

Katharina Höftberger

MANAGING CHANGE IN HERITAGE CITIES

Evolving Understanding of the
Historic Urban Landscape in Khiva, Uzbekistan





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Abstract

ENGLISH

Cities are always in transformation, shaped by global pressures, local developments and the everyday activities of their inhabitants. At the same time, however, many cities have historical centres that are perceived as worthy of preservation and where change is a matter of debate. The conflicts between development and conservation in heritage cities have intensified over the last decades due to increasing pressures from urbanization and cultural tourism, among others. UNESCO has recognized the dynamic nature of heritage cities and the need to develop special approaches to deal with their preservation. This thesis focuses on the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* that was adopted by the General Conference in 2011. It explores the approach to heritage conservation and urban development that is inscribed in this UNESCO policy and its implementation in the World Heritage city Khiva in Uzbekistan. Khiva serves as a case study to retrace the lines of conflict between conservation and development and to discuss the effects of the application of first steps and tools of the Historic Urban Landscape approach.

DEUTSCH

Städte sind in stetigem Wandel, geprägt durch globale Einflüsse, lokale Entwicklungen und die alltäglichen Aktivitäten ihrer Bewohner*innen. Gleichzeitig haben viele Städte historische Zentren, die als erhaltenswert erachtet werden und in denen Veränderungen umstritten sind. Die Konflikte zwischen Entwicklung und Erhaltung in Kulturerbestädten haben sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten unter anderem aufgrund des zunehmenden Drucks durch Urbanisierung und Kulturtourismus verschärft. Die UNESCO hat die dynamische Lebendigkeit von Kulturerbestädten und die damit verbundene Notwendigkeit, spezielle Ansätze für ihren Schutz zu entwickeln, erkannt. Diese Arbeit konzentriert sich auf die *Empfehlung über historische Stadtlandschaften*, die 2011 von der Generalkonferenz beschlossen wurde. Sie untersucht den Ansatz zur Erhaltung des Kulturerbes und zur Stadtentwicklung, der in dieser UNESCO-Politik verankert ist, sowie ihre Umsetzung in der Weltkulturerbestadt Khiva in Usbekistan. Khiva dient als Fallstudie, um die Konfliktlinien zwischen Erhaltung und Entwicklung nachzuvollziehen und die Auswirkungen der Anwendung erster Schritte und Werkzeuge des Ansatzes der historischen Stadtlandschaft zu diskutieren.



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Acronyms

BCE	Before the Common Era
CE	Common Era
CIAM	Congrès Internationaux D'architecture Moderne
GIS	Geographic Information System
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IICAS	International Institute for Central Asian Studies
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
LHC	League of Historical Cities
MoC	Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
OWHC	Organization of World Heritage Cities
PDP	Project of Detailed Planning
PPP	Public Private Partnerhsip
RoU	Republic of Uzbekistan
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SOUV	Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USD	United States Dollar
WHITRAP	World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia and Pacific Region

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1

Introduction

In 2019 and early 2020 I was working on an urban regeneration project in Khiva, Uzbekistan¹. Our task was to make an in-depth analysis of the city and the main challenges it was facing. Based on this, we developed a set of recommendations for future development on different scales. The final report now serves as a basis of decision-making for different international development banks that are planning to invest in tourism and urban development in the city.

I was fascinated with the city. Khiva's most ancient, central part looks like a scenery from an Arabic fairy tale. Mosques, minarets, *madrasahs* (seminaries), caravanserais and residential houses, all built from clay bricks, some decorated with turquoise tiles and skilfully carved wooden columns. Several of these historic buildings have been carefully converted into hotels and restaurants for the many tourists arriving every day. The area is surrounded by an enormous wall and known as *Itchan Kala* (inner fortress). In 1990, it was inscribed as a cultural heritage site on the UNESCO World Heritage list.

The rest of the city, even though not visited by tourists that much, is interesting, too. Itchan Kala is surrounded by residential neighbourhoods that form a tight-knit urban structure in which the organic fabric of old times is still clearly visible even though most buildings date from the twentieth century. At a distance of 200 to 900 meters from the inner fortress one can still find the remainders of the outer fortress (*Dishan Kala*): bits and pieces of another ancient wall that was not preserved that well and much of which has been lost. Further out, to the north and south, new settlements have developed in the 70s and 80s.

One of the features that made Ichan Kala especially attractive to me was that it is still an authentic place of daily life. People live and work there. You can see the children playing in the streets, the elderly sitting on *tapchans*² in front of their houses, you can even spot small urban gardens where families grow fruits and vegetables. At the same time, carpenters, potters, weavers and tailors have their workshops in the city and offer their goods for sale. While being confronted with a growing number of visitors, people are still welcoming, friendly and proud of their traditional hospitality.

Yet, conflicts over space are looming. An ambitious city administration strives to increase the number of tourists by creating new attractions and expanding touristic infrastructure. Locals are encouraged to transform their homes into boutique hotels and restaurants and to move out of the historic area. Large scale resettlements and demolitions have taken place in Dishan Kala in order to generate space for new hotels, shops and representative public spaces for visitors. Foreign investments are drawn to the city for infrastructure development and entertainment projects.

Confronted with this situation, I could not help but wonder, how the proposed developments would be compatible with the World Heritage status of the city. And more generally, how can a city, as a dynamic, living organism with all the social and economic activities demanding adaptations and transformations, be 'conserved'? How do we have to approach preservation of living urban heritage in contrast to static architectural heritage?

¹ I have deliberately chosen to use the first-person perspective in my thesis. While this style is still rather uncommon in technical sciences, social scientists use it to reveal the subject behind the research.

² A tapchan is a typical piece of outdoor furniture in Central Asia that looks like a large wooden bed wood combined with a table. Around 8 people can sit on it comfortably to eat or just to relax.



Figure 1: Kalta Minor, the ‘short minaret’, is the landmark of Khiva. Source: Author’s own photograph, April 2019.

1.1 State of the Art

Obviously, I was not the first person on the planet to come up with these questions. Historical cities have recognized that they face special challenges a long time ago and started to cooperate in order to exchange knowledge and experience. The League of Historical Cities (LHC) was founded in the late 1980s to contribute to the development of historical cities. It holds World Conferences roughly every two years and has 119 member cities (LHC 2020). In the early 1990s, UNESCO and the City of Québec initiated the foundation of the Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC). More than 300 UNESCO World Heritage Cities are engaged in this network to facilitate exchange of information and expertise, training and awareness raising via congresses, conferences, seminars and workshops. Recognizing that all heritage cities face similar challenges of preservation and development the mission is to “help member cities to adapt and improve their heritage management methods” (OWHC 2020a). The theme of the next World Congress of the OWHC in 2021, “Enhancing Livability in World Heritage Cities”, addresses the challenges of growing urbanization and pressures on World Heritage Cities:

In some of them, increasingly unaffordable rents and unsustainable tourism displace local communities that have been living there for generations. In others, unviable urban development contributes to the disappearance of places or practices that carry an invaluable tangible and intangible heritage (OWHC 2020b).

In the early years of this millennium the call for a more holistic view on urban heritage became louder. Spearheaded by architects and urban planners within UNESCO, the World Heritage Cities Programme was launched in 2005. An international working group was formed comprising members of the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Convention (see chapter 3.2) and other expert organizations in the field of urban development and heritage conservation. Over the following six years, they identified threats and challenges to historic cities preservation and developed a new guideline for the management of World Heritage Cities: the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, that was adopted by UNESCO’s General Conference in November 2011 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020a). This new approach recognizes the “dynamic nature of living cities” (UNESCO 2011a, pmb1) and “moves beyond the preservation of the physical environment, [focusing] on the entire human environment with all of its tangible and intangible qualities” (UNESCO 2013, 5). It advocates for a stronger link between planning and conservation strategies, arguing that “urban conservation lies at the very heart of urban planning” (UNESCO 2011a, appx). UN Habitat (2018) underlines this statement by stating that “[w]ell planned urbanization protects and safeguards the cultural and natural heritage” (ibid., 63).

Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers reflected their work at UNESCO in two books about the Historic Urban Landscape approach. The first one explores its development and discusses the need for a “transition from the classical paradigm of ‘conservation’ to the one of ‘managing change’” (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 193), while the second volume is concerned with the application of the landscape approach discussed from the perspectives of interdisciplinary contributors and includes a toolkit for implementation (Bandarin & Van Oers 2015). The series was recently followed by a third publication (Pereira Roders & Bandarin 2019) that presents 27 case studies on the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. Loes Veldpaus (2015), in close collaboration with UNESCO, explored

how the Historic Urban Landscape approach could foster the integration of urban and heritage planning in multilevel governance drawing on theory and methodology of policy research.

More general questions of urban conservation and development have been widely discussed in academia and planning practice. Bringing conservation and development together in the notion of 'balance' is

an oft-heard planning objective, but in fact, one of the chief conundrums bedeviling contemporary heritage theory and practice as well as urban planning and management. This applies especially in urban contexts where a long history has resulted in a rich legacy of the past, both tangible and intangible, and where pressures to create new environmental conditions, claimed to be better suited to the needs of modern economic activities, are concentrated (Labadi and Logan 2015, 1).

The tension between conservation and development could also be perceived in Vienna over the recent years, when the plans for a new hotel tower caused the World Heritage Committee to put the Historic Centre of Vienna onto the List of World Heritage in Danger (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020e).

"How to balance the imperative of preserving heritage authenticity and integrity with the need for innovation and change?" asks Chiara Ronchini 2019 (192), addressing the challenges of cultural tourism that is increasingly affecting heritage sites and their preservation. Sybille Frank (2016) talks of a 'heritage boom' transforming heritage objects and places into tourist attractions (ibid., 3). The term 'museumification' was coined for the often rather "short-sighted vision of tourism, exploiting heritage as a commodity without a strategy in place and without taking into consideration the lives and the necessities of all stakeholders" (Ronchini 2019, 181). The relations between heritage and tourism are discussed at international conferences (cf. Cravidão et al. 2017) and the comprehensive Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research (Waterton & Watson 2015) features a chapter about this complex issue (Light 2015), too. Most recently, the outbreak of COVID-19 and the related collapse of the tourism industry has moved the OWHC to explore possibilities for a more sustainable cultural tourism (Smith & Ripp 2020).

Integrated into the discourses of urban and tourism development, cultural heritage is also increasingly being discussed as having a positive impact on sustainable development (cf. Riganti & Nijkamp 2004; Gražulevičiūtė 2006; Labadi 2017; Larsen & Logan 2018). "The New Urban Agenda recognizes urban culture and heritage as important factors in urban sustainable development with many references to the roles of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in tourism, poverty reduction, and employment" (UN HBITAT 2018, 63 referring to UN 2017).

When it comes to the urban heritage of Uzbekistan and, more specifically, of Khiva my access to academic literature is severely restricted. Being limited to the English and German language is an issue, since the local and regional academic discourse is conducted in Uzbek and Russian. Part of the literature available in English deals with the architectural heritage of the area, regarding the history and specific qualities of monuments (cf. Knobloch 2001). There is also a reflection about the Soviet restoration

style of the 1970s and 80s that strongly affected Uzbek monuments (cf. Demchenko 2011) and an evolving body of literature on the construction of heritage for the purpose of nation building in Uzbekistan (Gorshenina 2014; Paskaleva 2015; Matyakubova 2019). Another important field of research in the context of Khiva is concerned with geological issues that drive the deformations of ancient structures in the city (cf. Mavlayanova & Ismailov 2004). Matters of heritage preservation and management have been discussed in Uzbekistan since the 1990s. The Khiva Declaration on Tourism and the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage clearly states “the need to generate a greater variety of cultural tourism products, so as to control pressures on heritage sites” (UNWTO 1999, art. 2). It also promotes integrated conservation and management of heritage sites (ibid., art. 4, 5). A scientific debate about urban development and the implementation of a holistic approach to urban preservation and management as put forward in the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is only starting to evolve. Recent efforts by UNESCO to develop a solid base of heritage documentation (GIS database) for informed decision making have been scientifically documented (Vileikis et al. 2017). The publication also addresses the wider context of the survey:

lack of documentation, systematic monitoring and a digital database, of the historic buildings and dwellings within the historic centers [of Bukhara, Samarkand and Khiva], are threatening the World Heritage properties and delaying the development of a proper management mechanism for the preservation of the heritage and an interwoven city urban development. Unlike the monuments, the traditional historic houses are being demolished without any enforced legal protection, leaving no documentation to understand the city history and its urban fabric as well of way of life, traditions and customs over the past centuries (Vileikis et al. 2017, 311).

The enquiry included short interviews with the residents of vernacular buildings within the World Heritage properties, thereby integrating the community into the assessment and promoting heritage awareness (ibid., 317). In Bukhara, stock-taking was followed by a wider values assessment, economic assessment and broad stakeholder consultation that led to the development of an Integrated Management Plan for the Historic Centre of Bukhara (Vileikis et al. 2019). A similar process has taken place in Khiva but is not covered that broadly by academic publications (Vileikis et al. 2017). Ronchini (2019, 182) notes that there is still no management plan in place for Itchan Kala, and that the opportunity should be taken to “apply the most current approaches on heritage, such as the UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape”. The recently published State of Conservation Report (Itchan Kala Museum Reserve et al. 2020), however, announces the early submission of a *Management Plan for Itchan Kala World Heritage Property 2020-2025* to the World Heritage Centre for review by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

1.2 Research Questions and Methodology

My original research interest evolved around the question, how a World Heritage city, as a dynamic, living organism with social and economic activities demanding adaptations and transformations, could be ‘conserved’, or in short:

Question: How can conservation and development in a heritage city be reconciled?

This is of course a very broad question that needs to be broken down and focused in order to become manageable within the scope of a master thesis.

The UNESCO, supported by its Advisory Bodies, is an internationally acknowledged expert organization for the preservation of cultural and natural heritage. As a first step in focusing, I therefore decided to investigate which tools and practices UNESCO has in place to guide Member States in heritage preservation in general, and as regards to urban heritage more specifically. I did a thorough literature and desk research on the organization and especially on the World Heritage Convention and related recommendations. Sources of my research were relevant international documents (declarations, operational guidelines, records, etc.), the official websites of UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre, as well as secondary literature.

Question: What are the most recent policies UNESCO is deploying for the conservation of World Heritage cities?

Method: Literature and desk research

Sources: Documents, websites, secondary literature

Soon, I came across the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* that was adopted by UNESCO’s General Conference in 2011 after several years of consultation and development. This new policy launched by UNESCO within the frame of the World Heritage Cities Programme is meant to set new standards for urban conservation and to strongly integrate preservation efforts with development needs. In order to understand the proclaimed change of paradigm that came along with the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, I did a thorough analysis of the Recommendation itself, as well as a review of the vast body of literature that has come along with it over the last years. I also got in touch with experts from the World Heritage Centre to clarify open questions on the Recommendation and its implementation.

Questions: What kind of approach to heritage conservation and urban development is represented by the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape?

What processes and methods does it recommend for the reconciliation of conservation and development?

What actions does UNESCO take to further the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach on the global level?

Method: Document analysis, literature review, expert interviews

Sources: Official UNESCO documents and related literature, representatives of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Coming back to where my interest on the topic originated from, I then enquired how the Historic Urban Landscape approach has been applied in Khiva. The main focus of my research was on understanding the implementation process of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* and how it may have contributed to a better integration of conservation and development processes in the city. Since the updated management plan for Itchan Kala has not been published yet, my document sources were limited to a draft version from 2017, the 2018 report of the ICOMOS Advisory Mission and the State of Conservation Reports by the States Party (most importantly the most recent one from 2020). However, in order to retrace and understand the implementation process I heavily relied on expert interviews with relevant stakeholders from the local UNESCO Office in Tashkent, regional ICOMOS representatives, as well as heritage researchers and practitioners that have been active in the area. Unfortunately, I could not get in touch with national or local representatives of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Due to travel restrictions after the global outbreak of COVID-19 in the spring of 2020, I was not able to conduct a field trip to Khiva for further personal observations and face-to-face interviews. This is also why the perspective of the local population could not be integrated in the research process. However, related to my work previously conducted in Khiva, I visited the city in April and November 2019. In the course of these field trips I gained important insights via explorative walks and mappings, a series of interviews with local residents and entrepreneurs, as well as workshops and informal conversations with representatives of the local and regional administrations. These impressions provided me with an important basis to understand the Uzbek planning culture and the main challenges Khiva is facing today.

Questions: How was the Historic Urban Landscape approach applied in the context of heritage conservation and urban development planning in Khiva over the last years?

How does urban development in Khiva over the last years reflect a new understanding of the Historic Urban Landscape?

To what extent does the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva support the reconciliation of conservation and development in urban regeneration of the city?

Method: Document analysis, expert interviews

Sources: Official UNESCO/ICOMOS documents, representatives of UNESCO Office in Tashkent and ICOMOS, local and international heritage researchers and practitioners

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured into five main parts plus references. The first chapter gave an introduction to the origin of the research interest as well as to the current state of the art in relation to the field, and set out the research questions and methodology.

In chapter two, I will first express my own understanding of research practice and knowledge production, with a special focus on space production and urban planning. In order to understand the broader theoretical context and adequately embed my research in the field, the chapter will then go on to explore the concept of 'heritage' and the special implications in relation to heritage tourism and urban conservation. Last but not least, I will dig into the field of policy studies to provide a useful framework for the analysis of international policy implementation.

Chapter three provides another important input for the work on the case study. I will give an introduction to UNESCO and its functioning as an international organization. Then I will move on to explain the World Heritage system, including its history, convention, organs and statutory processes. Finally, chapter three will explore the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. I will map out its central messages and methods to provide a reference for the analysis in the case of Khiva. I will also set out, how UNESCO has worked on implementing the Historic Urban Landscape approach on a global scale so far.

In chapter four, the case study of Khiva is presented. I will set off with a general introduction to Uzbekistan including its history, cultural heritage and relations to UNESCO. I will then direct the focus on Khiva, presenting some key data on the city and its environment, recent urban developments and information on the heritage site, Itchan Kala. The last section of chapter four will describe recent and ongoing activities in relation to heritage conservation and management that need to be considered in order to assess the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in the city.

Chapter five, finally, summarizes the findings and delivers conclusions. I will address the research questions in relation to the case study by reflecting on the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva. I will then bring in some of the theoretical concepts presented in chapter two, to conceptualize some of the findings and reflect them in a broader context. In the final conclusion I will discuss the possibility to reconcile conservation and urban development with reference to the case of Khiva, reflect on methodical issues of the research process, and present some open questions for continued research.

2

Theoretical Foundations

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2.1 Understanding of Research Practice and Space

Before diving into considerations on heritage studies and policy analysis that will provide the theoretical framework for my empirical study and the discussion of my research question, I would like to disclose my basic understanding of knowledge production and approach to research practice, as well as explain my perception of space and the role of urban planning.

REALITY AS A CONSTRUCT

My understanding of knowledge production and research practice is strongly influenced by my background in international development studies that are anchored in social and political sciences. Hence, before I even started to engage with urban and regional planning, my perspective was already influenced by post-positivist and constructivist tenets.

The post-positivist shift in social sciences goes back to the 1960s and 1970s. In the German-speaking countries this time was marked by a fierce debate about the positivist dogma, called *Positivismusstreit* (Münch 2016, 19). Up to that point, social sciences were dominated by positivist research approaches adopted from the natural sciences, while the humanities applied a hermeneutic or interpretative approach (Allmendinger 2002, 4). The positivist epistemology was based on the “universalisation of conditions of knowledge, the neutrality of observation, the givenness of experience and the independence of data from theoretical interpretation” (ibid., 5). Critical theorists, however started to question the logic of positivism and the basis to scientific knowledge in general. They argued that all experience, data and theories belonged to a larger social and historical context in which they are formed and may change over time (ibid.). The post-positivist position calls for the recognition of the context in which experience is interpreted and for the simple fact that research is always an interpretation by the researcher as a subject him/herself.

For a post-positivist researcher, it needs interpretation to transform empirical data into knowledge, so what we perceive as knowledge is always shaped by social and historical conventions (Münch 2016, 9). The recognition lead to the questioning of the quality of scientific ‘truth’ and reality itself:

An earthquake or the falling of a brick is an event that certainly exists, in the sense that it occurs here and now, independently of my will. But whether their specificity as objects is constructed in terms of ‘natural phenomena’ or ‘expression of the wrath of God’, depends upon the structuring of a discursive field (Laclau und Mouffe 1985, 108, in Münch 2016).

The interpretative approach illustrated in this quote understands language and discourse as the constitutive dimensions of social reality (Braun 2014, 83). There is no ‘reality’ in the form of objective data, facts or observations, because as soon as we document and communicate about them they are subjects to our interpretation: there is no ‘uninterpreted’ reality that could be taken as the starting point of the analysis (ibid.). Hence, social reality came to be understood as a construct that results from the struggle over interpretation (Münch 2016, 7). According to this constructivist conception reality is actively created through the various meanings attached to events. There can be multiple

interpretations of reality, for example by the writer of a scientific text and another one by its reader (cf. Flick 2010, 109ff.).

Because reality is considered as a matter of interpretation, a constructivist research approach calls for the researcher to reveal his/her own subjective context of meaning. The researcher does not claim to analyse the research subject from a neutral position but reflects on his/her relation to the field of inquiry (Braun 2014, 83).

Around the same time that social sciences started to question the tenets of positivism, the modern movement in urban planning slid into a crisis (see also chapter 2.2). Naturalist and empiricist techniques and methodologies had not improved the planning practice. On the contrary, 'rational planning' had led to a disenfranchised populace and numerous physical, social and economic problems (Allmendinger 2002, 5). Planning theory is deeply embedded within social theory, so when post-positivist approaches emerged in social sciences planners soon started to acknowledge them, "shifting from causal reasoning as a basis for plan-making to discovering and confirming meaning" (Moore-Milroy 1991, 182, cited in Allmendinger 2002, 10). However, developments in theory are often not directly translated into planning practice. Allmendinger sees a "mismatch between planning as a modern project and the needs and demands of postmodern [...] times" which is evident in the lack of participation, failed expectations, urban decay, and many planners' omniscient attitude (ibid., 10).

PRODUCTION OF SPACE

A question that is very much related to the shift from positivist to postmodern social and planning theory is that of the understanding of the central object of research and practice: space. Well into the twentieth century the concept of absolute space, also called 'container space', was dominant in most disciplines, from geography, to economy, sociology and planning. The idea of the absolute space relies on the abstract concept of the Euclidean, that is geometrical space and its transfer into the physical world. It conceives space as a container, frame, a neutral background against which social life unfolds (Holm 2004, 24). It is a positivist concept that requires an external observer that analyses space from an objective perspective. The idea of the absolute space brought along the dominance of visual conceptions of space, working with maps and strict administrative boundaries, and, in line with the positivist thinking, measuring social life through quantitative units related to specific delineated spaces.

From the 1970s onwards, this conception of space was very much criticized, first and foremost by Henri Lefebvre in his groundbreaking work *The Production of Space* (1974):

Could space be nothing more than the passive locus of social relations, the milieu in which their combination takes on body, or the aggregate of the procedures employed in their removal? The answer must be no. [...] Space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction (Lefebvre 2002, 133f.).

According to Lefebvre and his successors, space cannot be conceived of independently from society. On the contrary: "(Social) space is a (social) product," he states bluntly (Lefebvre 2002, 136). Space is never a passive container, it is shaped by relations of power

in the social fabric and acts back to actively influence the social fabric in an interactive relationship (Lefebvre 1998, 11):

Urban fabric is shaped by and shapes the lives of people who produce it. This means that, in turn, the urban fabric materializes not only by design and construction in various degrees of regulation and (in)formality, but also through the settling of plural dimensions of mundane everyday life, political struggle, as well as visible and invisible structural (pre)conditions (Knierbein & Viderman 2019, 1).

By understanding space as social space, Lefebvre recognizes the role of societal power relations in the constitution of space. In the Marxist tradition, he speaks of the manifestation of different 'modes of production' in space (Lefebvre 2002, 138). However, in line with post-positivist positions, it is also the subjective perception of space that contributes to the process of its production. As soon as people speak of it, space is already thought, made, appropriated or perceived in terms of utility and use, so it is actually always a social space. Therefore, one can understand space as a relational position of elements that is structured in and by human activities (Pries 2008, 81). Social processes change the objects as well as their positions within the configuration of space and time (Lefebvre 1998, 11ff.). Since bodies and actions are always on the move, space is in a constant process of transformation as well (Löw 2001, 18). The production of space is therefore a continuous process and should be in the focus of our attention: "The 'object' of interest must be expected to shift from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*" (Lefebvre 2002, 140).

At the heart of the so called 'spatial turn' at the end of the twentieth century, lies the understanding, that society cannot be conceived of independently from its spatial context, and the constitution of space cannot be explained isolated from the social, political and economic processes that continuously shape it over time (cf. Holm 2004, 21). The changed understanding of space integrates the post-structuralist position of subjective perspectives.

This new approach to understanding space also had some implications for the practice of spatial research and planning. Spatial research has become more diverse in its methodologies, increasingly integrating qualitative approaches and putting societies and social interactions at the centre of attention. Academics have also become more reflected on their own position in the production of space through their interactions with society and space in research activities. As social space cannot be described only on the basis of its history and materiality, social actors need to be included in the research and planning practice. Spatial planners have become aware of the value of 'local knowledge' of people who interact with their environment on an everyday basis. Planning processes nowadays often integrate participatory elements, and take into account the movement of social, economic, political and cultural processes across administrative borders.

POSITIONING MYSELF AS A RESEARCHER

My personal approach to research is based on a post-positivist, constructivist understanding of knowledge production. A more detailed discussion on how this

influences my practical approach to policy analysis is presented in chapter 2.3 of this thesis.

I understand space as a product of social, economic, political and cultural relations, that is always in transformation. It is crucial to study these processes in order to understand the production and evolution of space. My thesis covers a broad range of topics related to heritage management in Khiva. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that the scope of a master thesis would suffice to gain a complete picture of the many aspects that influence urban development in a historic city. While my thesis gives some background information of the historical development and political situation in Uzbekistan, it focuses on those aspects of urban development and heritage conservation that are tackled in the Historic Urban Landscape approach.

Based on my post-positivist approach to research practice, I consider it very important to reflect on my own background throughout the work on this thesis. I am an urban planner, raised, socialized and educated in Europe. My background in International Development Studies has equipped me with a certain sensibility for global inequalities and interdependencies, as well as cultural differences, and I have always been very much interested in planning issues beyond Europe. Nonetheless, it is important to be aware of my social and academic origins that bring along a specific (limited) perspective on planning and conservation practice:

How much can we really learn, for instance, confined as we are to Western conceptual tools, about the Asiatic mode of production, its space, its towns, or the relationship it embodies between town and country [...]? (Lefebvre 2002, 138)

While the perspective of an ‘outsider’ to the social and cultural context of Uzbekistan may bring along certain limitations, the outside perspective could also be beneficial for the considerations of local researchers and practitioners.

Furthermore, it is important to state that I have been working as a consultant for an international development bank on urban planning issues in Khiva prior to the research process for this thesis. This turned out to be a great advantage because I got to do two field trips to the city in the context of my vocational assignment, while I was not able to visit Khiva again during the course of my research due to COVID-19 travel restrictions. It is, however, important to notice that my on-site experience and impressions of the city and its development were collected in the context of this job that had a different focus than my research. Anyhow, working on urban development in Khiva soon turned out to be very much about the challenge of reconciling heritage conservation and urban development. The work-related project sparked my interest in this topic and led to the decision to deepen my understanding of this challenge and the existing approaches to dealing with it in my master thesis.

2.2 Reflections on Heritage

In order to discuss the matters of heritage conservation and urban planning, it is important to gain a thorough understanding of the concept of heritage, its origins and the challenges associated with it today. In this chapter I would like to outline important concepts and terms related to the study of heritage that will become useful in the interpretation of the case study. Furthermore, I will give an overview of the history of urban conservation and talk about dominant approaches in the past and today.

HERITAGE AND THE BUILDING OF NATIONS

It is rather difficult to grasp the origin of the concept of 'heritage' or to tell its history because heritage is not a defined set of objects but the interpretation of artefacts from the past in the context of a certain place and time. As David C. Harvey (2008, 19) put it, heritage is a human condition that is "omnipresent, interwoven within the power dynamics of any society and intimately bound up with identity construction at both communal and personal levels".

The term 'heritage' was originally only referring to inheritance in the sense of objects being passed from one generation to another. Most scholars argue that it first expanded its meaning in the context of European nation-building in the nineteenth century when traditions and national heritage became a source of identification for emerging nation states (Smith 2006, 17; Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 1; Frank 2016, 11). The French revolution had undermined imperial sovereignty, rapid industrialization brought along urbanization and spurred capitalism, modernity reached its peak: the profound and rapid social transformations of the nineteenth century called for "new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations" (Hobsbawm 1983, 263). Moreover, the new concept of the nation state needed to be grounded in a meta-narrative to legitimate state formation: nationalism (Smith 2006, 18, referring to Graham et al. 2000, 12). For the development of national identities, the ruling classes all over Europe tapped into the material legacy of glorious pasts. What the French aptly refer to as 'patrimonialization' can be defined as "an ideologically engaged sociocultural, legal and political process, in the course of which individual, consciously selected material objects, areas and practices are endowed with lustrous significance and called upon to symbolize special moments of the past, understood to be key during the construction of imperial/national identity" (Gorshenina 2014, 246). While in the English discourse this process is part of the concept of 'nationing', the French terminology puts emphasis on the production of a national 'patrimony' or heritage defined as a reference for identification and hence worthy of preservation. In addition to material objects, like historical artefacts, monuments and buildings, heritage can be also based on specific places associated with a special moment in (national) history, or a cultural practice that is elevated to become a 'tradition' (cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

Against this background, the nineteenth century saw the institutionalization of museums, the development of heritage protection legislation and the emergence of archaeology as a discipline. The liberal education movement understood it as a moral responsibility to educate the public and to promote social stability by fostering a sense of national community. Museums developed as institutions for education and the establishment

of social and national identity (Smith 2006, 18). Similarly, the conservation and management of historic buildings would encompass the education of the public about the value and meaning of these monuments to “ensure greater conservation awareness and appreciation of a nation’s cultural heritage” (ibid., 19). The development of legislation to protect ancient monuments accelerated in the second half of the nineteenth century and ushered in a particular practice of conservation and ‘conservation ethic’ (Smith 2006, 18f., referring to Jokilehto 1999; Choay 2001). The late nineteenth and early twentieth century gave birth to the ‘conserve as found’ approach that would preserve heritage buildings in the state of discovery rather than try to restore them to an assumed ‘original’ condition (ibid. 19f.). European ideas about conservation and the meaning of heritage monuments were transferred to other parts of the world through colonial practices first, and international organizations later, and have become global ‘common sense’ today (ibid., 21).

Archaeological research and the creation of heritage were also used to legitimize European rule in oversea colonies. The British in India as well as the French in Southeast Asia collected, dated, analyzed and interpreted historical items in their colonies to provide them with a ‘history’ according to their nineteenth century positivist historiography (cf. Winter 2015). In that way, they were able to gain control over indigenous pasts and cultures, portray the decline of former empires, and position themselves as the rightful custodians of what had fallen into decay (ibid., 337f.). Of course, such endeavors also provided a fertile ground for the development of nationalisms in the colonies. The reflection on the own national heritage and glorious past would in some cases play a crucial role in the fight for independence, as Winter demonstrates with the example of Egypt (ibid., 339f.).

The creation of national identity through the appropriation of heritage is an ongoing process: “the coupling of a material culture of the deep past with the politics of nationalism and the making of national citizens remains as vibrant, and in some cases as troubling, as ever” (Winter 2015, 331). Cultural heritage in the form of buildings and monuments, historical artefacts and ‘traditions’ still shape the way people understand their history and relate to national identity, and in many cases, is used as a means to transmit ideological bias and political manipulation (Logan 2012, 123). However, over the past decades, issues of the construction and interpretation of heritage have found their way into the academic discourse and have been critically reflected.

INTRODUCTION TO HERITAGE STUDIES

‘Heritage studies’, for a long time, was not considered a valid research category or discipline (Frank 2016, 2). Scholars from different fields of studies have dealt with the subject over the last forty years, looking at heritage from different angles and perspectives (cf. Waterton & Watson 2013). Sybille Frank (2016) has given a comprehensive overview of the academic debate and different approaches to understanding the concept of heritage.

Even though the concept of heritage took on shape in the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1970s and UNESCO’s *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972) that heritage became a concept relevant for everyday life of

people (Frank 2016, 11). The Council of Europe announced the *European Architectural Heritage Year* in 1975, and the UNESCO World Heritage List launched in 1978 boosted the popularity of heritage (ibid., referring to Prentice 1993). In Great Britain, an exhibition on *The Destruction of the Country House* in 1974 is said to have ignited the ‘heritage boom’ (ibid., referring to Hewison 1987). By the 1980s ‘heritage’ had become a widely known buzzword, associated with positive, national values and discovered by the tourism industry as a new opportunity to generate profit (ibid., 12).

The early academic debate about heritage took largely place in the United Kingdom (UK), starting from the 1980s. Patrick Wright (1985) criticized the progressive museumification and idealisation of the past in which upper-class artefacts, traditions and sentiments were presented as the general national heritage (Frank 2016, 16ff.). He identified class interests behind the heritage boom and described heritage as a political tool of authority: “The fight against the threat to cultural heritage [...] reproduced the general bourgeois fight against the threat to the existing social order” (ibid., 17).

Robert Hewison (1987), on the other hand, focused on the economic dimension of heritage and coined the term ‘heritage industry’ (Frank 2016, 19). He referred to the rising trend of turning former industrial sites into heritage attractions and saw this developing ‘industry’ as the new economic base of a deindustrialized UK (ibid., 22). In the context of modernization and the associated rapid urban and rural development, he diagnosed a sense of loss of location and identity that nurtured the heritage industry which provided a nostalgic representation of a perfect past to turn to in these unsettling times (ibid.). Hewison criticised the commercialization of the cultural sector which, in his view, romanticized history and offered entertainment instead of education, thereby destroying its resistive potential and promoting social stagnation (ibid., 25f.).

In contrast to this, Sylvia Corner and John Harvey (1991) saw the heritage boom as evidence of social change (Frank 2016, 27). Renewed traditional conservative values combined with entrepreneurialism would make the UK fit for globalized capitalism (ibid.). The heritage industry would further national and regional development, especially in the tourism and leisure sector (ibid., 28). With the middle and working classes as a new consumer audience, the concept of heritage was widened to products of mass consumption and entertainment (ibid., 30).

Raphael Samuel (1994) went one step further: he characterized the heritage boom as a change-inducing ‘movement from below’ (Frank 2016, 32). According to him, the heritage movement should be understood as a process of “democratization and pluralization of a cultural legacy that had been dominated by aristocrats and the upper classes until the late nineteenth century” (ibid., 33). He criticized the accusation of trivialization of the past that portrayed the audience as primitive consumers incapable of critical thoughts about the history presented to them and questioned the ‘objective’ academic appropriation of history (ibid., 31). According to him, heritage presents history in a way that is palpable for a larger audience, but not necessarily of less value in its educative mission and reflection on the past (ibid., 35). Samuel also pointed out to the new importance of *place* as a reference for identification: with the dissolution of the two-class society, places gained importance for the definition of one’s own roots and heritage (ibid., 34).

Put in a nutshell, the heritage debate of the 1980s and early 1990s discussed heritage from political (heritage as an elitist political agenda), economic (heritage as an industry), cultural (heritage as a nostalgic structure of needs and leisure phenomenon) and sociohistorical (heritage as a movement from below) perspectives. All researchers of the time, however, agreed that deindustrialization, recession, dissolution of class and identities made people turn to the *past* in a search for stability and security, but that heritage established group affiliations and delineations based on the needs of *present-day* social groups (ibid., 42).

In the late 1990s heritage became acknowledged as a field of sociocultural practice and a scholarly descriptive category (Frank 2016, 50). The heritage debate was internationalized and sociologists began to get involved in the discourse (ibid., 91f.). They viewed the heritage boom as a result and expression of a comprehensive change in cultural practices and patterns of consumption in the postmodern world that were closely related to the expansion of tourism and leisure (ibid., 50f.). Touristic activities became popular and affordable for the masses in the industrial age and have expanded ever since, especially with the rise of ‘the new middle class’ (ibid., 53f.). Tourism grew into one of the largest industries in the world that could influence decisions at the highest supranational levels (cf. Timothy & Boyd 2006). Growing interest in other cultures and nature furthered the growth of the tourism industry and preservation efforts: “Beyond environmental preservation, there is also a desire to ensure cultural and ethnic otherness is preserved. It is the promotion of primitiveness within which authenticity becomes the principal commodity” (Munt 1994, 105, cited in Frank 2016, 54). Heritage tourism responded to these demands and promised the new middle classes the individualized and personally enriching experiences they were longing for: “Since heritage attractions could fit easily into this consumption pattern, heritage tourism became a high-demanded segment in the continuously differentiated postmodern tourism market” (Frank 2016, 54). Postmodern researchers focused on the construction of heritage in border-crossing exchange processes and the experiences and behaviours of people coming into contact with presentations of heritage (tourism) (ibid., 91f.). In this context, they also paid attention to power relations, social inequalities and economic interests that pervade the field of heritage tourism and criticized the ongoing global standardization and destruction of diverse local cultures they cause (ibid., 92).

As the most recent trend, Frank (2016) identified an emerging cultural studies perspective on the heritage debate. With the cultural turn, scholars acknowledged the significance of everyday culture for the constitution of society (ibid., 66). This is also reflected through a shift in the concept of culture in the heritage discourse: previously normative assumptions were replaced by “a process-related, relativistic concept [...], which considered cultures and heritage to be in a state of continual change” (ibid., 94). Heritage is seen as “a socially constructed, multi-voiced and popular way of relating to the past. [...] a medium for the present-centered production of meaning by social groups, [...] a cultural, political, and economic [...] product, which either promote[s] understanding or provoke[s] dissonance” (ibid., 93). Heritage tourism, as a cultural practice, is determined by power relations and constituted as a political sphere of action with effects on everyday life (ibid., 66, 93). The cultural studies perspective also addresses the issue of *control* over heritage. Rather than

limiting the circle of relevant stakeholders to the ruling class and touristic economy, a voice is also given to social groups, locals and consumers who can assert influence on the heritage that is (re)presented (ibid., 94). Summarizing the state of the art in heritage research, Frank states:

Heritage is now widely considered to be a form of cultural enrichment, a medium for conflict management and intercultural understanding, and even a commodity which drives economic regeneration processes. Instead of accusing heritage of manipulating people and cannibalizing the past for commercial purposes, the heritage debate now revolves around positive aspects such as identity, dialogue, and solidarity. [...] not only the ruling class but all people have a heritage and a right to have this heritage represented, and they are increasingly willing (and able) to assert this right (Frank 2016, 95).

HERITAGE TOURISM, DISSONANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Heritage tourism and the conflicts it often brings about has been and still is an important research subject of heritage studies. Although oftentimes treated as a recent phenomenon, heritage tourism can be traced back to the Romans visiting the ruins of ancient Greece, medieval pilgrimages, or the Romantic fascination with nature and ruins (Light 2015, 145). Heritage tourism is a steadily growing economic activity, with a significant 'boom' in the UK during the 1980s and accelerating global demand in recent decades (ibid., 146ff.). Today, heritage tourism is a major economic activity in almost all countries of the world, despite the current decline due to the COVID-19 crisis (ibid., 144).

Tourism can be defined as a social practice where people leave their normal place of work and residence for a short period of time in order to consume goods and services which generate pleasurable experiences different to those typically encountered in everyday life (Urry 2002, 1). Heritage tourism specifically makes use of socio-cultural assets in order to attract visitors (Chhabra et al. 2003, 703, referring to Fyall & Garrod 1998). This may involve historic buildings, towns and museums, but also natural landscapes and protected areas, or indigenous cultures and traditions (Light 2015, 144; Timothy & Boyd 2006, 2). As such, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish heritage tourism from other forms of special interest tourism, especially from cultural tourism, which is sometimes even used synonymously (ibid., 144f.).

Heritage tourism is closely related to the emergence of a '**heritage industry**' since the 1980s, in which private stakeholders increasingly profit from the exploitation of heritage values (Frank 2016, 2). The concept of 'heritage industry' focuses on the economic benefits that are created in the context of heritage tourism and reflects on the production of heritage responding to the demands of tourism. Especially in the new millennia, "heritage attractions had taken on much more entrepreneurial traits. [...] instead of primarily reflecting national and public interests [...] heritage sites appeared to increasingly represent the perspectives on the past held by commercial, private providers" (ibid., 98f., referring to Richter 1999). In this context, heritage can be described as "a contemporary product shaped from history" that serves the production of meaning for present social groups (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 20, cited in Frank 2016, 76f.). It is important to stress, that even though heritage is created from resources from the *past*, the product is

directed towards consumer needs of the *present*. From the ‘heritage industry’ perspective, heritage can be described as ‘commodified history’ (Frank 2016, 78).

On the supply side, heritage tourism is used as a tool for economic development of communities and is therefore often actively promoted by governments (Chhabra et al. 2003, 703). On the demand side, heritage tourism meets the desire of many visitors to experience and consume the historical assets of a place. The ‘tourist gaze’ as described by John Urry (2002) demands “a high density and intensity of impressions, and objects which are unique and inclusive” (Frank 2016, 59). It seeks out the unusual, that is different to the everyday experience at home (cf. Urry 2002, 1). This demand has driven places to “enhance difference often through the rediscovery of local vernacular styles that convey particular histories” (ibid., 115). According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) and her concept of the ‘ethnographic gaze’ tourists get increasingly interested in local people and their everyday activities, too. Tourists who visit heritage sites “expect to be able to actively or passively consume traditional cultural activities which are staged as heritage” (Frank 2016, 61). This could be traditional dance performances or cooking classes for local dishes. In order to meet this demand, in many places heritage tourism has revived old traditions and rites that no longer had any functions in the real lives of local people (ibid.): “lifeworlds which could not otherwise sustain themselves had survived in the heritage industry as fragmented representations of themselves in the context of an ‘economy of display’ [...] that turned cultures into museum exhibits in order to capitalize on them” (ibid., referring to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 149).

At the same time, the integration of intangible practices into the understanding of ‘heritage’ had long been demanded by post-colonial researchers in heritage studies (Frank 2016, 74). The heritage debate was being criticized for being Eurocentric and ‘white’ and for excluding oral history and immaterial forms of heritage (ibid., 72). The discussion eventually led to the recognition of ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’ by UNESCO, meaning

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills [...] that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO 2018a, art. 2).

This may include oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, as well as traditional craftsmanship (ibid.). Paradoxically, instead of exploring the real lifeworld of the locals, which could be freely observed everywhere, tourists are presented with staged performances that are labelled as traditional heritage (Frank 2016, 62). Because objects and traditions are divorced from everyday practices and adapted to the expectations of tourists, the ethnographic gaze is accused of ultimately damaging local cultures.

The issue of ‘staged’ traditions and cultural activities raises the question of **authenticity** in heritage tourism. The concept of authenticity has been widely discussed in the sociology of tourism since the 1970s, and has been defined in many ways (see Hillman 2007 for a thorough overview of the discussion). Generally, it can be said that authenticity connotes

“traditional culture and origin, and a sense of the genuine” (Chhabra et al. 2003, 704). In order to be authentic, places, artefacts, activities and even people are positioned as signifiers of a distant past: “Tourism projects which invoke the culturally ‘authentic’ [...] seek to ‘realize’ value and uniqueness in their products through the application of a distance between subject and object that is both spatially and temporally defined” (Taylor 2000, 10). Salman Rushdie (1991) hits a more critical tone when he talks about authenticity: “‘Authenticity’ is the respectable child of old-fashioned exoticism. It demands that sources, forms, style, language and symbol all derive from a supposedly homogeneous and unbroken tradition” (ibid., 67). His statement also indicates, that ‘real authenticity’ can hardly ever exist, since cultures and traditions change over time. However, according to Chhabra et al. (2003), it does not really matter if the tourist experience really is an authentic one, as long as it is *perceived* as such: “the satisfaction with a heritage event depends not on its authenticity in the literal sense of whether or not it is an accurate recreation of some past condition, but rather on its perceived authenticity” (ibid., 705). Their study of the Scottish Highland Games in North Carolina (United States) also indicates, that visitors are willing to spend more money in a place that they perceive as authentic (ibid., 716).

The changes that come along with tourism at a specific heritage site are not always welcomed by the local population. In an increasingly diversified society with different identities emerging and demanding contradicting interpretations of heritage, conflict over the production and consumption of heritage has already become ubiquitous. The commodification of heritage, and deliberate marketing for different groups and spatial levels, just added another potential source for dissonance (Frank 2016, 75). The concept of **‘heritage dissonance’** describes “a condition in which there is a lack of congruence at a particular time or place between people and the heritage with which they identify” (Ashworth & Hartmann 2005, 253). It occurs when different and incompatible demands are placed upon a heritage site. This is often related to economic activities, for example when the local population is denied free access to their heritage or when local history is rewritten according to its economic potential (Frank 2016, 76). In both cases, an economically and/or socially stronger group excludes another group from the selection and presentation of heritage, and reinterprets it according to their needs. Today, heritage dissonance has become a universal characteristic of heritage (ibid., 75).

Dissonance can occur when changes in society leave relics behind that are no longer desirable, when different groups envisage contradicting uses for the same place, or when the image of a place is interpreted differently on different spatial scales (national, regional, local) (Frank 2016, 83ff.). The instrumentalization of heritage sites for political, cultural and economic purposes can lead to dissonance because different interpretations of the same resources can create conflicting heritage products in the same place (ibid., 84). Oftentimes the stakeholders involved in heritage production try to satisfy as many different groups as possible, inevitably excluding certain other groups from the interpretation of heritage at the same time. Typically, dissonance occurs between the heritage product directed towards external groups (like tourists) and the image locals have of their city (cf. Smith 2015, 229). Such a conflict can lead to various outcomes. The locals may integrate the tourist image into their own local identity, or the tourist image is

diversified to also fit the locals' interpretation of the place. If heritage dissonance persists, locals may not feel at home in their city anymore and might even abandon the area (ibid.). Finally, the vast diversity of stakeholders involved in heritage production can be a source of dissonance due to interpretation problems (Frank 2016, 87). Misunderstandings can be due to different socio-cultural backgrounds or prior knowledge of related subjects, but the site may also convey conflicting messages or information that the consumer does not want to receive because they remind of an unpleasant past (ibid., 88).

In order to avoid or resolve heritage dissonance, **sustainable management strategies** need to be developed for heritage sites. So far, it has been assumed that a heritage site which has been established by and for one specific group (i.e. residents) can easily also be used for other groups (i.e. tourists); however, “[o]nly in the rarest cases do locals profit from the development of heritage in the context of tourism measures” (Frank 2016, 88). When heritage sites that were previously only used by the local population start being used for touristic purposes, the transformation of the place in combination with unsustainable management practices oftentimes leads to conflicting patterns of consumption and eventually the exclusion of locals (i.e. through fencing and pricing policies) (cf. Porter & Salazar 2005). Apart from social conflicts, inadequate heritage management can also lead to a lack of proper conservation and physical decay (Timothy & Boyd 2006, 4). Overall, it has been acknowledged that the costs of neglected management of heritage sites can be high and there is increasing awareness that the processes related to the production and maintenance of heritage must be moderated and managed (Frank 2016, 95). Regarding to urban environments, Frank argues that “heritage management is especially critical in cities, where the concentration of tourists is most dense, the financial stakes are highest, the political symbolism is most pronounced, and the cultural diversity is the greatest” (ibid., 89, referring to Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996; Jones & Shaw 1997).

While heritage management has turned out to be critical and will be often dealing with latent or open conflicts around the interpretation and representation of heritage, scholars also argue that heritage is rather amenable to management since: “[t]hat which was created by deliberate intervention can equally be managed by it” (Ashworth 2003, 95). Heritage is a flexible product that can be re-interpreted and re-created in order to resolve conflicts. It is possible to translocate, rearrange and duplicate heritage sites to protect more vulnerable places (for example within cities) (Frank 2016, 89). Above that, touristic behaviour is relatively easy to predict and to steer according to management needs (ibid.). However, traditional management approaches have been top-down and oftentimes ineffective (Timothy & Boyd 2006, 9). Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd (2006) recommend a more democratic and sustainable approach to inclusive planning and management of heritage sites. It includes intersectional cooperation between private, public and non-profit sectors, as well as between different agencies, owners and service providers at the same and at different destinations that are somehow related to each other (e.g. heritage sites along the Silk Road) (ibid., 10). They also stress the importance of effective cross-border cooperation in the case of historical sites that cross political boundaries on the national or regional levels (ibid.). And, most importantly, site management must encourage and enable participation of different interest groups in planning and decision making as well as in the distribution of social and economic

benefits. This includes government officials, site managers, land owners, residents, business owners, as well as tourists (ibid.). Especially the group of local residents is often overlooked when it comes to planning the touristic use of heritage sites (ibid.; Frank 2016, 90). Local stakeholders often

willingly or unwillingly surrender development and management responsibilities to government organizations, along with the privilege to shape the site's public representation. When stakeholders are not stewards, the heritage they believe so inalienable takes on a representation beyond their control and limits them in their ability to participate in an idea they believe uniquely their own (Porter & Salazar 2005, 363).

However, to prevent heritage dissonance, it is recommended to include the affected groups in the production, maintenance, and interpretation of their heritage, as "all heritage elements must be promoted with sensitivity to their prime inheritors" (Frank 2016, 90, referring to Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996, 93). Special attention should be paid to minorities, who are rarely politically organized and have little influence over the decisions made about heritage (ibid.). But also majorities, when equipped with little social and economic capital, are prone to exclusion and even displacement when it comes to heritage development: "In many cases, the poor population and even entire villages have been forced out of their traditional homes to make way for the growth of heritage tourism" (Timothy & Boyd 2006, 10). More research in this field is important to understand the power relations at play in the planning and development of heritage sites (ibid.).

In order to establish sustainable heritage management and to guarantee a pleasurable experience for locals and visitors alike, "it is necessary to strike a balance between the limits and possibilities of commercialization, to combine conservation with development, and to avoid trivializing local history" (Frank 2016, 90, referring to Timothy & Boyd 2003). But most importantly, heritage management needs to focus on inclusion and public participation. Planners and heritage managers all over the world are facing the challenge of involving stakeholders in tourism planning and heritage conservation (Timothy & Boyd 2006, 10). Development in this field must be a priority, because: "[t]ourism may be tolerated for its economic advantages only in so far as it does not compromise the local priority use" (Ashworth 2003, 84).

URBAN HERITAGE AND CONSERVATION

As discussed above, the appreciation of historical sites and monuments goes back to the early days of cultural tourism in ancient Rome and medieval times. Yet, verifiable societal concern for and scientific discussions about heritage conservation set in much later, and the notion of 'urban heritage' is rather new. First inventories of monuments and institutions for the protection of historic buildings emerged in European countries in the nineteenth century (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 1ff.). At that time, the focus was on single buildings and monuments that were perceived as having a special historic value and should, therefore, be conserved. The debate on conservation revolved around the question of how to preserve those monuments and came to a head in the polarization between 'nostalgic' and 'interventionist' approaches (ibid., 7). Representatives of the nostalgic or

'romantic' approach argued that restoration would ultimately destroy the true historic value of an object, while interventionists understood restoration as the reconstruction of an 'ideal' state of the monument, regardless of whether this state had ever existed before (ibid., 6f.). Different interpretations of both positions can still be identified in the various ways heritage objects are dealt with all over the world today.

Urban planning, in the nineteenth century, was strongly concerned with health, housing and security issues. As a result, large historic areas were demolished and replaced by new urban quarters, the restructuring of Paris by George-Eugène Haussmann being the most popular example (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 4f.). This practice, in many cases, led to the loss of traditional urban fabrics along with the exchange of populations and reorganization of functions and uses. John Ruskin (1819-1900) was an early critic of these changes occurring in cities across Europe and one of the first advocates for a wider scope in heritage protection (Veldpaus 2015a, 38; Siravo 2011, 4). He considered vernacular architecture to be a fundamental element of the urban setting in which historic monuments are embedded (Veldpaus 2015a, 38f.). One of his contemporaries was the Austrian architect and urban planner Camillo Sitte (1843-1903). He studied and appreciated the historic city as a whole. For him, the traditional urban structure was a "coherent ensemble where every element is part of an organic pattern with aesthetic rules that can be observed and analyzed" (Siravo 2011, 5). He identified a split in contemporary cities between functionality and aesthetics, and argued that the morphological and typological development of the historic city must be understood in order to derive rules and models for modern urban development (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 10).

Another important urban thinker of the nineteenth century was Patrick Geddes (1854-1932). Originally a biologist, he introduced a more holistic view on the urban: "He sees the city as an organism in evolution, where physical and social components interact in a complex web of change and tradition" (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 12). Urban morphology is recognized as being closely related to and influencing forms of economic and social activity (Veldpaus 2015a, 40). Urban planning should therefore focus on people's wellbeing and shape the urban form accordingly. In order to do so, Geddes advocated for thorough 'diagnosis before treatment' and for participation of as many actors as possible (ibid.; Siravo 2011, 5). To him, the historic city that had evolved over time served as a model to "understand its functioning and design principles and to identify management practices for the care of collective spaces" (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 12). He understood the city design process as a continuation of the past (ibid., 13). Urban planners need to study the city, understand the 'spirit of place', and develop interventions that tie in with the existing urban fabric. Geddes' work marks the beginning of an integrated, evidence-based and process-oriented approach to urban development (Veldpaus 2015a, 40).

Finally, in the early twentieth century, Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947) coined the term 'urban heritage', promoting the protection of heritage on an urban scale (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 14; Veldpaus 2015a, 42). He argued not only for the conservation of the built environment of historic monuments, but also for an enlarged concept of 'monument' that comprises the entire historic city (Siravo 2011, 5; Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 15). While the historic fabric should be preserved, it should not be reduced to a tourism district

isolated from contemporary life (ibid.). According to Giovannoni, old towns' functions are linked to living and social exchange, but new compatible functions can be adopted (ibid., 14). Old and new urban fabrics should be in a dialogue, complementing each other as regards to their functions for urban life (ibid.). Giovannoni furthered the development of a methodology for the management and conservation of the historic city and was involved in the drafting of the 1931 *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (ibid., 15; Veldpaus 2015a, 42). According to Bandarin and Van Oers (2012, 11), "one can [...] trace back to this period [the late nineteenth and early twentieth century] the origins both of modern town planning and urban conservation".

In parallel to the evolving debate about urban conservation and heritage, in the 1920s and 30s a contradicting current of thought emerged and got the upper hand: the Modernist Movement formed around the *Congrès Internationaux D'architecture Moderne* (CIAM; International Congresses of Modern Architecture). The Modernist approach "favoured the destruction of the traditional city and the creation of a new modern urban complex" (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 18). The vision of functional urban development aimed at managing the needs of mass society through separation of functions, high-density public housing and extended transport infrastructure (ibid., 17, 19). Le Corbusier, one of the representatives of the movement, urged architects "not to remain attached to models and styles of the past, which were detached from the needs and realities of the present" (ibid., 18). The historic city was seen as a negative model (excessive density, lack of light and ventilation, etc.) and the idea of continuity in urban development perceived as reactionary (ibid., 11, 19f.). The modernist model was dominant for about half a century and had severe impact on the conservation of historic cities, especially in the years after World War II, when many policy-makers showed little interest in reconstruction and conservation but opted for radical new approaches (ibid., 21ff.). The diverging paths urban development and urban conservation had taken at that time ironically are represented in the two Athens Charters of the 1930s: the 1931 Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments and the 1933 Athens Charter developed by CIAM (Veldpaus 2015a, 42).

One of the most famous critics of the Modernist approach was the American author and activist Jane Jacobs (1916-2006). In the 1960s she launched a movement against the demolition of historically grown urban neighbourhoods for the sake of modern 'urban renewal'. She advocated for the multidimensional character of the historic city and the participation of local communities (Siravo 2011, 7). With the advancing second half of the twentieth century, the shortcomings of the Modernist approach were increasingly recognized and a new debate on policies and methodologies for urban design and management was sparked (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 23). At the same time, the international conservation movement picked up growth and developed its institutions, principles and operational practices (ibid.). The value of the historic city was rediscovered and planning methods were enriched by analytical and participatory tools (cf. Aygen 2013, 227). In reference to the thinkers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the historical layering process of urban development, the relationship between economic activity, population and urban form, as well as the notion of a 'spirit of place' were rediscovered and proposed for integration into contemporary urban planning and conservation (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 27ff.). The need to reconcile conservation

and development, to find a “middle ground between the ‘freezing’ of the historic city and its complete removal and substitution” (ibid., 34) along with the emerging call for sustainable planning drives the integration of urban conservation in planning and management practices. Today, “[a]fter over a century of theoretical and empirical tests, urban conservation has indeed emerged as a key area of public policy” (ibid., 36).

The review of the theoretical debate around heritage and the emergence of urban conservation has demonstrated that the popularization of the concept of heritage and its scientific discussion in the 1980s occurred almost simultaneously with expanding urban conservation efforts and the explosive growth of international tourism. Different functions of heritage that were identified before can be retraced in the history of urban conservation. At the time, when heritage was discussed as a point of identification in unsettling times, Modernist ideas were overthrown and urban planning returned to valuing the stability and continuity of the historic city. Jane Jacobs and her grassroots fight for the maintenance of the historic cities reminds us of Samuel’s understanding of heritage as a ‘movement from below’, while some European cities were quick to understand the economic value of ‘authentic’ historic cities as assets within a growing tourism industry.

This demonstrates how the concept of heritage as a social construction shaped from history to fulfil a certain purpose in the present can also be retraced in the history of urban conservation. While in the nineteenth century outstanding historic monuments sufficiently fulfilled the purpose of fostering national identities, the effects of Modernist interventions in post-war Europe soon demonstrated a need for more continuity in urban development to provide people with a source of identification in times of crisis. Tourism was soon discovered as a main source of economic development, and urban heritage increasingly served economic needs. Contemporary urban planners underline the important residential and social functions of historic urban fabrics. Just as heritage is in continual change, adapting to the present needs of society, the urban fabric is a product of continuous development and can be adjusted according to contemporary demands.

Both, heritage studies and urban development practice have demonstrated the need to strongly combine conservation and development, that were long seen as contradicting aspirations. Any transformation in the city adds to the creation of identity and meaning of a place. In the field of tension between affordable quality of life for local residents and attractive tourism development for visitors, planners try to satisfy residential and economic needs. In this endeavour, the danger of causing dissonance is ubiquitous: local identity and tourism image of a city often turn out to be contradictory. This is why the need for inclusive management and public participation is the second important learning from both, heritage studies and urban planning. The awareness of the broad range of stakeholders involved in heritage production and consumption as well as in urban life has led to strong advocacy for the inclusion of these actors in the management of heritage and the development in urban space alike. A closer look at UNESCO’s *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (see chapter 3.3) will reveal how this policy aims to promote these contemporary approaches to the management of urban heritage. However, before turning to UNESCO and its policies, it is important to establish a common understanding of what a policy is and how it can be studied.

2.3 Studying Policies

The brief introduction to policy research given in this chapter aims to give an overview of the most important concepts and discussions in the field of studies. The study of public policy making has put forth some theoretical concepts and ideas that will support my analysis and help to understand the work of UNESCO and the implementation of UNESCO's *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* in Khiva in a more structured and holistic manner. They also help to classify the role and power of UNESCO in international governance and to get an idea of the tools and mechanisms at disposal for furthering the implementation of an international policy (see chapter 3.4).

Due to the complexity of the issue, there is a variety of approaches to the analysis of policy and it depends on the researcher, the specific case, matter of interest and access to different theories which approach will appear as the best fit (cf. Jenkins 2013, 34). Hence the concepts presented in the following chapter are a choice that can be a subject of contestation and discussion.

WHAT IS A POLICY?

Public policies are constantly influencing our everyday life. This became particularly noticeable during the COVID-19 outbreak that hit the world in 2019/2020. Few people living today have ever faced tighter restrictions on their day-to-day life than during the lockdowns that were implemented in different variations in most countries affected by the virus. Every nation state put in place a set of regulations that would address the pandemic outbreak and try to limit the negative consequences on health and life of its citizens. But public policies are not just implemented in times of emergency. Different rules, laws, provisions and subsidies, freedoms, and rights influence our everyday life.

In political science, policy is one of three major subject areas that deal with different aspects of the political system: polity, politics and policy (Knill & Tosun 2012, 3f.). The polity dimension refers to institutional structures, the politics dimension focuses on the analysis of political processes, and the policy dimension looks into the contents of debates, decisions and actions (ibid., 4). This should not imply that polity and politics would play a minor role when dealing with policy analysis. On the contrary, it is crucial to understand the formal organization of public or international institutions as well as the complex decision-making processes within them when studying the genesis of public policies (ibid.).

Different definitions of the concept of policy put emphasis on different aspects. James E. Anderson defines a policy quite broadly as "a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern" (Anderson 2003, 2, see also Knill & Tosun 2012, 4). He emphasizes that there is more to a policy than taking single, isolated decisions. Much rather, policies are goal-oriented actions unfolding over time (ibid., 2f.). Knill & Tosun, however, point out that certain single legal acts can be very significant and entail a range of activities, making it worthwhile to consider them a policy as well (Knill & Tosun 2012, 5). Public policies are developed by public legislative and administrative bodies (in contrast to private

policies followed by private companies or associations) and usually affect a large number of people directly or indirectly (different policies may affect different groups of people) (Anderson 2003, 3). According to Bill Jenkins (2013), a public policy can be defined as “a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve” (ibid., 30, referring to Roberts 1971, 152f.). He links the development of policies to the availability of resources for actual implementation. However, the definition also incorporates the possibility of inaction (ibid.).

“Presumably, governments enact public policies with the general objective of serving the public interest and promoting social welfare” (Smith 2008, 730). Even though the ‘public interest’ is often used to justify a policy as being in the general interest of the people, it is not possible to provide a universally accepted definition of the concept (Anderson 2003, 134f.). From a liberal perspective, public interest is often defined as being the outcome of a dynamic process in which every citizen and public official pursues his or her own interest (Larason Schneider & Ingram 2007, 330). In that sense, “[p]ublic interest is [...] the aggregation of individual perceptions of their own levels of utility or satisfaction” (Smith 2008, 741). This definition, however, assumes that all those affected by a policy are in a position to represent their interests in an informed and forward-thinking manner, which is rarely the case (Méthot 2003, 2). Also, it does not consider the possibility of a public interest that goes beyond the sum of individual interests (ibid.).

“There is an argument that understanding the public interest should be more than counting the opinions of individuals who enjoy giving their views on everything and anything” (Mitchell 2007, 377). In a representative democracy, public interest is negotiated in parliament by people who have been elected to represent the interests of their voters. Some argue, that those representatives have the responsibility to understand the ‘silent majority’ and stand up for “underarticulated interests that otherwise may be ignored” (ibid.; Anderson 2003, 136). In western democracies today, the public interest is mostly defined through a process of political and social debate. With a sufficient level of abstraction most members of society can agree on what is in the ‘public interest’ (Rein 2008, 395). Yet it remains a matter of qualitative judgement to determine the diverse and somewhat fugitive matters of public interest (Anderson 2003, 136).

The definitions discussed above indicate the understanding of public policy that informs this thesis.

POLICY ANALYSIS

Generally speaking, policy analysis studies the formation, character and consequences of government action (Knill & Tosun 2015, 9). In studying public policies, we aim to understand how they are formed, budgeted, implemented and evaluated (Anderson 2003, 1). In doing so, policy analysis has the potential to do both, “better understand the policymaking process and to supply policy decision makers with reliable policy-relevant

knowledge” (Fischer et al. 2006, xix). Hence, the study of policy can have a descriptive-explanatory or a prescriptive-normative claim (Héritier 1993, 9)³.

Policy analysis emerged in the USA in the early 1950s as a problem-solving discipline (Münch 2016, 4). From the ‘traditional perspective’, governments were ‘machineries’ with the purpose of solving a society’s problems (ibid., 2, referring to Colebatch 2005, 17). In this function they would pursue unambiguous goals and design logical solutions following clear cause-effect relations. Existing administrative structures would then implement these solutions in a stable socio-economic environment and be supported by previously identified interest groups (cf. Héritier 1993, 11). Traditional policy analysis deploys quantitative methods borrowed from the natural sciences and follows positivist ideals of validity (verification or falsification) with the main goal to provide scientifically approved advice to politicians (Münch 2016, 4; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2012, 141). This technocratic approach caused some criticism, culminating in the 1970s after major failures in effective application of study results (Münch 2016, 5). Two major points of criticism were that traditional policy analysis had neglected questions of power and legitimacy, and that quantitative research methods could not simply be applied to politics and society as they were to physics and chemistry (cf. ibid., 4).

While (neo-)positivist approaches were dominant in policy analysis for a long time, sociological research had moved on to more interpretative and discursive concepts of science and research (Münch 2016, 7, referring to Travers 2004, 21, see also chapter 2.1 of this thesis). Following the criticism of the 1970s, however, a new perspective on policy research began to evolve, too. In the light of social constructivism, it was acknowledged that the definition of problems and solutions is a controversial process (ibid., 2; Braun 2014, 82). Meanings, interpretations and the political-discursive constitution of realities became to be seen at the centre of political interpretation processes and struggles (Münch 2016, 3).

Similar to the constructivist understanding of heritage production, the post-positivist or interpretative approach in policy analysis is based on the idea that political realities are socially and discursively constructed: politics is a struggle over meaning (Braun 2014, 79). It aims at revealing implied valuations, contingent interpretations of reality and hidden political dimensions of seemingly neutral expert decisions in order to make them criticisable as such (ibid., 82, 84). In contrast to positivist research that is bringing scientific definitions to the field in order to test them, interpretative researchers want to understand how specific concepts are interpreted and used in the field, in a certain place and at a certain time (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2012, 18). The interpretation of ‘reality’ thereby becomes both object and method of policy research (Münch 2016, 15).

In terms of methodology, interpretative policy analysis does not follow the traditional principles of induction or deduction, but that of abduction. Abduction’s point of

³ Some authors distinguish between the terms ‘policy analysis’ and ‘policy studies’ or ‘policy science’ along the lines of descriptive-explanatory / prescriptive-normative claims or depending on the subject of interest and methodologies applied in research (see Héritier 1993, 9; Anderson 2003, 1f.). However, since there seems to be no consensus about such distinctions in the scientific community such a differentiation will not be made in this thesis.

departure is from a puzzle, a surprise, a question that oftentimes emerges from the researcher's experience in the field (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2012, 28). In contrast to inductive reasoning, however, abduction is not looking for a generalizable explanation for this puzzle, much rather it seeks to understand the problem within its context. In doing so, abduction does not follow a linear logic, but goes about in circular patterns oscillating between theory and empirical field work (ibid.). Typical methods deployed in interpretative policy analysis are participant observation, ethnographic studies of actions and artefacts, interviews or analyses of documents and other text material (Münch 2016, 20). Even though qualitative methods prevail, quantitative data is also considered valuable information. Yet numbers, as well as any other source of information are read and interpreted as sources of meaning (ibid., 21). In order to gain profound insights, researchers check their findings or 'sense-making' across multiple sources and perspectives, achieving a kind of 'intertextuality' (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2012, 51). The inclusion and recognition of a variety of interpretations, even contradicting ones, is fundamental to the approach (Münch 2016, 20). An important quality factor for interpretative policy analysis is the 'member check': research results are brought back to the field to collect local feedback. This is not meant to verify the findings, but to enrich them by adding another layer of context-specific knowledge (cf. Schwartz-Shea & Yanow 2012, 106f.).

The role of the researcher needs to be reflected on, too. Interpretative policy analysis recognizes that scientists, as individuals embedded in their own social contexts, do play a major role in negotiating problems and solutions (Münch 2016, 6, referring to Saretzki 2003, 397). Hence, instead of giving technical advice to politicians, the post-positivist researcher should enrich and stimulate the political debate and encourage civic engagement, especially in the context of an ongoing shift from government to governance (ibid.).

Interpretative policy analysis has become a renowned approach in political sciences but it has not (yet) fundamentally transformed the traditional mainstream of policy analysis that is still following neo-positivist paradigms (cf. Braun 2014, 84).

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Policy research projects are often narrowed down to focus on one specific aspect or step of the policy process. A popular model to break the policy process down to a number of development steps in a simplified manner is the 'policy cycle'. Originally introduced by Harold D. Lasswell in 1956, the policy cycle intends to structure the process of policymaking into a series of stages. The model has since been transformed and refined by many scholars and there are several different versions of it that differentiate between five to seven stages. Knill & Tosun (2015, 16ff.) deploy a five-stages model that is structured in the phases of (1) *problem definition*, (2) *agenda setting*, (3) *policy formulation*, (4) *implementation* and (5) *evaluation* (see Figure 2).

In the phase of problem definition, different groups in society, inside and outside of the political system, engage in a process of negotiation about what circumstances are labelled

problematic. Groups with different perspectives try to influence this definition according to their interests (cf. Knill & Tosun 2015, 16). Problem recognition also requires that “the necessity of state intervention has been expressed” (Jann & Wegrich 2007, 45). The fact that the perception of a problem is the result of a social construction process has been widely acknowledged (Howlett & Ramesh 2003, 121).

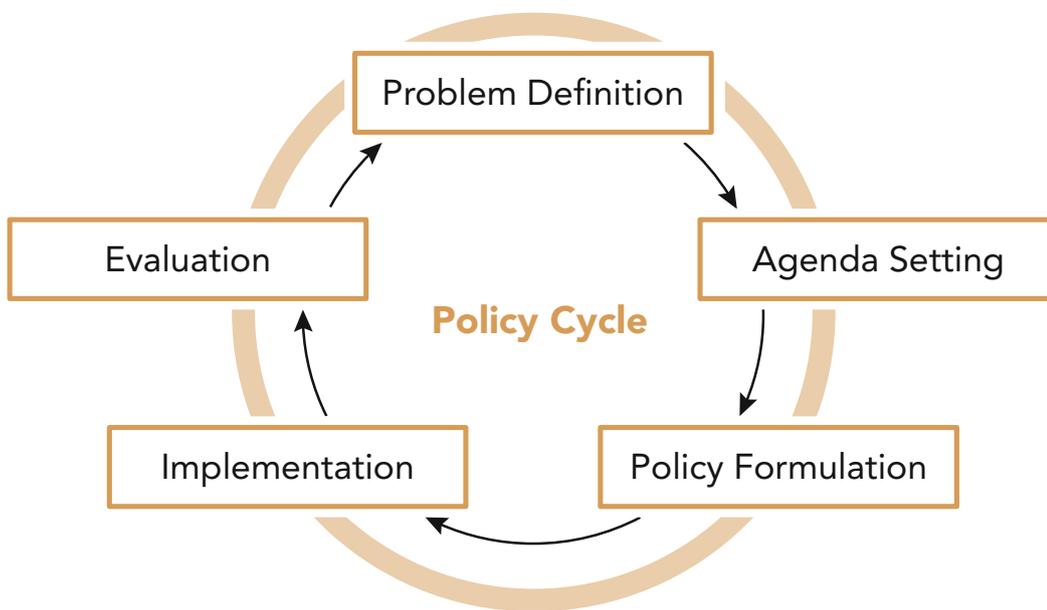


Figure 2: The policy cycle. Sources: Author’s own figure, based on Knill & Tosun 2015, 18.

As a next step, a problem needs to get the attention of the public and political decision-makers. The central question is: How and “[w]hy do some issues appear in the governmental agenda for action and not others?” (Howlett & Ramesh 2003, 120). Agenda setting can be influenced by a number of stakeholders like associations, NGOs or the media (cf. Knill & Tosun 2015, 17) and results in “a selection between diverse problems and issues” (Jann & Wegrich 2007, 46).

Once political leaders have decided to deal with a defined problem, they advance to the phase of policy formulation in which “expressed problems, proposals, and demands are transformed into government programs” (Jann & Wegrich 2007, 48). This includes the definition of objectives, the formulation and consideration of different action alternatives, as well as the selection and final adoption of one of them (ibid.; Knill & Tosun 2015, 17). If the process is successful, this phase ends with a binding decision on a law, regulation or political programme (Knill & Tosun 2015, 17). Anyhow, taking no action can also be a possible decision and outcome of this stage of the policy cycle (Anderson 2003, 27). Policy formulation has long been strongly influenced by efforts to improve ‘rational’ decision-making through techniques and tools that identify the most effective and cost-efficient policies (Jann & Wegrich 2007, 46).

The implementation phase is all about how the politician's decisions are put into practice. The attention is on what is done, by whom, and how these actions further elaborate the policies (Anderson 2003, 27). Studies of policy implementation oftentimes focus on the relation between politics and the administration, but other actors can be involved too (Knill & Tosun 2015, 17). Since this thesis will focus on the phase of policy implementation in regards to the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, I will take a closer look on recurrent challenges of this phase in this section.

The final phase of the policy cycle evaluates outcomes and impacts of a given policy (Knill & Tosun 2015, 17). It aims to determine "what a policy is accomplishing, whether it is achieving its goals, and whether it has other consequences" (Anderson 2003, 27). This includes looking at sectors or people directly and indirectly affected by the policy, comparing effects to the previously defined objectives, and possibly discovering new problems that require action (cf. *ibid.*). Depending on the results of the evaluation, a policy will be maintained, adopted or terminated. In case of adoption or rejection, the policy cycle is reinitiated based on modified problem perception and agenda-setting (Knill & Tosun 2015, 17; Jann & Wegrich 2007, 53).

The policy cycle is a heuristic framework for orientation in research processes. In the real world, policymaking processes will hardly ever be structured in such a clear-cut linear manner. Much rather stages would overlap, take place in a different order or be omitted (Blum & Schubert 2011, 104, referring to Sabatier 2007). Having this in mind, the policy cycle can be a useful model to develop a structured research approach, however, it should not be misunderstood as a perfect representation of what is really happening when a policy comes into being.

Up until the 1970s it was widely assumed, that if a policy was issued by the authorities, the addressed problem was pretty much already solved. Only after some obvious issues appeared, scholars started to address the problem of policy implementation as such. By the 1980s the search for factors that would influence the effective implementation of a policy became a focal point of policy analysis (Blum & Schubert 2011, 126). „The study of policy implementation is concerned with the agencies and officials involved, the procedures they follow, the techniques (or tools) they employ, and the political support and opposition that they encounter" (Anderson 2003, 193, referring to Ripley & Franklin 1986, 4f.). The central question is: how do policy *outputs* (in the form of laws or recommendations) translate into respective *outcomes* (changes in behaviour of addressed groups) (Knill & Tosun 2015, 118)⁴.

The question sparked an argument as to the perspective from which to look at the problem. The 'top-down' or legislative perspective would analyse the mechanisms and public agencies in place for policy implementation, thereby focusing on the actions of top-level officials and elaborating suggestions for their improvement as regards efficiency (Anderson 2003, 195; Blum & Schubert 2011, 126). The 'bottom-up' or executive level

⁴ While interest in implementation research waned in the 1990s, the new millennium saw a renewed focus on policy implementation, especially in the context of international agreements (Joachim et al. 2008, 5f.).

perspective would look at lower-level officials involved in the implementation process 'on the ground' (like police, teachers, social workers, or judges) and how they interact with their clients. The approach would also consider informal interactions and networks in order to understand implementation difficulties (Anderson 2003, 195; Blum & Schubert 2011, 126). As research progressed, it turned out that a combination of both perspectives helps to generate deeper insights and understand problems on both 'ends' of the implementation process (ibid.).

The Principal-Agent Theory provides another helpful lens for analysis of the implementation process. It seeks to explain the gap between the original policy objectives and real administrative practice. The approach looks at the action of stakeholders, specifically legislators ('principals') and administrations ('agents'), within a hierarchical system to identify an asymmetry of information. The assumption is that by passing on instructions from one level to another, information gets lost and the original rationale of a policy does not reach the executional level ('principal-agent problem'). On the other hand, administrations tend to have their own interests which they can try to incorporate in the implementation process to influence the outcomes of a given policy (cf. Blum & Schubert 2011, 128). This is also reflected in the difficulty to separate a policy's adoption from its implementation: legislator's decisions sometimes merely set a framework and administrative agencies are left with significant latitude in actual implementation (Anderson 2003, 193). "Frequently those who participate in the legislative process are unable or unwilling to arrive at precise settlements among the conflicting interests on many issues. Only by leaving some matters nebulous and unsettled can agreement on legislation be reached" (ibid., 197). The task of interpreting these 'nebulous' instructions and filling the gaps towards practical application is then left to administrative agencies. This is often also an issue in the context of international agreements where individual nation states have the responsibility to translate general obligations or recommendations into national law.

Administrative agencies are not the only actors involved in policy implementation. Other important players in the process include the legislature, the courts, pressure groups, community organizations, political-party officials, and the media, some of which may take on officially accepted roles as advisory bodies or facilitators (cf. Anderson 2003, 198ff.).

Besides administrative organization, other factors can influence effective and efficient implementation. Among them are the chosen techniques of control (hortatory vs authoritative), the political context, availability of financial resources, and even the content of the policy itself (as Theodore Lowi (1972, 299) demonstrated: *policies determine politics*) (Anderson 2003, 221; Blum & Schubert 2011 25, 128). All of these aspects should be considered for their potential impact on the content and outcome a policy unfolds during the process of its implementation.

Finally, it all comes down to compliance: "All public policies are intended to influence or control human behavior in some way and to induce people to act in accordance with government-prescribed rules or goals, [...]. If compliance with policy is not achieved [...] policy becomes ineffective or, at the extreme, a nullity" (Anderson 2003, 230).

Implementation research is mostly focused on individual case studies, looking at particular implementation processes and their specific circumstances. This is why even (neo-)positivist policy analysis has not really developed universal theoretical models and explanations for this phase of the policy cycle (Knill & Tosun 2015, 118): “Why some policies succeed and others fail remains a challenging puzzle” (Anderson 2003, 193).

INTERNATIONAL POLICY ANALYSIS

As a consequence of globalization, today, an increasing number of problems cannot be solved within the nation state but require international cooperation (cf. Knill & Tosun 2015, 184). International organizations have become more and more important over the past decades as they seek to create an environment for the negotiation of transnational agreements, and have come to be involved in many domains of public policy-making (Joachim et al. 2008a, 3).

Knill & Tosun (2015, 184ff.) identify two main reasons for the growing need for international cooperation on social, economic and environmental challenges. Firstly, most cross-border problems cannot be solved by single nation states. Multiple countries are involved, for example, in the protection of river areas, while problems like climate change require global action. International information and communication networks need coordination between countries to standardized technical interfaces, too. Secondly, states have limited national policy options due to economic interdependences. With far-reaching economic liberalization, nation states are in competition with each other which makes cooperation crucial with regards to regulations that would cause competitive disadvantages for single countries (e.g. labour rights, environmental standards). Against this background, states increasingly depend on each other in order to develop solutions for their shared problems.

International cooperation is based on the interaction of state actors, and oftentimes it results in the establishment of international organizations (Knill & Tosun 2015, 189). In most cases, such organizations are more than simple “extensions of states or arenas in which to build winning coalitions” (Joachim et al. 2008a, 3). Some scholars argue that they are the institutionalization of ‘international regimes’, which can be defined as “sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations” (Krasner 1983, 2). The purpose of regimes is to facilitate agreements, but it is “the infusion of behavior with principles and norms that distinguishes regime-governed activity in the international system from more conventional activity, guided exclusively by narrow calculations of interest” (ibid., 3). With these principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures inscribed into international organizations, they become actors in their own right, playing an important role in global governance: “Rather than merely being the instruments of states, [international organizations] can influence the course of international events” (Joachim et al. 2008a, 3).

Focusing on international treaties and organizations, Knill and Tosun (2015, 191f.) distinguish different types based on three criteria: degree of formalization, target group

and subject matter. The 'degree of formalization' refers to the legal form of the cooperation based on public or private international law (referring to Behrens 2010, 101) and to the extent to which states transfer competences to other institutions. While international organizations based on ratified treaties represent a high degree of formalization, international cooperation can also be limited to binding agreements between a few states or to informal coalitions without any legal basis. The 'target group' encompasses all stakeholders that can become part of the cooperation and would then be affected by its policies. This may include nation states (globally or restricted to specific geographical or cultural criteria), regions or cities, but also non-governmental actors like NGOs, scientific or economic entities. Finally, some organizations deal with a broad diversity of 'subject matters', while others focus on one single topic. These differences are reflected in the administrative structures and resources of the organizations.

The ongoing development in the field of international cooperation is followed by an increasing interest for the impacts of globalization on policy making. In recent years, the formulation and implementation of policies that evolve on the international level have received more and more attention in policy analysis and have been widely discussed under the keyword of 'global governance' (Knill & Tosun 2015, 184, 190).

International policies arise from the participation of nation states in international regimes and organizations. The collaborative development of policies on the international level is a challenging endeavour: a broad heterogeneity of national interests is combined with mostly high quorums for decision-making (Knill & Tosun 2015, 193). The resulting policies are also more diverse in their forms than national measures. They can be expressed in intergovernmental agreements, in the establishment of a specific international organization, or as voluntary regulatory standards, just to name some examples (ibid., 185). The great diversity in international cooperation also means that the processes of policy making vary considerably, specifically in respect to the rules for decision making and the competences transferred to international organizations (ibid., 193). Similar to the development of policies on the national level, the processes may be influenced by stakeholders from civil society (represented by NGOs), economy (transnational companies) and science (advisory bodies) (ibid., 189f.). The policies agreed upon on the international level are then to be implemented at the level of the nation state. Domestic administrations, local politicians, as well as the civil society and private stakeholders play a major role in this implementation process (ibid., 185; Joachim et al. 2008a, 7).

In the international context implementation refers to the "translation of agreed-upon international agreements into concrete policies and manifests itself in the adoption of rules or regulations, the passage of legislation or the creation of institutions (both domestic and international) (Joachim et al. 2008a, 6, referring to Victor et al. 1998, 4). In other words, national implementation encompasses "the concrete actions which state officials take (or fail to take) to meet international agreements (ibid.)".

Theoretically, according to the model of the policy cycle, implementation is the phase following the adoption of an international agreement. Empirically, however, policy making is much more complex and tends to shift back and forth between the stages identified in the model. This is particularly evident in the implementation process of

international policies, when local actors who had been dissatisfied with the international agreement revive the discussion on the national level in order to change contents to their own favour (Joachim et al. 2008a, 7, Joachim et al. 2008b, 187). Feedback loops may also occur when the practical implications of an agreement are not clearly formulated, when new information becomes available, or because of changes in the broader context (Joachim et al. 2008a, 7). Various domestic factors may lead to renegotiation on the national or international level and can significantly influence implementation of the policy. This shows how implementation, decision making and agenda setting are much more tightly intertwined than in the theoretical model of the policy cycle (ibid.,).

Just as federalism complicates the implementation of national policies (the implementation taking place on another level than the legislation) (Anderson 2003, 195), the implementation of international policies on the national or even local level becomes a true challenge. With no central instance to monitor and enforce, clearly, the implementation of international policies, in comparison to national policies, is significantly more susceptible to problems of non-compliance and deviations from original policy goals (Knill & Tosun 2015, 202, 205). Coping with difficulties in implementation, states are increasingly delegating related tasks to international organizations, like monitoring and reporting, or assistance through provision of resources (Joachim et al. 2008a, 3, 7). Yet, national authorities, local facilities as well as non-governmental actors still play an important role in facilitating implementation on the ground. Joachim et al. (2008a) identify two main sets of variables that affect the ability of international organizations to assert power during the implementation phase: their own institutional resources and the conditions of domestic politics found on the level of the nation state.

As regards the means that international organizations have available for implementation, three types of resources can be distinguished: enforcement, management and normative (Joachim et al. 2008a, 8). The enforcement and managerial perspectives are long established and have been perceived as mutually exclusive, so that it was either enforcement or management that were assumed to prompt states to take actions (ibid., 4). More recently it has been recognized that the normative power of international organizations also plays an important role in policy implementation (ibid., 5). Drawing on empirical studies it also became obvious, that there is no clear-cut distinction between the three types of resources and that their customized combination oftentimes yields the best results (Joachim et al. 2008b, 179).

Advocates of the 'enforcement approach' argue that the implementation of international agreements is best ensured through coercive measures. They perceive the state as a rational actor that weighs costs and benefits of international agreements against each other. Adequate 'punishments', consequently, would make cheating unprofitable. The coercive measures at disposal are monitoring and sanctioning (Joachim et al. 2008a, 8). *Monitoring* increases transparency and helps to detect violations. It can be conducted by states parties themselves via regular progress reports about their activities, by representatives of an international organization travelling to the country for assessment, or by outside actors like NGOs and other societal actors who deliver 'shadow reports'. There could also be a complaints procedure in place which gives citizens or other countries the

possibility to report treaty violations (*ibid.*, 9). Whatever way the reporting is delivered, it needs to be assessed by a body of the responsible organization. If shortcomings are discovered, *sanctions* may be applied. The coercive powers of international organizations vary considerably. ‘Naming and shaming’ is the enforcement measure that most international organizations have at their disposal. It targets violators’ reputations by making their non-compliance known to the public via the media (*ibid.*, 10). Above that, only a few organizations (like, for example, the European Union) have the authority to use more binding tools, like infringement procedures or monetary penalties (*ibid.*). This is a fact often brought up by critics of the enforcement approach: most international organizations do not possess effective coercive powers. Moreover, even when they possess them, they may refrain from using them: “While enforcement measures may yield short-term success in having states follow through on their international commitments, they may threaten the existence and influence of [international organizations] in the long run by damaging their authority and reputation” (Joachim et al. 2008b, 189). International organizations have a desire to be on good terms with member states since they rely on a shared interest and the ability to find common solutions (*ibid.*, 181; Joachim et al. 2008a, 12). Effective enforcement also requires resources and familiarity with national administrative structures. If international organizations are poorly equipped in this regard, they would risk their good reputation and credibility if they would push for enforcement and finally “lose their battle” (Joachim et al. 2008b, 181f.). Critics of the enforcement approach also question the appropriateness of coercive measures and argue that implementation is less a matter of willingness than of ability and capacity (Joachim et al. 2008a, 10). Whether a state takes action much rather depends on various factors, like the language of the treaty which may be unclear or imprecise, resource and capacity limitations of national administrations, or uncontrollable social and economic challenges (*ibid.*).

From this perspective, the enforcement approach is not of much use. Rather than monitoring and sanctioning, the ‘managerial approach’ stresses problem solving, capacity building, rule interpretation and transparency (Joachim et al. 2008a, 10). It perceives international agreements as “cooperative ventures, in which performance that seems for some reason unsatisfactory represents a problem to be solved by mutual consultation and analysis” (Chayes & Chayes, 1995, 26). In this context, international organizations play an important role in providing specialized expertise, as well as technical and financial assistance (Joachim et al. 2008a, 11). Nowadays, international policy implementation is increasingly supported through measures and (financial) resources, that aim at strengthening implementation capacities in countries and convincing local authorities of the positive benefits from implementation (Knill & Tosun 2015, 204).

Finally, the ‘normative approach’ stresses the international organization’s intangible resources, such as authority and legitimacy (Joachim et al. 2008a, 4). These normative powers have an influence on the willingness and motivation of states to adhere to international agreements, and they appear to be crucial for both, coercive measures and capacity building, to work effectively (*ibid.*, 11; Joachim et al. 2008b, 180). An international organization’s authority flows from two sources: its expertise and control over information, on the one hand, and their perceived rationality and impartiality, on

the other (Joachim et al. 2008a, 11, referring to Boli 1999). Authority gives an organization the power to convince states, that “meeting their international commitments is the appropriate and right thing to do” (ibid., referring to Risse 2000). In line with this, implementation of an agreement also depends on the perceived legitimacy of the rules and norms on which an organization is founded. If they are widely disputed and questioned it becomes unlikely that they will be followed by nation states (ibid., 12). The image of international organizations as ‘neutral bystanders’ and ‘experts’ is crucial for policy implementation (Joachim et al. 2008b, 188).

As mentioned above, there is no strict distinction between the three approaches, and in practice, international organizations combine them in creative ways to achieve the best results (Joachim et al. 2008b, 179). Different to what many may expect, organizations that lack coercive powers are not necessarily less effective than those which do possess them (ibid., 177). They make up for it through other mechanisms and “turn what could be viewed as a shortcoming into a strength” by improving their managerial skills and by earning the respect and loyalty of their member states (ibid., 183).

Beside the institutional resources of international organizations, domestic-level factors also have a major influence on the implementation of international policies in the nation state. There are different explanations as to which factors on the national level do influence the implementation of international policies. One important aspect is the compatibility of the international policy with local institutional arrangements and administrative structures. “The better the compatibility of these policies with political and societal arrangements at the national level, the more likely governments will be to undertake the needed changes, since the adjustment costs are expected to be minimal” (Joachim et al. 2008b, 184). Regulatory instruments that do not conform to existing institutional structures tend to meet more resistance on the national level (Joachim et al. 2008a, 13, referring to Mastenbroek 2005).

Apart from bureaucrats who would be likely to oppose changes in their well-established routines, procedures and practices, there are other interest groups that can affect policy implementation on the national level. Political parties, NGOs, civil society groups, companies and the media may impede or facilitate implementation depending on their attitude to the new policy (Joachim et al. 2008a, 7; Joachim et al. 2008b, 186). To what extent each of these groups may influence policy implementation depends on their overall position in society and how they are affected by the agreement (ibid.). Some of them may support and actually facilitate implementation, others may try to prevent it or use the implementation phase to transform the contents of the policy according to their interests (ibid.). Oftentimes, international organizations try to win societal actors over as supporters of their cause using various means (e.g. offering benefits or assistance, educational measures and media campaigns to influence public opinion, etc.) (ibid.). Mobilizing support, however, is not always a top-down process. Societal groups that do agree with international policies may pressure national governments as well as international organizations to act towards implementation (ibid., 187). In any case, the support of local stakeholders is crucial because “[International organizations] rarely

succeed in ensuring implementation by themselves, [...] they need powerful domestic allies to realize their objectives" (ibid., 186).

Finally, it has been observed that 'mature democracies' are more likely to respect international agreements than young democracies. They are accustomed to the rule of law, consensual agreements and independent judiciaries. Moreover, they provide more freedom to private actors, like NGOs, that pressure governments to take domestic-level action (Joachim et al. 2008a, 13).

Obviously, all three factors are closely interlinked. The political system of a state and its domestic institutions affect power relations between public, societal and economic stakeholders and vice versa (Joachim et al. 2008b, 183). Yet, even though all these domestic-level factors can hamper the implementation of international agreements, international organizations still have a number of useful tools at their disposal to promote their cause.

The theoretical concepts set out in this chapter will support this thesis on two levels. First, they will help to understand the structure and powers of UNESCO in general, and second, they will serve as a theoretical framework for the analysis of the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva.

3

UNESCO World Heritage

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The approved original version of this thesis is available in print at TU Wien Bibliothek.

3.1 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Following the theoretical discussion of heritage and policy studies, I would now like to introduce the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as an important international organization within the United Nations system. I will give a brief overview of UNESCO's fields of work and organizational structure to understand its objectives, international standing and functioning. I will then focus on UNESCO's World Heritage Convention: its history, organs and implementation procedures. This section provides the necessary background to dig deeper into the management of urban heritage and related policies. Finally, I will introduce the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, the relatively recent UNESCO policy for World Heritage Cities which this thesis seeks to analyse focusing especially on its implementation in the context of Khiva.

FOUNDING UNESCO

[...] since wars begin in the minds of [humans], it is in the minds of [humans] that the defences of peace must be constructed (UNESCO 1945, pmb1)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a United Nations Organization founded in 1945 for the purpose of “advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind” (UNESCO 1945, pmb1). In the aftermath of World War II, representatives of forty-four countries came together in a United Nations Conference for the establishment of an educational and cultural organization in London. As a result, the first Constitution of UNESCO was signed and came into force in November 1946 after ratification by twenty countries: Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Lebanon, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States (UNESCO 2017a). Today, UNESCO has 193 Member States and 11 Associate Members⁵ (UNESCO 2019a). This resembles almost all officially recognized nation states in the world, with the exception of Liechtenstein, the United States of America and Israel⁶. The UNESCO headquarter is located in Paris, France.

UNESCO's work is based on the ideals and values set out in the preamble of its constitution. At its core lies the belief that “the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern” (UNESCO 1945, pmb1). UNESCO's framework of decision-making considers the basic principles of equity, fairness, and accountability, and the organizations programmes and

⁵ “Territories or groups of territories that are not responsible for the conduct of their international relations may be admitted as Associate Members” (UNESCO 2019a).

⁶ Israel and the US have left UNESCO in 2018 after blaming the organization of anti-Israeli positions especially since the acceptance of Palestine to UNESCO (2011) and the declaration of Hebron as Palestinian World Heritage Site (2017) (see Al Jazeera 2019; Rosenberg & Morello 2017; BBC 2017). This anecdote demonstrates the difficulties for an organization that aims to represent all humankind when it comes to political conflict between nation states.

activities transmit its basic principles and norms. UNESCO could therefore be described as an international regime as defined by Krasner (cf. Krasner 1983; see also chapter 2.3).

UNESCO'S FIELDS OF WORK

UNESCO's day-to-day work evolves around regular Medium-Term Strategies. The current Medium-Term Strategy (37 C/4) sets out the strategic vision and programmatic framework over the period 2014 to 2021 (UNESCO 2014a). It defines two overarching objectives—peace and equitable and sustainable development—as well as two global priorities—Africa and gender equality—and nine strategic objectives (ibid.). The Medium-Term is structured in two quadrennia and four biennia, and detailed programmes and budgets are developed for each biennium. The overall budget framework for the financial period 2020-2021 amounts to 1,329 million USD, out of which 535 million USD are contributions to the regular programme by Member States (UNESCO 2019c, art. 101). Exceeding expenditures are covered by donations from different nation states, international organizations and private partners, as well as other revenues. Almost 87 percent of the budget goes directly into programmes and programme-related services. The rest is allocated to work on general policy and direction of the organization, administration and management, and other costs (ibid.).

The work of UNESCO covers a wide spectrum of activities which add an important dimension to the international cooperation between world countries that is otherwise very much focused on political and economic spheres. With all its activities, UNESCO aims to contribute to the achievement of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (see UNESCO 2019b). The thematic work is structured around five Major Programmes: Education, Natural Sciences, Social and Human Sciences, Culture, and Communication and Information.

Major Programme I (Education) receives 39 percent of the overall programme budget and thus takes the largest share (see Figure 3). Within the programme, UNESCO promotes access to quality education for children and adults. Due to the organization's expertise in the field it has the leading role in the coordination of SDG 4 (Quality Education) (UNESCO 2019d, 17ff.).

Major Programme II (Natural Sciences) aims at strengthening science, technology and innovation systems and policies, as well as promoting international scientific cooperation. It incorporates the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission that supports countries in the implementation of maritime spatial planning (UNESCO 2019d, 34ff.).

Within Major Programme III (Social and Human Sciences) UNESCO supports inclusive social development and intercultural dialogue for the promotion of ethical principles (ibid., 40). UNESCO also has the mandate to support Member States in managing social transformations within the SDGs (UNESCO 2019e, 8).

Major Programme IV (Culture) is the second largest programme measured by its financial share of 19 percent of all programme-related costs (see Figure 3). The programme's mission is to protect, conserve, promote and transmit culture and heritage for dialogue and development, as well as to foster creativity and the diversity of cultural expression.

It includes, most notably, the World Heritage Centre which continues its efforts for the sustainable management of World Heritage Sites according to the 1972 Convention and related recommendations (UNESCO 2019d, 43f.).

Finally, Major Programme V (Communication and Information) promotes freedom of expression, media development, and access to information. The work in this sector has recently laid special focus on the safety of journalists (ibid., 46).

Different issues of urban development are tackled within all of UNESCO’s Major Programmes. The UNESCO Cities Platform brings together eight UNESCO City Networks and Programmes from all the fields of expertise. These include, for example, the UNESCO Creative Cities Programme, the International Coalition of Inclusive and Sustainable Cities, and the World Heritage Cities Programme. This reflects the transversal approach of the Organization’s work with cities towards implementing the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (UNESCO 2019f). In the context of this thesis, however, the main focus of interest is on UNESCO’s work with cities in relation to cultural heritage within Major Programme IV.

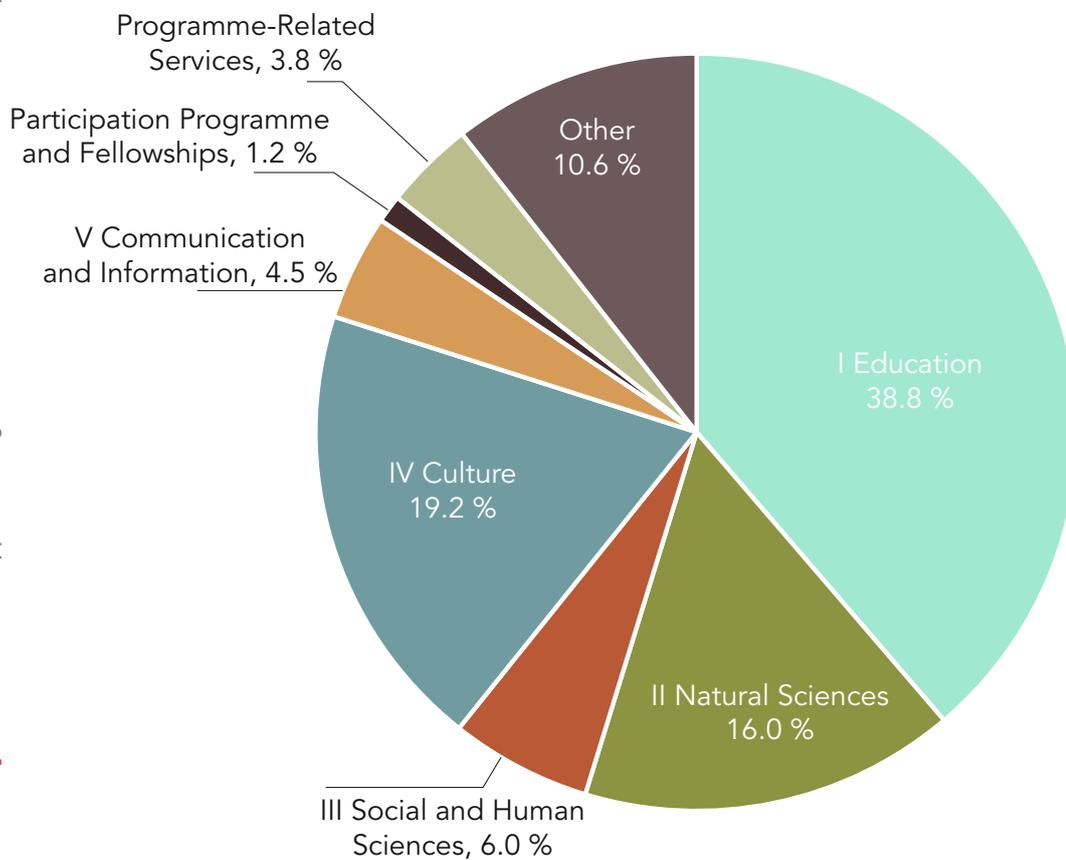


Figure 3: UNESCO budget distribution among programmes and programme-related services. Source: Author’s own figure, based on UNESCO 2019c, art. 101.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The 1945 Constitution (amended several times throughout the years) defines the main purpose, legal status and organisational structure of UNESCO. The organization has three main organs: the General Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat (UNESCO 2019g., art. 3).

Each Member State can send up to five delegates to participate in the General Conference that meets every two years. This large event usually takes place in the Paris headquarters over a period of about two weeks and includes the meetings of thematic commissions and committees. The General Conference determines policies and main lines of work of the organization. It approves the programmes and budgets for the upcoming working period, and adopts recommendations and conventions for submission to Member States. The General Conference also elects the members of the Executive Board and appoints the Director-General of the Secretariat (UNESCO 2019g., art. 4, see also Figure 4).

The Executive Board is composed of 58 members that are appointed by Member States and elected by the General Conference for a four-year term of office. Members should be qualified in the fields of competence of UNESCO, be able to fulfil the administrative and executive duties, represent diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. The Executive Board meets twice a year and supervises the execution of the programme by the Director-General and the Secretariat (UNESCO 2019g., art. 5). It works as a link between the General Conference and the Secretariat (see also Figure 4).

The UNESCO Secretariat, finally, executes the programme and administers the budget. It is headed by the Director-General who is appointed for a period of four years. Currently, the position is held by Audrey Azoulay from France. She and her staff are responsible for the formulation of appropriate actions, programmes of work, budget estimates, and periodical reports, as well as all other day-to-day tasks of UNESCO (UNESCO 2019g., art. 6, see also Figure 4). About half of the Secretariat's 2,200 employees work directly at the headquarters in Paris, the other half are employed in Field Offices and associated Institutes and Centres all around the world (UNESCO 2020a, 1).

The field network in today's form was implemented in the 1970s. The Bureau of Field Coordination in Paris is responsible for its overall management, support and coordination (Pohle 2009). Field Offices coordinate the work of UNESCO at the regional or national level, develop adequate strategies, programmes and activities in close cooperation with the National Commissions and other national and international partners (*ibid.*, see also Figure 4). Today there are 53 Field offices around the globe, including National Offices (serving a single Member State), Regional Bureaux (specializing in a thematic field), Cluster Offices (covering a group of countries as the central component around which National Offices and Regional Bureaux are organized) and Liaison Offices (for close cooperation with other international organizations) (UNESCO 2017b).

Additionally, each Member State should set up a National Commission to represent the government and associate its relevant bodies with the work of UNESCO. National Commissions advise their respective delegations to the General Conference, representatives on the Executive Board and Governments in matters relating to the Organization (UNESCO

2019g, art. 7). They also provide advice to the UNESCO Secretariat and Field Offices for linkages with national partners. Furthermore, National Commissions can become active by elaborating and implementing Participation Programmes related to UNESCO's fields of work (to be approved by the Director-General) (UNESCO 2015a, 3, see also Figure 4).

Drawing on Knill and Tosun's (2015, 191f.) types of international organizations, UNESCO can be classified as a 'formalized' institution since it is based on the ratification of a shared constitution. Member States take over certain responsibilities, yet there is very limited transfer of competences to UNESCO. The 'target group' is quite large, encompassing all nation states in the world, while non-governmental actors have advising functions. The wide range of UNESCO's thematic programmes represents a broad diversity of 'subject matters'. The large scopes of all three criteria are reflected in the complex administrative structures and large budget administered by UNESCO.

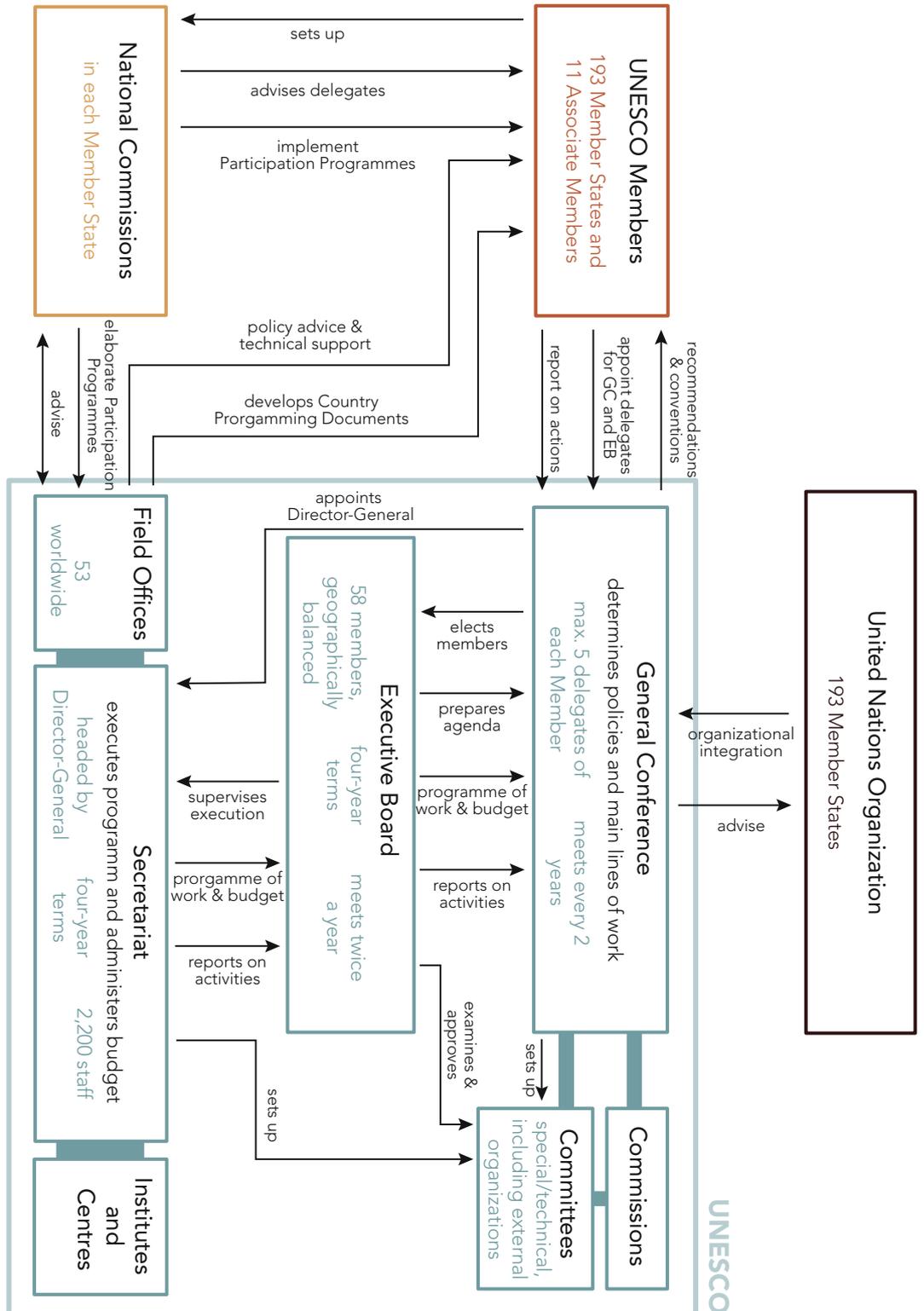


Figure 4: UNESCO organs and most relevant interrelations. Sources: Author's own figure, based on Pohle 2009, UNESCO 2015a, UNESCO 2019g, UNESCO 2020a.

3.2 World Heritage

Within Major Programme IV (Culture), the work of UNESCO is structured into five main divisions: The World Heritage Centre, Culture and Emergencies, Cultural Policies and Development, Diversity of Cultural Expressions and Living Heritage. Each of these section’s work is based on the directives within specific UNESCO documents, most importantly on the seven conventions related to culture (see Figure 5).

This chapter explores in more detail the history and work of the World Heritage Centre as the guardian of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, as well as the Convention itself along with the mechanisms for heritage conservation it has put in place.

Major Programme IV - Culture



Figure 5: Work divisions and related Conventions of UNESCO’s Major Programme IV - Culture. Sources: Author’s own figure, based on UNESCO 2019d, 139.

HISTORY OF WORLD HERITAGE

The history of shared international responsibility for the preservation of cultural heritage goes back to the years after World War I. The League of Nations, that was founded after the war with the aim of maintaining world peace, dealt with the destruction of heritage sites during times of war and social unrest (Toman 2009, 390). In October 1931, the International Museums Office (an institution that belonged to the League of Nations) organized the *Athens Conference on the Restoration of Historic Buildings* (Ohba 2017, 1). The concept of 'international heritage' was first discussed at this event that resulted in the publication of the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (ICOMOS 2020).

After World War II UNESCO became the major international institution responsible for cultural issues. UNESCO's first standard-setting project in the field of heritage preservation was the 1954 *The Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Properties in Case of Armed Conflict* (Batisse 2005, 15). The first large international campaign to safeguard monumental heritage was triggered by the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. The project aroused international concern because of the flooding of several ancient Egyptian temples and tombs, most prominently the Abu Simbel temples. As a response, in 1956 UNESCO launched the Nubian Campaign to accelerate archaeological research in the area and to move vulnerable monuments to safe places for their protection. Around 50 countries responded to the call and joined the effort by contribution of money and technical assistance (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2929a). Similar campaigns followed for the preservation of other outstanding heritage sites, underlining the international value and solidarity among nations in taking care of cultural heritage.

In 1964, the *Second Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings* led to the declaration of the *Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* that provided international guidelines for the conservation and restoration of historic buildings. Upon recommendation of UNESCO, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) was created in order to ensure the application of the principles of the Venice Charter on a global scale by establishing national committees in each state involved (ICOMOS 2020; Aygen 2013, 26).

After the success of the Nubian Campaign, more and more countries submitted requests regarding endangered heritage sites and UNESCO felt the need to establish a consistent framework to deal with the issue. In 1966 the General Conference assigned the Secretariat to develop an appropriate system of international protection for a selection of monuments that form an integral part of the cultural heritage of humankind. In the first years of expert consultations and preparation of the Convention, work was focused on cultural heritage only (Batisse 2005, 16).

Around the same time, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) started working on the concept of a World Heritage Trust for international cooperation in the protection of outstanding natural and historic sites to be presented at the 1972 *United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm* (ibid., 16ff.).

Both organizations worked on their conventions in parallel for a while but eventually it was agreed that there should be one convention for both, natural and cultural sites,

developed and managed by UNESCO in close consultation with IUCN and ICOMOS, each in their field of expertise (ibid., 30). The *Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972, along with the *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020b).

The example of the Nubian Campaign and the resulting long-term cooperation among nation states within the frame of the World Heritage Convention is a good example for the need for international cooperation as described by Knill and Tosun (2015, 184ff; see also chapter 2.3 of this thesis). The Convention reflects the shared international interest to preserve the cultural and natural heritage of humankind, and facilitates the coordination of the management of cross boarder World Cultural and Natural Heritage properties.

THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION AND ITS ORGANS

A convention is a formal agreement between nation states that is legally binding after ratification. The term is typically used for treaties negotiated under the auspices of international organizations. Conventions are usually open for participation by the international community as a whole (see UNICEF 1989; UN 2007).

The World Heritage Convention entered into force on 17 December 1975 after ratification by twenty states. Until today, 193 States Parties have ratified the Convention⁷ (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020c). The document stresses that “deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world” and therefore aims to establish an international system of “collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods” (UNESCO 1972, pmb1). Nonetheless, the Convention makes clear, that the responsibility to protect the cultural and natural heritage lies primarily with the state on whose territory it is located (ibid., art. 4).

The Convention puts in place three organs, similar to the organizational structure of UNESCO itself: The General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention, the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Committee) and a Secretariat (the World Heritage Centre). They are responsible for establishing and managing the World Heritage List and the World Heritage Fund (see Figure 6).

All States Parties to the Convention are represented at the General Assembly. It meets at every ordinary session of the General Conference of UNESCO to be informed about progress and work, and to elect the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO 1972, art. 8).

⁷ Surprisingly, these 193 States Parties are not the same as the 193 Member States of UNESCO. Nauru, Somalia and Tuvalu are UNESCO members that have not ratified the World Heritage Convention. At the same time, the Holy See, Israel and the USA are States Parties to the World Heritage Convention but not UNESCO members (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020c, UNESCO 2019a).

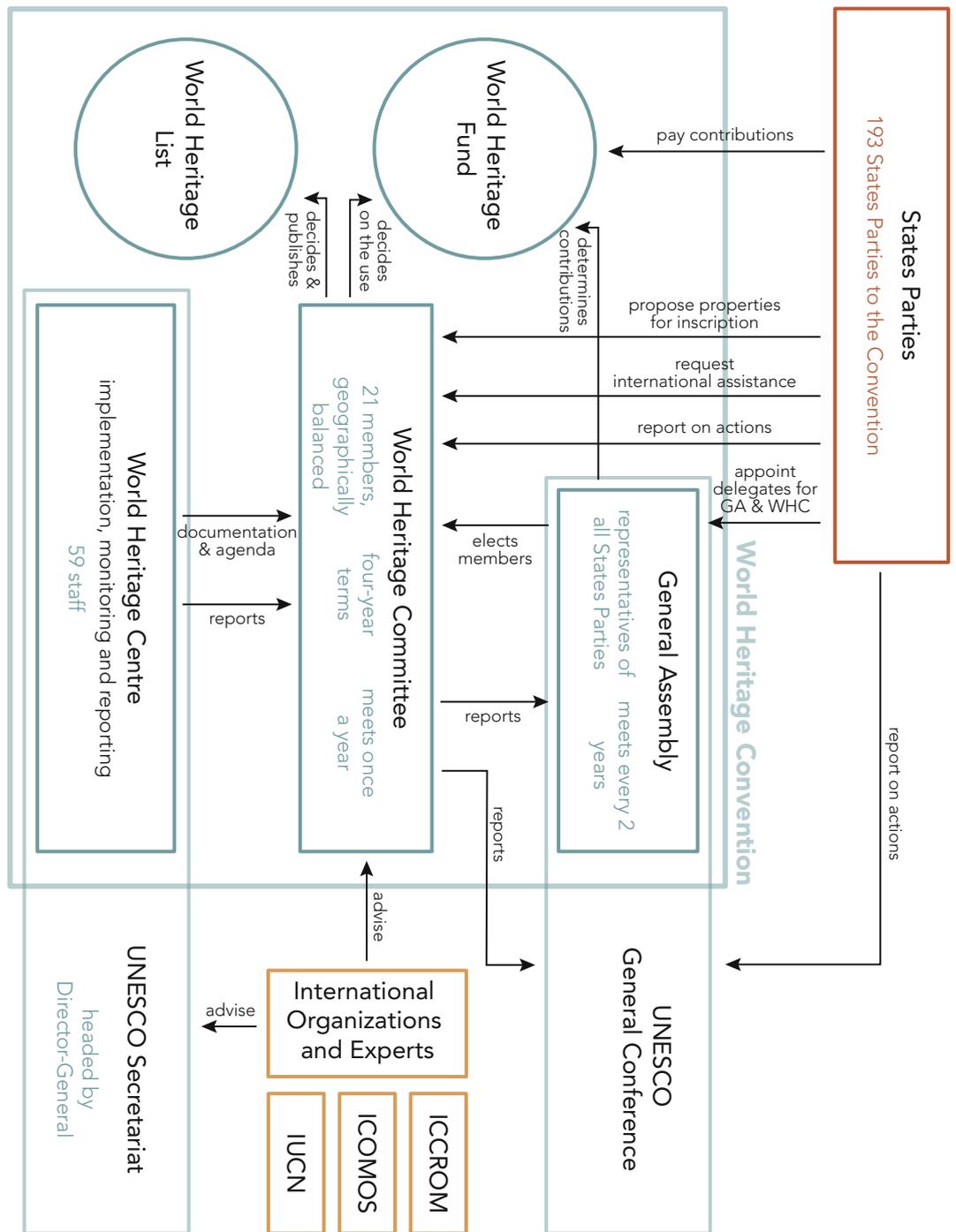


Figure 6: Organs established by the World Heritage Convention and most relevant interrelations.
 Sources: Author's own figure, based on UNESCO 1972, UNESCO 2019h.

The World Heritage Committee is composed of 21 representatives of States Parties that should equitably represent different regions of the world and be qualified in the field of cultural or natural heritage (ibid.). Their official term of office is six years but most States Parties voluntarily reduce their terms to four years as recommended by the General Assembly (UNESCO 2019h, art. 21). The Committee meets at least once a year in order to review the documents provided by the World Heritage Centre and take decisions on new inscriptions to the World Heritage List or the List of World Heritage in Danger, deletion of properties from the World Heritage List and allocation of resources from the World Heritage Fund for International Assistance (ibid., art. 19, 24; UNESCO 1972, art. 19). It also revises and adopts the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* which include, amongst others, the development of Strategic Objectives, the definition of criteria for the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of World Heritage properties and the exact procedure by which requests for International Assistance are to be considered (UNESCO 2019h, art. 24, 25; UNESCO 1972, art. 11, 21). The Committee is encouraged to commission studies and to invite international experts for consultation, especially representatives of the official Advisory Bodies, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), ICOMOS and IUCN, to come to an informed decision (ibid., art. 8, art. 21).

The World Heritage Centre has been established in 1992 to fulfil the tasks of the Secretariat to the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO 2019g, art. 27). It assists the Committee and the States Parties in their work and closely collaborates with the Advisory Bodies and other sectors of UNESCO (ibid.; UNESCO 1972, art. 14). This includes the organization of meetings, implementation of decisions, registration and examination of nominations to the World Heritage List, coordination of studies, organization of Periodic Reporting and conduct of Reactive Monitoring, coordination of International Assistance, mobilization of extra-budgetary resources, promotion of World Heritage through dissemination, and many other day-to-day tasks related to the management of the World Heritage List and Fund (UNESCO 2019h, art. 28).

With more the 300 historic cities on the World Heritage List, almost a third of all World Heritage properties is located in an urban context. These cities are potentially affected by all the decisions taken by any of the bodies related to the World Heritage Convention. On an operative level, however, it is mostly the decisions of the World Heritage Committee that lead to actions of the World Heritage Centre and its related institutions (like the Field Offices), that have a direct influence on the developments in urban heritage sites.

STATUTORY TOOLS AND PROCESSES

Each State Party to the Convention is encouraged to identify potential World Heritage properties on their territories and to register them on the so-called Tentative List (UNESCO 1972, art. 3; UNESCO 2019h, art. 62). States Parties can make nominations for inscriptions to the World Heritage List to the Committee which reviews a maximum of 35 nominations per year following a prioritization defined in the Operational Guidelines (see ibid., art. 61).

The World Heritage List contains properties of cultural and natural heritage. It is considered a special achievement that the Convention brought together these two aspects of heritage (see Batische 2005, 36f.). According to the Convention, monuments, groups of buildings and sites can be considered as cultural heritage, while natural heritage includes natural features, habitats and natural sites (see UNESCO 1972, art. 1, 2). Properties that satisfy parts of the definition of both are inscribed as ‘mixed cultural and natural heritage’ (UNESCO 2019h, art. 46). As of March 2021, there are a total of 1,121 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020e).

For a property to be inscribed into the World Heritage List, it needs to demonstrate attributes of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). “Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity” (UNESCO 2019h, art. 49). The Committee considers a property as having OUV if it meets one or more of ten clearly defined criteria. For cultural properties these include masterpieces of human creative genius, properties that represent important human values, developments in architecture, technology, town-planning or landscape design, that bear exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or civilization, or which are associated with events or living traditions, ideas, beliefs or artistic works of outstanding universal significance (ibid., art. 77). The World Heritage property of Khiva, Itchan Kala, for example, is inscribed due to its exceptional testimony to the lost civilizations of Khorezm, the illustration of the development of Islamic architecture between the fourteenth and nineteenth century, as well as its domestic architecture that represents an important example of human settlements in Central Asia by virtue of its design and construction (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d). For natural properties, they ought to contain superlative natural phenomena or be of exceptional natural beauty, represent major stages of earth’s history or significant on-going ecological and biological processes of evolution, or constitute important natural habitats, especially for threatened species (UNESCO 2019h, art. 77).

To be considered of Outstanding Universal Value, a property must also meet the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity and must have an adequate protection and management system in place (UNESCO 2019h, art. 78). Properties nominated under the ‘cultural’ criteria of OUV must meet the conditions of authenticity. This means that credible sources of information must prove the historic authenticity of the attributes (e.g. design, materials, functions, ...) on which the OUV of the property is based (ibid., art. 79, 80, 82). All properties to be inscribed on the World Heritage List must also meet the conditions of integrity: “Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes” (ibid., art. 88).

All World Heritage properties should be marked with the World Heritage Emblem jointly with the UNESCO logo. The emblem symbolizes the interdependence of cultural and natural properties: a square and a circle intimately interlinked (UNESCO 2019h, art. 258, 261, see Figure 7). The symbol has become well known and raises awareness for the international value of World Heritage properties.



Figure 7: World Heritage Emblem. Source: UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020d.

If a World Heritage property is threatened by serious and specific dangers and needs major operations for its future conservation the Committee can decide to put it on the List of World Heritage in Danger (UNESCO 1972, art. 11). When a property has deteriorated “to the extent that it has lost those characteristics which determined its inclusion in the World Heritage List” the Committee can delete it entirely from the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2019h, art. 192). As of May 2020, there are 53 properties in danger. Only two properties have ever been delisted from the World Heritage List so far (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020e).

A State Party that faces challenges in the identification, protection, conservation, presentation or rehabilitation of World Heritage properties can request International Assistance from the resources of the World Heritage Fund (UNESCO 1972, art. 13). The World Heritage Fund is a trust fund fed by compulsory and voluntary contributions of States Parties, donations, interests and revenue gathering activities (ibid., art. 15). The budget of the World Heritage Fund for the financial period 2020-2021 amounts to 5.6 million USD, 19 percent of which go directly into International Assistance, the largest share of 63 percent is allocated to the Advisory Bodies and their work (UNESCO 2019i, art. 26, 31).

International Assistance can be provided in the form of studies, provision of experts, technicians or skilled labour, staff trainings, equipment, loans or, in exceptional cases, as non-repayable subsidies. Only part of the costs will be covered by the World Heritage

Fund, a substantial share shall be contributed by the recipient State itself (UNESCO 1972, art. 22, 25).

By ratifying the World Heritage Convention, States Parties commit themselves to the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission of World Heritage properties for future generations (UNESCO 1972, art. 4). All actions taken in heritage conservation and management should comply with the Sustainable Development Goals. They should follow a human-rights based approach and ensure gender-balanced participation of a wide variety of stakeholders. Actions should be based on scientific knowledge and consider the resilience of socio-ecological systems of properties (UNESCO 2019h, art. 12, 15).

Taking this into account, States Parties to the Convention shall take appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures to protect their heritage (UNESCO 2019h, art. 15). Adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional measures for protection and management must be in place and described along with the nomination of the property (*ibid.*, art. 97). Therefore, every World Heritage property should have an appropriate management plan which must specify how the OUV will be preserved (*ibid.*, art. 108). In order to define the area to which the protective measures apply, a clear boundary has to be drawn that incorporates all attributes that carry the OUV and ensures the integrity and/or authenticity of the property (*ibid.*, art. 99). Additionally, a 'buffer zone' should be defined wherever necessary. It can add a layer of protection to the property by defining an area with complementary legal restrictions that is in the immediate vicinity of the property and of functional importance (e.g. visual axes) (*ibid.*, art. 103, 104). The Operational Guidelines also highly recommend the conduct of impact assessments as a prerequisite for development projects and activities planned within or around a World Heritage property (*ibid.*, art. 118bis.).

For the World Heritage Committee to monitor the condition of World Heritage properties it deploys two mechanisms: Periodic Reporting and Reactive Monitoring. Periodic Reporting refers to the responsibility of each State Party to submit regular reports on the legislative and administrative provisions and other actions taken for the application of the Convention, including the state of conservation of their World Heritage properties (UNESCO 2019h, art. 199). According to the Operational Guidelines, States Parties should submit reports every six years, region by region: Arab States, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and North America. The sixth year of each cycle should be used for reflection and evaluation (*ibid.*, art. 203, 204). In practice, however, the reflection period between reporting cycles has been extended so that reports were actually due every ten years for each State Party (see UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020f).

Reactive Monitoring is applied by the Committee to stay updated about major changes and potential threats to World Heritage properties. States Parties shall submit reports and impact studies whenever they plan to undertake constructions, restorations or other transformative projects within or close to a World Heritage property. The World Heritage Centre and Advisory Bodies may add information and report to the Committee on the state of conservation of such properties. If the World Heritage Centre receives information

about any threat to a World Heritage property from another source than the State Party in charge, it should verify this information in consultation with the Advisory Bodies and report to the Committee (UNESCO 2019h, art. 169, 171, 172, 174).

REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

The growing importance of international cooperation in relation to various subject areas is not only reflected in the creation of UNESCO, but also in the World Heritage Convention. The latter acknowledges the need for global responsibility for heritage preservation in a world with a shared interest for the preservation of cultural values but unequal distribution of financial resources and knowledge on conservation techniques. Furthermore, many world heritage sites (especially natural ones) extend beyond national borders and require close collaboration between neighbouring countries. UNESCO's World Heritage Centre supports countries in building strong international cooperation and in developing effective site management for heritage preservation.

The support UNESCO is granting the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention helps them to cope with difficulties in implementation of the convention and the related recommendations. Looking at UNESCO's institutional resources to further implementation along the classification by Joachim et al (2008a), one can identify coercive, managerial and normative resources (see also chapter 2.3 of this thesis). From the enforcement perspective, UNESCO's implementation instruments include monitoring and sanctions. The World Heritage Centre does deploy a number of monitoring mechanisms involving the States Parties themselves as well as international Advisory Bodies. Sanctions include putting a property on the List of World Heritage in Danger or delisting it, both of which can be understood as forms of 'naming and shaming'. The fact that only two properties have ever been delisted, shows that this is a sanction which is only applied in the uttermost critical cases. UNESCO, like other international organizations, wishes to be on good terms with States Parties rather than break off cooperation on difficult issues.

From the managerial perspective, the World Heritage Centre has some instruments at hand, too. Parts of the World Heritage Fund are used to support States Parties in fulfilling their duties regards to the sustainable management of heritage sites. From the available budget, the Centre may provide technical and financial assistance to facilitate transfer of knowledge and implementation of contemporary conservation techniques and management strategies.

As regards to normative resources, UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre possess authority and legitimacy to certain extends. Unarguably, the World Heritage Centre and its Advisory Bodies have extended expertise on heritage preservation and management and are the leading institutions in the field. However, there has been some discussion over their rationality and impartiality in relation to the acceptance of Palestine to UNESCO in 2011 and the declaration of Hebron as Palestinian World Heritage property in 2017 that led to the USA and Israel leaving UNESCO. Financial instabilities added to the loss of international credibility over the last decade (Hüfner 2017). However, UNESCO and the

World Heritage Convention are still highly respected international institutions whose legitimacy is widely accepted and whose authority does impact States Parties' decisions on heritage conservation and management.

It can be concluded, that UNESCO's World Heritage Centre is an institution that creatively combines enforcement, management and normative approaches to further the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and its related policies. However, the power of UNESCO is in a way constrained by its character as an Intergovernmental Organization where decisions are taken by the community of Member States. William Logan (2012, 113, 123) sees a growing politicisation of the World Heritage system: "the States Parties elected to the World Heritage Committee are increasingly making decisions based on issues other than a concern purely for heritage conservation". One of the drivers behind States Parties lobbying Committee members to overturn recommendations made by Advisory Bodies is the commodification effect of inscription, seen by many as a mere branding exercise (ibid., 119, 124).

The growing nationalistic concern for World Heritage status as a means to improve a country's image and touristic appeal is only one example of how the ability of an organization to assert power in policy implementation also depends on the conditions of domestic politics on the level of the nation state. The empirical part of this thesis aims to examine how local forces in Uzbekistan engage in the implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, a 2011 UNESCO policy that will be introduced in the following chapter.

3.3 The Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape

The starting point of my research interest was the question of the compatibility of urban development and heritage conservation. In 2011, UNESCO has issued a new Recommendation that deals with exactly the same challenge. The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* lies at the heart of UNESCO's approach to reconcile heritage conservation and urban development in and around urban World Heritage sites. In this chapter, I would like to give a thorough introduction to the background, main concerns, tools and overall implementation of the Recommendation.

HISTORY OF THE RECOMMENDATION ON THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

Heritage experts at UNESCO have been aware of special challenges in the conservation of urban heritage since the early days of the World Heritage Convention. In 1976, the General Conference adopted the *Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas*. The document was quite progressive at that time and incorporated many of the learnings from early conservation theory as well as from the failure of the Modernist Movement (see chapter 2.2). It conceived urban heritage as including "human activities as much as the buildings" (UNESCO 1976, art. 1). Moreover, it explicitly mentioned the 'environment' of historic areas, that was "linked to them in space or by social, economic or cultural ties" and needed to be safeguarded too (*ibid.*, art. 3). The Recommendation was concerned with the emerging challenges of the time, like new, globally uniform urban developments around historic areas, demolitions or improper restoration works, environmental damage and pollution, as well as increasing motor traffic and its incompatibility with historic urban structures. It recommended a number of legal and administrative, as well as technical, economic and social measures to confront these challenges and went into some detail by doing so. The measures included studies and surveys of the historic area and its environment and promotes community participation. In that sense, it anticipated several aspects that are still relevant in the debate on urban conservation today. On the other hand, Bandarin & Van Oers (2012, 48) see one of the main weaknesses of the 1976 Recommendation in its 'static' view of social processes. The document underestimated two of the main challenges that have affected urban conservation processes in the past thirty years: gentrification and the development of a dominant tourism industry (*ibid.*).

In the new millennium, global dynamics like demographic shifts, market liberalization, mass tourism and climate change increased development pressures on cities (UNESCO 2011a, pmb1). Recurring discussions about the impact of development on urban heritage made clear, that a new framework was needed for urban conservation (Labadi & Logan 2015, 8). Reacting to the challenges formulated in the *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* (UNESCO 2002) and the *Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO 2005), in 2005 the World Heritage Committee launched the World Heritage Cities Programme with the aim to develop a new standard-setting instrument that would provide assistance to States Parties in the integrated socio-economic development and conservation of urban heritage (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020a). The programme involves the development

of a theoretical framework for urban conservation, as well as the provision of technical assistance to States Parties for the implementation of the new approach. In total, 313 World Heritage properties are included in the World Heritage Cities Programme, all of which have significant urban character or are otherwise intertwined with the life of the city (ibid.).

Within a policy process over six years, an international working group comprising the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Convention (ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM), as well as a broad range of other relevant international expert organizations and individual professionals (architects, planners, international development banks, heritage associations, ...) met in eight workshops to identify threats and challenges to historic cities and to develop a new guideline addressing World Heritage and other historical cities (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020a). The central innovation of the resulting recommendation was the application of the 'landscape approach' to urban heritage.

The notion of the 'cultural landscape' had been introduced to the *Operational Guidelines to the World Heritage Convention* in 1992 in order to widen inscription criteria and encourage the admission of cultural and natural heritage beyond Europe (Logan 2013, xviii). In this context, 'cultural landscape' referred to natural landscapes that had been transformed by humans, like gardens or religious sites, but did not specifically include urban structures (UNESCO 2019h). However, the basic understanding of a cultural landscape as "illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (ibid., art. 47), equally applies to the historic urban landscape. In other words, the landscape is "understood as integrating cultural, social, economic and environmental factors in space and time, and as inherently dynamic and ever-changing" (Veldpaus 2015b, 341). The landscape is composed of layers that develop over time. In that sense, the protection of urban heritage cannot be understood as its static conservation, but must include its development and adding of new cultural, social and economic layers (Veldpaus 2015a, 48). The landscape approach therefore constitutes a shift from mere maintenance of heritage assets towards "guiding the nature of the transformation" according to the various needs and interests at stake (ibid., 21f.). The integration of the landscape terminology and its understanding as a space of dynamic change produced by cultural, social, economic and environmental factors can also be interpreted as a reflection of the 'spatial turn' in UNESCO's policies (see chapter 2.1).

On 10 November 2011 UNESCO's General Conference adopted the new *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* at its 36th session. The tool is a 'soft-law' to be implemented by Member States on a voluntary basis (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020a). Recommendations are instruments in which "the General Conference formulates principles and norms for the international regulation of any particular question and invites Member States to take whatever legislative or other steps may be required [...] to apply the principles and norms aforesaid within their respective territories" (UNESCO 2019j, art. 1). Even though recommendations are not subject to ratification by Member States, they emanate from UNESCO's supreme governing body and are intended to influence the

development of national laws and practices. Their adoption by a simple majority of the General Conference entails obligations even for those Member States that have not voted for it (UNESCO 2017c). The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* does not replace former recommendations or existing conservation approaches, but is supposed to be a means to integrate policies and practices of conservation of the built environment (WHITRAP 2014a). It aims to “provide an overarching framework that could help to structure and improve policies involved in urban heritage management” (Veldpaus 2015, 45).

UNESCO recommendations can be defined as policies according to the definitions discussed in chapter 2.3 of this thesis since they entail a “purposive course of action followed by [...] a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern” as defined by Anderson (2003, 2). The history of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* shows how the policy is embedded into a process of problem definition, agenda setting and policy formulation, as described by the model of the policy cycle. The Recommendation is now in its implementation phase, in which a wide range of international and national stakeholders are involved.

ANALYSIS OF THE RECOMMENDATION AND RELATED DOCUMENTS

The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* itself is a six-page document, including a glossary of definitions (UNESCO 2011a). As typical for UNESCO’s legal documents, it sets off with a preamble that presents the context and preconditions of its adoption. It underlines the importance of historic urban areas and points out to the contemporary challenges connected to rapid urbanization and socio-economic change. Furthermore, it proclaims that a landscape approach would help to maintain ‘urban identity’ and to integrate urban conservation and management into local development and urban planning. Finally, it refers to the existing corpus of UNESCO standard-setting documents related to urban heritage that remain valid but shall be supplemented with the new recommendation (ibid., pmb1). What stands out in the preamble is the recognition of the “dynamic nature of living cities” and of urban heritage as a “social, cultural and economic asset, defined by an historic layering of values” that points towards a post-modern understanding of heritage as a socially constructed, dynamic concept based on present-days’ needs (cf. Ronchini 2019, 185). Self-conscious about that shift, the General Conference refers to the “evolution of the concepts of culture and heritage” that proves useful in guiding new policies and practices in heritage conservation worldwide (UNESCO 2011a, pmb1).

The preamble is followed by an introduction that, again, emphasizes the challenges of rapid urbanization, drawing on the learnings and failures of past urban planning and conservation strategies (e.g. “social and spatial fragmentation”, or “standardized and monotonous buildings”) (UNESCO 2011a, art. 1, 2). Urban heritage is presented as a key resource for the sustainable development of contemporary cities (ibid., art. 3). However, the shift “towards a broader recognition of the importance of social, cultural and economic processes in the conservation of urban values” comes along with the need for adaptation of policies and the introduction of new tools (ibid., art. 4). The new recommendation is

intended to fill this gap with a landscape approach to urban heritage conservation that addresses policy, governance and management concerns, and promotes broad stakeholder participation (ibid., art. 5, 6).

The next section finally provides a definition of the ‘historic urban landscape’ as “the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of ‘historic centre’ or ‘ensemble’ to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting” (UNESCO 2011a, art. 8). The wider context comprises natural features as well as the built environment (explicitly historic *and* contemporary), infrastructures, open spaces, land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as social practices, economic processes and other intangible dimensions of heritage related to diversity and identity (ibid., art. 9). This definition represents a very broad understanding of urban heritage, comparable to Patrick Geddes’ view of the city as an organism (see chapter 2.2). The document goes on to explain that

[t]he historic urban landscape approach is aimed at preserving the quality of human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces, while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity. It integrates the goals of urban heritage conservation and those of social and economic development (ibid., art. 11).

The scope of this statement actually includes many of the responsibilities of urban planners today: ensuring quality of life, allocating land to different uses and managing social and economic development in cities in a sustainable manner are core tasks of urban planning. The Historic Urban Landscape approach, thus, goes beyond the focus on the historic city and understands the urban context, in which it is embedded and to which it is closely related through patterns of everyday life, as an important aspect in heritage conservation that cannot be left aside. This extended perspective obviously brings along new requirements for the management of urban heritage, especially its inclusion in urban planning processes on the municipal, if not metropolitan level. Furthermore, the definitions section announces the presentation of new “tools to manage physical and social transformations” (ibid., art. 12) within the historic urban landscape approach, and highlights the importance of learning “from the traditions and perceptions of local communities, while respecting the values of the national and international communities” (ibid., art. 13), thus hinting on the importance of community participation in urban conservation.

After a section on challenges and opportunities that highlights the changes that came about in cities over the last few decades (rapid urbanization, globalization, technical, social and human development, as well as environmental issues), the Recommendation addresses the need for “a new generation of public policies” (UNESCO 2011a, art. 21). Main aim of these policies should be to “provide mechanisms for balancing conservation and sustainability” and to enable the harmonious “integration of contemporary interventions into the historic urban fabric” (ibid., art. 22). The document directly addresses Member States, public and private stakeholders, international organizations, as well as national and international non-governmental organizations as stakeholders with different

responsibilities as regards to policy development and implementation (ibid., see Figure 8). Policies should be “based on a participatory approach [...] and coordinated from both the institutional and sectorial viewpoints” (ibid., art. 23). The case study on Khiva presented in chapter 4 of this thesis tries to determine which of those stakeholders have already taken action in the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach.

Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, Articles 22, 23

STAKEHOLDERS	RESPONSIBILITIES
Member States	integrate urban heritage conservation strategies into national development policies contribute to the definition, elaboration, implementation and assessment of urban heritage conservation policies
Local Authorities	prepare urban development plans taking into account heritage values
Public and Private Stakeholders	cooperate to ensure the successful application of the historic urban landscape approach
International Organizations	integrate the historic urban landscape approach into their strategies, plans and operations
National and International NGOs	develop and disseminate tools and best practices for implementation of the historic urban landscape approach

Figure 8: Responsibilities of stakeholders for the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. Sources: Author’s own figure, based on UNESCO 2011a, art. 22, 23.

The tools⁸ that can be used for successful implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, are outlined in section IV of the Recommendation. It distinguishes between civic engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems, as well as financial tools (UNESCO 2011a, art. 24, see Figure 9). While the tools are described rather superficially and are meant to be developed in detail by the stakeholders mentioned earlier, it is worth highlighting the importance of community participation that is reflected in the mentioning of civic engagement tools as the very first set of tools. This may relate to the recognition of the challenges of heritage dissonance (as described by Frank 2016, see also chapter 2.2 of this thesis): the Recommendation explicitly mentions the need for “mediation and negotiation between groups with conflicting interests” in the

⁸The term ‘tools’ is used in the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* as a general term for methods from different disciplines. The terminology will be adhered to for consistency with the wording of UNESCO even though in social sciences and planning practice most of these approaches would be rather labelled as ‘methods’ than ‘tools’.

identification of key values and the development of visions for heritage cities. As argued by Frank (2016) as well as Timothy and Boyd (2006), community participation in heritage management is essential to mitigate conflicts that may arise due to heritage dissonance. The next section takes a closer look at the Historic Urban Landscape approach’s tool box and presents some examples in order to illustrate the diversity of the available instruments.

Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, Article 24

TOOLSET	OBJECTIVES	EXAMPLES
Civic Engagement Tools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> involve a diverse cross-section of stakeholders empower local population facilitate intercultural dialogue and mediation between groups with conflicting interests 	
Knowledge and Planning Tools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> protect integrity and authenticity of urban heritage recognize cultural significance and diversity monitoring and management of change to improve quality of life and urban space facilitate decision-making processes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> documentation and mapping of cultural and natural characteristics heritage, social and environmental impact assessments
Regulatory Systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> conservation and management of tangible and intangible urban heritage reflect local conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> legislative and regulatory measures traditional and customary systems
Financial Tools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> build capacities support innovative income-generating development foster private investment at the local level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> funding from governments and international agencies micro-credits financial partnerships

Figure 9: Toolsets for implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. Sources: Author’s own figure, based on UNESCO 2011a, art. 24.

The next section of the Recommendation addresses capacity-building, research, information and communication. It proposes capacity building for communities, decision-makers, professionals and managers to support the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach and its adaptation to regional contexts (UNESCO 2011a, art. 25). It remains unclear who shall provide this qualification and why capacity building is not

considered part of the tools since it is clearly a means to further the implementation of the Recommendation. Furthermore, the document encourages academic institutions and research centres to study historic cities and “develop scientific research on aspects of the historic urban landscape approach” (ibid., art. 26). The use of information and communication technology to “document, understand and present the complex layering of urban areas” is recommended to build up a knowledge base and to reach out to all sectors of society (ibid., art. 27).

In the final section, the Recommendation encourages cooperation between Member States and international governmental and non-governmental organizations to strengthen knowledge-sharing and capacity-building (UNESCO 2011a, art. 28). Disseminating and learning from international best practices is explicitly mentioned, a practice that, as we will see, has been well developed in the context of the Historic Urban Landscape approach over recent years.

The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* generally uses rather broad terms that leave some room for interpretation, as it is often the case in international agreements that need to gain wide approval and be applicable in a great variety of different local contexts. Additionally, the excessively academic language used in the document makes it difficult to understand its contents for practitioners outside the small circles of heritage scholars (cf. Rodwell 2018). A first attempt to clarification was made right away at the 36th session of the General Conference, where the Recommendation was approved. The critical steps for implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach are laid out in the records of the General Conference Session, as depicted in Figure 10 (UNESCO 2011b, 50).

While the text of the Recommendation itself elaborates the context, gives an overall understanding of the landscape approach and addresses the stakeholders and tools that should be involved in its application, these six critical steps provide much clearer guidance on how to implement the Historic Urban Landscape approach for practitioners in urban conservation and planning.

In 2013, UNESCO aimed at making the Historic Urban Landscape approach accessible to wider circles by publishing an illustrated brochure titled *New Life for Historic Cities. The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Explained*. The brochure conveys the message of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* in a somewhat easier language, adorned with large pictures of different UNESCO World Heritage Cities, pictograms and very short descriptions of seemingly random international best practices. The critical steps for implementation, that had been formulated by the General Conferences, are presented as the core actions towards a Historic Urban Landscape approach. The document also underlines the benefits of heritage conservation as a “catalyst for socio-economic development through tourism, commercial use, and higher land and property values” (UNESCO 2013, 15). The brochure was published in English, French, Urdu, Arabic, Chinese, Indonesian, Russian, Spanish and Turkish language.

Three years later, in the course of working on the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in several pilot cities, the World Heritage Institute of Training

Records of the 36th Session of the General Conference

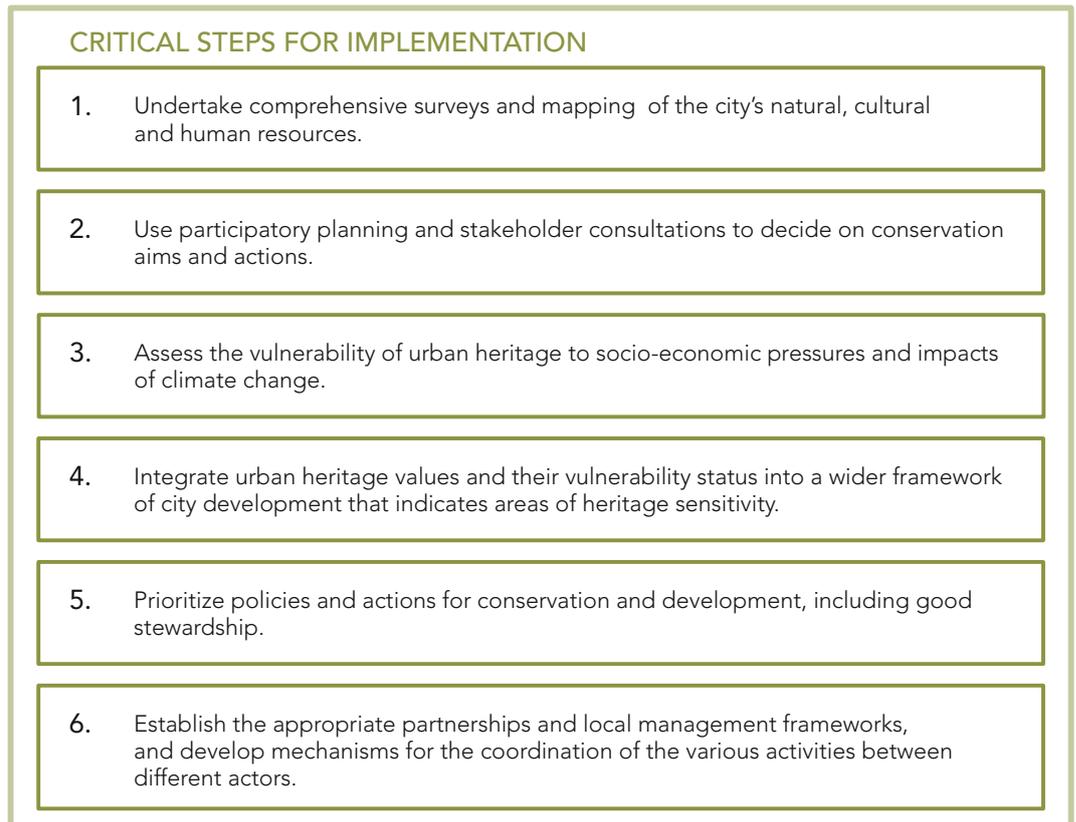


Figure 10: Critical steps for the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. Sources: Author's own figure, based on UNESCO 2011b, 50.

and Research for Asia and the Pacific Region (WHITRAP) and the City of Ballarat, in conjunction with the Federation University Australia launched *The HUL Guidebook*, a manual that “delivers a practical understanding of the Historic Urban Landscape [...] approach, along with information regarding its purpose and application” (UNESCO et al., 2016, 5). The publication is aimed at stakeholders involved in urban conservation, planning and management, and has a similar content as the brochure mentioned above. It is, however, supplemented by a list of tools that could be part of the four toolsets introduced by the Recommendation, a comprehensive overview of pilot projects in eight cities around the world, as well as a list of experts, institutions and resources that can assist with implementing the Historic Urban Landscape approach (ibid., 15ff.).

The two publications on the Historic Urban Landscape approach are important instruments for its communication to a wider audience, since the Recommendation itself is rather difficult to translate into actual action in the practice of heritage conservation and management. However, they do not provide an easy to follow plan of actions, but help to understand the key messages of the approach that need to be adapted to the unique context of each city.

At the heart of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is the aspiration to **facilitate development while ensuring urban conservation**. It recognizes the city as being subject to dynamic economic, social and cultural forces that shape it over time, and claims that “historic context and new development can interact and mutually reinforce their role and meaning” (UNESCO 2013, 5). This understanding of the urban implies the **inclusion of intangible elements into urban heritage**: “Intangible heritage in urban settings, as living traditions, know-how or cultural practices, is an important marker of identity, social cohesion and conviviality” (Labadi & Logan 2015, 12). Another focus of the Recommendation is **community participation**: the “proactive involvement of local stakeholders and citizens in planning the future development of their city and a wider access of stakeholders in heritage management” (Ragozino 2018, 67, referring to Rey Pérez & González Martínez, 2018). The World Heritage system shall become more inclusive through the involvement of local actors in identification, evaluation and management of World Heritage sites (Logan 2013, xix).

The major novelty, however, that is inscribed in the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, is the **broad understanding of urban heritage** that is closely interlinked with its urban context and cannot be conserved without considering the human environment as a whole. The scope of the historic urban landscape goes far beyond the historic city, which implies the need for close cooperation between urban planners and urban conservationists. It also indicates an expansion of UNESCO’s area of expertise towards urban planning and development. The UNESCO brochure puts it quite frankly: “UNESCO works with cities to support the integration of environmental, social and cultural concerns into the planning, design and implementation of urban development” (UNESCO 2013, 9).

This “paradigm shift from conservation as a ‘value in itself’, to conservation as a ‘tool’ for managing change” (Gravagnuolo & Fusco Girard, 2017) can be understood in the context of two large international achievements of the decade: the United Nations’ *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* and the *New Urban Agenda*, adopted in 2015 and 2016 respectively. The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* can be seen as an important baseline for UNESCO to position itself in the negotiation of the two subsequent ground-breaking policies. As a result, SDG 11 on sustainable cities asserts culture with an essential role in realizing sustainable urban development and the cooperation between UNESCO and UN Habitat, World Bank and United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) towards the integration of culture in sustainable urban development was consolidated (UN Habitat 2018, 15). In order to further promote its cause, UNESCO launched the Culture for Sustainable Urban Development Initiative in 2015. A comprehensive report on the issue and the organization of several high-level events aimed at promoting a “culture-based approach to urban planning, regeneration and development” also through the *New Urban Agenda* (UNESCO 2017d). Today, all three policies reflect the trend towards an integration of the protection of cultural and natural heritage into comprehensive planning (cf. Rodwell 2018).

TOOLS OF THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE APPROACH

While the stakeholders and their roles, as well as the critical steps to implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* are put rather straightforward, the toolbox remains a bit more obscure with only very few practical examples provided. Fortunately, Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers (2012; 2015), who had been involved in the policy process of developing the Recommendation, published two books on the Historic Urban Landscape approach, both of which feature chapters on the issue. This chapter aims to give a brief overview of the tools mentioned in these publications in order to get a better idea of the kind of toolset that is promoted by the Historic Urban Landscape approach. This will be also important for the assessment of the actions that have been taken in the context of its implementation in Khiva (see chapter 4).

However, before diving into each category of the Historic Urban Landscape approach's toolbox, it is important to briefly outline what these tools should do and how they should be used. The aim of applying the tools is twofold. On the one hand, there are tools for analysis and understanding, for example to identify processes that have shaped a particular historic environment, but also to determine which essential attributes give a historic area its identity and which can be changed to make room for something new (Hosagrahar 2015, 249f.). On the other hand, there are tools for conservation, monitoring and management of heritage properties (ibid.). As to the use of the tools, it is crucial to note that their selection and specific application always need to be adapted to the local context of each urban area. Different geo-cultural, institutional and political environments may require different tools sets, just as varying access to digital technologies, availability of data or approaches to community participation may restrict or encourage the use of certain tools (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 144; Hosagrahar 2015, 250).

The first toolset mentioned in the Recommendation addresses **civic engagement** in urban conservation planning. The emphasis on public participation is connected to the Historic Urban Landscape approach's understanding of the urban fabric including social and economic activity in the city. Urban planners and heritage conservationists have come to the conclusion that "attempts to mould the future organisation of towns and their historic areas following pre-set 'ideal' schemes have generally failed for lack of support and because they do not reflect the real problems and needs of the people" (Siravo 2015, 171). Consideration of the views and expectations, needs and habits of residents and users is indispensable in understanding what does and does not work in a city (ibid., 162). According to Julian Smith (2015), it is the experience of living in the city, that makes the citizens' knowledge so valuable. Residents' 'rituals of inhabitation' are shaping and reshaping the physical form of a city over time (ibid., 222), or as Alvaro Ramoneda and Patricio Jerez (201, 68) put it: it is "the complexity of interactions between people and the structures that make up the city". Understanding and documenting the experience of living in and shaping the city, is therefore the underlying principle of public participation.

Residents and users of a city, however, are not a homogenous group. There are multiple communities inhabiting and using the same space at the same time, often with very different aspirations. "The key in understanding the city is to map this diversity of practices and skills," and to include marginalised communities too (Smith 2015, 229).

Even though different realities co-exist in the same place, there is often a dominant view that shapes the ongoing evolution (ibid., 227, 229). Especially in the context of increasing tourism in historic areas, it is important to understand the realities of both, host and tourist communities, to develop interventions that satisfy the needs of both groups (ibid., 229).

The call for understanding the communities that shape life in the city has brought along a re-evaluation of the role of the 'expert' in urban planning and conservation (Smith 2015, 231). Instead of merely providing technical knowledge and imposing top-down solutions, planners and conservationists increasingly engage with communities, study their needs and respond to people's views and requirements (ibid., 234). At the same time, inhabitants and users of the city are acknowledged as everyday experts of their own physical and social environment (Ramoneda & Jerez 2019, 70). They can identify the 'true landmarks' of an urban landscape and respond most creatively to threats imposed to their environment (Smith 2015, 234). Also, participatory processes facilitate a rapid transfer of information, and enrich data through information about current dynamics, local needs, the social fabric, as well as desired uses (Ramoneda & Jerez 2019, 70).

The aim of civic engagement, according to the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, is to empower stakeholders to identify key values, develop visions, set goals, and agree on actions (UNESCO 2011a, art. 24). At the same time, civic engagement tools should facilitate learning from communities and negotiation between groups with conflicting interests (ibid.). Public participation, therefore, has several advantages. On the one hand, it enables the transfer of knowledge and skills from local communities to planners who can base their work on this information (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 154). On the other hand, the transfer of knowledge from experts to the community initiates a process of empowerment that can have long-lasting benefits for the communities and their environment (Ramoneda & Jerez 2019, 70). Successful civic engagement has the potential to bring about a climate of confidence and trust and create lasting links and partnerships between planning institutions and the area's community (Siravo 2015, 171f.). It can also foster place attachment, identity and a sense of independence and local control (Ramoneda & Jerez 2019, 70, referring to Vidal 2008; Smith 2015, 239). However, it is important to point out that public participation can also be misused as a tool for manipulation and appeasement (Arnstein 1969)⁹.

When it comes to the design of a participation process, it is important to adjust to the specificities of the particular urban context and intervention. Two main questions need to be answered: Who is to participate? And, what type and degree of participation will be adequate? (Ramoneda & Jerez 2019, 68). According to the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, civic engagement tools should "involve a diverse cross-section of stakeholders" (UNESCO 2011a, art. 24). This would be, first and foremost, the local community that can be directly represented by residents living in the area, but also through institutions that already exist, like community organizations, neighbourhood

⁹ Sherry R. Arnstein has depicted this figuratively in the form of the 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' as early as 1969 and there is an ongoing debate in research and practice about adequate citizen participation in urban planning.

associations or religious groups (Siravo 2015, 171). The local business community should be involved too, through inclusion of shopkeepers, artisans, small manufacturers, café or restaurant owners, but also through dialogue with property owners, developers and large businesses or institutions active in the area (ibid.). Another point of view can be included through participation of local students and academics from relevant fields (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 158). In the context of heritage conservation, Smith (2015, 226, 234) specifically points out to local craftsmen, masons, carpenters, adobe, builders, glass workers, and metal smiths, that are the ‘form-givers’ who are key to sustaining and evolving the physical morphology of the historic urban landscape. Additionally, local artists can provide their interpretation of the area through their work and participation (ibid., 239). Moreover, broad participation processes should also include public stakeholders, like governmental agencies and institutions, municipal departments, and social services, as well as international and local NGOs and other aid organisations involved in infrastructure development, housing, health, business development, conservation, or education (Siravo 2015, 171, 239). In order to identify relevant stakeholders, participation processes often start with a thorough stakeholder analysis and mapping (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 155).

Taking into consideration the experience of local communities requires an expansion of the common tools in heritage documentation, like photography, drawings, or cartography, that have been focused on the built environment (Smith 2015, 222). There is a great variety of civic engagement tools at hand, and new ones are being developed every day, especially in the context of ongoing digitalization. The examples given here are taken from literature related directly to the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* to give an idea of the approaches used in planning and conservation practice today, but are not representative of the wide range of tools available.

The most common way to get in touch with local stakeholders is through workshops and meetings. These can be informal meetings with a selected group of stakeholders to gather information and identify objectives, or public meetings with the aim to evaluate people’s expectations and reactions to different ideas and proposals or identify opportunities for direct involvement and partnerships (Siravo 2015, 171f.). Workshops may have specific themes like a ‘Visioning Conference’ that brings stakeholders together to produce a common vision for the future city (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 156). Workshops usually include analytical methods like, for example, a joint ‘SWOT Analysis’, interactive discussion formats, like ‘World Café’ or ‘Fishbowl’, as well as co-creative development of visions and ideas supported by drawing maps or even building models.

Different kinds of mappings are a very common method to collect information and document community experience. Conventional mappings can be enriched through the inclusion of people’s tangible and intangible cultural assets into the mapping process (‘cultural mapping’) (cf. Smith 2015, 224). Cognitive mapping exercises can reveal the various experiences made by different communities inhabiting the same space. The mental maps produced are free-form maps that reflect people’s own perception of their environment through memory and imagination (ibid., 225). Multiple mappings may occur in the same space but lead to very different outcomes, depending on the people’s

different perspectives: “Various subcultures may inhabit the same physical space in different ways, and their various realities can be mapped on top of each other” (ibid., 229). Recognizing these different perspectives and needs may prevent interventions that benefit one community but destroy use value of another (ibid.). Analysis of different contributions from insiders and outsiders can help to define key pathways, nodes, landmarks and conflicts (ibid., 239).

‘City Development Strategies’ integrate different formats of public participation to develop and implement action plans through engagement of local stakeholders (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 155). They included a joint analysis of the current situation, development of a long-term vision and strategy, as well as concrete actions for implementation in a collective process over 12 to 15 months (ibid., 156). Such processes are complex and time-consuming and require compromises between various groups and interests (Siravo 2015, 172). If conducted thoroughly, however, they have the potential to forge strong alliances and partnerships.

Public-private partnerships (PPP) are mentioned as a potential tool to engage community in urban development and heritage conservation, for example through rehabilitation of historical buildings by public or external organisations that need space for their activities (Siravo 2015, 172). However, PPP models need to be applied with great care for the public benefit and the privatization of public assets should be avoided. Another way to implement long-lasting cooperation is through the establishment of citizens’ councils or committees that represent the community and can speak directly to political decision-makers (cf. Smith 20015, 239).

As mentioned earlier, civic engagement tools are currently in rapid transformation due to new possibilities opening up with the development of communication technologies. This process has been boosted by the current pandemic that restricts personal interaction and has moved many participatory processes into digital space. Online questionnaires, digital mappings and video conferences or webinars are some popular examples of new civic engagement tools (cf. GB* 2020, 5ff.).

The category of **knowledge and planning tools** in the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* comprises technical methods for analysis, monitoring and management of urban heritage. First of all, data gathering tools should help identify the attributes that give a place its unique identity (Hosagrahar 2015, 250). Surveys and documentation need to be conducted on different scales—on the regional and urban level, as well as on the scale of the building, its interior, or small architectural elements (ibid.). In order to collect and structure information in relation to its location in space, reasonably accurate base maps need to be established with the help of adequate surveying technologies. On the regional or urban level that could be, for example, total station surveys, lidar surveys, geospatial mapping, or aerial maps (ibid.). If the technical resources are available, the base map can be fed into a Geographical Information System (GIS) that establishes a database in which quantitative and qualitative information can be collected and directly connected to a specific location on the map (ibid., 257). On the scale of streets or individual buildings, base maps can be generated through photogrammetry or measured drawings. Panoramic photos can be useful to develop street elevations (ibid., 251). The so collected information

can be used for the creation of maps, sections, elevations and even 3D models. All these materials are important basics for further analysis.

Another important information base that needs to be established is an inventory of cultural resources (Hosagrahar 2015, 251). Such an inventory should be based on an expanded definition of cultural heritage and include services and institutions related to cultural activities. A participatory approach can help to identify resources that are valuable to the community (ibid. 252). Locating these cultural resources on the previously developed base map provides a spatial overview that is also known as 'Cultural Asset Map' (ibid.). Historical mapping can help to visualise changes in the urban fabric over time. It is important to understand key developments, processes, and events that have shaped the city (ibid.). Layers of remains from different eras should be documented and changes in spatial form and structural relationships mapped. Overlaying maps of different periods can reveal important changes and developments (ibid., 253). Base maps can also be used for figure-ground studies that analyse the structure and relationship between solid mass and open space in a city today (ibid, 257).

A 'visual and formal analysis' seeks to identify the visual attributes that carry the identity of a place (Hosagrahar 2015, 253). At the urban scale, skylines or silhouettes, key views and sight lines are often defined as valuable attributes, carrying local identity and being worthy of preservation (ibid.). In this context, it is important to protect the view from disturbing obstacles but also to safeguard specific lookout points from where the scenery can be observed (ibid., 253f.). The above-mentioned 3D models can be helpful tools for the analysis and definition of views, but also to understand their development over time, and to simulate changes that new constructions would bring about (ibid.). On the scale of the neighbourhood, a formal analysis can lead to the categorisation of buildings and spaces considering typologies, heights, volumes, geometries, materials, and other factors (ibid., 257). Such an analysis would be the basis for the development of guidelines for planning in the form of design criteria for compatibility of new structures in a consistent historic district, that may have recommendatory character or be legally enshrined (see section on regulatory systems below) (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 168).

Since the understanding of urban heritage promoted by the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* also includes intangible elements, it is crucial to pay equal attention to cultural, social, political, ecological and economic aspects of the urban fabric. This includes the analysis of values, beliefs, practices, and knowledge that constitutes a place and its identity (Hosagrahar 2015, 254). The practice of cultural mapping that includes spatial representation and interpretation of the analysis has been described in more detail in the section on civic engagement tools above. For a socio-economic analysis, demographic and economic data on residents and other users, like tourists, is studied. This can help to understand development pressures and the role of cultural activities in providing employment to residents (ibid., 256f.). It can also indicate the quality of life in the historic centre of the city and the need for intervention. In this context, however, it is also important to analyse existing infrastructure services and assess their adequacy for modern living standards (ibid., 257).

Finally, based on all the data collected and analysed before, tools for decision making are applied to promote developments that enhance heritage and quality of life in historic cities, but impede interventions that would have a negative effect on the historic urban landscape. The Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) is a popular method to assess the effects of a development on a heritage site, “so as to allow adjustments to be made before human, financial and natural resources are committed and options foreclosed” (IAIA 2007, 1). The typical steps of such an assessment include identification of potential impacts on the Outstanding Universal Value of a heritage property, assessment of the most significant impacts, and proposal of mitigative actions and a monitoring framework (Ahmed & Sánchez-Tirana 2008, 4; Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 167). The assessment should be tied to the significant attributes of a heritage site and aims to detect direct, indirect, and cumulative impacts as well as potential incremental changes (ICOMOS 2011b). HIAs foster transparency in development processes, reduce risks and promote public confidence (IAIA 2007, 1). They improve decision-making and ensure that development options are sustainable: “this tool can be extremely helpful in assessing the potential impact of development programmes upstream before specific project proposals are prepared and considered” (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 163). There are many different variations of impact assessments that can be useful for the assessment of projects, policies and plans related to heritage properties. In the end, however, they can only inform decision makers and provide a rational basis for their choices that are still based on their personal values and interpretations (ibid., 259).

According to the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, **regulatory systems** to enhance urban heritage “may include legislative and regulatory measures aimed at the conservation and management of the tangible and intangible attributes of the urban heritage” (UNESCO 2011a, art. 24). In simple terms, this encompasses all laws, regulations, guidelines, and administrative practices that have an impact on urban heritage. Considering the broad definition of urban heritage on which the recommendation is based, this may also include regulations that touch upon urban planning matters. This diverse field of activity can be structured along different levels of spatial administration: local, regional, and national. This distinction helps to give a better overview; however, some regulatory systems cannot be clearly assigned to one single spatial level since they may be effective across administrative borders or differ in various national contexts.

On the highest level of most nations’ legal system, the constitution defines basic values and norms of social coexistence. As the Republic of India has demonstrated, it is possible to inscribe the preservation of natural and cultural heritage in this important document that determines the nation’s entire legislation (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 145).

Below that, various types of regulations can shape the relationship between national, regional and local levels of administration in regard to their shared responsibility in urban heritage conservation. National laws may provide guidance for the designation and protection of heritage, including standards for researching, documenting, and listing historically significant properties and sites (O’Donnell 2015, 271, referring to the US’ National Historic Preservation Act of 1966). They may also regulate mitigation measures in the case of negative impacts to heritage sites from public projects, enable the setting

up of commissions to oversee cultural resources, or provide delay of demolition clauses to rescue threatened historic properties (ibid.). A basic method to ensure compatibility of urban development projects with heritage conservation is to require review and approval of cultural heritage departments for the issuing of planning permits. The “strict coordination between cultural heritage authorities and planning authorities, with mutual review and approval” is also known as ‘Luoyang method’ (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 146).

Since the 1990s, many countries have aimed to overcome compartmentalized approaches to urban planning under the slogan of ‘Integrated Urban Development’. The concept takes into consideration physical, economic and social dimensions, and led to wide structural adaptations on the administrative level in some states (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 148). This would be the reorganization of ministries involved in conservation, planning and sustainability issues, or methods of horizontal integration like the installation of inter-agency committees and taskforces that take care of cross-cutting policy issues (ibid.). Such taskforces can also include non-governmental stakeholders and networks of actors with interest and expertise in the policy area.

Typical regulatory tools on the level of the heritage site are conservation, management and business plans. Goal of the conservation plan is “the identification and evaluation of the significance of the place so as to facilitate advantageous management in the future” (Bond & Worthing 2016, 123). The presumption is that a common understanding of the significance of a historical site with all its implications is the basis for further development of strategies, policies and conservation practices within the scope of the plan (ibid., 122). The conservation plan should be accompanied by a management plan which is developed subsequently and is used as a “device for putting strategies and broad policies into action” (ibid., 143). Based on the vision and strategies laid out in the conservation plan, it identifies specific actions and determines when and by whom they should be taken. In order to become part of the official national regulatory framework, it is essential that these plans are formally adopted by the government (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 153). If so, management plans function as ‘public contracts’ between the management organization and the stakeholders of a World Heritage property that provides transparency and enables participation (IUCN 2008, 2f.). Since the revision of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* in 2005, management plans are compulsory for properties inscribed on the World Heritage List (Ringbeck 2008, 6; UNESCO 2019h, art. 108). Taking over ideas and practices from nature preservation in cultural heritage, in the last decades the integration of business plans in heritage management has been observed (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 154). They may include financial strategies and marketing plans for improved budgeting of heritage sites. Their emergence also reflects the increasing commodification of heritage sites against the background of scarce financial resources for heritage conservation.

Management plans usually apply to the defined boundaries of the World Heritage property for which the highest level of protection should be in place. But they may also include regulations for the so called ‘buffer zone’. As an additional layer of protection, the World Heritage Committee recommends the definition of a ringed area around the

heritage property that has more stringent development controls than those at some distance because changes within this 'buffer zone' would likely have a significant impact on the heritage property too (UNESCO 2019h, art. 103; Hosagrahar 2015, 259). The World Heritage Committee also suggests the implementation of a larger 'area of influence', where development activities may impact heritage properties, with another level of regulations (UNESCO 2009, 161). The different regulations applied within these rings or sub-districts around the World Heritage property may refer to building heights, uses, or other formative factors (Hosagrahar 2015, 259).

Urban planning regulations may directly or indirectly influence urban heritage. A very common type of regulation that affects private and public properties are municipal plans and zoning laws that exercise control over the use of a property. Zoning determines the location of residential, commercial, and industrial uses, as well as access, coverage, building bulk, overall density and other factors of a plot and its development. The control over land use affects the development of historic cities since the distribution of certain plot uses favour the emergence of certain urban forms (O'Donnel 2015, 272). In the twentieth century, for example, zoning for discrete land uses has, in many cases, led to the segmentation of traditionally mixed-use city centres (ibid.; Hosagrahar 2015, 260). Zoning plans can also enhance the protection of public space by specifying locations for open and recreational spaces and establishing rules for their character and qualities. Regulations on building shape and design can influence the scenic or aesthetic quality of buildings, including their height, façade forms and proportions (O'Donnel 2015, 274). Another tool that affects the aesthetic dimension of the city is urban viewscape control. It defines view corridors with the aim to "provide public visual access to iconic urban elements into the future" (O'Donnel 2015, 274). New developments and constructions have to comply with the protection of these vistas in the city. Emerging approaches in zoning regulation set new focus on urban forms (instead of uses) or sustainable building practices (ibid., 274f.).

Heritage conservation is often seen as a burden from the perspective of land owners that face restriction of use. Some countries have developed mechanisms for compensation for such losses. Conservation easements, for example, are voluntary, legal agreements between property owners and public entities in which owners forego certain uses of their land in exchange for tax benefits (O'Donnel 2015, 271). Another way of managing property rights in relation to heritage restrictions is the purchase and transfer of development rights from and between properties. Development rights can be purchased in order to compensate a property owner for his/her loss of rights when a property is affected by restrictions due to heritage conservation laws, or transferred in order "to increase the scale and density within a non-historic quarter while retaining the lower scale of an historic one" (ibid.). Transferrable Development Rights legislation often identifies a 'sending zone' and a 'receiving zone' for development rights (Rypkema 2015, 289). The sustainability of the concept of Transferrable Development Rights, however, is not undisputed. For example, areas where development rights are transferred to are often overdeveloped, straining local infrastructures and creating other negative effects in these neighbourhoods (cf. Hou & Chan 2014).

Furthermore, many urban planning regulations, norms and standards affect the historic urban landscape without direct intent which may even lead to accidental damage of urban heritage. Many of those regulations deal with urban infrastructure and transportation. Construction, expansion or repair of water supply and sewage networks in order to comply with environmental regulations, for example, can cause damage to historic cities during construction works. The provision of electricity for all households may lead to disturbance of the historic city scape through visible cables and wires. Modern forms of water management like stormwater capture in rain gardens or bioswales may alter the character of the urban landscape (O'Donnel 2015, 276). Measures to improve traffic flow change historic street networks, while new public transportation systems add alien elements to old town centres, and accessibility regulations demand adaptations in traditional surface textures of streets and squares (ibid., 277). This list could probably go on and on, since most interventions into the urban fabric have the potential to affect urban heritage, especially when thinking of heritage in the broad understanding of the historic urban landscape approach.

The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* specifically mentions the recognition and reinforcement of traditional and customary systems of heritage management (UNESCO 2011a, art. 24). In the examples for regulatory systems gathered from relevant literature related to the Historic Urban Landscape approach, European and North American approaches are over-represented, whereas traditional and customary systems from the global south are rarely mentioned. However, Jyoti Hosagrahar (2015, 260) points out to different forms of heritage management common in South Asia. In some cases, community or tribal groups are responsible for decision making over their heritage, in others it is old elite families that still maintain palaces, forts and gardens, or formally appointed non-governmental and non-profit organisations, like Temple Trusts or Waqf Boards (Islamic charity foundations), looking after temples and their surroundings (ibid.). Open spaces, wells, and water bodies are often managed by the community without any formal regulations in place (ibid.). The recognition and reinforcement of such (informal) management systems may be a challenge but should be enhanced in the future.

In order to ensure continuous efforts in heritage preservation, it is important to keep historic areas under the jurisdiction of public entities. According to Francesco Siravo (2015, 169), the local or municipal government level is the most appropriate for the governance of historic urban areas. Close contact to local communities and services, as well as knowledge of local needs and the ability to flexibly adapt to new situations are characteristics that facilitate effective heritage management and that are often found on the level of the municipality (ibid.). However, the public entity in charge should always involve communities and other stakeholders in the processes of heritage management.

The examples for regulatory systems used in the context of heritage conservation may cover a wide spectrum of measures, but are not exhaustive and can be extended over time. Just as culture is ever-changing and dynamic, new regulatory systems are continuously created through collective action of professionals, officials and citizens (O'Donnel 2015, 270). Exchange of good practices, as in city-to-city cooperation, can foster a variety of

policies in relation to governance, infrastructure development, rural-urban integration, cultural heritage and tourism management (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 150).

Last but not least, **financial tools** have become ever more important in heritage conservation over the last decades. With the growing number of heritage properties and the increasing share of privately-owned properties (like vernacular buildings of entire neighbourhoods), the preconditions for the financing of conservation have changed (Rypkema 2015, 283). Today, governments do not have the financial resources (or political will to provide them) to restore and maintain all heritage properties within their national territories (ibid.). Therefore, funding from the private sector, owners, and institutions is considered essential (Bandarin & Van Oers 2015, 174; Rypkema 2015, 284). Heritage Financial Tools are “mechanisms and programmes used to encourage or facilitate the investment of capital into heritage assets” (Rypkema 2015, 284).

A problem in private funding arises when there is a gap between the costs of the required investments (for example specific repair works) and the increased value of the heritage property resulting from the investment for the owner (Rypkema 2015, 284). However, historic buildings have values beyond their economic values (symbolic, educational, cultural, and others) of which the community is the beneficiary rather than the owner (ibid.). Therefore, it makes sense for public entities, institutions or NGOs, who are interested in preserving values for the community, to apply financial tools that close these gaps and encourage private owners to make investments. The broad range of heritage financial tools available today can fill entire books (cf. Pickard 2009). A few examples are given here to generate a general understanding of what financial tools can look like and how they may work.

Grants are awards, usually in cash, for a specific purpose. Their distribution can be subject to certain requirements in respect to the preservation and management of the heritage property. Grants are usually provided by a government entity, institution or NGO (Rypkema 2015, 288). Micro loans are another form of monetary support. However, they need to be paid back. Micro loans are a reasonable option for borrowers who do not qualify for a normal bank loan (ibid.). Popular fiscal measure are property tax reductions or tax credits. These could take the form of freezing property tax at the pre-restoration level for a certain time, refunding the increased property taxes for further investments in maintenance, or direct offset of taxes that would otherwise be payable (ibid., 288f.). Some tools, like charitable trusts, revolving funds or endowment funds, can help to raise revenues (Bandarin & Van Oers 2015, 174, referring to Pickard 2009).

Entering into public-private partnerships (PPPs) often makes sense in the context of heritage buildings, particularly when currently owned by government entities, and when ongoing public influence over the heritage property is desired. They are complex tools as they can take various legal and organizational forms and are not fast or easy to implement (Rypkema 2015, 289). One successful example is the Amsterdam Restoration Company Inc. (*Stadsherstel Amsterdam NV*). The limited-liability company buys heritage properties to restore and rehabilitate them through adaptive use. The shareholders are large Dutch banks and insurance companies, as well as the City of Amsterdam. Rental revenues

and public subsidies cover maintenance, acquisition of new properties and restorations (Bandarin & Van Oers 2015, 174).

For financial tools to work effectively, they should be directed to a particular need (in terms of target and amount of the investment) and paired with appropriate regulations the recipient of funding has to comply with (Rypkema 2015, 287). The tools applied should be clearly communicated to potential beneficiaries and their implementation should not be too complicated in order to make them actually come into use (ibid., 287f.). Furthermore, they should always be part of an overall strategy and in line with development goals formulated for the historic urban landscape (ibid., 288). The applicability of different financial tools in each specific local context depends on legislation, political and economic systems, priority of heritage as a public policy goals, and other variables (ibid.).

The comprehensive toolset of the Historic Urban Landscape approach presented in this chapter offers a broad variety of analytical and practical methods for the preservation of urban heritage. The four categories—civic engagement tools, knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems and financial tools—are interdependent and need to be addressed simultaneously (Bandarin & Van Oers 2012, 144). The critical steps for implementation provide some guidance as to what kind of tools could be useful at what step of the implementation process. However, all those tools are not new and many of them have been in use in the fields of urban planning and design for decades. Their combination and application in the context of heritage conservation shall foster the perspective of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, and encourage heritage conservationists to broaden their view on urban heritage.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE APPROACH

Before investigating the implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* in the case of Khiva, in this chapter, I would like to give a brief overview of the obligations and activities of UNESCO and its Member States in relation the Historic Urban Landscape approach on the global level.

In November 2011 the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. Due to its nature as a recommendation, its implementation is not binding but it does create certain obligations for the bodies of UNESCO as well as for the Member States. According to the *Rules of Procedure Concerning Recommendations to Member States* (UNESCO 2019j, art. 16), the Director-General has to transmit a certified copy of any recommendation to the Member States and to “formally remind them of their obligation to submit the [...] recommendation in question to their competent national authorities” within a period of one year (UNESCO 2019g, art. 4). The Member State shall make the recommendation known to all bodies, target groups and other entities interested in the matters dealt with therein (UNESCO 2019j, art. 16). The *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* encourage Member States to “mainstream into their programmes and activities related to the World Heritage Convention the principles of the relevant policies adopted by the World Heritage Committee” (UNESCO 2019h, art. 14bis.). In order to facilitate the implementation of the *Recommendation on the*

Historic Urban Landscape, the General Conference recommends Member States to adapt the new instrument to their specific contexts, disseminate it widely, formulate and adopt supporting national policies, and monitor its impact on the conservation of historic cities (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020a).

Even though Member States are not obliged to implement a recommendation, they have to regularly report on the actions taken in relation to each recommendation adopted (UNESCO 2019j, art. 17). In the case of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, the World Heritage Centre has established a timetable for the submission by Member States of their reports on the implementation (UNESCO 2017e, art. 49). The first consolidated implementation report was published in 2015. At this point, however, not a single report on the implementation of the Recommendation has been submitted by a Member State (UNESCO 2015b, art. 21). Instead, the report presents the activities set by UNESCO and related institutions to spread knowledge about the Recommendation and support its implementation. The second implementation report was published in 2019, with 55 Member States having submitted their reports to the World Heritage Centre via an online survey (UNESCO 2019k, art. 4). Unfortunately, the Republic of Uzbekistan was not among the reporting states (UNESCO 2019m, 30). The next report is due in 2023, to be presented at the 42nd session of the General Conference (*ibid.*, art. 9). The examination of the reports on conventions and recommendations is entrusted to the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations which is one of the permanent subsidiary bodies of the Executive Board (UNESCO 2020b, art. 1). The Committee is responsible for monitoring the implementation of UNESCO's standard-setting instruments, specifically its eight conventions and 31 recommendations (*ibid.*, art. 8). The reports, or analytical summaries thereof, are then presented to the General Conference at its regular sessions (UNESCO 2019j, art. 18).

The General Conference may invite the Secretariat to assist the Member States in the implementation of a recommendation and in the preparation and follow-up of related reports (UNESCO 2019j, art. 17). In the case of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, it is the Cities Programme within the World Heritage Centre that is the main counterpart for the support of Member States in implementation (Anonymous, personal interview, 21 December 2020). The Cities Programme is an extrabudgetary thematic programme that “aims to assist States Parties in the challenges of protecting and managing their urban heritage” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020a). The team of the Cities Programme can be approached by colleagues from the World Heritage Centre or directly by heritage cities whenever questions as regards to the Historic Urban Landscape approach arise (Anonymous, personal interview, 21 December 2020). Cities also come up with collaboration proposals to organize, for example, an event or a pilot study in cooperation with the World Heritage Centre (*ibid.*). At the same time, the Cities Programme develops different programmes and activities to support experts and site managers in the dissemination and implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach (*ibid.*). In 2020, for example, the Cities Programme hosted the World Heritage City Lab—an online event for global exchange among experts and practitioners about the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach—and the World Heritage City Dialogues—regular, informal online meetings for exchange among site managers on the

regional level (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020a). The Cities Programme also launched a monthly newsletter—the Urban Notebooks—that offers a platform to share tools and practices for the management of urban heritage (ibid.).

Besides the activities of the Cities Programme, the World Heritage Centre also integrates the Historic Urban Landscape approach in its day-to-day statutory processes. An important achievement was the amendment of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* in 2015 to mainstream the social, cultural, economic and environmental parameters of the Historic Urban Landscape approach into the Guidelines (UNESCO 2015b, art. 13). International Assistance provided by the World Heritage Centre and its local Field Offices to urban World Heritage Sites or urban sites nominated for inscription takes into account the principles of the Historic Urban Landscape approach and includes experts from the Cities Programme when any doubts arise (Anonymous, personal interview, 21 December 2020; UNESCO 2016, art. 43). The Historic Urban Landscape approach can be applied throughout the management cycle, including the (re-)formulation of the statement of Outstanding Universal Value and the management plan, as well as the (re-)drawing of boundaries of the site (Ronchini 2019, 184; Anonymous, personal interview, 21 December 2020; UNESCO 2014b, art. 10). The World Heritage Centre also made efforts to link the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* to the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* and the *New Urban Agenda* (UNESCO 2015c, art. 20).

UNESCO Category 2 Centres are important partners in the implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. ‘Category 2 Institutes and Centres under the auspices of UNESCO’ support the Organization through capacity-building, knowledge sharing and research (UNESCO 2019l). They are not legally part of UNESCO, but are associated with it through formal arrangements and are committed to supporting the Organization’s strategic programme objectives (ibid.). The World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for Asia and the Pacific Region (WHITRAP) is a Category 2 Centre that stands out for its great commitment to supporting the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Asia and beyond. Since 2013, WHITRAP and Tongji University’s Advanced Research Institute for Architecture and Urban-Rural Planning have been undertaking research and training, as well as developing pilot projects in several cities in China, India, Australia and other countries (WHITRAP 2014b). *The HUL Guidebook* that was developed in cooperation with UNESCO, the City of Ballarat and the Federation University Australia is a methodological guide to the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach including case studies and best practices (UNESCO et al. 2016). It is one example for the several practical and scientific publications that have been released over the last ten years by UNESCO and its partners to help improve the understanding and applicability of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (see also UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020g)¹⁰.

¹⁰ According to Ana Pereira Roders (2019, 36, referring to Scopus), there have been 108 scientific publications using the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* as a reference between 2011 and 2018.

Other important partners that support UNESCO in the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach are universities, UNESCO chairs, public and private institutions, NGOs, as well as individual experts active in urban development and heritage conservation (UNESCO 2017e, art. 46). It is worth mentioning the World Bank as an important partner in early implementation projects, and the University Town Network (UNITOWN) that set some important initiatives in Europe (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020g). The partnership with the World Bank was renewed in 2017, when the Bank confirmed its commitment to support the integration of culture in city reconstruction and recovery projects (UNESCO 2019k, art. 18). Specialized organizations like ICOMOS, the Organization of World Heritage Cities, League of Historic Cities and the Getty Conservation Institute also support and disseminate the Historic Urban Landscape approach (Buckley et al. 2015, 94).

Because UNESCO acknowledges the need to clarify key concepts of the *Recommendation of the Historic Urban Landscape*, different kind of dissemination events like workshops, symposia, training courses, and informal meetings were important activities in the early implementation phase. The initial focus of the World Heritage Centre was on three priority regions: Africa, the Arab States, Latin America and the Caribbean (UNESCO 2014c, art. 10). The first series of workshops on the Historic Urban Landscape took place from 2011 to 2013 on the east coast of Africa (UNESCO 2014b, art. 32). All Member States of UNESCO were invited to support implementation efforts by hosting similar events on the scope and application of the instrument, and to provide human and financial resources for the cause (UNESCO 2014c, art. 10; UNESCO 2017e, art. 48). Countries that demonstrated early activities in this regard include Brazil, Myanmar, Mexico, Italy, China and Australia (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020g). Figure 11 gives an overview of the identified stakeholders and their activities for implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach on the global level, without claiming to be exhaustive.

Many States Parties to the World Heritage Convention and individual World Heritage Cities have already set active steps towards national and local implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. The 2019 *Consolidated Report on the Implementation by Member States of the 2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO 2019k) presents the state of implementation in the 55 countries that have answered the World Heritage Centre's call to report on their activities in regards to the Recommendation. The survey questions covered general positions towards urban conservation, the integration of conservation efforts with SDGs and the New Urban Agenda, as well as more specific questions for example as regards to the tools recommended in the Historic Urban Landscape approach (UNESCO 2019m). The analysis shows that most of the respondents have implemented "measures to ensure the protection of historic layering and the urban environment" (UNESCO 2019k, art. 6). A clear majority is using civic engagement tools, public-private partnerships, Environmental Impact Assessments and regulatory mechanisms for the conservation and management of their urban heritage (ibid., art. 11-14). However, with only 55 respondents out of 193 States Parties to the Convention the report is not really representative of the general status of implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. The low response

rate suggests that the recommendation has not been widely adopted in many other countries.

Implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, global

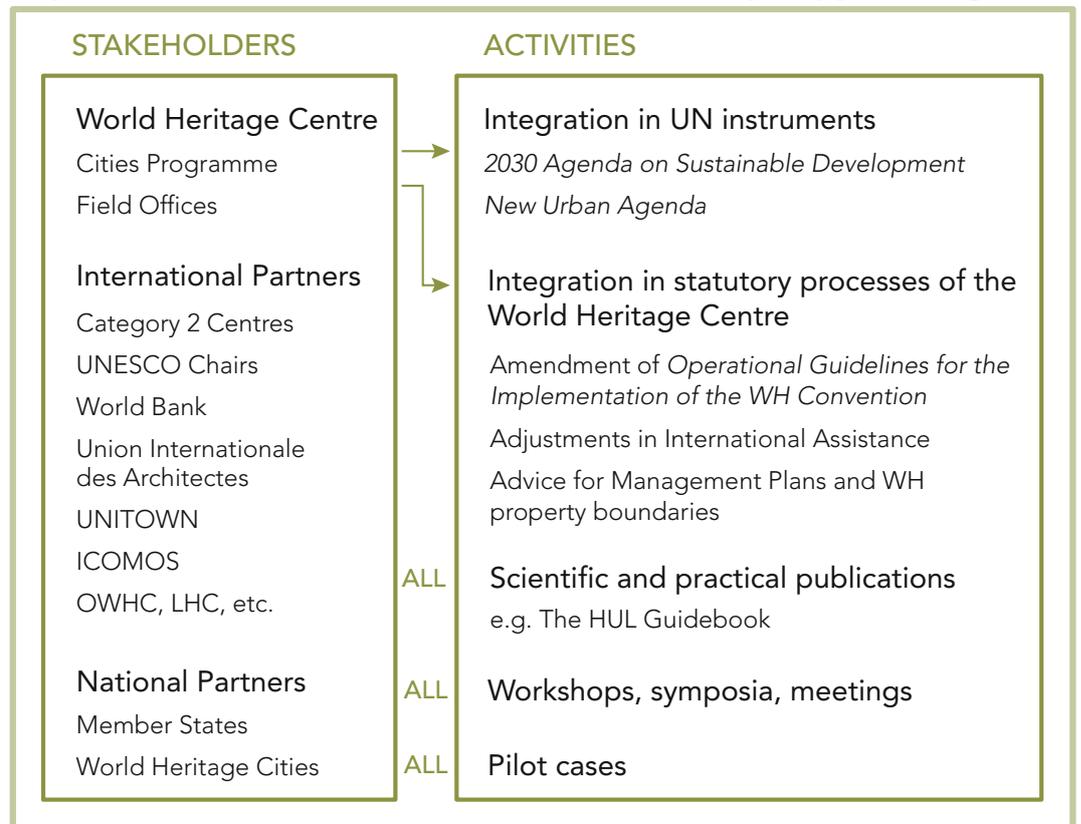


Figure 11: Implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach on the global level. Sources: Author’s own figure, based on Buckley et al. 2015, 94, UNESCO 2014c, art. 10, UNESCO 2015b, UNESCO 2015c, UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020g, Anonymous, personal interview, 21 December 2020.

In their 2019 publication *Reshaping Urban Conservation*, Ana Pereira Roders and Francesco Bandarin present a large number of case studies on the Historic Urban Landscape approach in different cities all over the world. 28 case studies are described in full book chapters and another 32 are referred to as examples in short paragraphs. In her introductory chapter, Pereira Roders (2019, 26ff.) presents a list of 160 cities which have so far participated in and/or hosted near 350 activities to foster the implementation of the *Recommendation in the Historic Urban Landscape*¹¹. The activities included organizing of workshops and trainings as well as serving as case studies in research (ibid.). Pereira Roders (2019, 26) classifies the cities according to the phase in which they have been adopting the Historic Urban

¹¹ Among them are two Uzbek cities, namely Samarkand and Bukhara, the latter of which is also represented in the book with a chapter about the local application of the Historic Urban Landscape approach (Pereira Roders 2019, 27ff.; Vileikis et al. 2019). Both are considered as ‘early adopters’ according to the classification applied by the author (Pereira Roders 2019, 27ff.).

Landscape approach, referring to Everett M. Rogers (1962) and his theory on the diffusion of innovations. ‘Innovators’ are early risk takers that have pushed the development of the approach before 2011 (e.g. Vienna). ‘Early adopters’ have implemented Historic Urban Landscape tools between 2012 and 2017 and serve as important role models for the ‘early majority’ that is currently following (2018-2023). The ‘late majority’ will eventually react to peer pressure, emerging norms and economic necessity and is expected to implement the Historic Urban Landscape approach between 2024 and 2029. ‘Laggards’, finally, are often economically unable to take risks and, therefore, adverse to change. They would adopt the Historic Urban Landscape approach after 2030 (Pereira Roders 2019, 26). Two leading ‘early adopters’ were the cities Ballarat and Cuenca: “These two cities [...] have been crucial in the maturing of the theoretical framework and for the development of methods and tools to endorse the [Historic Urban Landscape] Recommendation” (ibid., 34).

As Buckley et al. (2015, 94) point out, “[e]ach pilot city exhibits different dominant forms of cultural heritage, has distinct challenges, varying levels of existing conservation approaches and different key stakeholders”. Therefore, the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* must be understood as a flexible guide to development that leaves room for different approaches to emerge within a common framework. The six critical steps for implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach as defined by the General Conference (UNESCO 2011b, 50) have been used as a theoretical framework in practice, as well as by scholars to guide, evaluate and monitor the implementation of the Recommendation in numerous case studies (Pereira Roders 2019, 40, referring to UNESCO 2012a; UNESCO et al. 2016; Veldpaus et al. 2013; Giliberto 2018). From the sample of chapters and boxes presented in the book, about one-third of the cities was familiar with and applied the six-step approach (Pereira Roders 2019, 40). The others applied between two and five out of the six recommended steps (ibid., 43). According to Pereira Roders’ analysis, the first (surveys and mappings) and fourth (integration of heritage values in wider framework of city development) steps were the most applied, while steps three (assessment of vulnerability to socio-economic pressures and impacts of climate change) and six (establishment of appropriate partnerships, management frameworks and mechanisms for coordination) are least applied (ibid.). The tools presented in the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* are familiar to all sample cities, with community engagement tools being the most commonly used ones, followed by knowledge and planning tools, regulatory systems and financial tools being the least used (ibid., 44). Pereira Roders also looked at the type of stakeholders that were involved in participative activities related to heritage management. According to her analysis, experts are the most involved, followed by policy makers and the daily users (ibid., 46).

The author concludes, that “there is still a strong difference between goals and actions when it comes to the implementation of the [Historic Urban Landscape] approach” (Pereira Roders 2019, 49). Most cities that explore the approach undertake only one or two related activities. The challenge for the next years is, therefore, to encourage new cities to explore the Historic Urban Landscape approach, but also to support those that have already started to continue their efforts (ibid., 50).

This brief overview of the worldwide progress to the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach until today shows that efforts have been made by different stakeholders and on different levels (see Figure 11). It highlights the importance of cooperation between the responsible organs of UNESCO, international partner organizations, as well as Member States and more specifically World Heritage Cities to further the process. For the purpose of my case study this means that I will have to take into consideration a broad range of stakeholders and different administrative levels in order to study the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva.

4

The Case of Khiva

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4.1 Uzbekistan and the UNESCO

The empirical part of this thesis will focus on the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in the World Heritage city Khiva in Uzbekistan. In order to understand the context of international policy implementation and heritage conservation in this country, this chapter will give an introduction to Uzbekistan, its history, politics and cultural heritage, as well as its relationship to the UNESCO.

COUNTRY PROFILE

The Republic of Uzbekistan is a landlocked state in Central Asia with a total population of 34.6 million people as of 2021 (State Committee of the RoU on Statistics 2020-2021a). The country is surrounded by its neighbours Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan with most of which it shares a common past as members of the Soviet Union, as well as Russian as lingua franca (all except Afghanistan) (see Figure 12). The total national territory extends over 447,400 square kilometres, which



Figure 12: Map of Uzbekistan and neighbouring countries, most important water bodies, the capital Tashkent and Khiva. Source: Author's own figure, based on OCHA 2020, OpenStreetMap 2021.

is about the size of Sweden (UNDP 2021). Administratively, Uzbekistan is divided into thirteen regions and the capital Tashkent.

Almost four-fifths of the country is made up by sun-dried deserts; historical and modern cities are located in oases or in the mountainous East (Hambly et al. 2020). The fertile Fergana Valley east of the capital Tashkent is one of the most populated areas in Central Asia (ibid.). The two most important rivers are Syr Darya, that crosses Uzbekistan in the East, and Amu Darya in the West. Both are feeders into the Aral Sea that has dramatically decreased in size over the past sixty years due to massive irrigation efforts that have distracted water from the two rivers (Gaybullaev et al., 2012). The region is characterized by arid climate and much sunshine with rainfall averaging only 200 millimetres annually (Hambly et al. 2020). Summers are usually very hot, especially in the dry plains of the country. Uzbek architecture has adapted to the climate with windows facing away from the sun but open towards *aivans* (porches) and tree-filled courtyards shut off from the streets which also ensures a high level of privacy (ibid.; C. Jamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020).

Over the last decades, Uzbekistan's economy grew rapidly which lifted significant parts of the population out of poverty (World Bank Group 2016, 4). However, considerable regional disparities remain and the poorest regions are those with largely rural populations and low population densities (including Khorezm) (ibid., 7). In 2019, about half the population lived in rural and urban areas respectively (World Bank Group 2021). Economic production is heavily based on agriculture, especially cotton, but Uzbekistan also has substantial mineral, oil and gas reserves, as well as a growing industrial sector specialized on machinery and heavy equipment (Hambly et al. 2020). Life expectancy has significantly increased over the last decades and was at 71.6 years as of 2018 (ibid.). With a Human Development Index of 0.72 in 2019 the state falls into the category of countries with 'high human development' according to the UNDP's Human Development Report (2020).

Ethnically, Uzbekistan is a relatively homogenous country with 80 percent of the population considered as Uzbeks and minorities of Tajik, Kazakh, Russian, Karakalpak, Tatar and other descents (UNESCO Almaty Office 2018, 13). After the period of atheist propaganda during Soviet times, Islamic values have returned, and about 88 percent of the population of Uzbekistan consider themselves as Muslims today (ibid.).

HISTORY AND POLITICS

Human life in the area of today's Uzbekistan goes back to the Palaeolithic Period, some 55,000 to 70,000 years ago (Hambly et al. 2020). First settlements were founded some 6,500 years ago by oasis-based farming communities (Craig 2018, 1). From what is known, Iranian nomads occupied Central Asia during the first millennium BCE and several great states emerged in the fertile region around the Amu Darya (ibid.; UNESCO 2020c, 16). In the sixth century, the Persians conquered the region and the cities of Bukhara and Samarkand became political, religious, cultural and administrative hubs. In the late fourth century BCE, Alexander the Great won control of the region (ibid.). Between the

first century BCE and the third century CE, trade on the Silk Roads gained momentum and established the connection between China and the Mediterranean world via Central Asia (Williams 2014, 15). Invasions and nomad migrations continue to mark the history of the region. With the conquest by the Arabs in the eighth century, Islam was introduced to Central Asia (Hambly et al. 2020). At that time, Bukhara became the leading centre of art and culture in the Arab world (UNESCO 2020c, 16). Muslim influence decreased again when Turkish nomad groups arrived in the ninth and tenth century and promoted Persian culture (ibid.). In the early thirteenth century, the Mongols conquered Central Asia, and in the fourteenth century the famous Turco-Mongol conqueror Timur seized all western Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Ottoman Empire. He was an important patron of arts and sciences at that time and is still commemorated as a great war hero today (ibid.).

Turkic-Mongol tribes from north-western Siberia conquered large parts of today's Uzbekistan in the fifteenth century and are likely to have brought the ethnonym Uzbek to the territory, naming themselves after the admired Muslim leader Öz Beg Khan (Hambly et al. 2020). The Uzbek Khans ejected the last Timurid sultans in the early sixteenth century and occupied major cities, including Bukhara, Khiva and Samarkand (ibid.). Uzbek Khans of different dynasties governed the territory for centuries in different constellations (from one realm to various smaller khanates), and many important monuments of architecture were erected in this time, including madrasahs, mosques and bridges (ibid.). Their reign was eventually weakened by internal rivalries, diminishing trade on the Silk Roads and continuing struggles with the Persian neighbours. The Persians briefly took control over the region in the eighteenth century (Hambly et al. 2020).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire invaded the khanates of Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand thereby subjugating the entire Uzbek territory (Hambly et al. 2020). During the relatively short period under the rule of the tsar, an Uzbek middle class emerged and cotton production increased sharply (UNESCO 2020c, 17). However, the Russian Revolution of 1917 brought instability and conflict to the region. Muslim leaders tried to establish an autonomous government and their resistance movement was active until Soviet troops deposed the emir of Bukhara and the khan of Khiva in 1920 (Hambly et al. 2020). The power was then in the hands of Russian communist leaders. In the 1920s the Russian Communist Party redrew the borders of Central Asian realms according to monoethnic principles (ibid.). Uzbekistan was granted the formal status of a constituent republic of the USSR. It was governed by the Communist Party of Uzbekistan composed of Slavic leaders; ethnic Uzbeks had no say in the fate of their country (ibid.). Political purges in the 1930s and World War II brought further hardships to the Central Asian country. Only after Stalin's death in 1953, Uzbeks regained some freedom and self-determination (ibid.). More ethnic Uzbeks were allowed to join the communist party and to obtain government positions, which were previously reserved for Soviet elites (UNESCO 2020c, 17).

Another massive purge of 'political enemies', increasing corruption among Russian elites and economic downturn in the 1980s nurtured the Uzbek nationalist movement (UNESCO 2020c, 17). After a failed coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991, Uzbekistan

took the opportunity of political instability and declared independence from the USSR. The communist party under the lead of Islam Karimov, however, retained power and Karimov easily won the first presidential election in 1991 (Hambly et al. 2020).

In 1992 Uzbekistan adopted a new constitution that established the country as a republic and provided for legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, dominated by a strong executive (Hambly et al. 2020). It granted sweeping powers to the new president as head of state and government (ibid.; Schmitz 2020, 7). Several democratic principles were not respected: “Opposition parties were prohibited from participating in elections, and democratic activists were kidnapped or attacked” (Hambly et al. 2020). Under Karimov’s rule, the National Security Service became the most important state institution with far reaching competences in the control of political, social, and economic life in Uzbekistan (Marszewski 2018, 2). According to international observers, the internal stability of the country at that time was a mere result of repression through the security organs (Schmitz 2020, 7). The dominance of the National Security Service along with an inefficient public sector also significantly hindered the country’s economic development (Marszewski 2018, 2).

At the same time, “Uzbekistan shunned economic liberalisation [...] and preserved core characteristics of the centrally planned economy” (Schmitz 2020, 9). Strategic economic sectors as well as foreign trade and banking remained subject to state planning and control (ibid., referring to Ruziev et al. 2007, 12). While a gradual transition towards a market economy was declared a political aim, achieving self-sufficiency in strategic economic sectors was the main priority (ibid., 9, 12). The country’s rich resources in gold, specialization on cotton production, existing light industry and increasing remittances from Uzbek guest workers in Russia were the main sources of income (ibid., 9; Marszewski 2018, 2).

Social policies focused on the areas of housing, agricultural development, cultural policy and youth policy (Schmitz 2020, 12). Modernisation in this period brought along deep transformations of the urban landscape signified by widened roads, new multi-storey buildings, shopping centres, restaurants and covered bazaars (ibid., 10). New possibilities of employment and consumption along with the emergence of an urban middle class were perceived as national progress (ibid.). “In reality, however, life became harder for many Uzbeks after the end of the Soviet Union” (ibid.). Seasonal labour migration to Russia, Kazakhstan and elsewhere grew and the standard of living of the large rural population remained low (ibid., 9f.).

Eventually dissatisfaction with state policies led to large-scale protests in Andijan (one of Uzbekistan’s largest cities located in Fergana Valley) in May 2005 that were bloodily suppressed by police and military forces (Marszewski 2018, 5). Besides for the many deaths of Andijan, the Uzbek state was also condemned by the international community for several other breaches of human rights including forced labour in the cotton industry (Hambly et al. 2020). Western criticisms of the Uzbek regime led to the tightening of internal repression and initiated a long period of self-isolation (Schmitz 2020, 11, referring to Brill Olcott 2007).

During his 25 years in office, Karimov built a repressive political system that turned even harder against its own citizens towards the end of his rule when the economic performance showed severe problems and social unrest emerged. In this time, Uzbekistan was increasingly isolating itself from its unstable neighbouring countries and the rest of the world and set harsh actions against any political opposition (Marszewski 2018, 1). Karimov died in September 2016 (UNESCO 2020c, 17).

The long-serving prime minister Shavkat Mirziyoyev was put in place as interim president and won the elections in December 2016 with nearly 90 percent of the votes (Hambly et al. 2020). The past years of his presidency have brought about a new image of Uzbekistan as a state under renewal. The peaceful transition to a new leader along with a drastic change of course in politics is considered unique in the post-Soviet space (Schmitz 2020, 5).

In early 2017, Mirziyoyev launched the five-year *Development Strategy for 2017-2020* as one of his first presidential decrees¹². It promises to modernise and liberalise all spheres of life in Uzbekistan (Mirziyoyev 2017a). Reforms are announced in five areas: governance and public administration, rule of law and the judicial system, development and liberalization of the economy, social sector reforms, as well as foreign policy, security and religious tolerance (ibid.). Such five-year plans were a typical element of Soviet development planning, and the annual focus on one specific problem was already practiced under President Karimov (Schmitz 2020, 12). However, even if the form is not new, the contents promise significant change in at least two aspects: the explicit commitment to liberalism and international competition (e.g. encouraging the private sector, protecting private ownership, dismantling of trade barriers), as well as to a new relationship between state and society (e.g. strengthening the role of parliament, political parties and civil society in the political process) (ibid.).

And indeed, the Development Strategy “has set the entire state apparatus in motion and initiated a flood of regulatory activities” (Schmitz 2020, 13). Public administration was modernised with the aim to increase transparency, accessibility and efficiency (ibid., 12). Mirziyoyev sharply criticized the attitudes of state cadres and made new appointments at all levels of the executive (ibid., 18). His proclaimed aim is to cultivate a modern generation of public officials characterised by an ethics of responsibility as a central element of good governance (ibid.). A new agency for the training and education of public officials in Uzbekistan was established (ibid.).

Mirziyoyev also introduced the principle that office holders are accountable to the public in order to make it easier for citizens to take their concerns to the authorities (Schmitz 2020, 20). This is part of the new government’s efforts to increase participation of society in national politics. Online portals have been established for citizens to complain, submit petitions and comment on drafts (ibid., 12; A. Feyzulayev, personal interview 18 December 2020). This is a challenging new situation for “a society unaccustomed to being asked its opinion” (Schmitz 2020, 6). Another achievement of Mirziyoyev’s reform policies is the liberalisation of the media sector (ibid., 21). He also showed concern for human

¹² The president of Uzbekistan has the authority to issue legally binding political guidelines and instructions. The number of presidential decrees has proliferated since 2017 (Schmitz 2020, 13).

rights issues, releasing political prisoners and tolerating public protests (Hambly et al. 2020). The new commitment to participation and freedom of speech can be considered a positive development. Critical observers, however, point out to the instrumentalization of civic engagement and the mass media as supporters of the reform policies that does not tolerate real criticism (Schmitz 2020, 21).

The above-mentioned reforms are also designed to generate international confidence in Uzbekistan and accelerate the in-flow of the investment needed for economic reforms (Schmitz 2020, 12). At the same time, the investment climate for foreign capital was improved, for example through the lift of many trade barriers and allowing the currency to float (Marszewski 2018, 3; Hambly et al. 2020). Liberalisation measures had a “dynamising effect on foreign trade and created incentives for both the private sector and international donors to operate in Uzbekistan.” (Schmitz 2020, 12, referring to Economist Intelligence Unit 2019, 6).

Mirziyoyev identified five crucial sectors for economic development in Uzbekistan: textile industry, industrial and building materials, agricultural sector, pharmaceutical and tourism sectors (Marszewski 2018, 3). In the tourism sector, for example, significant changes can be observed. Simplification of the visa and registration procedures, development of touristic infrastructure and international advertising have led to a sharp increase of international visitors to Uzbekistan (MITRA TRAVEL LCC 2019). However, “construction projects associated with the promotion of tourism are often rushed through approval processes and cause irreparable harm to the historic heritage” (Schmitz 2020, 29).

The will to renewal is also reflected in extensive construction works that can be observed all over the country. The two state programmes *Obod Qishloq* (prosperous villages) and *Obod Mahalla* (prosperous neighbourhoods) triggered a construction boom in Uzbek towns and villages (Schmitz 2020, 29). Unfortunately, in the course of fast and radical redevelopment, property rights have repeatedly been violated through expropriation without consent and adequate compensation, a practice that has led to various protests in the summer of 2019 (ibid., 31; BBC 2019).

In terms of foreign policy, Mirziyoyev continues to pursue an independent and multi-vector foreign policy but has substantially improved relationships with the international community (Hambly et al. 2020). Uzbekistan reached out to its Central Asian neighbours to solve long-lasting conflicts over border demarcations and water resources, as well as to open new border crossings, restore airline connections and lift visa restrictions (Marszewski 2018, 6). At the same time, relationships with the regional superpowers Russia and China, as well as with Western countries have intensified (Schmitz 2020, 24). Russia is the most powerful actor in Uzbekistan, cooperating on the political, economic and military level (Marszewski 2018, 7). China has significantly expanded its relations with Central Asian states in the course of the ‘New Silk Road’ project (*Belt and Road Initiative*) (Schmitz 2020, 26). Uzbekistan also enjoys support from Western partners and international (financial) institutions—most prominently the World Bank that has significantly expanded its engagement in the state since 2016 (ibid.). Relationships with UN Organizations have improved as well since many of the government’s strategic

objectives correspond to priority areas of the UN. Mirziyoyev's Development Strategy has also been framed by the government as a pathway towards fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals (UNESCO 2018c, 7).

The president's reforms in the sphere of security aimed at consolidation of power. Reduction of the National Security Service's extensive competencies and reorganisation of the security apparatus were crucial for Mirziyoyev (Marszewski 2018, 2.f). There was a massive reshuffle and former personnel was replaced by individuals loyal to the new president (ibid., 4). Reorganisation of the power apparatus on the basis of personnel decisions is surely a strategy that does not match with the image of the democratic reformer developed for the sake of the West (ibid., 5).

Despite Mirziyoyev's reforms, many (Western) observers note continued authoritarian behaviour and suggest that the reforms are primarily motivated by economic development (Hambly et al. 2020). The political decision-making structures and the framework of political institutions have been largely untouched; central control and management are in line with the country's long history of state planning (Schmitz 2020, 15). Institutions, attitudes and behaviours continue to enable abuses of power as rigid vertical chains of command remain in place, with the president always on top (ibid., 6, 30). The ambitious reform programme demands rapid changes and quick, visible results to serve its credibility. These processes often do not take the time for proper public participation or involvement of relevant stakeholders but are pushed ahead at full speed (ibid., 6, 13). Political competition is barely existing with only a hand full of parties in parliament, all of which have quite similar programmes (ibid., 29). Parliament still plays a minor role in political decision-making and mainly acts on the instructions from the president: "In the absence of effective checks and balances it is still the president who decides" (ibid.).

According to Schmitz (2020, 29), the liberalisation process pursued could eventually lead to the reform of political institutions and pace the way for democratisation. However, "it could also end in an 'enlightened authoritarianism' that combines free market structures with effective and lawful governance, enables controlled political participation, but prevents real political competition" (ibid.).

CULTURAL HERITAGE IN UZBEKISTAN

In the spirit of Critical Heritage Studies, I have defined the concept of 'heritage' as a social construction, an appropriation of the past for purposes of the present (see chapter 2.2). The brief historic outline given above has described the process of Uzbekistan developing from several independent khanates to a Russian colony, a Soviet Republic and, finally, an independent nation state with a dynamic political trajectory. In the light of this turbulent history, it makes sense to look for the emergence of Uzbekistan's 'heritage' in the past and follow its development up to the present.

Under the rule of Turkic and Persian Islamic dynasties the impressive trading cities of the Silk Road were adorned with majestic madrasahs and mosques. Many of these were destroyed by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, but rebuilt and expanded by Timur and his successors in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Craig 2018, 1).

The following period, however, saw neglect of the region's glamorous architecture, also due to the dwindling importance of the Silk Road for international trade (ibid.). By the mid-nineteenth century many of the great (pre-)Islamic buildings had fallen into ruin and much of the original architectural substance had been reused for the construction of new buildings (Paskaleva 2015, 420). Even though from the Western perspective they had neglected their heritage, Paskaleva argues that the locals were "well aware of the spiritual importance of the sites" (ibid.). Accounts of selected religious buildings that were carefully preserved up to the point of Russian conquest confirm this argument (cf. Ibragimovna Alimova 2020, 304).

Most accounts on the 'construction' of cultural heritage in Central Asia, however, start at the time of the Russian conquest in the 1860s. The region's rich architecture caught the attention of Russian archaeologists and urban planners who became engaged in preservation and conservation of the Central Asian architectural legacy (Craig 2018, 1). A central figure in the selection of what are today some of Uzbekistan's key monuments was Governor-General Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman (Gorshenina 2017, 54). Under his authority, numerous works of art, manuscripts and documents, as well as treasures, ornaments and valuables of khans and beys were taken to Russia for collection and study, thus depriving the Uzbek people of their cultural heritage (Ibragimovna Alimova 2020, 303). At the same time, however, he arranged the registration and renovation of architectural cultural monuments throughout Turkestan. The historic buildings were mostly defined as 'Timurid' and became "the epicentre of the construction of the 'cultural heritage' of the tsarist Empire" (Gorshenina 2014, 246). The colonial restoration efforts also underlined the legitimacy of the Russian Empire's rule and aimed to instigate respect for the Empire among the religious elites and the masses (Paskaleva 2015, 420).

After the October Revolution and the installation of communist rule, Russian politics in Central Asia changed. The Soviet leaders followed an atheist ideology and Islam was banned like any other religion. Mosques and madrasahs were closed and many destroyed or reused as garages, storehouses, or shops (Hambly et al. 2020). Some interference with historic ensembles also occurred due to the improvement of infrastructure and live standards. Between the 1920s and 1930s, for example, the Soviets gradually filled in Uzbek *khavuzes*¹³ and replaced them by modern urban water distribution infrastructure (Craig 2018, 2). The grand Timurid monuments, however, even though most of them had been religious buildings originally, were kept and maintained. This was originally done out of a concern for the prestige of the Soviet government, but later developed into an explicit strategy of nation building in the Central Asian Soviet Republics (Paskaleva 2015, 421).

The 1918 *Decree on the Importance of Conservation of Cultural Artefacts of Scientific Importance* kick-started the creation of museums and organizations for the preservation of architectural heritage (Paskaleva 2015, 420). Local populations assisted by Russian experts were made responsible for the preservation of the surviving historic buildings and

¹³Khavuzes were large rectangular water pools that served as principal source of drinking water but also speeded mosquito borne diseases.

preservation committees were formed throughout the Soviet Union. They received direct funding from Moscow for necessary repair works and preventing further destruction (Craig 2018, 4). The first comprehensive scientific research on Timurid architecture was carried out by a group of Russian architects, historians and archaeologists in the 1920s. They drew architectural plans, studied the history of construction, translated the epigraphy and carried out excavation and restoration works (Paskaleva 2015, 421). Under the lead of architect Boris Zasytkin, the study and application of traditional building techniques, as well as the preservation of the original fabric was a priority in all restoration works during that time (Demchenko 2011, 72).

Nikita Khrushchev opened an important new chapter in the history of heritage preservation in Central Asia. Under his and later Brezhnev's rule, preservation became the keystone of a cultural program that aimed to construct modern socialist nations within the Soviet Union (Demchenko 2011, 65). The goal was to foster a peaceful Soviet-style nationalism that would celebrate local culture as an evidence of communism's internationalism (ibid., 77). Since nationalist movements in Europe and the United States had produced strong preservation cultures, the Soviets hoped that the reverse effect could be achieved in Central Asia (ibid., 76). A further decentralization of heritage conservation responsibilities and increased public involvement in the preservation of monuments should stimulate cultural nationalism (ibid., 66ff.). In the Uzbekistan Society for the Preservation of Historic and Cultural Monuments, Russian scholars and professional preservationists were interested in the study and restoration of medieval and early modern Islamic architecture, while Uzbek bureaucrats focused on the maintenance of Soviet commemorative structures and their use for communist propaganda (ibid., 69).

In the 1960s, a new concept emerged for the protection of entire old towns. Integrated into urban planning policies, a 'heritage status' could be applied to city centres that were considered worthy of preservation (Craig 2018, 5). Almost no new construction activity was permitted in these areas which helped to protect the urban fabric but also hindered infrastructure development in old town centres (ibid.). This new boost in restoration works with a focus on old towns was also related to an increasing interest in the culture of the region by other countries and the attempt to establish tourism in Uzbek cities (ibid.). The protection and restoration of only small areas also had the purpose to concentrate tourism in historic centres so that visitors would not see the other parts of the city where most people actually lived (ibid.).

Another phenomenon that came along with the increasing appreciation of Central Asia's cultural heritage of the 1950s and 1960s was a new approach to restoration. Konstantin Kriukov replaced Zasytkin as the most influential restorer in central Asia. He started to promote a "new radical approach to architectural restoration that emphasized the integrity of general image over the authenticity of historic structures, materials, and building techniques" (Demchenko 2011, 72). He advocated for the so-called 'complete restoration', the destruction of authentic structures and substitution by reinforced concrete frames, as well as the complete removal of original tiles and their replacement by industrially produced new ones with the aim to create a shiny new 'old' monument that represents the original intention of the builder (ibid., 73). This 'interventionist' approach

was first applied on the Kukeldash madrasah in Tashkent in the late 1950s and became the dominant restoration technique in Central Asia in the 1970s and 1980s (ibid., 74). The new restoration methodology also incorporated the idea of the proportional theory. Based on this theory, Soviet restorers ‘reconstructed’ parts of buildings that were lost long before the Russian conquest and incorporated structures that might have never existed (ibid., 75). Active Russian proponents of the Venice Charter tried to counter-balance such approaches but had no real power to enforce different conservation standards due to the decentralized system of heritage administration (ibid.).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the separate national systems of heritage preservation allowed a somewhat smooth transition into independent national cultural heritage administrations (Demchenko 2011, 78). In the first decade following independence, a lack of public funding and foreign investment led to temporal neglect of Uzbekistan’s architectural heritage but the independent nation state under its first president Karimov soon picked up the “old Soviet methods [to] form a national identity and new collective memory in Uzbekistan” (Craig 2018, 7; Gorshenina 2017, 54). The creation, preservation and promotion of a distinct Uzbek cultural heritage played an important role in this process. While the Russian Imperial heritage, both tsarist and Soviet were erased from history books, museums and the urban landscape, intrinsic Uzbek cultural values and symbols were introduced (cf. Gorshenina 2017). Especially Amir Timur is celebrated as a national hero and the famous Timurid architecture “is used to boost the Uzbek population’s sense of belonging and pride through the construction of an ethno-national identity” (Paskaleva 2015, 418). Islam and religious values have regained a place in state politics and the production of heritage as reflected, for example, in the renovation and reconsecration of many smaller old mosques that had been badly damaged during Soviet times (Hambly et al. 2020).

At the same time, Uzbekistan’s cultural heritage has increasingly been marketed and staged for touristic purposes. The trend of ‘beautification’ of heritage sites and ‘museumification’ of large-scale architectural complexes has started to pose an actual threat to the historical substances (Gorshenina 2017, 54; Matyakubova 2019). These tendencies have been addressed since the 1990s in Uzbekistan with the *Samarkand Declaration* (1994) and the *Khiva Declaration* (1999) recognizing the imperative to “diversify the tourism offer in order to alleviate the pressure on heritage sites, improve engagement of local communities as well as consolidate the historic urban fabric, not only the monuments” (Ronchini 2019, 181f.). However, the exploitation of heritage as a commodity for the sake of a short-sighted vision of tourism development, along with large-scale programs for urban redevelopment are still a threat to architectural and archaeological heritage sites today.

UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE IN UZBEKISTAN

Compared to the long history of Uzbekistan’s historical monuments and the complex creation of its cultural heritage, the time of UNESCO being involved in heritage conservation in the country is relatively short. The first Uzbek heritage property was inscribed in the World Heritage List when the country was still part of the USSR. Itchan

Kala was among the first Soviet heritage properties inscribed in 1990. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan (re)joined UNESCO as an independent state in 1993 (UNESCO 2018b, 22). Since then, the Member State has ratified eight UNESCO Conventions, including the World Heritage Convention (succession in 1993) and the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2008) (UNESCO 2019n).

The UNESCO World Heritage List includes five sites in Uzbekistan, four cultural sites: Itchan Kala (inscribed in 1990), the Historic Centre of Bukhara (inscribed in 1993), the Historic Centre of Shakhriyabz (inscribed in 2000), and Samarkand – Crossroad of Cultures (inscribed in 2001); and one natural site: Western Tien-Shan (inscribed in 2016, together with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021a, see Figures 13-18). In 2016, the Historic Centre of Shakhriyabz was put on the List of World Heritage in Danger due to large scale demolitions and over-development of tourist infrastructure within the property boundaries (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021b). Uzbekistan has currently thirty sites on the Tentative List, representing



Figure 13: Cultural and natural World Heritage sites in Uzbekistan. Source: Author's own figure, based on OCHA 2020, OpenStreetMap 2021 and UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021a.

a broad national inventory of cultural properties considered for nomination (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021a). The country also has a rich intangible heritage of oral traditions, rituals, customs, music, performance, folk games and traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2018b, 17). Eight projects financed under the World Heritage Fund for International Assistance were implemented in Uzbekistan from 1995 to 2016 for the total amount of USD 217,550 (ibid.). Among the projects were the development of management plans for the Historic Centre of Bukhara and the World Heritage site of Samarkand – Crossroad of Culture, the restoration of a madrasah in Bukhara, the preparation of World Heritage nomination files, and others (ibid.).

Like most Member States, Uzbekistan has established a Permanent Delegation to UNESCO in Paris. The Permanent Delegation represents the Government of Uzbekistan on site and reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Permanent Delegation of Uzbekistan 2021). The National Commission of Uzbekistan for UNESCO is established under the Cabinet of Ministers. In its most recent annual reports, the National Commission shows a great engagement in the organization of different festivals related to the promotion of the nation's intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO 2019o, 73; UNESCO 2020d, 85). While capacity building and scientific exchange also play a role in these reports, current measures for the conservation of tangible heritage are not mentioned (ibid.). Uzbekistan has been actively involved in the international affairs of UNESCO and was twice elected to the Executive Board of the Organization, 1997 – 2001 and 2009 – 2013 (UNESCO 2019p).

UNESCO itself is represented in the region through the Cluster Office in Almaty (established in 1994) and the Field Office in Tashkent (1996). The Cluster Office is active in four countries, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, and cooperates closely with the National Commissions and partner networks in its fields of competence. The work of the Almaty Office is guided by the Sub-Regional Strategy 2018-2021 (cf. UNESCO Almaty Office 2018). The UNESCO Field Office in Tashkent represents the Organization in Uzbekistan and supports the country's development efforts in UNESCO's areas of competence through providing knowledge, practical expertise and capacity building (UNESCO 2018b, 8). The Office works in close cooperation with ministries and other governmental entities, as well as with UN Agencies in the United Nations Country Team in Uzbekistan, and builds partnerships with other development actors across the country (ibid., 20). In the field of culture, the Office implemented projects on protection and preservation of World Heritage properties, including the safeguarding of intangible heritage, and fostered the development of sustainable tourism and creative industries in the country (e.g. through organization of festivals or support of craft centres) (ibid., 10). The UNESCO Office in Tashkent also supports the Government of Uzbekistan in the formulation of management plans for the World Heritage properties on its national territory (ibid.).

The visits of the President of Uzbekistan, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, to the UNESCO headquarters in October 2018, as well as of UNESCO Director General, Audrey Azoulay, to Uzbekistan in August 2019 are supposed to have "laid the foundations of a new era" in their cooperation (Abdukhakimov, 1f.). In 2018, Director-General Audrey Azoulay and the Uzbek Minister of Foreign Affairs signed a cooperation agreement, including a



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Figure 14: Itchan Kala, Western Gate and Kalta Minor. Author's own photograph, April 2019.

Figure 15: Historic Centre of Bukhara, Po-i-Kalyan. Author's own photograph, February 2019.

Figure 16: Historic Centre of Shakhrisyabz, Ak-Sarai Palace. Source: UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021b (A. Tentieva).

Figure 17: Samarkand – Crossroad of Cultures, Registan. Author's own photograph, February 2019.

Figure 18: Western Tien-Shan, Sayram-Ugam State National Nature Park. Source: UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021c (T. Kenbay).

Programme Action Plan for Uzbekistan for 2018-2021 (UNESCO 2019o, 73). The Action Plan formulates goals in the fields of education, science, culture and media development (UNESCO 2018b, 14ff.). According to the Programme Priorities, the culture desk of the UNESCO Tashkent Office will support the Uzbek government through strengthening policies and strategic frameworks for tangible and intangible heritage, capacity building of state and local authorities in preservation, management and monitoring of World Heritage properties, fostering greater involvement of communities in safeguarding of cultural heritage, promoting creativity and protection of diversity of cultural expressions, as well as developing sustainable tourism based on cultural and natural assets (ibid., 17). The priorities are in line with the *UN Development Assistant Framework for Uzbekistan*, UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy and current Programme, the UNESCO Cluster Office's *Sub-Regional Strategy for Central Asian Countries*, as well as the Uzbek Government's *Five-Year Action Strategy for Development 2017-2021* (ibid., 7; UNESCO Almaty Office 2018, 21).

The last Periodic Reporting for Asia and the Pacific took place in 2010/2011. All States Parties to the World Heritage Convention in the region were asked to submit reports on the state of implementation of the Convention as well as the state of conservation of their World Heritage properties. Unfortunately, the national reports are not publicly available. As a general finding for Asia and the Pacific, legal frameworks for the protection and management of heritage needed improvement, financial and human resources needed to be organized more sustainably, training for conservation, education, visitor management, etc. were recommended to be continuously provided, and awareness building of communities and key stakeholders needed to be fostered (UNESCO 2012b, 3). For property conservation and management, the report identified a shortage of effective management systems and applied buffer zones, and tourism and infrastructure development as major challenges; better community involvement in heritage management and conservation was recommended (ibid., 4). Additionally, many properties in Central Asia were negatively affected by natural factors such as temperature, water, wind and humidity (ibid., 32). Within the scope of this cycle of Periodic Reporting, all States Parties to the Convention were asked to provide retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUVs) for the World Heritage properties inscribed between 1978 and 2006 (when an SOUV was not mandatory yet) (ibid., 7). For Uzbekistan, this applied to all four cultural World Heritage sites. Their SOUVs were adopted by the World Heritage Committee in its 2012 and 2013 sessions. The next Periodic Reporting for Asia and the Pacific is due for 2020/2021 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2020f). Unfortunately, Uzbekistan did not submit a report on the implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* when encouraged via an online survey in 2018 (UNESCO 2019m).

More recent accounts on the general state of conservation of the World Heritage sites in the region come to similar conclusions. The UNESCO Cluster Office in Almaty (2018, 19) states, that the main challenges are related to limited human and financial resources, as well as lack of awareness about international standards, capacities of stakeholders, and coordination of various stakeholders. The Central Asian countries need to strengthen national legislation and establish effective mechanisms to ensure the preservation of the OUV of sites (ibid.). Still to this day, not one of the cultural heritage sites in Uzbekistan has a management plan that is officially in place, even though management plans have been

developed for several of them supported by UNESCO funds and different international experts. According to Ronchini (2019, 181), what is missing is “a process of engagement at the core of the formulation of a shared vision and values for the sites, which would then need to be translated into a management framework, policies and actions for its implementation”. With regard to the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, this circumstance gives the Uzbek cultural World Heritage properties—all of which are urban sites—the opportunity to integrate this most recent approach to urban heritage conservation into their management plans right from the start.

4.2 The (Hi)story of Khiva

After this introduction to the country, the focus will be finally on the city that is at the centre of this case study: Khiva. The following chapter will provide some basic information on the city today, its history and regional context, as well as the most recent urban developments in its historic centre and the role of Itchan Kala as a World Heritage property.

CITY PROFILE

The city of Khiva is located in Khorezm, a region in the western part of Uzbekistan at the border to Turkmenistan. Khorezm is a fertile oasis bounded by the Karakum Desert in the south and the Kyzylkum desert in the northeast. The life blood of Khorezm is the Amu Darya River. It runs south to north and is the source of water for all irrigation channels that serve the whole region. The landscape is characterized by agricultural production with a special focus on cotton but Khorezm also has a significant industrial and service sector (e.g. General Motors factory in Pitnak). With the change of legislation and improvement of the touristic infrastructure the number of tourists has increased rapidly over the last

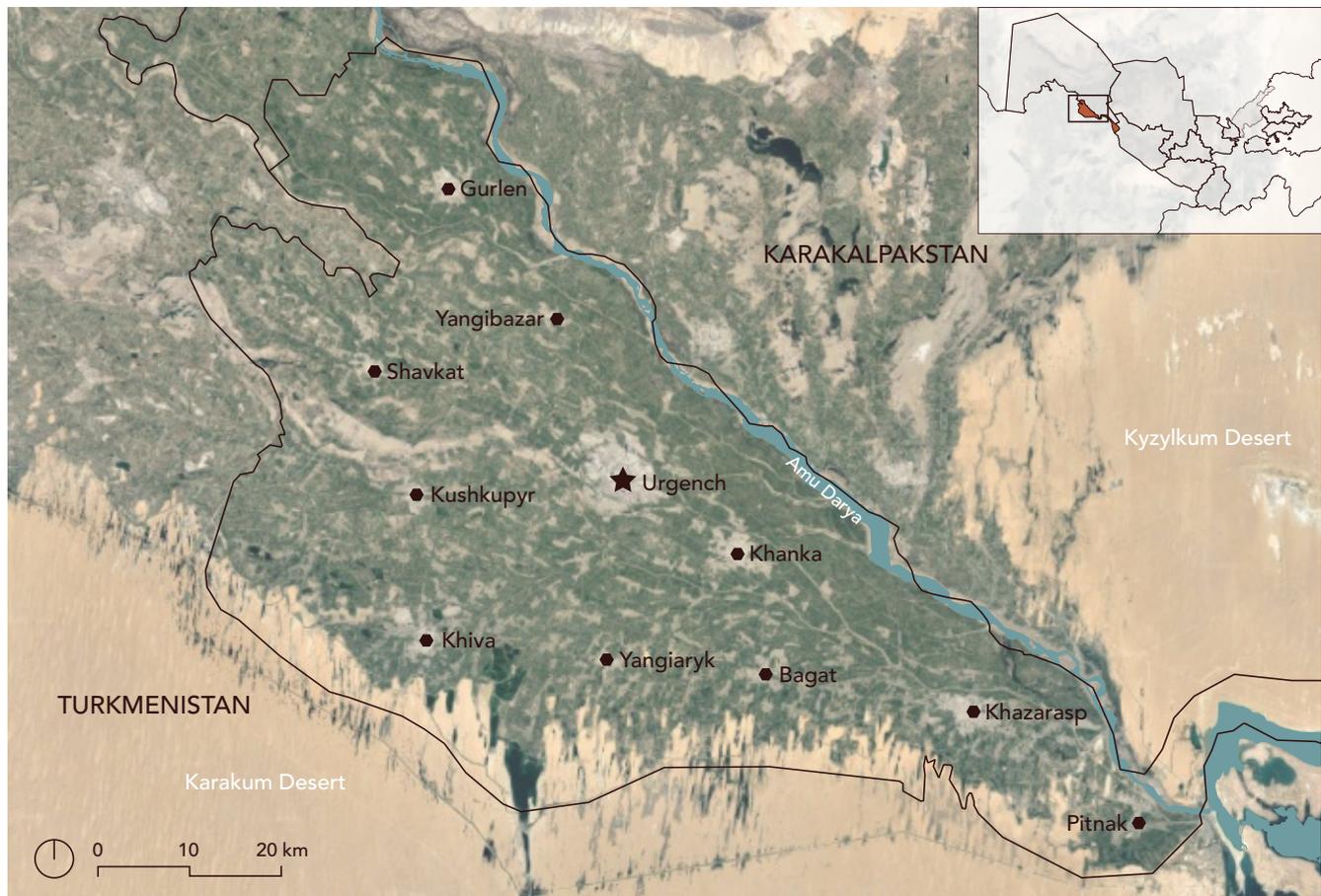


Figure 19: Khorezm region with most important cities and towns, as well as natural features. Source: Author's own figure, based on Google Maps (2021).

years. In 2017, 46,000 foreign tourists visited the Khorezm region, in 2019 the number had more than tripled to 150,000. The number of local tourists has also risen sharply, from 660,000 in 2017 to 1,600,000 in 2019 (State Committee for the Development of Tourism of the RoU 2019). Tourism is very much focused on Khiva, but many visitors take daytrips to see the ancient clay castles in neighbouring Karakalpakstan (autonomous region of Uzbekistan). The capital Urgench, located about 30 kilometres from Khiva, is the administrative centre and largest city in the area.

Khiva is a growing city with a total of 92,100 inhabitants at the beginning of 2020 (Department of Statistics of Khorezm Region 2020). Accounting for a municipal area of about 3,000 hectares, Khiva has a population density of roughly 3,000 inhabitants per square kilometre. This relatively high density for an urban structure that is largely made up of one or two-story single-family houses relates to the traditionally tight clustering of houses and large household size of five people in average (State Committee of the RoU on Statistics 2020-2021b). The city affairs are managed by the local administration under the City *Khokim* (mayor) who is appointed by and directly accountable to the Regional



Figure 20: The city of Khiva, significant features for orientation. Source: Author's own figure, based on Google Earth 2021, Grodekov 1883, 286.

Khokim (governor) of Khorezm, who in turn is appointed by and accountable to the president (Urinboyev 2018, 2). The municipality is divided into 21 smaller administrative units called *mahallas*. *Mahallas* are communities of several hundred inhabitants created within territorial neighbourhoods with certain self-governing rights especially in relation to social and economic support systems (cf. Suda 2006). The tradition of this institution goes back to the time well before the Russian conquest and is being embraced by today's government as an effective citizens' self-governing body (ibid., Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RoU 2017). The head of the *mahalla* is elected by the community and acts as an intermediary between state and society. *Mahallas* play an important role in the life of Uzbek people and the organization of civil society, but they also present an easy entry point for manipulation through political officials and the government (Alonso & Kalanov 2017, 251).

The walled inner city of Khiva, *Itchan Kala*, is the oldest part of the settlement and constitutes the UNESCO World Heritage property with a total area of 37.5 hectares (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d). It used to be surrounded by a second wall, *Dishan Kala*, of which only fragments remain today (see Figure 20). In the twentieth century, the city expanded beyond its walls, with new settlements emerging mostly north of the city centre along the main road to Urgench. The satellite towns that emerged in the northwest and northeast of the city in the 1970s and 1980s have become parts of the city and the last gaps in the urban fabric are quickly filling up. Housing construction is driven by the city's population growth, but also by people moving out of the historic centre due to the pressures of tourism development and the promise of a higher quality of life in the newly built settlements.

HISTORIC RELEVANCE OF REGION AND CITY

For a long time, Khorezm was an isolated oasis accessible only after long hazardous journeys through the deserts. Therefore, the history of Khorezm is not always in line with what happened in the rest of Central Asia (Knobloch 2001, 73). Khorezm is one of the largest oases in Central Asia, formed by the river Amu Darya, the ancient Oxus recorded by Greek historians over two thousand years ago (Yagodin & Betts 2009, 6). The Amu Darya has changed its course many times over the years and the ancient river bed can be traced by lines of archaeological sites (ibid., 11). The first Neolithic settlements date from around six thousand years BCE, the first fortified sites appeared in the seventh century BCE (ibid.). Around that time, the region became known as Khorezm. It was a vassal state to the Persian empire before it freed itself and flourished as an independent state around the fourth century BCE (ibid.). When Alexander the Great marched into Central Asia, he did not conquer Khorezm and the region continued to prosper even under the influence of the great Kushan empire that became fully established by the first century CE (ibid.). There was a long time of prosperity, when trade flourished and merchants travelled along the Silk Road, crossing Central Asia to trade goods from East to West. Regional rulers changed from Huns, to Turks and Arabs, who brought the Islamic religion to the region in the eighth century CE (ibid.). The thirteenth and fourteenth century were marked by reversion due to destruction by the Mongols, first under Genghis Khan, then under Amir

Timur. When Urgench was destroyed at that time, Khiva became the new capital of the region (Lane & Lewcock 1996, 38).

The site of Khiva dates back to the Antique period at the end of the fifth century BCE. Ancient Khiva was part of a system of fortresses defending the boundaries of Khorezm (Yagodin & Betts 2009, 25). The walls of Ichan Kala that can be seen reconstructed today, however, stem from the much later medieval settlement. The Khanate of Khiva was established at the end of the sixteenth century by nomadic Uzbeks (ibid.). The region was fairly poor at that time, but soon started to prosper as a trade depot and slave market and developed into a flourishing centre of learning and culture. Slaves were also set to work on the construction of the monumental buildings that began in the seventeenth century and continued on a larger scale until the Russian invasion (Lane & Lewcock 1996, 38). Khiva became a Russian protectorate in 1887 but remained largely independent until 1920 when the last Khan abdicated and Khorezm became part of the Russian Soviet Union (Yagodin & Betts 2009, 25).

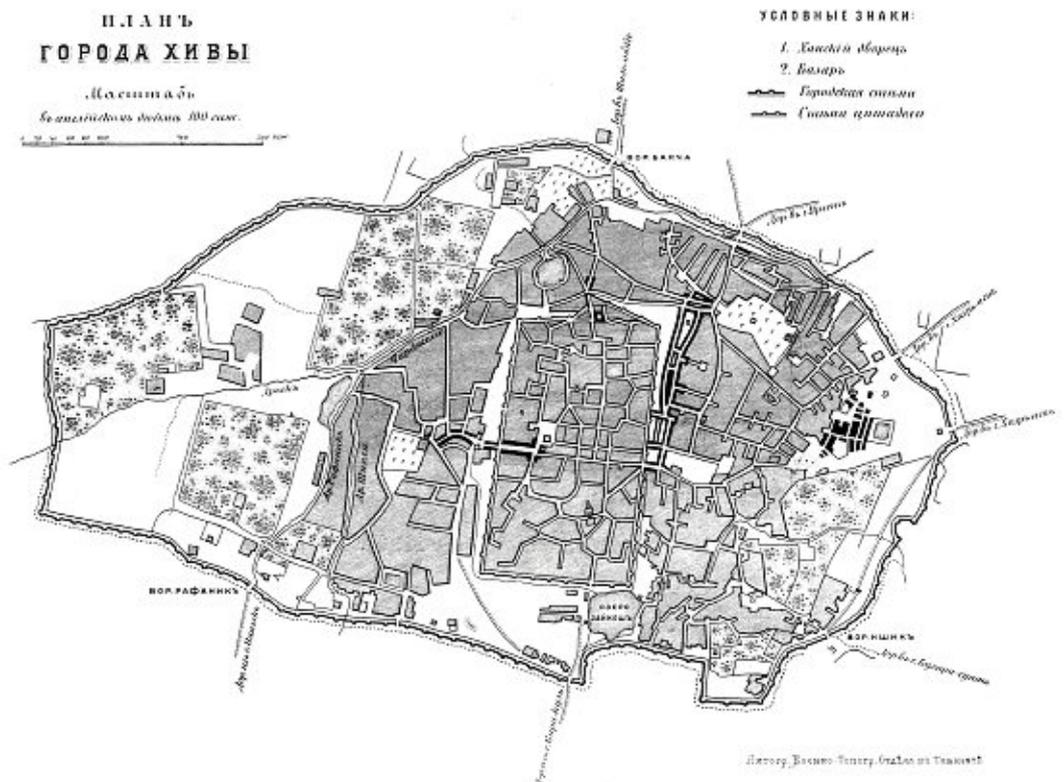


Figure 21: Map of Khiva drawn in the course of the Russian campaign in 1873. Source: Grodekov 1883, 286.

Under Soviet rule, the irrigation system of the region was massively expanded and Khorezm became an important centre of cotton production with a growing population. The construction of new canals, however, also brought about the destruction of many archaeological sites and led to severe ecological problems which still affect the area today

(Yagodin & Betts 2009, 11f.). Restoration works in Khiva started in the late 1960s; in 1969 Itchan Kala was declared a 'Museum Reserve' with special status of protection (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d). The wall as well as the mosques, madrasahs, caravanserais and palaces were restored or rebuilt by Soviet restorers and eventually Itchan Kala was turned into an 'open-air museum' emptied of most of its inhabitants and traditional activities (Lane & Lewcock 1996, 38). By the time of independence, only 2,000 people remained living in the historic city centre that had nicely restored monuments but lacked basic infrastructure like drinking water and sewage system (ibid.). In the mid-1990s, UNDP with the help of UNESCO financed a 960,000 USD project for the revitalization of Itchan Kala. The project included works on street paving, wastewater and sanitation, drinking water system, drainage of rainwater, as well as the repair of 106 houses (ibid., 39). The project aimed to revive the link between historic heritage and the disappeared socio-economic activities inside Itchan Kala. Beside the upgrade of the existing neighbourhoods, the project included urban infills and the adaptive reuse of monuments and public buildings in order to "reintegrate them into the social and economic life of the city" (ibid.). At the same time, another 1,8 million USD were spent on conservation works on the architectural heritage of the city (ibid., 40).

Today, the city contains a rich array of minarets, madrasahs, mosques, palaces and mausoleums. A total of 51 protected monumental structures as well as 250 dwellings can be found within the walls of Itchan Kala (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d). Some buildings go back to the twelfth century, but most structures date from 1780 to 1850. Khiva's architecture is famous for the fine carved woodwork and characteristic deep blue, green and turquoise glazed tile work (Lane & Lewcock 1996, 38). The solid fortification wall is about ten metres high and built of mud brick (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d). It has four gates at the cardinal directions. Currently, the western gate is the main touristic entrance to Itchan Kala while locals mainly use the northern and southern gates to enter the city. Inside, most architectural monuments are aligned along the axis between the eastern and western gates together with shops and stalls for merchants. The northern and southern parts of Itchan Kala are mostly occupied by residential buildings, intermingled with an increasing number of hotels and restaurants (see Figure 22). Domestic architecture is an important attribute of the World Heritage property. The typical residential houses are closely attached to each other with modest mud walls facing the streets and shielding the life inside the green courtyards and private rooms from the public sphere. Windows are traditionally opening into the private courtyards where wide *aivans* (porches) supported by wooden columns catch the winds for a cooling effect (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). Today, unfortunately, many traditional houses have been replaced or overhauled and equipped with outside windows and balconies to meet the demands of Western tourists whom they serve as hotels, guest houses or restaurants.

One of the most important landmarks of Khiva is Kalta Minor, the wide but unfinished minaret of Muhammad Amin Khan Madrasah. The blue-tiled stub was supposed to become the largest minaret in Central Asia but it was never finished (Yagodin & Betts 2009, 25). Muhammad Amin Khan Madrasah was built in the 1850s and converted into a hotel in the 1990s (Lane & Lewcock 1996, 40). It is one of the city's most attractive

accommodations. Right opposite lies the Old Citadel (*Kunya Ark*), the fortress and residence of the Khans of Khiva from the seventeenth century onwards (Yagodin & Betts 2009, 25). Another famous building is Khiva's *Juma Mosque* (Friday Mosque). Its vast hall with a timber roof is supported by over two hundred carved wooden columns, some of which date back to the original tenth century building (Yagodin & Betts 2009, 27). The nearby *Islam Khodja Madrasah*, built in the early twentieth century, is one of the last major architectural accomplishments of Central Asia's Islamic era. Its minaret, decorated with baked bricks and glazed tiles, is Khiva's tallest structure (45 metres) (*ibid.*).

These examples just give a quick impression of the rich architectural heritage of Itchan Kala that has more than 40 listed monuments. The focus of this thesis, however, should not be (only) on the World Heritage property and much less on the architectural monuments within it. Itchan Kala has a large number of residential houses that are part of the heritage property and that are crucial for the site's OUV as well as its authenticity (as defined in the SOUV of the World Heritage property). The territory of Dishan Kala is the historical



Figure 22: Itchan Kala and some of its most important architectural monuments. Source: Author's own figure, based on superwien 2019, S. Mayr, April 2019, author's own photographs, April 2019.

setting of the World Heritage property, the connecting link and transition zone towards the modern city. It is therefore, that it was proposed as the site's buffer zone. With respect to the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, the developments in this area, as well as in the rest of the city need to be reconciled with the development of the World Heritage property itself. It is therefore important, to take a closer look at recent urban development outside of Itchan Kala, and especially in the transition zone of Dishan Kala.

RECENT URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN KHIVA

In Uzbekistan, urban development is guided by master plans that are developed by a central urban planning and design institute in Tashkent (*Uzshakharsozlik LITI*) and approved by the Cabinet of Ministers. Regional and local governments and their Departments of Architecture participate in the planning process and are responsible for the implementation of the resulting plans (cf. UNECE 2015). Master plans have a time horizon of 25 years with a focus on the first phase of construction. They are subject to revision ten years after their adoption (ibid., 55). The current master plan of Khiva was issued in 2013 (Cabinet of Ministers of the RoU 2013). Based on demographic and economic forecasts, it sets goals for the development of housing stock, commercial areas, industrial zones, as well as social and technical infrastructure. The master plan also structures the city into three major zones: Itchan Kala, which is under full protection and every change in the urban structure needs special permission; Dishan Kala, which is characterized as a transition zone in which development and economic activities are regulated according to a Project of Detailed Planning (PDP) that was developed separately; and the rest of the city, which shall be developed according to the principles laid out in the master plan (ibid., art. 6). As regards to the development of the central area, the master plan sees its main functions being of historical, touristic and administrative nature. Inadequate uses should move out and be replaced by tourist facilities, as well as expansion of visual pedestrian links and landscaping (ibid.). While the written resolution on the master plan is available to the public, the detailed set of documents including the actual map that specifies the location of proposed interventions is strictly confidential.

In early 2017, president Mirziyoyev issued a Decree about the *Programme for the Comprehensive Development of the Tourist Potential of Khiva and the Khorezm Region for 2017-2021*. The aim of the programme is to double the number of tourists visiting Khiva until 2021 (Mirziyoyev 2017b, art. 1). The measures described in the programme include the construction of a railway line and station in the city, increase of the number of hotels and touristic activities, as well as improved training for touristic staff (ibid.). The decree also requires the *Khokimiyat* of the Khorezm region (regional government), together with the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee for Architecture and Construction, and other interested stakeholders to develop a new PDP for the central area of Khiva "providing for a complex of preservation and conservation works with the aim of transforming the city of Khiva, the territory around and inside the Ichan Kala complex, into a world-class tourist centre" (ibid., art. 3). The PDP should be developed and submitted within only three months (ibid.).



Figure 23: Part of the current PDP for Dishan Kala. Source: ICOMOS 2018, 69, author's own translation.

The PDP that was developed for Dishan Kala as a result of this decree provides for some radical changes in the area (see Figure 23). It proposes the major reconstruction of the transport network, engineering infrastructures, residential areas, the bazaar area and Nurullabai Park (ICOMOS 2018, 4). The demolition of large parts of residential areas within Dishan Kala and the creation of several new and wide roads that would totally restructure the urban fabric. In the east of Itchan Kala, a large new hotel complex is planned right next to the World Heritage property. In front of *Palvan Davorza* (the eastern gate), a large open square shall replace the former bazaar (see Figure 23). A wide pedestrian promenade is planned to connect Itchan Kala to the new railway station, passing through *Koy Davorza* (the remaining gate of Dishan Kala). The pedestrian axis will be lined with new buildings for hotels, shops, restaurants and other commercial uses aimed mainly at tourists (ICOMOS 2018, 4, 69). North of the pedestrian axis, the PDP proposes a large new park, shopping centre and parking spaces (see Figure 23). Residential areas adjacent to the wall of Itchan Kala shall be demolished and rebuilt in line with the new structure established through straightened and widened roads. According to other maps and models of the project, the PDP also provides for the development of two large historical theme parks in the western area of Dishan Kala, that would replace existing residential areas and agricultural lands. Some documents even suggest the reconstruction of large parts of the outer wall. A Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) for the PDP was conducted in 2017 and reviewed by ICOMOS (ICOMOS 2018, 8). However, ICOMOS could not agree with the positive conclusions of the assessment and suggested the invitation of an Advisory Mission to visit the property and to assess the ongoing transformations in the designated buffer zone (ibid.). The Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan followed this advice and the Advisory Mission was conducted in April 2018.

The PDP, has been undergoing rapid realization since mid-2017 and some irreversible changes had already taken place when the Advisory Mission was conducted (ICOMOS 2018, 4). The first large scale demolitions were undertaken in Khiva already in 2013. At that time, the city was struggling with termite infestation that had increasingly affected the historical buildings in the central area. While different measures were taken to protect the valuable wooden columns of Juma Mosque and other historical buildings in Itchan Kala, the same measures seemed too costly for the residential quarters affected (Shukepina 2013). Starting from 2013, more than 400 infected buildings in Mevaston, Yangi Turmush and Itchan Kala were demolished. In Mevaston, an area of about 7 hectares was cleared, in Yangi Turmush it was about half the size (see Figure 24). Additionally, up to 2016, a 25-meter wide aisle was cut into the urban fabric of Kaptarkhona mahalla. Considering the shape and width it is likely that these demolitions were not related to termite infections but rather to the plans of creating a new road in this area that must have been proposed already in the previous PDP. In 2017, the railway station was built, followed by demolitions along the axis towards Itchan Kala in order to create the new pedestrian promenade with accompanying hotels and other commercial buildings. At that time, market activities in front of *Palvan Davorza* had already been halted and in 2018 the bazaar buildings were removed. Landscaping of the new park and construction of the big shopping mall had already started too.

2013
2016
2018



Today, the railway station and some of the new hotels are already fully functional. A 'Presidential School' was built adjacent to the park and is in operation since 2019. About half of the pedestrian promenade has been completed and Koy Darvoza has been carefully restored. Following the 2018 ICOMOS Advisory Mission, however, most construction works were stopped. The report by ICOMOS expert Natalia Turekulova criticizes the PDP for bringing further "disintegration of the historical urban fabric and morphology" (ICOMOS 2018, 22). Turekulova recommended to revise the PDP on the basis of thorough archaeological and architectural research and with the involvement of international experts (ibid., 20). Following these recommendations, in 2020 Cristina Iamandi, architect and heritage conservation expert, was assigned to develop a new PDP in close cooperation with the Khokimiyats of Khiva and Khorezm, as well as Madaniy Meros LITI, the architectural agency responsible for cultural heritage in Tashkent (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). Work is currently ongoing but with Iamandi, who fully supports the conclusions of the ICOMOS report, it seems that the new PDP will take a more sensible approach towards the transformation of the historic urban landscape.

Beside the drastic changes in Dishan Kala related to the 2017 PDP, some transformations were also noticeable over the last years within the boundaries of the World Heritage property itself. In contrast to the surrounding area, changes in Itchan Kala happen through renovation and replacement (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). On the one hand, there are improper renovation and improvement works done by residents in order to upgrade their own houses and increase the standard of living (Vileikis et al. 2017, 311). While some of these works are undoubtedly necessary, better guidance by local authorities could support the use of traditional building techniques and authentic materials for adequate maintenance (ibid.). Another issue is the reuse of historical buildings for different purposes. This is generally a positive practice, since historical buildings that are in use are normally better preserved. Several madrasahs in Itchan Kala, for example, are being used as hotels which is considered an adequate type of use for the typology as long as renovations are done in an authentic and sustainable way (Iamandi 2021b). In other cases, however, the typical courtyards of madrasahs have been covered in order to use them as restaurants, thereby changing the structure of the building (ibid.).

Additionally, over the last years, an increasing number of private houses have been turned into or replaced by guest houses and hotels (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). Besides the reduction of population living in Itchan Kala associated with this development, the transformation to hotels often goes along with a change of typologies. Guest houses tend to adapt a more 'western' style with windows and verandas facing the streets or steps at the entrance which does not match with the traditional architecture of the World Heritage site (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). All these examples demonstrate the constant process of negotiation between the needs of residents, the development of tourism and the imperative of conservation. At the moment there is a clear imbalance to the disadvantage of the local population in this negotiation process. While architectural monuments are generally well preserved, the value of domestic architecture and the traditional urban fabric is not appreciated.

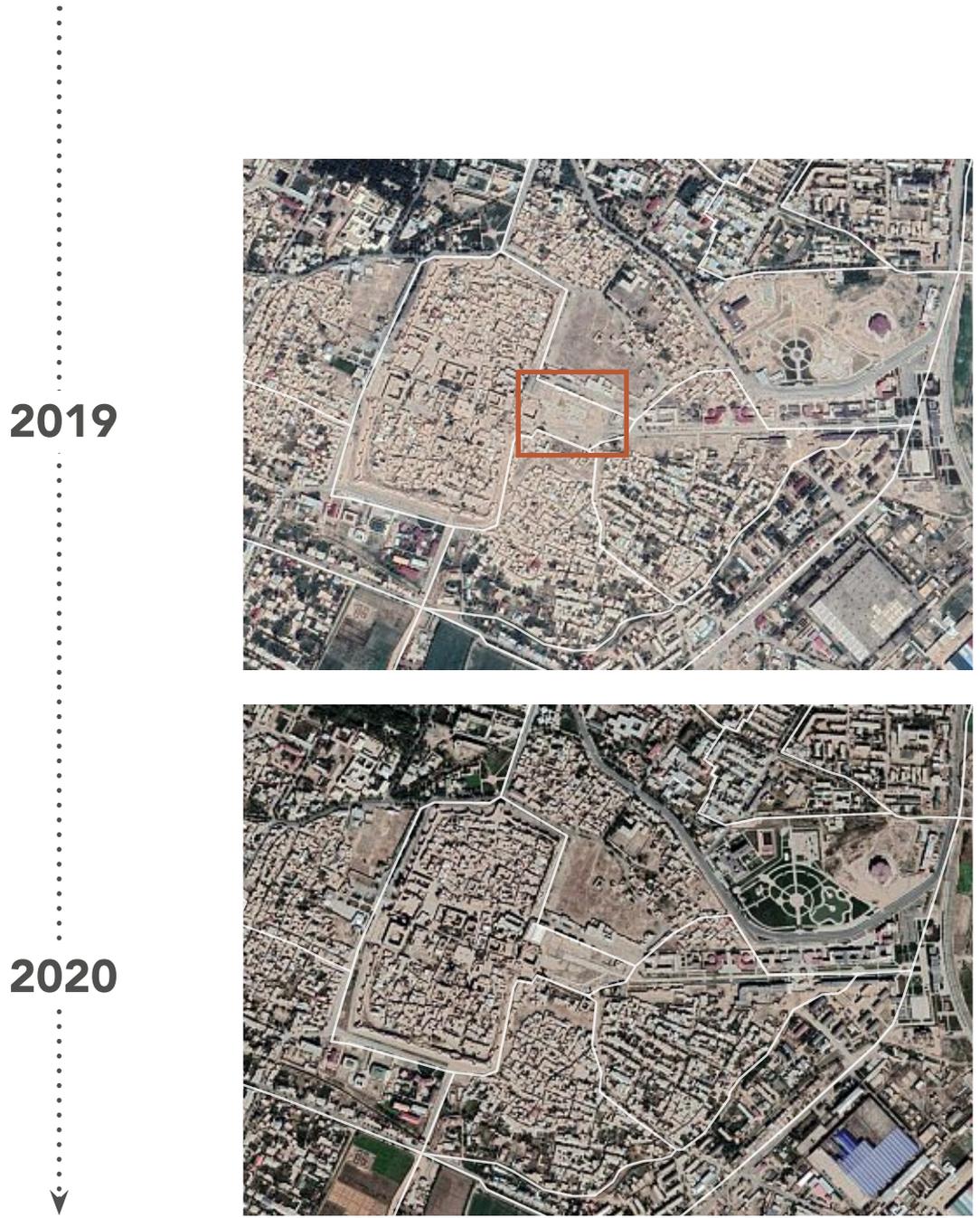


Figure 24: Chronology of demolitions in Dishan Kala, 2010-2020. Source: Author's own figure, based on Google Earth 2021.

ITCHAN KALA AS WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY

When Itchan Kala was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1990, the World Heritage system of inscription and monitoring was not as evolved as it is today. Since 2007, however, all proposals for inscription need to include a Statement on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, as well as a full-fledged management plan.

In 2010/2011, along with the second cycle of Periodic Reporting, a retrospective Statement of OUV and clarification of boundaries was submitted for Itchan Kala and adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2013. According to this statement, the outstanding qualities of Itchan Kala “derive not so much from the individual monuments but also from the incomparable urban composition of the city, and from the harmony with which the major constructions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were integrated into a traditional structure” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d). The Outstanding Universal Value of Itchan Kala was justified on the basis of three criteria:

Criterion (iii): With the coherent and well preserved urban ensemble of the inner town of Khiva, Itchan Kala bears exceptional testimony to the lost civilizations of Khorezm.

Criterion (iv): Several monuments of Itchan Kala constitute remarkable and unique types of architectural ensembles, built according to the ancient traditions of Central Asia, which illustrate the development of Islamic architecture between the 14th to the 19th century.

Criterion (v): The domestic architecture of Khiva, with traditional architectural style, represents an important example of human settlements in Central Asia by virtue of its design and construction (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d).

According to the statement, the property includes all elements that express its OUV and restorations have been carried out respecting traditional building techniques and the use of traditional materials, which expresses the integrity and authenticity of the World Heritage property (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992-2021d).

The World Heritage Committee has repeatedly urged the Republic of Uzbekistan to also elaborate management plans for its properties inscribed on the World Heritage List. In 2013, the work on the development of a management plan for the historic centre of Khiva was launched with financial support of the Ministry of Culture (MoC) of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and the UNESCO Office in Tashkent through the Regular Programme *Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, and World Heritage International Assistance (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 4f.). The development process included a thorough analysis through a field survey and interviews with local residents that were incorporated into a Geographical Information System (GIS) on Itchan Kala. There was an assessment of the current legal and management framework and identification of gaps and weaknesses. The objectives, recommendations and action plan of the management plan were developed within several consultation meetings with a broad range of local and regional stakeholders (ibid., 12f.). The *Integrated Management Plan 2017-2022 for Itchan Kala* was finished in 2017 but never officially submitted to the World Heritage Committee or approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan (see also chapter 4.3).

One of the recommendations from the management plan, however, was brought forward. In 2016, the Republic of Uzbekistan proposed the implementation of a buffer zone of 282 hectares corresponding to the area of Dishan Kala, along with a minor modification of the property boundary itself (see Figure 25). Even though Dishan Kala is a relatively more modern town, it contains some nineteenth century buildings of heritage significance, including remaining segments of the wall and three gates. Most residential buildings of Dishan Kala are no taller than two storeys and many demonstrate traditional mud brick and wood construction. It was considered that the proposed buffer zone would “help to protect the Outstanding Universal Value of Itchan Kala through control of urban development, while also providing for the heritage conservation of the important elements of Dishan Kala itself” (ICOMOS 2016, 12). However, ICOMOS recommended to refer the proposal back to the State Party because there were no clear management measures described that would regulate the protection of the buffer zone (ibid.). ICOMOS recommended to clarify the management arrangements and to establish specific

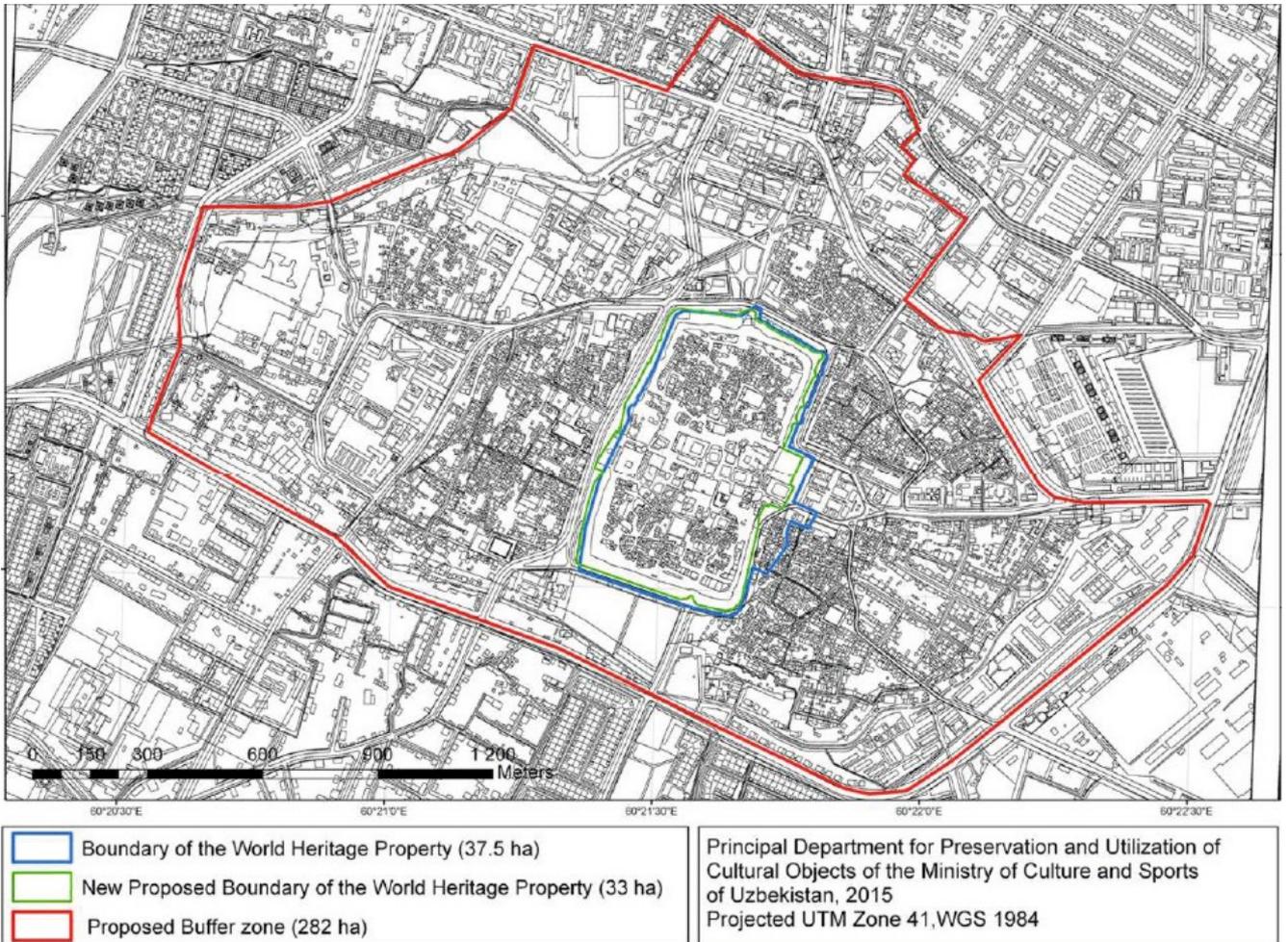


Figure 25: Proposed change of property boundary and buffer zone. Source: ICOMOS 2016, 13a.

protective policies and mechanisms to ensure that “the OUV of this property is given primary importance in urban development approvals within the buffer zone” (ibid., 13).

It is difficult to say if the acceptance of the proposed buffer zone in 2016 might have helped to prevent the developments that followed within the area in 2017. With no specific regulations proposed for the zone, other than the requirement for a PDP as stated in the city’s master plan, the outcome might have been just the same. And even with no buffer zone officially in place, apparently an HIA was conducted for the PDP and the World Heritage Centre was informed about the plans for the area. However, with urban development in Uzbekistan moving so fast due to President Mirziyoyev’s ambitious reform program, UNESCO did not have time to react. When the ICOMOS Advisory Mission arrived to Khiva in 2018, irreversible damage had already been done to the designated buffer zone.

Following the developments in Dishan Kala, but also some unauthorised construction works within Itchan Kala, the World Heritage Centre addressed a letter to the Permanent Delegation of Uzbekistan to UNESCO to request a State of Conservation Report for Itchan Kala (Itchan Kala Museum Reserve et al. 2020, 1). The State Party was required to provide information on the progress of the management framework, planned developments in technical and tourist infrastructure, as well as on the recommendations of the 2018 ICOMOS Advisory Mission (ibid.). The State of Conservation Report promises fundamental improvements in the management of Itchan Kala with a management plan that is supposedly being submitted to the World Heritage Centre very soon and the establishment of various new institutional management mechanisms (ibid., 2, 5). It also ensures that all demolition and construction works in Dishan Kala are halted until the new PDP will be finished and provide detailed regulations for the designated buffer zone (ibid., 3). On top of the new PDP, a new master plan is said to be in preparation and both documents will adopt “the innovative approach and principles of the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape” (ibid.).

4.3 Towards Sustainable Heritage Management in Khiva

In order to fully understand the current developments as regards to heritage conservation and management in Khiva, I conducted a thorough analysis of important key documents, namely the 2017 *Draft Integrated Management Plan*, the 2018 *Report on the ICOMOS Advisory Mission to Itchan Kala*, and the 2020 *State of Conservation Report*. Additionally, some scientific publications on the development of the management plans for Khiva and Bukhara, as well as legislative texts from the Uzbek legal information system were studied. Furthermore, I conducted nine interviews with national and international experts who are (or were) involved in the development of a more sustainable heritage management in Khiva. The information such gathered was clustered around the major topics that emerged and will be presented in this chapter.

STAKEHOLDERS AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Heritage conservation and management normally includes a large number of different stakeholders from the local, national and international levels that have different roles and tasks in each management system depending on the established institutional framework as well as available expertise. Figure 26 tries to map out the complex network of stakeholders that are involved in heritage management in Khiva. The stakeholders active on the international, national, regional and local levels can be assigned to three categories: Uzbek authorities, UNESCO, or academia and experts.

In Uzbekistan, the Ministry of Culture is the main entity responsible for all issues related to the national tangible and intangible heritage. Within the ministry there are three departments that deal with different aspects of heritage management. The Department for UNESCO and International Relations monitors the implementation of the provisions of existing international treaties, like the World Heritage Convention, promotes cultural exchange with foreign countries and facilitates cooperation with international cultural institutions (Ministry of Culture 2005-2021). The department has been established only a few years ago (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020), which demonstrates the increased effort on the side of the Uzbek government to improve communication with UNESCO especially since Shakhrisyabz was put on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2016.

The Department of Cultural Heritage (formerly known as Board of Monuments) under the Ministry of Culture is the main body in charge of heritage management and protection, with local branches all over the country. The Khorezm Regional Inspection is responsible for the preservation of all listed heritage properties within Khorezm, including those in Itchan Kala (ICOMOS 2016, 12). However, since only the monuments are listed and therefore protected under Uzbek law, the Inspection is not officially responsible for preservation of the residential houses within Itchan Kala (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). In order to improve management of the World Heritage property as a whole, the Itchan Kala World Heritage Management Unit is planned to be installed within the Inspection (Itchan Kala Museum Reserve et al. 2020, 2). The Management Unit will be responsible for the implementation of the management plan, once it is in place (ibid., 5).

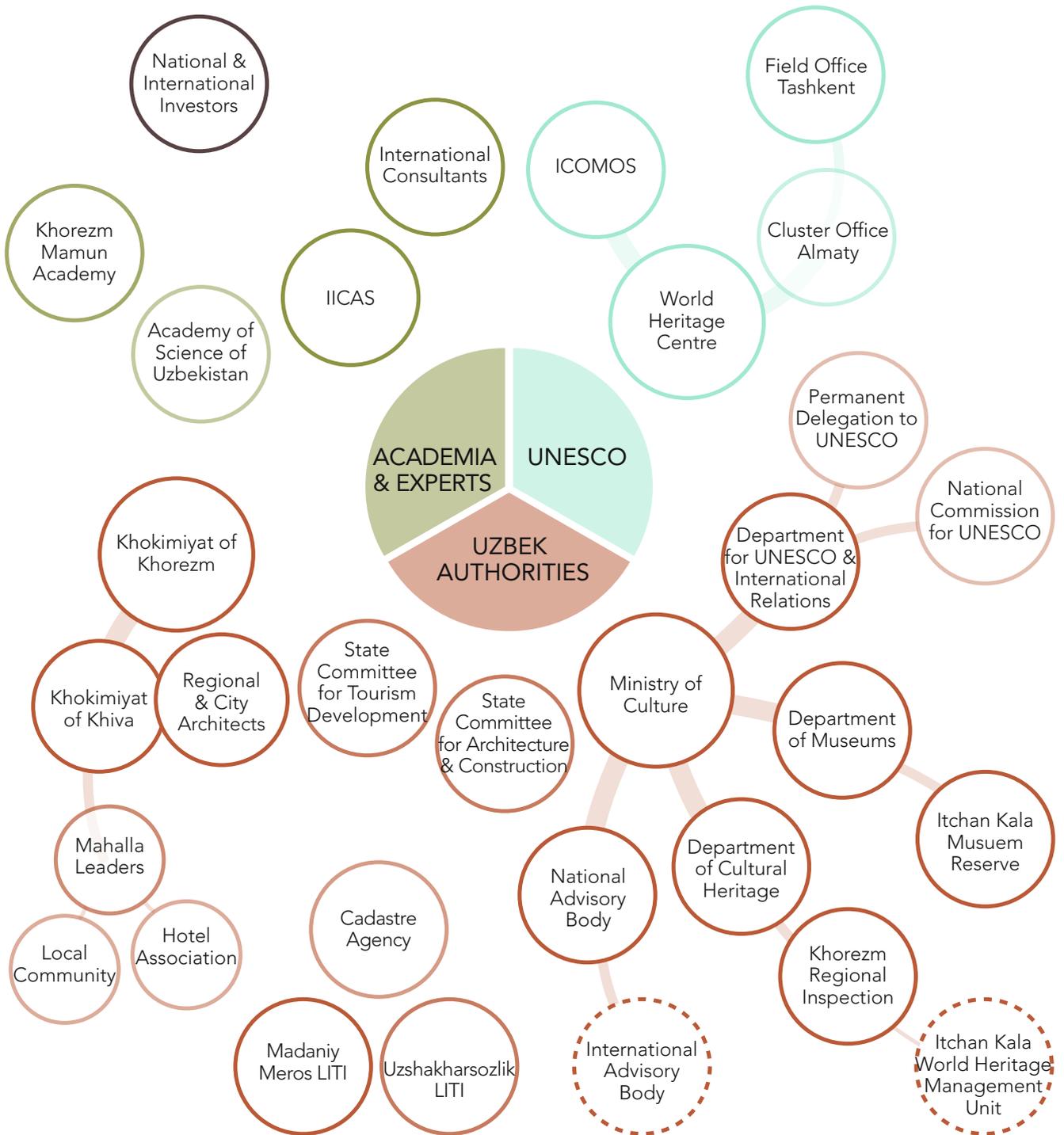


Figure 26: Stakeholder mapping of actors involved in heritage conservation and management in Khiva. Source: Author's own figure, based on MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 14, and interviews conducted with national and international experts.

The third department within the Ministry of Culture that deals with heritage management is the Department of Museums and Libraries. Since it is responsible for the development and management of all museums in Uzbekistan, it also has a local branch in Khiva, the Itchan Kala Museum Reserve. Most architectural monuments in Itchan Kala are used as museums, and the Museum Reserve takes care of their administration and maintenance (N. Turekulova, personal interview, 12 January 2021). The Regional Inspection and the Museum Reserve are two important stakeholders working in Itchan Kala. However, both actors focus on the administration and preservation of individual monuments within the site rather than on the management of the property as a whole.

In addition to the mentioned administrative units, the Ministry of Culture has also established an independent scientific council, the National Advisory Body. Any conservation and construction project within a World Heritage property in Uzbekistan requires permission by this council. It consists of architects and heritage experts who provide consultation and recommendations to the assessed projects (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). Following a recommendation by the World Heritage Centre, the Ministry plans to install an International Advisory Body that would also comprise international experts in 2021 (ibid.).

For the implementation of approved construction or restoration projects in the context of historical monuments there is a specialized architectural studio in Tashkent called Madaniy Meros LITI. It has all the expertise and equipment to plan and implement heritage conservation projects (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). Madaniy Meros LITI is also involved when it comes to planning and development within the wider context of the heritage site, like in Dishan Kala, the designated buffer zone. Furthermore, such projects should also include the State Committee for Architecture and Construction (GKAS), the Cadastre Agency and Uzshakharsozlik LITI, the urban planning and design institute. Uzshakharsozlik LITI is the state-owned agency responsible for the development of master plans for all cities in Uzbekistan (except Tashkent). It also plays an important role in the revitalization and development of historic cities. In recent years, the cooperation between Uzshakharsozlik LITI and heritage experts has intensified and the approach to master planning has become more sustainable and more sensitive towards issues of heritage conservation (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020).

On the regional and local level, the Khokimiyats of Khorezm and of Khiva are responsible for the coordination and management of all activities related to planning and implementation of heritage conservation and construction projects. The local authorities are very important because they also initiate most of the construction projects (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). Even though there have been some problematic developments in Khiva over the last years (see chapter 4.2), the local authorities are eager to protect their heritage and to comply with UNESCO directives (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). Despite their good will there are also other pressures and instructions from the national level they have to comply with, for example in the context of tourism development (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020). The regional and city architects are the most important local experts involved in planning processes.

The involvement of mahalla leaders in planning processes and decision-making in relation to heritage conservation and management is a relatively new development, but over the last years both, local authorities and mahalla representatives, have become used to this way of taking into consideration the opinion of the community (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). The mahalla leaders are considered to be the direct representatives of the families who live in their mahallas. Direct consultations with the community, as in public discussions or workshops are still highly unusual. However, if members of the community organize themselves, there is a chance that they are heard. In Khiva, for example, several hotel owners have formed an association that was invited to take part in the development of the Destination Management Plan (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020).

Another relevant stakeholder in this context is the State Committee for Tourism and Development and its regional branch in Khorezm. The State Committee coordinates all activities related to tourism development which has considerably shaped the management of Uzbek heritage sites over the last years. With the growth of the tourism industry being a major priority for economic development in Uzbekistan there is a certain tension between tourism development and the conservation of cultural heritage that becomes palpable in a lower priority of decisions taken by the Ministry of Culture (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020).

On behalf of UNESCO, the World Heritage Centre is the international counterpart when it comes to questions of heritage conservation. Officially, all construction and conservation projects within a World Heritage property in Uzbekistan should get permission from the World Heritage Centre before implementation. ICOMOS is the Advisory Body that usually conducts the assessment of such projects. Uzbekistan currently has no ICOMOS National Committee but several national heritage experts are members of ICOMOS International and the process of establishing a National Committee is ongoing (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020).

On the national level, the UNESCO Field Office in Tashkent supports the Government of Uzbekistan with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Over the last years, the Office has been working closely with the Ministry of Culture in building capacities and providing technical advice (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). The Cluster Office in Almaty works as an intermediary, steering regional processes and coordinating cooperation in UNESCO matters within Central Asia (for a more detailed description of UNESCO agencies active in Uzbekistan, see chapter 4.1).

In the category of academia and experts, the International Institute for Central Asian Studies (IICAS) is an important international player. The institute was established in Samarkand in 1995 as a result of the UNESCO Decade dedicated to the Silk Roads. Ever since, IICAS conducts research on cultural, political and scientific matters related to Central Asia bridging researchers across the region (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020). IICAS is also the main independent body conducting Heritage Impact Assessments in Uzbekistan (Itchan Kala Museum Reserve et al. 2020, 4f.).

On the national level, the Department of Architecture of the Academy of Science of Uzbekistan, located in Tashkent, has specialists on conservation of architectural heritage. On the regional level, the Khorezm Mamun Academy seeks to build on the achievements of the old Islamic scholars and conducts research in the fields of archaeology, history and philosophy, language and literature, as well as biology (Khorezm Mamun Academy 2020). Mamun Academy works closely with the Itchan Kala Museum Reserve and archaeological specialists from the institution are involved in all matters of heritage conservation in Khiva (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). Further development of the existing scientific institutions in the field of heritage conservation is important because as of today there are only few local experts in Uzbekistan who really understand how to deal with architectural and urban cultural heritage (N. Turekulova, personal interview, 12 January 2021).

Last but not least, there is a group of stakeholders that is normally not directly involved in heritage conservation and management but definitely has a major impact on urban development and its effects on urban heritage. National and international investors from private enterprises to international development banks are increasingly interested in Uzbekistan. There is a lot of investment activity in Khiva as can be seen from the many touristic projects proposed and partially already implemented in the eastern area of Dishan Kala. Furthermore, various international donor agencies are implementing projects in the city.

When it comes to the qualification of stakeholders involved in heritage conservation and management, and more specifically to their knowledge of and capability to implement the Historic Urban Landscape approach there is still some room for improvement in Uzbekistan. Besides the lack of experts in academia and consulting mentioned above, many people working in heritage administration have no background or training in heritage conservation at all (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020).

In 2016, the World Heritage Centre financed a project in Uzbekistan aimed at building local capacities in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). International experts were invited for training sessions with the local authorities in Bukhara, Khiva and Samarkand (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). A broad range of stakeholders participated in the capacity building activity: national, regional and local heritage authorities, the urban planning agencies, civil society organizations, as well as specialists in the field of cultural heritage preservation (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). The sessions covered the cornerstones of the World Heritage system before introducing the Historic Urban Landscape approach (ibid.).

As a result of these capacity building activities, planners and architects of Uzshakharsozlik LITI take a more integrated approach when it comes to the elaboration of master plans for historical cities (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). They are aware of the requirements of the World Heritage Convention and the Historic Urban Landscape approach, and they integrate heritage issues in their planning processes (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020). Unfortunately, this is not the case for most

national, regional and local authorities in the heritage sector. Due to the massive shift of personnel that took place since President Mirziyoyev came into office, there is hardly anybody left who attended the training sessions. From the Ministry of Culture and the Department of Cultural Heritage down to the Regional Inspection and the Khokimiyats most people have been replaced at least once since 2016 (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). These rotations are not only happening with a change of president, but are a common problem in the country: “it’s usually how it works in Uzbekistan: we train some people and then these people disappear” (ibid.). The UNESCO Office in Tashkent tries to cope with this recurring loss of institutional memory by providing electronic guidelines about the World Heritage Convention and the Historic Urban Landscape approach because there are simply not enough resources to do capacity building over and over again (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020).

Another challenge in Uzbekistan is a lack of communication between stakeholders from different institutions and different administrative levels (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). The UNESCO Office in Tashkent laments the poor communication with the Uzbek authorities, where they sometimes learn about activities happening in the country from the World Heritage Centre in Paris rather than from the local counterparts (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). At the same time, interagency communication and cooperation among governmental entities in the context of heritage management also seem to be deficient: “having people from tourism, from the architectural department as I said, all this list of different authorities all together sitting and discussing never happened before” (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). Last but not least, direct communication between public authorities and the civil population is still hard to establish. Several national and international experts, as well as my own experience confirmed that it is quite difficult to get in touch with Uzbek authorities when one is not on-site or can produce any official letters.

THE MANAGEMENT PLAN

The capacity building activities mentioned above were carried out within the framework of the development of management plans for the World Heritage properties in Bukhara, Samarkand and Khiva. The management plans were supposed to become integral parts of the local master plans and “serve as a solid framework for the authorities to protect and preserve the Outstanding Universal Values of the [World Heritage] properties, to develop sustainable tourism and boost the economic and social wellbeing of the communities” (Pikkat 2017, 4). For Itchan Kala, the work process was launched in 2013, intensified in 2015 with a thorough survey of Itchan Kala and concluded in 2017, when the draft of the *Integrated Management Plan for Itchan Kala 2017-2022* was presented.

The Department of Cultural Heritage (at that time still called Board of Monuments) under the Ministry of Culture with support from the UNESCO Office in Tashkent and international experts gathered and updated background information for the preparation of the Integrated Management Plan for Itchan Kala (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 12). The local stakeholders involved included representatives of the Khorezm Regional Inspection, Itchan Kala Museum Reserve, Mamun Academy, Khokimiyat of

Khiva and the concerned mahallas (ibid., 13). From the national level, representatives of the Department of Cultural Heritage, State Committee on Development of Tourism as well as of Uzshakharsozlik LITI attended the meetings and supported the process (ibid., O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). The UNESCO consultants supporting the process were Ona Vileikis and her local partner Sukhrob Babaev (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 13).

An important baseline was created with the field survey that was conducted during the summer of 2015 with support of international and local universities and a large number of volunteers (ibid., 5). A systematic and complete digital database of the historic buildings and dwellings of Itchan Kala did not exist up to that point but was considered an important baseline for the development of the management plan, especially in the light of ongoing transformations of the urban structure due to improvements of comfort and infrastructure under a lack of legal protective policies, guidance from authorities and awareness of the residents about the value of their houses and adequate techniques for conservation and maintenance (Vileikis et al. 2017, 311). The methodology applied for the survey of Itchan Kala therefore had a twofold purpose: beside data acquisition it also aimed to promote heritage awareness among the local community (ibid., 317).

The survey was conducted by multidisciplinary, multi-cultural and interinstitutional teams, with at least two local volunteers in each group for communication in the local language (Vileikis et al. 2017, 313). All teams were equipped with basic survey tools, such as laser distant measurers and digital cameras, as well as assessment forms that included questions on the general condition of the building, artistic, historic, social and scientific aspects of the building ('Nara Grid'), as well as on socio-economic aspects of the residents, like size and composition of the household, number of people working, and information about maintenance (ibid., 313f.). The teams spent about 15 to 20 minutes in each house, taking pictures and measurements, drawing floorplans and filling out the questionnaires with the residents (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). "[T]he important thing was to [...] literally knock on everyone's door, and understand their needs, talk to them, hear their stories, and also see the city as a city and not as a compilation of monuments, because this is not what a city is about", said Ona Vileikis who was the international expert in charge of the process (ibid.). Measurements were taken of the facades, the width of the roads and the interior of the houses; photos were taken from inside and outside of the houses (Vileikis et al. 2017, 313). The main interest of the survey was not on the monuments which are listed and protected, but on the residential houses and the urban fabric. All elements were considered: empty spaces, squares, *khavuzes* (pools), water channels, roads, walls and buildings. "So, the idea was to map everything, because everything has a value" (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). In Itchan Kala, a total of 381 buildings were documented, out of which 297 were fully surveyed (Vileikis et al. 2017, 315). On top of the survey conducted of Itchan Kala, Dishan Kala was also mapped and thoroughly documented through photographs. The aim was to identify land uses, building heights, green and open areas, as well as architectural assets related to the historic core area (ibid., 316). All the data collected was fed into a Geographical Information System (GIS). GIS has the advantage that different kind of data sets, like photos, locations, or written information, can be integrated into one database that is easy

to handle and can produce analytical maps. Thematic maps were created that visualized the data from the survey questionnaires and gave a good overview of the distribution of certain features and problems in the city (ibid.). This systematic assessment and its 'participative' approach suggest first steps towards the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva, even though not explicitly labelled as such.

The results of the survey were presented to the authorities working on the management plan for information and discussion, along with an analysis of the legislative framework in place for heritage conservation and management in Uzbekistan at that time (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020; MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 12). In 2015 and 2016, the involved stakeholders meet for three consultation meetings moderated by the expert team. They discussed the information gathered from the survey and legislative research, and agreed on a vision as well as strategic objectives that would be the guiding principles for the management plan (ibid.). The results of the survey helped to identify conservation issues, clarify the boundary of the property and delineate a buffer zone for proposal (ibid.). On the basis of the analysis of laws and regulations, weaknesses and gaps were identified to develop recommendations for improvement.

The final draft of the *Integrated Management Plan for Itchan Kala 2017-2022* spells out a vision, clarifies about the aims of the document, introduces the World Heritage property, its OUV and attributes, proposes a buffer zone and clarification of boundaries, sets out the analysis of the legal framework, presents a conservation approach, names key management issues, challenges and objectives, and presents a detailed action plan to be followed over the upcoming six years (cf. MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017). Some of the key contents of the management plan shall be briefly presented.

According to the vision, Itchan Kala will retain its tangible and intangible values with "a composition of urban fabric, monuments, and domestic architecture spanned over two millennia" (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 10). While the cultural heritage will be preserved, the quality of life for residents will be improved, and excellent facilities will be offered to visitors (ibid.). Itchan Kala is envisioned as a centre of national handicraft and community-based, ethno-cultural tourism (ibid.).

The management plan recites the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value and enriches it by the identification of tangible and intangible attributes that express this OUV and are therefore at the centre of the conservation measures (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 17ff.). The attributes include, for example, the defensive walls, the ancient urban layout, historic residential houses and Islamic monuments, but also Itchan Kala's character as a centre of education and social life, its contribution to trade and economy in the region and the traditional family and mahalla structures that are still present today (ibid., 20). The document also mentions values and attributes of Dishan Kala, like the presence of open and green spaces, the khavuzes, gates and remaining wall segments, Nurallaboy palace and the Khorezm Mamun Academy (ibid., 21).

The conservation approach integrated in the management plan comprises some general principles for conservation within the World Heritage property that apply to the urban landscape with all its layers. The management plan specifies the urban landscape of

Itchan Kala as “including the mahallas, its houses, the main monuments, and traditional water systems; and reflecting its cultural diversity and traditions” (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 25). The general principles refer to some technical standards like minimal intervention, compatibility of changes, the use of traditional materials and techniques, as well as proper documentation of the existing fabric and its changes, all of which should comply with international standards (ibid., 25f.). Beyond that, they also stress the importance of transparent communication with the community and other stakeholders involved, the need to maintain the monuments and dwellings in use, as well as to improve quality of life (e.g. through providing infrastructure and access) without a negative impact on the historic urban fabric, and other factors related to the socio-economic development of Itchan Kala (ibid. 26f.). In Annex D and E of the document, the plan sets out detailed instructions for the conservation works required on all protected monuments within the property, as well as clear rules for any repairs and alterations on the residential buildings (ibid., 78).

The identified key management issues and challenges were grouped under seven major topics (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 30ff.). Ten strategic objectives and 19 more specific goals were formulated (ibid., see Figure 27).

Based on these challenges and objectives, a detailed action plan for the next six years was elaborated. Implementation of this action plan relies on the full range of stakeholders involved in heritage conservation and management in Itchan Kala. The overall responsibility, however, rests with the Itchan Kala Museum Reserve and the Khorezm Regional Inspection who carry out and supervise most of the actions (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 35). The establishment of the Itchan Kala World Heritage Management Unit within the Regional Inspection is one of the high-priority actions of the plan (ibid., 58). When established, the Management Unit will take over responsibility for the implementation of the management plan. Some other high priority actions include the establishment for a clear procedure for Heritage Impact Assessments, the enforcement of strict regulations for new urban development projects, the implementation of the buffer zone including mechanisms for its regulation, the elaboration of a PDP for the central area of Khiva, the development of an inclusive interpretation strategy and communication plan, continued cooperation with the State Committee for the Development of Tourism, and the improvement of infrastructure like street lighting, water and gas supply in Itchan Kala (ibid., 36ff.). For the long term, the management plan also recommends the implementation of several financial tools, like public-private partnerships for the improvement of public space, fiscal incentives for private investments in the buffer zone, or low interest loans for investment in cultural resources (ibid., 45f.). The development of a Tourism Development Plan was defined as a medium-term action (ibid., 51).

The management plan was supposed to become an integrated part of the city’s master plan (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 43). Continuous monitoring of the activities and annual revision of the management plan were foreseen to be under the responsibility of the Regional Inspection as well (ibid., 35).

After the development of the management plan, the draft was handed to the Ministry of Culture in English and Uzbek (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020).

The next step would have been to get approval from the Cabinet of Ministers and then to send it to the World Heritage Centre for comments, but this never happened (ibid., O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). One reason may have been the change of government that took place just before the management plan was finished, another one, that the management plan is supposed to be part of the master plan, so the master plan needs to be redeveloped to incorporate the management plan (ibid.; S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). The UNESCO Tashkent Office raised the issue repeatedly

Management Plan

MANAGEMENT ISSUES	STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES
1. Ensure Conservation and Manage Change of Itchan Kala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Maintain architectural materials and the techniques that contribute to character ➔ Understand contribution, values, and vulnerabilities of individual structures and historic fabric ➔ Preserve the OUV ➔ Secure funding from multiple sources for sustainable conservation
2. Promote Communication and Understanding Itchan Kala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Improve the understanding of the World Heritage status and ensure local and intergovernmental communication
3. Sustain Tourism in Itchan Kala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Enhance the quality and diversity of tourism offered to visitors
4. Improve Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Improve living standards for the residents
5. Build Capacities in Itchan Kala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Offer comprehensive educational and training tools on World and National Heritage with access to all groups
6. Enable Communities of Itchan Kala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Enable communities in the management of the World Heritage property
7. Reinforce Management and Legislation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Reinforce the credibility of the World Heritage status with a strong management and legislation

Figure 27: Management issues and strategic objectives as defined in the 2017 draft for the Integrated Management Plan for Itchan Kala. Source: Author's own figure, based on MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 30ff.

with the local Khokimiyat and with the Ministry of Culture, recommending to update the draft management plan especially in regards to legislation and the developments in the buffer zone (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). The World Heritage Committee also requested the Government of Uzbekistan several times to establish an appropriate management system for its heritage sites (S. Allayarov, personal interview, 17 November 2020). According to the most recent State of Conservation Report an up-to-date draft management plan will be submitted to the World Heritage Centre soon (Itchan Kala Museum Reserve et al. 2020, 3). However, none of the interviewed experts had any information about this.

On the bright side, some of the actions from the management plan are already being implemented like, for example, the preparation of a new PDP or the elaboration of a Tourism Development Plan (more recently labelled as Destination Management Plan). Moreover, Heritage Impact Assessments have become mandatory for projects within the World Heritage property, and IICAS has been declared the main independent expert body for preparing them (Itchan Kala Museum Reserve et al. 2020, 5). The main national law on cultural heritage from 2001, the *Law on the Preservation and Utilization of Objects of Cultural Heritage*, is currently being revised with the assistance of UNESCO Tashkent Office and international experts (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). These are just some examples and there might be more items on the action plan that are already in the process of being implemented but since there is no monitoring in place there is no comprehensive overview of the progress made.

Even though the management plan has not come into force (yet), its development already had some positive impacts. The interdisciplinary and inter-agency approach that was applied was new for Uzbekistan. “I think it did make a change for the people who took part in the process, and I think that’s the most important part, the process rather than the result of these kind of works” said Ona Vileikis who managed and supported the development of the management plan (personal interview, 19 November 2020). The involvement of the community, through the survey and through participation of the mahalla leaders, helped to raise awareness about heritage conservation among the people and also gave them a voice in the process. According to Sanjar Allayarov from UNESCO Tashkent Office, “the government is keen to involve the community in all the processes of cultural heritage preservation, protection and management. But, nevertheless, there is no concrete mechanism on how to involve the local communities” (personal interview, 17 November 2020). The development of the management plan for Itchan Kala might have just tested and demonstrated a way for community involvement in Uzbekistan that could be an inspiration for other processes to come.

A NEW PROJECT OF DETAILED PLANNING FOR THE HISTORIC CENTRE

One of the actions proposed in the management plan that is currently being developed is the new PDP for the central area of Khiva. Following ICOMOS’ recommendations, the Ministry of Culture involved an international heritage expert in the planning process. Cristina Iamandi is currently responsible for coordinating the development of the new PDP with all stakeholders involved: the local and regional Khokimiyats, with their architects

being the most important counterparts in the process of developing and discussing ideas, Madaniy Meros LITI, the architectural studio from Tashkent that provides all the equipment and prepares the plans, the mahalla leaders, as well as the Cadastre Agency (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). Additionally, Iamandi initiated the involvement of a planner from Uzshakharsozlik LITI, the national agency responsible for the preparation of master plans (ibid.).

According to the State of Conservation Report, a new master plan for Khiva is also currently under preparation (Itchan Kala Museum Reserve et al. 2020, 3). This master plan should include the new PDP as well as the regulations it will provide for the buffer zone (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). Ideally, the new PDP and master plan would follow the recommendations of the draft management plan, so that the outcome would be a consistent set of planning and management documents for the development of Khiva and its World Heritage property. The buffer zone is expected to be approved by ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee once the regulations for Dishan Kala are established within the new PDP (ibid.).

The new PDP will cover the entire historic centre, with a focus on Dishan Kala and its physical transformation and development (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). The need for the new PDP arose after the 2018 ICOMOS Advisory Mission that led to a complete halt of the construction works that were implementing the former PDP which was proposing a complete rearrangement of the urban fabric and functions of Dishan Kala (see chapter 4.2). According to Cristina Iamandi, the new PDP will be following the Historic Urban Landscape approach (ibid.). The outline report that will express the specific approach for the development of the PDP is currently being prepared. The project proposals will be based on a thorough inventory of Dishan Kala, including historical, hydrological, social, architectural and morphological information. The findings will then be presented in thematic maps that will serve as a basis for discussion and elaboration of the integrated conservation and development plan (ibid.). Iamandi intends to define three zones within Dishan Kala: a historic area with strict regulations, a transitional area, and an area for new development.

The new PDP shall respect the traditional fabric of the city where it is still intact and restore it to a certain extent where possible. The old street network, for example, depicts a combination of narrow residential lanes and important connective axes. While the new pedestrian promenade picked up the important axis that used to connect Itchan Kala to Khazarasp, another ancient centre of the Silk Road, it completely cut it off by putting the new train station in its current position (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). The axis passes through one of the remaining gates of Dishan Kala, Koy Darwaza, that has been skilfully restored. Yet, the door is closed and visitors have to walk around instead of through the gate which completely dissociates the object from its purpose and leaves the onlooker at a loss in the absence of any context (ibid.; see Figure 28).

Another important issue that Iamandi aims to raise in the new PDP is the matter of the bazaar at Palvan Darwaza (the eastern gate of Itchan Kala). According to Peter Debrine from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in Paris, the destruction of the market was “one of the worst things that has happened there recently” (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10

December 2020). Even though the bazaar structure itself was neither of historical value nor in good shape it provided an important function to the community and was very popular with tourists too (ibid.). Moreover, the location had been used as a trading place for a very long time. According to some historical research, the first bazaar was created there right after the caravanserai was built in the early 1830s (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). However, the last PDP did not provide for a reestablishment of the bazaar and it seems that local authorities are rather opposed to the idea (ibid.).

A controversial project is being planned for the emptied space of Mevaston mahalla, just east of Itchan Kala. The plot has been promised to an investor who wants to realize a large hotel development covering almost the entire area of the former neighbourhood (see Figure 28). Different design proposals have been elaborated and rejected over the last three years (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). The latest proposal has been developed in parallel to a Heritage Impact Assessment conducted by ICOMOS expert Natalia Turekulova. The investors agreed to restore the morphology of the mahalla that was destroyed in this area, to keep the building volume as small as possible, and not to build higher than the walls of Itchan Kala (N. Turekulova, personal interview, 12 January

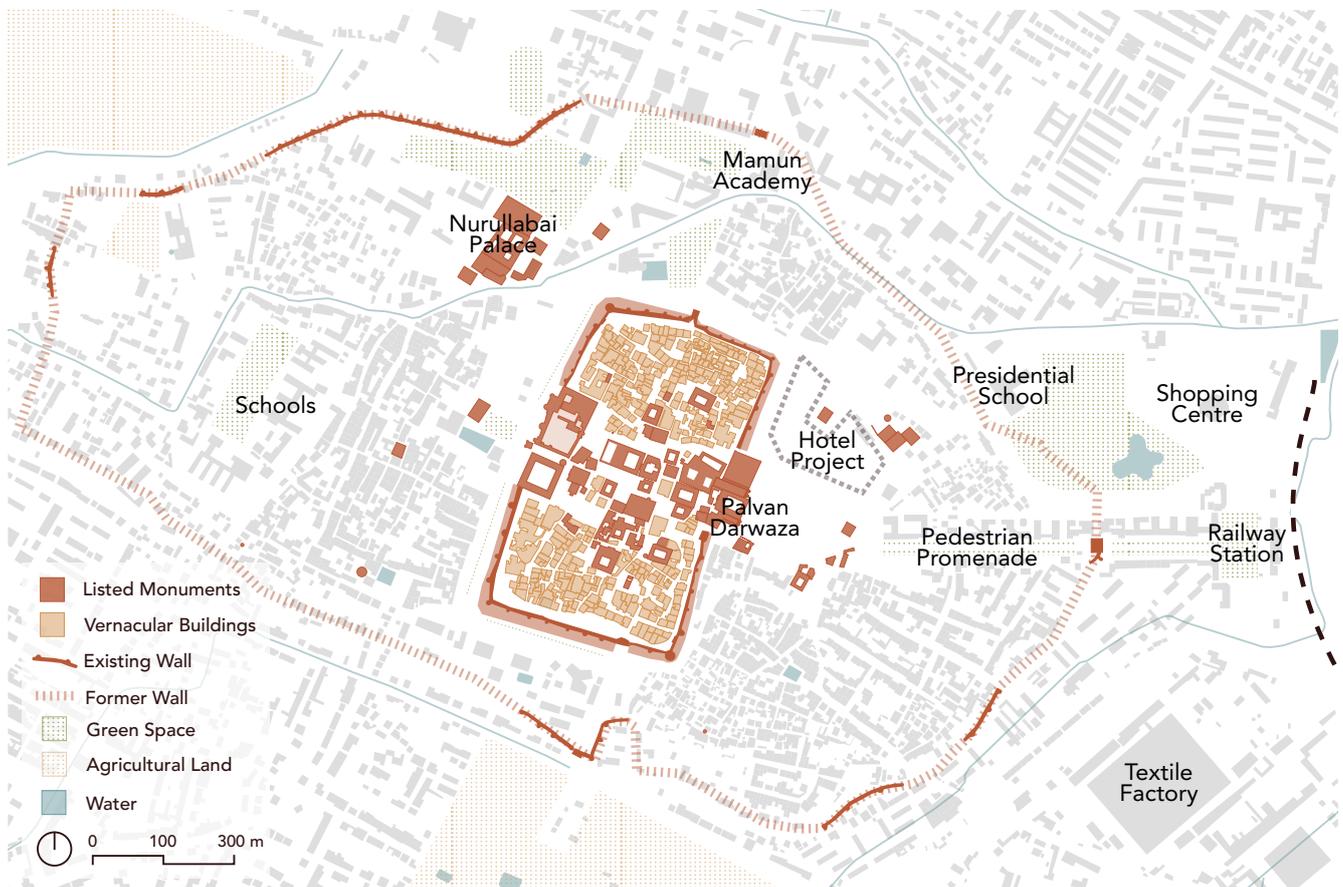


Figure 28: Itchan Kala and Dishan Kala with some landmarks for orientation. Source: Author's own figure, based on superwien 2019, Iamandi 2021a, Author's own observations.

2021). The design relies on the old network of roads and the typical structure of blocked houses with modest facades: “we tried to stop architects to use architectural elements from the Itchan Kala madrasahs, mosques and palaces” (ibid.). The main challenge was to find a balance between the needs of a hotel and the typical morphology of the place. The HIA was concluded and sent to UNESCO. Cristina Iamandi still sees several problems in the project design. Apart from its mono-functionality, buildings are still too high, especially around the madrasah that used to be the neighbourhood’s landmark and was saved from demolition: “Because the cupola was coming out of the fabric, it was like a landmark. Now it’s within, it’s swallowed by this development, you don’t see it anymore” (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). In general, Iamandi would like to see a more diverse development on the site, including residential and commercial areas, as well as craftsmen workshops (ibid.). She also criticized the tool of the HIA as such: “this is the weak point of the tool, the HIA of ICOMOS, because you are paid by the developer. I mean, if you are paid by that person, you cannot write a negative report” (ibid.).

In general, Iamandi describes the work on the PDP as rather difficult. The local authorities tend to stick to the ideas of the previous PDP and insist on the creation of an ‘ethno-park’ within Dishan Kala (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). The last location proposed for this project was on the site of the former bazaar, whereas Iamandi recommends a space next to the railway station, just outside the designated buffer zone (ibid.). At the same time there are external pressures, like the ones created by wealthy investors flocking into the city or the ambitious tourism development program by the government: “They want to do things also, I think, because they are pressed from political reasons. They have deadlines and they have to show” (ibid.).

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND DESTINATION MANAGEMENT

Another important management tool that has recently been developed for Khiva is the Destination Management Plan. Within the framework of the UNESCO project *Afghanistan, Central Asia and Iran – Common Heritage along the Silk Roads and corridors to and from Europe* launched in October 2018 with EU financial support, UNESCO Office Tashkent invited international experts on tourism development to work with the local stakeholders on the topic of sustainable tourism development (UNESCO 2019q). The Destination Management Plan (also referred to as Sustainable Tourism Strategy or Visitor Management Strategy) aims to guide the further development of tourism infrastructure (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020). Its elaboration for World Heritage cities is supported through the *World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme* at UNESCO that provides tools and strategies to help heritage management authorities better manage tourism in World Heritage destinations (ibid.). Peter Debrine is the coordinator of this programme and was also one of the experts involved in the project in Khiva. Tourism or destination management strategies are not mandatory tools for World Heritage properties but if applied, they should be well coordinated with or integrated into the management plan for the site (ibid.).

According to Peter Debrine, the Destination Management Plan for Khiva was developed in a bottom-up process that involved all local key stakeholders (personal interview, 10

December 2020). At the heart of the process was a two-day workshop in February 2020 with representatives of the Khokimiyat of Khiva, local heritage management authorities, the local hotel association, as well as a group of teachers who expressed their concerns about losing their town to tourists (ibid.). Support of the community is crucial, since the tool does not include any sort of enforcement mechanisms: the process is “really meant to be owned by the community to ensure that in the end things do get implemented” (ibid.). In the workshops they elaborated an overall vision for tourism development in Khiva and went through different components of what UNESCO would see as essential for sustainable tourism at the property (ibid.). The strategy takes a wholistic approach that considers the larger destination which includes Khiva and the surrounding area rather than only Itchan Kala itself. By setting out clear governance structures, a robust communication plan, and a consistent way of transmitting the OUV, the Destination Management Plan seeks to address the many challenges and pressures that tourism development in Khiva is confronted with.

Tourism has been promoted in Khiva since the Soviet times. Over the last few years, however, the dynamic of tourism development has considerably picked up due to the strong focus on tourism as a pillar of economic development by President Mirziyoyev. Besides the pressure from the government, an increasing number of national and international investors are seeking to become part of Khiva’s tourism industry and numerous international donor agencies are trying to influence the local development of tourism (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020). Therefore, development in the city was steered by planning and construction authorities and driven by investment activity until UNESCO decided to put a halt to it only recently (N. Turekulova, personal interview, 12 January 2021). So, while there are many resources available there is a lack of coordination and thorough planning for sustainable tourism development: “there is money around, but there is no coordination really of what is happening” (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020).

One of the major risks of uncontrolled tourism development is the loss of authenticity. The large-scale changes in Shakhrisyabz that led to it being set on the List of World Heritage in Danger, were a wake-up call for national and international heritage experts. Similar tendencies of damage through ‘beautification’ could already be observed in Khiva with the demolitions of entire neighbourhoods and hotel constructions going on in Dishan Kala over the last years. The creation of entertainment spaces based on heritage—as in the planned ethno-park—just adjacent to the real historical site would be another step towards the ‘Disneyfication’ of the city centre (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020). These developments raise questions as to the target group of these developments. According to Cristina Iamandi, the interests of cultural tourists in Khiva are misunderstood by local planners: “I explained them that this is cultural tourism. It’s not mass tourism, they don’t come for the swimming pool” (personal interview, 30 November 2020). Peter Debrine agreed: “this is something that we discussed at length in the workshop, so they can understand that people don’t want bright shiny new things, that it loses some of its authenticity” (personal interview, 10 December 2020). According to him, the current developments address a kind of mass tourism that would

be disadvantageous for the city since it is normally related to lower benefits for the local economy: “they are going to quickly find that these people aren’t spending money” (ibid.).

On the other hand, there are also many potential benefits when tourism is managed properly. Tourism has become a major source of income for the local population and the money generated through visitors to the World Heritage property also supports its conservation (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020). Furthermore, there is an obligation on behalf of the State Party to the World Heritage Convention to present and transmit the heritage to future generations: “it’s that presentation and transmission that connects it to tourism” (ibid.). However, the current COVID-19 crisis has shown how vulnerable economies are if they rely too heavily on tourism. It is therefore essential, to sustain a diversified economy: “we need to see how people can live there, but not live from tourism 100 percent, and live in their houses but not just turn them all into a B&B” (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). This shows that the idea to maintain the centre of Khiva a living city that offers a livelihood to local people goes beyond the claims of heritage preservation and authenticity but would also support a more sustainable economic development of the city.

Another issue that was raised in the process of developing the Destination Management Plan is that of visitor management. During the short touristic high seasons in spring and autumn, Itchan Kala is overcrowded (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020). ‘Overtourism’ compromises the visitor experience and leads to problems with the local communities (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020). While the city is already at the limits of its carrying capacities during high season, however, more and more hotels are being built in the expectation of rising visitor numbers (ibid.). Instead, maximum visitation weights should be assessed and visitor numbers limited accordingly (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020). Additionally, sights outside of Itchan Kala could be promoted in order to attract visitors to other parts of the city which would also support a larger part of the local community.

The Destination Management Plan was finalized in 2020 and is to be presented in 2021 (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). Since it is not publicly available yet, it remains to be seen to what extent it addresses the pressures and challenges discussed in this chapter. It is also not quite clear how it will be integrated with the management plan for Itchan Kala that was announced to be submitted to the World Heritage Centre in 2021 as well. Nonetheless, it is already considered to assist the local stakeholders with the implementation of the Destination Management Plan through a follow-up project (P. Debrine, personal interview, 10 December 2020).

LEGISLATION

The conservation and management of World Heritage properties in Uzbekistan is regulated by a wide range of laws and decrees. Beside the legal acts that directly address the preservation of objects of tangible cultural heritage, these also include laws on the protection of archaeological sites, laws on museum management (since many heritage properties are used as museums), as well as regulations on land use and urban planning

Legislation for the Conservation of Urban Heritage

NO/YEAR	NAME	CONTENT
229 2009	Law on the Protection and Use of Archaeological Properties	Regulates the protection and use of archaeological heritage.
177 2008	Law on Museums	Regulates the establishment and operation of museums.
1998	Land Code	Mainly regulates agrarian affairs to ensure efficient use of land. Protects the right of individuals and legal entities with respect to plots of lands. Classifies land under different categories and specifies reimbursement of losses to land users from restrained use rights.
353-II 2002	Urban Planning Code	Determines general rules, objects and subjects of urban planning activities, the powers and responsibilities of state bodies, the set of legal planning documents and tools, as well as categories for zoning.
25 2007	Decree on the Approval of Urban Planning Zones under Special Regulation	In accordance with Article 7 of the Urban Planning Code, the Decree establishes procedures for the determination of urban planning zones under special regulation.
ШHK 2008	Normative Document of the Urban Planning Code	Provides basic regulations for urban development in zones under special regulation. Clarifications are given for requirements of urban preservation and the use of cultural heritage properties.
269-II 2001	Law on the Preservation and Use of Cultural Heritage Properties	Regulates the protection and use of cultural heritage objects (tangible and intangible) listed as national heritage of the people of Uzbekistan. Regulates the responsibilities of different state bodies, the registration of objects on the <i>State Cadastre of Objects of Material Cultural Heritage</i> and the <i>List of Objects of Intangible Cultural Heritage</i> and the measures for their preservation.
269 2002	Decree on Measures to Improve the Protection and Use of Cultural Heritage Properties	Specifies the procedure for maintaining the State Cadastre of cultural heritage objects, as well as for organizing the Historical and Cultural Inspection of cultural heritage objects.
53 2014	Decree on the Procedures for Renting Cultural Heritage Objects	Regulates the rental of cultural heritage objects to businesses and adopts investment obligations for their improvement and maintenance in good condition.

Figure 29: Overview of important legal acts for the preservation and management of cultural heritage in Uzbekistan.

NO/YEAR	NAME	CONTENT
200 2014	Decree on Additional Measures to Improve the Protection and Use of Cultural and Archaeological Heritage	Provides a list of specific measures, including: establishment of an inventory; inclusion of all objects in the State Cadastre of cultural heritage objects; creation of a laboratory for research, restoration and examination of cultural heritage objects; development of curricula and training programmes.
5181 2018	Presidential Decree on Improving the Protection and Use of Objects of Tangible Cultural Heritage	Establishes a commission for the development of a draft programme of comprehensive measures to improve the protection, reservation, scientific research, promotion and use of objects of material cultural and archaeological heritage 2018-2023.
435 2018	Decree on the Protection of the Territories Included in the UNESCO World Heritage List	Recognizes territories included in the World Heritage List as specially protected areas. Established an intergovernmental working group for the development of proposals to improve the preservation of World Heritage properties.
4068 2018	Presidential Decree on Measures to Radically Improve the Protection of Tangible Cultural Heritage	Calls for the establishment of the Department for Cultural Heritage within the Ministry of Culture, and proposes a roadmap for the radical of the preservation, scientific research, promotion and use of objects of tangible cultural heritage.
265 2019	Decree on the Organization of Activities of the Dept. of Cultural Heritage and Approval of Regulatory Acts on the Protection and Use of Objects of Tangible Cultural Heritage	Elaborates on several issues related to the protection of cultural heritage: the organizational structure of the Dept. of Cultural Heritage, the composition of and regulations for the Scientific Expert Council, regulations for the Cultural Heritage Fund, procedures for exercising state control, procedures for establishing protected areas of tangible cultural heritage, establishment of community inspectors.
560 2019	Law on Additions to Legislative Acts in Connection with the Enhanced Protection of Cultural Heritage	Increases responsibility and liability for violation of rules for the protection and use of tangible cultural heritage, not only for deliberate destruction, but also for negligence that caused significant damage.
881 2019	Decree on the Procedure for the Use of Objects of Tangible Cultural Heritage	Establishes the regulations for the procedure for the use of cultural heritage objects, incl. inspection to determine qualification for certain uses, specification of the duration of use, obligations of the users, etc.
1021 2019	Decree on Regulations for Licensing Activities for the Preservation of Tangible Cultural Heritage	Establishes the procedure for licensing activities for the preservation of tangible cultural heritage. Provides for the development of a register of all legal entities entitled to carry out heritage conservation works.

Author's own figure, based on Adolat 2021, gazeta.uz 2018, MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 63ff., UZDAILY 2019.

(for those heritage sites located in cities). Figure 29 tries to give an overview of the most important legal acts (without claiming completeness). Legislation in this context has developed dynamically over the last years and new decrees are probably already in development at the time of this writing. The recent wave of legal improvements reflected by the large number of decrees issued in 2018 and 2019 may be directly related to the increased attention of UNESCO and ICOMOS on Uzbekistan and their criticism expressed in relation to the legal protection of World Heritage properties in the country.

The 2018 ICOMOS Advisory Mission to Itchan Kala identified major gaps in the legal system for the protection of the World Heritage property and expressed serious concerns “that the protective laws are not having the desired effect in protecting the property and its buffer zone from inappropriate development and inadequate conservation/restoration” (ICOMOS 2018, 13). The report concluded that the harmonization of the legislation with the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines is rather weak, with important terms and definitions such as ‘buffer zone’, ‘cultural landscape’, ‘management plan’, etc. completely missing (ibid.). Concerns regarding the urban planning regulations were also expressed (ibid., 14). In a similar vein, the action plan in the draft management plan for Itchan Kala recommended to enhance and review the 2001 *Law on the Preservation and Use of Cultural Heritage Properties* and the 2009 *Law on the Protection and Use of Archaeological Properties* to ensure they correspond to UNESCO requirements (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 58).

One of the main problems was that the legal protection only applied to listed monuments but not to the urban fabric around them (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). There was a protection perimeter defined around monuments of three times the height of the building but no clear regulations were in place for these areas which often led to them being cleared from all constructions and just left empty (C. Iamandi, personal interview, 30 November 2020). Because heritage preservation was tied to the object rather than to a defined area the boundaries of World Heritage properties did not have any legal status. The proposal of a buffer zone for Itchan Kala faced the same problem: there was simply no legal category available for its protection that would have given meaning to its establishment: “there is no adequate legal document regulating heritage preservation and development activities within the territories of the World Heritage properties and their buffer zones” (ICOMOS 2018, 13). Based on this situation, the action plan in the draft management plan for Itchan Kala recommended to integrate the boundaries of the World Heritage property and buffer zone into the state system of land and town-planning cadastre, as well as to clarify the management arrangements and measures in place within the buffer zone (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 59).

The reform of the legislation for cultural heritage gained momentum with the Presidential Decree on *Improving the Protection and Use of Objects of Tangible Cultural and Archaeological Heritage* in January 2018. According to the decree, a commission was formed for the development of a draft programme of comprehensive measures to improve the protection, preservation, scientific research, promotion and use of objects of material cultural and archaeological heritage (Mirziyoyev 2018a, art. 1).

Shortly after, in June 2018, the Cabinet of Ministers issued the Decree on the *Protection of the Territory Included in the UNESCO World Heritage List* which led to the immediate recognition of all World Heritage properties as ‘specially protected areas’ (gazeta.uz 2018). The boundaries of the protected territories should be included in master plans after coordination with the World Heritage Centre (ibid.). All construction and improvement works within the boundaries of World Heritage properties were halted as they now required prior approval from the Ministry of Culture and the World Heritage Centre on the basis of an Heritage Impact Assessment (ibid.; O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020). Moreover, the decree provided for the formation of an interdepartmental working group including scientists, international experts, and representatives of the public with the task to develop proposals for the improved preservation of World Heritage properties in Uzbekistan (gazeta.uz 2018). It is worth noting, that this decree was issued only a few months after the ICOMOS Advisory Mission to Itchan Kala that took place in April 2018 and directly responded to the major concerns that it expressed.

By the end of the same year, the president issued yet another decree that highlighted the new significance of the preservation of cultural heritage in the country. In the Presidential Decree on *Measures to Radically Improve the Activities in the Field of Protection of Tangible Cultural Heritage*, Mirziyoyev expressed his concern about the inefficient use of the achievements of science and innovative technologies in the organization of fundamental and applied research in the field of heritage conservation which had a negative impact on the preservation of the uniqueness of Uzbekistan’s cultural heritage sites (Mirziyoyev 2018b, pmb). The decree proposed a road map for the improvement of the preservation, scientific research, promotion and use of objects of tangible cultural heritage (ibid., art. 4). It specifically called for the enhanced protection of World Heritage properties and better involvement of citizens in heritage protection and management (art. 10). The decree also decided on the establishment of the Department of Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Culture, clarified its responsibilities and provided for setting up its Scientific Council (art. 1, 2, 6).

Within only three months, the Cabinet of Ministers reacted with the Decree on the *Organization of Activities of the Department of Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Approval of Certain Regulatory Legal Acts on the Protection and Use of Objects of Tangible Cultural Heritage* which brought along major changes and improvements in the legislation on cultural heritage. The decree addressed several important issues, including the organizational structure of the Department of Cultural Heritage, the composition and regulations for the Scientific Expert Council, regulations for the Cultural Heritage Fund, procedures for exercising state control over the protection and use of cultural heritage objects, establishment of community inspectors, and many others (Aripov 2019). A very important step towards complying with the World Heritage Convention and its Operational Guidelines was the establishment for regulations and procedures for ‘specially protected historical and cultural areas’ which include specific land use and urban planning norms (ibid., appx. 9, art. 5). The decree declared the establishment of ‘protection zones’ up to 300 metres from the boundaries of World Heritage properties and clarified that World Heritage properties *and their buffer zones* are subject to the recommendations of the World Heritage Centre and Committee (ibid.,

appx. 9, art. 33, 34). Moreover, the decree explicitly stated that every protected historical and cultural area must have a management plan that is based on a thorough analysis of natural, socio-economic, cultural and historical conditions of the area and provided a strategy for management as well as a list of measures to be taken for the upcoming five years (ibid., appx. 10, art. 32). The decree can be considered as a major achievement in enhancing the protection of World Heritage properties in Uzbekistan. The halt of construction works east of Itchan Kala may be a direct result of this decree and the newly established 300-metres protection zone around the World Heritage property.

After this important milestone for the preservation of World Heritage properties in Uzbekistan, the Cabinet of Ministers and the Presidents issued some additional decrees and amendments to laws that increased responsibility and liability for violation of rules for the protection of cultural heritage, specified the regulations for the procedure for the use of cultural heritage objects, and established the procedure for licensing activities for the preservation of cultural heritage (see Figure 29).

In general, it can be said that decrees number 435 and 265 responded to many of the legal shortcomings that were addressed by UNESCO and ICOMOS. Instead of single monuments it is now the entire area within the boundaries of the World Heritage property that is under protection. Heritage Impact Assessments and the approval of the World Heritage Centre are required for any major changes in these specially protected areas which also need to be disclosed in cities' master plans. Additionally, World Heritage properties were equipped with protective zones of at least 300 meters around the property if not defined otherwise, which provides a legal basis for the implementation of buffer zones. Furthermore, the development of management plans for World Heritage sites was stipulated.

The progress in Uzbekistan's legislation had immediate impacts on Khiva with the halt of construction works in the newly established protective zone around Itchan Kala. Other than that, however, it remains to be seen to what extent the legal reform can change the situation on the ground. Illegal constructions have been a recurrent problem in Itchan Kala over the last years (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). Harsher punishments for the violation of laws for the protection of cultural heritage may make a difference, as according to decree 560, if they are executed. However, the renovation works on residential buildings within Itchan Kala are still unregulated. Even though recommendations have been developed by the Mamun Academy and an overall conservation approach was presented in the draft management plan for Itchan Kala, it is unclear whether these regulations have been legally introduced (N. Turekulova, personal interview, 12 January 2021). Moreover, clear communication of such regulations would be needed in order to inform the affected citizens of their rights and obligations (ibid.).

The revision of the legal framework for heritage conservation in Uzbekistan is still ongoing. Currently, the 2001 *Law on the Preservation and Use of Cultural Heritage Properties* is being improved with the support of an international expert working for UNESCO Tashkent Office (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020). The recent efforts and dynamic developments in heritage legislation over the last years, however, confirm that Uzbekistan is "moving in the right direction" and taking active steps toward

the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020).

5

Reconciling Conservation and Development

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5.1 Implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape Approach in Khiva

While the overall research interest behind this thesis asks for the possibilities to reconcile conservation and development in heritage cities, this chapter seeks to answer the empirical question that focuses specifically on the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva. Previously I have presented thorough insights into the recent developments in regard to urban development and heritage conservation in the city. My analysis will now set out how these developments can be interpreted as contributions to the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach and which aspects of the Recommendation still need to be addressed.

THE CRITICAL STEPS

The first and most obvious way to assess the extent to which the Historic Urban Landscape approach has been applied in Khiva is to compare the activities that were taken for heritage conservation and urban development over the last years to the ‘critical steps’ for implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach as defined by the General Conference in its 36th session (UNESCO 2011b, 50).

1. Undertake comprehensive surveys and mapping of the historic city’s natural, cultural and human resources.

Several actions have been taken in the sense of the first ‘critical step’. Most prominently, a team of experts, international and national students conducted a thorough survey of Itchan Kala in the summer of 2015. The survey was outstanding and very important for Khiva in the way it collected and processed architectural and socio-economic information of all buildings and their inhabitants within the walls of Itchan Kala. Another positive aspect of the survey was that it included personal conversations with members of all households in the World Heritage property, thus also raising awareness for heritage issues among the population. On the downside, the survey was limited to Itchan Kala. A much less elaborate visual mapping of Dishan Kala was conducted on the side. While the survey of Itchan Kala included the mapping of channels, public spaces and streets, it missed to take into account social and economic activities in public space and other intangible elements. The stakeholder map that was developed in the course of preparing the management plan for Itchan Kala extensively documented relevant institutional stakeholders but was rather limited in its inclusion of relevant actors from the local community.

In the context of the development of the master plan for Khiva, spatial analyses and mappings were conducted for the city. The extent of the documented information is not known because of the restricted access to master plans and related data. It is clear however, that basics like land use, water bodies, roads and public spaces, as well as listed heritage buildings were documented as a baseline for the preparation of the last master plan issued in 2013. At that time, the boundary of the World Heritage property was not incorporated into the master plan yet. A new master plan or an updated version is reportedly in development right now. According to some of my interviewees, the urban planning agency (Uzshakharsozlik LITI) is aware of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* and might take a more sensitive approach towards planning in and around World Heritage properties today.

Moreover, conservation and planning expert Cristina Iamandi, is currently in charge of developing the new PDP for Dishan Kala in cooperation with local and regional planning authorities. She has announced to be conducting thorough analyses and mappings of all relevant layers of urban development in the city centre (e.g. urban morphology, hydrology, etc.). The real extent of this undertaking is yet to be seen.

Additionally, spatial assessments are undertaken by consultants for investors and donor agencies. However, it is unclear to what extent the city would include such studies in their planning processes. They normally guide investment decisions, which can also be quite influential on urban development.

2. Use participatory planning and stakeholder consultations to decide on conservation aims and actions.

Against the background of Uzbekistan's political history, the new trend towards transparency and accountability in public decisions is to be welcomed. However, as of today the local expertise of residents does not seem to be appreciated as a valuable basis for planning decisions, and negotiation between conflicting local interests does not appear to be of much importance in a country where most decisions are still taken by the central government. As a consequence, public participation in heritage management in Khiva is generally limited to the inclusion of mahalla leaders in decision making processes. Mahalla leaders are highly respected representatives of their respective communities and their inclusion in planning and conservation processes is considered quite an achievement by some of the interviewees.

As several interview partners stated, the workshops for developing the management plan for Itchan Kala might have been the first time that stakeholders from heritage management, architecture and urban planning were sitting on a table together, discussing the development of Khiva from both development and conservation perspectives. In a workshop setting, guided by heritage experts, the conservation aims and actions were developed by stakeholders from the national, regional and local governments and administrative bodies, as well as local academic institutions and community representatives (mahalla leaders). While this needs to be acknowledged as very much in line with the second 'critical step', it has to be noticed that there was no broad public consultation that would have invited local residents or other interest groups from the local community to participate in the process.

The Destination Management Plan for Khiva was developed in a similar setting with the additional inclusion of the local hotel association as well as a group of teachers. In general, however, the inclusion of mahalla leaders in decision making processes seems to be considered as a sufficient form of civic engagement in Uzbekistan today.

3. Assess the vulnerability of urban heritage to socio-economic pressures and impacts of climate change.

The draft management plan for Itchan Kala addresses a few socio-economic pressures. Shortcomings in the quality of life of local residents of Itchan Kala due to a lack of technical and social infrastructure were assessed through the interviews and mapping activities,

and incorporated into the management plan as one of the major management issues of the action plan. Tourism was also taken into account as a socio-economic pressure on the city centre as reflected in the call for an assessment of the carrying capacity of Itchan Kala and a more diversified tourism offer outside the walls. According to the analysis of recent urban developments presented in this thesis, however, socio-economic pressures emanating from tourism are much severer than accounted for in the management plan. The rapid increase in visitors pressures local residents to leave the city centre and to turn their houses into hotels. The authentic atmosphere of Itchan Kala as a living city is at risk.

The extent to which the newly developed Destination Management Plan for Khiva takes into account the socio-economic pressures of tourism is not known, because the document is not accessible yet. It can just be hoped that the plan takes a clear stance towards the risks associated with excessive tourism development in the city.

Impacts and risks of climate change are not addressed in the management plan at all.

4. Integrate urban heritage values and their vulnerability status into a wider framework of city development that indicates areas of heritage sensitivity.

Until recently, 'critical step' number 4 was adhered to superficially by the integration of listed heritage buildings in the city master plan, and by the definition of three zones with different regulations (Itchan Kala, Dishan Kala and the rest of the city). The regulations in Itchan Kala and Dishan Kala, however, were insufficient and often not complied with. With the improvement of the legislation on heritage conservation over the last years, the actual protection for the World Heritage property and a new preliminary buffer zone of 300 metres from its boundaries was improved. Moreover, the boundaries of World Heritage properties have to be incorporated in the city master plan and have immediate effects on the area's conservation regulations now. The legal basis for the implementation of the 'buffer zone' as proposed by UNESCO and ICOMOS was established, but the buffer zone still needs to be approved.

According to Cristina Iamandi, the new PDP for Dishan Kala will provide the required information and regulations for the approval of the buffer zone. She proposes the definition of three different zones in the area: a protected zone, a transition zone, and a zone for development. To what extent she can implement her ideas in the cooperation with the local authorities and how the proposed zones would fit into the new legal framework remains to be seen.

5. Prioritize policies and actions for conservation and development, including good stewardship.

The draft management plan from 2017 comprised a detailed action plan for a time frame of five years (2017-2022). However, the management plan was never approved by the national authorities and needs to be updated to take into consideration the developments of the past years. While the research for this thesis showed that several of the actions proposed in the management plan have been taken over the last years, there is no systematic monitoring in place and the actions were taken in an uncoordinated manner, not following the prioritization proposed in the management plan.

The prioritization of actions taken in regards to conservation and development by the local, regional and national authorities is not comprehensible to an outsider. One priority that is clearly recognizable, however, is the focus on tourism development that was emphasised by the 2017 Presidential Decree on the development of tourism in Khiva and Khorezm. It is questionable whether the targeted promotion of tourism development in the region is based on a thorough weighing of all relevant factors, especially with regard to the protection of the World Heritage property.

6. Establish the appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks, and develop mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors.

Currently, the task of managing the heritage site is split between the Itchan Kala Museum Reserve under the Department of Museums and the Regional Inspection under the Department of Cultural Heritage. Some interview partners criticized that there was not one single authority in place for the management of the property.

According to recent legal changes, however, a new entity is soon to be created. The Itchan Kala World Heritage Management Unit within the Regional Inspection will be responsible for the coordination of all activities within the World Heritage property, as well as for the implementation and monitoring of the management plan (that was announced to be updated and approved soon). Moreover, the action plan in the 2017 draft management plan indicates clearly which stakeholders should be involved in which conservation and management activities. It calls for closer cooperation between heritage management authorities and the city administration.

Overall, certain activities could be recorded for all 'critical steps'. In most cases, however, these are still insufficient, in others significant improvements are expected soon. It is clear that there is still room for improvement, especially with regard to an integrated approach to planning in the historic context, the coordination of the stakeholders involved, and public participation.

TOOLS AND STAKEHOLDERS

The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* puts some emphasis on the different kind of tools that are proposed for its implementation. This section wants to give a brief overview of the tools that have been applied for urban planning and heritage conservation in Khiva responding to the categories of tools in the Recommendation.

Civic engagement tools

The use of civic engagement tools in Khiva has been rather limited. As mentioned earlier, local residents were interviewed in the course of the survey that was conducted for the preparation of the management plan for Itchan Kala. Furthermore, mahalla leaders, the local hotel association and a group of teachers were involved in workshops for the development of the Destination Management Plan of Khiva. Apart from that, no other participative tools have been used so far, and civic engagement beyond the inclusion of mahalla leaders in decision making processes does not seem to be considered relevant by local authorities.

Knowledge and planning tools

There is a nation-wide cadastre prepared and maintained by the Cadastre Agency that is available as a more or less reliable base map for the elaboration of surveys and mappings. A typical 'knowledge tool' applied in Khiva was the GIS survey that was conducted for the preparation of the management plan. It included detailed measurements of buildings and open spaces, and incorporated socio-economic information of households, as well as graphic materials (photos and sketches). Unfortunately, it is unclear how or if this database is still in use and being updated by the local administration today.

Furthermore, Cristina Iamandi mentioned that she was going to prepare several maps containing different information (e.g. on changes in the urban fabric over time, water channels, historical buildings, etc.) for her work on the PDP. Elevations and mappings are still ongoing.

As a basis for decision making, Heritage Impact Assessments are increasingly applied in the context of Khiva. The new legislation makes HIAs a requirement for all projects within the World Heritage property and its (preliminary) buffer zone. HIAs are often conducted by IICAS but also by regional ICOMOS experts.

Regulatory Systems

A positive development of the legislation related to heritage conservation over the past years, especially since 2018, can be noted. The relevant laws define the responsibilities among national, regional and local levels of administration, and guide the designation and protection of heritage, including standards for research, documentation, and listing. Even though the new laws provide the necessary regulatory basis, the 'buffer zone' for the World Heritage property is not yet legally confirmed. The same applies to regulations for building shapes and designs within Itchan Kala. Even though recommendations have been formulated, it appears that they have not been enshrined in law yet.

There is currently no management plan in place, but one of the new laws requires the development of a management plan for protected historical and cultural areas, so that the approval of a management plan for Itchan Kala can be soon expected. It is important to point out that the draft management plan from 2017 was largely following the Historic Urban Landscape approach in its preparation and its recommended actions. It also explicitly talks about Itchan Kala as an urban landscape, including "the mahallas, its houses, the main monuments, and traditional water systems; and reflect[ing] its cultural diversity and traditions" (MoC & UNESCO Tashkent Office 2017, 25). Moreover, a Destination Management Plan for Khiva has been developed with support from the World Heritage Centre and will be presented in 2021.

The administration of the heritage property is currently unsatisfactory, but will be improved with the Itchan Kala World Heritage Management Unit that is supposed to coordinate all activities related to the property. Moreover, a scientific council has been established as a national advisory body for decisions regarding conservation and developments in and around heritage sites. An additional International Advisory Body is planned to be set up soon.

The mahalla system, in which an elected leader represents a relatively small neighbourhood, is a traditional local institution in Uzbekistan. The increasing inclusion of mahalla leaders in decision making processes, also in regard to heritage conservation issues, demonstrates how traditional forms of community organization can be integrated into processes of heritage management.

Financial tools

Only one financial tool used for heritage conservation was identified in this research process. The 2014 *Decree on the Procedures for Renting Cultural Heritage Objects* gave way to a specific form of public-private partnership: individuals or institutions can invest in the repair and adaptive reuse of a heritage building and in return will be released from rent payments for up to five years (A. Feyzulayev, personal interview, 18 December 2020). The tool was successfully applied in many cases all over Uzbekistan.

Apart from this, there are many investments in heritage conservation, urban development and tourism infrastructure from international donor organizations and private investors. While they are following their own logics and rules to decide which investments they would like to make, unfortunately it seems that there are insufficient regulations in place to control such investments in a way that ensures sustainable urban development and heritage conservation.

Stakeholders

The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* directly addresses Member States, public and private stakeholders, international organizations, as well as national and international non-governmental organizations as stakeholders with different responsibilities as regards to its implementation. The analysis of the processes related to the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach has shown that until today it was mainly bodies of UNESCO (World Heritage Centre, UNESCO Tashkent Office) and recently also the Government of Uzbekistan that have consciously contributed to the endeavour. According to the interviewees, local authorities and private stakeholders are not aware of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. Moreover, there were no international organizations or NGOs active in the area that would have specifically targeted the advancement of the Historic Urban Landscape approach.

In summary, it can be said that civic engagement and financial tools are sparsely used in the context of heritage conservation and urban development in Khiva. Knowledge and planning tools have been applied to a certain extent, and regulatory tools are the most popular means for heritage management in the city/country. The knowledge about the Historic Urban Landscape approach is only slowly transmitted to the various stakeholders on the national level, but has not yet reached the local actors.

UNDERSTANDING OF AN URBAN LANDSCAPE

The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* does not only provide a set of tools and 'critical steps' to be followed, it also promotes a new understanding of the historic city as an 'urban landscape' resulting from the historic layering of cultural and natural

values and attributes, including the broader urban context and geographical setting of the heritage site (UNESCO 2011a, art. 8). The broad understanding of urban heritage implies the need for close cooperation between urban planners and heritage conservationists, and explicitly includes intangible elements into urban heritage. The main concern, however, is to facilitate development while ensuring urban conservation.

The development processes that have been going on in the historic centre of Khiva over the last years, from illegal building activities and creeping replacement of the local population in Itchan Kala, to large-scale demolitions and the construction of over-dimensional touristic infrastructure in Dishan Kala, demonstrate how urban development and conservation have not been harmoniously integrated at all. The fact that the consultation meetings for the development of the management plan in 2015/2016 might have been the first occasion at which planners, heritage managers, and conservation experts came together to discuss Itchan Kala's development demonstrates how there was little to no cooperation between these stakeholders before. In the current development process for the PDP of Itchan Kala, Iamandi had to specifically request the participation of a representative of the national urban planning agency which would later on need to integrate the new PDP into the master plan. Direct cooperation in the development process was not planned for by the authorities. The division of the city into three zones according to the master plan, and the fact that they are planned and/or managed by different authorities, reflects how urban development was not studied and planned in an integrated way but in isolated sections.

Another aspect that is in drastic contrast to the Historic Urban Landscape approach is that until recently only listed monuments were considered to be of heritage value. The historic neighbourhoods, the medieval urban fabric, traditionally built residential houses, *khavuzes* (ponds) and socio-economic relationships that have developed over time were looked upon as insignificant, as demonstrated by the large-scale demolitions in Dishan Kala. The value of Itchan Kala and Dishan Kala as a living city centre, where everyday activities of the local population shape the urban landscape, is not being understood by local authorities.

Despite all this criticism, it must be recognized that there have been many positive developments recently. Following major improvements in the legislation, protection of the residential neighbourhoods of Itchan Kala was reinforced and construction works in Dishan Kala were stopped. A new PDP for the central area is now being developed under the guidance of a renowned heritage and urban planning expert. Heritage Impact Assessments are regularly applied in the context of new developments now, and awareness of the Historic Urban Landscape approach is slowly spreading, with the planning staff of Uzshakharsozlik LITI already actively implementing it.

Such changes do not happen overnight, especially since Uzbekistan has a planning culture very different to the one represented by the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*: "It is sometimes challenging [...] to follow these models and approaches because, whilst inspirational, they can be poles apart from their [Uzbek authorities'] tradition of operating and applying policy" (Ronchini 2019, 191). Planning in historic areas is per se a difficult endeavour confronted with complex social and economic issues, as well as

physical problems (incompatibility with modern building practices and infrastructures). In addition, Khiva faces a number of special challenges: rapid developments in tourism pushed by national authorities as well as international investors, discontinuity in planning and management due to frequent rotations in leading personnel, the lack of a strategic planning approach that would steer the large investment projects into a more sustainable direction, as well as the shortage of highly qualified heritage experts all over Central Asia.

In general, however, Uzbekistan is moving in the right direction. The country has taken several active steps toward the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, many of which had a direct impact on Khiva. According to Pereira Roders' (2019, 26) classification, Khiva could probably be categorised as part of the 'early majority' which implements the Historic Urban Landscape approach between 2018 and 2023. Even though some of the recommended tools had been applied earlier than that, the pending approval of the draft management plan and the lack of regulations for a buffer zone have hindered these activities to unfold their full impact. With the new legislation in place and the announced approval of a management plan in 2021 significant positive developments towards the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach can be expected in the near future.

5.2 Bringing in the Theory

In chapter two, I have explored theoretical concepts of policy analysis and heritage studies that informed the research process and helped me to contextualize some of the developments going on in Uzbekistan and in Khiva more specifically. In this chapter, I would like to recall some of these concepts and use them as an analytical framework to express some of the findings of this thesis.

DRIVERS AND OBSTACLES OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

In the sense of a policy implementation analysis, this thesis focused on what was done, by whom, and how these actions supported policy implementation (or not) (cf. Anderson 2003, 27). While the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is directed towards nation states and cities, it is interesting to note that implementation efforts in Khiva were largely initiated and financed by UNESCO. This reflects how international organizations are increasingly involved in the implementation, monitoring and reporting of their policies (cf. Joachim et al. 2008a, 3, 7).

Recalling the three types of resources that international organizations have at their disposal to foster policy implementation (enforcement, management and normative means) (cf. Joachim et al. 2008a), it was found that UNESCO has deployed all of them, more or less successfully, in the context of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva. The World Heritage Centre has established a schedule for regular reports on the progress in implementing the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* and encouraged Member States to the World Heritage Convention to communicate their progress. Unfortunately, Uzbekistan did not take this opportunity in the last cycle of reporting in 2018. Beyond the requirements of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, UNESCO has increased its monitoring efforts in Uzbekistan over the last year, especially since the large-scale demolitions in Shakhrisyabz. There are also direct complaints by citizens to the World Heritage Centre or Tashkent Office about illegal demolitions and constructions in the country's World Heritage properties (T. Trudolyubova, personal interview, 16 November 2020).

Since the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is only a recommendation, its implementation is not mandatory for Member States. Sanctions can therefore not be applied in the case of non-compliance. The results of mismanagement of World Heritage properties, however, may be sanctioned if the Outstanding Universal Value of the property has been lost or is in danger of being destroyed. In the case of Shakhrisyabz, UNESCO put the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger, and is now working with local authorities to limit the damage to the site. Since large-scale demolitions in Khiva took place outside of the boundaries of the World Heritage property, and Itchan Kala is still considerably well preserved, the World Heritage status of the site does not seem to be at risk (yet).

Beside these measures that would be assigned to the 'enforcement' approach, UNESCO has put considerable effort in 'managerial' measures. The capacity building activities and support for the development of the *Integrated Management Plan for Itchan Kala* financed by UNESCO were supposed to assist local authorities to considerably improve management

of the property. Moreover, the recent development of a Destination Management Plan for Khiva was supported by UNESCO with its expertise in tourism management. While the capacity building unfortunately did not have very long-lasting effects due to the rotation of personnel by the new president, the development of the management plan might have had some positive impact on heritage conservation and development in the city, as discussed in chapter 5.1.

Finally, UNESCO has some normative power because its authority and legitimacy seems to be widely accepted and respected. The national and local partners have always been willing to closely cooperate with UNESCO and ICOMOS experts. For the conduct of Heritage Impact Assessments and for the development of the new PDP, local authorities have approached renowned ICOMOS experts and UNESCO affiliates for their support. The World Heritage status is generally perceived as an important asset, as reflected, for example, in the surge of legal improvements for heritage conservation since the listing of Shakhriyabz as an endangered site.

Domestic-level factors have had rather restraining effects on the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. Due to the difficult political past (see chapter 4.1) Uzbekistan's civil society is not very well organized. There are no NGOs or associations to support UNESCO's work on site. The formation of a National Committee of ICOMOS has been in process for a while now but faces difficulties due to the tight regulations for founding such organizations (O. Vileikis, personal interview, 19 November 2020).

While the political changes initiated by the new president, Shavkat Mirziyoyev, have encouraged freedom of speech and the self-organization of civil society, they have also brought about the exchange of personnel that had just been trained for the application of the Historic Urban Landscape approach. According to some interviewees staff rotations are a regular thing which makes the training of new people cumbersome.

Institutional arrangements have also complicated the implementation of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* in Khiva. Since there is no single entity in charge for the management of the heritage site, the draft management plan had no clear addressee who would have felt responsible for its implementation and monitoring. Moreover, with Uzbekistan still struggling to comply with the requirements of the World Heritage Convention, it is not surprising that the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is not on top of the agenda.

On the other hand, local authorities have been described as highly motivated and eager to improve heritage conservation in their city. The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is directly addressing historical cities and their planners, architects, managers and heritage conservators, as well as local communities. It is therefore a pity that awareness about the Historic Urban Landscape approach has not been successfully transferred to the local level yet.

'PATRIMONIALIZATION' IN UZBEKISTAN

Turning from policy analysis to heritage studies, I would like to deploy the concept of 'patrimonialization' to explain the evolution of the concept of heritage in Uzbekistan.

'Patrimonialization' has been defined as a sociocultural, legal and political process in which objects, areas and practices are selected and transformed into national 'heritage' in order to foster the construction of national identities (cf. Gorshenina 2014, 246). While this process has been discussed in the context of European nation building and colonialism in chapter 2.2 of this thesis, it was discovered that very similar processes were at work in Uzbekistan at around the same time and continue to shape the conception of national heritage in the country today.

Little is known about the kind of 'heritage' that may have existed before the Russian conquest but that does not mean that the concept of bestowing historical objects with contemporary values was not around. There might have been religious buildings or tombs of important ancestors to be worshipped. The official narrative of 'heritage', however, emerged with the interference of the Russian Empire. Russian archaeologists started to study historical artefacts and buildings of Central Asia in the second half of the nineteenth century, analogous to the emergence of the concept of heritage in Europe and its transmission to the European colonies. The focus was on the construction of a shared cultural heritage of the tsarist Empire. Similar to the French and British archaeological study missions to Southeast Asia and India, the Russians sought to better understand their subjects by controlling their culture and history. The focus was on the preservation of single buildings and monuments that were attributed with a special historical value for the Empire's population. The selection of heritage objects carried out by Russian archaeologists at that time is still reflected in the list of national heritage monuments of Uzbekistan today. It is a reminder of the power dynamics at a time when foreign rulers determined the heritage of their subjects.

The power shifts to Soviet rule in the early and to independence in the late twentieth century went along with dissonances and inconsistencies in the interpretation of heritage. While the focus on the glamorous Timurid past persisted over time and is still a strong anchor of (national) identification today, other elements of the heritage repertoire were contested and removed. The Soviets with their anti-clerical ideology showed little respect for the religious buildings of Central Asia, misusing, destructing or letting them fall into decay. After independence it was the Soviet and Russian imperialist heritage that was not appreciated anymore. Soviet monuments and architectural landmarks of communism were demolished, imperial buildings were abandoned. The modern nation state, however, is based on the same 'Timurid narrative' that was created by the Russian tsarist and Soviet rulers. These developments bear witness to the different conscient constructions of (Uzbek) heritage over time.

Since Uzbekistan is a very young state with borders that have been imposed by imperial powers, cultural heritage and heroes of the past are still an important instrument for nation building today. The use of heritage as a mechanism for arousing pride in the past and present of the Uzbek nation may be one of the reasons for the urge to present it in the most perfect and majestic way. Uzbek authorities have been removing traditional residential quarters close to cultural heritage sites, like in Shakhrisyabz or Khiva, to replace them by wide open spaces and modern tourist infrastructure. The old urban fabric is not considered of value in terms of heritage but looked upon as a sign of backwardness

and low quality of life. The same applied to the market that was removed from Dishan Kala and was planned to be replaced by specialized shops within multi-storey buildings.

Beside the nationalistic interpretation of heritage, a second determining force is evolving. Tourism is becoming an important factor in the national economy and the demands of tourists along with the increasing interventions by UNESCO and ICOMOS may have the potential to change the conception of heritage in the country.

TOURISM AND HERITAGE DISSONANCE IN KHIVA

Itchan Kala was already conceptualized as a tourist attraction when it was declared a Museum Reserve by the Soviets in 1969. Since Uzbekistan's independence and especially with the heavy promotion of tourism in the country over the last years, however, tourist numbers have sharply increased and tourism is starting to play an ever more important role in the interpretation of the local heritage. As a response, local authorities have started to develop the World Heritage property and its surroundings according to the demands of mass tourism rather than the local population. In the face of the increasing commodification of heritage in Khiva, one could speak of an emerging 'heritage industry' where private stakeholders profit from the exploitation of heritage values.

There is, however, some disagreement about what the tourists' demand actually is. Peter Debrine, who was working on the Destination Management Plan for Khiva, indicated that it is not really clear which source market is being targeted (personal interview, 10 December 2020). The planned (and partially already realized) large-scale hotel and entertainment complexes in Dishan Kala would tend to address a kind of mass tourism that is looking for entertainment rather than culture and brings only little profit to the smaller businesses outside of the all-inclusive accommodations (ibid.). This 'theme park approach' to heritage management sacrifices the 'authenticity' of the place for comfort and entertainment (cf. Logan 2012, 120).

A continuing focus on cultural tourism, on the other hand, would create another kind of demand. The 'tourist and ethnographic gaze' goes with the desire to preserve cultural 'otherness' (as outlined in chapter 2.2). While this craving for 'authenticity' can be criticized as neo-colonial exoticism, it can also contribute to the preservation of tangible and intangible heritage values. As Cristina Iamandi reported, people living in Dishan Kala are often surprised by interested visitors who stroll through their neighbourhoods (personal interview, 30 November 2020). They do not understand the visitor's interest in their 'poor' way of life and the admiration for their dilapidated houses (ibid.). However, over the last years, the appreciation of vernacular architecture and cultural practices has risen among local and national authorities as well as the population. Most houses in Itchan Kala are well preserved and regular festivals for local traditions are being held. So, whether the 'ethnographic gaze' contributes to the heritage preservation or ultimately destroys the 'authentic' experience remains a controversial discussion.

One thing that becomes clear, however, is that the needs of the population have been lost sight of over the desire to fulfil tourist demands (cf. Ronchini 2019, 191). The diverging expectations towards heritage conservation and urban development in Khiva relate to

the dissonance between conflicting understandings of the local heritage. While tourists look at Khiva with their romanticizing ‘ethnographic gaze’, private investors see its economic potential in attracting more visitors, and local residents see their home town being alienated. Itchan Kala is increasingly occupied by tourists and touristic activities, while social and economic uses related to everyday life of the residents have been pushed outside. There are no schools or kindergartens in Itchan Kala, only a few small shops, and the large bazaar at the Eastern gate that was the main source of groceries for the people living in the city centre has been removed. In Dishan Kala entire neighbourhoods have been demolished and people resettled to other parts of the city. The vacant areas are now being developed for touristic use. Pressured by these developments, people are increasingly moving out of the historic city centre which, again, leads to a loss of ‘authenticity’ and the development of a “[monoculture] defined exclusively by the cultural landscapes of tourism” (Smith 2015, 227).

The best chance to counteract these developments is to apply a democratic approach to heritage management that puts the local community at its centre. A voice needs to be given to the residents of the historic city centre of Khiva and to their interpretation of their habitat. They should be included in the production and maintenance of their heritage and they should receive their share of the social and economic benefits of tourism development. Heritage management needs to engage in the negotiation process between different interpretations of heritage, different demands to its use, and different expectations towards conservation and development.

5.3 Conclusions

In the last chapter I would like to close the circle and return to my initial question: How can conservation and development in a heritage city be reconciled? I will also briefly reflect on methodological challenges during the research process and present some open questions for further inquiry.

CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The tensions between heritage conservation and urban development in Khiva play out primarily along the lines of heritage dissonance. There are two 'sides' that can be conceptually differentiated and stand for different ideas about heritage and urban development. However, reality is never black and white and there are different opinions and convergence processes on both sides of the spectrum.

For national and local authorities, 'heritage' consists mainly of the majestic buildings of Timurid times. These need to be protected and renovated to old splendour. The best way to stage them is through broad promenades and large forecourts. Their main purpose is to foster national pride and to attract tourists that bring money to the local economy. Based on this understanding of heritage, some of the local authorities would argue that the massive development of tourism infrastructure at the outskirts of Itchan Kala is exactly the kind of change the city needs. The termite problem has successfully been combatted through the demolition of infested neighbourhoods, residents have been resettled to modern housing units, the chaotic bazaar was cleared away and replaced by a clean shopping mall, a wide pedestrian axis connects the Eastern gate of Itchan Kala to the new railway station, and new hotels as well as entertainment complexes will provide the increasing number of tourists with leisure and accommodation.

UNESCO, ICOMOS as well as other national and international planning and conservation experts, on the other hand, would argue that unique values of a historical city have been destroyed. They perceive the historical urban fabric with its multiple layers of material and intangible values, including, for example, trading activities at the bazaar, as part of the local heritage. Moreover, they would stress the importance of the 'historic setting' for the preservation of the OUV of the World Heritage property, and advocate for a soft approach of gradual neighbourhood upgrading. From their perspective the new hotel and entertainment complexes pose a risk of attracting mass tourism that will exceed the carrying capacity of the World Heritage property and ultimately damage the site. With more and more people being forced to move out of the historical centre of Khiva, moreover, the 'authenticity' of the place would be lost.

There are also different planning approaches applied on both sides of the spectrum. The Uzbek planning system still works in a strict top-down fashion and follows an approach that could be categorized as 'modernist' in the way it disregards the historical city and celebrates the construction of new, large-scale housing complexes, wide roads and modern tourist infrastructures. UNESCO, on the other hand, promotes the Historic Urban Landscape approach that stands for participative planning and a post-modern appreciation for the continuity of the historic city. The understanding of space in its material, social, economic, political, ecological and cultural dimensions demands

for a more careful handling of the urban fabric. From this perspective, historically grown structures that incorporate all these aspects cannot be demolished to be rebuilt somewhere else from scratch, they evolve over time.

The case of Khiva illustratively demonstrates how two diverging interpretations of heritage along with contradicting planning approaches come into conflict, and how this conflict plays out in a tug-of-war between conservation and development.

That said, it needs to be stressed that no side strictly represents *either* conservation or development, but that they have very different priorities in *what* to preserve and *how* to take planning decisions. While both parties claim to act in the best interest of the local population and economic development (as regards to tourism), the Historic Urban Landscape approach calls for public participation and close cooperation of all stakeholders to find a common solution.

The case of Khiva is very specific and it would be presumptuous to draw general conclusions from this experience for the management of change in other heritage cities. Nonetheless, the example shows how heritage dissonance can be a main reason behind different understandings of the 'right' way to reconcile conservation and development. This also points to the importance of a broad negotiation process that includes all relevant stakeholders, most importantly the communities who live with and from their heritage.

REFLECTION ON THE METHODOLOGY

The findings of my research process should also be reflected upon in the context of the methodology that was applied on the basis of the available sources. The analysis of the case study relied on several official documents from UNESCO, ICOMOS and Uzbek authorities. These included, for example, the *Integrated Management Plan 2017-2022 for Itchan Kala*, the *Report on the ICOMOS Advisory Mission to Itchan Kala*, the *Itchan Kala State of Conservation Report 2020*, legal acts and planning documents.

Additionally, I interviewed representatives of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, UNESCO Tashkent Office, ICOMOS International, ICOMOS Kazakhstan, IICAS, and independent expert consultants that have worked in Khiva. With reference to the stakeholder map, which I presented in chapter 4.3, one important group is clearly missing from this list: the Uzbek authorities. It was planned to include representatives of the Ministry of Culture, Uzshakharsozlik LITI (national planning agency), National Commission and Permanent Delegation to UNESCO, as well as local stakeholders from the Khokimiyat, Itchan Kala Museum Reserve, and Regional Inspection in the research process. However, it turned out that they were not available. In some cases, multiple interview requests were not answered at all, in others, respondents asked to see the questions in advance and then never got back to me again. For some authorities, contact details could not be found. The impossibility to get in touch with any of the national or local authorities could be explained by the political culture in the country, where accountability to the public is a relatively new principle (see chapter 4.1). In some cases, the language barrier might have played a role as well. Several of the interviewed experts also confirmed that it is very difficult to get in

touch with Uzbek authorities when one is not on-site or can produce an official letter by a higher authority.

Another important source for the analysis of urban development in Khiva were satellite pictures and personal on-site observations during my job-related visits prior to the thesis project. Unfortunately, it was not possible to visit the city again in the course of the research process because of the global outbreak of COVID-19 roughly at the same time I started working on this thesis. Personal site visits would have been a chance to also include the local population in the research process; contacting local authorities might have also been more successful.

In conclusion, it can be said that this thesis reflects upon the opinion and experience of national and international academia and experts, as well as UNESCO representatives. Through the analysis of Uzbek legislation and planning documents, as well as satellite pictures and on-site observations, it also interprets Uzbek authorities' planning approach and understanding of heritage. The position of the local communities living in the city remains unexplored. From a policy studies perspective it can be therefore characterized as a 'top-down' approach, that focuses on the actions of top-level stakeholders rather than on the implementation process on the ground (cf. Anderson 2003, 195; Blum & Schubert 2011, 126, see also chapter 2.3).

According to several interview partners, the local level awareness of the Historic Urban Landscape approach is rather low. Therefore, the research would probably have developed into a different direction if local stakeholders would have been strongly involved. It might have taken on an 'action-research' connotation, raising awareness for the Historic Urban Landscape on a local level during the research process. While this would have been very interesting as well, it might have led to a very different research design and outcomes. In the present case, however, the focus was on the perception of experts and the formal framework in which the Historic Urban Landscape is unfolding in Khiva.

OPEN QUESTIONS

Based on the methodological reflection, as well as the finding that local communities are underrepresented in the processes of heritage definition and urban planning, continuing research could set a stronger focus on the aspect of civic engagement. Interesting questions in this regard would be: How does the local community perceive their heritage? What is their vision for the historic centre of Khiva? How can community participation be introduced to the Uzbek planning system? How would the legal and administrative structure need to change to foster civic engagement?

Moreover, continuing attention should be given to the conservation of the World Heritage property in Khiva in general, and the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach more specifically. The question, to what extent the implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach in Khiva supported the reconciliation of conservation and development in the city could not sufficiently be answered, because the effects of the efforts to implement the Recommendation are only just beginning to unfold.

The development in Khiva should be closely followed because directive actions are expected: the presentation of the Destination Management Plan for Khiva, the update of the Integrated Management Plan for the World Heritage property, the development of the PDP for the central area and the approval of the buffer zone are expected for 2021. This year could turn out to be decisive for the path that Khiva will take towards the reconciliation of conservation and development.

The original research interest behind this thesis—the reconciliation between conservation and development—should be further explored. This challenging endeavour needs to be studied and discussed continuously and in the local context of each heritage city that faces development pressures. With great interest I will continue to follow the developments in Khiva as well as in other heritage cities of the world in order to observe which processes and dynamics unfold over this negotiation process.

6

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Cities are always in transformation, shaped by global pressures, local developments and the everyday activities of their inhabitants. At the same time, however, many cities have historical centres that are perceived as worthy of preservation and where change is a matter of debate. The conflicts between development and conservation in heritage cities have intensified over the last decades due to increasing pressures from urbanization and cultural tourism, among others. UNESCO has recognized the dynamic nature of heritage cities and the need to develop special approaches to deal with their preservation. This thesis focuses on the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape that was adopted by the General Conference in 2011. It explores the approach to heritage conservation and urban development that is inscribed in this UNESCO policy and its implementation in the World Heritage city Khiva in Uzbekistan. Khiva serves as a case study to retrace the lines of conflict between conservation and development and to discuss the effects of the application of first steps and tools of the Historic Urban Landscape approach.

