

World heritage Listing and Economic development

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Abstract : Many people take it for granted that a place on the UNESCO World Heritage List automatically brings with it income, jobs and economic development. This contribution presents three studies that test this view. One is an exploration of the Listing → Heritage → Tourism → Development chain; it shows that each of the links of the chain is rather weak. The second is an econometric study on the case of 3,700 French cantons: it shows that being Listed has practically no explanatory power over economic development. The third compares two pairs of Turkish sites as similar as possible except that one is Listed and the other one is not. The three studies lead to a rejection of the hypothesis tested.

Résumé : L'opinion générale est que le fait d'être sur la Liste du Patrimoine Mondial de l'UNESCO apporte revenus, emplois, et développement. Trois études testent cette hypothèse. La première explore la chaîne Liste → Patrimoine → Tourisme → Développement, et montre que chacun des maillons de cette chaîne est faible. La deuxième est une analyse économétrique sur 3.700 cantons français: elle montre que le fait d'être sur la Liste n'a pratiquement pas de pouvoir explicatif du développement économique. La troisième compare deux paires de sites turcs aussi semblables que possible, sauf que l'un des sites est sur la Liste, et l'autre pas. Les trois études convergent et conduisent au rejet de l'hypothèse de départ.

1. Introduction

UNESCO's World Heritage has been invented to protect and signal « sites of world importance and significance ». The addition of a site on the World Heritage List (hereafter, the Listing) however, also has, or might have, impacts on the socio-economic development of the area where the site is located. As a matter of fact, such impacts (real or assumed) are one of the main determinants of the demand for Listing, which is strong worldwide. In the mind of local governments pushing the candidacy of their city or area, being listed is a powerful instrument of economic development that will bring jobs and activities. Curiously, whereas the impact – undoubtedly very positive – of Listing on identification and protection of sites is well established, not much is known about its impact on socio-economic development. Are the hopes placed on the Listing – development relationship justified ? This is the question raised here. This relationship is a plausible hypothesis, but remains a hypothesis as long as it has not been clearly demonstrated.

Available information is often patchy and anecdotal. We find mayors claiming that the the image of their city greatly improved after its Listing, or that tourism doubled in the

years following Listing, or that “foreign investors” are now considering settling in their area. Such information is to be taken with prudence. First, it is self-serving: it promotes the political interests of the mayors who make them. Then, these statements are made out of the development context of the area considered and ignore that correlation is no proof of causality: the (desirable) changes quoted may be true but may have no relationship with the Listing, and might well have occurred in the absence of it.

To pass a scientific judgment on the socio-economic impact of a Listing, it is not enough to examine *what happened* effectively, it is necessary to compare it with *what would have happened* in the absence of the Listing. The impact must be identified all other things equal. This is a difficult task. Finding and understanding what happened is already often quite difficult. Finding what would have happened is obviously even more difficult. The mechanisms of local development are complex, poorly understood, and time and space dependent. What is sure is that generalizations are dangerous: the impact of Listing on development to-day is not what it was yesterday; it is not in A what it is in B. We therefore do not claim to bring a definitive answer to the question asked, but simply a contribution – more precisely three – to the debate. The issue is approached from three

different and complementary angles. They were presented in three distinct working papers.

The first (Gravari & Jacquot, 2008) can be seen as a theoretical detour. It is a review of the literature dealing with the complex relations between tourism, heritage, Listing and development. A number of authors, in different disciplines, have tried to throw light on such relationships in theoretical studies as well as in empirical analyses.

The second (Talandier, 2008) is an econometric analysis, conducted on the case of France, which attempts to explain the economic development of local areas by a number of variables, including Listing, in order to find out whether Listing has any explanatory power.

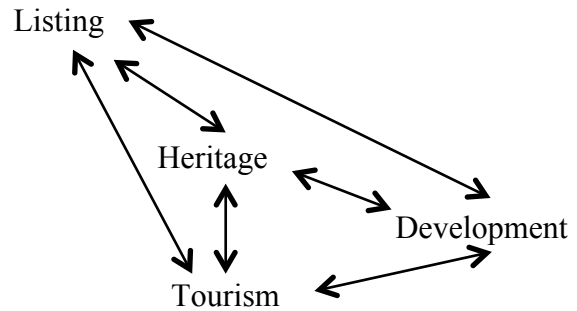
The third (Nicot & Ozilik, 2008) is a comparative analysis of listed and non-listed sites in Turkey. We looked for pairs of sites as similar as possible, except that one is on the UNESCO list and the other is not. We thus retained two comparable archaeological sites, Troy (listed) and Pergam (non-listed), and two similar ottoman cities, Safranbolu (listed) and Beypazari (non-listed). Field visits were undertaken to try and appreciate the role played by listing in the process of local economic development of the areas considered.

In what follows, the reader will find a summary presentation of each of these studies, together with a conclusion drawing some – provisional - lessons of the work done.

2 – Theoretical detour (After Gravari & Jacquot (2008))

The link between Listing on the UNESCO List and local development is not simple and direct. Between these two notions, at least two concepts or realities must be considered: heritage (or patrimony), and tourism. Listing enhances the heritage content of a site. This content promotes tourism. Tourism in turn

favours local development. As shown in Figure 1, the Listing -> Development relationship can be decomposed in five or six distinct relationships. Three of them deserve special attention.



Tourism and development

The bulk of the socio-economic impact of heritage rests on the tourism it is susceptible of generating. The impact of tourism on development has been much studied. Many of the studies, however, are more qualitative than quantitative, because of the relative scarcity of data on tourism, particularly domestic tourism (generally the most important part of tourism), and because of the heterogeneity of the notion of tourism (business trips, family visits, leisure trips, and cultural trips). There is, however, a consensus on the positive economic contribution of tourism, in terms of activity and employment (transport, hotels, restaurants, handicraft), and hence GDP. The share in tourism in GDP varies greatly, from 85% in countries like the Maldive islands to 5% or less in less attractive countries. There is also a consensus on the fact that the importance of tourism greatly increased in past decades, because of higher incomes and lower transport costs. A key factor has been the growing importance of emerging countries such as China on international tourism, as destination countries but also as origin countries.

Who are the beneficiaries of tourism expenditures? For sure, an important share, often around 50%, of such expenditures is siphoned off the area visited (plane tickets,

international hotel profits, etc.) and does not contribute to local economic development. Many studies, however, seem to suggest that many tourism expenditures remain local, benefitting residents, and in particular the poor. This reflects the fact that most tourism jobs are unskilled jobs - contrary to what many people believe.

One must recognize, but not exaggerate, the importance of tourism in development processes and strategies. Not all countries or areas are the Maldivian islands. In addition, as pointed by many studies, tourism is not without dangers. In many countries, tourism is a seasonal activity, and the need to amortize investments in infrastructure or hotels on just a few months reduces significantly profitability. In other cases, such as Venice, tourism can become a monoculture; it exerts an upward pressure on land and also labour prices, thus evicting out (nearly) all other non-tourism activities. In addition, tourism might have de-structuring impacts on local societies faced with values and lifestyles completely different from their inherited ones. Some studies, however, minimize this danger, and show that tourism can on the contrary help locals realize the interest of their own mores and values. It is reported for instance that tourism did contribute to “balinize” Bali, revealing it to its own people. Finally, the danger of an over-frequentation, that would destroy the very basis of tourism, has been mentioned, on the classical model of over-fishing. Most of the studies, however, seem to suggest that this danger is more imaginary than real.

Heritage and tourism

The second relationship explored is the link between tourism and heritage. Is the desire to discover heritage and patrimony an important motivation of tourism? Is heritage tourism different from other forms of tourism? The many facets of the notion of heritage do not facilitate the analysis. Neither do the multiplicity of the determinants of tourism. One cannot reduce to a single number the importance of the heritage motivation and

say, for instance, that 30% of tourists are driven by this concern. The “true” number is both higher and lower. It is lower if one considers the only or the most important determinant: a study on France arrives at 17%. The number is higher if one considers all the determinants of the choice of a touristic destination: always in France, 50% of foreign tourists state that culture or cultural consumption is an important determinant of their trip. In terms of time effectively spent, the frequentation of cultural monuments is not important. Yet, strolling or shopping in cities that possess cultural monuments is much more important – because of these cultural monuments. Heritage therefore appears as a determinant of tourism *amongst other* determinants. It may not be the first, yet be important and even decisive. Between two seaside resorts, the tourist might choose the one that offers, in addition to beaches and sun, proximity to heritage sites.

Quantitative estimates of the heritage-development relationship are scarce. Greffe (2003) offers detailed estimates of the number of heritage-related jobs in France.

Table 1 – Heritage related Jobs, France, 2003.

Tableau 1 – Emplois liés au patrimoine, France, 2003.

	Jobs	% total jobs ^a
Management of sites	44 000	0,2
Conservation of monuments	43 000	0,2
Usage of heritage by industry	262 000	1,0
Heritage-related tourism ¹	36 000	0,6
Total	485 000	1,9

Source : Greffe, X., 2003.

Notes : ^a24,5 millions jobs 2003 ; ^bof which 29 000 in the public sector (civil servants) and 15 000 in the private sector (guides, etc.) ; ^cOn the basis of 17% of tourism expenditures.

As shown in Table 1, the study identifies four types of jobs: (i) direct jobs in the management of sites; (ii) direct jobs in the conservation of monuments; (iii) indirect jobs in industry; (iv) jobs in heritage-related

tourism. Greffe is aware of the uncertainty attached to his estimates. The study suggests that slightly less than 2% of jobs in France are heritage-related. Most of the direct jobs in categories (i) and (ii) are held by civil servants, and financed by taxes that evict out activities and jobs in the private sector. Public expenditures on heritage does not really “create” jobs. It merely shifts jobs from one sector to another one (presumably more desirable). The numbers given therefore probably overestimate the net effect of heritage upon employment. The numbers for France must be extrapolated to other countries with prudence. Because of the relatively great importance of heritage and of tourism in France, the share of heritage-related jobs in total employment is probably lower in most countries.

UNESCO List and heritage attractiveness

The third relationship concerns the link between the Listing on the UNESCO World Heritage List of a particular site and its heritage attractiveness. To put it otherwise, what is the value-added of the UNESCO label? It is difficult to evaluate. By definition, all the sites of the List have great heritage attractiveness, and it is not easy to distinguish in the attractiveness of a Listed site what is accounted for by the label and what is accounted for by intrinsic interest of the site. There is a fairly good correlation between the number of tourists in a country and the number of Listed sites in that country. This correlation, however, does not say anything on the causality. It might well be explained by a third characteristic: patrimonial density. It is perhaps because a country is heritage-rich that it attracts many tourists and at the same time that it has many UNESCO sites.

The studies associating listing and increased frequentation must therefore be taken with great caution. Listed archaeological sites in Mexico or medieval castles in Wales do receive about four times more visitors than similar sites not Listed. It might well mean that the Listed sites are the

most interesting ones, and that their greater frequentation merely reflects this greater attractiveness. It is frequently stated that the frequentation of a site greatly increased after its Listing. But such increases often take place in a context of tourism expansion (domestic and international), particularly in emerging countries like India, China or Vietnam. It may be that the frequentation of non Listed sites also increased greatly in these countries in the same period. Many studies and statistics fail to offer the methodological guarantees that would be required to seriously appraise the impact of the UNESCO listing on the frequentation of sites.

It does not follow that this impact is inexistent. There is even a good theoretical reason to think it exists: the so-called “superstar theory”, derived from information theory. In a number of domains (such as music for instance) success goes to success, much beyond what the intrinsic quality of the various artists can explain or justify. Knowing what we prefer is costly in information, in time, in knowledge. Rather than running the risk of making a bad choice, many consumers, uncertain about the supply, and even about their own demand, prefer to be guided by success, to go where everyone goes, or where a recognized authority tells them to go - even if it is more costly. In a context of imperfect information, this is a rational behaviour, which should favour UNESCO-Listed sites. As stated by an author quoted by Maria Gravari-Barbas (2008): “The minute it [a site] goes on the List, it goes into Lonely Planet, Fodor’s, Fromer”. Several UNESCO sites, such as Petra, the Fes medina, Angkor or the Galapagos islands, are only opened to visitors paying fees, often high fees: such fees are perceived as an indicator of the quality and importance of the site, and seem to stimulate the demand for visits, not to reduce it.

To conclude, this review of the literature suggests that the relationship between Listing and socio-economic development is uncertain, and often tenuous. It is like a chain

with several links: a first link associates Listing and heritage attractiveness, a second link connects heritage attractiveness and tourism, and a third link relates tourism to socio-economic development. Each of these links is rather weak and poorly known, and the entire chain is as strong as the weakest link. Listing is definitely a factor that favours development, but this factor is neither necessary nor sufficient.

3. An econometric study (After Talandier, 2008)

Methodology

Econometrics is a set of statistical and mathematical techniques that make it possible to explore in a quantitative fashion the relationships that exist between one variable (called explained variable) and one or several variables (called explanatory variables). If we think or postulate that A is caused by B, C, and D, econometrics makes it possible: (i) to say whether our hypothesis is true or not (it can show for instance that A is indeed caused by B and C, but not by D; and (ii) by how much (it can show for instance that cause A is twice as important as cause B). Econometric techniques have been primarily developed to throw light on economic relationships (as suggested by etymology), but are also utilized to throw light on many other types of problems, such as medical problems. Econometrics is particularly convenient to analyse multi-causal relationships, which are common in social sciences – and obviously at the heart of the problem at hand here, the question of the socio-economic impacts of the Listing of a site on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Econometrics is very data-demanding: the more “points”, that is examples or cases, we have, the better (20 is minimum, and there is no maximum). It would be a serious mistake to believe that the use of mathematical techniques is a substitute to thinking. On the contrary, it is only theory and imagination that makes it possible to formulate the hypotheses and to build the models that econometrics will then test.

To apply this approach, France was selected for several reasons. To begin, the number of World Heritage sites is relatively important (31). Then, France is a data-rich country: data on most of the explained and explanatory variables (employment, climate, activities, etc.) is available at a small geographical level. Finally, we have for this country an independent and serious assessment of the touristic interest of places, thanks to the Michelin guides¹. They identify places “worth the trip” (3 stars) and places “worth a detour” (2 stars). The geographical unit retained is the “canton”, an administrative concept; there are about 3,700 cantons in France; the average size is 135 km² (about a square of 12 x 12 km), and the average population is 16,000 persons, but there are great disparities between cantons.

Explained and explanatory variables retained

A score of explained variables are considered. Some relate to the importance of tourism in 2005, and its evolution over the 1993-2005 period: hotel beds (per 1000 inhabitants), jobs in hotel and restaurants and touristic activities (in % of total employment). Other variables describe the socio-economic development of the canton: income, wages, migration (between 1990 and 1999), jobs in trade and services, “fashionable” jobs (i.e. in sectors deemed promising or futuristic).

A dozen of explanatory variables, susceptible to explain the value taken by our explained variables, are postulated. The first one is of course the existence of a UNESCO Listed site in the canton², since what we are trying to assess is the explanatory power of this particular variable, all other explanatory variables considered.

¹ This refers to the touristic Michelin guides (green guides) which identifies places of interest, not the gastronomic guide (red guide) which identifies restaurants of interest.

² This is done by giving the value 1 to the cantons where there is a Listed site, and 0 to the other cantons.

A second explanatory variable is the fact, for a canton, to be attractive from a touristic viewpoint. This is obtained by considering those that have tree stars (“worth the trip”), or two stars (“worth a detour”) in the authoritative Michelin guides. 91 cantons have 3 stars, and 131 have 2 stars; all the 31 sites on the UNESCO List can be found in these cantons.

Other explanatory variables relate to the environmental attractiveness of each canton: is it on or near (less than 50 km away) the coast? Is it in a mountainous area (above 2,000 m)? Does it enjoy an agreeable climate? One can expect such amenities to explain, at least in part, the touristic attractiveness or the economic development of a canton.

Yet other, more economic, explanatory variables are also utilized, such as proximity (less than 50 km away) to a major highway, the number of inhabitants in 2005, income per head in 2005, or distance to a large (greater than 100,000 inhabitants) urban area.

Outcomes

A score of econometric regressions were conducted on this data. Each aims at explaining one of the explained variables by all the explanatory variables - including the fact of being (or not) on the UNESCO List. For each of the explanatory variables, the regression gives us a coefficient that measures the impact of the variable (which can be positive or negative), and its significance. In many cases, it happens that the explanatory power of a variable is weak or null; note, however, that this may be quite an interesting and meaningful finding. The complete list of the values of coefficients and their significance is too long (about 800 numbers) to be reproduced here. Table 2 presents what we are most interested in, the significance of having a site on the UNESCO List. It also indicates the significance of having 2 or 3 Michelin stars on the various indicators of touristic and economic development introduced as explained variables.

Table 2 – Significance of being Listed on the UNESCO List upon various indicators of touristic activity and development.

Tableau 2 – Significativité de l'appartenance à la Liste de l'UNESCO sur divers indicateurs d'attractivité touristique et de développement.

	Explanatory variables:	
	UNESCO	Michelin
Explained variables:		
Touristic attractiveness variables:		
Tourism beds 2005	yes	yes
Change in tourism beds 1993-2005	no	yes
Share of restaurants in jobs 2005	yes	yes
Change in the latter 1993-2005	no	no
Share of tourism in jobs 2005	yes	yes
Change in the latter 1993-2005	no	no
Net migration 1990-99	no	no
Socio economic development variables:		
Income per capita 2005	no	no
Change of the latter 1993-2005	yes (-)	yes (-)
Change in the canton income 1993-2005	yes (-)	yes (-)
Hourly wages 2005	no	no
Wages of skilled workers 2005	no	yes
Share of “fashionable jobs” 2005	no	yes
Change in the latter 1993-2005	no	no

Source : Talandier, 2008.

Notes : « Michelin » means : cantons with 2 or 3 stars in the Michelin guide, excluding cantons which are on the UNESCO List. « Yes » means that the T of Student of the relevant coefficient is significant at the 5% threshold. All coefficients are positive except those marked (-), which are negative. Employment data refers to the private sector only.

These results mean that the impact of Listing on touristic activity or on economic development is weak or inexistent, both in static terms (2005) and in dynamic terms (1993-2005). The “nos” are more numerous than the “yeses”. Let us emphasize that this impact is measured all other things equal, controlling for the impacts of all other factors (climate, size of cantons, geographic amenities, etc.) that explain or could explain attractiveness and development³. One sees that being on the UNESCO List does not, by itself, contribute to increase the share of

³ For all these explanatory variables, the regression analyses give us the coefficients and their significance; these numbers that do not interest us directly are not reported here for the sake of simplicity.

tourism in employment over the period considered, or to income per capita, or to wages. It even has a negative and significant impact on changes in income: all other things equal, cantons with a UNESCO site experienced a smaller increase in income than cantons without a UNESCO site.

The comparison with the impact of having two or three stars in the Michelin guide shows that the UNESCO label does not add anything in terms of touristic attractiveness or economic development. The two columns of Table 2 tell very much the same story. The UNESCO and the Michelin Lists produce quite similar outcomes. On three points, the Michelin List does even slightly better than the UNESCO List.

This finding is confirmed by another set of regressions conducted not on the 3,700 French cantons, but on the 222 Michelin cantons, the patrimonially important cantons, so to say. Being on the UNESCO List is introduced as an explanatory variable, amongst other. It appears that being on the List has an explanatory power for only one of the 17 explained variables used (share of jobs in restaurants in total employment). For all the other indicators of touristic attractiveness or of economic development, Listing does not add anything.

Before-after analysis on five sites

The availability of data (on employment in the private sector by sub-sectors of economic activity) does not make it possible to compare local economic evolutions before and after the date of UNESCO Listing for all UNESCO sites, but only for five sites.

Magali Talandier undertakes this comparison by considering, site after site, the growth rates of employment in tourism and retail trade before and after the year of Listing. As shown in Table 3, Listing does not produce a systematic acceleration of employment (in tourism and retail trade).

Table 3 – Growth rates of employment, before and after Listing on the UNESCO List, five French sites, 1993-2005.

Tableau 3 – Taux de croissance de l'emploi, avant et après l'inscription sur la Liste de l'UNESCO, sur 5 sites français, 1993-2005.

	(in number of sites)	
	Faster	Slower
Tourism		
Restaurants	2	3
Lodging	4	1
Cafés	1	3
Total tourism	3	2
Retail trade	1	4
Total	3	2

Note : The first number in the first column (2) means that in two of the five sites employment in restaurants increased more rapidly in the years that followed Listing than in the years preceding Listing.

Such a comparison, however, has its limits. Growth rates calculated reflect the overall economic conditions of the periods considered as much, or more, than the impact of Listing proper. To overcome this difficulty, Magali Talandier compared the before/after difference in growth rates of each site with the before/after difference in growth rates of all French cantons, and also of Michelin cantons. Table 4 presents the outcomes of such comparisons.

Table 4 – Comparison of before/after Listing growth rates for five Listed cantons and for all French cantons or for all Michelin cantons.

Tableau 4 – Comparaison des taux de croissance avant/après inscription sur la Liste de l’UNESCO de 5 cantons avec tous les cantons français et tous les cantons étoilés au Guide Michelin.

	(in number of sites with a faster evolution)	
	/all cantons	/Michelin cantons
Tourism		
Restauration	3	2
Lodging	4	3
Cafés	5	5
Total tourism	3	2
Retail trade	1	1
Total	3	2

Note : The first number of the first column (3) means that in three of the five sites considered before/after evolution in employment in restaurants was faster than the evolution in employment in France in the relevant periods.

These numbers support the preceding findings. For many subsectors of economic activity the before/after evolution of employment in UNESCO cantons is not significantly different from what it is for all other French cantons. The analysis is made for identical periods of time, and therefore eliminates the influence of economic fluctuations. When we consider total employment in tourism and retail trade (the subsectors supposedly affected by Listing), the evolution in UNESCO cantons is faster than in all French cantons in 3 sites and slower in 2 sites. If the comparison is made with Michelin cantons, the evolution is faster in the UNESCO cantons in 2 cantons and slower in 3. In other words, the before/after evolution of employment in tourism and retail trade was somewhat better in Michelin cantons than in cantons which had benefited from a UNESCO Listing.

Admittedly five sites constitute a limited sample, (although it is a random one, since it was defined by data availability constraints) and the conclusions that can be drawn from that particular piece of analysis must be extrapolated with caution. But these

conclusions are very much in line with the other conclusions produced by the econometric analyses presented above. This leads us to conclude that, in a country like France, the Listing on a site on the UNESCO List has a negligible impact upon the economic development of the site area.

4. Two comparisons in Turkey

The research undertaken on Turkey by Bernard-Henri Nicot, although equally comparative, utilises a completely different methodology. It identifies pairs of sites as comparable as possible, except that one is Listed on the UNESCO List, and the other one is not. Then, the economic development of the two site areas are compared. Turkey was selected for this exercise because it is home to a number of UNESCO sites, and because it is close to several European countries that emit large numbers of tourists, and because Turkey is effectively much visited.

We eventually retained two archaeological sites: Troy (Listed) and Pergam (non-Listed), and two ottoman cities sites: Safranbolu (Listed) and Beypazari (non-Listed). Bernard-Henri Nicot and Burçu Ozdirlik then went to these four places to gather data, interview local actors (mayors, prefects, chamber of commerce, developers, etc.), and try to understand the determinants of local economic development, in order to appreciate the role played, or not played, in the development process, by the Listing.

Two Ottoman cities

Safranbolu and Beypazari are two outstanding Ottoman cities with downtowns particularly rich in 17th century houses (called konaks). These two cities have many common features. They have similar population sizes: 25,000-40,000 inhabitants. They are located in the same part of Turkey, in the north-west, rather near Ankara and Istanbul, slightly off the main touristic circuits. Both claim to have been on the “silk

road". They are located in interesting geographic sites, with deep valleys and dramatic cliffs. Like many Turkish cities, they have faced in recent decades massive population increases. They nevertheless offer important differences from the view point discussed here.

First, the interest in heritage and patrimony is older in Safranbolu than in Beypazari. At the beginning of the 1970ies, a group of academics and architects became interested in the rich, but degraded, architectural patrimony of Safranbolu. The Ankara ministry of Culture was mobilised, restoration actions were undertaken, with the help of the municipality and of the prefecture. This small city was not the only one to enjoy a high quality Ottoman patrimony, but it was one of the few where local population supported the conservation efforts of specialists. The Listing on the UNESCO List in 1994 came as the recognition of a renewal started more than 20 years earlier. In Beypazari, by contrast, it is only at the end of the 1990ies, with the election of a new and dynamic mayor, that safeguarding and restoration actions of the old downtown begin to be undertaken in a systematic fashion.

Second, restorations in Beypazari are less rigorous than restorations in Safranbolu. The municipality of Beypazari identified about 3,500 typical houses. During the first mandate of the new mayor (1999-2004), 500 were restored. The municipality wanted to go fast and obtain visible results. The emphasis was put on the facades, rather than on the interior, of houses. This is criticized by conservation purists (particularly in Safranbolu) who complain that Beypazari privileged exhibition at the expense of authenticity. The criticism is excessive, for a number of beautiful houses belonging to the municipality have been restored with great care and transformed into museums or high quality lodging, but it is not entirely baseless.

Third, in economic terms, Beypazari grows faster than Safranbolu. Tourism

increases at least as rapidly. The municipality has been very active in the media (particularly television) to push the image of Beypazari and of what is being done on the ground. The number of tourists was 2,500 in 1998, it reached 40,000 in 2002 and 150,000 in 2004. In Safranbolu also the number of tourists increased; and the share of foreigners, particularly from Asia, is higher than in Beypazari, although it remains below 20%.

In Safranbolu, however, the economic consequences of tourism appear very limited. Most tourists only spend a few hours in the city, as part of an organized tour. Lodging opportunities remain scarce, and the downtown is not very lively. In part, this is the other side of the conservation coin. Thus, for instance, many hotel owners would like to build swimming pools – because this is what tourists want. But this is not compatible with the strict respect of the site.

In Beypazari, the municipality did not put all of its eggs in the heritage basket. It favoured, in the old downtown, a renewal of traditional handicraft in jewellery. It developed, in an adjacent valley, a sort of natural park, with leisure areas and restaurants, that appeals to many visitors from Ankara and other cities. It sponsored the exploitation of thermal springs nearby. In short, the development of heritage is better integrated with economic development in Beypazari than in Safranbolu. In Beypazari, heritage is part of a development strategy; in Safranbolu, it is an end in itself. With some exaggeration, one could say that in the non Listed city heritage is put to the service of development, whereas in the Listed city, it is development which is put to the service of heritage.

To conclude, in these two relatively comparable cities, the analysis shows that the UNESCO label was not a determinant of local development. The label did contribute powerfully to the conservation of a rich patrimony. It also contributed to make this patrimony known, and to attract tourists. But

it did not kickstart a development process. In Beypazari, by contrast, the lack of a UNESCO label did not prevent such a process. One can even think that this absence of label somehow forced local officials and elites to invent other engines of economic growth. And the absence of label also meant an absence of constraints that favoured certain development actions.

Two antique sites

Troy and Pergam are two sites which have been famous since antiquity. The first is on the World Heritage List; the second is not. Both are located in the north-west part of Turkey. They however offer some differences. Troy refers to war and the treasures of Priam. By contrast, the antique Pergam was devoted to knowledge (its library was only rival to that of Alexandria) and to medicine (the Pergam Asclepeion was one of the most important medical complex of antiquity). As the readers of Homer know, Troy was destroyed, and what remains of it consists of fragments of brick or stone walls unearthed by archaeologists. Pergam did suffer from the passing of time, and from the 19th century subtractions of pieces that enriched several European museums (particularly the Pergamon Museum in Berlin). Yet, several antique monuments remain, in particular a famous theatre on the side of a nearby hill. There are also many noteworthy houses of the last centuries. We have, therefore, on one hand, a powerful myth, and on the other hand, a tangible reality. Finally, Troy is located in the countryside, a few hundred meters away from the village of Tevfikiye (1,000 inh.) and about 25 km away from the city of Canakkale (55,000 inh.), whereas Pergam acropolis dominates the city (60,000 inh.).

Two sites as famous as Troy and Pergam obviously benefit from touristic flows which are important, yet these flows do not generate much local economic development

In the case of Troy, the 380,000 visitors per year do not at all benefit the village of

Tevfikiye, where there are but a few coffee shops, a tiny hotel and a handful of souvenir merchants – a few dozen jobs at best. Most of the visitors come from Canakkale and access Troy by bypassing Tevfikiye which is not on the main road. Then, the village is located in a national park created in 1996, following the Listing, with a view to protect the site, and which imposes very rigorous building constraints.

Is the impact more important for Canakkale? One could expect it, in particular because Troy is not only touristic attraction of the area, and not the most important. The souvenir of another war attracts large crowds. In 1915, ottoman forces (led by a colonel called Mustapha Kemal, with the help of german troops) fought franco-british forces at Galipoli (Cannakkale war in Turkish, the Dardanelles straight battle in French). The fight ended with the victory of ottoman forces. The battlefields of the Galipoli peninsula, where many monuments and cemeteries have been created, has become the locus of “memorial tourism” flows. Many Australian and New-Zelanders (whose ancestors took part in the British expeditionary forces) come every year from the other side of the world to celebrate the franco-british attack. In 2005 for instance, they were more than 20,000. Most of these tourists take advantage of their presence in Canakkale to visit Troy.

In spite of that, tourism is not much developed in Canakkale. The hotel capacity of Canakkale is only 5,000 beds. The nearby seaside resort of Ayvacik (opposite the greek island of Lesbos) offers as many beds, and receives more tourists. Some readers might be sorry to realise that more people prefer beaches to Homer, but so it is. Many of the tourists who visit Troy – or Galipoli – do not even spend a night in the area. In addition, this tourism is highly seasonal: the summer semester (april-september) accounts for 80% of the visitors of the publicly controlled sites in the Canakkale county, mostly Troy. Troy tourism is also highly fluctuating: 580,000 visitors in 2005, 280,000 in 2006. Seasonal

concentration and yearly fluctuations make it difficult to amortise touristic investments, and discourage them.

The case of Pergam is not very different. Most tourists visit the site in groups and in buses. The two main points of interest, the Acropolis and the Asclepeion, can be accessed by good roads that bypass the city centre. Restaurants and souvenir shops have been opened at the outskirts of the city, which makes it possible for the groups of tourists to buy what they want without having to enter the city itself.

This situation illustrates and explains the limited impact of heritage tourism on local economic development. Even in a city with such a remarkable heritage, and even when it is much visited, the economic benefits generated locally are very modest. A few hours suffice for the cultural visit, and the groups of tourists go back to their buses that will take them to eat, sleep and perhaps make purchases in an hotel which is not necessarily located near sites of artistic interest.

In April 2008, Bernard-Henri Nicot and Burçu Odzirlik took advantage of a conference attended by the people in charge of the nine UNESCO sites in Turkey to circulate a brief questionnaire. They obtained 16 answers, related to seven sites. Table 5 presents the main outcome of this mini survey.

Table 5 – Impacts of Listing, seven Turkish sites.

Tableau 5 – Impacts de l'Inscription, sept sites turcs.

Questions	Answers
Touristic activities:	
before Listing ?	Yes (12 yes, 4 no)
Influenced by Listing ?	A little (9 a little, 2 significantly, 1 no)
Listing used to communicate ?	Yes (14 yes, 2 no)
Influence on works done ?	Yes (11 strengthened, 3 initiated)
Cost to local development ?	No (14 no, 1 in part)
Time spent on site ?	1-2 days
Accesible site ?	Yes (12 yes)

Sources et notes : exploitation of 16 questionnaires collected in april 2008 from people in charge of 7 of the 9 turkish sites Listed on the UNESCO List. The difference between the answers mentioned and 16 consists of no replies.

The sample is small, but the interviewees are particularly knowledgeable, and the answers do converge. It appears that tourism was in most cases an activity that existed before the Listing, and that the listing had “little” impact on its development, even if all sites use the UNESCO label in their communication policy. It also appears that the duration of sojourns is brief: 1 or 2 days. For most interviewees, the Listing has had a direct impact upon conservation and restoration works, and no negative impact upon local economic development. All these answers tend to support and confirm the findings of the field visits.

5. Conclusion

The three studies presented here converge to a reassuring point. They all suggest that the impact of the listing of a site on the UNESCO List is not as important as is generally stated.

The literature review, and the theoretical discussion explain why this is the case. There is a long and fragile chain that goes from Listing to local economic development. For an important impact to appear, it is required to have *simultaneously*: (i) a significant impact of Listing upon the heritage attractiveness of the site, (ii) an heritage

attractiveness that is a major determinant of tourism, and (iii) a tourism that is a key factor of local economic development. In reality, in most cases, at least one, and generally two or three, of these prerequisites are missing: the chain is broken and the relationship tenuous or non-existent.

The two empirical studies confirm this view. The econometric study performed on France shows that being Listed has hardly any impact on local tourism and on local economic development, when other potentially explanatory variables are taken into account. Non-listed sites which are touristically attractive perform about as well as Listed sites. The comparative analysis of pairs of sites in Turkey produces similar conclusions. Variables having nothing to do with the heritage interest of a site and its recognition by UNESCO, such as the dynamism of a mayor or the souvenir of a 20th century war, weight eventually as much or more than the UNESCO label in the touristic attractiveness and even more so in the economic development of a site.

One must of course beware of hasty extrapolations. Other analyses on other countries or other comparisons might produce different conclusions. Let us note, however, that the study on France is fairly exhaustive: it considers all Listed sites and all French cantons; it utilizes a battery of tourism and development indicators; and it mobilises more than a dozen explanatory variables. Its conclusion, namely that Listing has no significant positive impacts on tourism and development, seems therefore fairly robust. The comparative analysis on Turkish sites has the weaknesses of case studies: the sample is limited, and the conclusions more judgemental. But it has also the strengths of case studies, and shows, in a concrete fashion, how and why Listing has few impacts on tourism and economic development. The least we can say is that Listing, and more generally heritage conservation is not a magic recipe for local economic development: it is neither necessary nor sufficient.

This does not make it useless, obviously. Its main function, the reason why the World Heritage has been created has been to contribute to the preservation and the signalling of places or symbols of world cultural importance. Everything suggests it achieves this worthy objective. It would have been nice that the World Heritage fulfil in addition, as a bonus, an economic function for which it has not been conceived. Our analyses suggest this is rarely the case.

The research presented here was undertaken at the request of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre (Paris). It was conducted by a team of researchers led by Rémy Prud'homme, and comprising Maria Gravari-Barba (Then, University of Angers, now University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne), Sébastien Jacquot (University of Angers), Bernard-Henri Nicot (University Paris Est Créteil), Burcu Ozdirlil (University Paris VIII) and Magali Talandier (Then University of Paris est Créteil, now University of Grenoble). The views expressed are not necessarily endorsed by that institution.

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Note : The three papers prepared for UNESCO can be accessed on the site of Rémy Prud'homme (www.rprudhomme.com)