SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT AS A BUZZ WORD IN WORLD HERITAGE NOMINATIONS

La "inclusión social" como palabra de moda en las candidaturas a Patrimonio Mundial

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ABSTRACT

Social responsibility, in particular the inclusion and development for local communities, is viewed to be a key element of contemporary heritage management projects. UNESCO embraced the concept already decades ago in its various programs and policies, and in its World Heritage Convention. Based on a consultation of the United Nations member states, the Human Rights Council even recommended in March 2011 that concerned communities should be consulted and invited to actively participate in the whole process of identification, selection, classification, interpretation, preservation, stewardship and development of cultural heritage. It suggested UNESCO not to grant inscription on cultural heritage lists or registers without the free, prior and informed consent of the concerned communities. Following this, 1,150 participants from 106 countries that gathered in Paris in November 2011 on the occasion of the 17th General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) adopted the Declaration of Principles and Recommendations on the relationship between heritage and development as a directive for heritage conservation, the dissemination of its values, and to the cultural, social and economic development of communities.

Signing up to such directives and good intentions of key players within the heritage management sector is one thing, following them effectively in practice is however something different. Social responsibility therefore deserves monitoring, evaluation and reflection, both on its nature and scope. If we look in particular at the latest nomination dossiers and management plans of nominations that made it to the World Heritage list in 2014, what do these words actually refer to? To what degree are elements of social responsibility included in these documents and do they relate to social inclusion of communities that are or maybe affected by a nomination? This paper presents the results of a content analysis of these state-of-the art-dossiers.

Key words: social responsibility, social involvement, community participation, capacity building, sustainable development, World Heritage nomination dossiers, content analysis

RESUMEN

La responsabilidad social, en particular la inclusión y el desarrollo para las comunidades locales, es concebida como un elemento clave en los proyectos de gestión del Patrimonio contemporáneo. La UNESCO adoptó este concepto ya en décadas pasadas para sus diferentes programas y políticas y su Convención del Patrimonio Mundial. Sobre la base de una consulta a los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas, su Consejo de Derechos Humanos incluso recomendó en Marzo de 2011 que las comunidades involucradas fueran consultadas e invitadas a participar activamente en el proceso completo de identificación, selección, clasificación, interpretación, preservación, administración y desarrollo del Patrimonio Cultural. Asimismo, éste sugirió a la UNESCO no conceder la inscripción en las listas o registros de Patrimonio Cultural sin el consentimiento libre, previo e informado de las comunidades involucradas. Después de esto, 1150 participantes de los 106 países que se reunieron en París en noviembre de 2011 en la 17ma Asamblea General del Consejo Internacional para Monumentos y Sitios (ICOMOS) adoptaron la Declaración de los Principios y Recomendaciones sobre la relación entre Patrimonio y desarrollo, como una directiva para la conservación del Patrimonio y la diseminación de sus valores y para el desarrollo cultural, social y económico de las comunidades. Lograr la adhesión a tales directivas de los principales actores en el sector de la gestión del patrimonio y sus buenas intenciones es una parte del proceso, seguirlas de manera efectiva en la práctica, sin embargo, es algo diferente. Por lo tanto, la responsabilidad social requiere de seguimiento, evaluación y reflexión, tanto en su naturaleza y alcance. Si nos fijamos en particular a los últimos expedientes de nominación y los planes de gestión de las candidaturas que lograron ingresar a la lista del Patrimonio Mundial de 2014, ¿a qué se refieren realmente estas palabras? ¿Hasta qué punto están los elementos de responsabilidad social incluidos en estos documentos y qué relación tienen con la inclusión social de las comunidades que están o pueden estar afectadas por una nominación? En este trabajo se presentan los resultados de un análisis de contenido de estos últimos informes.

Palabras Clave: *responsabilidad social, participación social, participación comunitaria, desarrollo de capacidades, desarrollo sostenible, expedientes para la nominación de Patrimonio Mundial, análisis de contenido.*

1   INTRODUCTION

The flyer and website on the Second International Conference on Best Practices in World Heritage: 'People and Communities', which is organized by the Universidad Complutense of Madrid in Menorca (2015), says that 'UNESCO, World Heritage and everything it implies, has always been involved with the most economically underprivileged and socially deprived communities.' Although at

first the aim and therefore focus of UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention obviously was on the preservation of the sites and heritage itself, it is indeed already since the 1970's that the organization also stimulates State Parties to keep an eye on the people this heritage concerns. It acknowledged for instance in its 'Recommendation on Participation by the People at Large in Cultural Life and their Contribution to It', in November 1976, that 'participation by the greatest possible number of people and associations in a wide variety of cultural activities of their own free choice is essential to the development of the basic human values and dignity of the individual, and that access by the people at large to cultural values can be assured only if social and economic conditions are created that will enable them not only to enjoy the benefits of culture, but also to take an active part in overall cultural life and in the process of cultural development' (UNESCO 1976) [emphasis placed by the author]. Moreover, since the 1990s, when UNESCO introduced its 'Programme for the Safeguarding and Development of World Heritage Cities', world heritage has been seen as a marker of transformation, as it often involves the regeneration of historic cities, an increased tourism and economic growth. This programme launched an integrated approach to the conservation of heritage places, which takes into account the cultural, economic and social dimensions of a city as a whole. Its 30th anniversary of the 1972 Convention was celebrated with an international conference in Italy (16 November 2002) on 'Culture as a Vector for Sustainable Urban Development', in which socio-economic revitalization or regeneration was promoted as an instrument for the safeguarding and development of world heritage cities (UNESCO 2003).

A next strong signal was given when UNESCO adapted in 2002 its 1972 convention text, through the Budapest Declaration, which states that 'In view of the increasing challenges to our shared heritage, we [the World Heritage Committee] will seek to ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development, so that World Heritage properties can be protected through appropriate activities contributing to the social and economic development and the quality of life of our communities' (UNESCO 2002). It also says that the World Heritage committee 'will seek to ensure the active involvement of our local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of our World Heritage properties' (idem) [emphasis placed by the author]. It talks furthermore about promoting the development of effective capacity-building measures (idem). From that moment on, social involvement has been prominent on UNESCO's agenda. In its 'Strategic Action Plan for the Implementation of the Convention, 2012-2022', which was developed in the context of the reflections on the 'Future of the Convention' and adopted by the 18th General Assembly in Paris (7-9 November 2011), the concern for sustainable development for connected communities is explicitly integrated.

The 'Vision for 2022' calls for the World Heritage Convention to 'contribute to the sustainable development of the world's communities and cultures', and the plan's third goal reads: 'Heritage protection and conservation considers present and future environmental, societal and economic needs', which is to be achieved particularly through 'connecting conservation to communities' (UNESCO 2011). Following these and many other initiatives, the UNESCO States Parties subsequently embraced 'World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Local Communities' as the official theme for the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in 2012.

Clearly these were not isolated actions. They obviously had a connection with the development within the wider context, such as the United Nations recognition of culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development, next to the economic, social and environment pillars, which officially happened in 2002 during the United Nation's World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (United Nations 2002). Furthermore, ICOMOS took a leading role in this increased attention for social awareness as well, for instance with the adoption by its 17th General Assembly (27 November - 2 December 2011) of the 'Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver of Development' (ICOMOS 2011). The latter aims to 'identify the actions needed to ensure that the use of heritage, its promotion and enhancement, and its economic, social and cultural value are harnessed to the benefit of local communities and visitors'. It also states that 'The challenge of integrating heritage and ensuring that it has a role in the context of sustainable development is to demonstrate that heritage plays a part in social cohesion, well-being, creativity and economic appeal, and is a factor in promoting understanding between communities.' [emphasis placed by the author]. Worthy mention in this context is also the ICOMOS resolution on 'Our Common Dignity: Rights-based approaches to heritage management', which was also adopted by the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly in Paris (2011), as it was proposed by ICOMOS Norway (Sinding-Larsen 2014). This resolution attempts to make the human rights dimension more visible in heritage management and sustainable local community development, also in relation to the World Heritage sites.

The above mentioned statements are all honorable initiatives, as it is more than ever clear that the heritage sector no longer can afford to look exclusively for the intrinsic value of a cultural heritage project. There is a notable increasing focus on involving people, both communities and individuals, in cultural heritage management. It needs additional social and economic arguments to justify the choices it makes and the actions it carries out. It is also governments and policy-makers at various levels who have discovered the value of cultural heritage and aim to use its potential for their economic and social strategies, like place-marketing, cultural tourism and developing social cohesion in communities. Moreover, communities increasingly have a voice in expenditures and want to be certain that

heritage projects are worth spending local budgets on, as this is going to improve their economic well-being and create a better environment and lifestyle for them. However, what does it actually mean within the context of today's management of world heritage sites? The website for the Menorca conference on best practices in World Heritage that focuses on social action, in particular the involvement of citizens in the heritage assets, also states that 'a thorough review of these issues [of UNESCO's involvement with the most economically underprivileged and socially deprived communities] is needed.' (www.congresopatrimoniomundialmenorca. cime.es 2015). If the social responsibility that is related to cultural heritage management is such a prominent and important policy objective, it surely deserves monitoring, evaluation and reflection. It is within this context that the author conducted a brief study of the nomination dossiers and management plans of the sites that made it to the World Heritage list in 2014. The objective was to gain insight into the degree to which various elements of social responsibility are included in these documents and how they relate to social involvement of communities and people that are or may be affected by a nomination.

2   METHODOLOGY

The method of analysis was a summative content analysis, following the way it is often being used in social and behavioral science and in health research (e.g. Hsiu & Shannon 2005; Krippendorff 2013) and the scope of this brief study is the nomination dossiers of the cultural sites only (21 out of 26 new nominations), the natural sites were not included. Of these cultural sites, nineteen nomination dossiers were analyzed, in the alphabetical order they are presented on the UNESCO website: Bolgar Historical and Archaeological Complex (Russian Federation); Bursa and Cumalıkızık: the Birth of the Ottoman Empire (Turkey); Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey (Germany); Caves of Maresha and Bet-Guvrin in the Judean Lowlands as a Microcosm of the Land of the Caves (Israel); Erbil Citadel (Iraq); Historic Jeddah, the Gate to Makkah (Saudi Arabia); Monumental Earthworks of Poverty Point (United States of America); Namhansanseong (Korea); Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir (Palestine); Pergamon and its Multi-Layered Cultural Landscape (Turkey); Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System (Argentina, Bolivia, Chili, Colombia, Peru and Ecuador); Pyu Ancient Cities (Myanmar); Rani-ki-Vav (the Queen's Stepwell) at Patan, Gujarat (India); Shahr-i Sokhta (Iran); Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor (China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan); The Grand Canal (China); Tomioka Silk Mill and Related Sites (Japan); Van Nellefabriek (Netherlands); Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato (Italy) (http://whc.unesco.org/en/newproperties/). The ones largely written in French (the Decorated Cave of Pont d'Arc, Ardèche, France) and in Spanish (Pre-

Columbian Chiefdom Settlements with Stone Spheres of the Diquís, Costa Rica) were not included to avoid differences in the precise meaning of the words used for this analysis.

The content analysis involved the counting of key words in order to distinguish frequencies of occurrences. These key words were all derived from the linguistic usage in UNESCO's policy statements and documents, like those that are underlined in the introduction of this article. The list of words was mainly identified before the data analysis started, but a few words were added during the analysis on the basis of the linguistic constructions that were found in the dossiers. For instance, *citizen* participation and *public* participation were added next to *community* participation when this turned out to be used in some of the dossiers. Not only very specific key words like *social inclusion*, *public participation* were included, but also the broader terms, such as cooperation, participation, collaboration, impact, sustainable etc., in order to prevent that alternative linguistic constructions that basically imply the same or have a similar meaning, might be missed.

The counting of frequencies of occurrences was in most cases followed by an interpretation of the context in which the word is being used to explore the more specific usage of certain terms. For instance, for references to 'sustainable development' it was evaluated whether these relate to the social and economic development of the concerned local communities or to other contexts. The list of contexts in which the words could be used was not predefined from the start, but a context code was added to the list when a new one was encountered in any of the dossiers. This implies that the contexts are as they occur in the documents, not as they were distinguished at forehand, and that these are the main contexts present in the 2014 nomination dossiers.

A distinction was made between the use of the word in the nomination text, the management plan and the laws or regulations that were added as annexes. In particular words like cooperation and individuals occur a lot in such legislative documents. Instead of just considering these references as part of the nomination, they were counted separately if they occurred in the context of such regulations, because they do not really show the intention of the nominating organization(s) but of the relevant national or international authorities.

The author had not the intention with this study to judge the individual nomination dossiers, but rather to have a look across the board of all World Heritage sites listed in 2014. For that reason it was decided to discuss the results in the next paragraph with a focus on the frequencies of the references that were found in the total number of dossiers and not to show the results for the individual dossiers. For the discussion of the results, the information was classified into a few main categories.

3 RESULTS

Values

As the focus of this study was on the social aspects of the nominations, the first key word that was included in the content analysis was 'social value(s)', as this is a well-known and often used term in policy documents. Its occurrence was compared with some of the other most generally used values in such policies, such as cultural value(s), historical value(s), economic value(s), etc. The word social value(s) turned out to be scarcely used in the dossiers, only 70 times (Figure 1). Moreover, this score mainly derives from three dossiers with a relatively high attention to social values, with 12, 13 and 31 references to the word respectively. Six other dossiers mention it less than five times and the remaining ten others, so the majority, has no reference at all to social values.

This is however not the value that is referred the least. Surprisingly, less is spoken in the nomination files about the economic (commercial/financial) values of the sites. In all 19 files it was only mentioned 46 times. Moreover a large part (45%) of these references was found in one dossier, which mentions it 21 times. Another had seven occurrences. In all other dossiers the word occurs less than four times, with no mention at all in seven dossiers. The second type of values mentioned least is human values, with 62 counts and an absence in eight dossiers. But as also eight dossiers do not refer to 'scientific values' and ten not to 'social values', the latter is clearly the value that overall plays the most limited role.
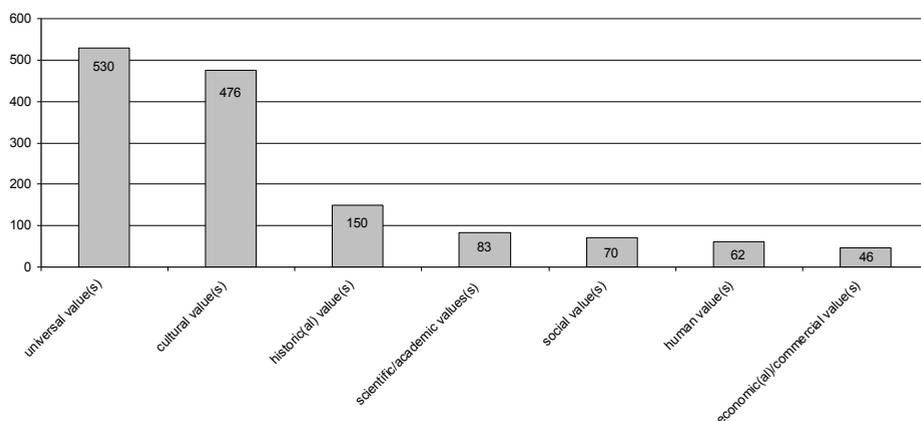

Figure 1: Frequency of occurrence of the various values in the nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19).

The values that are mentioned most in the dossiers are universal and cultural values, with 530 and 476 counts respectively. There are however large differences

between the dossiers. In the case of universal values, one dossier did not include the word while another referred 265 times to it. Cultural values were not mentioned in three dossiers, and the highest word count in one single dossier was 124.

These observations suggest that the dossiers are much more focused on the values the sites have in a wider context and for a universal audience than for local communities. This is probably caused by the fact that it is crucial for nomination dossiers to show and highlight the universal value of a site in order to acquire the world heritage status. This may stimulate the emphasis on the distant public and stakeholders and may distract heritage managers from the attention for local needs and from the social values the site has for its close neighbors.

Social responsibility

The lack of attention in the dossiers for local society engagement, that seemed to have appeared from the search for 'social value(s), became even more apparent when the documents were scanned for the degree of 'social responsibility' they show and for specific social objectives, such as 'social cohesion' and 'social inclusion' (Table 1). It is striking that most dossiers do not use these words at all; the word 'social responsibility' is mentioned in only one dossier, 'social inclusion' was found in just two dossiers (with seven word counts) and 'social cohesion' occurs in six dossiers and is mentioned eleven times only.

Table 1: The key words included in the content analysis of the World Heritage nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19) and their occurrence in these dossiers.

Categories	Total word count	Average	Number of dossiers not using the term
management	14622	769	0
conservation/preservation	14383	757	0
museum	2973	156	0
tourism	2875	151	0
visitor(s)	2210	116	0
impact	1094	57	0
community	1044	54	0
intangible	867	45	0
education	828	43	0
cooperation	780	41	0
individuals	749	39	1
sustainable	680	35	0

Categories	Total word count	Average	Number of dossiers not using the term
consultation	509	26	1
participation	497	26	0
local community	261	13	5
employment/job(s)	157	8	0
regeneration/revitalization	114	6	8
capacity building	97	5	6
quality of life	86	4	6
social value(s)	70	3	10
public participation	37	2	10
community participation	33	1.7	15
wellbeing	26	1.3	11
social cohesion	11	0.5	13
social responsibility	8	0.4	18
social inclusion	7	0.3	17
citizen participation	5	0.2	16
social or societal impact	1	0.05	18
job generation	1	0.05	18
personal development	0	0	19

Community

In contrast to the above words, references to the people whom the heritage concerns are much more abundantly present. A total of 1044 counts were found for the word 'community' and it is being used in all dossiers. In this case however, it was important to look at it in more detail and in particular at the context or discourse in which the word is being used (Figure 2), as the dossiers show large differences. One document only had three references, while the other extreme was 353 occurrences. A lot of references were used in relation to the function that the nominated site had for its communities in history. There is also quite some presence of the word in laws and regulations that are included in the dossiers. For example in one of the nomination dossiers, the word occurs 25 times, but of all these entries one refers to the function of the nominated heritage place in historic times and the other 24 times it is mentioned in the text of the (national) laws and regulations that were added to the dossier. In that case not a single time it is used in the management plan in relation to the present day local community. And this is the case with quite a number of dossiers. In fact, although the word is used a

lot - also in relation to the value a site has for present day communities (405 times) - there are five dossiers that do not use the word at all in relation to present day local communities and two dossiers only are responsible for nearly half of the 405 references to present day local communities. This relatively limited focus in many dossiers on the present day local community is even more clear when we look for specific references to the 'local community'. It is counted only 261 times and it is completely missing in five dossiers.
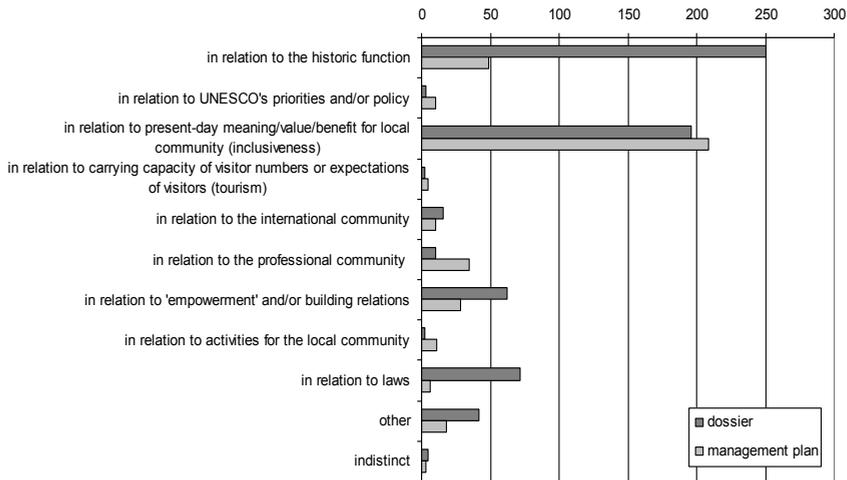
Figure 2. The contexts in which the word 'community' occurs in the nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19).

Consultation, cooperation and participation

The third cluster of words that was included in the analysis relates to the informed consent of the concerned communities, which is nowadays expected to be present in the nominations. This concerned indications of 'consultation', 'cooperation' and 'participation'. At first sight, again, it looks like there either has been quite a lot of consultation and cooperation going on during the nomination preparation process or that it is intended throughout the forthcoming management process. In all 19 dossiers these two words were counted 780 and 509 times respectively and they occur in all dossiers. However, the context analysis showed that also in this case, a large number of occurrences is in the (national) laws and (international) regulations that were included in the dossiers as annexes. For instance in the case of the word 'consultation' (Figure 3). The group that is said to be consulted most in all dossiers is the (national or local) authorities. The second group to which the management plans refer to most frequently are local stakeholders & local communities. However, references to consultation with local

communities is missing in nine management plans and thirteen times in the other documents of the dossiers. In these documents there is a strong focus on experts when it comes to consultation. There are also large differences between the dossiers; one mentions 'consultation' only once, while it is 206 times present in another. For 'cooperation' a similar pattern occurred. One dossier has only one reference to it and two more each have two references, while two others have 142 and 133 counts respectively.

Participation has less priority in the dossiers than cooperation and consultation, it was counted 497 times (Table 1). In particular 'citizen participation', 'public participation' and 'community participation' are words the dossiers do not use a lot. They all belong to the top-10 of words that are found least in the dossiers (Table 1). In one case in which only one occurrence of the word was found, the document said that 'local participation is under process'. In another case with only one reference to public participation, it was in the preface letter from the Ministry of Culture, not in the management plan.

Nevertheless, when we look more closely at the context of the 497 references to participation, it does seem to relate mostly (226 times) to the involvement of the local community members (Figure 4). It must be said however that again there are large differences between the dossiers. Two dossiers are responsible for more than half (55%) of the total word count, while two other dossiers had no reference at all to participation with the local community and three referred only once to it.
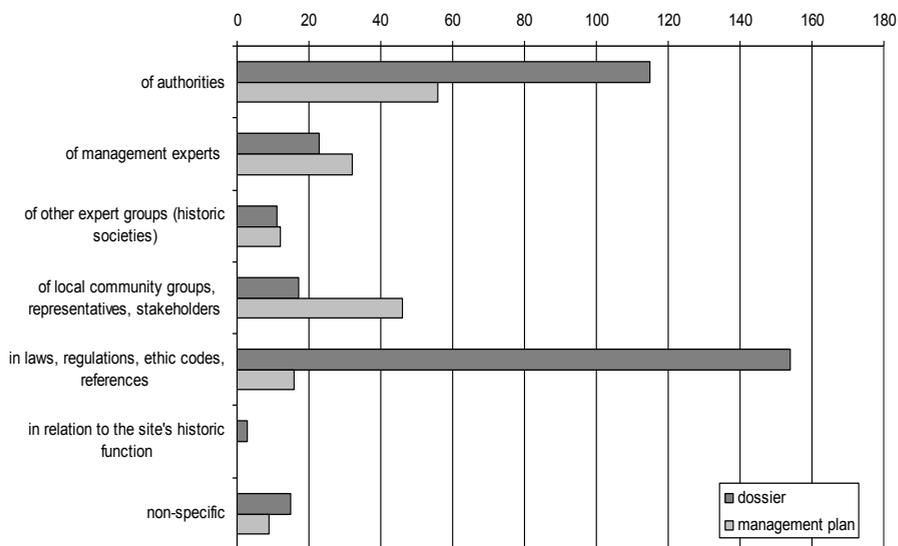

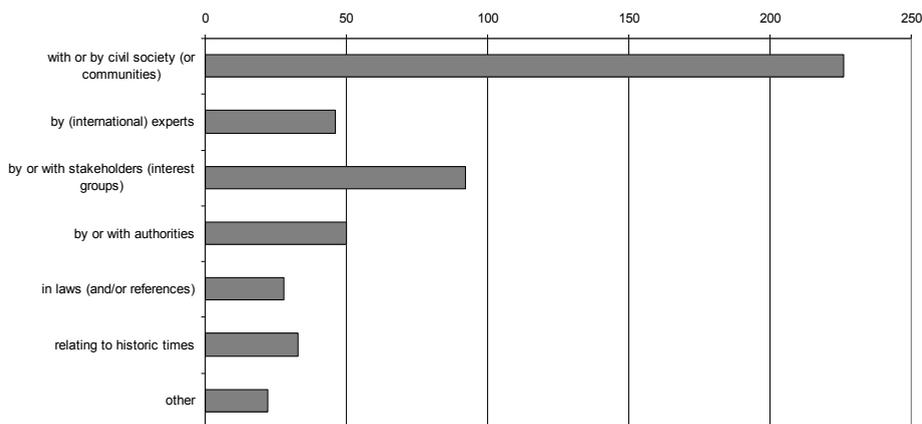Figure 3. The contexts in which the word 'consultation' occurs in the nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19).

Figure 4. The contexts in which the word 'participation' occurs in the nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19).
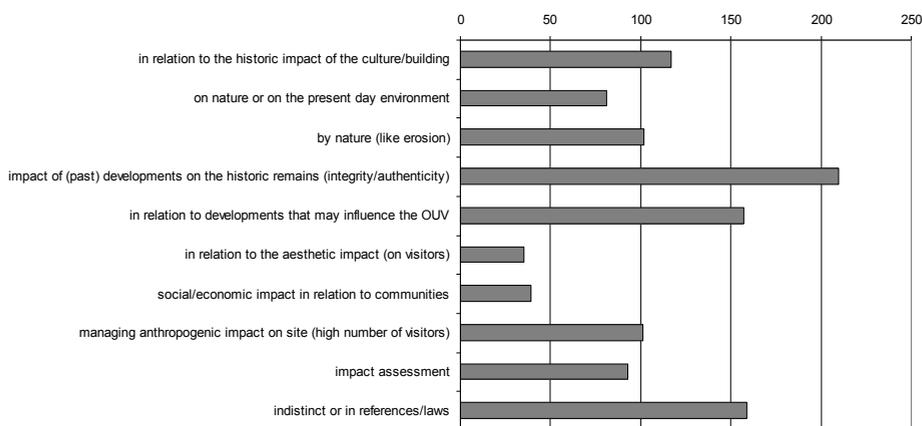

Figure 5. The contexts in which the word 'impact' occurs in the nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19).

Impact (including social or societal impact and impact on the community)

The degree to which the nominating organizations explicitly takes the impact of the nomination of a site or landscape into account for society or the local community, was evaluated as well. It emerged that across the board, the word 'impact' occurs a lot, with 1094 references found (Table 1). It is in the top-10 of words mentioned most in the dossiers. However, the kind of impact that the dossiers talk about concerns primarily the impact that activities and developments have or may have on the heritage and on the outstanding universal value of the site(s) (Figure 5). The social or economic impact that the world heritage site has

or can have in relation to present day communities, gets almost the least attention in the dossiers. Eleven dossiers do not mention it at all, while these all talk a lot about 'impact'. A search for the explicit use of the words 'social impact', 'societal impact' or 'impact on the community' in the dossiers clearly affirmed this pattern of a lacking attention for the impact on local communities. These words were found in one dossier only.

Sustainable development and revitalization

The next category that was analyzed relates to efforts to stimulate sustainable development for local communities. The key word that was searched is 'sustainable', in order to find all references to all issues that are being mentioned in relation to sustainability. It was not surprising that many references (680) were found in the dossiers (Table 1), the issue of sustainability is a hot topic. But it was surprising that only 16% (109 out of 680 word counts) of these occurrences of 'sustainable' relate to the social and/or economic development of local communities (Figure 6). Moreover, nearly half of this 16% was found in two dossiers only and in three dossiers the word is not being used in relation to local communities at all. Most references relate to the sustainable conservation of the world heritage site(s) and to the management of the expected tourism. The word is also very frequently used in an indistinct way, as a meaningless buzz word.

It was furthermore evaluated whether references are being made to the regeneration or revitalization of historic places for the benefit of the communities living there. This was the case in eleven dossiers, with a total of 114 word counts. It thus seems there is some attention for these issues, but they are certainly not on the priority list of most dossiers.
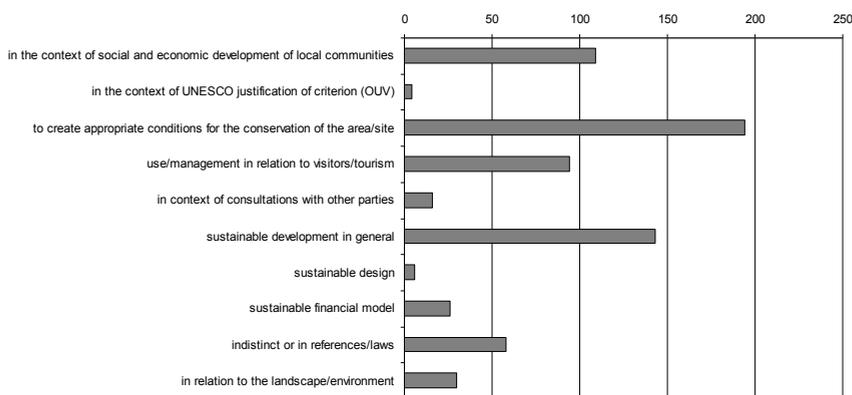

Figure 6. The contexts in which the word 'sustainable' occurs in the nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19).

Capacity building, employment and job generation

The next step was to look at the level of the individual instead of the level of the community as a whole and to see what the degree of attention for the individual is in relation to economic development. The words that were included in the analysis are 'capacity building', 'employment', 'job(s)' and 'job generation', as these refer directly to the economic development objectives of UNESCO's programmes. It turned out that these aspects are clearly not abundantly present in the nominations, in particularly not in relation to local communities. For instance references to the word 'capacity building' are made 97 times (table 1), but in most cases this concerns the training of staff members of heritage organizations, not efforts to for instance help local communities benefit from tourism or other activities the heritage (potentially) generates (Figure 7). Moreover, six dossiers of the nominations from 2014 do not mention the word at all.

It must be stressed that there may be a linguistic-interpretation issue here. The term (community) capacity building refers in the context of international development (such as with international organizations like the World Bank and the United Nations, that work in development), usually to the strengthening of skills and competencies of people in developing societies with the aim to help them overcome poverty and exclusion. Within the context of UNESCO's Budapest Declaration (2002) it was not specified in detail, but in UNESCO's evaluation of the aims of this declaration, in 2007, it seems that the States Parties primarily interpreted it as an aim to train professionals (staff/experts) working in the field of heritage conservation in the preparation of management plans and nominations (UNESCO 2007, 4). In UNESCO's Programme on 'Culture, Tourism and Sustainable Development' however, capacity building is considered an important action in the development of local communities (UNESCO 2006). The same is the case in the 'World Heritage and sustainable Tourism Programme' (UNESCO 2012), its action plan explicitly includes local communities as one of the stakeholders to which its capacity building strategies are directed.

Nevertheless, it may be better to look for references to 'employment' and 'jobs' in the dossiers to find the extent to which local communities are involved and profiting from the world heritage nominations. Again, all dossiers do talk about this (together 157 word counts), but also in this case the context analysis shows that it relates mainly to heritage managers and other conservation-related staff too. The fact that there is very little attention for sustainable development objectives such as the creation of jobs for the people living at the heritage places, is further illustrated by the complete absence of the word 'job generation' in all dossiers except one.
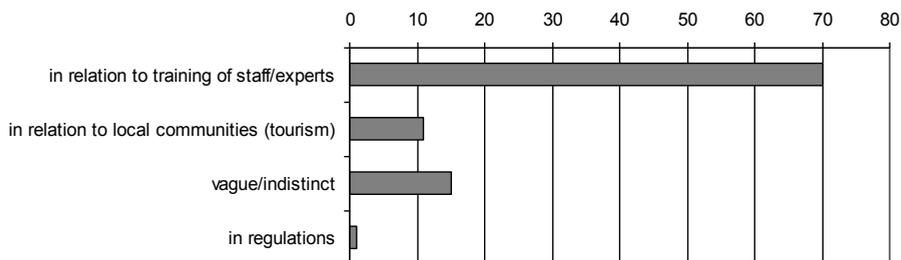
Figure 7. The contexts in which the word 'capacity building' occurs in the nomination dossiers of 2014 (N=19).

Quality of life, wellbeing and personal development

The last group of words that was included in the analysis relate to the social development of individuals. This concerned the words 'quality of life', 'wellbeing' and 'personal development'. These were used as an indication of the extent to which the world heritage organizations aim to support human (social) development at the individual level. This extent was found to be very limited. Like with most of the other words that relate to social responsibility, few occurrences were found; 'quality of life' appears 97 times and 'wellbeing' 26 times, although all spelling varieties were checked for the latter. In none of the dossiers a reference was made to activities that relate to the personal development of individuals.

Conservation, tourism and education

For the purpose of gaining insight in what the main foci of these dossiers is, if it is not really social responsibility towards the local communities, words like management, conservation (and preservation), education, tourism, visitor(s) and museum were added to the analysis. It was not analyzed in what specific context these words were used, just the extent to which these concepts are included was evaluated. It emerged that these words are abundantly present in the dossiers, in fact they are clearly at the top of the word-count list (Table 1). This is no surprise, it is however striking to see the difference in attention that is paid to these aspects and the things that relate to a social involvement. It shows that there is most of all an internal focus, a focus on the preservation and management of the site(s) itself and on the tourism that is expected to be generated by the world heritage status, rather than on the local communities the heritage concerns.

4   CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that the heritage management sector is already talking for several decades about social responsibility and local (sustainable) development

in the context of world heritage sites, and that such social aims and actions are included in many policy documents of UNESCO, ICOMOS and in the national and international governmental contexts, it seems that heritage practitioners who prepare world heritage nominations are not yet very familiar with the practical implementation of this social responsibility. A content analysis of nineteen nomination dossiers of the cultural sites that were added to the World Heritage list in 2014, shows that the majority does not have explicit references to social or societal impact, social cohesion, social responsibility, social inclusion, wellbeing or to social value(s) in general. The majority does not even refer to the word 'community participation'. The economic and human value(s) associated with these sites are also relatively little referred to, especially in comparison with the abundantly occurring references to the universal, cultural and historic value(s) of the nominated sites. The good news however is that all dossiers talk about the intangible heritage that is related to their sites, so in that sense there is some attention for the social or human values.

The patterns that emerged seem to be consistent, as they occur with all aspects of social engagement that were included in the analysis, like consultation, participation, impact assessments, sustainability, capacity building, job generation, the revitalization of heritage places etc. With almost all key words there is minimal reference to present day local communities, one dossier does not even mention the word 'local community' at all. The fact that the dossiers are rather internally-focused, with a primary attention on the sites itself, such as on their management and conservation and on tourism and education, supports the argument of Silberman that the 'turn to "development" as a rationale for heritage conservation must be regarded with utmost caution' as 'conservation professionals are not trained in the social sciences and are often unqualified to assess the merits of a particular development project in which they are called to take part' (Silberman 2011, 55).

This analysis was only a paper exercise with the aim to gain insight in the extent to which the social aspects are nowadays integrated in the world heritage nominations and the management plans. What should be done next is to widely and systematically evaluate such things in daily practice. The fact that management plans do not focus on such issues does not by definition mean that things are not happening on the ground. Moreover, it can be expected that it takes a while for new areas of attention to crystallize in practice after they have been added to policies and conventions. This may in particular be the case with world heritage nominations, as the preparation of the dossiers usually takes many years. The fact that the World Heritage Convention is indeed slow to enact change has actually been identified in UNESCO's strategic action plan for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 2012-2022, as one of its main weaknesses

(UNESCO 2011). We should therefore conduct a similar content analysis on older nominations in order to verify whether things have already changed. A signal that things are indeed developing might be seen in the fact that even though there is no reference yet in the management plans to social involvement, the letters of representatives of the nominating states do show a clear concern with the social aspects of the proposed sites.

We can nevertheless conclude from this that UNESCO should wonder to what degree its inscriptions to the World Heritage list nowadays comply with the advice of the United Nations Human Rights Council that they ought to be based on the free, prior and informed consent of the concerned communities. If the social aspects are missing in so many nomination dossiers, with thirteen out of nineteen dossiers not referring to a consultation with the local communities in their justification for inscription, this can seriously be doubted. UNESCO may take the position that there are clear limits to what World Heritage work can achieve in this context, as for instance Sinding-Larsen (ICOMOS Norway) stated in his vision on rights-based approaches to heritage management. He believes that 'World Heritage can as such not fix the major world problems, only appeal to the common good of and between nations. Globalization and demographic change contribute to make it increasingly difficult to identify relevant communities associated with and being 'owners' of heritage resources. ICOMOS can influence and raise awareness through professionally and scientifically grounded advice. Realism and some humility are needed.' (Sinding-Larsen 2014, 7). And indeed, it would be unfair not to grant State Parties representing developing countries a world heritage status to their nominations because they do not fully comply with recently added social standards and requirements. If that would be the case, it would be even more difficult to achieve a more balanced global dispersion of world heritage sites. However, the underlying assumption to such a statement and diffidence is that it is more difficult for countries with major problems to achieve things like community participation and social engagement, but this does not have to be true. In this analysis I experienced the opposite. The nomination dossiers that show the least social engagement are not the ones from the more well-developed countries. On the contrary, some countries that have huge internal problems showed much more social engagement in their nominations than countries with a much higher development status. So in that sense, UNESCO does not have to be hypersensitive and overly cautious to impose its ethical principles and policies upon its nominating State Parties.

Perhaps UNESCO underestimates the power it has or could assert. If the organization wants, it could have a much stronger influence on the pace of developments with regard to the inclusion of local communities with most States Parties. If it really thinks these social policy foci are important and not just buzz

words that need to be included in contemporary policies and plans, then the committees responsible for the evaluation of world heritage nominations could consider to take the social aspect for local communities much more into account in their assessments and advices.

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