World Cultural Heritage in Germany and Russia: The Experience of
Wismar, Stralsund, Veliky Novgorod and Pskov

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List of Abbreviations

ICOMOS   International Council on Monuments and Sites

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

WCH   World Cultural Heritage

WHC   World Heritage Cities

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Chapter 1

Overview

Since the late 1990s, cultural sector industries have become important drivers for urban regeneration and have enabled cities to position themselves competitively in the global arena (Kong, O'Connor 2009). There has been a widespread trend toward the incorporation of cultural quarters or hubs into planning processes. A special "heritage industry" has formed (Johnson, Thomas 1995). Cultural heritage is understood as everything created by people, including music, cuisine, dance, architecture, monuments and cultural traditions. In this study, the focus is on sites with the status of World Culture Heritage (WCH), i.e. those included in the World Heritage List. This definition is based on the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, also known as the *World Heritage Convention*, adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972.

In general, WCH sites are categorized as outstanding World Heritage Sites under the Convention and deserve special protection. In this regard, there are a number of difficulties relating to their exploitation. This work addresses the most complex situation possible, whereby World Heritage Sites are a group of buildings and, more specifically, an entire inhabited city. Unlike even large multi-component World Heritage Sites that are non-residential, such as, for example, the "Archaeological Areas of Pompei, Herculaneum, and Torre Annunziata", WCH sites are sometimes inhabited and continue to be used for the needs of modern residents, which makes the conservation of historical parts more problematic. If the maintenance of sites for the sake of the preservation of historic buildings with this status is difficult, then the following question arises: what are the advantages of possessing this status?

1.1 Previous research

Using their historical value as the main resource for development, cities increase their own competitiveness in consumer society, commercializing the urban space. A new type of economy is formed – a symbolic economy, based on the creation and sale of symbols and implying the

active development of tourism (Zukin 1995). Most modern researchers choose cultural goods or cultural heritage as a whole as their object of study, rather than WCH, to assess, for example, the estimation of economic values (Choi et al. 2010; Mazzanti 2003). In many countries it is now commonplace for WCH to feature in debates and policies on climate change (Marzeion, Levermann 2014; Sabbioni et al. 2008), sustainable development (Larsen, Logan 2018; Vecco, Srakar 2018; Opoku 2015; Throsby 2008), human rights (Ekern et. al. 2012; Silverman, Ruggles 2007, Logan 2007), and globalization (Brianso 2010; Arizpe 2000). The most common indicators used to analyze the impact of WCH status are the number of visitors or tourists (Bourdeau, Gravari-Barbas 2015; Yang et al. 2010; Jansen-Verbeke 2009; van der Borg et al. 1996) and the cost of renting a home (Cuccia 2012; Kunst 2009). This is primarily because such data are more accessible than, for instance, information on the impact of WCH on the local community (Jimura 2011; Hampton 2005; Gravari-Barbas, Violier 2003), identity (Whelan 2016) or the environment (Brabec, Chilton 2015). However, there are aspects listed for which there is no substantiated evidence, for example, "The UNESCO listing offers obvious benefits and has clearly had positive consequences […] Many individuals have made money. Many lives have been made easier" (Starin 2008: 645). However, from these studies, it is not possible to say for sure whether the WCH status is the cause of these changes (for example, the change in the number of tourists), i.e. whether this is an influence due to a number of factors and the WCH status is only part of it, or does not affect it at all. In general, it is problematic to study impact, as many factors can affect the result. These sources, based on their chosen data or methodology, do not allow for a separating out of the influence of obtaining the WCH status, from concomitant factors such as the impact of globalization in general, the development of education and tourism etc.[1] This indicates that there is currently no specific data available of the WCH's status's impact: further research is required on the serious challenges and benefits associated with the use and the preservation of WCH itself.

1.2 Research questions

Despite the large number of studies, there is no clear opinion of why this status is being distributed and what impact the status has, especially in the case of historic inhabited cities (Jones 1994: 316). Consequently, actors at potential World Heritage Sites are not completely aware of the advantages and disadvantages ensuing from such a listing. This research examines

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[1]. Critique of World Heritage status politics was made by Smith (2002), Smith (2006; 2004), Meskell (2002), Waterton (2010), Hamilakis and Duke (2008), and others.

the purposes for which cities want to be World Heritage Cities, as well as which local actors use the WCH status in which situations. Unlike previous studies, there is no emphasis on changes in the number of tourists resulting from the status. The goal of this study is to understand what the different actors at the local level are trying to achieve when applying for WCH status, and whether these actors' goals correlate with current uses.

This paper focuses on actors that have an impact on the local level because the actors involved in obtaining the status at international level coincide: the state parties that nominate the sites, the two Advisory Boards that evaluate and propose sites for inclusion, and the Committee that decides formally on inclusion in the List. The selection of which sites should be included in the World Heritage List is strongly influenced by experts represented on the Advisory Boards and, in most cases, the Committee follows the expert recommendations.

1.3 What is World Cultural Heritage?

This dissertation only touches on physical and biological formations and groups. These can, according to the World Heritage Convention, be viewed as WCH: "(1) monuments (architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features), which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; (2) groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; (3) sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (UNESCO 1972). This work does not cover Intangible Cultural Heritage (traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants), which has been a special type of WCH since 2003 (UNESCO 2003).

Due to the UNESCO classification, the World Heritage Sites we are interested in are groups of buildings, for which relevant actors wanted them to have the status of WCH in the category "historic towns which are still inhabited and which, by their very nature, have developed and will continue to develop under the influence of socio-economic and cultural change, a situation that renders the assessment of their authenticity more difficult and any conservation policy more problematic" (UNESCO 1999).

1.3.1 The co-existence of national heritage and World Cultural Heritage

The Convention has been formulated in such a way that national cultural heritage and WCH can co-exist side by side. The WCH Convention was designed to "complement, but not to compete with, national heritage conservation programs" (Bennett 1977: 22). In turn, the World Cultural Heritage List most often consists of local and national heritage (Ashworth 1998: 117–118; Ashworth 1997: 12; Pocock 1997: 267). However, not every national cultural heritage site can become WCH. Besides this, sites must meet at least one of the six cultural criteria formulated by UNESCO[2] and they should be the "heritage of all mankind". For example, national heritage sites can be war-related, and then the inclusion of such sites in the WCH List can be a particularly sensitive topic, especially for conquered or defeated groups. Jacques (1995) poses a question for consideration: "does a battlefield where the outcome of one nation's history was determined merit recognition at a world scale? It might even be offensive to other (losing) nations if it does" (ibid: 99). Some actors can request elimination rather than preservation, as with the case of the destruction of the Buddhist statues of Bamiyan (Centlivres 2008).

1.3.2 World Cultural Heritage value

The outcome of a heritage valuation may vary over time (Dix 1990: 388; Edwards et al. 1996: 343). For a site to apply for the WCH status, it is not necessary that it be widely known in the world. WCH lists drawn up by academics and the general public are likely to differ. The World Heritage List has been drawn up in a present-day context (Lowenthal 1998: 127) i.e. based on the modern concept of what constitutes cultural value. This means, "a World Heritage List of hundred, even fifty years ago would have offered a fundamentally different profile of cultural significance than a list prepared in our own day" (Stovel 1994: 259). It is possible to remove a site from the list if it loses its qualities due to human intervention or natural disasters. However, to date the World Heritage Committee has never removed a WCH site from the list as a result of the site having been considered obsolete and as having lost its value.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Each of the chapters presented in this thesis have already been published in scientific journals, and therefore the form of the materials' presentation varies depending on the publication outlet.

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2. UNESCO 1999: 25-26.

This applies, for example, to the volume of the abstract as well as the emphasis made on one or another of the results of the research. All the articles deal with specific aspects of insight into the problem of the impact of the WCH status. They identify why cities obtain the WCH status, which actors are involved in this process, and in what situations this status is used now. Across four chapters, this dissertation examines the relationship between the WCH statuses and associations with expectations, influences and uses of this status.

Chapter 2 explores three approaches to how the WCH status affects urban changes. The first approach considers that people have a "right to the city", so people have the power to influence the city and change it from the inside out. Based on this concept, citizens are a real active force for the city's transformation. If the interests of citizens diverge from the interests of the local administration within the zone of the WCH, the interests of citizens will have a greater influence. The study showed that this hypothesis is not valid. Indeed, the most frequent conflicts are conflicts between property owners and the city administration. The second approach considered, relates to the impossibility of changing the urban environment that is controlled by UNESCO. The status of a World Heritage City reduces the ability of residents to transform their own city. However, this hypothesis was not confirmed. WCH sites are changing. For example, in Stralsund's WCH zone, even solar panels appear, despite the fact that the installation of these panels is limited within WCH sites, as they change the historical image of the city. Nevertheless, the implementation of the federal program for the installation of solar panels in both cities created a lot of conflict situations. These conflicts pertained to the tiled roofs, one of the main components of the WCH view. Third, the conflict theory suggested some kind of rationality present in the actors. Among all the approaches, the impact of the WCH status is best described if we identify the main actors, their resources, interests and the contradictions between them. This approach highlights the main actors and clarifies the assumption that the city administration wishes to minimize its costs and therefore uses the World Heritage City status as an argument for why it cannot fulfill the particular desires of its citizens. This hypothesis is confirmed by the case of the trees on the territory of the WCH Stralsund buffer zone.

Chapter 3 discusses how the city administration can take advantage of the WCH status for its own benefit, as discussed in the article on WCH mapping, using the example of the territory of the "White Bridges". In addition to the materials presented in the second chapter, the third chapter looks in more detail at how the WCH area is depicted on various maps created and distributed by the local administration in maps presented in official documents, official media, and on information stands in the city. This study is based on an understanding of the map as a

resource with significant power, which conveys the worldview needed by the city administration. WCH maps are a form of symbolic capital. Research has shown that the choice of the historical period in which the image of the city should be preserved is a political decision on which citizens have no direct influence. The city administration is the only actor that forms and transmits the boundaries of the WCH. This gives its representatives a special expert status in relation to the WCH. Urban mapping is a policy tool for implementing a symbolic resource to demonstrate the boundaries of the WCH. The multiplicity and targeting of WCH mapping has also been identified. City maps are created by the local administration with a focus on different actors: experts, tourists and local residents.

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 were aimed at revealing the main motivation for obtaining the WCH status in the case of two cities in Germany (Wismar, and Stralsund) and two in Russia (Veliky Novgorod, and Pskov). They were selected as the objects for this study, since they applied for this status for individual monuments in the city center or for the entire city center as a whole. These cities are small and medium-sized and have similar features: proximity to major economic and political centers of the regions.

The size of cities and the similarity of urban structures are crucial. A comparison between cities of different sizes is impossible (for example, a comparison with St. Petersburg, which is also a World Heritage City). This is due to the fact that in small and medium-sized cities residents are much better informed about changes in the urban environment than in large cities. Any change in residential buildings or public areas is reflected in public discourse. In addition, the four cities have a similar structure, as during the Middle Ages, these cities were trading centers in their lands and were trading actively, including with each other. The basis of their urban structure was formed in the Middle Ages. At the same time, they traded with each other as part of the Hanseatic League.

In addition to the fact that the cities have a similar structure and size of historical center, these four cities were also chosen because none of them were eligible to receive the status of a World Heritage City. Nevertheless, the two German cities later received this status, while the two Russian cities did not. This fact is important to the study as they managed to get the WCH status in spite of their not fulfilling all the criteria, which demonstrates the vast amount of effort and motivation from the actors. The large amount of effort and motivation makes it easier to identify. These cities should not have received the status because, in the case of the German cities, Lübeck, which is also a Hanseatic city, has retained its historic medieval structure and is in every

respect similar to Wismar and Stralsund. However, the fact that it was part of Germany and not part of the GDR like Wismar and Stralsund gave it the opportunity to apply for the status earlier. The very concept of WCH is based on the idea of the site's uniqueness. The local administration of Wismar and Stralsund found a way out of this situation. Firstly, they created a joint application and secondly, the cities created a special fund, which helps countries that need funding for the preservation of their WCH sites or do not have sufficient funds for the works required to obtain this status.

In the case of the Russian cities, the reason why the cities should not become World Heritage Cities was their destroyed historic urban structure. These two cities applied and tried to obtain the status for the whole historical center, i.e. not for separate monuments, but they failed. Immediately after that, Veliky Novgorod applied for the status for thirty-seven separate sites and received the status under the general name "Historic Monuments of Novgorod and Surroundings", while Pskov tried to submit an application once again, adding it to a number of documents. However, they failed, even on the second attempt. They then applied for seven sites separately. After that, they received the status under the general name "Churches of the Pskov School of Architecture".

Chapter 4 is devoted to the situation regarding the obtaining and current use of the WCH in German cities. The case of Stralsund in this book shows that in cities whose historical center is included in the World Heritage List, citizens often have no opportunity to influence directly the decisions made about how the place where they live should look. Local activists have been excluded from making decisions about what should be preserved in the city and what should not be, and what period of history should reflect the look of the historic city center. The opinion of the inhabitants on what the historical center of the city should look like is opposed not only to the opinion of the local administration but also to the position of an international organization such as UNESCO, as relayed by the local administration. Urban activists find areas of great value in modern society and use this knowledge to realize their right to change the urban environment. For example, they use the value of environmental protection as a counterbalance to the value of cultural heritage. One such area is environmental protection or ecology, examined in more detail in the chapter "The Right to Choose the Environment: Conflict of Interest in World

Heritage Cities (the Case of Stralsund)" published in the book "Politics and Culture in the Modern World" (Eremenko 2019a).[3]

The article in Chapter 5 focuses on the reasons why actors participated in the application for the WCH status, and how the status is used today in Russian cities. In Veliky Novgorod and Pskov, actors at different levels (federal and local) participated in the application for the WCH status. This article considers the role played by each of the three main actors (the Ministry of Culture of the USSR, the city administration, and local activists) and the place of the commercialization of cultural heritage in this process. For a more detailed understanding of the specifics of the impact of the status of the WCH in Veliky Novgorod, it is worth referring to two other articles I have published. The first one was published in 2018 in the collective monograph "The Social Space of the Big City" and was devoted to the study of the WCH status as a resource in the social production of urban space in Veliky Novgorod (Eremenko 2018). Second, a short version of the results of this study was also published in the World Heritage Watch Report 2019 (Eremenko 2019b) and focused on concrete examples of residential constructions in Veliky Novgorod, which would not have been the case, had the city been designated a World Heritage City. These studies also show that residents are proud to have this status in Veliky Novgorod without fear of losing it. In this regard, and because residents do not believe that they influence political decisions in the city, they take a passive position in relation to the protection of the WCH status. In turn, urban activists no longer focus on the very status of the WCH of individual UNESCO sites, but the preservation of the historical image of the city as a whole – or rather on what has survived the accidental development. Of the current actors, the museum staff took the most active role in obtaining the WCH status on the territory of Veliky Novgorod and its surroundings. They hoped to use this status to obtain more funding for the restoration of the sites, but these expectations were not met. For them and city activists, this status is a way of protecting city monuments and territories from demolition and building.

The concluding section presents all the main findings, limitations of the research and possible areas of future research on this topic. In addition, the main contributions of this research to the study of the impact of the WCH status as a whole are highlighted.

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[3] This text was awarded the N.M. Girenko Prize (Human Rights Activity and Agenda) in the 20th International Competition of Scientific Works of Students and Young Scientists in memory of Galina Vasilievna Starovoitova "Galatea" in 2019.

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Chapter 2

World Heritage City Status – a "Kiss of Death" or a Resource in a Conflict of Interest? The Case of Stralsund and Wismar

Abstract

This paper examines how the World Heritage Cities (WHC) status affects urban changes and discusses what conflicts arise in connection with this status. Does it hinder possible changes or can the status be a resource in a conflict of interest? Two German cities with joint WHC status, Wismar and Stralsund, were chosen as case studies. Empirically, this study draws upon interviews with the city administration, local activists, employees of museums and tourist centers, and representatives of local businesses. This has been supplemented with a qualitative analysis of materials from two Facebook groups: an official group of the city administration, and a group of the Green Party of Stralsund. According to the study, the WHC status imposes severe restrictions on changes to urban space but does not make such changes completely impossible. Additionally, the WHC status is widely used by different actors in various conflict situations. The city administration uses the status in attempts to change or preserve certain parts of the city's territory.

Keywords: Federal Republic of Germany; Cultural Heritage; World Heritage Sites; World Heritage Cities; urban space; conflicts; UNESCO; ICOMOS; Wismar; Stralsund.

2.1 Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century, there was a surge of interest in opportunities for cultural sites to obtain UNESCO international status. Today there are more than 800 World Cultural Heritage Sites. Obtaining the World Cultural Heritage (WCH) status is a laborious process but, most importantly, this status imposes several restrictions on the use of the sites themselves and the territories around them. In the case of World Heritage Cities (WHC), these

restrictions apply to a large part of the historic center and the "buffer zone," which includes many houses owned by ordinary citizens.

This article will examine how urban space changes through acquiring the WHC status and what conflicts arise thereof. In this article, we seek to find out whether the status of the World Heritage City is indeed, as Starin (2008) put it, a "kiss of death" for the city, entailing inevitable stagnation.

Two German cities in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania were chosen for the case study. These two cities share a WHC status but have no conventional territorial boundaries. However, these cities have a common history, common urban planning, and the architectural style of a medieval city. The study data stems from expert interviews and qualitative analysis of materials in two Facebook groups: the official Stralsund city administration group and the Green Party group in the same city.

At the beginning of the article, several theoretical approaches will be considered. This will be followed by a description of the specifics of WHC and the data. Following this, an analysis of each of the hypotheses will be presented based on data collected in Wismar and Stralsund. Finally, recommendations will be made regarding the nuances one should consider when applying for WHC status.

2.2 Theoretical approach

At the heart of this study's theoretical approach to studying the impact of WHC status on urban space is the idea of the "political right to the city." This concept is based on Henri Lefebvre's work, "The Production of Space" (Lefebvre 1968). Lefebvre defends the idea of a need to restructure the current social order within the city in favor of the rights of citizens to form public space. For him, society is inextricably linked to the concept of space, and changing one means changing the other. Bearing this direction in mind, the right to manufacture space is realized. According to Lefebvre and his theory of the three spaces (Lefebvre 1968), the essence of the "right to the city" lies in the aim to restore the rights of citizens to make decisions that form a perceived and desired living space. The author considers citizens a real active force for the transformation of the city.

Based on this theory, we hypothesize that it is citizens who change the city, whereas the World Heritage City status does not affect their activities. If citizens' interests diverge from those of the

administration within the World Heritage area, citizens' interests will have a more significant impact.

This study also considers concepts like the "kiss of death" (Starin 2008) and the "glass box" (Gravari-Barbas 2019) in order to understand more thoroughly how the WCH status affects urban space. The historical centers of cities and their surrounding areas are placed in/turned into a "special zone" (Barron 2017), where the basis for decision-making is not citizens' needs but the desire to preserve the city without making changes to it. "Magnificent, rich, restless, for centuries, sometimes for millennia, they have experienced the vicissitudes of history: wars, epidemics, earthquakes. However, now, one after the other, they fade, desolate, turning into theatrical scenery, against which the bloodless pantomime is played" (D'Eramo 2014). Following this perspective, this study hypothesizes that the city's acquisition of the World Heritage City status blocks all transformations in the city.

The third approach used in this study relies on the theory of rational action (Arrow 2012). All actions and decisions taken by actors are rational, aimed at maximizing certain benefits (and minimizing costs, respectively). From this point of view, we can consider the WCH status as a particular resource used to satisfy interests. However, not all actors have the opportunity to use this resource equally. The city administration has better chances, as they have expertise in the field of world heritage and they have more direct access to the benefits that WCH can offer. According to this approach, the city administration rationally uses the WCH status to promote its interests in situations where the status allows for the minimizing of costs. Based on this theory, it was hypothesized that the city administration has a desire to minimize its costs and therefore uses the WHC status as an argument as to why it cannot fulfill the wishes of its citizens.

As a result, the following hypotheses are put forward: (1) citizens change the city, and the WHC status does not affect their activities. That is, if the interests of citizens diverge from those of the administration within the World Heritage area, the interests of citizens will have a more significant influence; (2) the WHC status blocks all transformations in the city; and (3) the city administration has a desire to minimize its expenditures and therefore uses the WCH status as an argument as to why it cannot meet the wishes of citizens.

2.3 The specificity of World Heritage Cities

Defining an entire city as a World Heritage Site is the exception rather than the rule. To do so, a city must meet the rather stringent conditions of "universal" value. In this case, being nominated

for the World Heritage List merely conveys being a "historic city," e.g. Toledo, Guanajuato; or includes the whole name of the city, without specifying the site, e.g. Bath, Bamberg, etc.

The formation of World Heritage Cities dates back to 1977 when a group of heritage sites was first officially designated and included in the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List. This process was based on an agreed international procedure, through which sites were recognized as having "outstanding and universal significance" for the whole world (Molchanov 2003).

The Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which was adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (United Nationals General Assembly 1972), serves as the conceptual and legal basis for the formation of lists and actions related to activities for the preservation of historical heritage at the intergovernmental level. Among other things, it formulated the principle of non-derogation of rights provided for by national legislation in respect of such heritage. However, the protection of heritage is the duty of the entire international community (United Nations General Assembly 1972, Article 6).

Around the same time, the concept of obtaining this status for sites on a much larger scale than individual monument buildings began to evolve. The underlying aim was to preserve historic settlement areas as lifelong formations, which reflect the values of urban civilizations and, at the same time, create normal, modern conditions for residents (Bouchenaki 1995).

There is also a system classifying the properties that can be included in the World Heritage Cities category of "inhabited historic towns": " (1) towns which are typical of a specific period or culture, which have been almost wholly preserved and which have remained largely unaffected by subsequent developments. Here, the property to be listed is the entire town together with its surroundings, which must also be protected; (2) towns that have evolved along characteristic lines and have preserved, sometimes in the midst of exceptional natural surroundings, spatial arrangements and structures typical of successive stages in their history. Here the clearly defined historic part takes precedence over the contemporary environment; (3) "historic centers" that cover exactly the same area as ancient towns and are now enclosed within modern cities. Here it is necessary to determine the precise limits of the property in its widest historical dimensions and to make appropriate provision for its immediate surroundings; (4) sectors, areas or isolated units which, even in the residual state in which they have survived, provide coherent evidence of the character of a historic town which has disappeared. In such cases

surviving areas and buildings should bear sufficient testimony to the former whole" (World Heritage Convention 2005: 86).

Among the cities with WHC status, Wismar and Stralsund stand out for their joint status (Eremenko 2019). The historic centers of Wismar and Stralsund comprise a single World Cultural Heritage Site with no shared borders, i.e., about 1,500 structures in each of the cities with World Culture Heritage status share a standard status based on two criteria: (1) they have "contributed to the development and spread of brick building technologies and building types, the characteristics of the Hanseatic cities in the Baltic region, and the development of defense systems in the Swedish period"; (2) they "are essential in the development of the building techniques and urban form that became typical of the Hanseatic trading towns, well documented in the major parish churches, the town hall of Stralsund, and the commercial building types, such as the Dielenhaus" (Thomas, et al. 2000).

2.4 Methods and materials

This article examines the position of world heritage status in a situation whereby the city administration tries to commercialize the historic center of Stralsund (Germany), which was included in the UNESCO Cultural Heritage List in 2002 together with the city of Wismar. During January and February 2019, a series of semi-structured expert interviews (n=40) were conducted with informants from the city administration, local activists, employees of museums and tourist centers, and local business representatives. This was supplemented with a qualitative analysis of materials from two Facebook groups. One is a group led by the press service of the city administration "Stralsund City" ("*Stadt Stralsund*"), publishing the official position, while the other belongs to the green party "Stralsund Green Fraction" ("*Grüne Fraktion Stralsund*").

The cities of Wismar and Stralsund were chosen for this study because they share a similar urban layout, history and status, but do not share a common territory. This is important for this study as we can observe and compare the actions of, for example, the city administration and identify whether this was specific to that city alone, or whether we may assume that a similar situation is present in other World Heritage Cities.

2.5 Empirical research results

Let us consider the cities' situations in relation to our first hypothesis: the citizens change the city spaces, and the WHC status does not affect their activities. The most frequent conflicts in both cities are those between the owners and the city administration. In both cities, based on the

interview data, the most common situations of conflict around the WHC status arose at that time, when window frames were replaced and houses painted in a way that broke the official regulations. All these procedures are strictly regulated in the WHC zone, and any changes require a special permit from the city administration. The owner's choice is also limited to a particular color scheme developed by the administration and specific models of windows: "Most often disputes arise about the color of the house. We have developed a special color palette that can be used to preserve the uniform appearance of the city but there are always people who want to paint the house, for example, in acid lemon" [Representative of the city administration, Stralsund 1].

The most discussed examples of such conflicts in the urban environment relate to investors from other cities who bought buildings in the city and changed something in them without the permission of the local administration, which led to litigation: "A big businessman from Frankfurt buys a house in the city center from us and decides to break through one of the walls for his purposes. We are beginning to understand this situation and explain to him that this is a World Heritage City, and we cannot do that here. He does not understand, and then he drives his expensive car into the city and sees what we have been telling him. However, not everyone understands our value. We have to freeze their construction works" [Representative of the City Administration, Wismar, 1]. In such situations, public opinion is on the side of the local administration: "These people [investors] are trying to destroy our city! The city administration is right to stop them" [Local Activist, Wismar, 1].

Initially, it seems that the WHC status has no impact on these conflicts, as regulations regarding the restoration and construction work of houses of historical value had existed before the status was obtained. However, today, after obtaining the status, these norms apply not only to old houses but also to all houses in the city center, even if they were built in the twenty-first century. In situations where citizens do not try to change the urban public space as singular individuals, they also "run into the wall" of the city administration. For example, in the case of Stralsund, residents wanted to build a dedicated bicycle lane through the historic center but were rejected by the city administration because of the need to preserve the historic look of the WHC, thus leaving the cobblestone pavement unaltered. "We have bicycle lanes but they bypass the city center, which is very inconvenient for me because I have to make a big detour to get to school. So I'm not the only one" [Local Activist, Stralsund, 1].

Let us consider the second hypothesis: obtaining WHC status blocks all transformations in the city. The above examples seem to confirm it. However, if we look at the architectural structures in the city, we will see that not all the buildings in the historical center have been preserved in both cities. Some of the buildings in the centers of Wismar and Stralsund were also destroyed during the Second World War or during GDR times when no funds were allocated for the restoration of the buildings. New buildings are being built on the site of destroyed ones, but the boundaries of the buildings have to be preserved. In this respect, the city administration controls all the plans of houses to be built and responds by refusing projects in which the houses are designed in a mock-seventeenth century style: "Our task is not to make a decoration but to keep the city in the form that it was given to us and pass it on to our descendants. We refuse projects that imitate buildings of the past centuries" [Local Administration, Wismar, 2]. To date, the historical urban layout of medieval cities has been preserved in both Wismar and Stralsund but in the city center we can see twenty-first century buildings, which are built taking into account a large number of restrictions but do not copy the medieval buildings that are adjacent.

There are also cases of change made by individual citizens, such as in the federal solar panel installation program. Conflicts have arisen between citizens who wanted to install the panels and the city administration. This is due to the general view of tiled roofs (Fig. 2.1), which are one of the "trademarks" of Wismar and Stralsund as WHC. In several cases, citizens received permission to install solar panels (Fig. 2.2) on the wall of the house by court order (the map shows the location of this building in the yellow hall, i.e., in the World Heritage Area (Fig. 2.3)).

Fig. 2.1. Stralsund. Bird's eye view of the historic center of Stralsund. Tiled roofs. Source: Home Page of the Website: Hanseatic City of Stralsund https: //www.stralsund.de/en/city-profile.html (accessed 10.08.2019).

Fig. 2.2. Solar panels on the wall of the house (Stralsund).

Source: Iuliia Eremenko (January 2019).

Fig. 2.3. World Heritage Site Map of Stralsund.

The solar panel installation area is marked in purple.

The area of the White Bridges is marked in blue.

Source: Thomas F., Volksdorf D., Kuhlow L., Markfort U., Richter C. The historic center of Stralsund and Wismar: World Heritage nomination, 2000. Adapted by Iuliia Eremenko.

In this context, why not consider the impact of the WHC status through the lens of a rational action theory? Namely, the city administration has a desire to minimize its costs and therefore uses the WHC status as an argument as to why it cannot meet the wishes of its citizens. The hypothesis of a rational use of the status is well illustrated by a situation that developed with the White Bridges in Stralsund. The city administration decided to cut down trees in the White

Bridges in November 2018. Citizens were not invited to participate in discussing this decision. The first opposition to the decision arose immediately after the publication of a local administration meeting report. In winter, when publishing the negative attitudes of citizens to this decision in newspapers bore no results, organized groups of activists started picketing. The participants were both members of the Green Stralsund Faction, a German non-profit environmental organization, *BUND* (German Environment and Nature Society), and city activists who were not members of any official associations.

The administration's initial decision to cut down trees was not given any justification but later the administration's press service voiced two arguments: (1) certain parts of the trees were sick, as experts had shown; (2) historically, there were no trees in this area. It is necessary to reclaim this territory's original appearance, as well as that of other sites in the World Heritage City, if possible.

There was also a third argument, not used by the press service but voiced during an interview with a representative of the tourist center, which is partially funded by the city administration. Based on this, tourism is of paramount importance, and in order to gain the attention of tourists, the urban environment may be changed without taking into account the residents' opinions. "We need to show world heritage in all its glory so that tourists will return. Trees are preventing us from taking photographs now" [Representative of the Tourist Center, Stralsund 1].

Here, we see the administration's rational use of the WHC status. All references to the WHC status in this tree-cutting debate were used in an attempt to justify the administration's decision, which caused protests among residents. This is because the abolition of tree felling would have had consequences for the local administration, as they would have had to terminate the contract with the company they hired for this activity. The area of the White Bridges is not a World Heritage Site if we look at the map (Fig. 2.3). However, the administration uses the status as an argument in this case. Moreover, none of the activists pay attention to the fact that this territory is just a buffer zone territory. This is because the administration is the expert on world heritage issues: "There are special people in the city administration who know everything about world heritage. No one knows more about it than they do" [Museum Officer, Stralsund, 1].

2.6 Conclusion and recommendations

The status of being a World Heritage City instigates changes in urban space. The hypothesis that citizens can change cities according to their interests has not been confirmed. The WHC status imposes restrictions on the entire world heritage area and the area around it; as a result, many

changes in the city become impossible. However, as demonstrated by the reviewed conflict situations, which are directly related to the WHC status, this status does not prevent all changes within the city. The idea that UNESCO is giving the "kiss of death" to the historical center is not real. The city is changing over time: these changes require a lot of effort and time, but the city is gradually transforming.

This study has some limitations, the most important of which is the fact that, based on the expert interviews, we are often unable to talk about the underlying motives behind the actions of certain actors. Expert interviews and the analysis of official groups only offer an idea of the official rhetoric. Besides, the cases studied do not give a sense of all the situations in which the World Culture Heritage status is used. In the future, it seems necessary to examine whether the situation is similar in other cities with WHC status and to ascertain how rational the decision to obtain the status is.

This study has shown that the local administration rationally uses the WHC status to pursue its own interests. This can be explained by the fact that the administration has a monopoly on expert opinion on world heritage issues. They set the application process going for the status and prepared all the documents without involving local activists. In this regard, it should be noted that the involvement of local activists may contribute to the distribution of this expertise, which in turn can help to both preserve the city and use its territory in a way that is responsive to the contemporary needs of urban dwellers. Furthermore, it would be better for local activists to verify the arguments concerning the WHC status, as the city administration may manipulate citizens' opinions based on sometimes unreliable facts about the impossibility of changing urban space.

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Chapter 3

Urban Mapping of World Cultural Heritage territories (the case of Stralsund, Germany)

Abstract

Mapping in modern sociology is considered one of the main methods for marking and promoting the geopolitical picture of the world and maps of cities are no exception. The purpose of this paper is to identify the boundaries of the World Cultural Heritage (WCH) represented on various maps as well as the specifics of their use in urban change practices. The city of Stralsund (Germany), which has been a World Heritage City since 2002, was chosen as the model object for analysis. This study is based on an understanding of the map as a power resource that conveys the worldview needed by the city administration as the map client. As materials for the study, two main sources of information were used: maps presented in official documents, official media, on the information stands of the city, and data from expert interviews with representatives of the city administration, local businesses, employees of the tourist center and local activists. The study showed three main sociological aspects in urban mapping of World Cultural Heritage sites:

1. Multiplicity and targeting of WCH mapping. Urban mapping is a tool for local authorities to zone the urban environment to demonstrate the boundaries of cultural to different categories of consumers: experts, tourists, and residents. The city authorities create city maps with a focus on various interest groups in view of cultural and political communication in Stralsund.

2. Maps as a symbolic resource. The city administration is the only actor that forms and transmits the borders of the WCH, which gives its representatives a special expert status within the WCH. Urban mapping is a policy tool for implementing a symbolic resource to demonstrate the boundaries of the World Cultural Heritage.

3. Maps as arguments in conflicts around changes in urban areas. Urban maps serve as a powerful resource for conflict management by the city administration. In situations of conflict between the local government and the city's residents, including different local communities, city maps are converted into political capital for the city government in order to approve the correctness of the chosen program of action for changing the urban environment.

Thus, urban mapping is an essential part of the city administration's strategies for both locals and tourists. The pragmatic meaning of the sociology of urban mapping is in the definition and public discussion of the strategies for the use of World Heritage Sites by all city actors.

Keywords: sociology of urban mapping; urban map; urban conflicts; World Heritage Sites; World Heritage Cities; Cultural heritage.

3.1 Introduction

Today, a kind of "war of maps" is underway: some areas are marked as the territory of one state, others as the territory of another (e.g., Crampton 2003). A map is an essential unifying tool, showing what is "ours" and what is "foreign", for example, within the scope of national identity building (Anderson 1983). Maps of a city serve to legitimize ideas about how a city should develop; which page in history is the most valuable (see, for example, Harvey 1989; Barnes, Duncan 2013).

This work will examine the case of Stralsund, a World Heritage Site. The purpose of this article is to identify the boundaries of the World Cultural Heritage (WCH) represented on various maps and the specificities of their use in urban change practices.

In order to achieve this goal, the theoretical approach to the map as a source of influence will first be considered, therefore the specifics of Stralsund as a World Heritage City will be examined. Having described the design of the empirical study, this paper will proceed to the results of another study based on such materials as (1) an analysis of two types of maps, both published in official documents and brochures for tourists and located on information stands in different parts of the city, (2) expert interviews, and (3) an analysis of materials in the social network "Facebook" related to the case of tree removal in January 2019.

3.2 Theoretical approach

Typical school geography lessons teach that a map is an objective reflection of reality. But over time, the understanding comes that a map does not always reflect objective reality. It is not an objective imprint of nature and what is real, but a social construct (Harley 1989) and a source of influence (Latour 1990). When a map is drawn up and the location of shops, schools and administration buildings are marked on it, the imprint of the natural landscape is not being captured, but rather the fact that nature does not belong to it at all.

The idea that a cartographer or a mapmaker shapes people's understanding of the world around them, creating an image of a territory or place, emerged quite late: at the end of the 20th century. The British geographer, John Brian Harley, says that when people see a map, they look at it "on a daily basis" and do not try to think critically about it (Harley 1989). No matter how much mapmakers want to convey an image of objective reality, they are still the translators of a particular culture of their time (Harley 1992). Thanks to Harley and his colleagues, the map was discussed as a social construct, as "the interest of the owner, the state and the insurance company in it becomes evident" (Wood 1992: 19).

Bruno Latour promotes Harley's argument that maps are a social construct and shapes the idea of maps as a political resource (Latour 1990). Latour, based on Foucault's ideas, argues that maps are "permeated by power." They are created and delivered to "accumulation centers," for example, in the metropolis, and then used to manage subject territories at a distance. The map itself is an ordinary paper or tablet that can be easily torn or otherwise destroyed. However, the map is surrounded by a network of actors who are interested in it. For example, the representation of the territory of one state more than another one on a map may serve as a basis for the start of hostilities or the emergence of new trade routes (Scott 1998).

The form of the image of an object on the map is a choice, which is related to the limitations and possibilities of the map as a form of information transfer. When cartographers choose a projection, they use techniques that already exist, in order to be understood, but all these techniques, in turn, reproduce some discourse. Historically, cartographers have endowed maps with different symbolic objects that were "readable" by their contemporaries, and these elements dynamically changed. Conventional signs find application in the ways of decoration of the map, and they are a reference within these historical communities. Along with individual signs, in the course of cultural development, various systems of conventional signs appeared. Thus, not only

the "legend" but also comments appeared in the maps. As Jacques Derrida notes, this is namely the influence of the comments or "basement" of a map (Derrida 1976). However, to be understood in a certain way by those who look at the map created, not all the information, the entire "cultural code", can be put in a stitched line, in comments or other "marginal elements" of the map. Knowing what is not reflected on the map or has been transformed in a certain way creates a special power resource.

3.3 The specificity of Stralsund as a World Heritage City

World Heritage Cities have several special features in comparison to other cities in general, and cities with one or more World Heritage architectural structures in particular (Evans 2002; Russeil 2016; Gravari-Barbas 2018).

Stralsund stands out from a number of World Heritage Cities because it shares the status with the city of Wismar, with which it shares no borders, but has a common architectural structure. According to paragraph 26 COM 23.7 of the World Heritage Committee, the cities have been granted the joint status of "Historic Centres of Stralsund and Wismar, Germany" in 2002. The total area included is 168 ha, with a buffer zone of 448 ha (UNESCO 2002). The next point was the Committee's recommendation to the German authorities to "pay particular attention to regulations of design of modern details and proper use of materials and technologies for restoration of historic buildings. The height and design of any new building or extension which are considered to be necessary in and around the historic center should match the traditional horizon and character of the historic city" (UNESCO 2002).

3.4 Methods and materials

This study is based on three types of data. First, a qualitative analysis of maps containing information on the boundaries of the WCH was carried out. Since there are various maps reflecting the boundaries of the World Heritage area, the following types of maps created by the city administration representing the boundaries of the WCH were chosen in Stralsund: (1) maps published in official documents; (2) maps from information stands in the historic center of the city; (3) maps from information stands in the residential areas of the city; (4) maps published in tourist booklets produced by the city of Stralsund. The maps from the official documents date from 2000 to 2018, i.e., they cover the entire period from the submission of the application for WCH status to the present. The maps from the information stands were received on 31 January

2019. The Stralsund administration has not changed the map of historic cities of Stralsund and Wismar in the official magazine ("*Weltkulturerbe Historische Altstädte Stralsund und Wismar*"). Stralsund produces this magazine in cooperation with the Wismar administration, and therefore the map from the latest volume about the European Year of Cultural Heritage (Schwesig 2018) was taken for the study. Materials from books on the history of Stralsund were also used, both those published before and after the WCH. This was done in order to exclude the impact of the official map recorded in the nomination on the form of the city's image.

Second, a series of semi-structured expert interviews (n=20) were conducted in January and February 2019, with informants from the city administration, local business, tourism center staff, and local activists.

Third, an analysis of two groups' entries in the social network "Facebook" was employed as additional materials: (1) Stralsund City ("*Stadt Stralsund*"), organized by the Stralsund Press Service and which publishes the official position of the city administration; (2) Green Stralsund Faction ("*Grüne Fraktion Stralsund*").

3.5 The results of the empirical study

This section will look at the impact of the maps on changes in the urban environment, as exemplified by the January 2019 conflict between the city administration and a joint group of local activists represented by members of the Green Stralsund Faction, a German non-profit environmental organization and BUND (German Environment and Nature Society), but not by members of any official associations of urban activists.

The reason for the conflict was the decision of the city administration to remove trees in an area called "White Bridges" (Fig. 3.1). This place is close to the area with the status of WCH, but as we can see from the nomination map (Fig. 3.2), the White Bridges are located in the "buffer zone", i.e., it is an area with special regulation regarding construction and restoration works, however, it does not belong directly to the area with the WCH status, and the entire scope of the rules, as in the case of the WCH, does not apply to it (Russeil 2016).

Fig. 3.1. Stralsund. Bird's-eye view of the historic center.

The area of the White Bridges is outlined in white.
Source: Home Website Hanseatic City of Stralsund https://www.wismar-stralsund.de/das_welterbe/ (accessed 10.08.2019). Adapted by Iuliia Eremenko.

According to local activists, the conflict situation began with the fact that the city administration decided to cut down trees in autumn 2018 without presenting the decision at public hearings. The publication of the administration's decision caused discussion on Facebook, but no action by the city administration was taken to change the decision. The administration refused demands of the Stralsund Green Faction to plant an equal number of new trees in the area.

In January 2019, when special equipment arrived at the White Bridges to implement the tree-cutting project, local activists held a series of pickets demanding that the administration justify its actions. In response to this, the city administration expressed its position that the removal took place here for three reasons. Firstly, some of the trees were sick or already dry, as experts had ascertained. Secondly, there had been no trees at this place historically, and since this area was a zone of the WCH, it was necessary to return it to its original form. Thirdly, the trees on the White Bridges prevented tourists from taking pictures of the city panorama.

The interview data showed that the city press service insisted on only two arguments as the official position of the administration: "Some of the trees on the White Bridges are sick, as the experts had ascertained. Historically, there were no trees there at all" [Representative of the Administration's Press Service 1]. To clarify the period to which this historical reference relates, the press service was unable to express the official position of the city administration. Interviews with representatives of various departments of the administration showed that there were other arguments as well. For example, the representatives of the Planning and Development

Department cite as an argument a map from 1647 (Fig. 3.4), where not only the island, but also the bridge as a whole, is missing, as well as information that the island formed during the GDR: "The islands that could have been connected by the bridge initially did not exist, they appeared in the GDR period, when there was a ban on tree removal" [Administration Representative 1]. Other experts said that the growth of trees in the area was an expression of the GDR's misguided action: "Trees should not be there. No one has ever taken care of this place, and we are correcting that. We are going back to the historical view" [Administration representative 2].

There is also an argument that tries to link the status of WCH with this territory: "This is a World Heritage Site. We should take care of it and keep it in its original form, if possible" [Administration Representative 3]. This argument is incorrect because, as noted earlier, the area is in the buffer zone but outside the WCH. However, this argument is correct if we base our argument on maps located outside the central area of the city.

The third argument, voiced by the city administration, suggests that tourism is of paramount importance and that the urban environment can be changed in order to attract the attention of tourists, without taking into account the opinion of residents: "We need to show the WCH in all its glory so that tourists can come back to us. The trees are preventing us from taking photographs now" [Representative of tourist center 1].

The study showed that by creating and publishing maps of the WCH, the Stralsund administration is the only actor that shapes and transmits the boundaries of the WCH, which gives its representatives a special expert status concerning the WCH. This approach of excluding other actors from broadcasting information about the WCH creates a relationship of inequality. The city administration focuses on three different groups of actors to produce maps. The first group, expert organizations, is represented primarily by ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites). These maps are published in official documents and are based on the very first map of the city (Fig. 3.2) which was included in the application for WCH status published in 2000 (Thomas et al. 2000).

Fig. 3.2. World Heritage Site Map of Stralsund.

The black circle indicates the area of the White Bridges.
Source: Thomas F., Volksdorf D., Kuhlow L., Markfort U., Richter C. (The historic center of Stralsund and Wismar: World Heritage nomination, 2000. Adapted by Iuliia Eremenko.

The second group of actors are the residents, for whom the maps placed in different parts of the city are intended. These include, first of all, information stands located outside the historical city center, where fewer people live than in other districts. The third group of actors are the tourists, for whom special maps are created (Fig. 3.3) in which the main focus is on the WCH zone, while the territory outside it is represented with less precision. Thus, the White Bridges, where one of the arguments for cutting down trees was the need to create better conditions for tourists to take pictures, are not marked as an island or a place to visit.

Fig. 3.3. Stralsund. Map from the World Heritage magazine of Wismar and Stralsund, published by the City of Stralsund.

The area of the White Bridges is outlined in black.
Source: Behrendt S., Huschner N. European Year of Cultural Heritage. Welt-Kultur-Erbe Historische Altstädte Stralsund und Wismar, 2018: 68. Adapted by Iuliia Eremenko.

Thus, we see that the objects are represented differently depending on the audience to which the map is addressed. Depending on whether the map shows a bridge or an island, there is a change in the way the trees in the area can be treated. Maps depicting the area on information stands in the historic center of the city, which has the status of WCH, and outside the WCH, show that the area is an island. The maps published in the tourist booklets of the Stralsund city administration state that it is a bridge, not an island, and therefore should be free of trees. However, the argument of local activists that there may be trees on such bridges is disputed by the administration in two ways. The first affirms that experts have established that some of the trees are sick and need to be cut down. The second argument is that trees have historically been absent in the area, citing maps from the 17th century (Fig. 3.4).

If books on the history of Stralsund published in different periods are taken into consideration, it can be noted that a number of books on Stralsund, published after 2000 (e.g., an official book with the map for nomination) publish maps depicting the White Bridges area as an island (e.g., Hirsch 2003), while books published before 2000 depict the area as a bridge (e.g., Ewe 1969: 2-3).

Fig. 3.4. "Sciagrapiha civitatis Stralsundensis Pomerania 1647", a map of the Hanseatic city of Stralsund.

The area of the White Bridges is outlined in white.

Source: Rieck K. Zwischen zwei Urkunden. Welt-Kultur-Erbe Historische Altstädte Stralsund und Wismar. 2009: 5. Adapted by Iuliia Eremenko.

On the maps located in the territory outside the WCH zone, the WCH zone is "consolidated" and expanded to the boundaries of the buffer zone (Fig. 3.2). This effect is observed on various information stands in different parts of the city, except the central area. This fact, in turn, may be associated with economic benefits, as housing in the WCH zone is more expensive than in the suburbs. Also, the creation of such an "enlarged" zone allows for attaching a more extensive list of real estate to the WCH.

The probable purpose of the "narrowing" of the zone for tourists to visit outside the territory of the WCH, which we observe, for example, on the maps published for tourists (Fig. 3.3), is a pragmatic approach to the creation of specific tourist routes, the creation of a conventional set of attractions to be seen. This is necessary if the city administration fears that tourists will move to the peripheral area, become disappointed and not come back to the city and not advise their friends to visit the city.

This approach to the narrowing of the WCH zone can facilitate the city administration's navigation in the city center and determines the order of implementing restoration works in a particular part of the WCH and the approach to it from the side of certain bridges and roads.

This, in turn, reduces the costs of maintaining the urban environment in those WCH areas not marked on tourist maps.

3.6 Limitations of the study

There are a number of limitations to this study, the most important of which is the fact that theories can be built on only some of the strategies of the local administration, as in addition to the analysis of the maps, the materials of expert interviews provide only an idea regarding official rhetoric of the administration, local activists and representatives of tourism centers. However, they do not give us an idea about the hidden motives that guide the local administration of Stralsund in creating various maps.

Also, this study does not show how maps change over time in an urban space, and only displays maps published in tourist booklets between 2016 and 2018, but the maps on the information boards were recorded in January 2019. It cannot be said whether there are situations when some maps are actively replicated in some conflicts, while others are "forgotten" during the conflict in order to be used after the conflict is over.

3.7 Conclusion

Urban mapping is simultaneously a channel for the transmission of power relations, a means of representing these power relations and a means of producing relations of inequality and exclusion. That is, maps not only replicate, but also produce these inequalities. The city administration becomes the only expert on the WCH issue and can manipulate public opinion. The case study of Stralsund showed that the boundaries of the World Heritage area are different, as well as how objects are represented, depending on the audience of the map and the objectives of the city administration in creating it.

The following sociological aspects of urban mapping were highlighted. First, the study revealed the multiplicity of urban mapping. Various maps are produced and circulated: those located in the WCH area for tourists, those outside the city center and the WCH area for residents, and in tourist booklets and historical maps. Second, urban mapping is becoming a form of symbolic capital. The city administration is the only actor that forms and transmits the boundaries of the WCH, which gives its representatives a special expert status concerning the WCH. Third, city maps can serve as a resource for conflict management by the city administration. In situations of

conflict between the local administration and the city's residents, including different local communities, city maps are converted into the political capital of the city government to validate the chosen agenda for changing the urban environment. The example of conflict over tree removal on the White Bridges shows that World Cultural Heritage mapping can be one of the bases for implementing singular decisions to change urban areas.

The analysis showed that there are three primary map audiences: the expert community (represented primarily by ICOMOS), residents and tourists. The following strategies for representing the boundaries of the WCH were identified. The first concerns the symbolic "enlargement" of the WCH zone by including a buffer zone around the territory of the WCH, as we observe in the maps located on the periphery of the city. This may give the impression to residents that there is a larger area with UNESCO status.

The strategy for tourists is different. The boundaries of the WCH on official maps and maps published in the tourist booklets coincide. However, we observe that not all sites outside the WCH are marked. This "focuses" tourists in a particular, more ennobled part of the historic center.

The reason why it is important to consider WCH in this kind of map research is that in World Heritage Cities the city administration is tempted to use manipulation of World Heritage maps to implement its political decisions. This article examines the case of only one city, requiring research in other World Heritage Cities to confirm whether this is a common practice or not. This kind of manipulation of public opinion may have an impact on the leveling of the value of the WCH area, as society will not believe that a particular building is of value. This can lead to the careless treatment of WCH sites, which can be followed by their destruction.

In the future, it seems necessary to conduct a more detailed review of the maps published by city administrations of World Heritage Cities and to compare strategies of the positioning of World Heritage Sites in other cities of Germany and the world in order to identify strategies for using the mapping of World Heritage Sites in cities.

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Chapter 4

"Two Cities, One Heritage": The Joint Status of World Cultural Heritage. The Experience of Wismar and Stralsund (Germany)

This chapter is an adapted version of the study that has been published in *Urban Sociology* [Sotsiologhiya goroda] (2019), № 3, 70-79.

Abstract

Including a multi-site sites located in two different and unrelated territories on their list of World Heritage Sites is not a commonplace situation for UNESCO. Based on an analysis of expert interviews with representatives of the Wismar and Stralsund administrations and data from official documents and printed materials produced by the city administration, this article considers the reasons for obtaining such a joint status and its impact on the level of interaction between the two cities.

Keywords: World Heritage; Heritage management; joint status; urban historic centers; urban development.

4.1 Introduction

At present, there are more than a thousand sites in the world that have the World Heritage Site status. Obtaining this status has its various purposes in each case, and the ways in which the status are used are also different. In this study's analysis, the focus is on Stralsund and Wismar, which have a unique, shared status. In total, they have more than three thousand houses and territories in their vicinity. These comprise two historic urban centers, which have not changed in structure since the Middle Ages. Constructed in the thirteenth century, they were essential trading centers of the Hanseatic League in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century, they became administrative and defensive outposts of Sweden in German territories. Stralsund and Wismar made significant contributions to the development of

characteristic types of buildings and construction techniques common to the "Brick Gothic" Baltic region.

As mentioned earlier, these two cities have a unique status, and any construction, reconstruction or even painting and door replacement project is governed by a large number of local regulations. For example, in Stralsund, such regulations have been collected in a book called the "Old Town for Tomorrow" ("*Alte Stadt für morgen*"), published as a separate book based on the relevant section of the Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania State Building Act (GVOBl 1994). This is certainly not a trivial situation, since the cultural heritage site, in this case, does not only have multiple components but is also located at two different sites unconnected territorially. It can be assumed that the general status has a substantial impact on the socio-cultural interaction between the two cities, improving this interaction. That is, in this case, the territorial dissociation of cities does not play a significant role. In the proposed review and analytical work, this study aims to analyze the joint status of Stralsund and Wismar across its different manifestations. To do this, we need to identify the basis for the creation of such an site, to determine the main unifying factors and ways of expressing the joint status.

The research is based on data from semi-structured expert interviews with representatives of the city administration collected in January and February 2019. Conventionally, the categories of informants can be divided into the following groups: coordinators of projects related to World Culture Heritage (WCH), heads of tourism departments, representatives of the departments of urban planning and the preservation of monuments, the cities' press services, heads of the city archives and museums. In addition, official documents and printed materials produced by the city administration were analyzed. Furthermore, statistics on tourist flows collected within the framework of the research conducted by the land of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania in 2015-2016 were used.

Studies of WCH, or of the process of obtaining this status, are rarely concerned with the impact of the status on the analysis of interactions between different parts of UNESCO sites. This study's main consideration is the impact, in this context, on the "external" orientation of the status. Thus, several researchers are engaged in studying the impact of the WCH status on the increase in the number of tourists (Buckley 2004; Tucker, Emge 2010; Yang, Lin 2011). Another research direction is to analyze the WCH status as a beneficial brand (Timothy 2011). Within the framework of such research, which opts for a focus on "internal" changes, it is possible to single out those that study the influence of the status on levels of pride (Evans 2002; Jimura 2011). As

a separate block, it is worth highlighting studies on changes in stakeholders in connection with obtaining the World Heritage status (Miller 2006) and how this affects volunteers' involvement (Garrod, Fyall 2000).

However, these studies do not give us an idea of what happens in situations where the impact on the WCH site is distributed not only among different stakeholders within the same city, but is also shared by different bodies with different functions and statuses in different cities. There is no single coordinating body that unites these organizations. Studies show that the WCH status does not imply comprehensive control by UNESCO as an organization (Bianchi, Boniface 2002; Evans 2002).

4.2 Obtaining World Cultural Heritage status

First, remaining inside the scope of the two cities' cases, the circumstances preceding the submission of an application for WCH status must be considered. The status application points to a fundamental similarity between the two cities: the cities are united by a long history of medieval city formation, having entered the Hanseatic League and been under the authority of Sweden (Thomas et al. 2000). The cities, in comparison with Rostock, a city located between them, experienced relatively little destruction during the Second World War (Schmidt 2013). The most challenging period for these cities was the period of the last years of the GDR's existence, when there were no available funding sources, houses were destroyed, and people settled in the suburbs in new five-story buildings or on the territory of the former German military base (Erdmann 1960). The historical center was deserted, and its condition did not improve (Brunner 2012).

With the collapse of the Berlin Wall, life in Wismar and Stralsund changed. Moreover, the attitude to the historical center changed (Gralow, Huschner 2000). According to the city administration, it became important for citizens to show the world community that outstanding historical sites had been preserved in the former East Germany, and both cities began to look for a variety of sources of funding: "It was important for the citizens to show that they are no worse than important architectural buildings that have been preserved on the territory of East Germany, too" [Wismar City Museum Representative].

Stralsund and Wismar are not the only representatives of the existing Hanseatic cities. In 1987, a cultural heritage status was awarded to the "Hanseatic City of Lübeck" (ICOMOS 1994). At the

time of the application, Lübeck and the cities under study could not apply together because they belonged to different states (Germany and the GDR). Two other cities, Rostock and Greifswald, were important participants in the Hanseatic League, which have not retained the historic city structure. Rostock was severely damaged during the Second World War and was rebuilt without regard to the city's historical structure, and the urban structure of the historic center of Greifswald was significantly altered during the GDR period (Liedtke 2018).

Stralsund launched its application for this new status and prepared the first set of documents. This step was not directly related to the idea of obtaining funding, although some of those involved in launching the status-granting process made the same mistake (see, for example, Eremenko 2018): "We decided to become a World Heritage Site not to receive money, to receive more tourists or to improve our economy, but because we were convinced of the ideas of international cooperation, peacemaking, and that all cultures are equal" [WCH Stralsund Project Coordinator].

Wismar began preparing documents a few months later. In both cases, the application was on the shoulders of the permanent staff of the city administration's various departments. "No new staff members were recruited. We did everything on our own" [Stralsund City Planning Department Representative].

After informing the German National Commission for UNESCO and the Bonn Office of their wish to apply, the administrations of both cities were invited to join forces. They were then included in the Federal Republic of Germany's provisional list. In so doing, the federal government expressed its interest in ensuring international protection and recognition of these cities.

According to the head of the World Heritage and Culture and Media Department of Stralsund, this double nomination was due to the fact that if Stralsund had been granted this status, Wismar would have been rejected: "Our cities are very similar, and we were invited to apply together" [WCH Wismar Project Coordinator]; "This is the key concept that led to the development of the World Heritage concept. According to UNESCO, after the World Wars, we should work together in the field of culture and education. When we work together, we do not fight each other" [WCH Stralsund Project Coordinator].

Under section 26 COM 23.7 of the World Heritage Committee's 2002 section 26, the cities were granted the joint status of being the "Historic Centers of Stralsund and Wismar, Germany." The total area included was 168 hectares, with a buffer zone of 448 hectares. In the next subsection, the Committee recommended that the German authorities "pay particular attention to the regulation of the design of modern details and the proper use of materials and technologies in the restoration of historic buildings. The height and design of any new building or extension considered necessary in the historic center and its surroundings should be appropriate to the traditional horizon and character of the historic city" (UNESCO 2002).

Stralsund and Wismar were selected according to two criteria: they (1) "have contributed to the development and dissemination of brick building technologies and building types, the characteristics of Hanseatic cities in the Baltic Sea region, and the development of defense systems during the Swedish period." (2) "are important in the development of the construction methods and urban structure that have become typical of the Hanseatic trading cities" (Thomas et al. 2000).

One of the factors influencing the WHC status was the creation of a special fund by the cities, which helps countries that need funding for the preservation of their WCH sites or that do not have sufficient funds for the work required to obtain this status. "We also work with Wismar on the World Heritage Fund, which is designed to support World Heritage Sites outside of Germany: in poor countries and countries that have problems with the status and nomination process" [WCH Stralsund Project Coordinator]. The foundation has been created jointly by the city administrations of Wismar and Stralsund, who contribute part of the required money from the city treasury. The interest from this contribution amounts to about 25,000 euros per year. The fund allocates them to projects in other countries. Most often, these are projects that relate to the expensive work of analysts, architects, and restorers, who create documents necessary for the restoration of some buildings or parts of them. The last project was the restoration of an organ in a church in Havana, which the Cuban government is going to submit for inclusion in the cultural heritage list. "The project was chosen because it not only allows the site to help with the application for World Heritage status but also allows students studying at the conservatory to practice playing the organ" [Representative of the World Heritage, Culture and Tourism Department of Wismar].

4.3 Interactions between the cities today

An essential aspect of interaction between the cities relates to tourism. The previous research mentioned earlier in this article showed that the WCH status has a significant influence on tourist numbers. Since the two cities own this WCH status jointly, it is logical to assume that the cities would cooperate closely in this area. However, this is not the case.

The structure of the tourism departments in these two cities is different. In Stralsund, the department is only partially financed from the city budget, while the institution itself earns the rest of the money: "We are not a general administrative structure. We have to earn money ourselves. We receive only 25% of our funds from the city budget. We can say that this money covers the work of only two of our employees" [Stralsund Tourism Department Representative]. This funding system contributes to the fact that this unit does not report to the Department of Culture, World Heritage, and Media. They pursue their information policy aimed at increasing sales of tours and establishing links with hotels, restaurants, etc. in order to make a profit (Tourismuszentrale... 2019). In Wismar, a similar tourism department is subordinate to the Department of World Heritage, Culture and Tourism, and it receives 50% of its funds from the city budget. Another differentiating factor is that the tourism departments do not provide information about the partner city. The analysis showed that among the booklets of the travel agency Stralsund covering the last five years, there was not a single mention of the city of Wismar.

In addition, difficulties are notable in terms of logistics. Both cities belong to the state of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern). However, there is no direct transport connection between the cities. "People come here to take a break from the hustle and bustle of big cities and eat delicious food. They do not want to go from here to Wismar. It's far away" [Head of the Stralsund Tourism Department]. With the joint status, the situation regarding transport accessibility has not changed – there is no direct communication. The only way to get from Stralsund to Wismar by public transport is a connection via Rostock. The journey typically takes about two hours. In terms of road links, they also go through the primary center of this region – Rostock. There are no buses between the cities. Also, tourists are not offered joint excursions: "Unfortunately, we do not cooperate enough with Wismar to implement joint programs" [Head of the Stralsund Department of Tourism]. There are no joint educational

programs for guides. It is not supposed that a tourist might visit both cities in one trip. However, Stralsund and Wismar produce a joint booklet three times a year on events related to the topic of WCH. These booklets are distributed free of charge in both cities.

As the experts note, an important aspect is the joint strategy of presenting the two cities in print and electronic materials: "We have tried to connect our cities thanks to the World Heritage theme. Our corporate design for World Heritage materials is the same. It brings together our website, our publications, our brochures. This is one of the ways in which we have made a link" [WCH Stralsund Project Coordinator].

Stralsund publishes a magazine on cultural heritage in collaboration with Wismar. From 2005-2012 it published two issues per year, and from 2013 onwards it has published one issue per year. However, there are no jointly published materials in this journal. Wismar sends its articles to Stralsund, where they are printed alongside its own. Each issue has had a special theme since 2011. For example, in 2018, it was dedicated to the year of European Cultural Heritage (Schwesig 2018).

An analysis of the 2005-2018 editions showed that the two cities' participation in the magazine is not equal. 65% of the articles were submitted by Stralsund but only 35% by Wismar. According to the current Head of the Department of World Heritage, Culture and Tourism of Wismar, this is due to two factors: (1) Different levels of responsibility for WCH-related projects in the two cities: "In 2004, when Stralsund had just been granted the status of a World Heritage Site, they hired a specialist who was responsible for everything related to that status, while Wismar did not have a specialist in the field for another four years" [WCH Project Coordinator, Wismar]. The head of the Urban Planning Division took over the responsibility of UNESCO. He later left this position and headed a specially created department. (2) The difference in access to funding for the creation of the magazine: "The magazine is financed in part by the advertising posted there. Wismar does not have such expensive and well-known hotels and institutions that can afford such advertising" [WCH Project Coordinator, Wismar].

Another pressing issue for the two German cities is building control and restoration. A city whose center is fully included in the UNESCO World Heritage List differs from a city where only one building, such as a cathedral, has a similar status. As noted earlier, this status imposes great restrictions on any construction and restoration in and around the area. But it is also worth taking into account here that the modern needs of citizens differ from the needs of people in the

fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, for example, and the buildings and structure of the city have been preserved since then.

When they discussed cultural heritage, none of the surveyed representatives of the two cities' administrations argued that the value of this status, or in gaining it, lay in the value of preserving historical memory as a whole; or in preserving the memory of specific events that took place within the city's territory. First of all, the administration states that the WHC status contributes to the preservation of buildings. However, not all the cases studied were equally affected by this situation in obtaining the status. Stralsund, for example, had strict building and restoration regulations in place even before it was granted. All the situations that described changing the type and structure of buildings were already prescribed in local regulations, and the application did not require the creation of such regulations from scratch. In Wismar's case, it was the application for the status of cultural heritage that motivated the creation of documents describing in detail how and what should be restored and built: "We have developed a set of documents that regulate in detail all architectural changes in the city center" [representative of the Department of Urban Planning of Wismar]. It is the severity of these rules that certain owners of the city administration in both cities criticize. "We have had almost no conflicts with local residents, but when buyers come from other cities where there are no such rules, for example, from Berlin, they do not understand why such regulations are needed. Moreover, we have to explain it to them and that takes a long time" [Head of the Department of Urban Planning in Wismar]. "We have a special department that allows or forbids changes in the city center and resolves conflicts" [Head of the Department for the Preservation of Historical Monuments in Stralsund].

As regards the population's employment, both cities have long lost their original position as major shopping centers. The port has been preserved and is functioning in both cities. However, employment differs across sectors, and for example, the service sector has developed differently in the two cities (Statistical Office 2017a). Wismar is one of the largest shipyards in Europe for cruise ships. After the destruction of the aircraft plant during the Second World War, a wood-processing plant was opened in Wismar. In Stralsund, the focus is on river transport. The focus on the service sector has been growing in recent years. Two large museums and an aquarium – which opened in 2008 – operate within the city. "Unfortunately, we are not as successful in the business sphere. Our mayor is actively working to attract new companies to the city" [WCH Stralsund project coordinator]. Also, there are 37 large hotels in Stralsund (i.e., hotels with more than ten beds) (Statistical Office 2017b).

Although there is no evidence of an increase in the number of tourists visiting since the WHC status was obtained, the number of nights tourists spend in Stralsund has doubled. The administration considers the WHC status to be one of the factors influencing this, as Wismar and Stralsund had previously been more likely to be located close to recreational summer beaches. Neither of the cities are typically tourists' final destination. Most people visit them on rainy days as part of relaxing beach holidays in locations near the two cities. Tourists who visit these cities are typically of a certain category – elderly couples who travel together without children. A survey of urban tourists showed that most of them (94.5%) are from Germany, followed by Switzerland (1.59%) and Denmark (1.20%). All other countries (Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, and Poland) comprised less than one percent (Statistical Office 2016). The average age of tourists in both cities is 50 years (Statistical Office 2017b).

Experts admitted that at the time of writing, the cities did not have the infrastructure for visits from families with young children. Stralsund museums did not have programs for children nor group tickets, and the Wismar Museum just one year ago created a position for a staff member responsible for developing programs for young children and schoolchildren.

As far as opportunities on international platforms are concerned, both cities have equal rights to speak out within the framework of the association of German cities, whose historical center is fully included in the WCH List. There is a total of eight such cities. There are many other WCH facilities in close proximity to both cities that are, to some extent, competitors with the city in the struggle for tourist flows: "There are too many places around with World Heritage status" [Head of Stralsund Tourism Department]. In this case, the WCH status "deflation" is observed when sites with the same WCH status are close to each other.

The association aims to exchange ideas on how to resolve conflicts over the status and protection of cultural heritage. "We started by saying that it is good to share information not only with WCH project coordinators, but also with tourists, planners, the press, and monument conservation colleagues. We had two working groups that took turns at visiting both cities, but in fact, we stopped it because it took up time. However, we also saw that other practical issues we wanted to talk about could be discussed over the phone or by email. So we do not need to meet several times a year" [WCH Stralsund Project Coordinator].

Wismar and Stralsund jointly participate in various tourism promotion activities. This is due to the limited budget. The German Unification Day ("*Tag der Deutschen Einheit*"), is celebrated

nationally in one particular city that changes every year. We always do our presentation and hand out booklets together" [WCS Wismar Project Coordinator]. The cities have developed a unique slogan for this: "We have been positioning ourselves as "two cities, one heritage" from the first day of obtaining the status [WCH Stralsund Project Coordinator].

4.4 Conclusion

Five of the large cities built in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries and developed within the framework of the Hanseatic League on the territory of modern Germany at present have been preserved. Rostock was destroyed during the Second World War, Greifswald lost its original medieval structure during the GDR period, and Lübeck was granted the WHC status even before Germany's unification. Wismar and Stralsund applied after reunification, joining forces, but this did not form the basis for close cooperation between them. To date, there are very few links between the cities, both in terms of World Heritage and tourism as a part of it. The hypothesis that the overall status has had a substantial impact on the interaction between the two cities and has improved such interaction has not been confirmed. Cities are indeed similar in terms of such parameters as the urban layout of the historic center and architecture. However, the interaction since the moment of applying for joint status, although increased, has not resulted in a close cooperation.

The WCH status, as the city administration believed, solved two tasks at once. It gave them grounds to apply for funding from the federal government, as the national government is obliged to take care of the sites on its territory under UNESCO rules. In addition, this status proved that the area is no worse than other German cities in western Germany, which are of historical and cultural value.

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Chapter 5

Cultural Values in the System of the Commercialization of Cities: The Experience of the World Culture Heritage of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov

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Abstract

Under conditions of competition between cities on the tourist market, a city's image is constructed through emphasizing individuality and cultural value. This article considers the position of the World Heritage status in the system of the commercialization of cultural values, inside the conditions presented by Russian urban space. The research question focuses on the extent to which sites with recognized cultural value, such as World Heritage Sites, are included in commercialization strategies. The article also considers what assessments internal experts make of this status and how it affects the popularity of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov among tourists. Empirically, the research is based on expert interviews with representatives of the city administration, employees of museums and tourist centers, and representatives of local businesses and city activists. The study showed that the World Heritage Sites in Veliky Novgorod and Pskov are not participating in a commercialization strategy related to tourism. Cultural values are commercialized in Russia regardless of the status of World Cultural Heritage. Through the examples of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov, we see that sites that do not have the status of World Heritage can be as commercially beneficial as sites without this status.

5.1 Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century, there was a surge in interest in the possibility of incorporating cultural and artistic objects into the economic component of urban life. The New

York State Art Council was established in 1961 and the National Foundation for the Arts in 1965. These organizations have taken control of the financing of cultural objects and art objects without yet jeopardizing their commercialization. In 1957, the Ford Foundation established an arts support program, and other commercial organizations followed suit.

Shortly after, authors begin to search for the line between economics and art (Baumol, Bowen 1966). Different countries – especially the United States – have shown an interest in the problem of commercialization and have searched for solutions to commercialization's negative effects since the 1990s (Heilbrun, Gray 1993).

The following publications from this period offered notable contributions: "The Economics of Art and Culture" (Peacock 1994), which provides an overview of both the economic models applicable to cultural and artistic objects and of the history of America and Canada in this context; "A Future for the Past: the Political Economy of Heritage," which provides a comprehensive picture of heritage economy policies; "Balancing Act: Twenty-One Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy" (Matarasso, Landry 1999), in which the authors present topical issues relating to the political and economic dimensions of the life of cultural and artistic objects in the form of dilemmas (in particular, the dilemmas of "consumption or production," and "heritage or modernity").

The economic problems relating to the cities' cultural component have not come to the fore today by chance. The second half of the twentieth century is to some extent a history of a crisis in and decline of the industrial model of cities, whereby the city-forming industries of the nineteenth century have died out, their death bringing decay to urban settlements (Galkin 2005).

In the twentieth to twenty-first centuries, there has been a gradual change in the value of the diversity of urban architecture preserved in the city. The importance of the preservation of cultural sites in the cities has been felt differently, both in different parts of the world and among the residents of the cities whose sites have this cultural value. Thus, since 1972, one of the ways to substantiate the value of architectural sites of respective eras is through awarding them the status of World Cultural Heritage (WCH) by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). According to the *Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development* (UNESCO 1998), the transformation of cultural policies into a key element of development strategies, also linked to the economy, was identified as one of the most important tasks.

First of all, within city development strategies, cities with WCH sites imply the development of the service sector as a whole. For example, Russian researchers consider the problem of commercialization through the example of commercial activities in and around the Red Square in Moscow, which is included in the list of cultural heritage sites (Zamyatina, Zbarskaya 2018). Consequently, the cities with historical value – under the condition of the development of tourist flows – are undergoing the greatest changes. For example, in 2002, 682 buildings in Lijiang, China, a number accounting for almost 70% of all main street buildings, were used for commercial purposes to serve tourists (Bao, Su 2004).

As a result, a contradiction appears between the WCH status' requirement to preserve cultural sites and the desire to obtain commercial benefits from them, which may lead to their destruction. As some researchers have suggested, "It is honorable and difficult to be included in the UNESCO World Heritage List, and each country strives to include as many properties as possible in this list, as even the fact that a property is included in the list of applicants is prestigious and may have a certain commercial component" (Lebedeva, Romanova, Yakushenkov 2012). However, this duality of influence of the WCH status has not been sufficiently investigated in the case of sites with the WCH status in Russia. This raises the question of what purpose for the WCH status the actors will pursue when obtaining it, and whether the desire to obtain this status relates to the desire to commercialize cultural values.

In this article, commercialization is understood to mean the process whereby "the market system penetrates (or "colonizes") adjacent "territories" in which its principles were originally not (or hardly) applicable" (Hicks 1969).

5.2 Features of studying cultural property

The concept of "cultural value" as an object of public life is very widely used in the modern scientific literature (Molchanov 2000). This concept in Russian reflects the dual nature of cultural sites, which are both WCH and objects of ownership. The main criterion for defining cultural property is its significance "for the cultural heritage of each people" (Kolosov, Krivchikova 2002).

The concept of the "cultural heritage of all mankind" was first enshrined in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 (UNESCO

1972a). It was subsequently reaffirmed in 2001 (UNESCO 2001), as well as in the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2005) and a number of UNESCO recommendations (UNESCO 1993; UNESCO 1972b).

Under these instruments, the status of the "cultural heritage of all mankind" is aimed at enshrining in all states the responsibility to protect and preserve these sites (Carducci 2006), while issues of ownership, the scope of rights and owners' obligations are overshadowed. On this basis, it is not the owner who is responsible for the preservation of cultural property, but the state in whose territory the objects representing it are located.

5.3 Methods and materials

Within the framework of this study, we will consider the examples of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov: both cities that tried to attain the status of WCH for the entire historical center of the city but were unable to do so. Both cities started to prepare their first applications after 1989, following the example of St. Petersburg (then Leningrad), which decided to apply for the status for the entire historical center of the city. However, both cities were denied the application. Later, both cities modified their applications and 37 separate sites in Veliky Novgorod under the general name "Historic Monuments of Novgorod and Surroundings" and seven sites in Pskov under the general name "Churches of the Pskov School of Architecture" received the status. This distinguishes them from other cities in Russia, which initially applied for either individual sites (for example, the Church of the Ascension in Kolomenskoye in Moscow), or were able to obtain the status for the entire historical center (for example, the "Historical Centre of the City of Yaroslavl").

As part of this study, a series of semi-structured expert interviews were conducted during August-September 2018 and July 2019, in which representatives of the city administration, city activists, employees of museums and tourist centers, and representatives of local businesses acted as informants. A guide was prepared for each category of experts. Expert interviews lasted from half an hour to one hour. The collected narratives were deciphered and subjected to open and axial coding.

5.4 The commercialization of World Heritage in Russia

In order to better understand the problems of the commercialization of World Heritage Sites, it is worth considering the process of obtaining the World Cultural Heritage status in Russian cities. Cultural property in Veliky Novgorod and Pskov was awarded the World Heritage Site status at different times, but the cultural property had similar features. We will look at the relationship between commercialization and status in chronological order. First, we will consider this relationship during the period of making the decision to apply for the status; then we will move on to the period after Veliky Novgorod had already received the status, when Pskov was preparing to file the application documents again; and finally we will consider the time when both cities had obtained the status.

At the initial stage in both cities, the decision to apply for the status was primarily due to two factors: the Supreme Soviet of the USSR's decision and the activities of local activists to preserve the historical ensemble.

The first factor relates to the USSR's decision to ratify the convention on 9 March 1988 by the Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (Supreme Soviet 1988). On 12 October 1988, the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eduard Ambrosiyevich Shevardnadze, handed over the instrument of ratification to the Director-General of UNESCO, Federico Mayor Zaragoza. Shevardnadze noted in his speech that in the future, active work will commence within the framework of the Convention: "I would like to be honest that we have inadmissibly delayed our accession to this Convention, developed with our participation in 1972. The stagnant phenomena of recent history have also had an impact here. But we will try to actively work to save and protect cultural monuments, natural values in our country, in the Soviet Union, and in other countries to make up for lost time" (Shevardnadze 1988).

Three months later (12 January 1989), the convention entered into force, and work began on the preparation of proposals for the inclusion of the first sites on the territory of modern Russia in the World Heritage List.

Later, on 16 June 1989, the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a resolution entitled "On Measures to Ensure the Fulfillment of the Obligations of the Soviet Party Arising from the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" (Council of Ministers 1989).

In this resolution, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR State Committee for Nature Protection and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs were instructed to work together with the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics to prepare "lists of cultural and natural heritage values located on the territory of the USSR for possible inclusion in the World Heritage List" (ibid).

As a result of the federal government's pressure on the city authorities, work began on the preparation of proposals for the inclusion of the first USSR sites in the World Heritage List. A significant part of the cities that had a status was formed and had grown naturally, gradually, for centuries, increasing their territory around the original historic core, like the rings of a tree. This was the case with the development of Pskov and Veliky Novgorod. The core of each of them was the Kremlin, the spiritual and administrative center of the cities. It unites the two cities under consideration with another World Heritage Site, the Moscow Kremlin and Red Square. This site was included in the World Heritage List among the first Russian sites and occupied an area of 27.5 hectares, being the oldest part of the city. Despite having features in common with the Moscow Kremlin, Veliky Novgorod and Pskov initially did not follow the path the capital took. They did not receive the status on the territory of one Kremlin, but chose the strategy of applying for the historical center and a related complex of sites to be awarded the status.

It was this decision that had far-reaching consequences, as each site applying for World Heritage City status must be one of the types developed by UNESCO: (1) "Towns which are typical of a specific period or culture, which have been almost wholly preserved and which have remained largely unaffected by subsequent developments. Here the property to be listed is the entire town together with its surroundings, which must also be protected; (2) Towns that have evolved along characteristic lines and have preserved, sometimes in the midst of exceptional natural surroundings, spatial arrangements and structures that are typical of the successive stages in their history. Here the clearly defined historic part takes precedence over the contemporary environment; (3) "Historic centers" that cover exactly the same area as ancient towns and are now enclosed within modern cities. Here it is necessary to determine the precise limits of the property in its widest historical dimensions and to make appropriate provision for its immediate surroundings; (4) Sectors, areas or isolated units which, even in the residual state in which they have survived, provide coherent evidence of the character of a historic town which has disappeared. In such cases surviving areas and buildings should bear sufficient testimony to the former whole" (UNESCO 2005).

UNESCO's impact on urban areas varies according to this type of impact. A preference for one or the other type remains the prerogative of the local administration but is conditioned by the preservation of sites within the city. For each site applying for World Heritage City status, a clear concept regarding the site's positioning is required.

The concept should clearly describe the classification point above. This, in turn, influences which zone of the urban area will fall under the additional protection and control of an international organization. This concerns, for example, whether the area will be limited to a specific building and buffer zone around it, or whether it will be the entire historical center and its surrounding area. As can be seen from the classification presented, the level of protection required in each of the types of sites differs.

The second factor, as stated earlier, is related to the actions of local activists in preserving the historical ensemble. During the Soviet period, the centers of both cities were strongly rebuilt, and local activists had to actively fight for the preservation of the same image of the city. However, they failed, and many buildings and the general ensemble of the city were lost: "…it was testified to by the fact that we destroyed the environment in which the monuments will look organic, the integrity of the urban ensemble" [Veliky Novgorod museum employee 1]. Until the moment when the application was submitted to the USSR, the local authorities did not see any problem with the historical center's reconstruction; the tasks set did not relate to the preservation of historical heritage.

After the refusal had been received, both cities continued to prepare the necessary documents, but for particular sites. In a second attempt to submit documents, Pskov remained focused on including a part of the historical center as a single site connected with a number of other sites outside the historical center, but was again refused. This decision resulted in the historic center of the city being left without UNESCO protection as a controlling organization and, as a consequence, the uncontrolled development and destruction of the historic urban structure continued.

Today, experts in both cities recognize the fact that the failure to obtain the status for the entire historic center is a consequence of the fact that construction on the territory not awarded the UNESCO heritage site status is still underway: "On the other hand, it was the absence of the protection status that had a negative role in the future, because, say, the eastern neighborhoods of

Novgorod and the southern ones, not having the status of a UNESCO heritage site, are now being actively built up with faceless cottage developments, faceless buildings, and, in general, there is no shadow of the ensemble that was here 26 years ago…" [Veliky Novgorod museum employee 2].

However, under modern conditions, even the existence of a status does not guarantee the protection of sites that possess it. If we consider how control over the World Cultural Heritage sites in Russia is presently implemented, we can note that despite the existence of special international legal norms, section 172 of the Convention has not been implemented or has been implemented with restrictions. This section states: "The World Heritage Committee invites the States Parties to the Convention to inform the Committee, through the Secretariat, of their intention to undertake or to authorize in an area protected under the Convention major restorations or new constructions which may affect the outstanding universal value of the property. Notice should be given as soon as possible (for instance, before drafting basic documents for specific projects) and before making any decisions that would be difficult to reverse, so that the Committee may assist in seeking appropriate solutions to ensure that the outstanding universal value of the property is fully preserved" (UNESCO 1972a).

Additional special instructions from the President of the Russian Federation confirmed non-compliance with this paragraph. These instructions prescribe that the Government of the Russian Federation and the executive bodies of state power of the Russian Federation should ensure compliance with the provisions of the convention and the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (Assignment 2016).

In this regard, it can be concluded that obtaining the status of "World Heritage City" had its advantages from the perspective of local actors, but the implementation of advantages such as the protection of buildings on the list of World Heritage Sites is challenging to implement.

The restoration of monuments constitutes a significant expense for historic cities. A lack of funding in this area can have a negative impact on the commercialization of facilities, for example, discouraging tourists. The desire to attract funding for restoration work in both cities played an important role. However, while local activists in Veliky Novgorod believed that the restoration work would be financed by UNESCO, actors in Pskov counted on investments from the federal government and business structures: "In Moscow in 2016, more than 80 historical heritage sites were restored with funds from private investors. Moreover, this year they want to

restore more than half of them at the expense of private money" [Pskov administration employee 1].

Obtaining this status for individual buildings resulted in the territory, which does not have the status, being actively commercialized and used for urban development. However, can we talk about the commercialization of the cultural property itself? If we look at figure 5.1, we can see that Pskov, which did not have any cultural sites with the status until this year, received more funds from the tourism sector than Veliky Novgorod, which has 37 cultural sites.
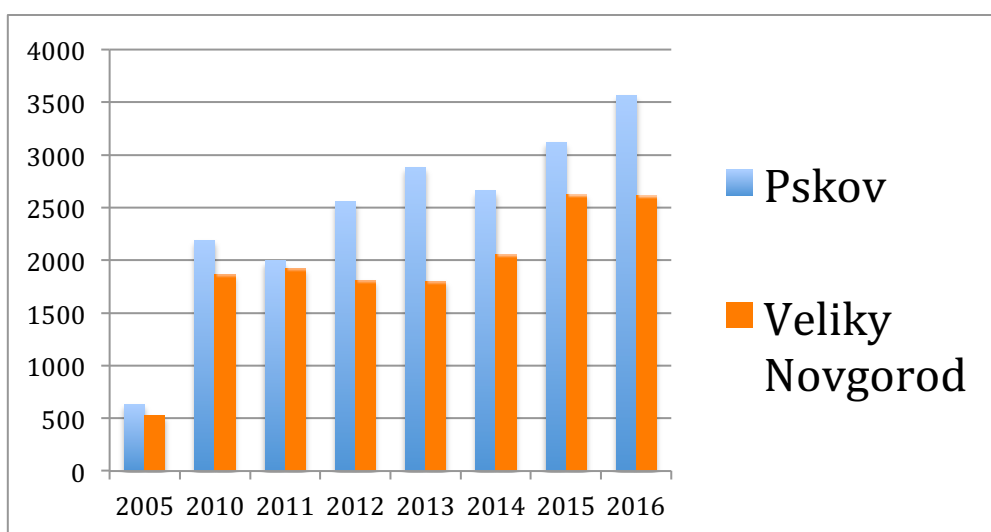

Fig. 5.1. The tourism sector's gross domestic product (GDP). Source: Rosstat (income from the tourism industry: the activity of hotels and catering enterprises). Vertical axis: Million rubles.

This is due to the fact that the tourism industry in these cities operates differently. The presence of World Heritage Sites in Veliky Novgorod has not influenced the development of its tour operators, which are unrelated to St. Petersburg and Moscow. In the case of Pskov, independent tour operators are operating in the territory that work with both Russian citizens and foreign tourists. Tourism consists of a set of services that, unlike industrial products, cannot be reproduced systematically in all their nuances. The successful sale of tourist products requires the creation of a particular form of relationship between customers and in this case, the city. In this regard, the reputation of tour operators, hotels, and transport companies here is essential.

Determining the value of the symbolic resource of the "World Heritage City" status, set apart from other statuses such as "Historic Monuments of Novgorod and Surroundings" or "Temples

of the Pskov School of Architecture" is difficult. Unfortunately, it is not possible to assess at this stage how the presence of the World Heritage status in a city has affected tourist flows.

5.5 Conclusion

Pskov and Veliky Novgorod perceive the status as a way of commercializing cultural values. The desire for such use of the WCH status is most likely connected with the collapse of the USSR and the fact that the economic situation has changed, with the cities having to look for new sources of funding after the closure of a number of enterprises. This is reflected in the use of the status to attract tourists, but we cannot say that the status of the WCH without the creation of infrastructure (travel agents, hotels, etc.) can affect the tourists' attraction to the cities.

This study has shown that the struggle for the World Cultural Heritage status, which began in Soviet times, was not aimed at the commercialization of cultural sites. In both cases, the attempt to obtain the city-level status of a historical center, rather than individual cultural sites, is primarily connected with the need to preserve the historical center and the hope of allocating funds for restoration work.

At the moment, both cities now include World Heritage Sites, but until this year, without the status of Pskov, they were the leaders in terms of income from the tourism industry in relation to Veliky Novgorod. Thus, it is evident that on the territory of the modern Russian Federation, sites with WCH status can offer the same commercial benefits as sites without the status. WCH status is not decisive and does not offer any advantage to the commercialization of cultural sites without proper use. As a result, we can note that the commercialization of cultural values in Russian cities occurs regardless of the WCH status and it depends primarily on the city administration's policies.

Taking into account the results of this study, it seems necessary to consider other cities as case studies, not only those with separate sites, with the status of their territory, but also those where the entire historic city center is included in the World Heritage List as a single site.

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Conclusions

6.1 Summary of results

The urban environment is constantly changing, even though it may have the status of WCH. There are different positions regarding the WCH in cities, related to views about the values that actors attach to WCH, which affects their opinion on the management of the site. Owners of WCH properties may disagree with the city administration on what cultural sites are and how to preserve them. The decision about who decides how to manage a site is either the society that values it (Pearson, Sullivan 1995: 33) or a society that has expertise on it as a WCH site.

The official purpose of UNESCO granting WCH status is identification, protection, conservation, and presentation of the world's irreplaceable heritage that is the priceless and irreplaceable possessions, not only of each nation but also of mankind as a whole. For surveyed cities the main goal of obtaining the status of both the World Heritage City and the World Cultural Heritage is the benefit of the city. The main actors who influenced the application for the status, in the case of German cities, were the city administration. In German cases, international cooperation was official main purpose. In the case of Russian cities, different actors pursue different goals. For example, for local activists, it was the protection of the city from chaotic development, changing the historical image of the city for the government of the Soviet Union - protection of cultural monuments in general. The development of tourism was the main unofficial goal and the primary way to commercialize the WCH in all of the case studies.

However, the effects of the status on tourism development are not obvious. If access for tourists is very costly and burdensome, and either facilities are available to host the visitors, or if the heritage sites are unfamiliar, inclusion in the WCH List presumably does not contribute to a strong increase in the number of tourists compared to cities that have historical sites and infrastructure but do not have WCH status. For example, the infrastructure for this purpose was not created and Veliky Novgorod received less than Pskov before obtaining the status in 2019. Further verification of this assertion requires a comparative analysis of a larger number of cases.

The current use of WCH status may differ from the original official and non-official purpose for which it was granted. Thus, according to the local administration of Wismar and Stralsund,

international cooperation ceased to exist with the appearance of the WCH status. Wismar and Stralsund barely interact with each other in spite of their joint status.

The analysis of tourist related publications published by the Stralsund administration showed that not all cities with WCH status use the status at all when positioning itself as a tourist destination. Since there are many other WCH facilities around cities like Stralsund that are, to some extent, competitors of the city in the struggle for tourist flows: "There are too many places around with World Heritage status" [Head of Stralsund Tourism Department].

Many of the expectations from different actors related to the status are related to the attraction of funding, including for the restoration of WCH facilities. The WCH status is not accompanied by financial support from UNESCO. However, money from the World Heritage Fund is mainly available for endangered sites in poorer countries, as the available financial resources are limited. The World Heritage Fund has declined in recent years and now stands at $2.471.580 in 2019 based on 31.10.2019 (World Heritage Fund 2018; 2019). This is little for the over 1000 World Heritage Sites listed. Europe and North America received the least funding in 2019, while most of the funding today goes to African and Arab countries (UNESCO 2019a). However, when applying for the WCH status, some cities may have hoped to receive funding from UNESCO, as in the case of Veliky Novgorod. The number of properties on the World Heritage List has increased by 16.5% since 2012, whilst at the same time the budget of the World Heritage Fund has decreased by 19.5% for the same period. In view of this situation, combined with an increasing need for support to countries that adhere to the World Heritage Convention, the supplementary voluntary contributions are helpful but remain largely insufficient (UNESCO 2019b). The maintenance of a listed World Heritage Sites remains the responsibility of the country in which it is located. UNESCO's resolutions presented to the national government of the country where the site is located are recommendatory. However, this status may help to attract funding from the federal government and private companies. Suffice to say, obtaining the status of WCH is not a substitute for applying for funding. As the study has shown, only Novgorod counted on UNESCO funding, and all other cities received the status as a way to attract external funding. The World Heritage Cities administration should compete with other cities for financial resources.

The status of the WCH may be an article about a tool for manipulating some actors by others in promoting certain urban changes. While building an image of an expert in the field of WCH, the local administration can exploit the WCH status in their interests. As presented, for example, in

the study on the use of WCH status in the case of tree felling on the White Bridges in Stralsund and as presented in the case of the study on the commercialization of WCH sites in Russia.

Interaction between the actors is not clear now, as urban activists do not keep constant liaison with the city administration and do not know its representatives. As can be seen from the example of Veliky Novgorod, inclusion in the UNESCO heritage list has different meanings for actors and is linked to different expectations. Actors do not see the need for close cooperation with each other, as, for example, there is no threat of losing the status of WCH. In addition, there is no external incentive to create specialized institutions for interaction. Thus, it can be concluded that urban actors associate their utilitarian interests with the status of UNESCO's cultural heritage and see it as an opportunity to realize their interests.

UNESCO's involvement in conflict situations is very limited. Conflicts with building owners in the historic center will not disappear once the status of WCH is obtained. The city administration needs to independently monitor the changes that are taking place on the WCH territory. As a supranational organization, UNESCO could initiate proceedings in cases of unauthorized alterations to the architectural structures on the WCH list, but the organization leaves it to the local authorities. UNESCO intervenes when public spaces or the city as a whole are changed, as is the case, for example, with the construction of a bridge or a change in urban planning.

6.2 Summary of contribution

The list of the World Cultural Heritage exists about fifty years and will be constantly getting bigger. On average, about thirty sites added each year. Being in the World Cultural Heritage List seen by many actors as an attractive opportunity, we even could speak about creation of "heritage industry" that emerged in the last decades of the twentieth century. The purpose of this industry is to make a profit from cultural sites.

In all World Heritage Sites studied in both countries, local governments use cultural heritage to give impetus to the local economy. This happened when manufacturing jobs have been lost. That is connected with the collapse of the USSR and the stoppage of the activity of many enterprises in the Russian cases and with the destruction of the city-forming enterprises in the Second World War. After the specified historical events, it was required to restructure production processes that required financing and time. It was supposed by the idea that heritage tourism can offer an alternative source of income when regions have lost their traditional source of income. However,

UNESCO is not involved in the marketing of sites in the tourism market. The sites provided by UNESCO for promoting the city among tourists are very limited. Urban actors are required to act independently to attract tourists. The percentage of tourists who find out about the city through UNESCO's official website or specialized publications produced by the organization is low. The use of WCH status to attract tourists is left to the discretion of the city administration. Nowadays, not all cities use this status for tourism development, for example, in tourism booklets, building their tourism brand. Thus, if the WCH sites with similar characteristics are next to each other, the WCH status "deflation" can occur. In the case of the cities under study, this is the case in northern Germany, where the three cities are WCH sites as Hanseatic medieval cities. When deciding to apply to the local administration, it is worth assessing the location of the proposed site relative to other World Heritage Sites. It confirms the theory of a number of authors that the World Heritage List may cease to have its high standing if too many sites are added (Batisse 1992; Thorsell 2001).

The status of the WCH becomes a resource in the struggle between the interests of different actors for changing the urban environment, which may also be expressed, for example, in various city maps issued by the city administration for different audiences. Not all actors can use the status of WCH to promote their interests, however, those who participated in the preparation of the application are more likely to use the status later in conflict situations. According to the section 14 of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* "Participation of local people in the nomination process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site" (UNESCO 1999). On the basis of the studies presented in this dissertation, we can conclude that section often concerns only the local administration, but not local activists. The interest in obtaining the WCH status may come from the actors of different levels (federal, local, etc.). The main actor in applying for German cases was the city administration and the local population was largely ignored. Alike happened, for example, at some federally nominated Australian sites (Corbett, Lane 1996: 41; Pearson, Sullivan 1995: 43). There are, however, also reasons to omit local consultation rounds, as noted by Streeten (2000): "It is time-consuming and requires additional resources, and there are inherent risks of pre-emptive action by owners who may demolish a building or obliterate a landscape fearing the likelihood of some future stationary constraint" (ibid: 96). However, as the study has shown, this also may be related to the desire to have a unique status as an expert on WCH within a city in order to use this status in conflict situations.

In general, it is difficult to talk about the positive impact of WCH status, as it is difficult to separate it from other factors such as tourism development or globalization. However, we could talk about positive impact of World Heritage City status. For example, after Veliky Novgorod was denied the status for the entire historical center, in addition to the Soviet destruction of the historical structure of the city, the city added even more serious destruction of the historical image of the city. This destruction of the historical image of the center of Veliky Novgorod probably would not have occurred if the city had been given the status of a World Heritage City. This means that the status of the WCH has, to a certain extent, a protective function in relation to the objects possessing it.

The study revealed that against the backdrop of urban conflicts related to the status of the WCH, the interests of urban residents are crystallizing. Urban activists find areas of high value in contemporary society as an example for defending their right to change. Environmental issues bring together various groups of actors, such as political parties, NGOs, and ordinary citizens. Confronted with environmental protection, the value of the WCH is seen as lower and people may be willing to sacrifice the status of WCH in the future to protect the environment. This has the potential to change the dynamics of the relationship between UNESCO, local authorities and the residents of the inhabitant sites. In order to prevent a situation in which the status of WCH is to be withdrawn, a legal prescription is required as to what to do in such situations and to what extent WCH facilities can be changed to protect the environment. Further analysis of other cities with WCH status is needed to identify areas of "contrasting values," which in turn may help to avoid major urban conflicts in the future.

6.3 Research limitations and possible further research

In general, it is problematic to study impacts, it is due to the lack of data, the multi-dimensionality of this phenomenon. The main limitations of this work seem to be the impossibility at the moment to operate with precise data on the changes in tourist flows after obtaining the WCH status. This is due to the fact that in order to identify the impact of the status on the level of tourism, it is necessary to cut off other factors that could have influenced the growth of tourism. Thus, it may be related, for example, to the global increase in tourist flows, as well as to the creation of the necessary tourist infrastructure (hotels, organized tours from travel agencies, etc.). It seems promising to compare the cities that received the status of WCH with the cases of cities that planned to receive the status, i.e., for example, carried out preparatory work on restoration, improvement of transport accessibility of facilities, etc., but gave up the idea to

apply for the status of WCH for some reasons. Comparison of tourism data in these cities five years before obtaining the status and five years after obtaining the status could give us an idea of the impact of the WCH status, but in the case of the cities under the study it seems impossible to make such a comparison for three main reasons:

(1) If a city acquired the status more than ten years ago, probability that tourist data can be found remains very low.

(2) Cities are not obliged to collect data on the number of tourists, and hotel data are not complete, because, on the one hand, in Stralsund, only hotels with more than 10 beds are recorded. Moreover, because hotels are often located in small buildings in the historic center, most tourists are not recorded in the statistics held by the city administration, as those buildings hold fewer beds.

(3) UNESCO does not provide data on cities that have applied for WCH status and have not received it for one reason or another.

(4) Visitor data collection is increasing by local museums and World Heritage Visitor Centers in recent years, but these data do not record the identity of the visitor, and we do not know whether the visitor is a resident or a tourist. It can be misleading, as, for example, locals come to the free World Heritage House in Wismar to use the Internet and meet people they know in cold weather.

In the future, it seems possible to conduct a study based on data on tourist flows. But in the cases of cities that have recently received the status of WCH, like Pskov, it might be already possible. For example, with the use of modern technologies, such as face recognition, in World Heritage Sites. This technology can give us an idea of the number of tourists. In this regard, the research scenario described earlier, based on the comparison of tourist flows in cities with the status and without it in the future, seems feasible.

6.4 References

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7. UNESCO. Twenty-second session of the General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, WHC/19/22.GA/INF.6, 2019a.

8. UNESCO. Determination of the amount of the contributions to the World Heritage Fund in accordance with the provisions of Article 16 of the World Heritage Convention, WHC/19/22.GA/7, 2019b.

9. World Heritage Fund. Statement of Compulsory Contributions as at 31 October 2019, 2019.

10. World Heritage Fund. Statement of Compulsory Contributions as at 31 December 2018, 2018.

Appendix 1

Table A1 Description of publications.

Chapter	Journal	Contribution (percentage of work done by the author)
2	Urban Studies [Urbanistika] ISSN 2310-8673	100%
3	The Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology [Zhurnal Sotsiologii i Sotsialnoy Antropologii] ISSN 1029-8053 (print) ISSN 2306-6946 (electronic)	100%
4	Urban Sociology [Sotsiologhiya goroda] ISSN 1994-3520 (print) ISSN 2077-9402 (electronic)	100%
5	Bulletin of Tver State University. Series: History [Vestnik Tverskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Istoriya] ISSN 1998-5037	100%

The articles listed above were published in peer-reviewed scientific journals in 2019. All these articles are single-authored, and I am the sole author of all the papers. All papers were written by me without the help of other researchers or my supervisors.

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