know what WHS means, and have searched it out when they visit Germany – providing Bamberg with competitive advantage over comparable destinations without the designation[41] (see figure 7 on page 27).

It could be argued that the visitor profile for Bamberg simply shows that affluent international visitors are attracted to an affluent German city; a quite unsurprising finding. But the data-literate tourism professionals in Bamberg believe that visitor information held by the Franconian Tourism Board show that the city attracts more international visitors from WHS literate states than other comparable non-WHS destinations in Germany; e.g. Bayreuth or Coburg (despite these cities having significant international cultural profiles). This is a working assumption that also informs the promotion of World Heritage Sites in Canada, including the Banff National Park – with WHS status felt to be a tool for attracting higher spending cultural visitors.

The academic literature on WHS status has hinted at this concept for some time[42]. As the study by Maria-Gavaris Barbas and Sebastien Jacquot suggested: 'There is a fairly good correlation between the number of tourists by country and the number of (WHS) sites classified by country; If there are more sites in a country, then there are more visitors from that country' (see figure 8 on page 29). The causation is not yet entirely proven; one would need many more well-evidenced examples like Bamberg with robust evidence on visitor profile over considerable period of time to compare with a control group of non-WHS comparable destinations to prove it beyond doubt. It is at present merely a concept, but a working concept supported by some evidence that informs the marketing of some serious places[43].

If this assumption is correct, it would potentially offer significant tourism marketing benefit because WHS Literacy seems to be linked to a critical mass of WHSs in a given country, and there is a direct link between the affluence of a state and the number of WHSs it has.

The marketing of many of the dynamic WHSs identified by our research – including Bordeaux, Laponia, Jurassic Coast, Cinque Terre, Völklingen, and Regensberg[44] – suggests that this link is now understood and is acted upon effectively by marketing teams. The evidence in some of the site specific impact studies like that for the 'Jurassic Coast' and 'Hadrian's Wall' sites also supports this perception, with large majorities of stakeholders in both sites (including a large majority of private sector businesses) valuing the brand; believing that the designation had a 'positive impact' on the profile of the area; that the designation attracted new visitors, and that it is contributing to people's decision to visit the area, had also achieved a positive impact on the area and its economy, and had influenced the way that private sector businesses in the sites marketed themselves[45].

Time and again in our research with WHSs we came across references to WHS status positively affecting the profile of places, and particularly through raising profile with opinion formers like guidebook editors and tour operators[46]. There are also a growing number of tour companies developing package tours that are wholly or partly about offering access to clusters of World Heritage Sites – suggesting a growing demand for such products. One example of this will suffice because it shows the scale and value of this kind of commercial activity: 'World Heritage Tours' is a private

41 We extend our thanks to Anna-Maria Schühlein, Presse-& Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, BAMBERG Tourismus & Kongress Service – her observations and insights of the value of WHS status to Bamberg were extremely valuable in this study.

42 See, for example, P6, Prof. Rémy Prud'homme, The Socio-Economic Impacts of Inclusion of a Site on the World Heritage List: Three Studies (2008), for a summary of this insight from the study by Maria-Gavaris Barbas and Sebastien Jacquot

43 We believe this relationship justifies further research.

44 For a snapshot of this impact one should see – www.bordeaux-tourisme.com/; www.laponia.nu/; www.voelklinger-huette.org/ or www.regensburg.de/welterbe/english/index.shtml

45 An Economic, Social and Cultural Impact Study of the Jurassic Coast: A Summary of Findings (2008)

46 The research of Maria Gravari-Barbas highlighted in Chapter 1 also recognised this guidebook effect.

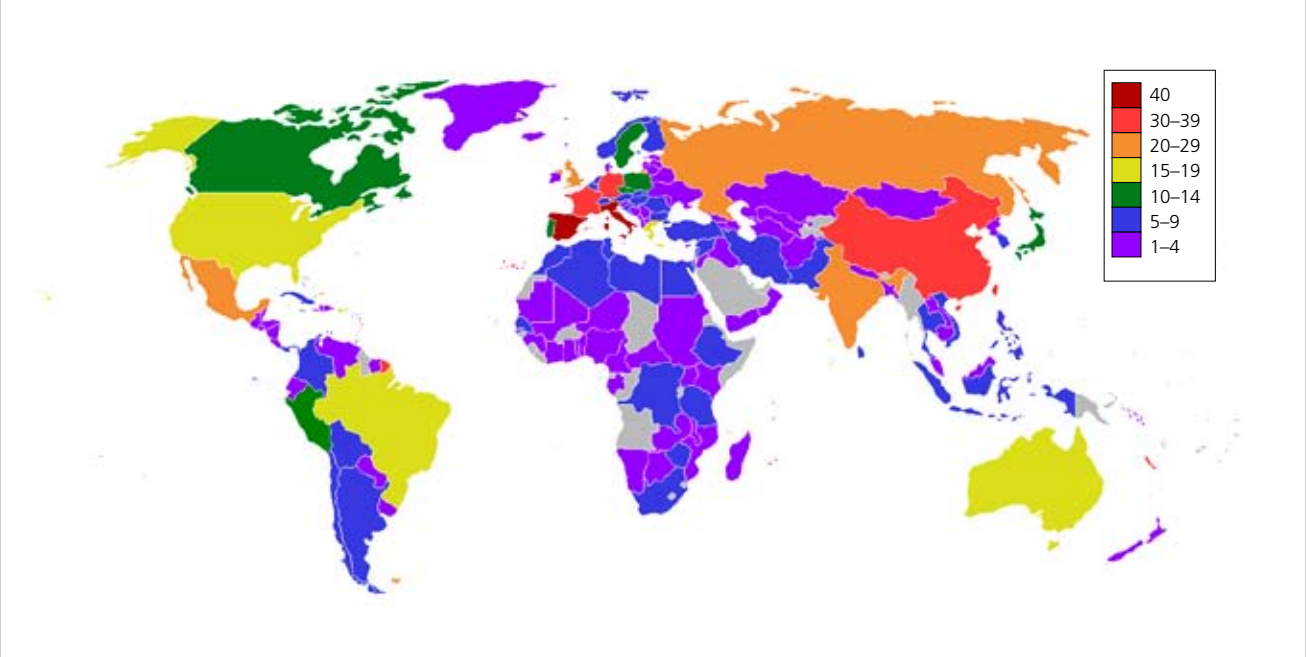


Figure 8: The map above shows the density of WHSs per nation state. The correlation between affluence and the number of WHSs seems self-evident – the poorest places in the world are all coloured grey, purple or blue, signifying their relative lack of WHSs. This correlation stems from the simple reason that developed nations have the wealth and capacity to pursue the designation. From a political perspective this is problematic for UNESCO, but from a marketing perspective this may be highly significant.

tour business that offers guests packaged heritage tours across the globe – including a tour of Russia, the Baltic States and Eastern Europe. The tour takes 19 days and is built around 11 WHSs[47]. The value of this trip is €3,076 ($4,360/£2,660). There are already a number of such products in the marketplace and being part of such an itinerary appears to be decided by whether a destination is of WHS quality.

Section 7 – The Value of the WHS Process

When one looks at WHSs around the world, and particularly at what defines those sites that appear to be gaining socio-economic value from the designation, an important shared characteristic emerges – namely, a powerful focus on the identity of the place. This starts in some cases several years pre-inscription as potential sites marshal the evidence for their place on the UNESCO WHS list. It appears that for a significant minority of sites becoming a WHS creates a situation whereby the local stakeholders collectively ask themselves the critical question, **'Why is our place unique, special and globally important?'**

This in itself is a critically important economic question. It is the basis of effective tourism marketing, the key to attracting inward investment or relocation of businesses[48], often the key to adding value to commercial products[49] and creating prouder more dynamic communities that are more confident to engage with the rest of the world. Though the above question is a simple one many communities would find it very difficult to answer it convincingly or in terms that anyone outside their region would understand. Having cultural or natural heritage that is recognised as being of global importance appears to help some places find a more coherent and authentic identity.

But perhaps even more importantly, WHS status, in dynamic sites also seems to lead to better communication of this value to residents and visitors alike. If one looks at the tourism marketing or inward investment information for Bordeaux, Bamberg, Regensberg or Laponia, one is effectively being told that these places are 'exceptional', not just as historical artefacts but as living breathing places where people do business and live their lives[50].

The best practice WHSs we identified have found themselves at the cutting edge of a movement around the world which seeks to focus the economic development of places on their uniqueness, their authenticity, their distinct sense of place, and the depth of their identity and culture. And to engage with the rest of the world from a position of confidence selling distinct products and services at added value based upon their provenance. Achieving these aspirations is not easy or achieved without considerable investment - successful places invest heavily in achieving this. It appears that WHS status and the catalyst it provides can play a role in this movement to high quality and distinctiveness (in a range of different ways each of the detailed case studies we undertook revealed this effect).

Finally, places that have gone through this process of self discovery and learning to communicate this message to others often find themselves with a new or improved identity and a sense of mission. In many sites stakeholders can see that their new identity offers value to them in a variety of ways. In short, the WHS process offers those places a range of opportunities. How or whether they take those opportunities and what they deliver are totally site-specific – which is why the actions of WHSs are so diverse. Places are literally taking the catalyst and doing their own thing with it depending upon their needs.

The key message that emerges from the research of dynamic WHSs is that this place-defining process can be really valuable, and is in some places the start of significant socio-economic actions. This is particularly true of places where the OUV rests upon a socio-economic system – which necessitates actions and innovation to preserve that system.

47 www.worldheritagetours.com/tours/central_eastern_europe.html

48 See for example, the research in 'The Power of Destinations: Why it Matters to be Different', Communications Group Plc, commissioned by Welsh Development Agency. It is now widely accepted that perceptions of a place, and particularly of its cultural/lifestyle offer are key determinants of success in economic development.

49 See, for example, case study on Cinque Terre, Chapter 4.

50 Bordeaux is effectively saying 'we are a great world city (as proven by our WHS status) so come and do business here'. This is not heritage for heritage's sake, it is heritage for development's sake; an important distinction.

Section 8 – So What Kinds of WHS-Inspired Actions Deliver Socio-Economic Impact?

Our research and analysis suggests that there are effectively 12 key areas where WHSs achieve socio-economic impacts with some evidence of effectiveness. These impacts will be demonstrated through the case studies in the next chapter, here we will simply summarise these impact areas to give an idea of the diversity of approach that WHS can result in. The first two areas were more commonly encountered, and may indeed have a value that covers many, if not all WHSs:

1) Media/PR value – There is a large body of site-specific evidence (see, for example, the case studies on Cinque Terre, Bamberg or Völklingen) suggesting that simply becoming a WHS results in an automatic benefit of increased local, national and international media/PR attention. This appears to benefit sites[51] by raising a place's national and international profile; either through individuals using the WHS designation as a quality indicator, or by influencing organisations like international tour operators who make destination decisions on behalf of their future customers on criteria like WHS status[52]. The evidence in the records of sites like Völklingen, Bamberg or the Jurassic Coast is clear the media interest in those sites is markedly higher than pre-WHS status, with a heavy focus on the WHS status and OUV in the international media interviews[53].

   As Professor Prud'homme points out, this may be a manifestation of the 'theory of superstars'. Across a range of sectors it has been shown that success seems to follow success – far beyond the level that one can attribute to the different quality of products. Knowing what you prefer is expensive in time, information and knowledge – so people use shortcut signals. Rather than run the risk of a bad choice, consumers, unsure of the range of competing places/products prefer to rely upon the verdict of success, or a badge of quality. Consumers are even surprisingly willing to go where a recognised authority, like UNESCO, guides them to go, even if this decision costs more. Our interviews with marketing and tourism authorities of WHSs across Europe suggest that WHS status can have this effect. Many international visitors or tour operators know very little about why to visit one city or visitor attraction over another, and seem to be using signals like WHS to make those decisions. Several sites put a high commercial value on this PR. It should also be noted that whilst all sites might receive a PR/Media boost as a result of inscription, some sites exploit this far more effectively than others.

2) Preservation of the Heritage Unique Selling Point (USP) – Whilst this is often viewed as a cost rather than an economic benefit, it is worth noting that some sites view their conservation and preservation industries as a dynamic and wealth generating sector. For example, scoping research has shown that Bamberg has a restoration/preservation sector that is worth c. €285 million (£247 million) per annum. In short, the skills and market provided by their WHS has created a sector that exports skills and services across Germany resulting in revenue benefit for the city itself. It is also worth repeating the point that where the historic fabric of a place is central to its commercial USP, then preserving that historic fabric is a sound commercial investment for the future.

If these first two areas affect all sites to a greater or lesser degree, the following impact areas are only achieved by some sites:

3) New/improved identity image – The way that WHS can lead to powerful new, or improved, identities for places (see Section 7, page 30) has already been illustrated. Many of the benefits below flow from that WHS-inspired focus.

4) Education – A number of sites have realised that their OUV[54] provides them with an opportunity to develop and sell education products and services that have high demand[55]. As educational visits

51 With the caveat that to benefit from the opportunity the site must have the tourism product and capacity to benefit from the increased attention

52 It is also worthy of note that Expedia, Inc support WHSs around the world, through organisations like 'Friends of World Heritage' using this as a vehicle to invest in sustainable tourism development.

53 It should also be pointed out that mismanagement, damage, or development pressure to WHS's OUV can result in negative PR and media attention; Dresden has recently lost its WHS status after a very public debate about new development in the site which was felt by UNESCO to damage the OUV of the site.

54 Clearly this is highly dependent upon what the 'Outstanding Universal Value' is and how much value it provides for teachers and universities etc.

are particularly prevalent in the non-peak tourism season this can be an interesting way to create economic benefit using the OUV and tourism infrastructure. WHS is used to develop a specialism based on the OUV theme and global recognition.

5) Civic Pride/Quality of Life – WHSs as diverse as Bordeaux, Blaenavon, Quedlinburg, Edinburgh, Cinque Terre and Bamberg have all realised that there is a powerful socio-economic rationale to developing their reputation for having a high quality of life and a dynamic lifestyle offer. It is now well-documented that investment and relocation decisions either for individuals, families, SMEs or even multi-national businesses are increasingly based upon perceptions of the quality of life that a place offers[56]. In places like Bamberg or Edinburgh the WHS focus is on making life for residents better by offering cultural, heritage or educational experiences that enrich people's lives and leave them inspired to preserve and celebrate the site, or their personal bit of the site: their house, street or public space.

6) Culture and Creativity – Some of the most inspiring WHSs are those that have taken their heritage and reinvented how visitors and residents experience it by embracing culture and creativity. Possibly the best and most radical example of this is Völklingen WHS, where an unfashionable industrial heritage site has been reinvented as a 'must see' cultural visitor attraction as a direct result of its WHS status[57]. This site embraced an imaginative use of contemporary arts and creativity. Several other WHSs have intelligently used their WHS status to better tell the story of the people of the site, including the vernacular cultural heritage of the sites. Sites like Cinque Terre and St Kilda have put the emphasis of their sites on telling the story of the 'ordinary' men and women and preserving and celebrating their culture in respectful ways. This has potentially significant economic value because in many regions cultural visitors are the highest spending category of staying visitors[58].

7) 'Cultural Glue' – Our research revealed another area where we can see real socio-economic benefit for some sites in WHS, and it is very much a manifestation of the focus that WHS provides on identity and the core narrative of a place. Some WHSs like Blaenavon have used this process to take their existing and new cultural assets and fit them within a cultural narrative that residents, investors and visitors can understand. This is more relevant for some sites than others, but it is clear that in identifying its OUV Blaenavon, and other sites like it, have found something that might be described as 'cultural glue' that unites their disparate community facilities, and visitor attractions into a coherent product that is bigger than the sum of its parts. As a result the visitor is more likely to visit more than one attraction, and stay longer, spending more money, because information and branding makes it very easy to understand that they all form part of one historic process and story. This has significant potential socio-economic value for some sites, and potential sites, as it provides ways of doing what many places are striving to do; namely find ways of making experiencing their place richer, more rewarding, and more informed, with clever interpretation and marketing to offer packages and storylines through what can otherwise be complex places and landscapes.

55 The 'Jurassic Coast' WHS is a key example of this, with a growing reputation as a leading UK destination for school trips on the 'earth sciences'. The recent evaluation revealed 200,000 educational bed nights per annum, more than 300 teachers using the site in their curriculum, 80% of those surveyed in the education sector believed that the market had grown since inscription and that this was highly attributable to WHS status.

56 See for example, the research in 'The Power of Destinations: Why it Matters to be Different', Communications Group Plc, commissioned by Welsh Development Agency. It is now widely accepted that perceptions of a place and particularly of its cultural/lifestyle offer are key determinants of success in economic development.

57 It is worth noting that the cultural and creative activities at Völklingen drive a significant part of the visitor footfall, see case study on Völklingen.

58 For example, thanks to market segmentation studies in the Lake District (a site on the UK WHS tentative list) we know that the market segment described as 'Cultured Families' has a trip spend of €1,100 (£955), and a 2 year value of €4,584 (£3,969), compared with a less culturally inspired segment of the market known as 'New Explorers' which has a trip spend of €860 (£745) and a 2 year value of €1,780 (£1,541). You don't have to be an economist to see that attracting additional 'Cultured Families' is economically advantageous. Within an overall non-growth visitor market, a 1% shift from less culturally motivated visitors to more culturally motivated visitors in the Lake District would have a value of approximately €23 million (£20 million).

8) **Regeneration programmes** – Some WHSs have found themselves the focus of significant economic development programmes. This ranges from the €1 billion (£864 million) required to preserve and re-develop whole towns like Quedlinburg in Germany, through to the €34.6 million (£30 million) regeneration programme for Blaenavon, to the smaller Townscape Heritage Initiative investment in the town of Belper in the Derwent Valley Mills WHS and the landscape restoration investment in Cinque Terre. The WHSs that seem to function as a stimulus to significant economic development programmes tend to be those that contain sizeable populations/communities and cover geographical areas that make this focus sensible. There is a growing body of evidence that WHS status can be a powerful aid and focus for such schemes – for the simple reason that by giving a site greater profile and communicating its OUV to stakeholders there is an impact on the behaviour of stakeholders from politicians to funders.

   It is, we believe, now proven beyond reasonable doubt that WHS status can, and often does, positively influence funders to invest in sites to a greater extent than they would in non-WHSs. Evidence from Quedlinburg, Blaenavon, Hadrian's Wall, Jurassic Coast, Belper and a host of other sites has persistently revealed this. Proving this is, of course, never categorical in that funding decisions are to a certain extent subjective, and are rarely documented for public scrutiny. But our interviews with funders over the past two years leave us in no doubt that WHS can be a positively influencing factor. For example, at Stonehenge and Avebury WHS, a special Defra (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs) grant scheme was put in place in 2002 encouraging farmers to convert arable land to grassland for the benefit of the prehistoric monuments, the setting of Stonehenge and biodiversity. A special rate, 50% higher than the norm, was negotiated for the World Heritage Site. It was made possible thanks to a partnership between English Heritage, the National Trust and Defra, led by the two World Heritage Site Coordinators for Stonehenge and Avebury.

9) **Coordinating Investment through Strategy** – This area of impact is linked to the one above. Some WHSs appear to very effectively coordinate investment and funding in ways that are beneficial. This is particularly effective where the WHS binds together, within an overall strategy and under a well supported management organisation, previously disparate communities and facilities. Sites like Hadrian's Wall, the Jurassic Coast, Blaenavon and the Derwent Valley Mills in the UK have done this with differing degrees of success. This WHS focus appears to work because it gives funders reassurance that investment is being coordinated through a coherent strategy, and to a set of priorities, so that they do not have to deal with multiple stakeholders. Research on these sites has shown that funders are more confident about investing in sites where such coordination exists[59].

10) **Better/New Services** – Some WHSs result in new or improved services for residents and visitors alike. Through the coordination that effective WHS management can provide (see above) some sites have used the designation to persuade local authorities to invest in new facilities or services. For example, as a result of WHS status, sites like the Jurassic Coast or Hadrian's Wall have developed new or improved bus/train services. These services were initially to provide a public service for visitors to better access and enjoy the sites OUV, but have resulted in sustainable services that run year round and benefit local communities.

    A classic example of this would be the X53 bus route on the Jurassic Coast. As a direct result of WHS inscription, Dorset and Devon County Councils jointly funded a bus service that covers the whole length of the 'Jurassic Coast' WHS. The X53 bus was recently described by Hilary Brandt, Guidebook Editor, in *The Guardian* newspaper as 'Britain's Greatest Local Bus Ride'. The service receives a continuously high level of PR attention. Indeed the service operator, First Hampshire and Dorset, use it as their flagship service, showcasing their commitment to quality. The private sector service operator believes the 'key

59 The Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd Evaluation 2008, for example, involved interviews with key funders including regional development agencies and Lottery funders, and all expressed greater willingness to invest in the site as a result of the WHS management organisation's coordination of investment, because on that site they had previously been dealing with hundreds of different sites and requests for funding.

to the services success' has been 'the creation of a widely recognised and identifiable brand' that has linked places that were previously deemed to be unconnected. The whole product exists as a result of the move towards WHS inscription and unifying behind one tourism product of the coast. Passenger numbers rose markedly from 2004 onwards with a 36% rise in passengers in 2005-6 on the year before, a 46% rise in 2006-7 and a 4% rise in 2007-8 with over 400,000 ticket sales. The 150,000 timetables printed each year are all used. It is envisaged that at the current rate of passenger growth it is possible that the service may not require any public subsidy after the current contract, leaving the coast and its communities with an unsubsidised public bus service. The first contract included €865,000 (£750,000) investment in new buses which was capital grant supported, and the new contract requires €900,000 – €1 million (£800,000-£900,000) of new vehicles (6 new buses). This spend is according to First Hampshire and Dorset, 'directly related to the Jurassic Coast WHS product'.

Other WHS communities like Blaenavon have used the designation to deliver investment into a range of community facilities.

11) **Business development** – A significant minority of WHSs have found that their WHS inscription has stimulated a commercial response from the private sector. This can take a number of forms; but at its simplest private sector businesses adapt or are created to service the needs of visitors who travel to the site to understand its OUV. Businesses like Stuart Line Cruises or Discover Dorset Ltd, on the Jurassic Coast emerged as a direct consequence of the designation and the demand it created from visitors to access and understand the site's OUV (see Chapter 4, case studies)[60]. Some site's OUV will lend itself to such commercial adaptation better than others. WHS status also leads in some sites to a greater focus on quality products and services, and some WHSs find themselves using the designation and their coordination role to access business development support packages. On the Jurassic Coast this resulted in the Jurassic Coast Quality Business Scheme; an accreditation scheme that offers a mentoring visit, substantial guided self-evaluation, and subsidised training. On completion the businesses are able to use the accreditation. Research undertaken in 2008-9 suggests that the business communities of sizeable towns like Exmouth and Swanage, have embraced these schemes and the quality brand that WHS represents to drive their economic development[61].

12) **Quality infrastructure** – The focus of many WHSs has been to raise the quality of the infrastructure of their site. For some sites, like Vienna, Quedlinburg, Edinburgh or Bamberg, this has been about maintaining or improving the quality of their built environment by ensuring that new developments are of sufficiently high quality to add value to the existing built environment[62]. For other sites like Hadrian's Wall or the Jurassic Coast this has been about ensuring that the visitor facilities are invested in to ensure that they meet the expectations of visitors to an exceptional location. The benefit of WHS status in this context appears to be that it can be used to persuade investors that a new building in a WHS needs to be of exceptional design quality (and even perhaps cost more due to building with higher quality materials) or that greater investment is required for a visitor attraction to explain a WHS than a non-WHS.

60 The private and public sector often support each other to deliver these economic opportunities. On the Jurassic Coast the WHS management team includes a geologist who has spent a lot of time training and educating the staff of the tour companies so that they can translate the geological OUV into a commercial and accessible product.

61 The ways that WHSs positively impacts on commercial activity varies enormously from one site to another. For example, in Quedlinburg there is evidence that the modernization of the half timbered houses is resulting in the growth of some excellent architectural practices. In Blaenavon the renovation of the town's shops resulted in an upskilling of the building firms in the town, who have continued to offer higher quality developments.

62 It should be noted that the perception that WHS freezes the physical development of urban communities is largely mistaken. Cities like Bamberg, Quedlinburg, Vienna and Edinburgh have large numbers of new buildings added since WHS inscription, some of which are boldly contemporary in style.

Potential WHSs can, in theory, make an informed choice about what kind of WHS they wish to have – and different sites will see different levels of value in different WHS models. They could pick from the menu above those elements that offer value for their communities. But in practice there is a very poor level of understanding across the world of the different ways the designation is used. It also worth noting that very few WHSs have tried to achieve impacts across more than a couple of these impact areas – most sites seemed to have focused on one or two of these. We suspect that is because no blueprint exists for how to achieve socio-economic impact from WHS status – and in this vacuum of knowledge of what other sites have achieved, management organisations have invented their own approaches to using WHS[63]. In the next chapter we will illuminate these areas of impact by reference to case studies.

Section 9 – Implications of This Research for Future WHSs

There are effectively two simple ways to make the cost benefit equation of achieving WHS inscription more attractive to potential funders and investors:

- Reduce the cost of inscription – this is largely out of the hands of individual sites and is a direct result of the obligations placed upon sites by stakeholders at a regional, national and UNESCO level.
- Use WHS status more effectively to deliver added value – This would include some measures which are again beyond the scope of individual sites, like raising awareness of WHS status, but other value can be achieved by individual sites and potential sites through a greater understanding of the approaches detailed in this study.

In summary, future and existing WHSs with a socio-economic motive may need to think carefully about how their WHS can contribute more effectively to economic development. Because our research suggests that there are ways to develop WHS status to maximise their economic impact.

We believe that there is a key lesson in this research; that using WHS as an engine of economic development requires WHSs of scale. The sites that our research identified as best practice were those places that were living breathing communities, with population and businesses located in them, and this by definition tends to mean WHSs that are of significant size.

We support the DCMS 2008 research, which highlighted the fact that the size, fame and location of the site pre-inscription makes a significant difference to its WHS impact. The DCMS 2008 research suggested that the impact of WHS status will be 'relatively' greater for less well-known and established visitor sites/ attractions. The additional impact on visitor numbers for a large well-established site is believed to be a small incremental change – with as few as 0–3% motivated to visit primarily by WHS status.

However, and critically, only a larger site can justify the cost of inscription and management, and, critically, only a larger site with appropriate resources can invest in using WHS as an effective catalyst for regenerative economic change. The reality is that the more WHS costs the more it becomes a tool only affordable or justifiable in socio-economic terms by significant visitor sites. If payback for the investment in WHS comes from tourism either directly or indirectly, it helps if you are, or can be, a significant tourism attraction to recoup that investment by either attracting more visitors or higher spending visitors. The key issue is not the relative impact, but the absolute return for the WHS investment.

Scale makes a huge difference. The key to payback is not the incremental % increase in visitors or visitor spend, but the scale of the market (see figure 9, page 36). For example, a relatively small shift (say 1%) in the visitor profile of a potential WHS like the Lake District with its 8–9 million visitors could result in an absolute economic impact of up to €23 million (£20 million) per annum. In contrast, a relatively large shift (say 10%) in visitor numbers or changed visitor profile for an attraction that attracts say 100,000 people might result in a much smaller total economic impact[64].

A key aspiration amongst potential WHSs, particularly those that are established tourism destinations is to

63 This raises the interesting question of whether a future site might have a socio-economic strategy that tried to deliver in all/ several of these areas or whether a narrowing of focus is beneficial.

use WHS to attract not more visitors but 'higher value' visitors. Tourism destinations with millions of visitors pre-WHS may see little or no additional footfall, but might focus their WHS efforts on changing visitor profile to achieve small but economically valuable changes to the visitor profile.

The growing cost of securing the WHS designation has created frustration and tensions in a number of locations. But those sites that go through a detailed process of consultation and strategy development looking at what WHS status will mean for their communities and economy tend to be the sites that go onto to deliver these impacts. In other words, getting WHS quickly and cheaply without going through this process results in less dynamic WHSs. In this context the meeting of minds between the heritage and economic development organisations for some WHSs seem to be resulting in heritage assets that perform better.

Future WHSs need to think carefully about the options open to them, and how WHS might add value to their existing capacity. Critical to this is to have a period of reflection at the start of the WHS process about the motives and aspirations for the potential site – sites need to be able to state very clearly what it is they wish to achieve with the designation, and whether socio-economic development is a key objective.

Potential sites need to be able to evidence why WHS status is the best option for achieving these objectives; what WHS status can add to the existing strategic framework; and what the delivery model needs to look like to achieve these objectives. Potential sites also need to develop their statement of OUV and their management plans to reflect the desired focus. And finally, potential sites need to explain the value of WHS status to stakeholders, and work with stakeholders to develop action plans for delivering the objectives desired.

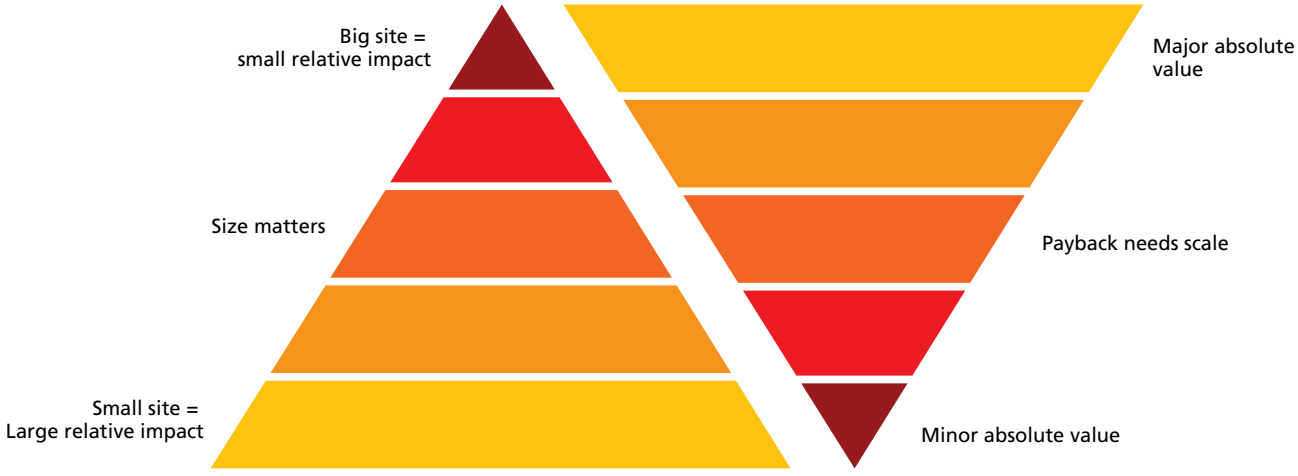


Figure 9: Whilst the impact on visitor numbers or visitor spend might be relatively small for established tourism locations, even relatively small shifts in visitor profile towards more culturally-motivated visitors can have significant absolute value.

64 We are not seeking to dismiss the value of investing in WHS for preservation reasons, merely to point out that if the motivation is to use WHS for economic development then larger sites offer a reasonable return on investment.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CHAPTER 4
BEST PRACTICE CASE STUDIES

The 14 best practice case studies that follow were selected to illuminate the diversity of responses that the WHS designation can result in, and the wide variety of socio-economic actions that different places have attempted to achieve. They were selected through the process described in Chapter 2, and they demonstrate the key areas of impact summarized in Chapter 3. Their diversity of approach makes comparisons and collective impact measurement difficult; the levels of evidence of impact varies from one site to another and data is rarely comparable, but they serve as an illustration of why previous studies which were based on a single idea of WHS status as simply a designation (Chapter 1) fell short of success. But they also demonstrate some excellent examples of communities that have used the designation as part of a process of re-defining the identity and value of their cultural and natural heritage. In short they provide a spectrum of WHS-influenced development models.

Because the case studies are at different stages of development we have divided them into three forms for the purposes of this report:

1) Seven long case studies that cover in some detail the motivations, actions, and impacts and results of their WHS-inspired work – these are as follows: **Collegiate Church, Castle and Old Town of Quedlinburg; Portovenere, Cinque Terre, and the Islands (Palmaria, Tino, and Tinetto); Blaenavon Industrial Landscape; Town of Bamberg; Roman Frontiers/Hadrian's Wall; Canadian Rocky Mountains; and Völklingen Ironworks**

2) Six short case studies that cover in summary form the key areas of interest from six other World Heritage Sites – these are as follows: **Bordeaux – Port of the Moon; Laponian Area; Derwent Valley Mills; The Old and New Towns of Edinburgh; Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump; and Vegaøyan – The Vega Archipelago**

3) Finally, our work illuminated something of real interest occurring within some of the World Heritage Sites, namely the emergence of private sector business models in direct response to WHS status – to illuminate this trend we have included a final case study from the **Dorset and East Devon Coast – 'Jurassic Coast' on two businesses that demonstrate this trend; Discover Dorset Ltd and StuartLine Cruises.**

NB. The case studies highlight sites that are not typical of WHSs in general; they represent the minority who have used the designation for socio-economic ends[65]. These case studies focus on a 'key area of interest' identified by the project research team as being of value to this study. The required focus has resulted in the exclusion of some other positive initiatives that the sites may have undertaken. The case studies aim to illuminate approaches of value, and are not meant to be comprehensive explanations of all activities in each WHS.

65 Many other sites have WHSs as part of their programmes or portfolio of cultural attractions, many of which may be using the designation in dynamic ways – but we have focused on those places where the motive, the actions and the attribution are relatively straightforward.

THE LONG CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 1

Collegiate Church, Castle and Old Town of Quedlinburg WHS (inscribed 1994)

Key Area of Interest – A living/working community trying to find a sustainable and dynamic economic future through modernization within a fragile historic environment

Introduction
The historic half-timbered town of Quedlinburg had an eventful 20th Century. Because of its pivotal role in German history, it was first feted by the Nazis as the birthplace of the '1000 year Reich' and then intentionally neglected by East Germany (DDR). The 1,300 half-timbered houses spread over 93 hectares date from eight different centuries and preserve a town plan that dates back 1000 years. The town has a population of 24,000 people with another 80,000 using it as their administrative centre. But by the late 1980s large areas of the town were facing destruction due to neglect and deterioration.

Thanks to the efforts of the residents, and the political changes in Europe in 1989-90, this destruction was halted; in some cases literally at the last minute. The town became a World Heritage Site in 1994 because of its unique architectural heritage and this provided a powerful additional stimulus to stakeholders to go to the extraordinary lengths required to save the town[66].

Between 1990 and 2000 nearly €56 million (£34.1 million or 110 million Deutschmarks (DMs)*) in urban development funds was invested in the city, as well as €26 million (£15.8million/DM50 million) in housing funds. To date more than €230 million (£140 million/DM450 million) have been invested in the town's restoration. More than one third of the houses have been restored but the town, like many in the former DDR faces severe structural economic problems. The traditional industries and employers have either reduced in scale, relocated to other places or ceased to exist. The unemployment rate has been above 20% for many years. The population has declined significantly over the past two decades and it is estimated that a further €307 million (£187 million/DM600 million) of investment is needed in the town by 2020.

66 Key stakeholders interviewed for this study were in agreement that being a WHS had been a powerful supporting factor in the restoration of the town – and that WHS status was critical to its future identity.

As a result of these factors, those wishing to preserve the historic fabric of the town had a serious challenge on their hands – no public source was willing, or perhaps even capable, of providing the total investment required to preserve the town. The people of the town, particularly the young, were increasingly migrating away from the place to pursue economic opportunities elsewhere - so something had to be done.

*Please note the figures for €DM exchange rates are based on 1st January 2002 rates (date of Germany's conversion to the Euro, DM0.511/€1) and the figures for sterling conversion are set at the same date with an exchange rate of £0.609/€1

WHS Focus/Motivation

The solution has been to put an economic development/modernization focus on the preservation/restoration of the town. Put simply, the heritage organisations realised that the future of the town of Quedlinburg rested upon its ability to retain and attract young people, and particularly young families, by offering them a town with a high quality of life and an economy that offered them sustainable employment. The WHS influence has been to ensure that the public sector investment is used more effectively than it might have been – and to use heritage funding to support the emergence of an economically sustainable community.

The result is a preservation and restoration programme of extraordinary scale and with a quite unusual focus on 'modernization'. The stakeholders in Quedlinburg repeatedly refer to modernization as if it is the primary goal of their efforts. This provides a fascinating counter-point to the assumptions about World Heritage Site status in other parts of the world, where WHS is often assumed to be about stopping modernization rather than encouraging it. In Quedlinburg the preservation of the historic fabric is widely understood to be an economic challenge – with stakeholders buying into a process of supporting economic development and change in ways that result in derelict or neglected properties being brought back into use and historic properties being modernized (with direct subsidies or tax allowances for private sector investment) to make them more attractive to modern families.

In Quedlinburg, modernization and economic development are not seen as contradicting the preservation of the historic fabric; they are seen as mutually reinforcing. The conservation area has a management plan that openly refers to 'modernization', 'partial modernization' and 'new constructions'. This is no heritage theme park – it's a living community undergoing profound change and trying to do it without losing its historic fabric. New buildings, whilst controversial, as they are in all communities, are seen as being necessary in continuing the tradition of Quedlinburg as a place where architecture across the ages can be witnessed.

Actions

Considerable amounts of the investment have been spent on interiors to make houses more suitable for families. Some investment has been targeted at the modernization of historic properties like hotels to ensure that the restoration and preservation has an end result of high quality interiors that are suitable for 21st century tourism. But perhaps the most striking thing about the restoration of Quedlinburg is the quality of the restoration – despite some derelict properties remaining, the town is being restored back into one of the most beautiful and authentic historic towns in Germany; the stakeholders recognise that the beauty of the place is a key part of its economic survival. As a result the promotion of Quedlinburg is fundamentally about its OUV and its WHS status (see http://tinyurl.com/qq39qm), reflecting the fact that WHS status is a higher profile designation in Germany than in many other areas of the world.

Impacts and Results

From a socio-economic perspective the effects on the private sector of this WHS-fuelled regeneration of the town are also encouraging. Significant numbers of people have been employed in the restoration programme, including 207 people employed in the town wall restoration and 32 people employed in an apprenticeship project. Businesses have not only benefited from the restoration programme by having subsidised investment into their properties and premises, but other service sector businesses have emerged to service this process, including architectural practices which are building national reputations on the back of their skill at sympathetic modernization of historic properties[67]. Other high quality businesses like the Quedlinburger Stadtschloss Hotel (see http://tinyurl.com/5eoj7e) market themselves using the WHS status as a kite mark signifying the quality of their surroundings and their own buildings. Quedlinburg still faces structural economic challenges, but stakeholders have a body of evidence that suggests it is in a much better position to meet these challenges thanks to the WHS-influenced investment of the past decade.

67 www.denkmalkonzepte.de/

THE LONG CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 2

Portovenere, Cinque Terre, and the Islands (Palmaria, Tino, and Tinetto) WHS (Inscribed 1997)

Key Area of Interest – A National Park/WHS with focus on the preservation of a socio-economic way of life that preserves a unique agricultural landscape

Introduction

The unique hillsides of Cinque Terre are terraced for the production of grapes, olives, herbs and lemons. The terraces are held in place by thousands of kilometres of high-maintenance dry stone walls. The villages cling to the hillsides above the shore with their backs to the sea, as these were farming communities rather than fishing ones. For most of the twentieth century the population of the hard and historically isolated region of Cinque Terre was in steep decline. The population declined from c.8,000 in 1951 to c.4,500 in 2008. In the 1960s and 1970s the local population was haemorrhaging away to the cities of Milan, Genoa and Rome in search of a better standard of living. Only approximately 10% of the landscape that was once cultivated is now farmed (140 hectares out of a total of more than 1400), much of the remainder has reverted to scrub and forest. In the 1980s the social and economic crisis facing this landscape and its communities was recognised by regional and national governments. In the 1990s a number of initiatives emerged which have halted this decline and changed Cinque Terre markedly. Cinque Terre and Portovenere successfully lobbied to become a WHS and was inscribed in 1997 as a Cultural Landscape – followed in 1999 by the area being designated a National Park.

WHS Focus/Motivation

The WHS and National Park were from the start part of a parallel approach to stopping the socio-economic decline and promoting the area at a national and international level. Both initiatives benefited from the other; attaining National Park status was assisted by the prior WHS designation. The National Park status has been critical to developments over the past decade, as it resulted in greater investment, particularly in a devoted management team who have been able to compliment their own budgets with further investment from EU, regional and national funds to make significant interventions. From the start the WHS and National Park were explicitly about this being a landscape overwhelmingly shaped by humanity.

Image, from top to bottom: the terraces of Cinque Terre with characteristic low frames that meant workers had to kneel under the grapes to work; the co-operative monorail system that enables farmers to get grapes to market more efficiently; the typical terraced pattern of the Cinque Terre landscape.

This socio-economic focus on Cinque Terre is important – because it suggests that if potential WHS sites want to focus on socio-economic impact in their sites, then it may pay to be quite explicit about this from the start, explaining the relationship between the heritage OUV and the socio-economic systems that support it. The dry stone walls of the terraces in some cases prevent the landscape rushing down on the villages in landslides. Stakeholders in the Cinque Terre WHS and National Park understand a simple equation; their world-renowned landscape emerged and survives solely through the survival of a traditional agricultural socio-economic system. The key goal of everyone who cares about that cultural heritage has to be the preservation and support of that agricultural economic system. As Lorena Pasini of the National Park explains, they have three goals:

1. Reducing the costs of cultivation
2. Improving the quality of products
3. Developing the international reputation of the products of Cinque Terre

In short, the motivation for the WHS (and National Park) was framed from the start by the need to get greater 'world-wide visibility for Cinque Terre' and to use it as a means to 'empower the communities and their way of life to survive'.

Actions

There are three prongs to the socio-economic approach taken in Cinque Terre; the establishment of the WHS, the establishment of the National Park and the management capacity this results in, and the support of the agricultural cooperatives[68]. The area has benefited from the growth of international interest in authentic local food products. Private businesses have responded by developing working holidays on the terraces and student programmes have been developed to allow young people to work on the land. The National Park helps to promote the region, offers check-in and booking services and offers activities and packages for visitors interested in the OUV of the region. Cinque Terre's strategy is effectively to develop as a destination that attracts informed and conscientious visitors who will pay a premium for their experience of this unique place.

The producer co-operatives' relationship with the National Park and WHS is critical. These organisations enable Cinque Terre to innovate and invest more strategically in the future. One example of this will suffice; one cooperative has recently invested in a product development (both for food and cosmetic products) and production laboratory within the National Park. This laboratory had a turnover of €349,000 (£300,000) in its first year. The facility is growing strongly, with both food and cosmetic products being developed, marketed and produced on site. The key element in this process is that the partnership with the National Park means that all Tourist

68 Other valuable initiatives include the bus and train access to Cinque Terre.

Information Centres sell exclusively the produce from the cooperatives. Initially this gave the cooperatives a protected market which they could supply while developing their products. The products that emerged were initially all sold within the National Park, but over the past year external sales have grown until approximately 50% of sales are now outside of Cinque Terre, including to high quality international retailers like Harrods.

The steep terraces of Cinque Terre do not lend themselves to mechanisation and as a result wine production cannot be scaled up as it can in Tuscany or other comparable regions – the solution has to be adding value through product differentiation. The role of the co-operatives is critical, in that they have the ability to invest strategically in ways that fragmented individual producers cannot; to lower the cost of production through measures like the monorail system that gets the grapes from the steep terraces to the roads; or to invest in specialist marketing or scientific support for developing new products. Perhaps the most encouraging evidence of this is the fact that young people are now taking on land to farm the terraces for high quality wine production.

Image, from left to right: the terraces of Cinque Terre with characteristic low frames that meant workers had to kneel under the grapes to work; the co-operative monorail system that enables farmers to get grapes to market more efficiently; the typical terraced pattern of the Cinque Terre landscape.

A major issue with this farming landscape is the fragmentation of land ownership due to the inheritance laws of Italy, which regularly result in small areas of land having multiple owners, leading to absentee landlords and large tracts of land simply being left uncultivated. To counter this, the National Park started a scheme in 2000 that encourages owners of unfarmed terraces to sign over their land to the National Park for 20 years to be farmed by members of the co-operatives. The National Park manages this process and supports farmers and students to reclaim the land, restore the dry stone walls and get the land back into production.

Impacts and Results

Not everyone in Cinque Terre welcomed the WHS inscription process in the 1990s – farmers and the business community were sceptical, fearing that WHS status would stop change, restrict planning, result in another layer of bureaucracy and slow economic development[69]. Ten years later this has changed; nobody thinks that becoming a WHS was a panacea for all the problems of Cinque Terre, but there is widespread agreement that it has been a catalyst for positive change. This change has been

Images of Cinque Terre, showing the precariously placed houses and the problems of landslides and erosion if the land is not managed and the dry stone walls not maintained.

69 But it is worth pointing out that during the 40 years of decline prior to the mid-1990s the dire economic straits that Cinque Terre was in had resulted in land abandonment, population loss, and poor quality developments and housing. In short, Cinque Terre was on a socio-economic trajectory that was disastrous to the community and the landscape. Everyone had seen the 'do-nothing' option and it clearly didn't work. As key champions supported the WHS nomination the communities gave it the benefit of the doubt.

Image, from top to bottom: Mr Piero Moggia and Mr Renzo Bordone, farmers of Cinque Terre; Mr Heydi Bonanini, wine producer, Riomaggiore; Mr Antonio Pasini, the 'living memory' of Cinque Terre, aged 82. All of these men have devoted their working lives to the terraces of the Cinque Terre, and all believe that after decades of decline it now has a socio-economic future.

particularly marked with regard to producing and marketing higher quality products and services. It would be naïve to think that you could sell cosmetics, alcoholic drinks, olive oil, wine or preserves internationally simply because they are produced in a WHS[70]. Clearly this requires a range of great products, clever marketing and a range of other support structures – but increased international media and visitor attention has been a stimulus to better promotion of high quality products. Major stakeholders and private sector business people now believe that WHS status has been a powerful socio-economic stimulus. The increased tourism market profile in particular has benefited the community; through the letting of B&B rooms and the increased market for produce.

Particularly noticeable is the fact that Cinque Terre is increasingly an educational destination for school trips and students, something that is valued in the shoulder months of the tourism season. The tourism development of Cinque Terre began in the 1990s, partly as a result of its 'discovery' by U.S. travel writers. The WHS inscription process in 1996-7 and associated publicity further widened the profile to include visitors from France, Germany, Australia and the UK. Since that time tourism has grown to 2 million visitors per year. WHS status has put Cinque Terre in a privileged club of exceptional places – many of whom want to work together on cultural or economic projects, but only with other exceptional places with WHS status. An example of this is the INTERREG IIIC ViTour project which links European World Heritage Vineyards in a collaborative landscape and tourism project (www.vitour.org).

The economic impact of the initiatives in Cinque Terre is probably best illustrated by a very humble example of real importance to farmers; the price of lemons. The co-operatives have an open-door buying policy for local producers for a range of products grown on the terraces of the National Park. Producers are paid more for this produce than they can receive elsewhere, and they can supply in whatever quantities they are able to provide. At the time of writing the co-operatives were buying organic lemons for €2.50 (£2.10) per kilogram, compared with a commodity price of €1.70-€1.80 (£1.46 – £1.55) for the same product outside the WHS/National Park – a 68% premium.

Market research commissioned by the co-operatives suggests that there is market growth potential for products like this, for products with powerful and authentic provenance. Proof of socio-economic impact is often hard to document, but in Cinque Terre the stakeholders have no doubt that things have changed. When the director of the co-operative took on his job in the 1980s he was warned that he would be lucky to still have a job in 10 years time because the farming was in such

70 You cannot use the UNESCO WHS brand on commercial products – so in Cinque Terre they use the National Park badge and explain, where appropriate, in the marketing materials the importance of the landscape and the WHS status.

severe decline – he now has 190 farmers supplying the co-operative. There are lots of young professionals in Cinque Terre working in tourism; marketing, retail, product development and production – and most are convinced that this is a radical positive change from the socio-economic situation 20 years ago. There are young men and women working on the land producing products that are increasingly successful, being sold as far afield as Japan. Population decline has been halted. Abandonment of the terraces is slowed, or even partly reversed. Young people are not leaving the area for work as they once did. Travel journalists from around the world visited Cinque Terre in the 1980s and penned articles urging everyone to visit quickly before its impending disappearance. But this hasn't happened, and WHS status has played a prominent role in the process that prevented it from happening.

The future of Cinque Terre – from top to bottom: Groppo Co-operative Director Matteo Bonani, Via de'll Amore Marketing Manager, Roberta Aluisini; making lemon marmalade

THE LONG CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 3

The regeneration of Blaenavon has been built around its heritage, and World Heritage Site status has lent a validity and power to this and given it a unifying narrative and brand.

Blaenavon Industrial Landscape WHS (Inscribed 2000)

Key Area of Interest – WHS stimulus to the regeneration of a town around the 'cultural glue' provided by its industrial heritage.

Introduction
Blaenavon is a town in South Wales that experienced the extremes of both industrialization and de-industrialization. Wales was the first country in the world with more people working in industry than in agriculture; it also had the world's largest concentration of iron making. Blaenavon is one of the birthplaces of world-wide industrialization; it went from a tiny village to a significant industrial centre for iron making and coal production in a few short decades. Its economy and community expanded and contracted radically throughout the 19th and 20th century. By the 1990s the decline was such that it was recognised as facing severe social and economic challenges. The population which had been less than 2,000 in 1811, and which had exploded to more than 12,000 in the 1920s, plummeted until it was less than 6,000 in 2000.

WHS Focus/Motivations
In the 1990s stakeholders began to explore the idea of an economic development plan for the town based upon its exceptional industrial heritage. This was a brave move, as this same heritage was viewed by some stakeholders as the source of the problems rather than the source of the solution. The result was the Blaenavon Heritage and Regeneration Strategy which had key objectives of:

- Establishing the organisational structure to implement an ambitious programme
- Identifying and protecting the unique heritage of the town
- Better communicating the globally important role that the town had played
- Using that heritage as the principal gateway for visitors to the town
- Enhancing the town as a place to live, visit and invest in
- Improving the quality of life of residents and visitors
- Supporting measures to create and maintain employment
- Ensuring that local people benefited from the opportunities arising from this heritage-led programme of economic development, and
- Fostering a positive image of Blaenavon for residents, visitors and businesses.

Many places have developed similar strategies with similar words, but what makes Blaenavon so interesting is that they have delivered this programme, and becoming a WHS was a key part of the process. The partnership taking

forward the strategy achieved WHS status in 2000. The 8 x 5 km site covers 33 hectares, and includes the town itself and the landscape within which the industry took place – half the site is within the Brecon Beacons National Park. At each stage of the WHS process Blaenavon faced a degree of scepticism; for some people a harsh post-industrial landscape offered little of the romance of other WHSs.

The implementation of the strategy was built on the back of the status provided by WHS status; in each area of delivery (Funding, Renewal, Tourism, Promotion, Networking, Education, Conservation, Protection, Community and Partnership) WHS has been the catalyst. The partnership of 13 local organisations which champions the programme includes all the key local authorities. And, critically, the WHS nomination documents were quite explicit that socio-economic renewal was part of the motive and actions that WHS status would result in:

> *"The prime aim of the Blaenavon Partnership is to protect and conserve this landscape so that future generations may understand the contribution South Wales made to the Industrial Revolution. By the presentation and promotion of the Blaenavon Industrial Landscape it is intended to increase cultural tourism and assist the economic regeneration of the area.*[71]*"*

Actions

The €35.5 million (£30.8 million) investment programme that resulted has been a mixture of additional funding accessed because of the WHS status and management team and an inspired use of existing investment to achieve the objectives of the strategy. It ranges from €8.4 million (£7.3 million) spent on the restoration of Big Pit, €3.5 million (£3.1 million) for the creation of the World Heritage Centre, through to more mundane investments in things like new public toilets and housing and commercial property renewal. It is, in short, a significant and holistic regeneration programme for a community of its size and its aim has been to change the socio-economic trajectory of the community.

Blaenavon has a unique industrial heritage; but it is not a traditional picturesque landscape of the kind that conventionally attracts visitors in the UK. Intelligent use of WHS status is resulting in this becoming a significant industrial heritage destination.

Blaenavon has invested heavily in branding and coordination of its cultural assets to ensure that the assets the town has now feel like a combined offer for residents and visitors alike. The result is a town that has taken its image very seriously indeed and can genuinely claim to have a distinct identity.

71 Extract from the Blaenavon Industrial Landscape: Nomination Document June 1999

The visitor to Blaenavon benefits from clear and understandable mapping of the cultural assets.

Impacts and Results

The results are impressive; monuments saved, conserved and interpreted; outworn fabric of 500 properties made good; 75 per cent of town centre dereliction made good; significant improvements in environment and facilities, e.g. car parks; over 100 jobs created annually in construction; conservation skills developed by local building companies; 65 FTE jobs safeguarded and created in tourism; 10 new businesses created; the end of property stagnation and the commencement of new developments; property values increased over 300% in 5 years (above the UK average); visitor numbers increased by 100 per cent, from 100,000 to 200,000 in 5 years; the 'Destination Blaenavon' brand established; educational programmes developed; way marked walks and cycleways established with brochures etc; an annual events programme established; community involvement secured through events and activities; a firm base established for further regeneration, and a major change in perception and in community pride[72].

As a result of these achievements Blaenavon has built a reputation as an exceptional case study of how heritage can drive economic development. The stakeholders in Blaenavon believe that the factors in their success are simple: they had a clear regeneration need; an overall strategy; leadership from the principal local authority; they actively pursued WHS status as a socio-economic catalyst; they had a committed partnership and effective coordination; they secured investment by partners in separate assets; they accessed project funding from Europe, the Welsh Assembly and HLF (Heritage Lottery Fund); they focused on an authentic regional culture; and they were fully aware that communities can achieve socio-economic gain through perceptual changes. Blaenavon probably offers the best model of the potential for WHS heritage-led regeneration in the UK.

Before and after images of Blaenavon town centre, showing the impact on the retail offer in the town centre – the area was previously known as 'cardboard city' as 75% of the shops were boarded up. The impact here was from intelligent and creative spending of UK Government monies for housing market renewal.

72 Our interviews with business people and residents in the town suggest that this programme became valued in the community when people saw their houses or shops renovated or greater numbers of customers spending money in their businesses.

THE LONG CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 4

Town of Bamberg WHS (Inscribed 1993)

Key Area of Interest – Key destination in the debate about attracting higher value visitors by using WHS status as a cultural tourism brand

Introduction

The city of Bamberg, in southern Germany, is an outstanding example of a central European city that has grown and evolved around a Middle Ages core. The city has one of the largest intact old town centres in Europe, with 2,400 listed buildings covering 1000 years of history and an intact market gardening landscape within the city walls. The city has a population of 70,000 and is a prosperous business location with a growing international tourism reputation. Bamberg is a critical case study for the WHS socio-economic impact debate because:

Firstly, it is one of a small minority of WHS sites in the world where the designated area directly overlaps with the geography of a significant tourism brand (in this case the city of Bamberg)[73]

Secondly, the tourism marketing has been focused heavily on the fact that the destination is a World Heritage Site, so we can judge whether this attracts visitors, and

Thirdly, detailed tourism data exists over the period pre- and post-WHS inscription to monitor the visitor numbers and profile, including the impact of specific marketing campaigns focused on WHS status.

WHS Focus/Motivation

Bamberg was inscribed by UNESCO in 1993 and like most other sites from this period the motivation for WHS status was primarily about the preservation of its built heritage. But stakeholders in the city have been at the forefront of experimenting with WHS status as a lead tourism brand and a quality of life driver. Indeed the highly competitive tourism market,

73 A key methodological challenge with this study was that so many WHS sites are smaller parts of larger tourism brands – which makes it difficult to assess how important WHS status was in a visitor travelling to a destination. Likewise, where a WHS site is one of several competing brands for a visitor to a destination it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to assess meaningfully the contribution WHS is making to visitor behaviour. In this context, Bamberg offers a relatively pure case study in that a visitor to Bamberg would overwhelmingly encounter the branding of the Bamberg Tourism and Congress Service which is heavily focused on the WHS status of the city

in which Bamberg competes with other German cities for visitors, seems to have stimulated stakeholders to seize on the WHS status as a way of proving distinctiveness[74].

Actions

In Bamberg the socio-economic impact is felt through two primary activities; firstly through tourism and secondly through the significant economic activity of the restoration and preservation sector.

The marketing of Bamberg uses the town's WHS status heavily, with most brochures emphasising the WHS designation in the first couple of lines of text and as a by-line for the city's name. Bamberg's WHS status has been utilised to let potential visitors know exactly why Bamberg is special, unique and worth a visit. The product is not simply about heritage tourism – instead WHS status is used as a value adding quality statement that lets visitors and potential visitors know that this is a high quality destination with a clear sense of identity and cultural heritage.

The increased focus on cultural/heritage tourism has led to the development of new products that have been successful – including WHS audio guided tours (through the BAMBERGcard scheme) for visitors which have grown from 1,000 participants in 1997 to more than 8,000 participants in 2008. Bamberg has benefited by using its WHS status to position itself as a town that is special, unique and precious at a time when German tourism marketing has increasingly focused on cultural heritage as a way of attracting higher spending cultural visitors. As one stakeholder summed up, WHS gives the opportunity to make your destination a 'must see' part of a visitor's itinerary. Bamberg also benefits from the progressive collective marketing of World Heritage Sites in Germany[75].

The WHS management team at Bamberg believe strongly that the designation and the management of the site is about more than tourism marketing – they believe that the value of the designation of the city is based upon the quality of life of the residents. Bamberg is a city with high levels of civic pride – the management of the site and community engagement is about preserving everything that makes Bamberg special and unique. There is a degree of consensus in Bamberg that it needs to preserve those things that make Bamberg more than any other city a 'clone city'. In other words, the focus is on preserving and celebrating the authenticity of the place.

Key stakeholders believe that the people of Bamberg would be 'outraged' if they lost the UNESCO WHS designation, as they take a

74 Another city, Regensberg in Southern Germany, has also used WHS status in this way with indications of success – see 'Old Town of Regensburg with Stadtamhof' WHS; www.regensburg.de/welterbe/english/index.shtml for an excellent example of a similar effect to Bamberg.

75 A potential visitor to Germany can at a click learn about each site from one source http://tinyurl.com/ql4gtg.

strong ongoing interest in their city and its historic importance. Turnout at historic lectures about the city, or guided walks is always high. Work in Bamberg with young people has been focused on ensuring that the young people of the city understand the 'spirit of the place', the ingredients that make the city special.

It is worth noting that in Bamberg the cost of preservation and restoration of the site is viewed less as a negative element than a positive one – because of the significant economic activity generated in and for the town as a result of the work undertaken. Bamberg has a restoration/ preservation sector that is worth c. €285 million (£246 million) per annum. In short, the skills and market provided by their WHS has created a sector that exports skills and services across Germany resulting in revenue benefit for the city itself.

In Bamberg the UNESCO WHS designation has made no legal difference to the planning structure; but the stakeholders believe it has had a psychological difference. The people of Bamberg are, it is felt, more interested in new developments and are looking more closely at new developments for reassurance that additions will not detract from the historic value of their city[76].

A significant issue faced by Bamberg is the future of part of the WHS site, the Market Gardener's City - a historic system of urban farming that remains within the city from the Middle Ages. This is a key part of the WHS inscription, but as with other forms of farming this one faces severe economic challenges – with pressures on landowners to abandon their traditional way of life and develop the land, changing forever the character of the city.

The challenge for the town and the farmers is to find a sustainable economic future for these businesses without degrading the historic fabric of the city by new development. Bamberg has by no means resolved this problem, but it is of interest to note that the WHS management team have been instrumental in supporting research and ideas to develop this part of the city in ways which add value to the businesses that remain. The strategy that is emerging is partly about making this part of the town more accessible for tourists to visit and understand, and partly about the development of ways to ensure that visitors to the hotels of the World Heritage Site are enjoying fresh locally produced food that is ideally grown in the World Heritage Site that attracted them in the first place.

The unique relationship between the city and its market gardening landscape means that the Bamberg WHS management team have a duty to find a sustainable economic future for their farmers.

76 But it is worth noting that the city of Bamberg contains many new buildings – not all of which are built in a heritage style; indeed one is more likely to hear criticism in Bamberg that the designation has not stopped certain unpopular buildings than that it has been a brake on development.

Impacts and Results

Key qualitative and quantitative evidence suggests that WHS status has offered real added value in the marketing of Bamberg as a destination:

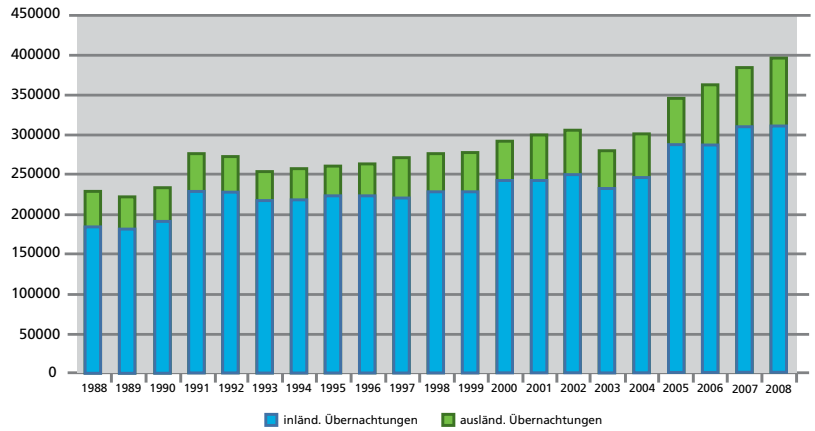
- Overall the city has grown its visitor numbers from 255,000 in 1993 to c.400,000 in 2008 – a growth rate of 64% since WHS inscription. The marketing officer for Bamberg Tourism and Congress Service has analysed this and believes this growth rate is 'not possible to attribute to other factors' other than World Heritage Site status.
- International media visits/interviews relating to Bamberg as a destination have risen year on year from approximately 3-4 enquiries a year in 1993 to 32 in 2008.
- It is estimated that 80% of these foreign media interviews feature the WHS status of the city as a matter of interest/importance for viewers in the host country.
- Tourism marketing professionals believe that visitor information held by the Franconian Tourism Board[77] shows categorically that the city attracts more international visitors from states with large numbers of WHSs than other comparable non-WHS destinations in Germany; e.g. like Bayreuth or Coburg (despite these cities having significant international cultural profiles).

Work is underway in Bamberg to map the market gardener's land in relation to other cultural attractions and find ways to make this accessible for visitors to experience and understand in ways that will be economically advantageous to the farmers

77 This data is not publicly available, and is commercially sensitive.

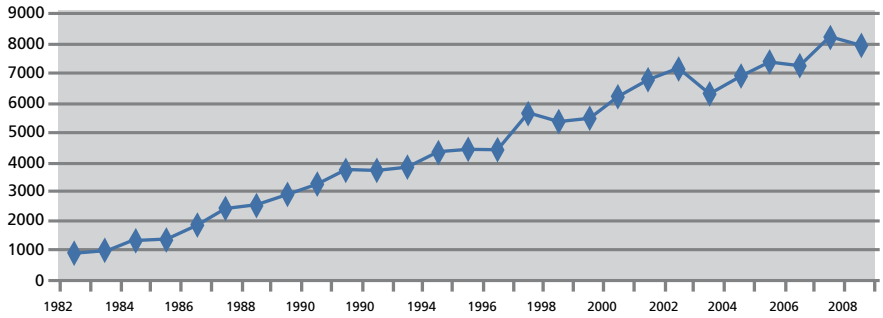
Langjährige Entwicklung Übernachtungen

BAMBERG
Tourismus & Kongress Service



Langjährige Entwicklung Stadtführungen

BAMBERG
Tourismus & Kongress Service



Tourism data for Bamberg appears to show that the WHS inscription has been particularly beneficial for the city, with spikes in visitor numbers at times when they have run additional campaigns focused on their WHS product. In other words, the marketing professionals believe that this is a form of brand identity that repays investment in marketing.

THE LONG CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 5

Roman Frontiers/Hadrian's Wall WHS (Inscribed 1987)

Key Area of Interest – The value of providing the right management structure and lead organisation to coordinate capital investment in WHSs

Introduction
Hadrian's Wall was inscribed by UNESCO in 1987, because of its outstanding historical value. In 2005 part of the Upper German and Raetian frontier between the rivers Rhine and Danube was added to the inscription as an extension of Hadrian's Wall and the name was changed to 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire WHS' as a trans-national WHS, containing initially Hadrian's Wall and the upper German frontier, with the Antonine Wall added to the designation in 2008. Other parts of the frontier will be added in due course. Those countries which have already declared their intention to put forward their sections of the frontier are Austria, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia. The Frontiers of the Roman Empire WHS could in time embrace the line of the entire frontier of the Roman Empire from the Solway Firth to the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

WHS Focus/Motivations
Like most WHSs inscribed in the 1970s and 1980s the motivation for WHS status for Hadrian's Wall was almost exclusively about preservation and celebration of heritage. And the socio-economic impacts, or rather lack of them, reflect this. For the first 15-18 years after WHS inscription in 1987 visitor numbers to Hadrian's Wall were falling, the quality of the site's visitor infrastructure was deteriorating and, arguably, interest in Roman heritage was in relative decline. This was a case study in how WHS inscription alone achieves very little, other than some initial media attention. Interestingly, in the past five years Hadrian's Wall has actually intellectually reinvented itself from an older perception of WHS, to a more modern focus on socio-economic impact. The stimulus to this was research which suggested the potential to deliver an additional €254 million (£220 million) to the entire corridor through further development of the Hadrian's Wall product, potentially creating another 3600 jobs. In the period 2004-6 key stakeholders established a new management organisation to address two core issues:

1) Declining visitor numbers and an overall lack of visitor understanding of Hadrian's Wall, and of the significance of its cultural treasures, and;
2) Overall lack of cohesion amongst the agencies along the wall corridor.

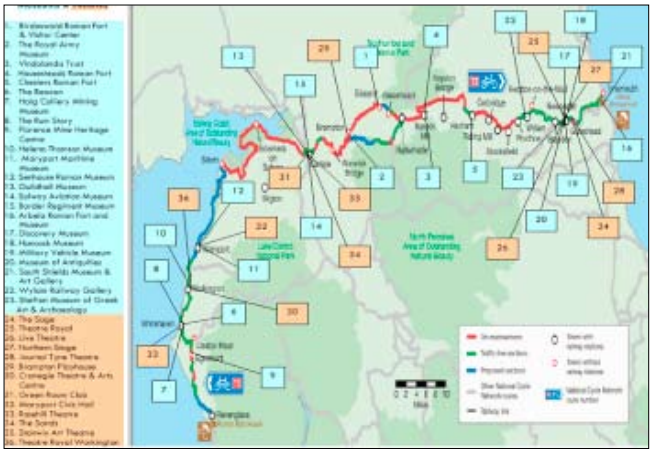
This case study is about that change of focus and the structures created to achieve this change. The organisation created to bring about this

change was named Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd and an evaluation of the company's first 2 years of performance revealed some interesting issues that have value for all WHSs.

Actions
Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd (HWHL) was established to:

1) Be the lead organisation for the Hadrian's Wall corridor providing the strategic overview and vision for its economic, social, and cultural development – and ensuring that this is underpinned by suitably robust strategy, vision, prioritisation, and business planning.
2) Communicate through partnership delivered marketing, education and positive PR the value and importance of the Hadrian's Wall product/s to wider audiences and markets
3) Facilitate and support the development of the key capital build projects at key visitor sites to ensure that they are world-class facilities
4) Identify through research and analysis the gaps in provision that are required to make Hadrian's Wall a leading global heritage destination and support and facilitate solutions through partnership to resolve identified shortcomings – with emphasis upon the associated infrastructure required for a successful tourism product.

The key development revealed by the 2008 evaluation is the value of creating a credible lead management organisation to coordinate the capital investment programme for the WHS site. Key potential investors have collectively subscribed to supporting this organisation to make the strategic decisions for investment on the site – without this strategic buy-in the lead organisation would be ineffective – with it, it has the ability to make investment more strategic and effective.



The sheer complexity of individual sites and organisations means that for some World Heritage Sites the intellectual and strategic focus that can be provided by a WHS lead organisation can make a significant difference. The map above illustrates the complexity of sites and stakeholders on Hadrian's Wall and the need for a single coordinating organisation.

Results

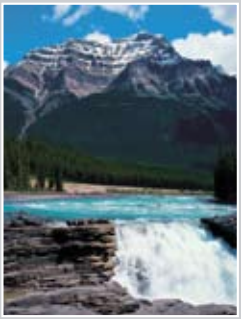
Critically, several key funders reported higher levels of confidence in making investments as a result of having a sole coordinating body – a lead organisation that helps develop funding applications for new/improved facilities; that makes the case for strategic investment by developing the evidence base; that coordinates capital projects on behalf of the funders to ensure that investment is timed and targeted appropriately; and that encourages quality improvements in the capital projects. Prior to the establishment of HWH Ltd funders were dealing with up to 70 different sites and organisations. Most encouraging of all is the fact that 450 stakeholders, many of whom were from small private sector companies, reported high levels of support for the work of the lead organisation in using the WHS designation as a stimulus to positive socio-economic change. Significant majorities of these businesses were marketing their businesses differently, and believed that this dynamic new use of the WHS designation had enabled their businesses to better compete in world markets.

This WHS is at an embryonic stage of trying to implement significant capital investment – but the early signs are that a new more strategic approach has radically altered perceptions about the 'investability' of the site and its socio-economic future[78]. The socio-economic impact is too early to prove one way or another, but stakeholder interviews have made very clear that for strategic investment in WHSs to be effective and supported then clear and robustly evidenced strategies are required, in addition to a credible coordinating organisation.

78 An evaluation of first two years of management organisation, Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd, covered 450 stakeholders, interviews with public sector funders, and multiple sites.

THE LONG CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 6

Canadian Rocky Mountains WHS (Inscribed 1984)



Key Area of Interest – WHS as a stimulus to a more 'authentic' and deeper cultural visitor experience based upon an understanding of distinctiveness and sense of place

Introduction

The Canadian Rocky Mountains WHS was inscribed in 1984 and includes Jasper, Banff, Yoho and Kootenay National Parks as well as the Mount Robson, Mount Assiniboine and Hamber provincial parks which, studded with mountain peaks, glaciers, lakes, waterfalls, canyons and limestone caves, form a striking mountain landscape. The Burgess Shale fossil site, well known for its fossil remains of soft-bodied marine animals, is also found there. The site in total attracts more than 6 million visitors per year, and has a tourism history that long pre-dates its WHS status. It is classified as a UNESCO WHS Natural Landscape. The impact of WHS status appears to have been of a different kind to that in more recently inscribed sites like Bordeaux. The impact in the Canadian Rocky Mountain communities is more subtle and secondary, but perhaps none the less important.

WHS Focus/Motivation

The WHS motivation for the Canadian Rocky Mountains seems, as one would expect based on the period in which it was inscribed and the nature of its Natural OUV, to have been primarily about the preservation and celebration of its natural heritage. Becoming a WHS did not lead to a radical new identity for the Canadian Rocky Mountain National Parks, for the most part they continued with their existing marketing brands and promotional activity. A visitor to Banff, for example, might not be aware that they were visiting a WHS[79]. But like Hadrian's Wall and Bamberg, the Canadian Rocky Mountains has innovated with its WHS status to try and add value to its tourism product by using the designation as a stimulus to new activities, and as such has reinvented its WHS focus since the mid 1990s.

79 This is compatible with our finding that sites inscribed pre-mid 1990s largely viewed the WHS designation as a heritage designation recognising the OUV of a location, rather than a means to achieve other ends.

The Canadian Rocky Mountains WHS is a collection of geographically clustered provincial sites and National Parks, which have for the most part retained their independent identities.

Actions

Whilst the external branded identity of the National Parks may not have fundamentally changed to focus on WHS, the experience for some visitors has changed fundamentally. Key stakeholders in the communities believe that WHS inscription led to a different perception of the USP offered by the Canadian Rocky Mountains as a tourism destination – with a greater focus on the authenticity and distinctiveness of the destination. In other words, becoming a WHS encouraged people in the communities to think about how the visitor experienced their communities and landscape. Key stakeholders began to pay greater attention to how this visitor experience could benefit from greater understanding of the OUV of the Canadian Rocky Mountains. Two organisations emerged at least partly as a result of the WHS catalyst:[80]

Firstly, **The Interpretive Guides Association**[81] - a non-profit organisation that started life as the Mountain Parks Heritage Interpretation Association (MPHIA) in 1997. The organisation's mission is to establish and maintain high standards in heritage interpretation in Canada's mountain parks. An interpretative guide builds bridges between landscapes, people and history, reveals stories behind the scenery, and creates memorable and inspiring experiences. The Interpretive Guides Association has a number of goals, but of real interest to this study are the following:

- To encourage excellence in the interpretation of nature, history and culture in Canada's Rocky Mountain national parks and surrounding areas.
- To ensure professional standards of communication of the natural and human heritage of the mountain national parks.
- To deliver training and offer professional accreditation relating to the communication of natural and human heritage of the mountain national parks to guides and operators, to meet standards established by Parks Canada.
- To develop a common commitment within the tourism community to the enhancement of the training of those charged with the responsibility of sharing heritage information and values with park visitors.

Secondly, the impact and new focus has resulted in new approaches in the individual National Parks, including the emergence of organisations like **The Banff Heritage Tourism Corporation (BHTC)**[82]**.** This organisation represents a wide partnership of tourism, SME and local authority bodies. The Corporation employs an Executive Director, with the aim of implementing the Heritage Tourism Strategy in and around Banff National Park. The strategy embraces learning, enjoyment, education,

80 Interviews with key stakeholders suggest that WHS was a catalyst to the creation of both organisations.

81 www.interpretiveguides.org/main.php?p=606

82 www.banffheritagetourism.com/bht/strategy.htm

understanding, appreciation and participation in the nature and authentic local culture of **Banff National Park**. The Heritage Tourism Strategy is focused on four linked objectives:

1. To make all visitors to and residents of Banff National Park and the Town of Banff aware that they are in a national park and World Heritage Site by actively fostering appreciation and understanding of the nature, history and culture of Banff National Park, the Town of Banff and surrounding areas;
2. To encourage, develop and promote opportunities, products and services consistent with heritage and environmental values;
3. To encourage environmental stewardship initiatives upon which sustainable heritage tourism depends;
4. To strengthen employee orientation, training and accreditation programming as it relates to sharing heritage understanding with visitors.

BHTC believes that there is an intrinsic value to the natural and cultural heritage of this region and that heritage is in and of itself worthy of preservation, commemoration and celebration and that the tourism industry has a responsibility to help visitors understand, appreciate and respect the unique natural and cultural heritage of the place. The mission statement of BHTC is worth consideration:

> "To sustain Banff National Park as a special destination for unique tourism experiences by celebrating our authentic natural and cultural heritage, while encouraging respect for the ecological integrity of our mountain national parks. Cultivating this enhanced visitor experience through education of key service providers and through engaging industry partners to incorporate authentic heritage elements in their products, the Banff Heritage Tourism Corporation will ensure that our unique mountain environment and sustainable tourism-based economy remains intact for the enjoyment and benefit of future generations."

From an economic perspective, some of this might be dismissed as rhetoric or window-dressing for an increasingly environmental age – but we believe the evidence suggests that it is something more fundamental. It is actually recognition that the economic future of communities like Banff in the WHS is founded on its global 'reputation as a tourism destination and World Heritage Site founded on its nature, history and local culture'. In other words, the environment, both natural and cultural, is the key economic driver for the destination, and preserving and unlocking value from this asset in a sustainable way is the key to the destinations future. It also necessitates real efforts to maintain the quality of the natural and built environment to ensure there is no erosion of this reputation.

Impacts and Results

Stakeholders in Banff and other Canadian Rocky Mountain communities believe that their WHS status has resulted in much more prominence with international and Canadian travel writers, with their destination being given greater coverage in popular travel guides like the AA Guide and in the media generally (focused on the WHS status). They also believe that the WHS status works as a 'must see' signal for international tour groups who are more likely to include a destination in an itinerary if it has WHS status. The status also appears to have been a motivation to those who wish to focus on a quality higher value tourism experience, rather than a lowest common denominator tourism product. Efforts to raise the reputation of Banff have been based around insights provided by the Canadian Tourism Association's segmentation model which shows clearly that culturally discerning visitors spend more, but demand greater distinctiveness and authenticity of product. Banff and other similar destinations have realised that this requires the development of 'high quality visitor experiences', and the more powerful, memorable and authentic these experiences are the greater the economic value that can be unlocked. WHS status validates the authenticity of heritage with a global designation. Attaining WHS status does not automatically result in this focus on distinctiveness, or ensure its success, but the experiences of the destinations of the Canadian Rocky Mountains WHS suggest that it can be a powerful intellectual stimulus.

THE LONG CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 7

Völklingen Ironworks WHS (Inscribed 1994)

Key Area of Interest – WHS as a catalyst for creating a world class visitor attraction through a combination of industrial heritage and contemporary creativity

Introduction
Völklinger Hütte WHS is an extraordinary place. The ironworks, which covers some 6 hectares, dominates the industrial city of Völklingen, in the Saarland. In the 1960s 17,000 people worked at the ironworks, but in 1987 the ironworks went out of production. It was preserved as the only intact example in the whole of Western Europe and North America of an integrated ironworks built and equipped in the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1994 it became the first industrial monument inscribed on the UNESCO WHS Cultural Heritage list.

WHS Focus/Motivation
Völklingen has been an innovative WHS; it was one of the earliest sites to have a strong socio-economic focus – given the socio-economic profile of its community and the socio-economic role of the site to the Saarland, this was perhaps inevitable. Many other heritage sites around the world, including WHSs like Blaenavon, appear to have learned much from Völklingen.

Actions
The genius of Völklingen lies in the way that its management has created something that is more than simply a heritage attraction. The scale of the site and investment required to maintain it on an ongoing basis necessitate a significant footfall of paying visitors. And in the 1990s the key Saarland stakeholders made a strategic decision to make Völklingen a marriage of industrial heritage and art. They established 'The World Cultural Heritage Site Völklingen Ironworks, European Centre for Art and Industrial Heritage'. The focus of the site since that time has been an intriguing mixture of industrial heritage and contemporary cultural and creative activities. The purpose of this organisation is to preserve and develop the Völklingen Ironworks and to integrate industrial heritage into the fields of art, theatre and society, as well as stimulating intensive public communication in this area.

In practice, this means that a number of projects and exhibitions have been delivered which have changed the way that the site is perceived both locally and with visitors. The site has invested heavily in its branding and communication, and also in creative projects. The data for the site

shows that much of the footfall is driven by the cultural exhibitions. These cultural exhibitions are not heritage-based; they cover a wide range of themes including contemporary computer game art and the photography of Associated Press.

Impacts and Results

Völklingen is at first glance an unlikely visitor attraction. But this 600,000 square metre lump of iron and steel now attracts 200,000 visitors a year, double the figure for 2000. This is even more impressive when it is known that the vast majority of former workers and residents vowed never to set foot in it again after the closure in the 1980s. Völklingen has succeeded in establishing itself as a 'must see' tourism destination – evidenced by its inclusion on several guides showcasing the unmissable attractions and places of Germany. The marketing team at Völklingen are convinced that WHS status has given them a profile boost that manifests itself in tour operators from a range of international locations bringing visitors to the site. The visitor profile for the site supports the idea that the WHS designation and the cultural exhibitions result in the site attracting a higher percentage of visitors from outside the Saarland, both German and international visitors, than comparable non-WHS attractions.

Völklingen benefits from a steady stream of international media attention, much of which is heavily focused and motivated by understanding the WHS OUV[83]. The difference that WHS status has made in Völklingen has been partly political, partly about funding, and partly about vastly increased profile. Because of its WHS status the organisation can punch above its weight in discussions about the investment priorities for the region; has been able to access additional investment; and has benefited significantly from being perceived as a place of global interest. The site works hard to convert these factors into economic impact for the local community.

83 The team at Völklingen collate as much of this media attention as they can and have an impressive array of articles and films from as far afield as China and Japan focused on the site and its WHS status.

THE SHORT CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 8

Bordeaux – Port of the Moon WHS (Inscribed 2007)

Key Area of Interest – Using the WHS brand as a leading destination identity for the marketing of a large progressive European city

Bordeaux (or more accurately 1,810 hectares, or more than half of the city area) was inscribed as a WHS in 2007 as a cultural landscape, so it is clearly too early to offer any detailed analysis of impacts created. However, the destination marketing developed by Bordeaux since inscription is, we believe, a prime example of the emerging use of WHS status to raise quality, authenticity and distinctiveness. Right from the first internet click (www.bordeaux-tourisme.com/) the potential visitor to Bordeaux is left in no doubt that this destination is a World Heritage Site, and that this is a badge that shows it to be a place that offers a rich cultural, social, economic and historic experience for visitors, investors and residents. Bordeaux uses the designation not as part of a niche heritage tourism offer (though it does offer guided tours to key sites etc), but as a quality brand to define its whole identity covering everything from the 'liveability' of the city to the inward investment benefits of the city. In short this is about WHS as a catalyst to the dynamic reinvention of a 21st century city. As a result, Bordeaux is perhaps the best single example of a new site putting into action the ideas and emerging themes that we have identified.

Pages from the website:
www.bordeaux-tourisme.com

THE SHORT CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 9

Laponian Area WHS (Inscribed 1996)

Key Area of Interest – WHS as a catalyst for high value experiential tourism based on accessing and understanding vernacular culture

The Laponian Area of Sweden was inscribed as a WHS in 1996 as a Mixed site; partly because of its exceptional natural environment and partly because of the cultural traditions of the Sami people who have lived in the landscape for thousands of years. The World Heritage Site covers 9,400 square kilometres. The really impressive use that WHS status has been put to in Laponia is its focus on the culture and traditions of the Sami people – and finding ways to bring economic benefit to the region through high value tourism experiences. The lesson here appears to be that where WHS status is about a living cultural landscape it opens up economic opportunities that other sites with focus on the built environment can lack. A process is underway in Laponia which involves the Sami people shaping the future management of the site to ensure that it enables appropriate development. WHS status in Laponia has resulted in a brand and an identity that attempts with some success to make a geographically peripheral place of global tourism interest (see http://tinyurl.com/r2nyah). The whole destination identity of the site is built around its natural and cultural OUV – and structures have been created to market the area and its visitor services in ways that are easy for international visitors. Visitors are effectively sold an experience of the landscape and the Sami way of life; and are marketed well organised and high value packages. The result is a highly compelling tourism offer for a region that because of its geography and climate is perhaps not a natural tourism destination.

THE SHORT CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 10

Derwent Valley Mills WHS (Inscribed 2001)

Key Area of Interest – using the WHS brand as a catalyst to investment in the historic environment through public realm projects in commercial and residential areas.

Derwent Valley Mills was inscribed as a Cultural site in 2001 because it is the birthplace of the industrial factory system, which in the 18th century harnessed water power to power textile production. The site stretches down the river valley for 15 miles from Matlock Bath to Derby and includes a series of mill complexes and some of the world's first 'modern' factories and industrial communities. Many of the ambitions of the Derwent Valley Mills site are at an embryonic stage as the focus has largely been on preserving some of the sites which were in danger – however in one respect the site has already achieved an impact that has benefited the area. The town of Belper is a key part of the WHS, and contains some of the earliest ever industrial terraced housing. In 2002-3 stakeholders in the town including the Belper Historical Society developed a project to restore and renovate the historic environment of the town at a cost of more than €2.3 million (£2 million). The partnership submitted an application to the Heritage Lottery Fund for €1.2 million (£1 million) for a 'Townscape Heritage Initiative' grant which was successful, with match funding provided by the Derby and Derbyshire Economic Partnership, Amber Valley Borough Council, Derbyshire Country Council and Belper Town Council, investing more than €1 million (£940,000). Residents and businesses provided additional investment. The real difference made by WHS status in Belper was the galvanizing effect that the designation had on stakeholders, including the community (many of whom understood for the first time because of the WHS validation the global importance of their community) and the leverage it gave the town with funders. Stakeholders in the town

From top to bottom: before and after pictures of commercial properties restored in Belper as a result of the THI investment. Only time will tell whether the improved quality of commercial properties results in superior economic performance.

believe that being a WHS gave them an advantage over competitors for the investment – being a WHS sent a signal to the local authorities and funders that this was a priority place for investment. The result has been a scheme that has benefited the town in ways that residents can all recognize with 4 public realm projects, 12 commercial properties and 53 residential properties restored to their original glory with a mixture of private and public investment. Whilst it is too early to prove that this has changed the long-term economic trajectory of the Derwent Valley, stakeholders believe that the town has been affected positively with changed perceptions of this as a place to live, work and invest. In the wider valley stakeholders have witnessed the WHS OUV provide them with a collective identity and purpose which, at its best, stops them acting as disparate visitor attractions and communities, and instead focuses minds on their collective product and identity.

THE SHORT CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 11

The Old and New Towns of Edinburgh WHS (Inscribed 1995)

Key Area of Interest – using WHS status to improve the quality of life of residents through engaging people in conservation, and to focus on raising the quality of development in the City

In Edinburgh the stakeholders appear to recognise the quality of life as an economic driver because it attracts people to live, work and invest. Edinburgh's Old and New Towns were inscribed as a WHS in 1995 because they are an outstanding example of a medieval old town juxtaposed with a world-renowned eighteenth century classical new town within a spectacular landscape. But, like many of our other case studies, Edinburgh city centre is clearly more than simply a heritage asset; it is a modern economic centre where 50,000 people work, where 24,000 people live, with a tourism economy of more than €1.2 billion (£1 billion) per annum. It is also a physically changing city, with approximately 500 planning applications per year within the WHS, the vast majority of which are approved (data suggesting that 83-90% of applications are approved in any given year) and a reputation for innovative new builds like the Scottish Parliament or Scottish Storytelling Centre. A visitor to Edinburgh may not automatically realise that this is a World Heritage Site (research has shown that just 41% of visitors knew of the status) because the focus has been less about a new branded identity for Edinburgh, and more about the engagement of residents in conserving the historic environment as a quality of life issue, and the management of change in the built environment to focus on higher quality new builds. Edinburgh uses its WHS status to support other initiatives to retain Edinburgh's reputation as a place with a high quality of life. The management team manages a conservation funding programme which offers grants for conservation, and plays a prominent role in discussions about the evolving built environment, supporting a process of economic development that their management plan recognises as being the basis of the city's future conservation. In 2008 13,500 leaflets were published for residents explaining the site and ways people can get involved or maintain their properties, and the city has a World Heritage Day which attracts significant media attention. The site also has a clever focus in its publications on the people who are 'World Heritage Champions' which gives the conservation of the city a more human face for residents. Whilst WHS status and activities are just part of Edinburgh's efforts to retain its status as a highly liveable city, the results suggest that the city knows what it is doing. Edinburgh regularly tops quality of life surveys in the UK, and in 2006 was named European City of the Year.

THE SHORT CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 12

Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump WHS (Inscribed 1981)

Key Area of Interest – Using WHS status to put a commercial value on an indigenous cultural tradition to result in the conservation and celebration of uniqueness

Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump was inscribed as a WHS in 1981 as a Cultural site because it is the largest buffalo jump in North America. A buffalo jump being a natural cliff that Native American tribes chased herds of buffalo over before preserving the meat for the winter. The site was used for over 7,ooo years by a number of Native American tribes. Originally widely regarded as a scientific site, over time the place has come to be respected as a critically important location for Native American culture. WHS status provided a powerful focus for the ecology, mythology, lifestyle and technology of Blackfoot peoples. This focus resulted in the €7 million ($10 million/£6.1 million) interpretive centre at Head-Smashed-In. Interpretation of the OUV is a mixture of the viewpoints of both aboriginal peoples and European archaeological science. The result is the largest facility devoted to Native American culture in Canada. The interpretative centre attracts 75,000-80,000 visitors per year with a wide international visitor profile.

The majority of employees at the centre are Native Americans. The centre and its suppliers pay high wages relative to other economic activity in the region. The interpretation of the site is respectful of the native cultures it represents, and is created through working with the elders of the tribes. Native interpreters guide visitors through thematic areas of the centre, which explain in turn the Native cultures, the scientific knowledge of the site and environment, the ecology of the buffalo herds, and the Native perspective and narrative. Visitors can also experience Native American life by staying in traditional campsites and witnessing craft skills and traditions. Local stakeholders believe that visitor numbers are affected heavily by the WHS status of the site, and point to other comparable attractions that attract less than a third of the number of visitors. The visitor attraction is felt to benefit heavily from its WHS status which is communicated to potential visitors through guide books and national and international media attention. The economic and social impact of the site ripples outwards, with tourism businesses emerging to service the visitors. The elders of the Native tribes believe that the net result is that the crafts, traditions and way of life of the Native tribes have an increased economic value, and younger people in those tribes now have an economic incentive to maintain their social and cultural heritage as a living tradition.

THE SHORT CASE STUDIES:
CASE STUDY 13

Vegaøyan – The Vega Archipelago (Inscribed 2004)

Key Area of Interest – using WHS status as a catalyst for rural economic development in an isolated rural region that is based on a traditional socio-economic system

The Vega Archipelago was inscribed as a WHS in 2004 because of its distinctive way of life based on fishing and harvesting of the down of eider ducks. This is an extreme environment, just south of the Arctic Circle – it is a UNESCO Cultural landscape of 103,710 hectares, of which 6,930 hectares is land. For more than 1000 years the islanders have harvested the down in spring and sold it for export. The islanders protect the birds throughout the brooding season, even constructing sheltered nests, and harvest the down from the special nests. This cultural tradition is felt by UNESCO to be a unique example of the interplay between people and nature. The OUV resides in the fishing villages, quays, warehouses, eider houses (built for eider ducks to nest in), farming landscapes, lighthouses and beacons. The landscape bears evidence to settlement from the Stone Age onwards. By the 9th century, the islands had become an important centre for the supply of down, which appears to have accounted for around a third of the islanders' income. The Vega Archipelago WHS reflects the way fishermen/farmers have, over the past 1,500 years, maintained a sustainable living, and particularly the critical contribution of women to eider down harvesting.

The initiative for acquiring WHS status emerged from the local communities; the 1300 people who live in and manage the landscape of the 6,500 islands. The motivation was to save the traditions and values of the area, to create new activities and opportunities, to develop a stronger local identity, and make the region more attractive for young people to come back and settle.

The local communities wish to use the designation to develop the local economy but do not wish to attract unsustainable numbers of tourists; so they have developed a tourism economy that is based on limited numbers of high value visitors experiencing the environment and cultural traditions of the region. Visitors can 'island hop' as part of tourism packages, and can visit the eider nesting sites without disturbing them on guided boat trips that explain the OUV of the site. Although the site was only inscribed in 2004 the local stakeholders feel that some significant socio-economic and cultural achievements have been achieved: the eider duck tradition has been revitalised through clever collaborative efforts that have resulted in the marketing of eider down quilts that are sold for thousands of Euros; the local farmers are more heavily engaged in the management of the area; the built vernacular heritage has been restored; a micro-business network has been established to invest and coordinate local innovation and development; the tourism product has developed in quality; and Vega has managed to build relationships with other WHSs around the world because of its WHS status.

REMINDER OF KEY ISSUE

It needs to be reiterated at this point that these case studies are quite exceptional in their focus, compared with the vast majority of other WHSs. Most WHSs do not have this socio-economic focus. The case studies presented here are not meant to give the impression that WHS status naturally results in socio-economic initiatives, but that given the right motivation this focus can be achieved through strategy and actions to obtain added value for a range of communities, visitor attractions, landscapes and socio-economic systems. The reader will have noticed that the diversity of approaches, the different stages of development, the different socio-economic profile, and the variation in impact evidence means that little is gained by trying to aggregate these initiatives back into some kind of shared thematic endeavour and measuring this. More valuable is the identification of the diverse responses that WHS can stimulate. This at least has the merit of providing a mosaic of approaches and opportunities that future sites can consider when they look at WHS status as a potential stimulus in their community to achieving socio-economic change.

PRIVATE SECTOR RESPONSES TO WORLD HERITAGE SITE STATUS
CASE STUDY 14

Dorset and East Devon Coast – Jurassic Coast (Inscribed 2001)

Key Area of Interest – private sector businesses emerging as a direct result of WHS status to translate the OUV into a commercial tourism product

The 'Jurassic Coast' was inscribed by UNESCO in 2001 because of its remarkable geological treasures. The cliffs of the site provide an almost continuous sequence of rock formations spanning 185 million years of the earth's history. The area's important fossil sites and geomorphological features have contributed to the study of earth sciences for over 300 years. A recent impact assessment for the WHS contains valuable information about its socio-economic impact between 2001 and 2008[84]; here we will instead focus on the way that the WHS designation resulted in private sector businesses emerging to translate the OUV into a commercial tourism product.

ENTREPRENEUR CASE STUDY 1
Tim Sanders, *Discover Dorset Ltd*

Tim Sanders set up Discover Dorset Ltd as a direct result of the WHS inscription for the Jurassic Coast. Following a successful IT career he returned to his home region after travelling around the world. His travels made him WHS literate; he returned with a clear understanding that WHS status was a 'critical kite mark of worth and significance'. He was convinced that his home region would benefit significantly from the inscription and that opportunities would emerge as a result for an entrepreneur. He established a bus tour company to enable people to access the Jurassic Coast, offered a guided service that offered interpretation and translation for a lay audience, created a brochure and other PR materials and built a website.

84 An Economic, Social and Cultural Impact Study of the Jurassic Coast (January 2009) - the author was part of the research team for this evaluation.

This was all to replicate a model he had seen in other countries with WHSs of 'facilitating visits' and 'helping people to engage with the coast', and 'animating the physical sites' with a friendly and helpful service. The business now employs 14 people with projected growth to 20 persons.

The fact that the Jurassic Coast was given WHS status was 'critical to his investment decisions at the start-up stage'. Tim knew that the coast was a 'great product' from his childhood, but WHS designation 'opened up this secret to a global audience'. He recognized that many local people did not initially see value in the designation, but 'it was very important to me'.

The biggest impact was that WHS status created a market where there was not one previously - it created at a stroke a product, albeit an intellectual one, that the private sector could turn into a commercial product and take to market. Tim is quite clear that he is not an academic expert on geology or the coast as a whole; instead he translates this into a product that the average visitor can understand and wants to buy access to. Discover Dorset Ltd is a 'tourism service company' that offers an additional service beyond the typical dual product of accommodation and attractions. Tim identifies the core tourism challenge for Dorset and East Devon as being to compete on the short-list of 'must see' UK destinations for international visitors; something he feels probably didn't happen prior to WHS, but which it is helping to happen.

The business caters for a tourism market in which people take multiple short trips per year. The value of WHS to the business lay primarily in its PR value. Prospective customers are being subjected to a steady flow of positive PR as a result of WHS that generates interest and visitors who want the product that has developed. The business model is about identifying and filling a gap in the market that emerged as a result of WHS. Tim believes that after a slow start there is something of a 'Jurassic bandwagon' with other private sector businesses wanting to get on board, the WHS brand having proven itself in the past five years.

ENTREPRENEUR CASE STUDY 2
Stuart Line Cruises Ltd, Exmouth

Stuart Line Cruises in Exmouth is a boat tour company that has invested heavily and created employment as a 'direct result' of the Jurassic Coast WHS identity. Businessman Ian Stuart is totally convinced of the economic power of WHS status, and has an impressively full order book of business to back up his beliefs. Stuart Line Cruises carries approximately 250,000 people a year, approximately 40,000 - 50,000 of whom are now on 'Jurassic Coast Cruises'. Passenger numbers for this service have risen year on year for several years.

The business is about the translation of the Jurassic Coast geology, through boat cruises and commentary for visitors, making the complex geology and sometimes difficult-to-access coastline easily accessible and clearly explained. Stuart Line Cruises invested more than €346,000 (£300,000) in a boat for 'Jurassic Coast Cruises', as a direct result of WHS status and the new market it has created for interpretation. Ian is categorical on this point; his business model emerged entirely because of the WHS inscription. The company is currently unable to keep up with passenger demand and plans to invest a further €693,000 (£600,000) in a new boat to meet the WHS-driven demand or extend an existing boat. The business employs 8 FTE equivalent employees and 40 PT employees on a seasonal basis.

Exmouth harbour, where Stuart Line Cruises are based, provides a fascinating case study in how WHS-fuelled economic development might be working. Because we can identify a cluster of WHS-related economic activity in Exmouth harbour we are able to look at economic data and judge whether wider additional economic activity is taking place there that can be attributed to WHS status.

Econometric analysis undertaken as part of this study suggests that since 2002, Tourism sector firms in the Stuart Line Cruises locality (Exmouth Town Ward) have experienced net growth in terms of the total number of people they employ. Collectively, they have seen an overall annual employee growth rate of +1.9%. This growth is in contrast to the trend observed across other sectors in the same area, which have actually seen a collective decrease in the number of their employees (an overall annual employee growth rate of -0.4%). It should be noted that the success of the Tourism sector is not confined to Exmouth Town – the Tourism sector across the rest of East Devon also experienced net growth in the total number of people it employs. However, at +1.4% per year, this was not as pronounced as Exmouth Town's rate of +1.9%[85].

85 This data was created by Trends Business Research as part of the current study, and is based on the Trends Central Resource database using the largest longitudinal dataset in the UK on business and locales.

The value of this research lies in the fact that we know that economic activity in Exmouth is affected by and partly attributable to, WHS status and a revised tourism product to translate the OUV into visitor services. These results provide an encouraging indication that Jurassic Coast WHS inscription may have benefited more than Stuart Line Cruises, and instead appears to be benefiting a wider sample of tourism sector firms.

"Tourism is a huge industry supporting 35,000 jobs in Cumbria. The Lake District is the key to this success and to the 15 million visitors who come to this outstanding area every year. The NWDA is pleased to support the bid for World Heritage status which would not only preserve and enhance the Lake District but would secure significant economic benefits for the Northwest region."

Steven Broomhead, Chief Executive of the Northwest Regional Development Agency (NWDA)

"The English Lake District is home to almost 46,000 people. In UNESCO terms, its outstanding universal value could lie in its rural landscape and farming traditions; its role in the development of the Picturesque aesthetic; its place as the cradle of English Romanticism; and its inspiration of the landscape conservation movement. We believe these four themes form a 'Chain' of Outstanding Universal Value and special significance for the Lake District."

Keith Jones OBE, Regional Director, Forestry Commission Chair Lakes WHS Cultural Landscape Technical Advisory Group

Art installation: *Fleur de Sel*
Ullswater, The Lake District, September 2009
Photographer: Ben Barden

ANNEXE 1

IDENTIFICATION OF DELIVERY MECHANISMS, POLICIES AND STRATEGIC ACTIONS THAT ARE TRANSFERABLE TO THE ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT

Introduction

In this final chapter of our report we will look at the transferability of the models we identified for the English Lake District, and other WHSs, and suggest where the strategic added value might lie in such approaches. As we have shown, the best practice World Heritage Sites we identified have found themselves at the cutting edge of a movement around the world which seeks to focus the economic development of places on their uniqueness, their authenticity, their distinct sense of place, and the depth of their identity and culture (as validated and endorsed by 185 countries). They use the added stimulus of WHS status to engage with the rest of the world from a position of confidence selling distinct products and services at added value based upon their provenance. Achieving these aspirations is not easy, or achieved on the cheap, successful places direct significant investment into achieving this – it appears that WHS status, and the catalyst and confidence it provides, can play a role in this movement to high quality and distinctiveness (in a range of different ways each of the detailed case studies we undertook revealed this effect).

Understanding the Uniqueness of a Lake District WHS

The best practice case studies we have highlighted did not find their focus by accident, in many cases this was shaped by the socio-economic profile and their WHS motivation. It is therefore worth looking briefly at these factors in relation to the Lake District. The Lake District National Park would be a relatively unique WHS, which in historical terms is exactly the point. No other site or group of sites compares against all the criteria identified:

1) In one sense this strengthens the case for the Lake District as the proposed site would be quite unlike any existing site – it would be unique, not a replica of another existing WHS.
2) From a comparator-evidence-base perspective this poses challenges – no other site is quite like the Lake District, and all lessons that can be learned from those sites would need to be applied/ understood in ways that were specific and relevant to the Lake District.

This uniqueness needs to be understood if the Lake District is to be successful:

1) For example, if the Lake District was given WHS Criteria 2,3 and 6 that would make it only the 5th site in the world with those criteria, none of which would have been inscribed since 1982 – and none of which are useful comparators.
2) For example, simply filtering the 878 sites by just 5 simple criteria (of our 16 criteria) – cultural WHS status, rural, population status, significant tourism status, and National Park status - reduces the list from 878 to just 3 comparators – Val d'Orcia, Italy, Hortobagy National Park, Hungary and Cinque Terre National Park, Italy.

Many National Parks around the world have a focus on wilderness and are as such poor socio-economic models for the Lake District with its significant population, property ownership profile and business activity. Instead our analysis suggests that the Lake District actually may get most value from looking at two other categories of WHS; firstly the WHS cities because they, of all the WHS types, have embraced the need to accommodate socio-economic change

on an ongoing basis; and secondly those rare Cultural landscapes that are focused on a human socio-economic tradition like Cinque Terre, Italy.

Understanding the potential socio-economic advantages of the Lake District as a WHS

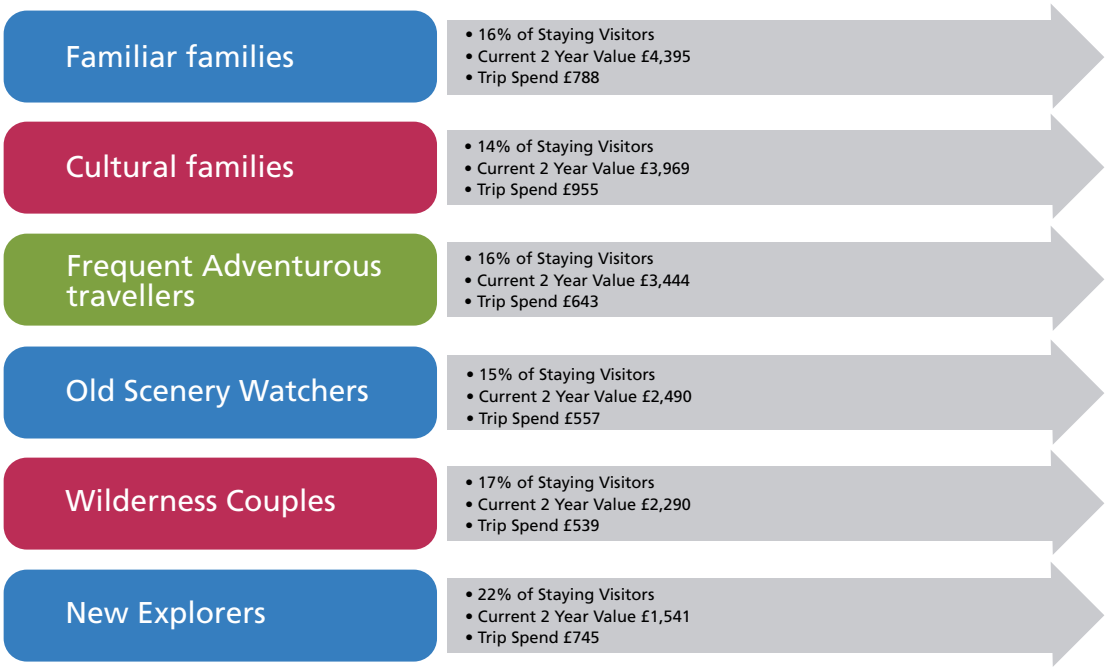
Our research and analysis, described in Chapter 2, enables us to profile the attributes of a WHS with a socio-economic motivation/focus and programme of actions with some degree of accuracy. The interesting result of this is that the Lake District has several of these key characteristics:

1) Sites where the heritage is the result of a particular and still existing economic system, like the Lake District, are more likely to focus on conserving and developing that economic system rather than a simple conservation focus.
2) The more dynamic sites appeared to have written this socio-economic focus into their OUV statements and management plans and had thought about which WHS criteria they wanted on this basis.
3) Urban sites were more likely to have a socio-economic focus than rural ones – in fact the cities, because of their socio-economic profile, had developed a more dynamic vision of WHS status that incorporated change.
4) Certain kinds of WHS appear to be much more likely to have a non-economic focus; e.g. ecclesiastical sites and sites associated with aristocratic elites, archaeological sites and monuments and individual buildings
5) Sites that include significant populations and private sector businesses obviously had much greater focus on socio-economic issues and relatively less on strict conservation – the Lake District is like a WHS city in this respect.
6) The tourism role of WHS was significantly affected by whether the WHS site was identical in geography to the dominant tourism brand – the overlap of proposed WHS site with the Lake District National Park and the major tourism brand is a huge advantage.
7) The management organisation for the site is critical, the core activity of management organisations seem to affect the motive and actions of WHS delivery.
8) The Lake District National Park with its coterminous boundary to the proposed WHS already has a unity and coherence lacking in some other sites – it even has a management structure as a National Park that sites like Cinque Terre had to create.

In short, if you were to design a WHS to have significant socio-economic impact you might well choose a place with characteristics similar to that of the Lake District. The challenge for stakeholders is to ensure that these advantages are converted into real benefits for communities; because poor implementation would render these structural advantages meaningless. It is worth a slightly deeper consideration of the biggest advantage available to a future Lake District WHS; that of size.

Size matters

We support the DCMS 2008 research which highlighted the fact that the size, fame and location of the site pre-inscription make a significant difference to its WHS impact. The DCMS 2008 research suggested that the impact of WHS status will be 'relatively' greater for less well-known and established visitor sites/attractions. The additional impact on visitor numbers for a large well-established site is believed to be a small incremental change – with as few as 0-3% motivated to visit primarily by WHS status. However, and critically for the Lake District, only a larger site can justify the cost of inscription and management and, critically, only a larger site with appropriate resources can invest in using WHS as an effective catalyst for regenerative economic change.



The Arkenford 2006 Segmentation Model offers some key insights into visitor motivation – based on the motivations and interests proposed we believe it is reasonable to suppose that the segments coloured dark red above would be those most interested and motivated by WHS status and activities; the groups coloured blue would be interested to a degree but not as strongly; and the green coloured segment would be largely disinterested. It will be noted that 'Cultured Families' have the highest 'Trip Spend' of any segment.

The reality is that the more WHS costs the more it becomes a tool that is only affordable or justifiable in socio-economic terms by sites of the scale - where the impact may be relatively small in % increase terms but considerable in absolute value. A key aspiration amongst potential WHS sites, particularly those that are established tourism destinations, is to use WHS to attract not more visitors but 'higher value' visitors. The following diagram illustrates why this might be a highly profitable focus for the Lake District based upon the Arkenford 2006 Lake District segmentation model which sought to divide visitors to the Lake District into groups characterised by shared interests and motivations, and then assess their value:

Our research suggests that achieving even relatively small incremental shifts in this visitor profile to attract more cultural or heritage motivated visitors can have sizeable economic impacts. This is largely a matter of scale - small % shifts for the Lake District add up to large amounts of money: For example, according to the Cumbria Tourism Volume & Value 2007 report, visitor spend in the Lake District National Park totalled €761.2 million (£659.5 million) in 2007. If WHS could be used to increase total visitor spend by +3% in the Lake District the economy stands to benefit by up to €22.8 million (£19.79 million) annually based on 2007 figures.

But rather than simply increase spend; we believe a more likely scenario would be to change visitor profile. Our analysis suggests that a dynamic Lake District WHS product would be most likely to increase the number of visitors from the following two categories:

- Cultured Families, of which it is noted that their 'motivations for choosing Cumbria for a break revolve around the culture and history of the region'.
- Wilderness Couples, of which it is noted 'are interested in the history and heritage of the area as well as the nature and wildlife'.

Assuming that a well delivered WHS tourism package would appeal to these two groups is, we believe, a reasonable working assumption, especially based upon other primary and anecdotal evidence from sites like Bamberg in Germany. If Lake District WHS inscription was able to increase the number of

Table 1: Relative potential increase in value from a shift in segment distribution

	Current situation	1% shift	2% shift	3% shift
Share of total staying visitors in the Cultured Families group	14%	14.5%	15%	15.5%
Share of total staying visitors in the Wilderness Couples group	17%	17.5%	18%	18.5%
Total annual revenue from all groups (€millions)	€1323 (£1146)	€1346 (£1166)	€1369 (£1186)	€1391 (£1206)
Total annual revenue increase from all groups (£ millions)	—	€23 m (£20 m)	€46m (£40m)	€68m (£60m)
Percentage change in total annual revenue from all groups	0%	1.75%	3.5%	5.25%

Source: TBR, 2009 (TBR ref: W7/S3)

'Cultured Families' visiting Cumbria by as much as 5%, it would stand to increase gross revenue from this group alone by approximately €23 million (£20 million) per year. Or another way of looking at this is to look at how changing the mix of Cumbria visitors towards the two key segments – 'Cultured Families' and 'Wilderness Couples' – could increase net increase in spend revenue.

This modelled impact could be as much as €23 million (£20 million) per year for each percentage point shift towards the two key categories, although these figures should be taken as approximate indicators of potential gain rather than precise forecasts. The key point here is not that these things will automatically happen because of WHS inscription, or even that they would easily be achieved by a programme of actions, but that the scale of the Lake District tourism market means that even incremental shifts in value are a considerable prize to pursue and put the investment in getting WHS status to achieve these ends into perspective.

WHS inscription has the strongest potential to appeal to segments of visitors with high spend profiles, and importantly, even if the total number of visitors was not increased, the revenue generated by an increased share of visitors from Arkenford's 'Cultured Families' and 'Wilderness Couples' groups would raise the net revenue from staying visitors in Cumbria. This prediction accounts for the fact that there would be decreased revenue from the other four groups identified in the 2006 Arkenford report.

Six Transferable WHS Models

The brief for this research was focused on the transferability of models of best practice. The diversity of actions stimulated across the world as a result of WHS inscription do not easily lend themselves to simple categorization, but we would suggest that our case studies can be divided into six thematic categories for the benefit of transferability to the Lake District:

The 'Blaenavon model' – Key focus on the economic development of a place/community based on the 'cultural glue' provided by its heritage, binding together existing cultural assets and adding new ones, through a mixture of new investment and repurposing of existing investment to deliver significant change.

The 'Cinque Terre model' - Preservation of a socio-economic way of life through investment in the structures, facilities, products and branding to return greater added value to private sector producers who maintain a WHS landscape.

The 'Völklingen model' – Re-invention of a major heritage site as a major cultural destination that marries contemporary creativity with the heritage of the site to create a radically new offer.

The above models are about giving a new core focus to significant economic development activities, the models below are about more subtle ways of adding value through focus on quality-of-life, marketing of an existing destination product, or developing new products to compliment an already developed tourism product:

The 'Edinburgh model' – Key focus on the quality-of-life of residents to make the community a highly 'liveable' place that will retain population and attract new people to live and work.

The 'Bamberg model' – Re-branding, or brand strengthening, a significant tourism destination with primary focus on WHS status to attract higher value cultural visitors (particularly the WHS literate visitors).

The 'Canadian Rocky Mountains model' – Focus on changing the visitor experience of a major existing tourism destination to have a greater emphasis on the distinctiveness and authenticity of the destination based on its cultural and natural heritage.

We have simplified and amalgamated the 14 case studies into these six models to capture in a usable format the key value of the case studies; the reader will note that several of the case study WHSs were undertaking activities that could fit more than one of these models. We have identified the model with a single WHS for the sake of clarity and easy reference. It should be noted that these thematic models are not mutually exclusive, a progressive future WHS might choose to develop a model for delivery that took elements from each of those above.

The Mechanisms, Policies and Strategic Actions Required for Each Model

In the section that follows we will look at each model in turn and suggest the issues that stakeholders in the Lake District might wish to consider when making decisions about whether such models can be implemented and how that might be achieved with reference to the actions of the best practice case studies.

Implementation of the 'Blaenavon model'

Key focus on the economic development of a place/community based on the 'cultural glue' provided by its heritage, binding together existing cultural assets and adding new ones, through a mixture of new investment and repurposing of existing investment to deliver significant change.

Policy Framework

The much-admired programme of investment and actions in Blaenavon can trace its roots back over a decade into the 1990s when stakeholders developed the Blaenavon Heritage and Regeneration Strategy. This strategy addressed directly the organisational structure for delivery, the strategic goals of the programme, the communication of distinctiveness, the focus on heritage as cultural glue, the marriage of heritage and economic development objectives, the focus on the quality-of-life of residents, and the overall need for communication of positive images of Blaenavon. This focus was also written into the WHS management plan. In short, Blaenavon has built its whole economic development plan around its heritage USP, and its WHS status. Other locations intending to implement similar activities might do well to consider the role of strategic focus and partnership in defining the parameters of their ambitions.

Mechanism for Delivery

Blaenavon's success also appears to be based upon the strategic and delivery buy-in of partners. The 13 local organisations that support the programme include all of the local authorities. Blaenavon, like most of our best practice case studies has a coordination management team[86] with an exceptional coordinator in John Rodgers MBE, who understands and is sensitive to the needs of the community. John Rodgers has developed the Blaenavon programme with an awareness of best

86 It should be noted that this is a shared trait of most of the best practice case study WHSs, and contrasts with the majority of WHSs which appear to not have a separate management team.

practice elsewhere, including Völklingen WHS. The final part of the delivery mechanism that should be noted is the significant investment (more than €1.2 million [£1 million to date]) made by Blaenavon in specialist support for cultural mapping, marketing, branding, interpretation and the development of their destination – the quality of the Blaenavon product is testament to this investment. Several WHSs have found WHS status to be a powerful aid and focus for such economic development schemes – for the simple reason that by giving a site greater profile and communicating its OUV to stakeholders there is an impact on the behaviour of stakeholders from politicians to funders[87].

Strategic Actions

Blaenavon's reputation as a high quality innovator in heritage-led regeneration is based on the investment that it has made to implement its strategy. The €35.5 million (£30.8 million) investment programme has delivered across a range of activities for both visitors and residents alike. The programme is holistic across the whole destination and residents can see on a daily basis the results of this investment in their town. The programme has also cleverly used WHS status as 'cultural glue' re-branding, and incorporating into a single easily understood narrative, a range of existing cultural attractions and community facilities. A visitor as a result is more likely to visit more than one attraction, and stay longer, spending more money, because the visitor information and branding make it very easy to understand that they all form part of one historic process and story. Such a process can make experiencing a destination a richer, more rewarding, and more informed experience. The key lesson for other locations may be to think carefully about the repurposing and coordination of existing or planned future investment, and by giving this new focus, identify any gaps in provision that can be packaged to attract new investment.

Implementation of the 'Cinque Terre model'

Key focus on the preservation of a socio-economic way of life through investment in the structures, facilities, products and branding to return greater added value to private sector producers who maintain a WHS landscape

Policy Framework

The impressive results achieved in Cinque Terre can also be traced back to the mid-1990s when local stakeholders decided to focus their economic development on a three pronged approach to solving their socio-economic issues; firstly the decision to pursue WHS status as a mark of intent; secondly to pursue National Park status to achieve the management capacity necessary to raise additional funds, market the region, and implement change; and thirdly to marry these initiatives to the existing cooperative structure to support the agricultural system that maintains their unique landscape. As with Blaenavon this ultimately gave Cinque Terre an organisational structure for delivery, clear strategic goals and focus (built around the distinctive cultural heritage), a communication focus for residents and visitors alike, a fusion of heritage and economic development objectives, and a focus on the quality-of-life of residents. Critically the focus of their WHS was, from the start, linked to a socio-economic system – it was always about a living cultural and economic landscape. Because of this strategic focus it was a natural progression to then implement a programme of investment that was focused on supporting private sector businesses with a role as landscape guardians.

Mechanism for Delivery

The fusion of National Park and WHS in Cinque Terre has been highly beneficial, because the National Park status has resulted in a dynamic management team that can do things that a WHS without such resource cannot. One example will suffice: it is not permitted

87 It is, we believe, now proven beyond reasonable doubt that WHS status can, and often does, positively influence funders to invest in sites to a greater extent than they would in non-WHSs. Evidence from Quedlinburg, Blaenavon, Hadrian's Wall, Jurassic Coast, Belper and a host of other sites has persistently revealed this. Proving this is, of course, never categorical in that funding decisions are to a certain extent subjective, and are rarely documented for public scrutiny. Our interviews with funders over the past two years leave us in no doubt that WHS is a positively influencing factor. For example, in the UK it appears that funders like Defra (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs) take notice of the WHS designation when they decide whether farmland qualifies for higher levels of environmental support payments. At Stonehenge and Avebury WHS, a special Defra grant scheme was put in place in 2002 encouraging farmers to convert arable land to grassland for the benefit of the prehistoric monuments, the setting of Stonehenge and biodiversity. A special rate, 50% higher than the norm, was negotiated for the World Heritage Site. It was made possible thanks to a partnership between English Heritage, the National Trust and Defra, led by the two World Heritage Site Coordinators for Stonehenge and Avebury

to use the UNESCO WHS brand on commercial products, so the Cinque Terre National Park and Cooperatives have invested in quality branding that uses the National Park logo as part of the commercial identity of products – to explain their distinctiveness, authenticity and provenance. This brand is only used for quality tested products that are then sold in the tourist information centres (only such quality products have access to this sales outlet). There is a rare level of economic focus in the Cinque Terre National Park; where else would you find a National Park officer stating their three goals as 1) reducing the cost of cultivation, 2) improving the quality of products, and 3) developing the international reputation of the products of Cinque Terre? But the final part of the delivery triangle is arguably the most important, the agricultural cooperatives.

The cooperatives give the Cinque Terre National Park/ WHS a delivery structure that is primarily economic in focus. By working collaboratively, both with each other and with the National Park/WHS, the farmers of Cinque Terre have created a product development and marketing infrastructure that allows them to enter world markets with a range of innovative and higher value-added products[88]. Outside the cooperatives signs hang on the roadside stating the current buying price for products and producers drop-in with produce throughout the day. The prices are significantly higher than for commodity products from outside the WHS/ National Park. This is perhaps the most illuminating aspect of this delivery structure because it serves as a constant reminder that the unique landscape will only be there in the future if people continue to farm it.

Strategic Actions

The programme of initiatives in Cinque Terre does not have a vast overall value in terms of public sector investment. But it may have achieved something even more impressive and lasting; namely a structure and infrastructure that is delivering real change through improved prices for agricultural products. The marriage of WHS, National Park and co-operatives into one mutually supportive structure has had a number of impacts; including, critically, a greater ability to access EU, national and regional funding for a range of initiatives like marketing, product development or production facilities.

The resulting infrastructure has supported an evolving range of products which appear to be growing in value, and accessing new international markets. In addition to this, the National Park initiative to get abandoned land back into production offers young, and established, farmers the opportunity to get an economically viable cluster of land. And the increasing tourism profile of Cinque Terre has created a growing market within the locality for quality products and a growing reputation of the place as a food lovers' destination. Importantly, the sales policy of the tourism information centres (managed by the National Park) gave the cooperatives and their quality-tested products a protected market, giving them the opportunity to invest for the future. Finally, interviews with stakeholders in Cinque Terre, particularly young business people and professionals, leaves one with the suspicion that part of the change that WHS has contributed to was through making a statement of commitment about the future – this is a place that now believes in itself, and one manifestation of this is more confident young business people with high value niche products who are confident about engaging with the rest of the world.

It is, in summary, a model with many steps and interlocking initiatives, and the particular actions of Cinque Terre are highly specific to this Italian landscape. But one can see in this case study a model that other potential WHSs might apply to their own destinations in site-specific ways.

Implementation of the 'Edinburgh model'

Key focus on the quality-of-life of residents to make the community a highly 'liveable' place that will retain population and attract new people to live and work.

Policy Framework

The Edinburgh Old and New Towns World Heritage Site Management Plan refers in its first paragraph to the enhancement of 'the lives of the city's inhabitants'. Its aims refer to 'promoting the harmonious

88 IThis range of products is believed by marketing manager Roberta Aluisini to be critical – she feels that being taken seriously as a food destination requires a basket of quality goods, not just 2-3 products.

adaptation (of the historic environment) to the needs of contemporary life'. In short, the policy framework for the WHS was set in the first few paragraphs of its management plan. As with the previous models, the focus is set in the defining strategic documents. Other similar case study destinations like Belper, in the Derwent Valley Mills WHS, have taken this strategic approach of the WHS programme being effectively a supporting , rather than a direct, economic catalyst. It is noteworthy that Edinburgh has written into its key WHS documents the need for 'sympathetic adaptation for future use'; achieving this will not be easy, and Edinburgh has and will experience tensions between WHS and its ongoing development, but this focus on 'adaptation' appears to be valuable in a number of dynamic sites.

As detailed in the main report, some WHSs decide that preserving their historic fabric is a sound commercial investment for the future, and a focus from which they can extract value. Other large sites have made decisions about prioritisation, with models of geographic or thematic zoning developed. Very large WHSs, including key WHS cities, often recognise that OUV value is not held equally by all elements of the historic environment – some buildings, landscapes, views, traditions etc., are more critical to preserving the OUV than others.

Mechanism for Delivery

Core stakeholders in Edinburgh created a bespoke organisation to lead on WHS issues in the city, Edinburgh World Heritage. Part of its remit is to engage with residents and deliver public, community and charitable projects. But alongside this it performs a function of raising awareness, understanding and appreciation of the value of the WHS to residents and visitors, and coordinating action to protect and enhance the historic environment. Compared with the approaches of Blaenavon or Cinque Terre the economic function of this organisation and programme are relatively modest – but the quality of implementation is high. As with most dynamic WHSs, whatever the specific focus, the success seems to be defined by the effectiveness of the delivery mechanism.

Strategic Actions

Key stakeholders believe that the residents have a better understanding of the city's OUV as a result of the programme. The World Heritage Day event held annually has expertly guided tours explaining the historic environment to residents and visitors, residents receive newsletters and a series of events run throughout the year, all encouraging learning, involvement and ownership of the issues by residents. Grant schemes and conservation advice are available to residential property owners in the site. The strategic impact in Edinburgh is less easily evidenced, in that it is difficult to measure quality-of-life issues, particularly when a programme is just a limited part of an overall experience. But similar work in Bamberg, Derwent Valley Mills, Quedlinburg and several other WHS locations suggest that such approaches have a marked impact on civic pride and community confidence that, through the resulting positive media and PR, ultimately results in a variety of socio-economic impacts like graduate retention and attraction of high value workers for key growth sectors. There is a growing body of evidence illuminating the powerful socio-economic role of developing a place's reputation for having a high quality-of-life and a dynamic lifestyle offer. It is now well documented that investment and relocation decisions either for individuals, families, SMEs or even multi-national businesses, are increasingly based upon perceptions of the quality-of-life that a place offers[89]. How WHS can offer other communities quality-of-life benefits will be highly site and community specific.

Implementation of the 'Völklingen model'

Focus on the re-invention of a heritage site as a major cultural destination that is a fusion of contemporary creativity and heritage to create a radically new offer.

Policy Framework

What we now understand to be Völklingen WHS was born out of a painful economic process. It had to justify itself from the start, particularly to the surrounding community who suffered the 17,000 jobs lost, as an economic asset that would deliver socio-economic

89 ISee for example, the research in 'The Power of Destinations: Why it Matters to be Different', Communications Group Plc, commissioned by Welsh Development Agency. It is now widely accepted that perceptions of a place, and particularly of its cultural/lifestyle offer, are key determinants of success in economic development.

benefit to the community. Like our other models it was rooted in a specific focus that is far from typical for a WHS. But the transferability value of the case study lies, we would suggest, less in the policy or strategic foundations than in the inspired implementation of a programme which has reinvented the site.

Mechanism for Delivery

The key decision in terms of delivery at Völklingen was to establish in the 1990s 'The World Cultural Heritage Site Völklingen Ironworks'. The stakeholders created a bespoke organisation to change this place and perceptions of it and resourced this new organisation to deliver something that went beyond the generic heritage role of a typical WHS. It is a simple lesson in a clear motivation, a clear delivery mechanism and effective actions resulting in success. It should also be noted that inspired leadership played a significant part in this process.

Strategic Actions

Völklingen Ironworks, like Blaenavon and Cinque Terre, invested heavily in initiatives to change perceptions of the site; significantly more than many other comparable destinations in marketing and branding and interpretation. Actions that some heritage locations view as a window-dressing or secondary – like logos, imagery, artistic interpretation and events – were put at the heart of delivery. Hans Peter Kuhn, internationally respected light installation artist, animated the site in 1999 and changed perceptions of the place, arguably more than any other single action, from being an industrial heritage site to a major cultural destination. The exhibitions and educational programme for the site have been more ambitious than is usually associated with such a site – and have as a result attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors. Some WHS sites have already taken Völklingen as their model – Blaenavon WHS, particularly, is in some ways a direct intellectual descendant of Völklingen[90]. Völklingen is less a model of actions and strategy than a model demonstrating an ethos and attitude to the animation and use of WHS assets. Clearly future WHSs that have no desire to re-invent their destination's identity will see little value in this. But for some sites that wish to have the benefits of WHS but avoid a backward-looking focus, then this is a model in what is possible in terms of dynamic and creative place-making. Cumbria has the intellectual focus and cultural assets and organisations to deliver such an approach.

Implementation of the 'Bamberg model'

Key Focus on re-branding a significant tourism destination with primary focus on WHS status, to attract higher value cultural visitors (particularly the WHS literate visitors).

Policy Framework

Bamberg's is a significant tourism destination where the tourism marketing team have innovated since the 1990s with their WHS status in 'destination marketing'. Bamberg has long recognised, and their tourism strategies reflect this, that their ability to attract visitors is based on the cultural and historic assets of the city, and the city's WHS status has been used to signify the superior quality of this historic environment to visitors who might otherwise decide to visit other comparable southern German cities. For Bamberg, and other destinations wishing to copy this model, the issue is effectively about building the tourism marketing strategy around the heritage OUV and UNESCO WHS brand in ways that have commercial value.

Mechanism for Delivery

The great advantage that Bamberg has had in terms of its tourism marketing is the overlap of its WHS and its primary tourism brand. Remarkably few WHSs (which are inscribed by UNESCO on their heritage OUV) overlap directly with a single tourism brand (which is developed to include the primary visitor attractions and infrastructure). The mechanism for delivering a marketing campaign is relatively basic if the WHS and tourism destination overlap – it simply requires the designated tourism marketing organisation to identify the added value of the WHS brand and utilise this to best effect in the existing and future marketing of the site.

Bamberg's tourism distinctiveness is rooted in its built environment, its buildings, bridges and other architectural treasures. The role of the tourism

90 The two sites have a long established working relationship and have learnt a great deal from each other.

marketing organisation has been to incorporate this into the destination branding in ways that translate into increased tourism revenue. In Bamberg this results in different degrees of focus depending upon the added value of the WHS identity to different tourism market segments. The overall branding of the city and marketing is heavily focused on the WHS status, but individual campaigns are focused more on other attractions, e.g. the food and drink offer of the city. Clearly this model requires the lead tourism organisation of a destination to identify what added value WHS has to their existing brand identity and how to use the brand to add value. This will vary from one destination to another – and will be affected by highly site-specific issues. The recent branding of Bordeaux suggests that tourism marketing organisations in other significant global destinations have made this connection and have built a marketing strategy around it.

Strategic Actions

The strategic impact in Bamberg, as demonstrated in the case study, has been felt largely through the development of its profile being raised with international visitors and high value cultural visitors, and visitors from Europe in particular. This was delivered through marketing campaigns that feature the WHS status heavily. It has also been delivered by developing the tourism product to match the expectations raised by the WHS marketing – with guided tours developed, and collective ticketing schemes for attractions. In some ways this model is the simplest of them all, in that it is affectively about finding the role of WHS in a destination's current and future identity and exploiting this to deliver economic value through the existing tourism infrastructure and marketing investment.

Implementation of the 'Canadian Rocky Mountains model'

Key focus on changing the visitor experience of a major existing tourism destination to have a greater emphasis on the distinctiveness and authenticity of the destination based on its cultural and natural heritage.

Policy Framework

Several of our case studies, including Laponia and Vegaøyan, have created experiential tourism products that seek to translate their sites' WHS OUV into commercial tourism revenue – but arguably the Canadian Rocky Mountains WHS partners have embedded this into their policy and strategic framework more than any other large site. The tourism product is not re-branded significantly, but the actual tourism experience is different as a result. As detailed in the case study, this was not a primary consideration at the time of inscription but has become so in an effort to ensure that visitors have a more 'authentic' and deeper cultural experience based on an understanding of distinctiveness and sense of place. What this results in varies from one National Park within the WHS to another; but in Banff National Park it is at the heart of the Banff Heritage Tourism Strategy, in detail (see the case study). This document is part of a prevailing ethos that higher spending cultural visitors will only return to Banff if the tourism product has the cultural sophistication, distinctiveness and authenticity they expect.

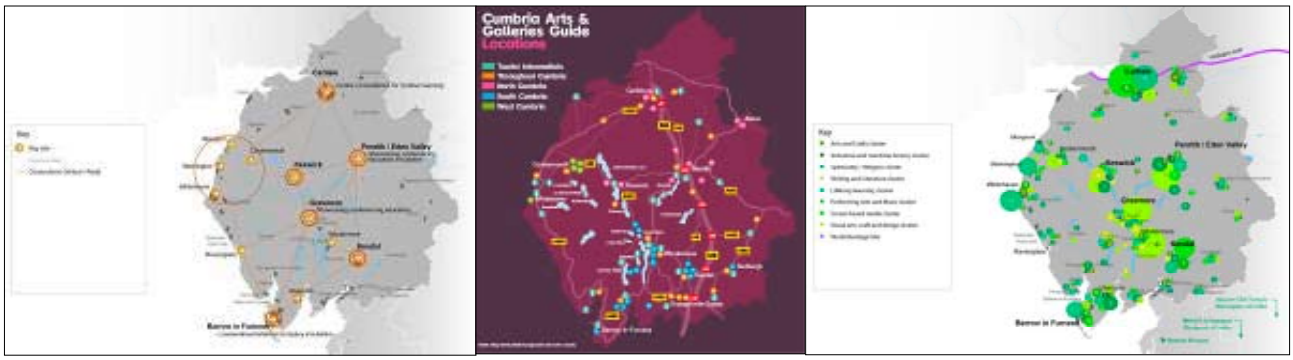
Mechanism for Delivery

The stakeholders in Banff have taken the delivery of this strategy seriously and created organisations specifically to deliver the required impact. The Banff Heritage Tourism Corporation was established to implement a range of measures (see case study) to achieve the strategic goal outlined above. The Interpretative Guides Association has also been established to maintain high standards of heritage interpretation across the National Parks. The net result is that structures and delivery mechanisms exist to bring about the required change. The visitor to Banff doesn't need to know that either organisation exists or that a heritage tourism strategy exists – but they should as a result of these things experience a higher quality experience that leaves them with a greater sense of how Banff is unique, distinctive and high quality. This is an interesting model for established and large-scale tourism destinations because it suggests ways in which WHS status can be a catalyst to new tourism products and services, or the improvement of existing experiences based on heritage that is, by definition, world class and relatively unique. As with the Bamberg model, it is not about root-and-branch change of the tourism product and destination identity, but about changing its focus and adding value in key strategic areas.

Strategic Actions

In Banff becoming part of a WHS did not result in the invention of guided tours; it resulted instead in efforts to raise the quality of the content of existing guide

products. Of all the models above this is arguably the most limited in terms of strategic value for a major destination – it is very specifically about delivering a better quality tourism experience for certain segments of the visitor market. This is not to denigrate the value of this model, but rather to highlight that it is about limited changes and innovations to an established destination rather than a major strategic shift in focus or the core of the economic development model for those locations. WHSs wishing to implement this model will have to look carefully at their WHS OUV, and how this can be brought to life to create high quality visitor experiences. Some sites will have the infrastructure and the OUV focus to do this relatively easily, other sites perhaps less so. Cultural landscapes with indigenous populations and traditions lend themselves to this approach, as in Laponia or Vegaøyan – for the simple reason that experiencing another community's authentic traditional culture is highly valued by cultural visitors. The secret to this model appears to be identifying the OUV focus, or interpretation of this focus, in ways that lend themselves to a deeper visitor experience.



Learning from Blaenavon – What is the 'cultural glue' that binds the cultural and historic assets of the Lake District.

The Strategic Added Value for the Lake District, Cumbria and the Northwest

Programmes of the kind implemented in Blaenavon or Cinque Terre would, by definition, be quite different in another WHS location, and particularly in a future Lake District WHS. They represent different models of using WHS as a central catalyst for economic development programmes. The focus of action and investment specific to the Lake District would need to be decided by stakeholders, and is beyond the scope of this current study. But one can see that if the core elements of this approach were taken and implemented in Cumbria that this could make a significant contribution to some of the key themes in the Northwest Regional Economic Strategy; particularly a key part of its vision that **'Key Growth Assets are fully utilised'** including **'the Natural Environment especially the Lake District, and the Rural Economy'.**

The **Edinburgh** model with its more limited focus on quality-of-life would not be expected to deliver such direct economic impact in the short term, but it probably should be thought of as being of a similar nature to the two case studies above in that it is about improving the socio-economic environment of the city to ultimately deliver economic impact. From a Cumbrian or Northwest strategic perspective such an approach would still have relatively high strategic value. The Northwest RES is clear that an 'excellent quality-of-life' is a key part of the economic future of the North West.

The **Völklingen** model's importance perhaps lies in its illumination of the importance of a destination's identity in its economic performance. Völklingen is a highly site-specific case study, but it reveals the uses that WHS can be put to in changing perceptions of place. The North West Development Agency (NWDA) Business Plan 2008-9 states that a key investment priority is the need for there to be '**continued improvements in perceptions of the region as a place to live and do business**[91]'. Given the cultural and creative legacy that a future Lake District WHS may celebrate, one can see how such a radically creative approach and ethos might deliver a destination identity in the future that was markedly different from the current Lake District identity.

In fact, depending upon the scale and focus of implementation, the models above have the potential to deliver a number of RES Actions:

- Developing key internationally competitive sectors (tourism)
- Encouraging, and making better use of, public and private sector investment in the region
- Promoting the image of the region, maximising cultural and major event opportunities, and developing the quality of the visitor experience
- Developing community cohesion and developing high quality local services
- Realising and nurturing the natural and built environment
- Improving the physical environment

91 P3 Investment Priorities, North West regional Development Agency, Business Plan 2008-9.

- Stimulating economic activity in areas remote from growth
- Retaining and attracting people to the region

These models also have the potential to add value to a number of 'transformational actions' as set out in the RES:

- Improve the product associated with tourism 'attack brands' and 'signature projects'
- Develop the economic benefit of the region's natural environment
- Implement the Lake District Economic Futures Policy Statement
- Invest in quality public realm/green space/ environmental quality
- Implement plans to ensure ongoing growth in the rural economy as part of the Regional Delivery Framework

Similar strategic added value is possible through the implementation of these models to other regional, Cumbrian and Lake District specific strategies. For example, the Cumbria Economic Plan (CEP) prioritizes developing key sectors including tourism, digital, cultural and creative industries and outdoor sport, education and recreation and improving the built environment. And finally such approaches are highly compatible with the Lake District Economic Futures Study and Recommendations.

The **Bamberg** and **Canadian Rocky Mountains** models would also deliver some of the strategic value for Cumbria and the Northwest detailed above, but they would arguably be less about major shifts, and more about the marketing and identity of the current or future cultural assets, or how to add some value to these by niche products and services like experiential tourism linked to the WHS OUV. This is not to dismiss their value, but to put into perspective that these models have a different degree of strategic value and impact. Future sites might view these marketing and experiential approaches as being mutually compatible with the more holistic economic development models of Cinque Terre or Blaenavon – as the marketing and interpretation elements of the new and improved destinations that result from those models.

Finally, it should also be noted that whatever model for implementation a future site may choose, there are two cross-cutting issues which should be considered; firstly, the potential in such processes for the private sector to identify and develop products that will unlock value; and secondly the need to ensure that management and delivery structures are fit for purpose.

Conclusion

The debate in Cumbria about the potential for WHS impact is, as it is in many communities pre-WHS inscription, relatively ill-informed. With WHS status criticised by one side for being about 'fossilisation' of living communities as 'heritage theme parks' and simultaneously praised by the other side for being a 'once in a lifetime opportunity' for positive change for communities. This debate is partly at cross-purposes with people talking about two different kinds of WHS – some sites are about the strict preservation of heritage and some are about supporting dynamic improvements to communities and economies. Too few stakeholders understand the different approaches to WHS delivery. Many stakeholders still assume that WHS is exclusively about a focus on the 'dead past', when as we have seen, it is sometimes about a route to the future.

The Lake District WHS Project has a core ambition to deliver real and lasting socio-economic benefits to the people of the Lake District and Cumbria. Most stakeholders also recognise that WHS status is a means to an end, not an end in itself. By recognising this, the Lake District stakeholders have already placed themselves at the cutting edge of WHSs who see it as a catalyst for other things. The Lake District, in short, wishes to use WHS status as a 'Place Making' Catalyst - Embracing WHS status as a powerful stimulus for economic development using the status and OUV cultural heritage as a tool to develop a powerful enhanced identity for the place, supported by a programme of actions to fundamentally change the economic trajectory of the sub-region. It is worth noting that the draft statement of OUV for the Lake District roots the OUV in its inspiring landscape that is the product of a distinct economic, social and cultural agricultual system. By implication, this system will also need to be supported to sustain and maintain that unique landscape, the Lake District's most important asset.

It might be argued that the Lake District's existing National Park designation, and established and large scale-tourism market, mean that the benefits of being a World Heritage Site would be incremental, or limited changes to the existing pattern. This may well be the case, but as we have seen, even relatively small % shifts in visitor spend for such a large tourism destination can return significant added value. There is a powerful economic argument for using WHS status (as part of a holistic programme of investment) as a tool for the development of a high quality, high value, tourism product to attract higher spending international and domestic cultural visitors.

Critically, the case studies in Chapter 4 suggest that any new WHS site will be most effective if it has a very clear logic chain, which identifies the outcome/s required, and the role and function of WHS status in delivering those objectives, as well as clearly identifying the resources and processes required to implement positive change. By having clearer socio-economic objectives future WHSs should be able to set objectives and targets that can be more effectively monitored and evaluated in the future.

In summary, the biggest question about WHS status for Cumbria, and other sites pursuing the designation, may not be whether to have a WHS, but what kind of WHS (in terms of both motive, actions and delivery mechanisms) is most desirable and beneficial. The choices to be made are quite profound and have the ability to shape the future of the Lake District for many years to come.

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