Heritage Entrepreneurship in Theory and Practice: Evidence from UNESCO World Heritage Sites

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For humanity

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Preface to the Overarching Research Topic of the Dissertation

This doctoral thesis deals with the topic of heritage entrepreneurship in research and practice addressing the overarching research question of how, why and to what extent heritage sites can and should be exploited entrepreneurially for the benefits of the heritage itself, the regions and communities. The topic is almost developed from scratch due to the scarcity of available literature. It is therefore a pioneering work consisting of five chapters: an introductory chapter, three main chapters, and a concluding chapter. The main chapters each consist of one study that narrow down the overarching research question. The studies jointly contribute to developing the overarching research topic of heritage entrepreneurship using the example of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The studies are briefly presented below.

Chapter two *"From Heritage to Entrepreneurship: Theorising about the Role of Heritage Entrepreneurship in and around UNESCO World Heritage Sites"* contextualises entrepreneurship through synthesising heritage and entrepreneurship. The current literature body of existing forms of heritage entrepreneurship streams and topics from related disciplines influencing heritage entrepreneurship are exposed leading to new definitions and propositions. UNESCO World Heritage Sites are presented and introduced as potential breeding sites for heritage entrepreneurship. This chapter lays the foundation for the (further) development of the research topic. Chapter three *"Heritage Entrepreneurship and its Stakeholders: A Conceptual Example of the Bahá'í Gardens in Israel: A Forerunner in Managing UNESCO World Heritage Sites?"* presents one qualitative case study about the Bahá'í Gardens in Haifa, Israel to identify structures, strategies and stakeholders of an entrepreneurial acting UNESCO World Heritage Site. The international study in chapter four *"The Present State of Heritage Entrepreneurship in 14 Countries"* captures and determines the current situation, need, predictability, and relevance of heritage entrepreneurship in context of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in various countries. Recommendations for action are derived.

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List of Acronyms

BWC	Bahá'í World Centre
E-driven	Efficiency-driven
EA	Entrepreneurial Awareness of Heritage
EDL	Economic Development Level
EO	Entrepreneurial Opportunity Perception of Heritage
ES	Entrepreneurial Spirit
ESE	Entrepreneurial Self-Efficacy
F-driven	Factor-driven
GBTS	Giving Back to Society
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
GESI	GEM's Entrepreneurial Spirit Index
GR	Geographic Region
HE	Heritage Entrepreneurship
I-driven	Innovation-driven
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS(s)	World Heritage Site(s)

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Abstract

Under the guise of preserving heritage or tradition, any kind of development is often deliberately condemned. But this lack of evolution, contemporary innovation or modernity leads to authenticity loss of the heritage and hinders its organic development. Using the example of UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHSs), an attempt is made to identify and recognise the impacts that heritage entrepreneurship (HE) can have on regions in order to, amongst others, prevent this condemnation. HE is one endeavour to interpret the economic and entrepreneurial significance of the heritage, not to determine its anthropological value. HE comprises patterns of, i.e., social, cultural, and community entrepreneurship. Research related to HE is still very limited but a constantly evolving practical field and thus a promising topic for the future. The topic will gain currency in research as the interest of practitioners and policy-makers in seeking alternative ways of preserving yet exploiting heritage increases. As part of this pioneering work, a systematic literature in modified form according to the current state of research is carried out first (see Chapter 2). This shows how the perception, acceptance and application of HE has been so far and allows to derive new definitions and propositions. Second, a case study on the Bahá'í Gardens in Israel is used to shed light on the complex situation and the site-specific challenges of managing a – religious – UNESCO WHS (see Chapter 3). Based on known stakeholder approaches, different types of stakeholders, their role and responsibilities in promoting HE are highlighted for pioneering a new understanding and relevance of HE for individual heritage stakeholders and regions made of UNESCO WHSs. Third, the concept of HE that principally demands a contemporary way of dealing with heritage for regions and stakeholders is operationalised for the first time to collect up-to-date data on HE (see Chapter 4). An international online survey is conducted based on the methodology used by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) to survey the Entrepreneurial Spirit Index (GESI). The aim is to advance the field of research and analyse context factors for predictability and feasibility. Data from 14 countries worldwide show that due to various limitations, there are many hidden, unused opportunities for HE around UNESCO WHSs. It was found that the geographic region (GR) has no impact on

the probability of HE. The country's economic development level (EDL) and the country's entrepreneurial spirit (ES), on the other hand, seem to influence the presence and growth of HE. The overall research results particularly show that UNESCO WHSs benefit from the integration of entrepreneurial thinking and patterns into their organisational, management and maintenance strategies. With the help of heritage stakeholders on and off site, the entrepreneurial spirit can be awakened in regions surrounding UNESCO WHSs. HE ultimately harmonises the economic use and longevity of the heritage for the sake of future generations. Heritage-based entrepreneurial opportunities are exploited for economic growth, social well-being and heritage maintenance. Hence, HE can contribute to the sustainable preservation of UNESCO WHSs and to economic rationality and social justice in individual countries.

1 Introduction to the Dissertation

1.1 General Background

Researchers critique the one-sided approach in entrepreneurship research associated with specific types of organisations rather than seeing entrepreneurship as a process, societal force and useful skill for creating a better world and advancing society (McMullen and Dimov 2013; Wiklund et al. 2011; Shepherd and Patzelt 2011; Patzelt and Shepherd 2011; Sarasvathy and Venkataraman 2011). Researchers have therefore long called for a re-contextualisation of entrepreneurship (Welter 2011; Wiklund et al. 2011; Steyaert and Katz 2004).

Emerging research trends prove that "[…] the phenomenon of entrepreneurship is present and appears across a multitude of situations and events. Therefore, entrepreneurship scholarship has the potential to deal with issues that are central to the development in the world" (Wiklund et al. 2011, p. 6) and heritage proves to be an integral part of it. The emphasis of HE lies on the entrepreneurial value of the heritage to maintain the anthropological value. Bruin and Mataira (2003), Go et al. (2002) and Chang (1997) were the first to coin the term HE. Different forms of heritage but also UNESCO WHSs in different regions are used as objects or examples of investigation in HE research to date.

HE studies have their origin in and overlap with four major study groups (see Figure 1). There is an extensive body of literature for heritage studies, entrepreneurship, tourism, and regional development and policy studies. HE is considered a very young research discipline. Researchers seem reluctant to refer to entrepreneurship in heritage contexts as the two areas of heritage and entrepreneurship initially appear to be opposite. Entrepreneurship, however, can set new impulses for the heritage industry. "The heritage industry, small in size, information-intensive, and creative, is deeply embedded in the very social environment in which the cultural capital was accumulated through the ages" (Go et al. 2002, p. 64).
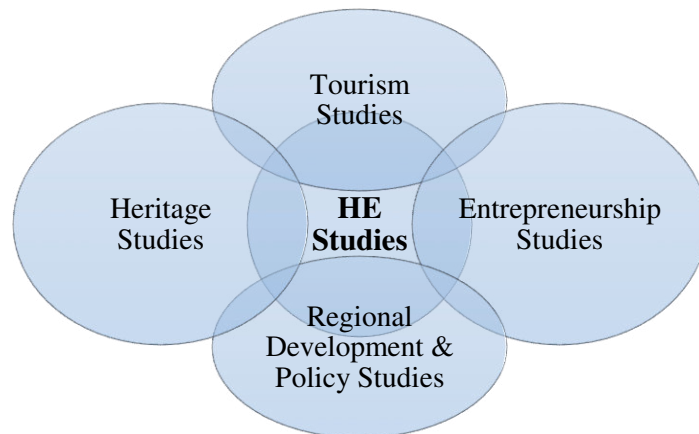
Figure 1: Four Major Research Streams Culminating in HE

Own illustration 2019

The UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) is one specialised but independent – i.e., legally and economically independent – organisation of the UN (United Nations) that, amongst others, is committed to the preservation of heritage. Designated UNESCO WHSs can be found all over the world. In total there are 1121 UNESCO WHSs in 167 countries and new ones are constantly being added (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2020).

The legitimacy of UNESCO branded heritage sites is due to rigorous selection procedures, which examine the intangible and tangible cultural value of respective sites (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019a; UNESCO 2018a). Tangible cultural heritage was recognised as a driver for economic development early on and in this sense was used as an investment object. A heritage industry developed, which is strongly associated with the tourism industry (Facchinetti 2014). Studies on the preservation and use of heritage are mostly based on this context. However, many UNESCO WHSs find it challenging to safeguard heritage and simultaneously generate *spillovers*. Heritage management and other stakeholders involved oftentimes hope for (more) tourism and an economic boom by being included in the UNESCO list to overcome such challenges.

Besides only reinforcing and focusing on tourism, it is argued that UNESCO WHSs held further great socio-economic potentials and entrepreneurial opportunities that must be recognised and researched. Promoting and embedding entrepreneurship within the realms of UNESCO WHSs could not only help maintaining the heritage but could also secure and advance economic prosperity and improve social well-being for communities located in such regions and for stakeholders beyond. This research area of *heritage entrepreneurship* is still in its infancy and emerging.

1.2 Relevance and Overall Research Aim

HE has emerged as one of many research streams from the contextualisation of entrepreneurship (Wiklund et al. 2011; Welter 2011; Steyaert and Katz 2004) demanding to broaden the concept of entrepreneurship and adopting it for the heritage sector. This particularly field is still in its infancy and almost needs to be developed from scratch. This dissertation project is therefore dedicated to pioneering research contributing to the combined and yet understudied field of heritage science and entrepreneurship both conceptually and empirically.

Heritage is a very precious and manifold resource that is commonly declared worthy of protection. It mostly results from historical events or traditions that are of universal value to humanity (Go et al. 2002). HE is assumed to be a key contributing factor for self-sustaining UNESCO WHSs by promoting social change, balanced heritage commodification and regional development. Thus, the role and perception of heritage is changing, and HE is part of this process.

New solutions and sustainable alternatives for the preservation and use of heritage are being increasingly sought due to new needs, the constantly growing number of newly declared heritage assets, heritage in danger or destroyed heritage. This dissertation does plenty of pioneering work in this respect. Entrepreneurship "has emerged as one of the most vital, dynamic, and relevant [disciplines] in management, economics, regional science, and other social sciences" (Wiklund et al. 2011, p. 1), while especially HE lacks a broad and deep research exploration.

This dissertation therefore takes up this relatively new field of research in order to close this gap.

The overall aim is to highlight and characterise HE as an independent discipline of entrepreneurship and to advance HE as a field of research by producing primary data. In the long-term, HE is envisioned to be established and become common practice in UNESCO WHS countries and in countries rich in heritage resources. In short, the research results (or preliminary findings) of this dissertation are particularly important for:

- strategic heritage management, regional development and policy
- UNESCO WHSs[1]
- the debate on the contextualisation of entrepreneurship
- the development of entrepreneurial niches
- the link between heritage and entrepreneurship
- the perception and visibility of HE
- the development of applicable theories in the field of HE
- the acceleration of HE processes
- emerging ecosystems of cultural heritage.

An important characteristic of the relevance of research is its practical orientation. The practical relevance of the topic of the dissertation is given due to the selection of UNESCO WHSs as the research unit, the suggestion of recommendations for action and the predominantly practical implications.

1.3 Research Objective

This research explores how, why and to what extent heritage sites can and should be exploited entrepreneurially for the benefits of the heritage itself, the regions and communities using UNESCO WHSs as example. HE is assumed to be a key contributing factor for self-sustaining UNESCO WHSs by promoting social

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[1] Equally important for heritage labels or institutions beyond designated UNESCO WHSs.

change, balanced heritage commodification and regional development. The main objective is to develop HE as an independent field of research by scientifically substantiating this niche topic, emphasising its value for research and practice and by showing different perspectives and approaches for future theoretical and practical research. The objectives of the three main chapters are as follows.

- The primary research need is identified in chapter two. The objectives of the study in chapter two include (1) contextualising entrepreneurship, (2) synthesising what is known about the relationship between heritage and entrepreneurship for establishing a theoretical framework, (3) identifying HE concepts and additional influences within the scope of a modified literature review to derive definitions and propositions, and (4) highlighting HE in context of UNESCO WHSs.

- The objectives of the study in chapter three include (1) exposing heritage stakeholders through an in-depth analysis of the Bahá'í Gardens in Israel taking into account the specific institutional and strategic aspects of this UNESCO WHS, (2) emphasising the importance of the heritage management, (3) identifying stakeholder groups and strategies that can drive HE forward, (4) constituting the ideal evolution of HE through a UNESCO WHS, and (5) deriving recommendations of actions for religious UNESCO WHSs.

- The objectives of the HE-UNESCO WHS pilot study in chapter four include (1) exploring HE in different countries of UNESCO WHSs, (2) determining the role and predictability of HE at UNESCO WHSs in different countries to identify potential markets for HE, (3) collecting primary data from UNESCO WHSs on their present HE state to gather new data material for the research topic, (4) establishing adequate constructs/criteria for operationalising HE, and (5) deriving recommendations for action for policy, heritage management, and interested stakeholders.

1.4 Thesis Structure and Methodological Approach

The overall research topic is approached and discussed by conducting a literature review modified to the peculiarities of the novelty of HE as a research topic, by preparing one in-depth qualitative case study about HE arising from within the Bahá'í Gardens – an entrepreneurial acting UNESCO WHS in Haifa, Israel, and by conducting a HE-UNESCO WHS pilot study to assess the current and future HE potential of 14 UNESCO WHS countries. The overarching research topic is developed by means of descriptive research and approaches. The key elements and applied methods of each chapter, including the guiding research questions, are outlined below. An overview of the main chapters of the dissertation is also given in Figure 2.

In chapter two of the dissertation the research topic is elaborated and developed as such. Thereby, this chapter examines what the notion HE means, and which concepts have been researched so far. The introductory part of chapter two deals with the demand for a contextualisation of entrepreneurship. HE as one contextualisation theme is accordingly highlighted and defined. An extensive, but modified literature review is used to classify HE literature streams. Two types of literature reviews are distinguished and discussed. Literature with direct and indirect HE references are included in the findings part. HE concepts and projects as well as adjacent, HE-influencing research are pictured. A conceptual typology for HE literature and further propositions are provided leading to new definitions for HE and heritage entrepreneurs. The final part of chapter two deals exclusively with HE and UNESCO WHSs. Prior research contexts and processes of UNESCO WHSs are presented and critically evaluated for a better understanding of these heritage sites and in order to build a bridge to the importance of entrepreneurship research, in particular HE research for UNESCO-WHSs. This chapter ends with a brief conclusion.

The Bahá'í Gardens serve as a case study object in chapter three. They are the most expensive tourism project in Haifa, Israel, funded without state support that was later declared a UNESCO WHS (as the Bahá'í holy places). Within the scope of

this chapter, a UNESCO WHS that is entrepreneurially managed and perceived more independently than other UNESCO WHSs is presented while stakeholder groups and their contribution to HE are investigated. The chapter therefore addresses the following six RQs: *(1) What entrepreneurial traits are reflected in the religious heritage management of the Bahá'í Gardens?, (2) Which internal and external stakeholders are involved in the Bahá'í Gardens?, (3) How does the individual stakeholder contribute to HE?, (4) How does HE evolves around UNESCO WHSs?, (5) Which role do religious communities play in generating spillover effects?, and (6) Which recommendations can be made for heritage management of religious UNESCO WHSs in the context of HE?*. Heritage stakeholders and heritage marketing, both contributing to the evolution of HE, are exposed and discussed. Conclusions are drawn and recommendations made.

In chapter four the current and prospective state of HE in 14 countries of UNESCO WHSs is determined by employing an international survey. In the theoretical framework of this chapter, assumptions are established and derived in preparation for the HE-UNESCO WHS pilot study that is carried out in this chapter. Sample selection and research design of the survey are developed using GEM's GESI. The survey results are then processed, classified and evaluated. It is examined, amongst others, whether there is a connection between (1) the country's level of entrepreneurial spirit (ES), (2) the geographic region (GR) and (3) the economic development level (EDL), and the predictability of HE around UNESCO WHSs in this country; and how ES, GR and EDL relate to HE around UNESCO WHSs in the respective country. Main research results are summarised and discussed in order to identify potential markets for HE, factors in favour of or against HE development and to derive recommendations of action. Limitations of this study and an outlook on future research complete this chapter.

Chapter five summarises results made within this dissertation. An overview is given about theoretical contributions and practical implications and limitations of this research. Fields for future research are suggested.

Heritage Entrepreneurship in Theory and Practice: Evidence from UNESCO World Heritage Sites		
Study in Chapter 2: From Heritage to Entrepreneurship: Theorising about the Role of Heritage Entrepreneurship in and around UNESCO World Heritage Sites	*Study in Chapter 3:* Heritage Entrepreneurship and its Stakeholders: A Conceptual Example of the Bahá'í Gardens in Israel: A Forerunner in Managing UNESCO World Heritage Sites?	*Study in Chapter 4:* The Present State of Heritage Entrepreneurship in 14 Countries
Desk research, Modified Literature Review	Case study design	Survey based on GEM's Entrepreneurial Spirit Index
Secondary data Qualitative analysis	Mixed data Qualitative analysis	Primary data Qualitative analysis

Figure 2: Overview of the Main Chapters of the Dissertation

Own illustration 2019

The effects of HE are multi-faceted and can be categorised in many ways. With regard to three analytical levels, each chapter focuses on one level of analysis. A distinction in the main chapters is made between macro-level analysis in chapter two, meso-level analysis in chapter three and micro-level analysis in chapter four. Macro-level analysis focuses on the phenomenon HE. Meso-level analysis focuses on the evolution of HE by means of the central organisational unit of one UNESCO WHS (ecosystem, stakeholders, strategy). Micro-level analysis focuses on HE adoptions and characteristics in individual countries; entrepreneurial activities of individual groups assigned to UNESCO WHSs (at country level, personal level). These levels guide the analytical development and approach towards HE.

2 From Heritage to Entrepreneurship: Theorising about the Role of Heritage Entrepreneurship in and around UNESCO World Heritage Sites

2.1 Introduction

Various researchers pledge for new contexts of entrepreneurship (Wiklund et al. 2011; Welter 2011; Steyaert and Katz 2004) beyond the entrepreneurial phenomena of traditional research about individuals or SMEs. Entrepreneurship in context of heritage (i.e., HE) is regarded as one of those new contexts implying a promising new strand for entrepreneurship and for UNESCO WHSs on a practical level. The research field of HE is therefore explored and developed from scratch in this chapter, putting entrepreneurship in context through the synthesis of heritage and entrepreneurship.

Wiklund et al. (2011) redefine or recontextualise entrepreneurship "as a method of human problem solving" (p. 6). They point out forms of entrepreneurial and conscious action that advance humanity and improve society as a whole and can lead to the creation of new economic activities. UNESCO WHSs are known for their outstanding universal value to humankind (UNESCO 2018a). The role of HE in and around the UNESCO WHS is assumed to be such a method of human problem solving that takes into account the desire to preserve the heritage and the need for protection and the entrepreneurial use of the heritage.

HE is associated to local entrepreneurship alongside community entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship in neighbourhoods and highlights social commitment, public service objectives and benefits to the general public as drivers of entrepreneurship (Welter 2011). HE must therefore be embedded in a regional context and might be influenced by social entrepreneurship (Dufays and Huybrechts 2014).

Several initiatives are in place aiming to improve the perception and protection of heritage sites (e.g., European Capitals of Culture, EUROPA NOSTRA). These initiatives aim to raise awareness for tourism and bring benefits to society and the economy over long periods of time, but often end up lacking sustainability because resources are limited in time and elsewhere. The concept of HE is unlimited in time and above all is intended to empower stakeholders of UNESCO WHSs to compensate any lack of resources.

This chapter examines what the notion HE means, and which concepts have been researched so far. The role of HE for UNESCO WHSs is emphasised. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part one gives an overview of relevant literature and developments in HE researches. The current body of literature is examined by asking what is unique about HE and what kind of avenues can be created for the future of this field. A modified literature review is conducted in this respect. Literature from a great variety of different disciplines that either name or indicate HE is reviewed. Approaches from neighbouring, non-economic disciplines are used due to the interdisciplinary character of the topic and to mitigate the lack of available research in the field of economics due to its novelty. A definition for HE and the heritage entrepreneur is developed based on these findings.

Part two explores HE in the context of UNESCO WHSs. Previous research priorities, points of criticism and challenges of UNESCO WHSs are highlighted. It is shown to what extent HE complements the research and practice of UNESCO WHSs. This leads to further implications for HE research in the context of UNESCO WHSs, which will be discussed and investigated in the following chapters.

2.2 Method

A systematic literature review (Cooper et al. 2019) was carried out in its main features due to the scarcity of available publications and the novelty of the topic. A desk research was conducted combining data from different sources (Web of Science, Business Source Premier via EBSCOhost, Science Direct, Google Scholar) and time periods in order to achieve a well-founded, scientific processing of previous HE researches. The literature was first collected manually and then evaluated using inductive content analysis techniques (Krippendorff 2019; Mayring 2016, 2015).
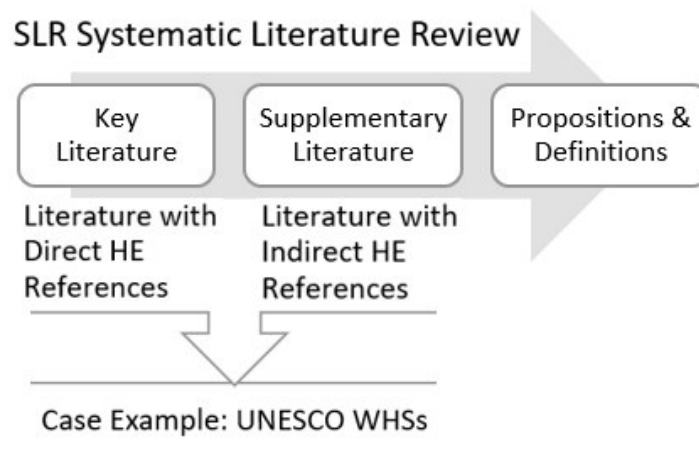
Figure 3: Processing the Research Topic of HE

Own illustration 2019

Figure 3 displays the methodological approach that was used for developing HE. Key literature and supplementary literature are distinguished to show main streams and influencing streams. Further propositions based on the supplementary literature are generated to expand the research field. Finally, an attempt is made to derive an overarching definition for the term HE and the heritage entrepreneur. HE in the context of UNESCO WHSs is identified as a promising field in the literature review. In this respect, challenges and potentials of UNESCO WHSs are critically evaluated and UNESCO's HE pilot study in Africa is highlighted.

2.3 Results and Discussion

2.3.1 Overview: Body of Key Literature, Pivotal Projects/Workshops, Geographical Coverage, Methods Employed

Key literature was published between 1997 to 2016, with peaks in 2011 and 2015. The journal articles are all peer-reviewed, and partly published in open access scientific journals. In 2011, Welter (2011) and Trettin and Welter (2011) briefly referred to HE in a subordinate role when spatially contextualising entrepreneurship. Individual studies and projects followed in the following years (see Table 1 and 2). Different regions were covered in HE research to date (see Table 1 for geographical coverage). Qualitative methods were solely applied and chosen to capture HE research.

Current body of key literature	Pivotal HE projects and workshops[2]	Geographical coverage[3]	Methods
Journals - Ecocycles: the scientific journal of the European Ecocycles Society - LCM Journal (Lingue Culture Mediazioni Languages Cultures Mediation) - Annals of Innovation & Entrepreneurship - International Journal of Heritage Studies - Information Technology & Tourism - Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography - Entrepreneurship & Regional Development - Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice (ETP) *Books* - Tourism and Culture in the Age of Innovation, Springer Proceedings in Business and Economics - Entrepreneurship: New Perspectives in a Global Age, Ashgate Pub Ltd	- Sagittarius Project (2011)[4] - UNESCO Heritage Entrepreneurship Field Training (2014)[5]	Spain Singapore Mexico Sweden Italy New Zealand Scandinavia South Wales South East Europe Africa	Qualitative: - Case study - Literature review - Descriptive analysis - Discourse analysis

Table 1: Body of Key Literature, Pivotal Projects/Workshops, Geographical Coverage, Methods

Own illustration 2019

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[2] In addition, there has been the European Conference on HE in Cyprus 2018 that focused on the development of craft family enterprises over generations EU Artisan Project 2018.

[3] Countries, regions, and continents that have been and served as the subject of HE research and practice so far.

[4] Essays created in the course of the project were published in *The Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* (peer-reviewed, open access).

[5] Detailed information in Sect. 2.4.5.

2.3.2 Overall Observations and Implications

HE is a very young research discipline as shown in the number of studies, projects and workshops. There are different thematic approaches to HE (see Table 2) that stress different angles of HE. Based on the diversity but also striking similarities of HE concepts to date, it is assumed that there is a need for pioneering work, groundwork, and in-depth studies to promote HE research. HE is a strongly practice-oriented research topic so that above all practice-oriented results and implications are achieved and expected.

2.3.3 Thematic Analysis

A systematic literature review is conducted by summarising and bringing together the core thematic approaches of the key literature. Additional literature on heritage, tourism, regional development and entrepreneurship was screened to formulate propositions that partly support existing knowledge about HE and partly provide new insights. Based on the observations and implications (see Sect. 2.3.2 above), the goal is to suggest a new definition for HE and the heritage entrepreneur and to identify and develop central themes for further research.

2.3.3.1 Findings from Literature with Direct HE References

Literature contains different concepts of HE, which clearly designate HE as the main theme. These are categorised as key literature and the research approaches are presented as current forms of HE classification streams. An overview is given in the following paragraph and in Table 2 below.

The term *HE* or *heritage entrepreneur* has been mentioned in some studies, some of which express (1) the driving role of heritage entrepreneurs in marketing and expanding heritage issues for social change (Pfeilstetter 2015); (2) the responsibility of heritage entrepreneurs to act as mediators in between locals and tourists for balancing the heritage commodification process (Go et al. 2002; Chang 1997); (3) the performance of HE as correct or inappropriate, based on the nature of the practice (Lundberg et al. 2016); (4) the power of HE for economic

regeneration and building new businesses in especially unstable economies (Lagerqvist and Bornmalm 2015); (5) the empowerment of citizen-led innovation and grassroots initiatives to embed HE while pushing heritage as key economic driver (Paganoni 2015); (6) the combining effects of HE and innovation for regeneration processes and socio-cultural change (Powell et al. 2011); (7) indigenous communities' activities as first incidents of HE (Bruin and Mataira 2003); or (8) the necessity of turning HE into an urban profession (Go et al. 2002). All these studies were dealing with HE in a different way but indicate the importance of one balance perspective. For HE this means to not entirely exploit heritage for the will of tourism, entrepreneurship or any other economic purpose. The HE approaches contained in the key literature are presented and dealt with in detail, as they serve as a basis for further knowledge acquisition in this and the next chapters.

Table 2: Heritage Entrepreneurship: A Classification of Key Literature

Own illustration 2019

Author(s)	Research issue	Research design, data	Thematic approach to HE
Pfeilstetter (2015)	Analysis of the construction and promotion of heritage from an agency perspective	Case study approach, the Mediterranean diet in Spain	Constituted institutions (acting as heritage entrepreneur) producing and exploiting heritage (opportunities) with regard to key stakeholder interests
Go et al. (2002)	Analysis of the role of heritage entrepreneurs for sustainable heritage tourism	Conceptual	HE as a leading part of the value enhancement of heritage from the inside of communities
Chang (1997)	Re-evaluation of the effects of heritage commoditisation and stakeholders involved	Case study approach, two case studies of heritage tourism development in Singapore	Heritage entrepreneurs as mediators in reconciling tourist and local demands in the dynamic process of heritage commoditisation
Lundberg et al. (2016)[6]	Modelling and distinguishing four types of 'heritagepreneurship'	Conceptual and multiple case study approach, case studies from Mexico and Scandinavia	HE as a means of regional development of culture and as an expression of social processes, adversities and opportunities

[6] Referring to the term 'heritagepreneurship'.

Lagerqvist and Bornmalm (2015)[7]	Analysis of heritage design practices for authentic heritage preservation and economic regeneration	Case study approach, two examples of reusing industrial, maritime and technical heritage in Sweden	Developing new economies through HE in non-urban regions with unstable growth
Paganoni (2015)	Evaluating cultural heritage as a key economic driver from a European institutions' perspective	Conceptual, discourse analysis	Creative repositioning of heritage though innovative entrepreneurship and heritage management
Powell et al. (2011)	Investigation of innovation and HE development in the South Wales Valleys	Case study approach, eight case study interviews about heritage tourism enterprise development in South Wales Valleys (esp. Merthyr Tydfil)	HE as a strategy for sustainable regeneration schemes in the heritage sector
Bruin and Mataira (2003)	Discussing indigenous entrepreneurship	Conceptual (framed in resource-based theory), study example of Maori tribes in New Zealand	Activities of indigenous communities for self-sustainment of culture and identity and for acquiring and securing heritage resources; HE as part of state entrepreneurship
Welter (2011)	Contextualisation of entrepreneurship	Conceptual	HE as a form of local entrepreneurship; HE comprises activities of "communities safeguarding their heritage" (Welter 2011, p. 170); a social-committed, non-profit oriented, community-benefitting approach to entrepreneurship
Trettin and Welter (2011)	Overview of spatially-oriented entrepreneurship for understanding everydayness of entrepreneurship	Conceptual review of 348 articles in 18 international journals published from 1990-2007	HE as a socio-spatial form of entrepreneurship where "communities [are] safeguarding their heritage" (p. 577); HE similar to community and tribal entrepreneurship; a social-committed, non-profit oriented, community-benefitting approach to entrepreneurship

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[7] Referring to 'merging heritage and entrepreneurship'.

2.3.3.1.1 Institutionalised Heritage Entrepreneurship

Bruin and Mataira (2003) formulated the term HE to express how the creation, settlement and handling of historical resources for economic and non-economic reasons indicate entrepreneurial behaviour and ability. Within the framework of their understanding of HE, possibilities are used "to acquire and/or safeguard customary, heritage based resources" (ibid, p. 170). Pfeilstetter (2015) adds that these possibilities are manifold, depending on the advantages that the institution or community that has emerged strives for. According to him, social processes, social change and development go hand in hand with HE. Therefore, it is important to understand the implications and side effects that arise from basic cultural heritage activities and that then set the whole institutionalised process in motion.

Pfeilstetter combines entrepreneurship with the social construction and exploitation of heritage. The UNESCO inscribed Mediterranean diet in Spain[8], for example, was developed and promoted by interest groups such as companies, governments and researchers. He refers to them as agents, institutional driving forces, and heritage entrepreneurs. The focus is on the Mediterranean Diet Foundation, which functions as the most important heritage entrepreneur. The NGO was set up to exploit the possibilities of using the heritage for economic and non-economic purposes (Pfeilstetter 2015).

Here, HE is thus "the competitive, conflictive and agency-driven character of cultural heritage" (Pfeilstetter 2015, p. 215), which manifests itself in the creation of institutions representing the elitist interests in heritage. Institutions with legal capacity that use *specific heritage items* both directly and indirectly for the generation of ideas and for the development of products or services are regarded as heritage entrepreneurs. Heritage entrepreneurs can respectively be "companies, associations, social movements, political parties, specialised media, religious communities, departments within state-administrations at all levels or NGOs" (ibid, p. 219) who create, manage and expand heritage. Experts from the public and private sectors often come together to establish HE in the economic, political or

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[8] Inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

scientific market (ibid.). This shows that HE plays a role for business, science and politics.

As soon as the heritage is officially recognised by an international institution such as the UNESCO, "heritage entrepreneurship opens up prospects of further uses […]" (ibid, p. 222) and ultimately determines the value of the heritage and its brand. "A basic pattern of heritage entrepreneurship consists therefore of managing the successful creation of such brands that ensure further exponential growth in the symbolic, social and material value of the labelled item" (ibid, p. 220). The anthropological component of entrepreneurship is particularly recognised here. HE namely entails social responsibility, since the institutionalisation of heritage in certain environments can lead to social change and community building. Not surprisingly, HE has become a popular part of regional policy agendas due to its high potential for regional development. However, lack of knowledge about HE leads to decisions being often "instrumental rather than creative and development oriented" (Lundberg et al. 2016, p. 24).

2.3.3.1.2 Heritage Commodification, Heritage Entrepreneurship and Tourism

The commodification of heritage is a priority objective on the political agenda of sustainable rural development and is often used to diversify tourism businesses. However, there are some weaknesses, such as the non-inclusion of local communities or short-sighted political goals to the detriment of long-term HE effects. It is important to point out that entrepreneurial culture can also exist or flourish independently without political support or agenda (Wyrwich 2012) but inclusion of stakeholders could contribute significantly to the success of an agenda (Lundberg et al. 2016; Bruin and Mataira 2003). Certain stakeholders are also afraid of losing the original value or authenticity of the heritage if the resource is changed or used uncontrollably. In the course of this, one often speaks of Disney-style objectification or Disneyfication of cultural assets which stands for beautification measures that replace old patterns with new ones, thereby falsifying the old character (Facchinetti 2014; Murzyn-Kupisz 2013; Kennedy and Kingcome 1998).

This negative connotation of heritage commodification and *manufactured heritage* can be traced back to the 90s (Chang 1997).

In contrast, Debes and Alipour (2011) have shown that stakeholders in North Cyprus have missed opportunities because they opposed the commodification of heritage and did not recognise its use for the trend towards niche tourism. HE stands for seizing such opportunities. These will reduce the impact on the value of the heritage if the concerned heritage is used and developed in a balanced and commercialised way. Heritage development is not a static but rather "a dynamic process which [even] travers the tourist-local divide […]" (Chang 1997, p. 64) because strong heritage products incorporate not only an entertainment value but also an educational mission (Surugiu and Surugiu 2015). Local people often accept these tourism-induced modifications of heritage, as heritage tourism and the creation of cultural heritage products and services create added value for themselves and their everyday life. Locals themselves often determine which places are highly sought after by tourists (ibid.).

HE and tourism are two different concepts, but they overlap. In the broadest sense, tourism is a possible reification of HE. Chang, for example, proposes a more differentiated understanding of the link between HE and tourism in favour of local ownership, family-based entrepreneurship and small local entrepreneurs, and recommends celebrating "local heritage albeit in a new and different form" (1997, p. 64). New and different means the conversion of old buildings into boutique hotels, the invention of city districts as new tourist strongholds or the general gentrification of city districts. The heritage entrepreneur should support the state as a local agent and mediate between the heritage consumers, i.e., locals and tourists. After all, the entrepreneur knows how to address several consumer groups simultaneously and react to market needs and new demands.

2.3.3.1.3 The Four HE Types of Lundberg's Heritagepreneurship Model

Lundberg et al. (2016) have created the key term *heritagepreneurship* to blend heritage and entrepreneurship. They approached the topic with a conceptual model referring to culture 'in the form of heritage' and to regional development 'in the form of entrepreneurship'. They analyse how to use complicated heritage for regional development showcasing extreme examples from Mexico and Scandinavia. The overarching research question "How can telling the past at historic sites benefit our society?" (ibid, p. 24) is an issue widely discussed in heritage studies, while in economic studies it remains a side issue of the creative economy or less researched areas such as cultural entrepreneurship (Bürger and Volkmann 2019).

Four types of *heritagepreneurship* were identified and distinguished: (1) proper mainstream *heritagepreneurship*, (2) proper forgotten *heritagepreneurship*, (3) in-proper revitalized *heritagepreneurship*, and (4) in-proper selective *heritagepreneurship*.

(1) replicates "some well-established practice (i.e., gentrification of historically significant urban neighborhoods)" (Lundberg et al. 2016, p. 25) for regional development. Stakeholder collaborations blend heritage into – new forms of – consumable places where mainstream commercial activities take place embracing the former heritage in a positive but not obvious manner.

(2) contains a makeover-strategy "building something completely new and historically anachronistic on the place of the [heritage]" (ibid, p. 26) demonstrating non-action and non-communication to fade unpleasant memories.

(3) relates to innovative use of heritage, lasting ventures and activities based on the heritage without transforming the actual heritage to keep its balance.

(4) highlights reinventing heritage for a specific target group either linking or denying specific memories attached to the heritage which easily causes conflicts between target groups and non-target groups, e.g., different social classes.

The processes described result from oblivion, reminiscence or learning from the past and can over time evolve into other types of *heritagepreneurship*. Such changes are foremost encouraged by communities or other engaged stakeholders. The examples and types given tend to be extremes, therefore Lundberg et al. concede that "more nuanced strategies for more long-term sustainable heritagepreneurship and regional development [] [must be] located in-between these extremes" (ibid, p. 37).

2.3.3.1.4 Regional Reinvention, Heritage Maintenance and Economic Development

Lagerqvist and Bornmalm theorised that merging heritage and entrepreneurship "could be the driving force in developing new economies in geographic areas with unstable growth […], specifically in non-urban landscape perspectives" (2015, p. 16). They stress that economic regeneration and resource economisations are possible through preserving local heritage and using it for developing new branches. The practice of heritage preservation is interpreted as a process of shaping heritage. Commercial use of heritage and outgrowths of HE then drive the development of new economies. Ongoing socio-cultural processes, including societal processes, trigger such heritage practices. Knowledge about the preservation and restoration of heritage is thereby stored. Non-profit and volunteer societies often forward such techniques, boost tourism services and facilitate job market entries for long-term unemployed. It is concluded that shaping heritage "might form the base for innovative entrepreneurship and new industries" (ibid, p. 17).

The city of Matera, Italy, also a UNESCO WHS since 1993, has been reinvented and repositioned by HE. It combines "highly creative cultural management with innovative and sustainable forms of entrepreneurship" (Paganoni 2015, p. 126) and places its heritage at the heart of its economic activities. Entrepreneurship is "rekind[led] [] at a local level and in participatory ways" (ibid, p. 125), among other things, to counteract budget cuts in the public sector. Emphasis is put on strengthening citizen-led innovation and grassroots initiatives. Matera has therefore also been designated European Capital of Culture 2019 by the European Commission. However, the potential of cultural heritage for Europe's society and economy have not yet been fully exploited and recognised beyond the tourism sector. HE has the strength to advance growth and employment in diverse industries also in wider fulfilment of the Europe 2020 strategy (ibid.).

Seen from another perspective, the revitalisation of a region, city or area offers opportunities for the development of heritage businesses and HE in pursuit of greater economic prosperity (Powell et al. 2011). The relation of socio-cultural regeneration and sustainable development of entrepreneurship is seen as extremely important here. However, the preservation of heritage is always prioritised over its exploitation, be it through innovative programmes or HE. Powell et al. (2011) have investigated stakeholders who wanted to expand the tourism and leisure sector in the valleys of South Wales in order to establish a *new industrial heritage-based tourism sector*. It was found that HE projects are positively influenced by

(1) communities: community involvement enhances the feasibility of heritage projects and thus the success of generating funding (community entrepreneurship equally improves employment situation),

(2) accessibility and maintenance of funding schemes,

(3) networking and partnerships for sharing expertise and resources,

(4) nurturing start-ups, marketing and raising the profile of HE potentials of the area, supporting entrepreneurial attitudes, and

(5) developing hub and cluster networks (i.e., redirecting visitors in partnering areas etc.).

The empowerment and involvement of residents or host communities in HE affairs is of particular importance. But communities need support when it comes to managing heritage in an entrepreneurial way, and generally acting and thinking entrepreneurially. Incubators and the use of information and communication technology (ICT) are regarded as helpful support, especially in transitional countries. Go et al. allude that "the objects that are now recognized as "heritage" were the expression of the socioeconomic circumstances of [] [prior] age" (2002, p. 59). They wonder why "heritage entrepreneurship [has not yet been turned] into an urban profession" (ibid, p. 60) in order to reap benefits from heritage. Again,

> *"[…] it is felt that the lack of entrepreneurial capacity represents a barrier to wealth generation through the conservation and the responsible use of […] heritage. Thus, enterprise creation for the cultivation of cultural heritage assets is a precondition for a sustainable development strategy based on cultural tourism." (ibid, p. 64)*

Local heritage entrepreneurs take the lead in content creation and communication, value enhancement and market strategy facilitating and coordinating processes and partnerships. They act as intermediaries who interact between stakeholders. Go et al. state that "[] heritage conservation and economic development need not conflict. […] In the city of tomorrow, heritage enterprises will be inextricably integrated in the urban context and interfaced with numerous "glocal" stakeholders" (ibid, p. 67).

2.3.3.1.5 HE Indications of Sagittarius Project
Sagittarius Project is a transnational cooperation project from 2011 dedicated to inter alia support and unite key stakeholders on transnational level to approach and launch HE as driver for change and economic regeneration. HE has been understood as a wide range of activities to create and support (g)local cultural heritage products and services. During the project period of three years mainly funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), HE was advised in the region of South East Europe aiming to inspire entrepreneurial innovation even beyond project settings (Papathanasiou-Zuhrt 2011). Interested stakeholders from government,

society and economy attempted to implement HE for ecological, economic and social profit and partnered to invest in human capital, advance cultural consumption, mitigate the protection use conflict, unite and mobilise social forces etc. (SEE TCP Sagittarius EU 2011).

Research done in context of the Sagittarius Project has provided some insights into how heritage can be "an alternative driver for sustainable development and economic recovery in South East Europe" and how HE typifies the value, protection, communication and use of heritage (Valentina 2015; Valentina et al. 2015). Results of the study support and complement the literature review's findings and can be summed up as follows:

- Public-private partnerships are eligible to preserve cultural heritage initiating economic development (Absalyamov 2015)
- Heritage literacy and development of society could be better accomplished through community participative approaches in heritage management instead of authorized heritage discourse (Babić 2015)
- Creativity should be extended as base of socio-economic development (Bălan and Vasile 2015)
- Media marketing strategies and coverage should be developed to promote religious heritage and tourism (less researched) (Cristea et al. 2015)
- Participatory approaches (e.g., community management of heritage) should be used to protect and exploit heritage under the premise of sustainability and revitalisation (Hribar et al. 2015)
- Formation and training of heritage entrepreneurs in clusters should be encouraged (Tripon 2015)

- Optimising heritage consumption through innovative technology devices helps sharing content and influences. Emphasis should be put on networking and stakeholders when developing HE. Collaboration of locals and entrepreneurs for creating new tourism products/services leads to opportunities for small, local HE and ecosystem protection (Vasile et al. 2016)

- Export strategies for exploiting heritage should be implemented in order to advance socio-economic development (Vorontsov et al. 2015)

- Challenges and difficulties in allocating and accessing resources for cultural HE in South East Europe countries rich in heritage need to be overcome (Zaman 2015).

➔ The summarised study results can also be read as recommendations for action.

2.3.3.2 Findings from Literature with Indirect HE References – Six Propositions

Literature that supplementary hints at HE is now reviewed. Six propositions are formulated to add to previous findings from key literature. These propositions identify drivers and triggers for HE. A working definition based on both types of reviews is then developed.

Proposition 1: *(Self-)Gentrification processes trigger HE.*

Chan et al. (2016) have cultivated self-gentrification as a new type of gentrification for the sustainable maintenance of rural situated UNESCO WHSs and the betterment of the socio-economic status of local populations living nearby. Self-gentrification is said to be an entrepreneurial pro-active reaction of indigenous inhabitants who turned into a minority in their own land. Their living costs increases while space decreases due to gentrification processes triggered by tourism influx and incoming population. So-called middle-class gentrifiers are usually involved in small tourism businesses and improve the local economy for the benefit of the UNESCO WHS. The latter is not always the averted goal of large tourism operators

but "tourism gentrification can contribute to protection and revitalisation of the built cultural heritage and urban landscape" (ibid, p. 1266).

Murzyn-Kupisz (2013) takes a slightly different perspective than Chan when she shows how built heritage projects – funded by private investors and adapted for hospitality and accommodation services – cause direct, indirect and induced socio-economic impacts on employment rate, public revenues, the real estate market and the ecosystem. Local stakeholders such as palace owners and managers function as gentrifiers leading the heritage commodification process and inspire local and regional – business – development. "The concentration of palace hotels […] is [then] developing into a unique cluster of [innovative] heritage firms" (ibid, p. 161). Chan, however, sees early gentrifiers from outside responsible for jumpstarting rural tourism such as neighbouring entrepreneurs who specifically come to the UNESCO WHS to run small scale businesses and that local entrepreneurs or returning migrants learn from them and only then follow. Either way, building residents' entrepreneurial skills in terms of launching fruitful heritage-related businesses is necessary to build one wholesome, functioning cluster.

Remote UNESCO WHSs such as the Hani Rice Terraces in China face problems of migration of youth, tourism-led displacement of locals, tourist masses and newly arrived immigrants which lead to impoverishment of UNESCO WHSs and result in a loss of knowledge about hosting and protecting UNESCO WHSs. These kinds of UNESCO WHSs often turn into ghost villages during off season. Without cultivating indigenous people, who possess the required skills for maintaining the heritage ecosystem, the heritage or cluster will vanish and end up disintegrated. Tourism will soon collapse as it originates from the outstanding landscape. "Exoticism and modernity" (Chan et al. 2016, p. 1272) must therefore be balanced.

In summary, changes in the habitat triggered by the commodification of heritage by third parties lead to (self-)gentrification processes. These processes often inspire inhabitants to initiate activities in the realms of HE to counteract any occurring shortcomings or problems. Early adopters in particular recognise burgeoning

opportunities for HE at an early stage and know that a strong heritage site can be reached though effective collaborative and joint efforts.

Proposition 2: *Forwarding everydayness of entrepreneurship and educational interventions for all citizens and communities help embody HE and instil a sense of place and for the value of heritage.*

The *everydayness of entrepreneurship* (Trettin and Welter 2011) or *citizen entrepreneurship* (Faltin 2017, Entrepreneurship Summit Berlin) refer to a wider concept of entrepreneurship: dissemination of entrepreneurship for everyone, for alternative lifestyles, other products, other ideas or ideals. The *everydayness of entrepreneurship* stresses that entrepreneurship can happen every day and is not forced to any circumstances or contexts (Steyaert and Katz 2004). This ultimately encourages to find entrepreneurial patterns in every situation. This work reaches out to integrate the asset of heritage, its management and other relevant stakeholders in an entrepreneurial socio-economic advancing process, bridging the gap to an everyday understanding of entrepreneurship.

Summatavet and Raudsaar (2015) have argued that "the complexity of the combination of local cultural heritage and entrepreneurship within the framework of social innovation is multi-layered and seldom embraced" (p. 33). As a result, they have conducted a pilot training project combining experiential learning theory, design thinking approaches, cultural heritage studies, product development and entrepreneurship. One trainee, for example, was inspired to design and sell children linen collections with national heritage imprints. In this case, heritage served as a source of inspiration for a new business creation, but HE owns further characteristics of social and community entrepreneurship with an exceptional "sense of place". This sense of place is reflected in "ventures in the form of activities, services and institutions [] [that serve] the common good of a community" (ibid, p. 35). These ventures might re-establish regional solidarity and identity. Entrepreneurship as a mean to revitalise deprived localities is therefore often advised in policies and support schemes for entrepreneurship in rural areas

(Trettin and Welter 2011) but developing *local community* entrepreneurship in rural areas is intensively difficult due to lack of training programmes or institutions dedicated to entrepreneurship education. HE might lead to a greater acceptance and familiarity with entrepreneurship in these regions as it draws on local heritage resources.

Proposition 3: *HE arises from niche and sustainable tourism entrepreneurship in its first development stage.*

Generally, tourism promotes entrepreneurial opportunities. From niche or new tourism including backpackers, independent travellers, ecotourism to conventional tourism there is a bunch of different tourism. Niche tourism as a countermovement to conventional tourism is associated with small-scale enterprises whereas large, international corporations stand for conventional tourism (Hampton 2005). Small and medium-sized enterprises are very common in the tourism and hospitality sector. Especially in early tourism development in rural areas, entrepreneurs are eager to demand the need whilst large corporations do not engage or invest because of the small size of the potential market. Small-scale tourism entrepreneurship is a research field for itself. Lifestyle entrepreneurship as part of it shows how oftentimes former travellers are inspired by a sense of place and community to establish innovative small businesses for a niche market in a highly segmented market to transmit *real and authentic* experiences without focusing on profit-oriented growth only.

Ateljevic and Doorne (2000), who have exposed this phenomenon in several New Zealand research projects, claim that lifestyle entrepreneurs are committed to products or services that reflect their own social and cultural values and beliefs without scaling their business. They deliberately and ideologically restrain to maintain their lifestyle and the quality of their offerings. This "rejection of an overtly profit-driven orientation does not necessarily result in financial suicide or developmental stagnation but rather provides opportunities to engage with 'niche' market consumers" (ibid, p. 381).

These lifestyle entrepreneurs attract imitators over time who reproduce their products and services and exploit already identified opportunities. "[T]he innovators are dominantly driven by quality of life choices whereas the imitators were more focused on profit maximisation" (ibid, p. 385). Innovators satisfy the demand for individual tourism offers while international companies dominate the hotel and transport sector. This "reflect[s] increasing entrepreneurial activity and awareness" (ibid, p. 384) as those innovators establish market niches conform to their lifestyle.

"Furthermore, given the subsequent reproduction of the products created and the stimulation of regional economic development, the innovative and creative attributes of these individuals closely resemble Schumpeter's observation of entrepreneurs as dynamic elements in the economy, despite their efforts to limit the growth of their own businesses." (ibid, p. 389)

Local entrepreneurs often jumpstart tourism development by opening the region for tourism purposes and thus attracting financially sound investors. This ideally leads to economic growth, regional development, wealth creation and employment, infrastructure expansion and investment from abroad. Individuals referred to as tourism entrepreneurs offer products, services or experiences to niche tourists before they eventually turn mainstream. Tourism entrepreneurs on the Gold Coast of Queensland, Australia, are driving sustainable tourism development while mitigating environmental and socio-economic threats caused by conventional tourism operations through their ethical decision-making (Kensbock and Jennings 2011). In ecotourism, entrepreneurs likewise feel responsible for mutual developing business and community (Asadi and Kohan 2011). Successful ecotourism projects are often characterised by local community presence and local partnerships (Landorf 2009; Nicholas et al. 2009; Gurung and Scholz 2008). Nonetheless, locals are often displaced from the heritage main attraction provoking total separation of site and community due to large scale modernisation – tourism – projects and political power situations (Hampton 2005). Modernisation is still seen as progress while local small-scale businesses as stagnation. Hampton therefore suggests the

legitimisation of small-scale businesses through bottom-up approaches and entrepreneurship education. Thereby, communities are empowered, and HE can finally evolve.

Proposition 4: *HE positively affects heritage tourism, local integration and innovation especially in deprived regions.*

In 2011, Chang introduced a special issue dedicated to entrepreneurship in tourism and hospitality to show the stream's variety and potential for further research. Topics of this special issue dealt with heritage tourism, e.g., the model of creative destruction was applied to explain "the evolution of communities whose development has occurred around the commodification of heritage" (Chang 2011, p. 468). Heritage industry has so far been seen as part of tourism industry. Newby (1994) already knew back then that the main bond between heritage and tourism lies in coexistence, exploitation and imaginative reconstruction. Go et al. (2002) even sees heritage tourism as an opportunity for world peace. An important concept for heritage tourism was provided by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, 1998) who introduced the theory of *the value of difference*. It says "a location must become [and be experienced as] a destination" (ibid 1998, p. 371) in this highly competitive tourism market. "Tourism and heritage are collaborative industries, heritage converting locations into destinations and tourism making them economically viable as exhibits of themselves. Locations [or heritage sites] become museums of themselves within a tourist economy" (ibid.).

Entrepreneurship is considered part of heritage tourism and essential for driving economic development and regeneration in deprived regions. In context of UNESCO WHSs, entrepreneurship is mentioned to be more flourishing when located outside the city core due to governmental legislation or other influencing factors. Surugiu and Surugiu (2015), for example, have shown the great potential of heritage as an alternative driver for sustainable development and economic recovery in south east Europe in Romania by referring to heritage – tourism – entrepreneurship. Heritage tourism is created there by companies that use the

specific heritage of the place for their own entrepreneurial purposes. Heritage industry still seems to be reluctant to entrepreneurship and innovation fearing loss of authenticity and lack of identity; living in the past instead of seeing sustainable economic recovery potentials for communities, regions or countries. Therefore, it may be "perhaps a paradox that the heritage industry is a product of an enterprise culture" but there is a clear "shift towards a more business-oriented heritage sector" (Thomas et al. 2007, pp. 77–79).

Barbour and Turnbull (2002), for example, have analysed how non-profit entrepreneurial engagement can affect the prime sources of heritage tourism in Scotland. It has been recognised that entrepreneurial efforts generally enable greater strengthening of brand identity, independence from public funding based on visitor numbers and economic performance, attraction of visitors, creation of income and employment, and balance between heritage conservation and cannibalisation. Surugiu and Surugiu (2015) especially highlighted the growing role of social media – innovative e-services – as an entrepreneurial marketing instrument to promote visibility of heritage tourism destinations. Social media is a direct, agile and more personal way to influence, i.e., sharing the message, presenting and communicating heritage and competing with other heritage businesses at lower costs. It helps approaching different types of visitors, more particularly the next generation of heritage consumers granting reliability and realness. The content relies on the target group: mass market or niche market. Niche tourist or heritage consumers are defined as more educated and generous but simultaneously as more demanding and service quality oriented. Heritage consumers nowadays become prosumers in social media which creates and increases expectations but also reputation of heritage businesses. Heritage SMEs in less enterprising countries are more successful, i.e., positively correlated with empowerment and engagement, when intrapreneurial attitudes are manifested within staff (Thomas et al. 2007).

Tourism-led economic regeneration enables entrepreneurial activities around UNESCO WHSs and sparks intrapreneurial movements within communities. A study about the impacts of tourism on a community residing at a UNESCO WHS in rural China – namely the diaolou of Kaiping – shows that many inhabitants who used to work in agriculture business also operate as entrepreneurs managing farmer restaurants or offering goods such as farm products, handicraft and other services to visitors. They recognise an overall improvement of infrastructure and betterment of their general well-being which generates additional investment for the maintenance of the UNESCO WHS. However, there is no relation drawn to HE effects per se (Ryan et al. 2011). These so-called tourism entrepreneurs (see proposition 3) are able to recruit others for farming, invest in farming business and equipment and consequently develop the tourism sector. Pride in place (see sense of place, proposition 2) results in place attachment that alleviates rural exodus. But with growing tourism there comes a change in land use that has been elaborated before. Interestingly, it is concluded that *glocalisation* is "the only long-term response to globalisation in tourism" (Ryan et al. 2011, p. 761). This also indicates how HE can responsibly nurture heritage tourism development by opening heritage globally without neglecting local needs.

Proposition 5: *Stakeholders stimulate HE in (UNESCO WHS) regions.*

Several researchers have stressed stakeholder coordination, cooperation and communication in context of HE (Lundberg et al. 2016; Chan et al. 2016; Pfeilstetter 2015; Boccardi and Duvelle 2013; Debes and Alipour 2011; Powell et al. 2011; Trettin and Welter 2011; Kausar and Nishikawa 2010; Go et al. 2002). As seen, heritage offers business opportunities that generate revenue for local development and communities. Precedence should be accordingly given to the education of individual communities to harness the potential of heritage. Constraints such as lack of knowledge, resources and networking can be overcome when stakeholders get involved, proper learning facilities and support schemes are created, and one-off training or workshops are replaced by follow-up activities.

Wang and Bramwell (2012) underline the sensitivity of balancing the commercial use and protection of UNESCO WHSs – depending on heritage – suggesting governments to intervene. Economic gains justify and facilitate the protection of heritage and governments' involvement. In fact, governments turn into *entrepreneurial agents* striving for economic development and heritage maintenance. They stimulate competition, domestic demand and create pressure on innovation and quality (Saheed 2013).

Certain stakeholders affect government decisions in favour of tourism growth around UNESCO WHSs. When planning tourism projects it is recommended to empower communities and involve them in decision-making processes (Sasidharan and Hall 2007) as "the infrastructure and other city improvements made for tourists and investors will serve the local community [and heritage] as well" (Karmowska 1996, p. 141). Several stakeholders such as local entrepreneurs, small business owners and NGOs contributed to the rise of rural tourism in some regions of Romania. Orastie region in Romania – designated a UNESCO WHS – generally lacks financial resources and expertise to fully exploit its heritage value for entrepreneurial and touristic purposes; hence to build a touristic infrastructure. Heritage tourism as a niche but sustainable market was identified to stimulate grassroots entrepreneurial activities while developing the rural region and limiting outmigration (Sasidharan and Hall 2007). Gnyawali and Fogel (2017) said that either environment motivates or opportunities are provided in the environment to start a business. It is a cycle of stimulation. In Lenggong valley, a UNESCO WHS in Malaysia, the local community is involved in entrepreneurship to develop tourism. Local people are turned into entrepreneurs to attract foreign investment and encourage start-ups. This ultimately creates more employment opportunities. A start-up environment is, however, dependent on the existence and number of exogenous factors of the entrepreneurial ecosystem within a community area. Farid (2015) warns that if heritage is not managed properly it rather leads to the degradation of ecosystems.

Proposition 6: *Presence of effective heritage management and exercise of HE is significant when reaching for sustainable socio-economic inclusion in developing countries.*

Barriers to entrepreneurship in disadvantaged local economies and constraints in setting entrepreneurship as local development strategy have been collected without arousing HE issues or questioning if markets or ecosystems around heritage sites are enough for entrepreneurism (OECD and Nolan 2003). In rural, remote or depleted regions "cultural heritage tends to be less 'monumental' and more connected to the living practices of communities" (Boccardi and Duvelle 2013, p. 3). That means

> *"heritage is linked to the lives of communities and is fully integrated into social, economic and environmental processes […]. As a result, any effort aimed at protecting the environment and improving the social and economic wellbeing of communities needs to consider the cultural heritage […]." (ibid, p. 2)*

Various researchers therefore also believe that local community entrepreneurship culminates in socio-economic development of regions (Jaafar et al. 2014; Petrin 1994). Heritage appears as an "increasingly critical element in the economy and society of developing countries" (Facchinetti 2014, p. 4) since it "expresses values and identity and organizes communities and their relationships through its powerful symbolic and aesthetic dimensions, […] essential to people's spiritual wellbeing in the most profound sense" (Boccardi and Duvelle 2013, p. 4). Governments and institutions should be careful not to abuse or neglect HE-related economic activities since they are used to improve "social cohesion and inclusion", "inclusive social and economic development", "minority rights", "education", "environmental protection" and "environmental sustainability", and "peace and security" (Facchinetti 2014, p. 4; Boccardi and Duvelle 2013, p. 2). In this context, Facchinetti (2014) further argues that effective heritage management is able to tackle identity problems of splitted communities as in the case of Myanmar and has

the power to democratise the country while being the leading driver in protecting heritage.

Heritage management shapes entrepreneurial activity besides serving as a social institution (Ahlstrom and Bruton 2017; George and Zahra 2002). Small scale businesses in developing countries, for example, use their heritage to develop different kinds of entrepreneurship, ultimately paving the way for HE. In Ogun state, Nigeria, woman entrepreneurship arose from a special art of cloth making. The so-called Adire textile fabrication is a major local craft that used to be passed on by the family and now made it into academic curriculum to equip especially woman with a chance for self-employment and to take entrepreneurial action. Innovative products and production processes of the Adire business can be successfully and incrementally implemented due to modern equipment and relatively small investment sums (Saheed 2013). The heritage is here transformed into an *innovative entrepreneurial craft* that increases employment and creates wealth in and for the region of its origin (Yuyun 2007).

Kausar and Nishikawa (2010; Hampton 2005) name tourism around the UNESCO WHS Borobudur Temple in Indonesia as a chance for entrepreneurial opportunities and local product development, but do not elaborate this idea further. Compared to other industries, the tourism industry is seen as the engine of the green economy (Hastings 2014). There even exists a beneficial relation between the presence of heritage sites in a region and the number of tourists attracted (Farid 2015). Developing countries therefore often initially concentrate on the promising sector of (heritage) tourism to ensure locally anchored jobs and guarantee sustainable economic growth. The tourism market, in particular, can be tapped if there is a unified heritage management system in place and if rural industries and the ecosystem are promoted (Kausar and Nishikawa 2010). When a whole new infrastructure and ecosystem is built around the heritage, more visitors, new investors, and new money are attracted which helps create new possibilities for HE in developing countries (Jeretic 2014; Facchinetti 2014).

Proposition 1:	(Self-)Gentrification processes trigger HE.
Proposition 2:	Forwarding everydayness of entrepreneurship and educational interventions for all citizens and communities help embody HE and instil a sense of place and for the value of heritage.
Proposition 3:	HE arises from niche and sustainable tourism entrepreneurship in its first development stage.
Proposition 4:	HE positively affects heritage tourism, local integration and innovation especially in deprived regions.
Proposition 5:	Stakeholders stimulate HE in (UNESCO WHS) regions.
Proposition 6:	Presence of effective heritage management and exercise of HE is significant when reaching for sustainable socio-economic inclusion in developing countries.

Table 3: Summary and Overview of the Six Propositions Based on Supplementary Literature

Own illustration 2019

2.3.4 Discussion and Future Research and Practice Avenues for HE

The preceding thematic analysis and overview of literature illustrates how widely the concept of HE is used and understood. Individuals, cultural sites or regions that make a difference through the *active use* of their heritage are highlighted. The ability of heritage to encourage tolerance, awareness, participation and mutual understanding; reduce poverty; promote local identity and cohesion and peace and stability in city centres or outer regions; fight for minorities; improve appearance (Facchinetti 2014; Go et al. 2002) and *produce everyday entrepreneurs* (Steyaert and Katz 2004) in eagerness to use and maintain heritage facets shows the variety and agility of the resource heritage. Thus, the heritage itself holds socio-economic development potential that can be reaped by stakeholders through HE. There are many future avenues for HE that are conclusively discussed in the following.

Heritage-driven entrepreneurship "highlight[s] social commitment, nonprofit goals, and benefits for the wider community as additional drivers for entrepreneurship" (Welter 2011, p. 170; Trettin and Welter 2011, p. 577). Thereby generating spillover effects, such as employment opportunities. These drivers and effects are

said to initiate social change. Concerning social change, it is necessary to "consider the diversity of spatial contexts in which social processes may produce different forms, practices and concepts of entrepreneurship and, thereby, resulting in place-specific socio-economic development paths" (Trettin and Welter 2011, p. 577). This implies - and consequently it is recommended - to explore HE in spatial contexts, i.e., in different "geographical environments, e.g., countries, communities and neighborhoods; industrial districts and clusters" (Welter 2011, p. 168) to best understand how HE specifically contributes to socio-economic development and fortifies social change.

Pfeilstetter's anthropological model of entrepreneurship "understands entrepreneurship as a process of social change fostered by the institutionalisation of innovative and/or conflictive ideas in a social environment" (Pfeilstetter 2015, p. 219). HE can thus be observed as expression of institutionalised heritage processes fostered by heritage entrepreneurs. There is no explicit definition for heritage entrepreneurs, but they can be, amongst others, an internal, local power in development processes and act as mediators between different stakeholders in such processes (see Pfeilstetter 2015; Go et al. 2002; Chang 1997). Identifying the role of heritage entrepreneurs and further in HE involved stakeholders is crucial as participatory approaches and the role of one heritage management for successfully initiating and establishing HE are emphasised throughout literature (see, amongst others, Sarach 2015; Bălan and Vasile 2015; Babić 2015; Hribar et al. 2015). Thereby stakeholders decide on the strategic positioning of the heritage in HE processes. Besides the stakeholders, the nature of the heritage mainly influences HE opportunities.

HE represents

> *"a novel interpretation of the entrepreneurship at a more overarching level, that avails itself of opportunities to acquire and/or safeguard customary, heritage based resources. In particular this concept views the resource claims of indigenous peoples and action to protect their intellectual and cultural property rights (also termed 'Indigenous Heritage Rights'), as entrepreneurial behaviour" (Bruin and Mataira 2003, p. 170).*

Based on this interpretation for indigenous communities, there could be potentially great benefits of HE for other communities as well. Just as indigenous peoples protect their culture and values through entrepreneurial behaviour, communities or management of, for example, UNESCO WHSs could also actively exercise HE to protect their heritage and expand opportunities for 'self-sustainment' and 'self-determination'. "Another instance of heritage entrepreneurship is the development of a Maori-made trademark" (Bruin and Mataira 2003, p. 172). The UNESCO WHS label and attached stakeholders are already set in place to protect heritage worldwide. Therefore, it can be assumed that the conscious exercise of HE within UNESCO WHSs can contribute to the (entrepreneurial) preservation and exploitation of these UNESCO WHSs jumpstarting socio-economic changes for regions around UNESCO WHSs. Pfeilstetter (2015) even shows how institutions such as UNESCO can initially deliver the resource base for driving HE. Here heritage is produced and marked by institutions and eventually commercialised. This might lead to an overuse of the heritage resource and exclude directly affected communities or other heritage stakeholders which is contrary to the HE understanding of Bruin and Mataira (2003). In the long term, it is expected that HE achieves a balanced, sustainable (entrepreneurial) exploitation of the heritage concerned that prioritise regional benefits and communities living close by.

This conception also separates HE from 'classical', non-niche tourism that often neglects residing communities' interest (see, for example, Chan et al. 2016). Tourism and HE, however, seem intrinsically connected in most HE related studies

and projects as there exist many forms of tourism that can be an expression of HE activities or that trigger HE (see Surugiu and Surugiu 2015; Debes and Alipour 2011). A greater distinction of tourism and HE is therefore suggested and pursued in future studies. Go et al. (2002) even propose to turn HE into an urban profession for sustainable, cross-cultural development of communities and tourism. This could lead to opportunities for embedding HE in the education and training sector.

The role of HE for UNESCO WHSs is emerging as an interesting area of research. with regard to the spatial context, individual UNESCO WHSs or UNESCO WHS countries can serve as a sample. For example, it can be examined how stakeholders contribute to the entrepreneurial maintenance and utilisation of UNESCO WHSs, in which UNESCO WHS countries HE could be a socio-economic measure, which drivers and obstacles favour HE outputs around UNESCO WHSs or which future potential HE holds for UNESCO WHSs.

It is assumed that there is a need for HE, as HE complements or improves *normal* management practices by awakening an entrepreneurial spirit, entrepreneurial attitude and behaviour primarily for the protection and use of heritage, which need not be mutually exclusive as already shown in previous studies.

2.3.5 A New Definition for HE

The adoption of the following working definition is advocated at this early stage of research as demanded in Sect. 2.3.3. The definition aims for an all-encompassing validity while still allowing flexibility in the handling of HE. It is based on the findings of the key and supplementary literature.

HE is the willingness and capability of any committed stakeholder to improve the actual quality of life in communities by generating socio-economic benefits from heritage by taking entrepreneurial actions or seeking entrepreneurial opportunities in favour of organic economic growth while ensuring sustainability of heritage resources.[9]

The working definition of HE put forward in this chapter is intended to rethink how heritage is used, managed, carried and safeguarded. Cultural-creative or creative-cultural clusters or hubs are slowly promoted across regions that are rich in heritage to create economic opportunities and benefits in sectors related to local heritage (see, e.g., Powell et al. 2011; SEE TCP Sagittarius EU 2011).

In addition, two definitions are proposed to capture the image of the heritage entrepreneur. Different individuals and groups were perceived and regarded as heritage entrepreneurs, such as companies, NGOs or other associations, individual owners or representatives of cultural heritage, political or state institutions, or religious communities. A narrow and wide definition based on previous studies and the findings of the key and supplementary literature above are suggested as follows:

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[9] A suggested definition of HE by Denzer 2019.

Narrow definition: Heritage entrepreneurs reinvent heritage, convert heritage or/and gentrify heritage. They exploit, sell or/and commercialise heritage opportunities to innovate and invent (g)local products and services in order to build a strong heritage brand.

Wide definition: Heritage entrepreneurs belong to the group of heritage stakeholders. They act as mediators in between these stakeholders and facilitate and coordinate processes and partnerships within the heritage ecosystem. They are able to address several heritage consumer groups and close the gap between tourists and locals. They envision social change and balance the commodification process of heritage for economic and non-economic gain. Heritage entrepreneurs manage heritage, create heritage, or/and expand heritage while maintaining or enhancing the heritage value. They are responsible for the market strategy of the heritage by responding to new market demands and taking the lead in creating and communicating content for online and offline media.

The definitions serve to further delineate and explain HE as an object of research.

2.4 Heritage Entrepreneurship and UNESCO WHSs

HE is naturally associated with UNESCO WHSs. As the literature review has shown, HE has also been dealt with in scientific publications in connection with UNESCO WHSs, albeit not sufficiently. UNESCO inscribed WHSs were therefore chosen as the research unit to gather more insights into the field of HE.

In general, UNESCO WHSs are culturally consumable, educational but entertaining, not primarily sales-oriented, and socio-economically significant as an attraction factor for the cultural tourism industry and beyond. It must now be clarified how HE – besides strengthening tourism – can contribute to preserve and use UNESCO WHSs and what *beyond* means. First, topics that are relevant for contextual understanding are briefly presented and discussed in terms of identifying starting points for HE. Research priorities in the area of UNESCO WHSs were primarily set in marketing, management, historic preservation and tourism (Tauschek 2013; Luger and Wöhler 2008; Hotz 2004). Cross-references to HE show that the existing research priorities should be supplemented by entrepreneurship studies. Second, a pilot study by UNESCO showing how one can realise HE in early stages in a developing country is presented. Here UNESCO has mobilised resources for the integration and interpretation of HE. Third, challenges that UNESCO WHSs are facing and corresponding solutions that emerge from HE are summed up.

2.4.1 UNESCO's Convention and Critics

UNESCO was founded after second world war. Work tasks of UNESCO vary but its world cultural and natural heritage programme enjoy increased public and media awareness. The Convention (see also Sect. 2.4.5) aims to preserve outstanding value for mankind to promote peace and cultural diversity. Factors for heritage protection mechanism changed over time. First introduced because of war, then to prevent dominant factors and destructive forces such as globalisation, environmental influences or socio-political and economic transformations (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019a; Tauschek 2013).

UNESCO started to adapt different forms of heritage such as intangible heritage. The advisory body ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) is responsible for cultural heritage while IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature) for natural heritage (ICOMOS 2019; IUCN 2019a). Experts evaluate the outstanding universal value of cultural heritage along ICOMOS' concept of social constructivism and of natural heritage along IUCN's naïve kind of empirical realism (Schmitt 2009).

According to some critics, states with institutions such as ministries of heritage or solid financial resources are often more represented on the list than other states due to their capacities and capabilities (ibid.). HE could possibly eliminate this shortcoming by educating and involving stakeholders that are somehow connected to the heritage and willing to contribute. This could result in a new competitive situation for inclusion on the list. Critical voices have also been raised about preselection by UNESCO and predetermined creation of heritage-scape (Di Giovine 2009), legitimation of heritage policies (Hausmann and Murzik 2011a; Luger and Wöhler 2010), constant destruction of heritage (see the case of Machu Picchu), and so-called difficult heritage (Macdonald 2009; Logan 2009). These criticisms represent imbalances which HE tries to compensate by considering regional and heritage-specific needs.

2.4.2 Introducing the Process of Becoming a UNESCO WHS and Prerequisites for its Heritage Management

Nominations for inscriptions to the UNESCO WHS list are initiatively forwarded by governments. Given that nominated and accordingly accepted and UNESCO branded WHSs can maintain themselves properly and are made available for an international audience under the premise of securing the sites' appearance. Several strategies need to be developed to ensure the requirements for heritage maintenance, including the acquisition of financial resources and their stability. Securing the value of heritage is closely linked with the fundamental problem of achieving sustainability: how can today's consumption be controlled in order to preserve the planet for future generations? The heritage will be destroyed if there

are no institutions, regulations or committed people willing to protect the heritage. These growing concerns about resource bottlenecks and sustainability issues are challenges that HE addresses. HE can also help meet the requirements for applying as a UNESCO WHS.

2.4.3 UNESCO and Tourism

Boosting tourism is considered the main reason for applying for a UNESCO nomination. The brand UNESCO is seen as one quality seal in a fairly unsteady tourism industry that depends much on zeitgeist, trends and financial resources of travellers (Hausmann and Murzik 2011b; Bratl and Bartos 2011). It is assumed that the success of UNESCO nominations is due to "worldwide mobility and the alliance with tourism industry" (Hausmann and Murzik 2011b).

Cultural research often discusses the relationship between heritage and tourism and an even closer connection between heritage and tourism is foreseen (Staiff et al. 2013; Timothy and Boyd 2006). Key topics of cultural or heritage tourism in economic research are the transformation of local cultures into tourist consumption destinations or the establishment of sharing points for tourists and local actors, i.e., the integration of communities into heritage processes (Tauschek 2013). UNESCO also impels touristic economisation of heritage as means of sustainable development for living communities worldwide. However, compared to other stakeholders the host community or local actors rarely or less benefit from growing tourism (ICOMOS 1999).

It is often said that the heritage value is produced through tourism and its consumption. By this, the heritage is made tangible (Di Giovine 2009). This alludes to the fact that inscribing and constructing heritage stands in an interaction of understanding its proper meaning for society being receptive to modifications created by human beings. Luger and Wöhler (2008) point out that heritage is intrinsically based on preservation and dissemination whereas tourism is based on consumption. To reconcile these *conflicting* extremes, Schmitt and Schweitzer (2007) hope for shared creative paths of local communities and heritage

management in dealing with tourism and heritage. HE can, amongst others, create this path by incorporating minorities, i.e., communities or heritage managements residing near UNESCO WHSs that are partly neglected in the course of UNESCO tourism but are very important for maintaining and further developing the heritage.

2.4.4 UNESCO as Brand for Rising Countries

According to Poria et al. (2011), the effectiveness of the brand or UNESCO WHS designation alone is moderate when aiming for visitation influx or economic benefits. In order to achieve the desired goals, it is first and foremost necessary to initiate marketing measures, while the brand ultimately proves to be a door opener in further processes. HE prospectively imparts and stimulates abilities and ways of thinking that favour the achievement of these goals. Ryan and Silvanto (2014) note that developing countries are nowadays taking the lead in applying for UNESCO WHS status while early applications were dominated by developed countries. They point out that UNESCO WHSs are used for destination branding and tourism as well as economic impulses, especially in countries with little or no other development potential. In addition, buffer zones and other interrelated preservation measures associated with the inscription protect the site from destruction which is especially relevant for emerging countries. This inevitably raises the question of whether HE is particularly eligible for developing countries, as developed countries can resort to other options. This assumption is supported by the above proposition that HE has a positive impact on cultural tourism, local integration and innovation, especially in *disadvantaged regions* (see proposition 4).

2.4.5 HE Field Training Organised by the UNESCO – The Pilot Study

The first UNESCO Heritage Entrepreneurship Field Training (HEFT) took place in Africa and shows how HE can be taught and applied to influence the performance of heritage sites. Secondary data sources in the form of reports and questionnaires from the short-term field study provided by project managers were compiled and evaluated. HEFT included (1) two training workshops in Ghana and Senegal with an average of 10.5 days in May 2014, (2) an 18-day field project in Zambia in September/October 2014 and (3) three small field projects in Mali, Cameroon and Madagascar with an average of 6.3 days. Language barriers were removed by offering francophone sessions in Senegal and Madagascar and anglophone ones in the other countries. Field projects continued the work of the initial workshops with the same participants, sites and projects. A series of entrepreneurship workshops and field projects in the framework of the second periodic report programme for Africa were organised by the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) in collaboration with Ecole du Patrimoine Africain (EPA), the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa (CHDA), the UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC), the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), and the Nordic World Heritage Foundation (NWHF).

Since 2006, the AWHF has supported African countries in implementing the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. The World Heritage Convention includes the strategic objectives of the five C's: (1) to strengthen the credibility of the World Heritage List, (2) to ensure the effective conservation of World Heritage properties, (3) to promote the development of effective capacity building in the States Parties, (4) to increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through communication, and (5) to strengthen the role of communities in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The former four C's were extended by the fifth C for communities to complement a bottom-up perspective (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019a). Again, this underlines the increased awareness of the need to integrate local communities into HE or heritage-related processes in general.

Within the scope of HEFT, a heritage representative and a community representative each formed a work team to identify potential entrepreneurial opportunities and assess their feasibility. Furthermore, the site managers and members of the community were asked important questions to help them understand their role within the community and their relationship to the heritage site in order to awaken entrepreneurial self-awareness and self-efficacy. The HEFT workshops held have been developed in response to the priority areas identified in the 2009/11 periodic report – such as risk and conflict management, community involvement, economic benefits for the local community – to meet the challenge of (1) preserving, protecting and managing heritage and (2) addressing development needs. These workshops used interactive, hands-on teaching and learning methods to cover all aspects of entrepreneurship education. Entrepreneurial activities in and around the locations of the participants were thereby presented and discussed. Success stories of small companies and initiatives were told to inspire.

A total of 19 participants were trained in various aspects of entrepreneurship for heritage properties and their surrounding communities. 19 frameworks, action plans and budget proposals for entrepreneurial ventures were created for nine UNESCO WHSs (see Appendix 1). A communication and exchange network for heritage professionals and local administrators was finally set up to obtain long-term outcomes. The results of this pilot study show that the involvement and support of stakeholders is necessary to provide a basis for HE and that it must be initiated by heritage management or other organisations responsible for the heritage.

2.4.6 HE Solutions for Challenges of UNESCO WHSs

Many challenges of UNESCO WHSs are also reflected in the convention introduced above. Challenges arise before UNESCO World Heritage designation and during received UNESCO World Heritage status. Overall seven challenges were identified, and it is shown how these challenges are addressed by HE.

The first challenge is the fulfillment of the application requirements. Prerequisites can be achieved through HE. Heritage management can use HE to raise funds, make the heritage accessible to the public and generally build capacity to preserve the heritage. The second challenge is the credibility of the World Heritage List that is jeopardized by the imbalance between developing and developed countries on the list. HE can equip developing countries to ensure fairer competition. The third challenge is the protection of the heritage and its extraordinary value to humanity in order to promote peace and cultural diversity. HE promotes the ability to identify regional and heritage site-specific needs and thus creates alternative ways for heritage conservation to prevent destruction. The fourth challenge is the lack of human resources. HE aims to involve different stakeholders to reduce this shortage. The fifth challenge is the reinforcement of the role of the communities and the protection of minorities. Touristic economisation of heritage often leads to outmigration of indigenous communities due to lack of space and unequal distribution of profits at the expense of communities. HE enables communities to participate in heritage processes and to found businesses based on or inspired by heritage. The seventh challenge is to raise public awareness that effective ecosystems can be built around heritage with the help of HE and through incorporating UNESCO WHSs.

2.5 Conclusion

A new form of entrepreneurship has been contextualised in this chapter. It shows that the socio-economic potential of heritage is generally underestimated and should be exploited through entrepreneurial thinking and action. Heritage can when combined with entrepreneurship, amongst others, counteract the dependence on seasonality in tourism, drive regional development, maximise domestic added value, increase local attractiveness, safeguard heritage, develop heritage and protect minorities.

The notion HE was redefined based on a detailed literature review. Key literature review revealed a few different concepts and approaches towards HE. In addition, propositions that explain the occurrence and development of HE were derived on the basis of the supplementary literature. The importance of the *equilibrium perspective* concerning the equal protection and use of heritage resources, has been highlighted throughout (e.g., Debes and Alipour 2011; Barbour and Turnbull 2002). Since either protection or use are often neglected, this perspective represents a challenge, which is why HE should be implemented within the framework of UNESCO WHSs in order to achieve a balanced benefit-protection effect. Long-term use of heritage and the sustainment of its most important facet, namely its cultural value, is possible through organic growth that considers the interests of future generations. Demarketing measures are even recommended in critical cases.

Due to the specifics of heritage, the concept of HE is sometimes difficult to grasp. Also, HE and tourism cannot be clearly separated from each other. HE seems to stand out from general tourism, but certain types of tourism (i.e., niche or sustainable tourism) are classified as a trigger, part and expression of HE.

In conclusion, HE is regarded as a promising approach for stimulating and developing regions around UNESCO WHSs, especially those with geographical or other constraints. Uniting stakeholders and providing education and support systems are some of the challenges that were addressed and are faced by UNESCO WHSs. HEFT supports the impression that heritage management and community members are eager to be trained and educated in HE (UNESCO 2014). The literature review also points out that stakeholders establish ecosystems evolving around heritage and in favour of heritage. These are induced by (self-)gentrification or other developmental processes, commoditisation, certain types of tourism or due to approaching risks for the heritage (see Chan et al. 2016; Murzyn-Kupisz 2013; Kensbock and Jennings 2011; Debes and Alipour 2011; Hampton 2005; Go et al. 2002; Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Chang 1997). Encouraging HE is anticipated to increase the social, economic and environmental value of heritage places, their communities and their surroundings.

This chapter introduces and develops HE as a new research topic in order to move from heritage to entrepreneurship. For the long-term establishment of HE, it is necessary to collect primary data in future studies due to the novelty of the topic and the associated limited data availability.

3 Heritage Entrepreneurship and its Stakeholders: A Conceptual Example of the Bahá'í Gardens in Israel: A Forerunner in Managing UNESCO World Heritage Sites?

3.1 Introduction

As early as the late 1980s, heritage tourism became known and treated as the most viable source for maintaining heritage while triggering economic spillover effects for regions – especially for regions of geographical constraints due to political or other framework conditions (Richards 2018). The EU, for example, recognised this possibility and began to include heritage tourism in its support programmes (European Commission 2020; EU 2018). A new concept has emerged in recent times that points out new potentials and perspectives beyond the tourist focus. The term *heritage entrepreneurship* (Pfeilstetter 2015; Trettin and Welter 2011; Bruin and Mataira 2003) or portmanteaus such as *heritagepreneurship* (Lundberg et al. 2016) were developed to describe and identify entrepreneurial phenomena or "more entrepreneurial practices of the heritage sector" (Birmingham University 2017). The construct of heritage is hence reinterpreted from an entrepreneurial perspective.

Entrepreneurship is, amongst others, referred to as

> *"a dynamic and social process where individuals, alone or in collaboration, identify opportunities for innovation and act upon these by transforming ideas into practical and targeted activities, whether in a social, cultural or economic context" (Remmele 2007, p. 15).*

Accordingly, HE benefits the heritage, the residing communities, the managing entities or the regions that own the heritage on multiple levels; often leading to the social, cultural or economic regeneration, repositioning or growth development of the environments where the heritage is located (Lundberg et al. 2016; Lagerqvist and Bornmalm 2015; Paganoni 2015; Powell et al. 2011). Heritage stakeholders need to be involved to identify and develop entrepreneurial opportunities based on the respective heritage (Pfeilstetter 2015; Go et al. 2002; Chang 1997). The constantly growing number of UNESCO WHSs is said to breed opportunities while challenges for HE.

HE in its specific form can support UNESCO's seek "to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of […] heritage around the world […] of outstanding value to humanity" (UNESCO 2018a) by enabling sustainable maintenance of heritage sites, encouraging communities to identify with their heritage and simultaneously developing their ecosystem. Many UNESCO WHSs have the potential to influence the opportunities for starting small businesses and providing financial support or training for local product development but do not overcome impediments such as government's disregard of family-owned or small businesses due to its size and lack of capital and education or the miscoordination and miscommunication of stakeholders that hamper the long-term establishment of sustainable industry based on HE around UNESCO WHSs (Kausar and Nishikawa 2010).

Consequently, HE is promoted to deal more effectively with the topic of heritage and its arising opportunities. This also includes a restructuring of the heritage management. Deficiencies in the management systems of UNESCO WHSs have been identified but none of UNESCO's general management manuals (see, i.a., German Commission for UNESCO 2008) are specifically entrepreneurship-related. Moreover, the role of communities in heritage management is changing and evolving. It is stressed that in particular the resilience of religious communities differs from other communities and this is reflected in the management of their UNESCO WHSs (UNESCO 2018b).

In several countries, religious communities act as heritage stakeholder and take the leading role in navigating heritage processes. For example, in Egypt, religious communities (Jewish, Christian, Muslim) are responsible for managing their respective heritage sites (UNESCO 2011). In Myanmar, the landscape of Buddhist monuments is protected by religious and local communities. In Portugal, the Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Monte in Braga is sustainably managed by the Confraternity of Bom Jesus as a religious place and space for art and culture (UNESCO 2019a). When religious communities act as heritage management, emphasis is laid on their:

- custodial role

- role in facilitating and leading dialogue between stakeholders

- managerial role in the creation, maintenance and design of sacred sites

- further role in conveying and preserving the spiritual identity as well as the meaning and purpose of life (dissemination of spiritual and religious value).

It is assumed that the responsibility of religious communities also lies in the creation of entrepreneurial opportunities and in entrepreneurial actions in furtherance of, among other things, the aforementioned roles attached to them in their function as heritage management. General guidelines are demanded in this respect. Religious interest should, however, always be taken into account in heritage processes even if these communities are not leading in maintaining and managing their heritage.

The involvement of stakeholders, especially communities, is also an important part of stakeholder theory for long term survival of any firm or organisation. Stakeholder theory (Freeman 2010 and 1984, 1994) embraces and depicts internal and external interests being competitive but rather ethical-value driven than profit driven (Freeman et al. 2010; Freeman et al. 2004). According to Kourula and Halme (2008), stakeholder involvement increases benefits for both organisation and society. Given the diversity of organisations, objectives and structures of especially underrepresented non-profit organisations should be empirically examined by

applying stakeholder management strategies, stakeholder theory or stakeholder thinking (Parmar et al. 2010).

The current emphasis on the role of communities in heritage can also be attributed to the retroactive inclusion of communities in the UNESCO Convention (see Sect. 2.4 above). The particular role of religious communities in the management of World Heritage properties gained importance within the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 2010 when a conference was held in Kiev, Ukraine. There, for the first time since the Convention was established, the role of religious communities in the management and preservation of their heritage has been internationally recognised, given the specific requirements of religious heritage and sacred sites. "*New forms of action to promote social cohesion, and peaceful interaction among cultures" (Rössler 2018)* were called for within this setting. In 2018, the follow-up conference *'Living religious heritage: participatory management and sustainable use'* took place after several expert meetings happened in between. In further support and determination of the field of religious World Heritage, case study and cross-thematic approaches were recommended as there is a lack of *natural case studies* (UNESCO 2018b).

The conceptual example presented in this chapter is a single case study that addresses the demand for cross-topic approaches by linking heritage and entrepreneurship. The heritage, its stakeholders and the underlying management of the Bahá'í Gardens (UNESCO WHS since 2008) are viewed from an entrepreneurial perspective in order to gain new insights into HE that forward the idea of the entrepreneurial management of religious sites or heritage of religious interest.

> *"The issue of the protection and management of properties of religious interest is increasingly prominent in contemporary conservation debates. In today's interconnected world grappling with serious socio-economic difficulties, ensuring constructive dialogue between the world's cultures and religions ranks as one of the most pressing challenges on the international agenda." (UNESCO 2019b)*

Religious world heritage properties, i.e., properties with spiritual, sacred, religious focus, are able to secure and advance economic prosperity in regions of geographical constraints. The Bahá'í Gardens are an integral part of the city of Haifa, Israel, representing an example for religious and urbanised heritage with regional impact. They fall into the category of listed UNESCO WHSs that have a religious or spiritual connection. This category accounts for about 20% and is the largest thematic group of the UNESCO World Heritage list. Initiatives for guiding sustainable management practices for theses specific sites are put forward by UNESCO. The long-term goal is the integration of these practices into cultural policy at various levels, from the local to the international level (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019b).

HE has been discussed in rudimentary form from tourism and heritage points of views as well as from a regional economic perspective, but research has failed to acknowledge the importance of entrepreneurship for UNESCO WHSs survival, for heritage consistency and socio-economic terms. The Bahá'í Gardens in Israel were selected as main research object of this chapter's study in order to elaborate a conceptual example of a more entrepreneurial managed UNESCO WHS questioning if the Bahá'í Gardens could be a forerunner in managing UNESCO WHSs. It is assumed that the Bahá'í Gardens are eager to stimulate entrepreneurial and social activities and that entrepreneurial patterns have been incorporated in their organisational set-up, capacity and mindset.

The impact of entrepreneurship on ecosystems and economic growth is well studied whereas the "reversed causality of economic development influencing entrepreneurial activities" (Carree and Thurik 2003, p. 438) is still untapped. The non-profit type of organisation of the Bahá'í Gardens and its higher purpose trigger such activities and add a new component to research about Israel's young but well-established entrepreneurial ecosystem (Harel et al. 2017). The role of religious communities in context of UNESCO WHSs and HE is thereby further explored. Overall the following research questions are examined:

RQ1: What entrepreneurial traits are reflected in the religious heritage management of the Bahá'í Gardens?

RQ2: Which internal and external stakeholders are involved in the Bahá'í Gardens?

RQ3: How does the individual stakeholder contribute to HE?

RQ4: How does HE evolves around UNESCO WHSs?

RQ5: Which role do religious communities play in generating spillover effects?

RQ6: Which recommendations can be made for heritage management of religious UNESCO WHSs in the context of HE?

The study in this chapter mainly aims to contribute (1) to the development of the field of HE by reinforcing the position and thematic of (living) religious communities in managing UNESCO WHSs, (2) to the representation of non-profit organisations in stakeholder theory, and (3) to the elimination of shortcomings in the general management of UNESCO WHSs.

The case study in this chapter moreover adds to the project 'Properties of Religious Interest – Sustainable Management' (PRI-SM) and the Delos Initiative in covering a heritage site of religious interest of the Bahá'ís in the region of Haifa, Israel. PRI-SM established in 2016 focused on producing case studies about the Mediterranean and South-Eastern Europe sub-regions as well as Asia-Pacific (UNESCO 2019b). It was suggested to cover further regions and to include faiths other than Christianity (UNESCO 2018b). The 'Delos Initiative' is committed to sacred natural sites in developed countries around the world aiming to maintain their sanctity and biodiversity. Several case studies have already been carried out to assess today's pertinence and impacts of such sites – trying to resolve "eventual conflicts between the spiritual character and uses of sacred sites and conservation and management requirements, establishing instead synergies, where possible" (IUCN 2019b).

The structure of the chapter is as follows. The applied methodological approach is briefly described. The subsequent case study is divided into four parts. Part one presents the Bahá'í Gardens as a religious site, as a giant project of its region and as a UNESCO WHS to give the study and the study object a framework. Part two deals concretely with specific challenges that UNESCO WHSs, especially religious sites, need to face. These challenges are summarised in order to demonstrate the added value of HE. Part three focuses on the discussion and analysis of the strategy and organisational structure of the heritage management and the identification of further heritage stakeholders. Stakeholders are addressed and emphasised throughout HE related literature (Mansfeld et al. 2011), therefore a systematic examination of heritage stakeholders is provided. In part four, the results are briefly compiled, an abstract model for the evolution of HE is conceived, and recommendations for action are derived. Limitations of this case example and suggestions for future research are conclusively given at the end of this chapter.

3.2 Methodology

The field of stakeholder theory grounded in business ethics literature and HE is merged into one case study about the Bahá'í Gardens in Haifa, Israel. Concepts are reframed to the peculiarities of the chosen case but be used by future scholars or interested parties. Case studies form a valid research methodology for phenomenon (Yin 2014) and enable to adequately analyse complex situations (Aaekar et al. 1998). In defining stakeholders – decision makers or decision influencers – and their roles in processing HE, difficulties of UNESCO WHSs in organising, maintaining and funding UNESCO WHSs are addressed. The aim is to consider every internal and external individual or group affected by or influencing the activities of the Bahá'í World Centre (equals the heritage management) as an exposure of networks and courses of action.

Data for the qualitative case study was gathered in two ways: firstly, through desk and documentary research, analysis of UNESCO and other project-related reports using the State of Conservation Information System Database and Periodic Reporting questionnaires, websites and academic papers. The first sites were published on the UNESCO world heritage list in 1978. Therefore, literature and publications from this time onwards were focused. And secondly, additional data was collected during a ten-day field visit to Israel in spring 2017. By means of the field visit, process structures of local stakeholders were directly observed and impressions on site collected.

3.3 The Bahá'í Gardens – A Case Example

3.3.1 General Conditions

3.3.1.1 The Gardens as a Religious Site

The Bahá'í Gardens in Haifa are one of the holiest sites for the Bahá'í community which counts around 7 million members worldwide.[10] The Bahá'í Gardens were established between 1987 and 2001 on holy Mount Carmel in Israel (Bahá'í World Centre 2008; ICOMOS 2008a, 2008b; Israel National Commission for UNESCO 2014; UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2009, 2007; World Heritage Centre 2008, 2007). Big global celebrations for the bicentennial of the birth of Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Bahá'í Faith who was previously announced by the Báb (forerunner of the faith; see the Babi faith for more) took place in 2017. The 200th birthday of the Báb was celebrated in the end of October 2019. The teachings of Baha'u'llah (1817-1892) brought a new era of tolerance, peace, human unity and development and prosperity to humankind. The historical depth and contemporaneity of the faith is exceptional of its kind (Smith and Momen 1989).

Key subjects of the Bahá'í teachings embrace, among others, unity of religions, unity of god, unity of god's prophets, equality of women and men, unity in diversity, human rights, purity of motives, service to others, elimination of extreme poverty and wealth. Referring to the idea of global citizens, Bahá'u'lláh stated that the earth is but one country, and mankind its citizens. There are no racial differences nor any inequalities when talking about one unified global society. The oneness is also shown in the manifestation of God and the concept of progressive revelation reflecting the unity of religions, god and god's prophets. The concepts refer to prophets that each are progressively chosen to pass on God's message and teachings to the human world in and for a certain era. God reveals itself through prophets, other than that, there is a spiritual connection and one must independently seek after

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[10] The background to the heritage and significant terms related to the Bahá'í faith are briefly described for precise understanding of the subsequent analysis. It is to mention that there is no purpose of teaching the faith nor any religious beliefs or views are necessarily expressed. The scientific research conducted is limited to and made within the scope of economics and entrepreneurial studies.

the truth. There is no clergy or the like. It is an individual commitment to follow the principles of the faith.

Bahá'ís recognise the prophets of several world religions as different manifestations of God each valuable for the stage of revelation. There is only one God and one religion revealed through progressive, continuous prophets. Baha'u'llah is seen as the most recent, but he will not be the last one so that in a thousand or so years the next prophet will come to mirror God's teachings to humanity (Bahá'í World Centre 2018). All persons aged 15 years old and over can *officially* join the Bahá'í community and decide to become Bahá'í by signing a Bahá'í declaration card that says that one recognises all prophets, and Baha'u'llah as the most recent one.

3.3.1.2 The Gardens as a Major Project of Haifa

Haifa, known as a former seaport town, is a multi-religious city in Israel where Jews, Christians, Muslims and Bahá'ís are living peacefully together. The Bahá'í Gardens were a large-scale project realised with a total investment sum of approx. $250 million making them a leading asset in the country's and region's tourist and leisure economy facilitating "local tourism entrepreneurship" (Mansfeld et al. 2011, p. 27). Haifa is also characterised as a 'high-quality life' heritage city due to science and technology parks and academic institutions located in its ecosystem. Industrial clusters comprising multi-million dollar high-tech and other companies lead to strong academia and innovation potentials (Benner et al. 2016).

3.3.1.3 The Gardens as a UNESCO World Heritage Site

The Bahá'í Gardens were added to the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2008 in recognition of its importance and universal value connected to the youngest world religion. Among the most represented cultural heritage categories on this list are religious properties including properties with spiritual, sacred and religious focus. These sites are combined works of nature and man (Facchinetti 2014; UNESCO 1972), "the tangible proof of […] intangible beliefs, traditions and values" (Facchinetti 2014, p. 6). According to ICOMOS, the Bahá'í Gardens are per

definition a *religious property* due to the shrines and sacred landscape, and a *sacred site* because of their special spiritual significance for the Bahá'í people and community. The Bahá'í Gardens are one of the nine UNESCO WHSs in Israel (Collins-Kreiner et al. 2013) and impressively demonstrate UNESCO's obligation that nominated and accepted UNESCO WHSs need to maintain and finance themselves appropriately under the premise of preserving the appearance of the heritage site and making it accessible to an international audience.

3.3.2 Generic Problems of (religious) UNESCO World Heritage Sites

"There is no management of cultural heritage without conflicts and various interests […]" (Farid 2015, p. 599). The management of religious sites is an even more sensitive issue due to general and contemporary religious tensions. "Sacred natural sites are under threat even in developed countries from ignorance and neglect, and specifically from cultural or spiritual breakdown, unsustainable development projects and resource exploitation, urbanization, mass tourism and lack of appropriate land-use planning and control" (Mallarach and Papagiannēs 2007, p. 311).

Managers of UNESCO WHSs recently agreed on six main forces that imply challenges for religious WHSs. The forces 1) "*secularization*", 2) *intense use of heritage (for tourism)*, 3) "*global unsustainable trends*", 4) *"governance issues"*, 5) *insufficient involvement of (local) communities*, and 6) *lack of heritage value identification* affect the management of UNESCO WHSs, the preservation of UNESCO WHSs' integrity, the "heritage interpretation", the "visitor use management", the "relationships between religious and political organisations", and the nomination of potential UNESCO WHSs (UNESCO 2018b).

"Management by religious communities alone does not always guarantee the conservation of the integrity of World Heritage properties of religious interest or sufficient investment in conservation, and [] involvement of state conservation agencies in a spirit of dialogue and mutual cooperation is necessary" (UNESCO 2018b, p. 2) as there is a coexistence of different communities, a lack of capabilities

or willingness and a bunch of different stakeholders involved. These stakeholders then prefer different heritage practices that transform the heritage into either a developable, unifying, individual or academic resource (Lagerqvist and Bornmalm 2015).

Generally speaking, "the range of stakeholders in any heritage project includes the local community, private heritage owners, entrepreneurs and investors, public authorities, and all the categories of visitors" (Murzyn-Kupisz 2013, p. 156). The concept of transnational heritage is often used in conjunction with activities of the UNESCO and involves experts, heritage sites and visitors in a so-called authorized heritage discourse. Thereby, experts are responsible for editing the value of the heritage concerned (Smith 2006). The actors involved are divided into three levels: (1) committee, (2) community/society, (3) professional authority/experts while experts are potentially instrumentalised by politics or UNESCO (Brumann 2011; Schmitt 2009). This being the case, attention needs to be paid that political and economic interests do not outpace the historical value in appointing and advertising UNESCO WHSs which can lead to colliding interests of key stakeholders.

Understanding and identifying the power and influence of UNESCO WHSs stakeholders is in fact crucial for developing a heterogenous group that feels obligated to maintain and use the heritage. Efforts need to be put in youth development, strategic management, leadership and organisation, marketing and the like to solve the burgeoning problems that were depicted here. A solution approach is seen in the HE implementation and education. This can be fortified by an entrepreneurial acting heritage management. In the next section, the heritage management of the Bahá'í Gardens will be presented in order to identify, analyse and discuss their stakeholders and marketing strategy. The Bahá'í Gardens are an example of how to deal with the challenges described.

3.3.3 Analysis and Discussion of the Gardens' Stakeholders and Strategy

3.3.3.1 The Bahá'í World Centre as Heritage Management Unit

The Bahá'í World Centre (BWC) in its function as heritage or cultural organisation responsible for the Bahá'í Holy Places, among which are the Bahá'í Gardens, is a non-for-profit organisation that is exclusively reliant on donations and voluntary work with no aim of profit maximisation. The Bahá'í Gardens are said to be "excellently managed and maintained" (Kreiner et al. 2015, p. 233). The BWC which buildings headquarter in the Bahá'í Gardens on holy Mount Carmel manages and monitors the Bahá'í Gardens. The BWC is also the administrative body and spiritual centre of the Bahá'í faith (Collins-Kreiner 2008; Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell 2006; Kreiner et al. 2015).

The heritage is dependent on a closed system of donation-based crowdfunding. Finances are only procured and accepted from internal resources, i.e., the Bahá'í community. Public sector funding is not permitted, nor are membership fees. Money is raised abroad and can be considered as external grant or funding. Public investment of the Bahá'í community creates direct, indirect and induced effects (threefold for the tourism industry, city of Haifa, and Israeli economy), although its original purpose is not directly linked to advancing economic growth in the region of Haifa. The donation-earning-ratio (Dümcke et al. 2006) is as follows:

(1) independent of public funds and subsidies except for an one-off agreement with the government during the construction phase: the requested tax refund stood in no relation to the BWC investments in tourism activities in the Haifa and Akko area as the investments exceeded the refund by a multiple

(2) direct economic impact for the urban economy creating income and employment opportunities: 70 Israeli gardeners, about 160 employed local workers (staffed by residents), the Bahá'í Gardens' maintenance budget about $5 million per year

(3) commercial detour effects through tourism revenue

(4) free rider effect: public good, no market mechanism, no market valuation, limits of internalisation of economic effects, no opportunity costs.

The BWC owns a unified heritage management system handling core heritage site and buffer zones which enables consistency and helps harness forces and stakeholder interests while maintaining the balance in utilising the heritage resource. The BWC mostly engage with stakeholders in a social-value-oriented way instead of managing them from a power-motivated perspective (Altenburger and Mesicek 2016). A systematic overview of these stakeholders and examples are given in the next section.

3.3.3.2 Heritage Stakeholders

Stakeholders involved in HE and heritage processes were identified and categorised as heritage stakeholders. Figure 4 shows each heritage stakeholder group. For the sake of clarity, distinction, and transferability, these categories are heritage-centred and individual-centred. Individual heritage stakeholders, however, might overlap, or individuals act in positions of several heritage stakeholders. In general, Bahá'í and non-Bahá'í related stakeholders can be differentiated. For the latter, the site's religious significance is present but not predominant (Collins-Kreiner et al. 2013).

Figure 4: Heritage Stakeholders

Own abstract representation 2019

[1] Public sector (regional, national and local level): government, international and intragovernmental organisations such as UNESCO etc.; educational and research institutions (Haifa University); the Haifa municipality

[2] Private sector: religious organisation (BWC administration); donors, philanthropists, heritage angels (following the idea of business angels); heritage facility managers

[2] Other industries: local tourism board, tourism and leisure industry, travel and hospitality industry, real estate, creative sector etc.

H*eritage owners* or *heritage management* are those responsible for preserving heritage and developing the site. The staff of the BWC fall into this group of heritage stakeholders. Staff are volunteers from the *heritage community* or have been appointed from this community About 800 volunteers are located permanently in Israel on a rolling basis (Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell 2006; Amir 2001). Because of the Bahá'í Gardens' background, volunteers volunteer for the cause of service or, as Vetitnev et al. (2015) puts it, out of passion for a cause and a sense of commitment. Since 2007 there also exists a World Heritage Volunteers (WHV) initiative to "mobilize youth to preserve and promote World Heritage by reaching out to their peers and their communities" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018). This intercultural exchange is timely restricted and led by UNESCO World

Heritage Centre (WHC) in collaboration with (1) the Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service (CCIVS), (2) the European Heritage Volunteers (as a branch of Open Houses) and (3) Better World (UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, World Heritage Volunteers Initiative 2018). Compared to UNESCO's WHV initiative, the self-initiated concept of volunteering of the BWC guarantees long-lasting maintenance of the heritage from within the *heritage community* independent from external stakeholder groups.

Heritage entrepreneurs are those who exploit heritage to innovate, invent or cross-sell products or services based on the heritage (see Chapter 2 for a full definition of the heritage entrepreneur). They mediate between other stakeholder groups within the heritage system and often drive social change in appreciation and fulfilment of the heritage. That means that they are representing the heritage and act accordingly. *Heritage entrepreneurs* of the Bahá'í Gardens are yet difficult to identify, but key actors and certain members of the religious community take over roles of the *heritage entrepreneur*. The public and private sector and other industries that are offering heritage-based services can be conditionally considered *heritage entrepreneurs* or *heritage user*s as well (see Sect. 3.3.3.3 for detailed information in this regard).

Heritage consumers with individual motives are those who directly or indirectly experience heritage. The variety of different names in literature for consumers include and enlighten the coexistence of different types based on their experience and practice: (1) tourists, heritage tourists, experiential tourists, (2) Bahá'í and non-Bahá'í visitors, religious-motivated visitors, pilgrims; (3) volunteers; (4) guides. Nyaupane et al. (2015), for example, have analysed why people visit sacred sites of other beliefs exemplifying the birthplace of Buddha in Lumbini designated UNESCO WHS in Nepal. They differentiated tourists and pilgrims along their spiritual, recreational, learning, and social motives. Pilgrims are motivated mainly due to their religious belief which does not necessarily need to be the faith of the site visited whereas tourists predominantly are motivated to seek for recreational, inspirational and cultural sources. Additionally, pilgrims return time and again even

in difficult times. The same patterns apply for the Bahá'í Gardens and were observed in Haifa. Collins-Kreiner (2010) has specifically shown how the BWC manages to provide unique and separate experiences for tourists and pilgrims, and excels in matching the needs of *heritage consumers* (see also Sect. 3.3.3.3 for detailed information about this smooth operation). The aesthetic beauty is strategically highlighted instead of the religious, sacred nature of the Bahá'í Gardens to avoid any political or religious conflict (Collins-Kreiner 2008; Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell 2006; Gatrell and Collins-Kreiner 2006). Nonetheless, local issues have occurred when certain *heritage consumers* (*heritage residents* included) have not understood the access and use of the heritage. Other heritage stakeholders then "play an important role in mitigating potential dissonance[s] by instructing visitors on appropriate behaviour through interpretive media or guides' narratives" (Nyaupane et al. 2015, p. 352). Religious and heritage tourism in Haifa (attracting factor for *heritage consumers*) is still an anchor for regional development and its steady growth.

Heritage owners, *heritage entrepreneurs*, and *heritage consumers* are all *heritage influencers* contributing to the perception and visibility of the heritage. The volunteering Bahá'í guards positioned at the three gate entrances of the Bahá'í Gardens or the tourist and pilgrim guides who guide the *heritage consumers* through the Bahá'í Gardens are all examples for *heritage influencers*. Ultimately, *heritage influencers* are all those who, through their reach, exert a decisive influence on others, thus affecting the perception and visibility of the heritage.

Heritage community and *heritage residents* are often equated in heritage contexts. Here, these two heritage stakeholder groups are specifically distinguished to show that in the case of religious heritage or heritage of religious interest, the *heritage community* is often distributed around the world and not residing at the heritage site. The Bahá'í community is the *heritage community* by definition and the people living around the heritage are the local *heritage residents*, but not the actual *heritage community*. These groups can also overlap when the *heritage community* temporarily becomes *heritage residents* for serving at the BWC or *heritage*

community becomes *heritage consumers* when they are on pilgrimage. *Heritage residents*, the so-called host community, benefit from the openness of the UNESCO WHS towards the economic and touristic exploitation of the heritage site (Collins-Kreiner et al. 2013). Due to this cooperative approach and the nature of the UNESCO WHS, the local population in Haifa (representing the *heritage residents*) and companies in the vicinity of the heritage do not feel harmed, disadvantaged or left out by the *heritage community* (Kreiner et al. 2015; Collins-Kreiner 2008). In addition, no Bahá'í community (representing the *heritage community*) was permanently settled or located in Haifa or Israel in general, nor must Bahá'í's teach the faith in Haifa and its environs to avoid further religious conflicts in that country. This precept and the interaction of the BWC with the Israeli government is working well (Collins-Kreiner 2008). Similar to this alignment, the presence of the Bahá'í Gardens stands out but blends in with the surroundings and landscape of Haifa. Thus, "in Haifa, the Bahá'í religion and site radiate a harmonious, cooperative, and nonmissionary aura" (Collins-Kreiner 2008, p. 207).

3.3.3.3 The Extended Heritage Marketing Mix: The Strategy of the 7Ps

Heritage managements that use a well-placed marketing strategy increase the entrepreneurial potential of the heritage and contribute to the residing locality and its image. This attracts heritage stakeholders, for example, *heritage consumers* (e.g., tourists), *heritage residents*, and the *private sector* (e.g., investors) so that in the long run a *heritage-based ecosystem* can be built (Murzyn-Kupisz 2013; Ashworth 1991). The Bahá'í Gardens increase the attractiveness of the cityscape, and the BWC invites heritage stakeholders to use the heritage (Karmowska 1996). The implemented BWC marketing strategy is analysed and discussed. An overview of the elements of heritage marketing inspired by the 7Ps of the marketing mix is given in Figure 5 below. In the following, concrete examples are provided for each element.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│        Heritage Marketing       │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
    ├──┌──────────────────────────────┐
    │  │       Heritage Product       │
    │  └──────────────────────────────┘
    ├──┌──────────────────────────────┐
    │  │        Heritage Price        │
    │  └──────────────────────────────┘
    ├──┌──────────────────────────────┐
    │  │        Heritage Place        │
    │  └──────────────────────────────┘
    ├──┌──────────────────────────────┐
    │  │      Heritage Promotion      │
    │  └──────────────────────────────┘
    ├──┌──────────────────────────────┐
    │  │       Heritage People        │
    │  └──────────────────────────────┘
    ├──┌──────────────────────────────┐
    │  │       Heritage Process       │
    │  └──────────────────────────────┘
    └──┌──────────────────────────────┐
       │   Physical Evidence of Heritage │
       └──────────────────────────────┘
```

Figure 5: The 7Ps for Heritage Marketing

Own illustration 2019

The Bahá'í Gardens are considered a *Heritage Product* that can be used in two ways. It is a sacred product that can be used for secular purposes through touristic adaption. The Bahá'í Gardens are becoming a "secular shared community asset" (Gatrell and Collins-Kreiner 2006) that shows how site-specific strategies can fortify infrastructure development while mitigating or even preventing potential conflicts and clashes. This is achieved by making the Bahá'í Gardens and shrine accessible to the local *heritage community* and the general public. Experiences packages and guided tours on the upper and lower terraces are available in different languages and are intended to be educational and entertaining. They were designed to underline the objective beauty and sanctity of the Bahá'í Gardens. Other heritage products and services directly marketed in relation to the Bahá'í Gardens include: (1) (pilgrimage) tourism; (2) viewpoints, aesthetic appreciation, recreation; (3) spiritual experiences: nine-day pilgrimage approved and organised by the BWC, three-day visit approved by the BWC and organised by the pilgrims themselves; (4) exclusive hotel rates for pilgrims; (5) heritage-based products in local stores (e.g.,

use of the nine-cornered star for jewellery, a symbol of the faith that is mirrored in the architecture of the Bahá'í Gardens).

The *heritage price* varies. The hotel occupancy rate increases due to pilgrimage tourism. Special conditions are offered to pilgrims by hotels due to their average longer stay in the region compared to usual visitors. Products and services that were mentioned before are provided free of charge as gifts from the *heritage community*, respectively the *heritage owners* and *heritage management*. No entrance fee will be charged. *Heritage users*, such as tour operators (third party providers) or shopkeepers, charge fees and set prices independently of the UNESCO WHS.

Heritage promotion is supported individually by *heritage influencers*. Since the Bahá'í Gardens are used as a tourist magnet and are considered Haifa's most popular tourist attraction (Gatrell and Collins-Kreiner 2006), they are used in the tourism and image film of the city of Haifa and in advertising measures for Israel. In addition, pictures of the Bahá'í Gardens hang in the welcome zone of the Ben Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv.

The *heritage people* (service providers, tour guides, and permanent staff) are all non-Bahá'í Israelis. The BWC and its volunteers, who are considered *heritage people* in a broader sense, are excluded, as they make these employment opportunities and inclusion possible in the first place.

The *heritage process* is strictly organised by the BWC in order to preserve the sacred significance of the UNESCO WHS and control visitor numbers. Pilgrim and tourism experiences are separated by temporal and spatial limitations via the three entrances in order to meet the respective needs (Gatrell and Collins-Kreiner 2006). Pilgrims need to register before pilgrimage but on site they are allowed with some restrictions to move freely in the Bahá'í Gardens. Guided tours for the general public through the Bahá'í Gardens require prior booking via reservation centre maintained by the Haifa Tourist Board and funded by the BWC. The Bahá'í Gardens may not be entered during day trips organised by third parties. The upper

or lower terrace serve as viewpoint for masses of visitors. Individuals can enter the Bahá'í Gardens and the shrine at certain times. They are allowed to use the main, the upper or the lower entrance but are not allowed to wander through the Bahá'í Gardens.

The *heritage place* is a so-called unique selling proposition (USP). Compared to other UNESCO WHSs, the Bahá'í Gardens are centrally located in the middle of a city. The estimated market value of the property is $100-150 million. There are plans to acquire additional properties in the area that are of significance for the faith. The beauty of the Bahá'í Gardens, their location and good accessibility are also the *physical evidence of heritage*.

3.3.4 Findings

This section contains results of the case study (additional insights are included). Special emphasis is placed on the traits of HE. Finally, a model for the evolution of HE in the context of UNESCO WHSs is developed and recommendations for action for UNESCO WHSs are derived based on the case example.

The Bahá'í Gardens were established between 1987 and 2001 and were included in the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2008 in recognition of its importance and universal value connected to the youngest world religion. The completion of the Bahá'í Gardens benefit the economy through direct, indirect and induced contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP) (Collins-Kreiner et al. 2013; Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell 2006). The perceived quality of the city of Haifa was valorised through the impressive heritage site in the middle of the city. The number of individual tourists from abroad increased by 25% the same year the Bahá'í Gardens became UNESCO WHS. In 2013, for example, 917.031 tourists and 8.000 Bahá'í Pilgrims visited the Bahá'í Gardens (The Bahá'í World Center 2014). The number of pilgrims and visitors to Haifa (*heritage consumers*) ever since created economic effects in an evolving landscape and brought stability. The influence of the Bahá'í Gardens on the development potential of the region is considerable. This

results in synergies for the economy, the property value and market, the aesthetic upgrading of the city and the tourist attractiveness.

The BWC in its position as heritage management resembles a philanthropic NGO. It is funded by donations, is characterised by employee volunteering and cultivates strategic partnerships based on its social capital. Philanthropic forms of social capital occur in the BWC and in local Bahá'í communities, similar to those found in entrepreneurship communities. Social capital is an expression of cultural embeddedness that shows how certain groups behave when doing business. Bridging forms of social capital occur when different shareholder with different social capital meet such as when the BWC interacts with public or private institutions (Trettin and Welter 2011). "The type of embeddedness is [then] seen as an important precondition for the development of specific types of businesses which can address a particular community, the urban host-society or a very broad range of customers" (ibid, p. 589). This enables peaceful religious and ethnic coexistence in Haifa and points the way to a community-based sustainable tourism system that provides a platform for tourism offerings (Collins-Kreiner 2008; Amir 2001).

The strongly centralised management of the Bahá'í Gardens – with its conscious willingness to cooperate with heritage stakeholders and the consideration of the interests of these stakeholders – promotes HE. It is assumed that entrepreneurially managed UNESCO WHSs can influence the entrepreneurial potential of their regions by generating new, innovative and inclusive forms of HE (actions) that produce economic or societal outcomes. Declared shortcomings in the management of UNESCO WHSs (see Sect. 3.3.2) can be actively addressed in this way.

3.3.4.1 The Evolution of Heritage Entrepreneurship

The driving forces behind the development of HE ecosystems are stakeholders (see also Chapter 2). HE, if promoted by stakeholders, is likely to have an impact on the lives of *heritage residents* and heritage *communities* in the vicinity of UNESCO WHSs and helps to achieve greater benefits beyond the original purpose of UNESCO WHSs for these *heritage stakeholders*. The model presented in Figure 6 shows how HE ideally develops on the basis of the two key metrics (HE opportunities and stakeholder commitment) and by means of one UNESCO WHS. The UNESCO WHS is the centre of attention. The arrow indicates the ideal course for HE. That means:

- The higher the stakeholder commitment the more HE opportunities arise.
  - ➔ Accordingly, high stakeholder commitment positively influences HE.
- The more HE opportunities the more stakeholders commit.
  - ➔ Accordingly, emerging HE opportunities positively influence HE.

Spillover effects are thereby generated. These occur outside the immediate environment of the UNESCO WHS and region of interest (outside the arrow). This development is accompanied by continuous enhancement of public and policy change that leads to new perspectives and support systems for HE.

An imbalance occurs, (1) when the HE opportunities do not correspond to the stakeholder commitment in the area of the UNESCO WHS concerned. This means that HE opportunities exceed stakeholder commitment. HE opportunities are then not completely exploited and thus remain unused due to the lack of stakeholder commitment. An imbalance occurs, (2) when the stakeholder commitment does not correspond to the HE opportunities in the area of the affected UNESCO WHS. This means that stakeholders do not have the means to identify and implement HE opportunities, or simply no HE opportunities exist due to special conditions of the UNESCO WHS concerned.

HE Opportunities

Policy Change

Public Change

Policy Change

Public Change

Spillover Effects

UNESCO WHS

Spillover Effects

Stakeholder Commitment
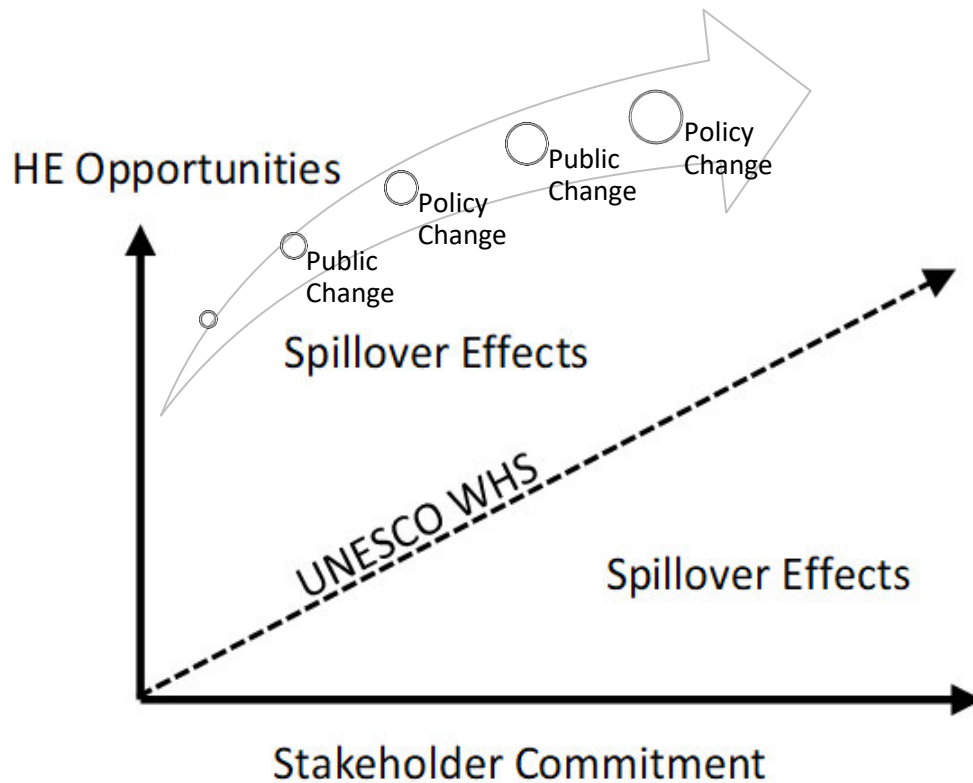
Figure 6: The Evolution of HE through a UNESCO WHS

Own abstraction. Figure based on this case study 2019

Spillover effects are effects that are generated outside the realms of the UNESCO WHS. In the case of the Bahá'í Gardens these include and refer to, among others, (1) the construction of various architectural houses of worship on each continent, (2) the Bahá'í Chair for World Peace in the United States, (3) other institutions driving socio-economic change, such the Bahá'í International Community's United Nations Offices. For the reasons given above, the BWC also receives requests to build more local houses for rural development by local governments.

3.3.4.2 Recommendations for Action for Sites of Religious Heritage

The case example of the Bahá'í Gardens and their entrepreneurial management shows how the following recommendations of action can be effectively implemented. These recommendations are considered management duties. However, individual circumstances must always be taken into account. The recommendations are also useful for non-religious heritage sites. Based on the study in this chapter, the following recommendations for action are proposed:

- Facilitating governance of heritage by embedding HE practices in heritage management

- Establishing a centrally controlled *heritage management* for providing unity of actions taken

- Encouraging participation of religious custodians and local community representatives (*heritage residents*) in decision-making processes about the heritage concerned (e.g., for entrepreneurial use of heritage, for protection of heritage etc.) in order to prevent misunderstandings and to enable peaceful coexistence

- Strategic adaptation of the 'visitor use management' to the needs of the various user and visitor groups (*heritage consumers*) to guarantee sustainable access and the best-possible heritage experiences for each group

- Integrating all heritage stakeholders in heritage processes to promote HE in public and politics

- Strengthening the cooperation of heritage stakeholders to promote heritage ecosystems (i.e., building ecosystems around heritage)

- Establishing legislation and directives for protection and sustainable use of heritage in harmony with the values of the religious heritage

- Recognising and using entrepreneurial opportunities of heritage to gain independence of subsidies

- Using resilience, drive and voluntary work of religious communities (*heritage community*) to optimise and strengthen resource management while preventing scarcity of resources

- Extending the heritage reach (outside the realms of the heritage) for increasing heritage significance and economic added values (see generation of spillover effects above)

- Developing a congruent marketing strategy to preserve the integrity and functionality of the religious heritage site and to counteract trending secularisation

- Building capacity and networks in providing appropriate educational HE training for using and managing heritage in moderation

- Heritage should be the responsibility of all stakeholders as religious heritage is a shared asset

These recommendations of action support the ideal processing of HE through a UNESCO WHS as constituted in the abstract model about the evolution of HE (see Figure 6 above).

3.4 Conclusions and Limitations

This chapter analysed a selected UNESCO WHS in Israel to deepen the topic of HE by means of a practical example. The case example of the Bahá'í Gardens in Haifa shows that the nature and specificity of the heritage, the engagement of stakeholders and a clear communication of strategies for conservation and dissemination of the heritage mainly influences the embeddedness of HE in and around UNESCO WHSs. *Hidden HE* is identified in the heritage management processes of the Bahá'í Gardens throughout which might indicate why the Bahá'í Gardens have such a significant impact on economic growth in Haifa, Israel.

It has been ascertained that heritage stakeholders involved in HE (i.e., in entrepreneurship based on or starting from the heritage) trigger processes of promoting, exploiting, or balancing the use of heritage sites that ultimately result in site-specific developments. It is thus argued that the entrepreneurial management of heritage sites (as shown by the BWC) can stimulate or steer entrepreneurial activity in their regions and globally by facilitating (1) the identification of HE opportunities, (2) the exploitation of HE opportunities, and (3) the improvement or implementation of HE opportunities through volunteering or heritage stakeholder engagement.

The BWC in its present form can be a pioneer in managing UNESCO WHSs due to its funding and investment programme (heritage community crowdfunding and -investing), its interesting volunteer concept, its ecosystem embedded in the heritage, its caused developmental effects and its conscious acting towards unifying heritage stakeholders' interest. However, it should be noted that religious places have a special standing and not all UNESCO WHSs enjoy such a solid financial platform, are organised in such an entrepreneurial manner nor attract such a large group of heritage stakeholders worldwide.

Implications of the Single-Case Research[11]

- Israel is already known as an emerging entrepreneurship ecosystem. The case of Bahá'í Gardens in Haifa adds to the geographical coverage of HE research putting Israel on the HE radar.

- Exploring HE in UNESCO WHS destinations is a promising direction for establishing HE as a research topic as there is a huge variety of heritage and regions covered. This can improve the data basis and understanding for outreaches of HE and draw attention to the field of HE. Recommended action and policies for heritage stakeholders can eventually be further developed or readapted.[12]

- Heritage stakeholders are an integral part of HE. The Bahá'í Gardens represent and are centred in a well-established ecosystem of heritage stakeholders that can be used as guidance for other individual heritage sites that aim to elevate regional development. Circumstances and local given factors must however always be considered.

- Heritage stakeholder's consensus of heritage marketing measures is part of a good performance of UNESCO WHSs and should ensure that UNESCO WHSs make use of HE opportunities.

- Especially leading stakeholder (as the heritage community and the heritage management of the Bahá'í Gardens) contribute to the vision and realisation of HE and promising HE opportunities. It is therefore encouraged to treat HE as a mean to join forces of heritage stakeholders to reduce dependence of UNESCO WHSs on short time solutions (see, amongst others, UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018).

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[11] Added value of the selected case example for advancing HE in research and practice.

[12] UNESCO WHS case studies are suitable as a good method for the theoretical foundation of HE since a high overall representativeness and thus validity can be achieved through the accumulation of individual case studies. This will promote greater heterogeneity in the study results and evaluations and reduce the limitations associated with a single case study approach and resulting generalisations.

- The Bahá'í Gardens represent a UNESCO WHS in an urban area that profoundly contributes to local economy but UNESCO WHSs in rural areas with yet scarce economic impact face similar challenges and can learn from the Bahá'í Gardens' organisation (e.g, Kausar and Nishikawa 2010; Hampton 2005 for the case of Buddhist Temple in Borobudur, Indonesia).

- The findings are especially relevant for UNESCO WHSs located in communities predominantly of other religious beliefs who do not use the heritage site for religious purposes but for recreational or work, and that lack competition and complementarities for making it more interesting for tourists and other heritage stakeholders (Kausar and Nishikawa 2010). The implementation of HE by opening the heritage for the entrepreneurial exploitation for heritage residents (i.e., host community) can help to create a peaceful coexistence and acceptance of the heritage among heritage stakeholders who do not primarily identify with the heritage such as the host community in Haifa.

- The BWC supports Proposition 6 in demonstrating that *the presence of effective heritage management and exercise of HE is significant when reaching for sustainable socio-economic inclusion in developing countries* (see Sect. 2.3.3.2). The BWC supports *Proposition 6* that *the presence of effective heritage management and exercise of HE is significant when reaching for sustainable socio-economic inclusion in developing countries* in committing, amongst others, to build architectural houses of worship in countries other than Israel.

4 The Present State of Heritage Entrepreneurship in 14 Countries

4.1 Introduction

The total of 1121 UNESCO WHS branded properties around the world in 167 countries bear future potential for HE (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2020). It is now critical to identify for which countries HE represents an opportunity or a measure to preserve heritage resources, to generate socio-economic benefits for communities and to foster the economic growth of the region. HE stands for the responsible use of heritage for economic purposes by involving regions and communities and not encumbering them. HE is practiced for heritage maintenance, urban renewal and development, commodification of heritage sites, creative destruction, future perspectives for living heritage and the actual improvement of the quality of life in communities (see Sect. 2.3.5).

When heritage and entrepreneurship intertwine, tradition and innovation become one. Tradition and heritage can drive innovation when pioneers identify and deliver fruitful potential (Tapsell and Woods 2010). These pioneers can be stakeholders of UNESCO WHSs. It is a matter of mutual influence: heritage embedded in the ecosystem influences the entrepreneurial action and the entrepreneurial action influences the due role of heritage in the ecosystem. This means that new opportunities arise from the heritage, respectively the UNESCO WHS, but stakeholders need to exploit them.

The *HE-UNESCO WHS-pilot study* conducted in this chapter is a status quo survey to determine and measure the role of HE in different countries. Due to the assumed still low level of HE practice and the novelty of the research topic, an outlook on the potential role of HE in these countries is also given.

This chapter therefore aims to acquire extensive data about contextualised entrepreneurship in 51 countries of UNESCO WHS to generate an overview of the current state of HE and to put the emergence of HE in relation to existing factors. The overall objectives of this chapter include:

(1) contemplating a global survey of contemporary developments in HE in the immediate vicinity of UNESCO WHSs

(2) operationalising HE for impact and predictability measurement

(3) extrapolating HE trends

(4) deriving recommendations of action for countries and UNESCO WHSs.

First, in the theoretical part, excerpts from HE concepts and approaches that cover examples from different countries are presented to highlight important perspectives that countries have to consider when exercising HE. Then GEM's GESI is presented, as it forms the theoretical framework for the HE study that is conducted. Hereby, several assumptions are derived for the operationalisation and determination of HE. Three prominent influencing factors are proposed. Based on data that have already been processed and made available from GEM, an online survey to capture HE (its present state and predictability) around UNESCO WHSs, a possible breeding ground for HE in countries, is compiled. The survey methodology is presented before the collected data is analysed, processed and presented. The main research results are summarised and discussed with regard to the objectives of this chapter (see above). The findings of the international study will reveal the current state of HE and the factors influencing it, and thus help to identify where and how to position and promote HE in the future.

4.2 Theoretical Framework

4.2.1 Heritage Entrepreneurship in Perspective

4.2.1.1 HE from a Balance Perspective

Several studies and projects have been carried out in different countries that have touched on HE (e.g., Lundberg et al. 2016; Pfeilstetter 2015; Lagerqvist and Bornmalm 2015; Paganoni 2015; Powell et al. 2011; SEE TCP Sagittarius EU 2011). HE today often results from (self-)gentrification or commodification processes, from niche or sustainable tourism entrepreneurship (see Chan et al. 2016; Murzyn-Kupisz 2013; Kensbock and Jennings 2011; Debes and Alipour 2011; Hampton 2005; Go et al. 2002; Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Chang 1997). Although HE is more profound than exploiting heritage for touristic purposes, they are inevitably interconnected. Studies and projects, however, consistently point towards a balance perspective; the balance between preserving heritage and its entrepreneurial exploitation, the balance between external intervention in a region and the promotion of its community.

4.2.1.2 HE from a Regional Perspective

Lundberg et al. (2016), for example, approach *heritagepreneurship* by creating a conceptual model that allows four ways of implementing HE for regional development based on replication, revision, revitalisation or selection of concerned heritage. The combination of heritage and entrepreneurship is often meant to initiate regeneration processes, especially in unstable economies, disadvantaged regions and developing countries. In this respect, the emphasis is on setting up new business and educational opportunities to foster socio-cultural changes (Lagerqvist and Bornmalm 2015; Powell et al. 2011). Cruickshank (2018) notes that culture- or heritage-led strategies that work in urban contexts to protect heritage and balance economic interests do not work equally in rural areas. Rural areas in Norway, for example, face other difficulties than urban areas. In some cases, there is simply no interest in heritage and culture, so that the above-mentioned strategies disrupt rather than promote development. This ultimately leads to demographic decline and

hamper economic growth. It must therefore always be critically examined whether the use of HE makes sense or not. HE only represents a possible solution approach for certain regions but by no means a universal one. Accordingly, various influencing factors must be considered in the context of HE.

Results of a study on Newfoundland (Mitchell and Shannon 2018) have shown that the heritage can be fully exploited through entrepreneurial action if supportive mechanisms are present in the ecosystem. Newfoundland as a resource-dependent country was able to diversify its economic position through HE. Conversely, this influenced not only any dependencies but also the quality of life of the inhabitants and the flow of tourism. Newfoundland has aligned HE to the specific requirements and interests of the region and can therefore be seen as a positive example for successfully implementing HE.

4.2.1.3 HE from a Power-Political Perspective

Efficient management of heritage is crucial for the sustainable socio-economic integration of the heritage and is therefore one of the support mechanisms for HE mentioned above. The managements of UNESCO WHSs are able to influence ecosystems and stimulate HE in UNESCO WHS regions as they strive for local integration and empowerment of communities and areas, and often prefer participatory approaches. Carmody and Prideaux (2010) have shown that in the Wet Tropics rainforests in North Queensland, Australia, there is a huge engagement of the community due to management's leadership. A positive impact of the heritage on resident's quality of life was measured twice. Not least because management paves the way for community-based entrepreneurship, citizen-led innovation or grassroots initiatives. Wang (2011) has further shown that when entrepreneurial, local governments allow different groups of businesses, artists, and creative firms to engage in commercial gentrification of urban heritage, this can lead to regeneration of neighbourhoods in China and support poverty alleviation.

Policymakers and leading stakeholders, however, can also direct their influence and power against the community if they are pursuing self-interests. This has happened in Hampi, a UNESCO WHS in India. The community and small entrepreneurs were displaced from their living heritage site because more powerful stakeholders wanted to enrich themselves (Bloch 2016). In a province in China, the commodification of urban heritage has also proven to benefit the government and the leading social classes more than any other group (Su 2015). The driving force behind the innovative use of heritage was politics, so the commodification led above all to gains in the tourism market, property market and capital market. This not only led to an increase in local competition advancing innovation, but also to the demographic displacement of less strong groups. Therefore, the strengthening of individual and disadvantaged groups is an important part of HE. Swanson and DeVereaux (2017), for example, propose in their concept of culturally sustainable entrepreneurship for especially living cultures that communities or marginalised population should be encouraged to decide which entrepreneurial models are appropriate for their value retention, rather than imposing models that change conditions unproportionally.

Nonetheless, it remains a challenge to reconcile the interests of the affected. Thus, it cannot be stressed enough that moderation in everything is a prerequisite for HE. The cooperation of certain stakeholders is hereby needed to facilitate the adoption of HE and to ultimately strengthen disadvantaged interest groups to maintain the proper value of the heritage. Leading heritage entrepreneurs often take on this role by indicating a direction for the entrepreneurial exploitation of the heritage concerned (Pfeilstetter 2015; Debes and Alipour 2011; Go et al. 2002). Additionally, it is argued that educating about the *everydayness or everyday occurrence of entrepreneurship* can help to anchor HE in the minds of heritage communities and citizens around heritage sites. In this way, a sense of the place and for the value of the heritage can be conveyed ultimately benefitting regional demands and requirements (Summatavet and Raudsaar 2015).

4.2.2 GEM's Entrepreneurial Spirit Index

Modern concepts that combine heritage and entrepreneurship[13] provide the basis of this chapter's study alongside GESI. The single index GESI determines the ES[14] value of countries and its relative position in country comparison. GESI was established around three main constructs: (1) entrepreneurial awareness, (2) entrepreneurial opportunity perception and (3) entrepreneurial self-efficacy (GEM 2018). These constructs are considered for capturing the ES at UNESCO WHSs and make HE somewhat measurable (see also Sect. 4.3.1), as it is claimed that forming an ES or entrepreneurial culture can advance identifying HE and opportunities attached to it.

> ⇨ The first assumption is that by determining the ES at UNESCO WHSs, the likelihood of exercising HE can be estimated. The ES around UNESCO WHSs is composed of the individual items (EO, ESE, EA) and indicates a probability for the emergence or existence of HE.

The basic idea of the GESI is to find out if you know someone who has started a business, if you see possibilities to start a business and if you have the confidence to start a business. This results in the ES level of the country. The two ES levels (country-level and UNESCO WHS-level) can now be put in relation to each other to draw further conclusions about HE.

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[13] See Chapter 2 for a full introduction, presentation and discussion of HE approaches and concepts.

[14] The spirit of entrepreneurship is a way of thinking that is entrepreneurial, action-oriented and solution-oriented at the same time. It is a mindset and attitude which is an indispensable part of entrepreneurism but can also be used in different contexts.

⇨ The second assumption (first hypothesis[15]) is that *HE occurs more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in countries with certain ES level.* Therefore, it needs to be examined if the country's relative position or standing on the ES scale using existing data from GEM (2018) predicts the level of HE at UNESCO WHSs, and whether there is a positive or negative dependency (i.e., the *higher/lower* the ES in a country, the more likely the exercise of HE).

It shows that countries of high and low ES belong to any stage of economic development when distinguishing factor-driven (f-driven), efficiency-driven (e-driven) and innovation-driven (i-driven) economies according to the World Economic Forum's classification (SALA-I-MARTÍN et al. 2015). Hence, there seems to be no significant connection between the EDL and the ES, even though especially e-driven economies tend to stimulate or develop an ES, presumably due to the increased competitiveness, productivity, and demands on quality standards in this stage. In research results about HE, certain regions have played a major role in so far that HE has been highlighted as a development measure in peripheral regions characterised by rural exodus, poverty, remoteness, low levels of education and few employment opportunities; but has also been identified as a potential opportunity for growth and heritage preservation in very tourism-oriented regions (see, amongst others, Chan et al. 2016; Surugiu and Surugiu 2015; Facchinetti 2014; Boccardi and Duvelle 2013; Chang 2011; Ryan et al. 2011; Kausar and Nishikawa 2010; Hampton 2005; Go et al. 2002; Barbour and Turnbull 2002). So, referring to the GESI, the question rises whether there is a connection between the emergence of HE and independent variables such as the EDL and GR. This results in two further assumptions, namely:

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[15] No statistical tests will be conducted in this ground-breaking pioneering study due to the conceptual nature of the study. Non-directional hypotheses (assumptions two to four) are therefore examined as part of the study at this stage of research.

⇨ The third assumption (second hypothesis) is that *HE occurs more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in certain GRs.* Therefore, it needs to be assessed whether HE is more common in certain GRs near UNESCO WHSs, referring to the classification of Africa, Asia and Oceania, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and North America proposed by the United Nations Statistic Division (2019).

⇨ The fourth assumption (third hypothesis) is that *HE occurs more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in countries with certain EDLs.* Therefore, it needs to be examined whether HE occurs more frequently near UNESCO WHSs in f-driven, in e-driven or in i-driven economies.

In summary, the following hypotheses emerge:

HE occurs more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in countries with certain ES level.

$H0_1$: There is no connection between the ES of a country and the emerge of HE.

$H1_1$: There is a connection between the ES of a country and the emerge of HE.

HE occurs more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in certain GRs.

$H0_2$: There is no connection between the GR and HE.

$H1_2$: There is a connection between the GR and HE.

HE occurs more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in countries with certain EDLs.

$H0_3$: There is no connection between the region's EDL and HE.

$H1_3$: There is a connection between the region's EDL and HE.

The guiding research questions arising from assumptions two to four (hypotheses one to three) are accordingly:

- Is there a connection between (1) the country's level of entrepreneurial spirit (ES), (2) the geographic region (GR) and (3) the economic development level (EDL), and the predictability of HE around UNESCO WHSs in this country? (RQ1)

- How does (1), (2) and (3) relate to HE around UNESCO WHSs in the respective country? (RQ2)

The conceptual framework developed and presented here serve to develop the HE study of this chapter and to collect relevant data. The survey methodology comprising the (1) research design, (2) sample selection, (3) data collection, and (4) data analysis will be holistically described in the subsequent section.

4.3 Survey Methodology

4.3.1 Research Design

Conceptualisation and Purpose

The empirical survey is designed to capture the current situation of HE in UNESCO World Heritage countries. The aim is to identify the entrepreneurial potential and extent of corporate use of the heritage concerned. A descriptive quantitative research design is applied to describe and explain data from the survey. This research design best fits the specificity of HE in this early stage of research and serves to assess the present state of HE. Due to the current treatment and implementation of HE, a comprehensive analysis is difficult. Therefore, factors that will affect (the exercise of) HE in the future are taken into account as part of a predictability model. This helps to identify catalysts and to advance the area of HE.

The conceptualisation of the survey is essentially based on the assumption that the ES at UNESCO WHSs is an indication for the probability of HE. The GESI study design and methodology[16], adjusted to this survey's purpose, is used in order to determine the ES specifically at UNESCO WHSs and ultimately to evaluate the emergence and existence of HE. This adapted version allows a *measurability of HE* and is presented in the following paragraph.

Study Design

The survey consists of *mandatory* yes-no questions and questions with choices, and *optional* open-ended questions (see survey design in Appendix 2). First, the stakeholders of UNESCO WHSs are asked whether they are aware of HE, recognise

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[16] See Sect. 4.2.2 for an introduction to the GESI.

HE opportunities, and regard themselves self-efficient and well-equipped for practicing HE or not. These questions determine the ES specifically at UNESCO WHSs and are based on GESI's yes-no questions and have been slightly modified for this survey's purposes, namely:

(1) Do you know someone who has started a business related to the UNESCO WHS in the past year?

(EA = entrepreneurial awareness of heritage)

(2) Do you think there are good opportunities for starting a business in the area of the UNESCO WHS?

(EO = entrepreneurial opportunity perception of heritage)

(3) Do you think you have the knowledge, skills, and experience to start a business related to the UNESCO WHS?

(ESE = entrepreneurial self-efficacy)

Second, individual stakeholders are asked about their perceptions of regional impacts emanating from the UNESCO WHS, the constraints for developing HE in and around the UNESCO WHS, and finally whether the UNESCO WHS gives something back to society or not. The latter is an important anchor point of the HE concepts and a natural aspect of UNESCO certification.

4.3.2 Sample Selection

The sample selected encompasses countries with tangible heritage for which the GESI has already been determined. Tangible heritage includes natural, cultural or mixed properties according to the UNESCO WHSs designation. The GESI was surveyed for a total of 54 countries. South Korea, Puerto Rico and Taiwan were excluded from the sample due to the lack of owning UNESCO WHSs. Overall, 51 countries (21 i-driven countries, 26 e-driven countries, 4 f-driven countries) were selected for the study (see Appendix 3 for a detailed overview of the 51 countries and their UNESCO WHSs).

4.3.3 Data Collection

The survey was conducted from the end of March to mid-April/end of April 2019.[17] The survey's URL (soscisurvey.de/heritageentrepreneurship) was sent by e-mail to UNESCO WHS organisations and focal points such as National UNESCO Commissions, individual German UNESCO sites due to cultural sovereignty as well as to the delegates and ambassadors of UNESCO WHSs.[18] It was requested to forward the online survey to other contacts and stakeholders attached to the respective UNESCO WHSs of the country. This should trigger a snowball effect to reach as many stakeholder groups as possible through direct contacts. The aim was to collect data from 51 countries in order to obtain a representative sample (see Appendix 3 for a list of the countries).

4.3.4 Data Analysis

For each country surveyed, a profile was created in Excel containing existing data (GESI, EDL and GR) from the GEM (2018) that are relevant for the further analysis and data evaluation based on the assumptions made and hypotheses developed (see Sect. 4.2.2). Data from this chapter's survey was then classified and assigned to the country profiles. The data material is analysed with regard to

- regional impacts of UNESCO WHSs

- the societal added value of UNESCO WHSs

- the ES of UNESCO WHSs (EA, EO, ESE)

- occurring or expected HE constraints in countries

- influences from the context factors[19]: GESI, EDL, GR.

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[17] The survey was conducted with support of the wider UNESCO community. At the request of a participating country, the duration of the survey was extended once until the end of April 2019.

[18] Seven pretests with randomly selected heritage consumers that are unacquainted with the subject were carried out to test the comprehensibility of the study.

[19] See proposed hypotheses in Sect. 4.2.2.

The results will be interpreted and provide evidence on whether there is a market for HE in the immediate vicinity of UNESCO WHSs and to what extent it has already been developed or used.

4.4 Data Presentation and Findings

Research findings are first presented in this section and then discussed thoroughly in the next section. A market for HE in the immediate vicinity of UNESCO WHSs that is country-dependent and in its infancy is identified.

The survey data is evaluated as follows. First, the sample population and demographic characteristics are outlined. The perceptions of survey participants are then compiled and presented. These include the perceived impacts of UNESCO WHSs on the regions and communities concerned and the perceived added value of UNESCO WHSs for society. These perceptions influence the EA, EO, and ESE values that determine the ES at UNESCO WHSs, thus the predictability of HE. In determining the predictability of HE, (1) the data from the country profiles are presented, (2) factors hampering HE in and around UNESCO WHSs are compiled and listed according to the countries' EDL, and finally, (3) hypotheses of context factors (GESI, GR, EDL) are validated.

4.4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Sample Population

In total, 17 countries responded and participated in the survey. 51 countries (selected focus group, research sample) were originally invited to take part in the survey. This leads to a response rate of 33.33% of surveyed countries. Data sets of three countries, however, lack sufficient data to provide any representative assessment. Latvia, France and Kazakhstan are therefore excluded from the further analysis. Stakeholder of the UNESCO WHSs of these countries have indicated that they have not heard of HE before or did not know. The adjusted sample consists of 14 countries. Findings and data presented are based on 33 questionnaires[20] that were completed for the 14 countries. The 14 countries are depicted in Figure 7 below.
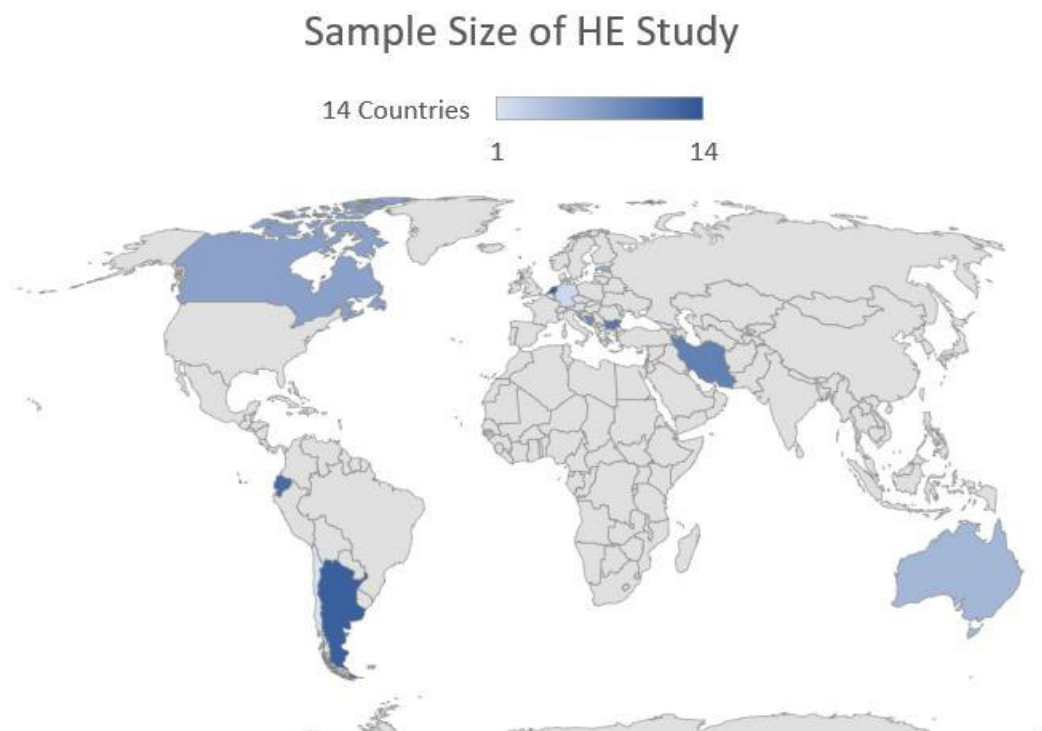
Figure 7: A Map of the Participating Countries of the HE Study

Own representation based on HE study 2019

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[20] Non-statements (N/A) were taken into account in the probabilities accordingly (see Table 5 – 10).

The countries included in the HE study are Argentina, Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, Estonia, Germany, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Slovenia. These are eight i-driven and six e-driven countries in four geographical regions (see Table 4).

	Europe	Latin America & Caribbean	Asia & Oceania	North America
I-driven	Germany Luxembourg Slovenia Estonia Netherlands		Australia Israel	Canada
E-driven	Bosnia and Herzegovina Bulgaria	Chile Ecuador Argentina	Iran	

Table 4: Countries According to EDL and GR

Own representation based on HE study 2019 and GEM 2018

The majority of participants (66.6%) are either heritage owners and part of heritage management or are from the public sector (see Table 5). More than half of all stakeholders (57.7%) are 40 years old or older. Of these, 27.3% are 55 years old or older. Only 12.1% are younger than 35 years old (see Table 6). Most participants (69.7%) are employed (see Table 7); 36.4% of participants are female, 39.4% are male (see Table 8).

Stakeholder Groups	43%	Heritage Owners/Heritage Management
	24%	Public Sector
	6%	Heritage Consumers
	3%	Other Industry
	24%	N/A

Table 5: Overview of Stakeholder Groups Participated in HE Study

Own illustration based on HE study 2019

Age Groups	3%	25 to 29 years old
	9%	30 to 34 years old
	6%	35 to 39 years old
	16%	40 to 44 years old
	6%	45 to 49 years old
	9%	50 to 54 years old
	18%	55 to 59 years old
	3%	60 to 64 years old
	6%	65 years or older
	24%	N/A

Table 6: Overview of Age Groups Participated in HE Study

Own illustration based on HE study 2019

Employment Status	70%	Employed
	3%	Homemaker
	3%	Other
	24%	N/A

Table 7: Overview of Employment Status of Participants in HE Study

Own illustration based on HE study 2019

Gender	37%	Female
	39%	Male
	24%	N/A

Table 8: Overview of the Gender of the Participants in HE Study

Own illustration based on HE study 2019

Prior Knowledge and Consciousness of HE

54.5% of the stakeholder population who participated in the survey have not yet heard of HE before, 42.4% have had heard of HE before while 3% didn't know (see Table 9).

Previous Knowledge	42%	Yes
	55%	No
	3%	Don't know

Table 9: Overview of the Previous Knowledge of the Participants of the HE Study

Own illustration based on HE study 2019

In terms of countries, this means HE is (1) unknown in countries like Chile, Australia, Estonia, Canada, Iran, and Ecuador; (2) mostly unknown in Slovenia; (3) mostly known in Luxembourg and Germany, (4) known in Israel, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and the Netherlands. Bulgaria and Argentina are indifferent. The HE state of knowledge for the 14 countries is shown in Figure 8 below.
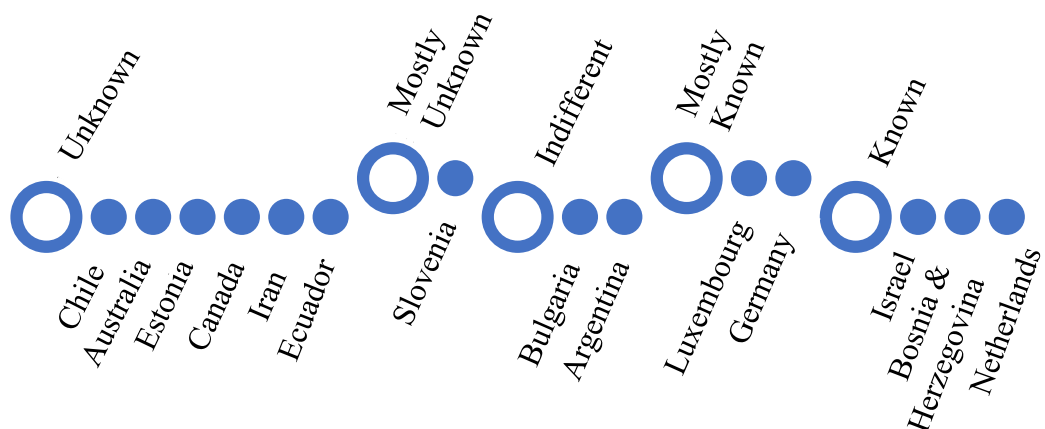
Figure 8: HE Knowledge Barometer

Own illustration based on HE study 2019

Personal Involvement in HE

39.4% of the participants have been personally involved, are currently involved or even plan to get involved in HE projects/activities whereas 27.3% of the participants have neither been involved nor plan to be involved (see Table 10).

Personal Involvment	40%	Yes
	27%	No
	9%	Don't know
	24%	N/A

Table 10: Overview of the Personal Involvement of the Participants of the HE Study

Own illustration based on HE study 2019

At country level or in country-specific terms, this means that (1) Luxembourg, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Iran have been or will be involved in HE, (2) Germany and Slovenia tend to be or will be predominantly involved in HE, (3) Chile, Australia, Bulgaria and Ecuador have not been or are not planning to be involved in HE, (4) Estonia and Israel are undecided, and (5) Canada tends to be and will be partially involved in HE.

4.4.2 Perceived Impacts of UNESCO WHSs on the Region and its Inhabitants

UNESCO WHSs are perceived to stimulate regional development, tourism growth and infrastructure bringing economic (employment), social and educational benefits and opportunities for the region and developing "quality of life" in the long run. There is a common understanding that "WHS-development and the development of the town surrounding the WHS" are mutually dependent. "If the WHS is doing well (= generating visitors) […] [service offerings] will benefit from their position within the WHS-area."

This results in an expansion or greater use of existing infrastructure (hotels, restaurants, cafés, souvenir/gift shops, dwellings etc.) due to increasing demand of services (the tertiary sector). Several regions are accordingly advertised and promoted as "tourism destination[s]".

The "WHS status" influences the attractiveness of its region for visitors and tourists and thus creates potentials for cultural heritage tourism and cross-marketing. Existing tourism operators therefore use "the WHS 'brand' to add value to their marketing efforts." For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina it is planned that "the future promotion of Višegrad and its region is […] based on linking the offers of the newly planned facilities with the existing cultural and natural properties and attractions". In Germany, municipalities and regionals (want to) develop parts of rural situated UNESCO WHSs as tourist attractions in order to develop rural areas that lack tourist infrastructure. These developments are supported by heritage management when "actions planned do not affect the integrity of the WHS and support its interpretation".

UNESCO WHSs are perceived to empower stakeholders in networking and contribute to regaining and protecting the region's strength. In a region of heterogeneity and administrative fragmentation such as the Upper Middle Rhine Valley in Germany, which is a huge cultural landscape, a regional network and joint actions were established due to the UNESCO WHS. This not only improved

coordination between stakeholders, but also made them more sensitive and understanding for the region. In Slovenia, stakeholder network "in the field of nature protection and sustainable tourism." The old bridge area of the old city of Mostar in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a "place of connection and exchange" and part of the regional social identity.

The protection of such heritage sites and areas creates awareness for the region and strengthens the emotional bond of the inhabitants with the heritage. In Canada "the highlighting of key Outstanding Universal Values has allowed given increased leverage for protection of the area which will lead to increased economic opportunities related to the sites Action Plan." The visibility and significance of specific regions is increased by UNESCO WHSs and their protective measures. As a side effect, in some cases the beautification of the region is achieved through the care of the heritage, as in Haifa, Israel through the Bahá'í Gardens.

It is perceived that the community gets involved in heritage management processes and is (directly and indirectly) employed in the field of heritage. In Slovenia, for example, there are "programs and activities of the public agency for local people for different topics in nature conservation and conservation of cultural heritage, such as excursions, workshops [etc.]" or "open calls […] for local people for the renovation of the homesteads at the WHS". The Ancient City of Nessebar, UNESCO WHS of Bulgaria, was able to revive the city and protect it from mass tourism due to various projects carried out by the state together with local authorities and society. The state continues to fund various projects.

In some countries, new tangible forms of heritage are created for economic or entrepreneurial purposes, changing the radiance of UNESCO WHSs in and for the regions. Examples given from Luxembourg include the conversion of an ancient wasteland of the fortress into a rose garden; a project of opening an archaeological crypt as a tourist and cultural museum; "real and visible" UNESCO based products such as visits, hike and bike tours through the UNESCO zone. In Iran, for example, the "historical houses [] in Meydan-e Emam in Esfahan were restored and employed

for different functions such as dwelling, art galleries and for production of handicrafts".

It was also mentioned that neither major impacts since UNESCO WHS listing like increase in "donations to the permanent fund established for the WHS" nor any benefits associated with inscription for residents have been noticed, only increased interest from research institutions and NGOs.

4.4.3 Perceptions about the Added Value of UNESCO WHSs for Society

As shown in Figure 9 below, most countries (10 out of 14 countries) that have participated in the HE study affirm that UNESCO WHSs are giving back to society (GBTS).
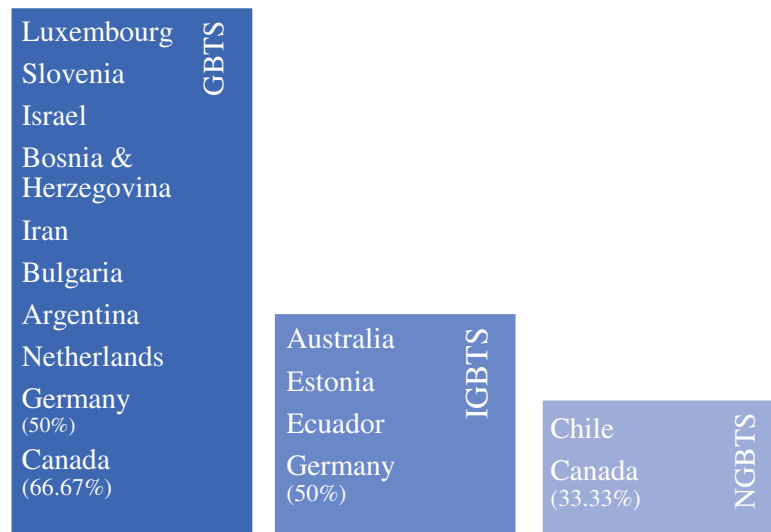
Figure 9: The Social Added Value of UNESCO WHSs

Individual evaluation and (conditional) probabilities (broken down by country) on the UNESCO WHSs' ability to give back to society (GBTS). Unless otherwise specified, 100% GBTS (giving back to society), 100% IGBTS (unsure about the ability to give back) or 100% NGBTS (not giving back to society). Based on HE study 2019

In i-driven Europe (e.g., Luxembourg, Slovenia, Netherlands, Germany), the impact of UNESCO WHSs on society is perceived positively, as reflected in the demand for products and services. The society benefits from all positive measures to maintain and promote the "facility" as in storing knowledge or providing education, bearing the identity of society, stimulating economy and employment or raising awareness for heritage. Ultimately, "every investment in a WHS will be a middle and long-term benefit for society." UNESCO WHSs often create "information pools for local regionals and external visitors", contain and spread heritage-induced learnings, play an important role in education projects and purposes, and preserve outstanding heritage for future generations. The heritage and information about the heritage can be made available to a greater mass. Other highlights in the region benefit from synergy effects. Furthermore, UNESCO WHSs are an economical factor for the region and offer new career opportunities for the local population.

In e-driven Europe (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria), World Heritage status is driving developments both inside and outside the UNESCO WHS and its buffer zones as well as for local businesses. UNESCO WHSs are a "testimony of cultural identity" and contribute to and sensitise the lifestyle of the individual and the society.

In i-driven Asia and Oceania (Israel), UNESCO WHSs support and take care of the region and its people in keeping the area neat or by creating jobs. In Iran, an e-driven country in Asia and Oceania, the UNESCO WHS, which was originally a bazaar, is a meeting place for creativity and craftsmanship and conveys "many values and messages". It is "the place for the most important events of the city" and "part of the Creative city and the City of Handicrafts" igniting entrepreneurship.

In i-driven North America (Canada), UNESCO WHSs add value to society by enhancing the protection of places and traditions that benefits all humanity.

4.4.4 Determining (the predictability of) HE

The results presented here contribute to the predictability model (see Sect. 4.3.1). In the context of this HE study, the probability of emergence and existence of HE in the countries is determined by the EA, EO and ESE (i.e., by the ES at UNESCO WHSs). Table 11 summarises these values for the 14 countries of the HE study.[21]

	EA	*EO*	*ESE*
Chile	*No*	*No*	*Yes*
Germany	*77.78% No* *22.22% Yes*	*77.78% Yes* *22.22% No*	*55.56% Yes* *44.44% No*
Luxembourg	*66.67% Yes* *33.33% No*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Slovenia	*66.67% Yes* *33.33% No*	*Yes*	*No*
Australia	*No*	*Yes*	*No*
Estonia	*No*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Canada	*No*	*80% Yes* *20% No*	*80% No* *20% Yes*
Israel	*No*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Bosnia and Herzegovina	*No*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Bulgaria	*50% Yes* *50% No*	*Yes*	*50% Yes* *50% No*
Ecuador	*No*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Argentina	*No*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Netherlands	*No*	*No*	*No*

Table 11: The Predictability of HE around UNESCO WHSs

Individual evaluation and (conditional) probabilities (broken down by country) on entrepreneurial awareness of heritage (EA), entrepreneurial opportunity perception of heritage (EO), entrepreneurial self-efficacy (ESE). Based on HE study 2019

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[21] If several questionnaires were completed for one country and the statements differ, a percentage rate is given.

Entrepreneurial Awareness of Heritage (EA)

The EA is low. Nine out of 14 countries (Chile, Australia, Estonia, Canada, Israel, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ecuador, Argentina, Netherlands) unanimously state that they are not aware of any businesses founded based on or inspired by their UNESCO WHSs in the past year. In Germany, there is a prevailing understanding of entrepreneurial non-awareness of heritage. In Luxembourg and Slovenia, there is a prevailing understanding of EA. In Bulgaria, EA is partly given, partly not. Only in Iran, they are aware of their *entrepreneurial heritage*.

Entrepreneurial Opportunity Perception of Heritage (EO)

The EO across countries is high. 10 out of 14 countries (Luxembourg, Slovenia, Australia, Estonia, Israel, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iran, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Argentina) recognise entrepreneurial opportunities around the heritage and see good opportunities for starting a business in the area of UNESCO WHSs. The majority of representatives from Germany and Canada perceive entrepreneurial opportunities of the heritage. Chile and the Netherlands see no entrepreneurial opportunities in and for UNESCO WHSs.

Entrepreneurial Self-Efficacy (ESE)

The ESE of heritage stakeholders ranges from mixed to high. Just over half of the countries (Chile, Luxembourg, Estonia, Israel, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iran, Ecuador, Argentina) state having a high degree of entrepreneurial self-efficacy. This means that the majority of surveyed stakeholders think that they have the knowledge, skills, and experience to start a business related to a UNESCO WHS. The ESE in Germany is slightly higher than the inability of ESE. In Bulgaria, ESE is mixed and cannot be clearly determined. Canada has almost no tendency to ESE. Slovenia, Australia and the Netherlands negate ESE in relation to UNESCO WHSs.

⇨ In general, the determination of the ES at UNESCO WHSs remains vague as the EA is low, the EO is high and the ESE is mixed to high. The probability for HE in the 14 countries is correspondingly low to high.[22]

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[22] See the country-classification in 'The Presence-Growth Matrix of HE' in Sect. 4.5.

What Factors Constrain HE in and around UNESCO WHSs the Most?

Country-specific constraints that hamper EA, EO and ESE in the long-term will significantly determine and influence the state of HE. The following limitations are the most pressing, according to survey participants.

Constraints in I-driven Countries

Constraints in i-driven Europe based on collected survey data include:

- 'unrealistic', 'artificial' preservation of heritage
- strict regulations: too restrictive/no guidelines on how to preserve and convert heritage
- no vision
- no support system, no ecosystem, the absence of economic catalysts like visitor centre
- compatibility: other development needs that are given priority and do not fit to the UNESCO WHS
- bureaucracy: burdens of administration
- parochialism (small scale territorial thinking): little knowledge of the subject, both on the part of potential investors and on the part of local authorities
- invisibility of UNESCO WHSs
- lack of knowledge about the history and special nature of the site
- lack of awareness
- level of tourism development: no organised tourism, tourism flux is neither canalised in time nor in space
- socio-economic level of the area

Constraints in i-driven Asia and Oceania based on collected survey data include:

- political or financial constraints
- lack of community involvement

Constraints in i-driven North America based on collected survey data include:

- the proximity to a major city
- number of visitors
- "lack of funding for business planning and local economic development"
- "lack of skills and capacity among WHS residents and adjacent communities in HE"

Constraints in E-driven Countries[23]

Constraints in e-driven Europe based on collected survey data include:

- low level of economic development
- unfavourable demographic structure
- hardly any cooperation between the institutions
- underutilisation of cultural and natural resources for tourism
- undeveloped, uncoordinated gastronomy
- limited accommodation possibilities
- lack of links between the private and public sectors

Constraints in e-driven Asia and Oceania based on collected survey data include shortage of ground for development.

These limitations pose challenges for the countries that want to implement HE. Overcoming these impediments will facilitate the integration of HE in these countries.

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[23] For e-driven Latin America and Caribbean (Chile, Ecuador, Argentina) no specific constraints were mentioned.

Further Influences on the Emergence and Existence of HE

As part of determining the predictability of HE, assumptions and hypotheses were made in Sect. 4.3.4. The hypotheses serve to investigate three context factors that are presented in Table 12. GESI, EDL and GR are considered as influences that might affect the emergence and existence of HE. Within the framework of hypothesis testing, attempts are made to identify initial patterns that could be helpful for the development and recognition of HE. Based on preliminary findings of the HE study, the hypotheses are evaluated (i.e, either potentially proved or rejected).[24]

	GESI	*EDL*	*GR*
Chile	*0.28*	*E-driven*	*Latin America & Caribbean*
Germany	*-0.15*	*I-driven*	*Europe*
Luxembourg	*0.00*	*I-driven*	*Europe*
Slovenia	*-0.07*	*I-driven*	*Europe*
Australia	*0.04*	*I-driven*	*Asia & Oceania*
Estonia	*0.26*	*I-driven*	*Europe*
Canada	*0.21*	*I-driven*	*North America*
Israel	*0.28*	*I-driven*	*Asia & Oceania*
Bosnia and Herzegovina	*-0.50*	*E-driven*	*Europe*
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	*0.01*	*E-driven*	*Asia & Oceania*
Bulgaria	*-0.33*	*E-driven*	*Europe*
Ecuador	*0.28*	*E-driven*	*Latin America & Caribbean*
Argentina	*-0.32*	*E-driven*	*Latin America & Caribbean*
Netherlands	*0.28*	*I-driven*	*Europe*

Table 12: Compiled Overview of GESI, EDL, and GR for the Countries of the HE Study

Own representation based on GEM 2018

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[24] This chapter focuses on a quantitative, descriptive research design so that no statistical tests are carried out. These tests should be used when the state of research and knowledge of HE progresses (see also Sect. 4.3.1 for the research design).

Context Factor GESI

Surprisingly, the very committed Luxembourg and Iran that have an ES towards zero were frontrunner countries in appreciating HE and aiming to expand opportunities. Representatives of the Netherlands and Chile, two countries with the highest ranked ES in their respective development stage in this survey, show no interest in HE and do not take advantage of or see the entrepreneurial opportunities of heritage. Bosnia and Herzegovina that has the lowest GESI score (-0,50) of the sample is a very ambitious e-driven country in respect to HE and very aware of its constraints and lack of support.

⇨ The country's relative position or standing on the ES scale might predict the level of HE at UNESCO WHSs. It shows that there is a tendency of negative dependency, i.e., the lower the ES in a country, the higher or more likely the exercise of HE.[25]

⇨ This validates that *HE might occur more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in countries with certain ES level, i.e., in countries with low ES level*. $H1_1$ is affirmed, i.e., there tends to be a connection between the ES of a country and the emerge of HE.

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[25] This is the so-called *opposite effect*: If the country's ES level is high, the probability for the exercise of HE is low and vice versa.

Context Factor EDL

Based on the survey's data, e-driven countries (especially Iran, Argentina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Ecuador) seem to be more invested into HE and potentially implementing HE than i-driven countries although they often lack structures and support systems. Interestingly, in some i-driven countries (e.g, Germany) these very structures (an excess of rules) hinder HE. HE thus might evolve in e-driven countries first and foremost, while there will be also i-driven countries that might play a major (pioneering) role in HE such as Luxembourg.

⇨ This shows that *HE might occur more frequently near UNESCO WHSs in countries with certain EDLs, i.e., in e-driven countries*. $H1_3$ is affirmed, i.e., there tends to be a connection between the region's EDL and HE.

Context Factor GR

HE *does not* occur more frequently around UNESCO WHSs in certain GRs, at least it could not be proved. $H0_2$ is thus affirmed, i.e., there is no connection between the GR and HE. This implies that there are no signs of patterns in terms of the GRs and that HE is (potentially) practiced across regions.

The context factors GESI and EDL are presumed to influence the predictability of HE, i.e., the emergence of HE. Target countries of HE measures might therefore be countries with low GESI and e-driven countries. HE might create added value especially in these countries.

4.5 Summary and Discussion of Findings

Here, the main research results of the HE study are summarised, and their significance is discussed. The results are also integrated into the context of earlier scientific studies even though there are only a few studies about HE so far. Finally, a summary of the HE status of the 14 countries is given and recommendations for action for countries that own UNESCO WHSs are derived.

The survey has provided evidence that there is a market for HE in the immediate vicinity of UNESCO WHSs and that it has only been partly developed or used properly by the 14 countries. Generally, the understanding of HE is relatively poor, so is the awareness for HE around UNESCO WHSs. Nonetheless, stakeholders claim that there are certainly opportunities for HE in the context of UNESCO WHSs. The low EA of businesses started related to UNESCO WHSs can be because of (1) general lack of entrepreneurial awareness of businesses based on heritage, (2) lack of transparency and dilution, which does not allow conclusions to UNESCO WHSs as a founding idea, occasion, or trigger for the respective heritage business, or (3) there do not exist any heritage businesses yet. However, since there seems to be a high EO, it should be started to increase the EA by teaching and promoting ESE (see detailed recommendations for action below).

The predictability of HE around UNESCO WHSs is very difficult given that constraints are very diverse. The country profiles revealed that more or less supportive framework conditions exist independent of the context factors GR, the EDL, and the measured ES (GESI) of the country. The EDL and GESI might, however, influence the presence and growth of HE positively or at least have an effect on HE (see also Figure 10 for the presence-growth matrix of HE).

HE could be an important pillar of the economy in e-driven countries. These countries turned out to be particularly inclined to HE. It further showed that the country's relative position or standing on the ES scale might predict the level of HE in countries of UNESCO WHSs. There is a contrary movement in the indicators.

This means that countries with an overall low GESI initially discover and develop entrepreneurial opportunities in niches and countries with overall high GESI are reluctant to tap into "small" or "non-scalable" entrepreneurial niches. In another test, it must be proven whether the indicators correlate negatively, i.e., if the GESI goes up or down, HE will decrease or increase accordingly, or whether it is a random observation. The field is too novel and there is a lack of (statistical) data to guarantee a definite assessment according to scientific criteria. Also, it could not be demonstrated that HE is influenced by the GR. Based on the literature, interesting GRs for HE in the future could be Asia and Oceania. This can be supported by the HE study since the countries of this region have a high presence or potential in HE.

Overall, determining HE is difficult in this stage of research. HE cannot be clearly measured without making assumptions. The approach presented helps evaluating and classifying HE. Besides analysing context factors and the directly with HE connected constructs of EA, EO, and ESE, individual impressions of UNESCO WHS stakeholders helped to get a glimpse of the current state of HE. The regional impacts emanating from UNESCO WHSs that were highlighted by survey participants reflect, for example, important anchor points of the HE concept confirming that HE can and will play a role for UNESCO WHSs in supporting and advancing impacts of UNESCO WHSs and developments for the region and its inhabitants. These include, among others, advancing social and educational benefits, employment opportunities, quality of life, cooperations of heritage stakeholders and infrastructure. The concern of some surveyed stakeholders about the destruction of heritage by HE appears to be unfounded, as all studies have emphasised and shown that HE does exactly the opposite and preserves the heritage, as HE does not fully exploit it for other purposes unless it is requested (see Lundberg et al. 2016).

The average, higher age of the participants is conspicuous. This suggests that the younger generations are less involved in cultural heritage activities or hold positions in that field. HE offers practical creative ways (1) to get in touch with UNESCO WHSs, (2) to address younger age groups, and (3) to attract young talents for the

heritage sector adding to projects by different institutions that raise awareness and promote heritage such as the European Year of Cultural Heritage that aimed to attract young people to an inclusive and sustainable Europe (by UNESCO and the EU 2018, see EU 2019).

UNESCO WHSs are committed to *giving back to society*, and the survey shows that people feel that in most cases UNESCO WHSs are giving something back to society by storing and disseminating knowledge, raising awareness, shaping identity, revitalising the economy or offering employment opportunities. Entrepreneurship is considered a social responsibility, according to Pfeilstetter, culminating in social change by institutionalising the heritage in certain environments (2015). Powell et al. (2011) add that heritage and entrepreneurship combined affect regeneration processes and socio-cultural change. Thus, the obligation of UNESCO WHSs to give something back to society, or in other words how society can benefit from UNESCO WHSs, is reinforced by the concept of HE.

The UNESCO WHS in Iran that was originally a bazaar is a great example of two of four HE differentiation types according to Lundberg et al. (2016). It unites *the proper mainstream heritagepreneurship* and *in-proper revitalized heritagepreneurship* (see also Chapter 2). The first type refers to the heritage that is gentrified and transformed into a new form of consumer place where events and the creative and craftsman scene take place. Hereby, the former heritage, i.e., the bazaar is visible but not too obvious. The second type refers to the heritage that is used innovatively with activities being based on the former heritage without transforming the actual heritage. Iran provides a fairly moderate example of how to use heritage for regional development in comparison to the extreme examples from Mexico and Scandinavia given by Lundberg et al. (2016). Lundberg et al. have also called for these examples, since the extremes would be an exception and HE would probably move between them.

Many of the limitations identified to disrupt or even prevent the development of HE in and around UNESCO WHSs, such as an unfavourable demographic structure or the artificial conservation of heritage without community participation, represent precisely the essential pressures that HE should counteract and is used for. The Sagittarius Project, a transnational cooperation project from 2011, has shown how heritage can be an alternative driver for sustainable development and economic recovery in South East Europe (SEE TCP Sagittarius EU 2011). The topics that were relevant at that time for this specific region are still relevant today. Topics included the human capital and the protection use conflict when pushing heritage as economic driver.

Go et al. (2002) suggested to turn HE into an urban profession to cultivate heritage assets as lack of skills, capacities and knowledge about HE seem to be "a barrier to wealth generation trough the conservation and the responsible use of […] heritage". The artificial preservation is the product of stakeholders misdirected by heritage commodification and manufactured heritage that are afraid of losing the original, authentic heritage value. Little knowledge of HE and the denial of the zeitgeist will inevitably lead to missed opportunities and indeed diminish heritage value (Debes and Alipour 2011). Go predicted back in 2002 that heritage enterprises would be inseparably integrated into the urban or regional context accelerated by a network of *glocal* stakeholders. Based on the evaluations of the HE study, such a development is expected and hoped for.

The Upper Middle Rhine Valley, amongst others, has already built such a network and stimulates HE opportunities in that very UNESCO WHS region (Lundberg et al. 2016; Chan et al. 2016; Pfeilstetter 2015). Similar to Powell et al. (2011), who examined positive impacts on challenging HE projects in South Wales Valleys, the HE study found that stakeholders that team up profit from sharing expertise and resources by creating hub or cluster networks and that the involvement of communities in heritage-related projects can drive HE forward. Effective heritage management of UNESCO WHS regions (see also Facchinetti 2014; Boccardi and Duvelle 2013), participatory approaches (Babić 2015; Bălan and Vasile 2015;

Hribar et al. 2015; Sarach 2015) and citizen-led innovation or grassroots initiatives (Paganoni 2015) such as in Slovenia or Bulgaria are very important and have been either (rudimentarily) implemented by countries or are identified as deficiencies to reach socio-economic inclusion through HE.

Some of the countries surveyed further mentioned their difficult geographical location or unstable economy as a burden for developing HE, but "in non-urban landscape perspectives" HE is regarded as a measure to trigger new businesses and "new economies in geographic areas with unstable growth" (Lagerqvist and Bornmalm 2015) by developing ways to reuse the heritage for economic renewal, while respecting resource economisation. Regional policy agendas or strategies, for example, have acknowledged heritage's potential for regional development, growth and employment, but financing or other support systems have rarely been instilled by countries in the long term.

The Countries' HE Perspective: A Summary of the HE Situation

The countries' HE perspective is expressed by the present state and assumed development of HE (see Figure 10). These two conditions are displayed in the matrix as (1) the relative presence of HE and (2) the HE growth rate.

- *Relative Presence of HE* = Estimated current presence of HE based on data indications from the HE study
- *HE Growth Rate* = Estimated predictability for implementing HE based on data indications from the HE study

The 14 countries of the HE study are classified by HE growth rate and relative presence of HE as follows:

(1) The predicted growth probability of HE is as high as the current presence.
  ➔ *Countries should invest in HE due to the current and future high growth.*
(2) The predicted growth probability of HE is high, the current presence is low.
  ➔ *Countries should consider investing in HE to profit from future growth.*
(3) The predicted growth probability of HE is as low as the current presence.
  ➔ *Countries should not invest in HE.*
(4) *The predicted growth probability of HE is low, the current presence is high.*
  ➔ *Countries should profit from HE.*
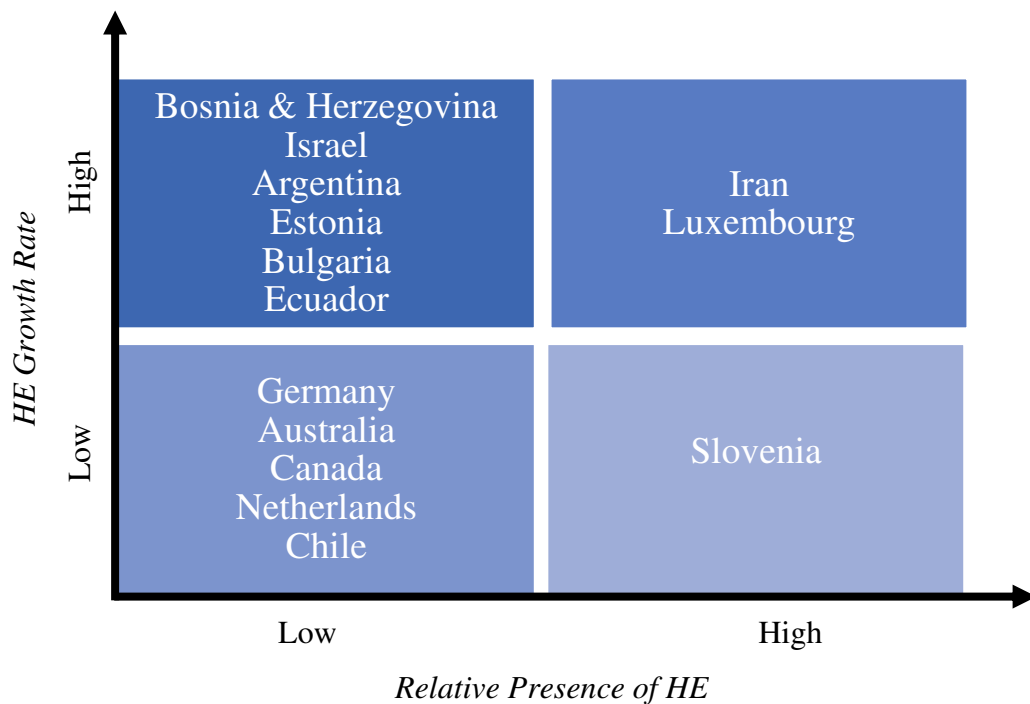
Figure 10: The Presence-Growth Matrix of HE

Own illustration. Figure based on the HE study 2019[26]

Low Presence/Low Growth: Five out of 14 Countries

In Germany, HE is mostly known, and stakeholders tend to be or will be predominantly involved in HE projects. The relative presence of HE is yet low because of a rather negative EA and mixed ESE. The estimated HE growth is low due to lots of bureaucracy and strict regulations, protection and preservation reasons, small scale thinking, territorial thinking, invisibility of UNESCO WHSs, compatibility problems etc. Nonetheless, stakeholders wish for a higher growth rate in Germany as entrepreneurial opportunities are recognised and HE

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[26] In reference to Henderson's BCG matrix, see BCG and Henderson 1968.

> *"addresses one of the pressing needs of the local communities: to understand the possibilities of entrepreneurship that can be created around a WH site. These stakeholders are often not aware that WH sites have the potential to be unique niches by the interplay of their special protection and sustainability."*

The probability of HE in Australia is as low as the current presence. HE is unknown and Australia have not been or are not planning to be involved in HE. It seems unclear which effects UNESCO WHSs could have in Australia. The indifference about whether UNESCO WHSs are giving back to society reflects dealings with HE. The present state of HE and its growth in Australia is estimated low but with potential as entrepreneurial opportunities of heritage are recognised at least.

HE is unknown in Canada and the concept of HE is unclear. The presence of HE in Canada is accordingly low. There is no actual interest in HE so that the estimated growth rate is low despite of 80% EO. Canada nevertheless tends to be and will be partially involved in HE.

HE is known in the Netherlands, apart from that, its presence is not given. The assumed development of HE is close to zero. No HE growth is expected.

HE is unknown in Chile and its growth is estimated to be low. ESE is given but Chile has not been or are not planning to be involved in HE. UNESCO WHSs are perceived to not give back to society which amplifies the restraint towards HE.

Low Presence/High Growth: Six out of 14 Countries

Bosnia and Herzegovina will be and have been involved in HE projects (see Sect. 4.2.2). The relative presence of HE in Bosnia and Herzegovina seems rather low, but HE growth is estimated to be high due to EO and ESE. Besides, stakeholders stated to know the concept of HE. The country is further very well aware of its limitations, underdevelopments, and constraints such as low EDL, demographic challenges, general underuse of cultural and natural resources, and lack of

resources. It is assumed that HE can contribute to resolve these issues and therefore will evolve in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

HE is known in Israel, but the relative presence is low. Although the personal involvement in HE is yet undecided, the HE growth rate is estimated to be high due to EO and ESE. Additionally, UNESCO WHSs have a particular standing in this country as they are giving back to society.

There is no HE presence in Argentina (stakeholders have no knowledge about HE), but the estimated HE growth is considered high due to EO and ESE. Argentina therefore represents a potential market for HE due to its recognition of entrepreneurial opportunities around UNESCO WHSs and its awareness of their own entrepreneurial skills and abilities.

The estimated HE growth in Estonia is considered high due to EO and ESE. HE is to date unknown and not present; the personal involvement in HE is yet undecided, but Estonia might be a huge market for HE in the future given that opportunities have already been recognised.

Bulgaria has stated to not plan to be involved in HE and have not been involved in HE although projects in joint effort of the state and locals were already been carried out and can be clustered as HE projects (see Sect. 4.4.2). This misconception might be because of the lack of knowledge about HE. This leads to a relative low presence of HE. However, EO is high, EA and ESE are mixed. Based on this, the growth of HE in Bulgaria is estimated to be potentially high contributing to its relative presence.

In Ecuador, there is a lot of ignorance of HE and uncertainty about the role of UNESCO WHSs. Ecuador, however, represents a future market for HE, as the EO and ESE is high, and this can positively contribute to growing HE.

High Presence/Low Growth: One out of 14 Countries

The relative presence of HE is estimated to be potentially high in Slovenia due to the high EA and EO. Stakeholders of UNESCO WHSs tend to be or will be predominantly involved in HE projects. Moreover, stakeholder networks are already in place for protecting heritage and sustainability in other business fields (see Sect. 4.4.2). However, Slovenia is well aware of challenges that might hinder further HE growth. These include, amongst others, the absence of ESE, the little knowledge about HE as subject, no HE-friendly ecosystem, and the low socio-economic level of the region. The HE growth rate is therefore estimated to be low. In addition, HE varies considerably depending on the UNESCO WHS of the country.

High Presence/High Growth: Two out of 14 Countries

The relative presence of HE in Iran is considered very high, although the overall concept of HE is unknown. Characterised by a high level of EA, EO, and ESE, Iran have been involved and will be involved in HE projects (see Sect 4.4.2). The HE growth rate is therefore estimated to be very high too.

HE is very present in Luxembourg and rather known. There is a high level of EA, EO, ESE. Luxembourg have been and will be further involved in HE projects (see Sect 4.4.2). The HE growth rate is accordingly considered very high.

Deduced Recommendations for Action for Countries of UNESCO WHSs

It is recommended that countries that own UNESCO WHSs and those responsible give consideration to the following:

- Differentiation of countries:

  Identifying market niches and future markets for HE as not all countries and UNESCO WHSs are predestined for HE

- Dissemination of knowledge about HE:

  Making HE accessible to a wider range of stakeholders and raising awareness by educating about HE

- Acceleration of HE:

  Instilling support systems for potential HE markets, i.e., countries with a high HE growth rate, to exploit the high level of entrepreneurial opportunities of heritage that exist

- Integration of HE into regional policy:

  Anchoring HE at the political level to receive public and private support and funds to start off HE developments

- Long-term inclusion of entrepreneurship in the heritage sector:

  Creating a link between entrepreneurial processes and UNESCO WHSs to prevent adherence to obsolete structures and to find new ways of preserving and dealing with heritage

- Development of HE skills:

  Initiating 'learning by doing' to strengthen ESE of communities surrounding UNESCO WHSs by providing HE learning and workshop sessions

- Diversification through HE:

  Addressing socio-economic disbalances of countries by expanding economic choices offered by using countries' heritage

4.6 Limitations and Future Research

Up to now, some retrospective reviews have been carried out to assess how HE is developing. In this chapter, the concept of HE was operationalised for the first time. The survey is based on a theoretical framework with certain assumptions that allows to determine (the predictability of) HE. Correspondingly, the study in this chapter sees itself as a *trend-setting* study. The basis that has been created for this study can serve as a guideline for further qualitative and quantitative studies in the field of HE research.

Data was gathered about the present state of HE around UNESCO WHSs in 14 countries in order to recognise potential markets and regions for HE. Countries are diverse and take HE differently. However, it can be seen across countries that there are entrepreneurial opportunities for UNESCO WHSs. It is critical to consider whether these entrepreneurial opportunities are recognised and seized or whether they are (or need to be) initially constructed (see Vaghely and Julien 2010). In the case of non-existence of opportunities, HE opportunities can also be created and manifested by stakeholders (see Lundberg et al. 2016; Pfeilstetter 2015). A new heritage sector may then emerge, which needs to be explored.

Scientists are called to further examine HE, to test and explore context factors that are influencing the presence and growth of HE as well as to evaluate HE effects. The aim should be to (1) collect, (2) code, and (3) analyse data in order to develop grounded theory and inductively achieve theoretical saturation (see Glaser and Strauss 1977). This will contribute to better determine, promote, and operationalise HE in future studies. Of particular interest is also how HE will *actually* develop over the next few years in the 14 countries. A panel study can be created to track the evolution of HE in the respective countries.

The survey's conceptualisation focused on five stakeholder groups due to previous findings: (1) heritage influencers (heritage owners or heritage management, heritage entrepreneurs and heritage consumers); (2) heritage community and heritage residents; (3) public sector; (4) private sector; and (5) other industries. No restrictions have been made to generate as much data as possible. Nonetheless, official stakeholder groups were primarily reached. This means participated stakeholders were foremost representatives of the countries' UNESCO WHSs. This ultimately contributed to obtaining a comprehensive expert view of HE from a heritage perspective and provides a good basis for further data collection. Following Pfeilstetter (2015), it is suggested to study the relationship of heritage stakeholders in terms of their roles, influences, and power more profoundly by, for example, creating different questionnaires for the target groups. This will provide new insights and avoid overstraining the participants. Capturing the target group of active heritage entrepreneurs and their initial motives could make a promising contribution to HE research as well.

Finally, it is assumed that the research topic of HE will receive more attention in the coming years due to its importance for the local economic, scientific and political market. It is expected that the number of participating countries will increase, and a wider and more individualised coverage can be achieved. F-driven countries and countries in Africa, for example, could not be captured within the frame of this HE study. These countries have not responded to the questionnaire. It would be of utmost interest to explore how HE might make an impact on particularly f-driven countries and on a region like Africa as it once served as a test region for the 2014 HE field training (HEFT) of UNESCO.[27] HE could possibly help transcending countries from the f-driven phase to the e-driven phase by initiating social change processes that lead to economic opportunities and growth (see Pfeilstetter 2015; Welter 2011; Trettin and Welter 2011).

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[27] Great interest in HE was also expressed within the African UNESCO community during the first international UNESCO chair conference in Wuppertal, 2019.

5 Conclusion of the Dissertation

5.1 Summary of Main Findings

UNESCO WHSs were used to develop the research field HE. The role of HE in and around UNESCO WHSs was elaborated and constituted by one modified literature review, one in-depth qualitative case study about the Bahá'í Gardens in Haifa, Israel, and one *HE-UNESCO WHS pilot study* that comprises 14 UNESCO WHS countries. Findings show UNESCO WHSs striving to exploit their heritage resources how to incorporate and exercise HE. A profound understanding for the evolution of HE was imparted, and recommendations of action were developed to help position and jumpstart HE processes.

The evaluation of countries' present state of HE indicates that HE opportunities exist, are heterogenous, and recognised but these opportunities are often neglected due to various limitations such as the lack of resources, unwillingness or incapability of stakeholders or the power-political situation or priority setting (see HE study 2019). Accordingly, heritage entrepreneurs need to be educated or enticed. Heritage entrepreneurs (i.e., heritage communities, heritage management, individuals etc. who act as heritage entrepreneurs) are assumed to take the lead in stimulating HE. The BWC managing the Bahá'í Gardens is an unparalleled example of how a UNESCO WHS can be run in an entrepreneurial manner and generate HE spillovers. Besides, especially (self-)gentrification processes and niche and sustainable tourism entrepreneurship were identified to trigger or stimulate HE in the initial phase and attract heritage entrepreneurs to regions (see Chan et al. 2016; Murzyn-Kupisz 2013; Asadi and Kohan 2011; Kensbock and Jennings 2011; Hampton 2005; Ateljevic and Doorne 2000).

UNESCO WHSs are prominent for their outstanding universal value to humankind (UNESCO 2018a). This research emphasises that repurposing heritage sites for entrepreneurship and entrepreneurism does not minimise this universal value but rather secure this value. HE shows that heritage sites have greater economic

potential than solely stimulating tourism or being marketed as a tourist attraction. This potential can benefit the heritage itself, the regions and communities. HE has therefore shown to be a key contributing factor for self-sustaining UNESCO WHSs by promoting social change, balanced heritage commodification and regional development.

5.2 Contributions and Implications

5.2.1 Theoretical Contributions to Existing HE Literature

The geographical coverage of HE studies was broadened. Besides, propositions, definitions, assumptions, hypotheses, models and generalisations were made or derived to capture and explain the HE phenomenon and underlying factors. These theoretical contributions were basically developed from scratch and are useful for the further conceptualisation and operationalisation of HE. In general, HE adds to the regional and societal level of entrepreneurship; its legitimacy and impact will be mainly achieved through practical implications.

5.2.2 Practical Implications

Development of a new practice-oriented research area

- This research lays the foundation for further research in HE anticipating to derive economic and cultural benefits from UNESCO WHSs or other heritage sites. Entrepreneurship should be implemented in the discourse of heritage to reaffirm the entrepreneurial perspective on heritage.

Educational mission

- HE can be integrated into the local education sector. People, especially younger people, living near UNESCO WHSs can then become aware of UNESCO WHSs and recognise the potential of the cultural, economic benefits as personal benefits (i.e., exercising HE means personal employment opportunity). The educational potential lies in the fact that UNESCO WHSs can be used to explain economic, entrepreneurial aspects. HE as an educational factor can, for instance, also enable learning about

other UNESCO WHSs and their potential when becoming part of a school subject.

Heritage sector transformation

- HE implies a new and sustainable approach to unlock the potential of UNESCO WHSs. The majority of the countries surveyed in the context of the conducted pilot study affirm that there are HE opportunities around UNESCO WHSs. HE, i.e., the resource-efficient handling of heritage sites can therefore transform the heritage sector when heritage stakeholders are engaged and educated. In addition, heritage sites should again be seen more as living practices, even where these are not living practices as this contributes to consider and integrate heritage in all matters of decision making regarding social, economic and environmental aspects (Boccardi and Duvelle 2013)

Synergies, mutual learning and growth

- An entrepreneurial community can develop out of exercising HE, creating synergies across UNESCO WHSs and promoting mutual learning and growth. This can lead to cooperation between UNESCO WHSs.

International understanding and peace-building potential

- Difficult heritage[28] such as religious heritage sites can be made accessible to a wider audience through HE. It was shown that this promotes international understanding and peace-building potential (see the case study of the Bahá'í Gardens).

Heritage-based entrepreneurship ecosystem

- In reference to Isenberg's (2011) entrepreneurship ecosystem, the heritage entrepreneurship ecosystem can be developed in regions with UNESCO WHSs based on their heritage sites by HE. The presence-growth matrix of HE can assist in determining to find suitable countries (see Sect. 4.4.4). The heritage-based entrepreneurship ecosystem is further influenced by the geographic location, accessibility, size and brand strength of the concerned heritage site. Building a heritage-based entrepreneurship ecosystem can as

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[28] Macdonald 2009 and Logan 2009 for further reading.

well be the goal of the ideal evolution of HE through UNESCO WHSs as depicted in Figure 6 in Sect. 3.3.4.

Promoting equality, unity and inclusion

- HE stands for the idea of inclusion. In addition to the protection of minorities and disadvantaged or marginalised groups, which in South and East Asia are often displaced from their heritage sites (Swanson and DeVereaux 2017; Bloch 2016; Su 2015), HE around UNESCO WHSs can also grant disabled people workspaces – following the example of sheltered workshops (e.g., EASPD 2019) – they would not get or be allowed to do in the open labour market. HE thus respects these heritage stakeholder's interest and enables them to make a valuable contribution.

Crisis-resistant cycle

- The basis and goal of the researched topic is to create a healthy and sustainable economic cycle around the UNESCO WHSs, in which as many heritage stakeholders as possible participate, especially in view of the omnipresent crises such as the gap between rich and poor, access to education etc. The *thesis of moderation*, which was often discussed in the context of this work stands for the balance between use and preservation of heritage sites, plays an important role here.

5.3 Limitations and Avenues for Future Research

Knowledge about HE has been gained and broadened but it is necessary to develop a stronger evidence base for HE in general, and for the entrepreneurial potential of UNESCO WHSs in particular.

Within the scope of the HE-UNESCO WHS pilot study, data was not easy obtainable, but it was important to track the emergence of HE at this stage of research in order to draw research conclusions for aspiring HE markets. The study is based on a small sample of 14 countries but offers clues and a wealth of ideas that can be tested in future studies. First, it is suggested (1) to repeat the survey at intervals (investigations over a longer period of time, e.g., over a period of five to ten years) to track the proper evolution of HE, (2) to adjust the survey's constructs

to new levels of knowledge, and (3) to aim to achieve a larger cohort. Second, future research should further question how to accelerate the process of HE for UNESCO WHSs once seeing how HE practically emerge in the surveyed or other countries. A comparative analysis approach of different UNESCO WHSs is proposed in this respect to add to the foremost country-level results of the study in chapter four. Individual UNESCO WHS-based ecosystems can be compared, and best HE-practices or such that are developing can be exposed. Building on this, the following future research questions arise:

(1) How will HE *actually* develop in the 14 countries over the next few years? How does HE development differ from the forecast? How can this development be classified in the evolution model of HE (see Figure 6)?

(2) How do UNESCO WHSs, respectively countries, accept and adopt HE in the future? What kind of HE strategies are countries pursuing?

(3) How does HE drive performance and results of UNESCO WHSs and countries in the long-term?

(4) How do heritage stakeholders' relationships develop over time when HE is exercised?

(5) How and to what extent can *the conceptual model of HE* be made scalable?

It is recommended to conceptualise and design further UNESCO WHS case studies to add a variety of heritage site types and countries to the single case study of the Bahá'í Gardens. These studies can also serve to address the research questions suggested above.

5.4 Overall Concluding Remarks

This dissertation overall aimed to shed light on a new field of entrepreneurship research and to do pioneering work that would inspire researchers to build on it. HE has never really been considered or recognised in the context of entrepreneurship research. Types of HE were rather reflected from a regional-political, cultural historical or purely tourist-related point of view. Accordingly, contributions were only published in certain journals or as grey literature. Findings of this dissertation

project have shown that HE should be established as a new trend or stream in entrepreneurship research in the long run. Approaches, models and definitions that were elaborated within the framework of this project will help to pave the way for future research in this specific field. It will be interesting to observe how HE will develop in research and practice.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: List of Ventures created during HEFT Project

Source: Centre for Heritage Development Africa, 2014

i.   Tsodilo WHS, Botswana;
-One stop Service Centre to cater for the needs of visitors and provide income generation opportunities for the community to improve their livelihoods.

ii.   Victoria Falls WHS, Zambia;
-Sustainable organic farming project to improve the livelihood of the community and to protect the environment from deforestation.

iii.   Vallee de Mai WHS, Seychelles;
-Childcare centre to provide safe and quality childcare and to increase awareness of the site amongst the younger generation.

iv.   Lamu WHS, Kenya;
-Technical school that will preserve heritage activities, empower women and create awareness on modern technologies and create employment.

v.   Ukahlamba Drakensberg WHS, South Africa;-Transport, housekeeping and garden service to create job employment opportunities and reduce poverty in the area.

vi.   Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara ruins WHS, Tanzania;
-Tourism centre to empower women in business activities and to promote cultural tourism.

vii.   Sukur Cultural Landscape WHS, Nigeria;
-Visitors refreshment centre to provide refreshment and information to visitors.

viii.   Cape Coast Castle WHS, Ghana;
-Street artists project to provide quality artwork and souvenirs that will provide employment for the youth of Cape Coast and help promote and rebrand Cape Coast.
-Official online travel guide for Cape Coastto privde accurate information on hotels, restaurant and activities in Cape Coast.

ix.   Kakum National Park, Ghana.
-Poultry farming project to produce good poultry products that will create job opportunities and educate people.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for UNESCO WHS Stakeholders

HE Study, Online Survey 2019

BERGISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
WUPPERTAL

United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

UNESCO Chair
in Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management &
Chair in Entrepreneurship and Economic Development
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Reference	HE_DP

30/03/2019

—

International Study about
the Present State of Heritage Entrepreneurship

Dear Friends and Stakeholders of UNESCO World Heritage Sites,

we kindly invite you to participate in a short online survey.

Your country and its World Heritage Sites (WHSs) have been selected for a study about Heritage Entrepreneurship.

Please click **here** to start the survey.

Deadline to answer the survey: April 18, 2019.

Feel free to forward the online survey to other contacts and stakeholders attached to any of your country's UNESCO WHSs.

We greatly appreciate your support and thank you for your time.
If you have any questions, please contact me directly via denzer@wiwi.uni-wuppertal.de.

Kind regards

Dana Denzer

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

0% completed

Dear stakeholders,

welcome and thank you for your interest and time.

This survey is conducted within the frame of my doctoral project.

The aim is to explore **the role of heritage entrepreneurship (HE) at UNESCO World Heritage Sites** (WHSs).

It is about your assessment. There are no right or wrong answers.

The processing of the questionnaire takes approximately 5 minutes.

Any information you provide will be handled confidentially and evaluated anonymously.

Next

Pause the interview | Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

6% completed

Have you heard of heritage entrepreneurship (HE) before?

○ Yes
○ No
○ Don't know

Next

Pause the interview | Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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11% completed

"Heritage entrepreneurship is

the willingness and capability of any committed stakeholder

to improve the actual quality of life in communities

by generating socio-economic benefits from heritage

by taking entrepreneurial actions or seeking entrepreneurial opportunities

in favour of organic economic growth

while ensuring sustainability of heritage resources."[1]

[1]*a suggested definition by D. Denzer*

Next

Pause the interview   Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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17% completed

Country

Please first indicate for which country you participate in this survey.

[Please choose]   ∨

Next

Pause the interview   Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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22% completed

UNESCO World Heritage Site

Please name the site you will refer to when answering the questions.

Next

Pause the interview | Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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of Business and Economics

28% completed

Instruction

Please select the most appropriate answers to the following questions.

Please refer to the country and UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) you have been chosen before.

Next

Pause the interview | Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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of Business and Economics

33% completed

Do you know someone who has started a business related to the UNESCO WHS in the past year?

○ Yes
○ No

[Next]

[Pause the interview] [Leave and delete my data]

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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of Business and Economics

39% completed

Do you think there are good opportunities for starting a business in the area of the UNESCO WHS?

○ Yes
○ No

[Next]

[Pause the interview] [Leave and delete my data]

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

44% completed

Do you think you have the knowledge, skills, and experience to start a business related to the UNESCO WHS?

○ Yes
○ No

[Next]

[Pause the interview] [Leave and delete my data]

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

50% completed

How does the WHS impacts the region concerned (and its residents) and vice-versa?
Please give examples if possible.

[Next]

[Pause the interview] [Leave and delete my data]

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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of Business and Economics

56% completed

Do you feel like the WHS is giving back to society?

○ Yes

If yes, you can explain your answer here.

○ No

○ Don't know

[Next]

[Pause the interview] [Leave and delete my data]

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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of Business and Economics

61% completed

What factors do you think constrain HE in and around the WHS?

[Next]

[Pause the interview] [Leave and delete my data]

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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of Business and Economics

67% completed

Personal Information

Finally, we'd like to ask you for some details about yourself.

Next

Pause the interview | Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

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of Business and Economics

72% completed

What is your gender?

○ female
○ male

How old are you?

[Please choose] ▼

Are you currently employed?

○ Yes, I am employed.
○ No, I am unemployed.
○ No, I am retired.
○ No, I am a homemaker.
○ No, none of the above.

Next

Pause the interview | Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

78% completed

Have you personally been involved, are you currently involved or are you planning to be involved in HE projects/activities?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Don't know

Next

Pause the interview   Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

83% completed

Stakeholder Group

Please choose the group which is most applicable to you.

[Please choose] ▾

Next

Pause the interview   Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

89% completed

Would you like to comment this questionnaire, or would you like to add information for us to better understand your answers?

Do you think, this questionnaire needs improvement? Did you feel some question were unclear, or did you feel unpleasent answering specific questions? Please leave us notes.

Next

Pause the interview   Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

94% completed

Study Results

☐ I am interested in **the results of this study**. Please send me an abstract by e-mail.

Next

Pause the interview   Leave and delete my data

M.Sc. Dana Denzer, Chair of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development & UNESCO-Chair of Entrepreneurship and Intercultural Management, University of Wuppertal – 2019

Schumpeter School
of Business and Economics

Thank you for completing this questionnaire!

We would like to thank you very much for helping us.

Your answers were transmitted, you may close the browser window or tab now.

Appendix 3: List of Selected and Contacted Countries

Based on HE Study, Online Survey 2019

1. Argentina
2. Australia
3. Bosnia and Herzegovina
4. Brazil
5. Bulgaria
6. Canada
7. Chile
8. China
9. Colombia
10. Croatia
11. Cyprus
12. Ecuador
13. Egypt
14. Estonia
15. France
16. Germany
17. Greece
18. Guatemala
19. India
20. Indonesia
21. Iran (Islamic Republic of)
22. Ireland
23. Israel
24. Italy
25. Japan
26. Kazakhstan
27. Latvia
28. Lebanon
29. Luxembourg
30. Madagascar
31. Malaysia
32. Mexico
33. Morocco
34. Netherlands
35. Panama
36. Peru
37. Poland
38. Qatar
39. Saudi Arabia
40. Slovakia
41. Slovenia
42. South Africa
43. Spain
44. Sweden
45. Switzerland
46. Thailand
47. United Arab Emirates
48. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
49. United States of America
50. Uruguay
51. Viet Nam

List of the UNESCO WHSs of the 51 Countries

	States Parties	Properties inscribed	Chosen properties *(Cultural Site, Natural Site, Mixed Site)*
1	Argentina	11	Los Glaciares National Park Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis: San Ignacio Mini, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Santa Maria Mayor (Argentina), Ruins of Sao Miguel das Missoes (Brazil) Iguazu National Park Cueva de las Manos, Río Pinturas Península Valdés Ischigualasto / Talampaya Natural Parks Jesuit Block and Estancias of Córdoba Quebrada de Humahuaca Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement Los Alerces National Park

2	Australia	19	Great Barrier Reef Kakadu National Park Willandra Lakes Region Lord Howe Island Group Tasmanian Wilderness Gondwana Rainforests of Australia Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Wet Tropics of Queensland Shark Bay, Western Australia Fraser Island Australian Fossil Mammal Sites (Riversleigh / Naracoorte) Heard and McDonald Islands Macquarie Island Greater Blue Mountains Area Purnululu National Park Royal Exhibition Building and Carlton Gardens Sydney Opera House Australian Convict Sites Ningaloo Coast
3	Bosnia and Herzegovina	3	Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge in Višegrad Stećci Medieval Tombstone Graveyards
4	Brazil	21	Historic Town of Ouro Preto Historic Centre of the Town of Olinda Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis: San Ignacio Mini, Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Santa Maria Mayor (Argentina), Ruins of Sao Miguel das Missoes (Brazil)Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas Iguaçu National Park Brasilia Serra da Capivara National Park Historic Centre of São Luís Atlantic Forest South-East Reserves Discovery Coast Atlantic Forest Reserves Historic Centre of the Town of Diamantina Central Amazon Conservation ComplexPantanal Conservation Area Brazilian Atlantic Islands: Fernando de Noronha and Atol das Rocas Reserves Cerrado Protected Areas: Chapada dos Veadeiros and Emas National Parks Historic Centre of the Town of Goiás São Francisco Square in the Town of São Cristóvão Rio de Janeiro: Carioca Landscapes between the Mountain and the Sea Pampulha Modern Ensemble Valongo Wharf Archaeological Site

5	Bulgaria	10	Boyana Church Madara Rider Rock-Hewn Churches of Ivanovo Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak Ancient City of Nessebar Pirin National Park Rila Monastery Srebarna Nature Reserve Thracian Tomb of Sveshtari Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe
6	Canada	19	L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site Nahanni National Park Dinosaur Provincial Park Kluane / Wrangell-St. Elias / Glacier Bay / Tatshenshini-Alsek Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump SGang Gwaay Wood Buffalo National Park Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks Historic District of Old Québec Gros Morne National Park Old Town Lunenburg Waterton Glacier International Peace Park Miguasha National Park Rideau Canal Joggins Fossil Cliffs Landscape of Grand Pré Red Bay Basque Whaling Station Mistaken Point Pimachiowin Aki
7	Chile	6	Rapa Nui National Park Churches of Chiloé Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso Humberstone and Santa Laura Saltpeter Works Sewell Mining Town Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System
8	China	53	Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in Beijing and Shenyang Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor Mogao Caves Mount Taishan Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian The Great Wall Mount Huangshan Huanglong Scenic and Historic Interest Area Jiuzhaigou Valley Scenic and Historic Interest Area

			Wulingyuan Scenic and Historic Interest Area
			Ancient Building Complex in the Wudang Mountains
			Historic Ensemble of the Potala Palace, Lhasa
			Mountain Resort and its Outlying Temples, Chengde
			Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu
			Lushan National Park
			Mount Emei Scenic Area, including Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area
			Ancient City of Ping Yao
			Classical Gardens of Suzhou
			Old Town of Lijiang
			Summer Palace, an Imperial Garden in Beijing
			Temple of Heaven: an Imperial Sacrificial Altar in Beijing
			Dazu Rock Carvings
			Mount Wuyi
			Ancient Villages in Southern Anhui – Xidi and Hongcun
			Imperial Tombs of the Ming and Qing Dynasties
			Longmen Grottoes
			Mount Qingcheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System
			Yungang Grottoes
			Three Parallel Rivers of Yunnan Protected Areas
			Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom
			Historic Centre of Macao
			Sichuan Giant Panda Sanctuaries - Wolong, Mt Siguniang and Jiajin Mountains
			Yin Xu
			Kaiping Diaolou and Villages
			South China Karst
			Fujian Tulou
			Mount Sanqingshan National Park
			Mount Wutai
			China Danxia
			Historic Monuments of Dengfeng in "The Centre of Heaven and Earth"
			West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou
			Chengjiang Fossil Site
			Site of Xanadu
			Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces
			Xinjiang Tianshan
			Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor

			The Grand Canal Tusi Sites Hubei Shennongjia Zuojiang Huashan Rock Art Cultural Landscape Kulangsu, a Historic International Settlement Qinghai Hoh Xil Fanjingshan
9	Colombia	9	Port, Fortresses and Group of Monuments, Cartagena Los Katíos National Park Historic Centre of Santa Cruz de Mompox National Archeological Park of Tierradentro San Agustín Archaeological Park Malpelo Fauna and Flora Sanctuary Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System Chiribiquete National Park – "The Maloca of the Jaguar"
10	Croatia	10	Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian Old City of Dubrovnik Plitvice Lakes National Park Episcopal Complex of the Euphrasian Basilica in the Historic Centre of Poreč Historic City of Trogir The Cathedral of St James in Šibenik Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe Stari Grad Plain Stećci Medieval Tombstone Graveyards Venetian Works of Defence between the 16th and 17th Centuries: Stato da Terra – Western Stato da Mar
11	Cyprus	3	Paphos Painted Churches in the Troodos Region Choirokoitia
12	Ecuador	5	City of Quito Galápagos Islands Sangay National Park Historic Centre of Santa Ana de los Ríos de Cuenca Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System
13	Egypt	7	Abu Mena Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis Historic Cairo Memphis and its Necropolis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae

			Saint Catherine Area
			Wadi Al-Hitan (Whale Valley)
14	Estonia	2	Historic Centre (Old Town) of Tallinn
			Struve Geodetic Arc
15	France	44	Chartres Cathedral
			Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay
			Palace and Park of Versailles
			Prehistoric Sites and Decorated Caves of the Vézère Valley
			Vézelay, Church and Hill
			Amiens Cathedral
			Arles, Roman and Romanesque Monuments
			Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay
			Palace and Park of Fontainebleau
			Roman Theatre and its Surroundings and the "Triumphal Arch" of Orange
			From the Great Saltworks of Salins-les-Bains to the Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans, the Production of Open-pan Salt
			Abbey Church of Saint-Savin sur Gartempe
			Gulf of Porto: Calanche of Piana, Gulf of Girolata, Scandola Reserve
			Place Stanislas, Place de la Carrière and Place d'Alliance in Nancy
			Pont du Gard (Roman Aqueduct)
			Strasbourg, Grande-Île and Neustadt
			Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Former Abbey of Saint-Rémi and Palace of Tau, Reims
			Paris, Banks of the Seine
			Bourges Cathedral
			Historic Centre of Avignon: Papal Palace, Episcopal Ensemble and Avignon Bridge
			Canal du Midi
			Historic Fortified City of Carcassonne
			Pyrénées - Mont Perdu
			Historic Site of Lyon
			Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France
			Belfries of Belgium and France
			Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion
			The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes
			Provins, Town of Medieval Fairs
			Le Havre, the City Rebuilt by Auguste Perret
			Bordeaux, Port of the Moon
			Fortifications of Vauban
			Lagoons of New Caledonia: Reef Diversity and Associated Ecosystems
			Episcopal City of Albi

			Pitons, cirques and remparts of Reunion Island Prehistoric Pile Dwellings around the Alps The Causses and the Cévennes, Mediterranean agro-pastoral Cultural Landscape Nord-Pas de Calais Mining Basin Decorated Cave of Pont d'Arc, known as Grotte Chauvet-Pont d'Arc, Ardèche Champagne Hillsides, Houses and Cellars The Climats, terroirs of Burgundy The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement Taputapuātea Chaîne des Puys - Limagne fault tectonic arena
16	Germany	44	Aachen Cathedral Speyer Cathedral Würzburg Residence with the Court Gardens and Residence Square Pilgrimage Church of Wies Castles of Augustusburg and Falkenlust at Brühl St Mary's Cathedral and St Michael's Church at Hildesheim Roman Monuments, Cathedral of St Peter and Church of Our Lady in Trier Frontiers of the Roman Empire Hanseatic City of Lübeck Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin Abbey and Altenmünster of Lorsch Mines of Rammelsberg, Historic Town of Goslar and Upper Harz Water Management System Maulbronn Monastery Complex Town of Bamberg Collegiate Church, Castle and Old Town of Quedlinburg Völklingen Ironworks Messel Pit Fossil Site Bauhaus and its Sites in Weimar, Dessau and Bernau Cologne Cathedral Luther Memorials in Eisleben and Wittenberg Classical Weimar Museumsinsel (Museum Island), Berlin Wartburg Castle Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz Monastic Island of Reichenau Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen Historic Centres of Stralsund and Wismar Upper Middle Rhine Valley

			Muskauer Park / Park Mużakowski
			Town Hall and Roland on the Marketplace of Bremen
			Old town of Regensburg with Stadtamhof
			Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe
			Berlin Modernism Housing Estates
			Wadden Sea
			Fagus Factory in Alfeld
			Prehistoric Pile Dwellings around the Alps
			Margravial Opera House Bayreuth
			Bergpark Wilhelmshöhe
			Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey
			Speicherstadt and Kontorhaus District with Chilehaus
			The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement
			Caves and Ice Age Art in the Swabian Jura
			Archaeological Border complex of Hedeby and the Danevirke
			Naumburg Cathedral
17	Greece	18	Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae
			Acropolis, Athens
			Archaeological Site of Delphi
			Medieval City of Rhodes
			Meteora
			Mount Athos
			Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessalonika
			Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus
			Archaeological Site of Mystras
			Archaeological Site of Olympia
			Delos
			Monasteries of Daphni, Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni of Chios
			Pythagoreion and Heraion of Samos
			Archaeological Site of Aigai (modern name Vergina)
			Archaeological Sites of Mycenae and Tiryns
			The Historic Centre (Chorá) with the Monastery of Saint-John the Theologian and the Cave of the Apocalypse on the Island of Pátmos
			Old Town of Corfu
			Archaeological Site of Philippi
18	Guatemala	3	Antigua Guatemala
			Tikal National Park
			Archaeological Park and Ruins of Quirigua

19	India	37	Agra Fort
			Ajanta Caves
			Ellora Caves
			Taj Mahal
			Group of Monuments at Mahabalipuram
			Sun Temple, Konârak
			Kaziranga National Park
			Keoladeo National Park
			Manas Wildlife Sanctuary
			Churches and Convents of Goa
			Fatehpur Sikri
			Group of Monuments at Hampi
			Khajuraho Group of Monuments
			Elephanta Caves
			Great Living Chola Temples
			Group of Monuments at Pattadakal
			Sundarbans National Park
			Nanda Devi and Valley of Flowers National Parks
			Buddhist Monuments at Sanchi
			Humayun's Tomb, Delhi
			Qutb Minar and its Monuments, Delhi
			Mountain Railways of India
			Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya
			Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka
			Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park
			Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (formerly Victoria Terminus)
			Red Fort Complex
			The Jantar Mantar, Jaipur
			Western Ghats
			Hill Forts of Rajasthan
			Great Himalayan National Park Conservation Area
			Rani-ki-Vav (the Queen's Stepwell) at Patan, Gujarat
			Archaeological Site of Nalanda Mahavihara at Nalanda, Bihar
			Khangchendzonga National Park
			The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement
			Historic City of Ahmadabad
			Victorian Gothic and Art Deco Ensembles of Mumbai

20	Indonesia	8	Borobudur Temple Compounds Komodo National Park Prambanan Temple Compounds Ujung Kulon National Park Sangiran Early Man Site Lorentz National Park Tropical Rainforest Heritage of Sumatra Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy
21	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	23	Meidan Emam, Esfahan Persepolis Tchogha Zanbil Takht-e Soleyman Bam and its Cultural Landscape Pasargadae Soltaniyeh Bisotun Armenian Monastic Ensembles of Iran Shushtar Historical Hydraulic System Sheikh Safi al-din Khānegāh and Shrine Ensemble in Ardabil Tabriz Historic Bazaar Complex The Persian Garden Gonbad-e Qābus Masjed-e Jāmé of Isfahan Golestan Palace Shahr-i Sokhta Cultural Landscape of Maymand Susa Lut Desert The Persian Qanat Historic City of Yazd Sassanid Archaeological Landscape of Fars Region
22	Ireland	2	Brú na Bóinne - Archaeological Ensemble of the Bend of the Boyne Sceilg Mhichíl
23	Israel	9	Masada Old City of Acre White City of Tel-Aviv – the Modern Movement Biblical Tels - Megiddo, Hazor, Beer Sheba Incense Route - Desert Cities in the Negev Bahá'i Holy Places in Haifa and the Western Galilee Sites of Human Evolution at Mount Carmel: The Nahal Me'arot / Wadi el-Mughara Caves Caves of Maresha and Bet-Guvrin in the Judean Lowlands as a Microcosm of the Land of the Caves

			Necropolis of Bet She'arim: A Landmark of Jewish Renewal
24	Italy	54	Rock Drawings in Valcamonica Church and Dominican Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie with "The Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci Historic Centre of Rome, the Properties of the Holy See in that City Enjoying Extraterritorial Rights and San Paolo Fuori le Mura Historic Centre of Florence Piazza del Duomo, Pisa Venice and its Lagoon Historic Centre of San Gimignano The Sassi and the Park of the Rupestrian Churches of Matera City of Vicenza and the Palladian Villas of the Veneto Crespi d'Adda Ferrara, City of the Renaissance, and its Po Delta Historic Centre of Naples Historic Centre of Siena Castel del Monte Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna Historic Centre of the City of Pienza The Trulli of Alberobello 18th-Century Royal Palace at Caserta with the Park, the Aqueduct of Vanvitelli, and the San Leucio Complex Archaeological Area of Agrigento Archaeological Areas of Pompei, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata Botanical Garden (Orto Botanico), Padua Cathedral, Torre Civica and Piazza Grande, Modena Costiera Amalfitana Portovenere, Cinque Terre, and the Islands (Palmaria, Tino and Tinetto) Residences of the Royal House of Savoy Su Nuraxi di Barumini Villa Romana del Casale Archaeological Area and the Patriarchal Basilica of Aquileia Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park with the Archeological Sites of Paestum and Velia, and the Certosa di Padula Historic Centre of Urbino Villa Adriana (Tivoli) Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and Other

			Franciscan Sites City of Verona Isole Eolie (Aeolian Islands) Villa d'Este, Tivoli Late Baroque Towns of the Val di Noto (South-Eastern Sicily) Sacri Monti of Piedmont and Lombardy Monte San Giorgio Etruscan Necropolises of Cerveteri and Tarquinia Val d'Orcia Syracuse and the Rocky Necropolis of Pantalica Genoa: Le Strade Nuove and the system of the Palazzi dei Rolli Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe Mantua and Sabbioneta Rhaetian Railway in the Albula / Bernina Landscapes The Dolomites Longobards in Italy. Places of the Power (568-774 A.D.) Prehistoric Pile Dwellings around the Alps Medici Villas and Gardens in Tuscany Mount Etna Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato Arab-Norman Palermo and the Cathedral Churches of Cefalú and Monreale Venetian Works of Defence between the 16th and 17th Centuries: Stato da Terra – Western Stato da Mar Ivrea, industrial city of the 20th century
25	Japan	22	Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area Himeji-jo Shirakami-Sanchi Yakushima Historic Monuments of Ancient Kyoto (Kyoto, Uji and Otsu Cities) Historic Villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) Itsukushima Shinto Shrine Historic Monuments of Ancient Nara Shrines and Temples of Nikko Gusuku Sites and Related Properties of the Kingdom of Ryukyu Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range Shiretoko

			Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine and its Cultural Landscape
			Hiraizumi – Temples, Gardens and Archaeological Sites Representing the Buddhist Pure Land
			Ogasawara Islands
			Fujisan, sacred place and source of artistic inspiration
			Tomioka Silk Mill and Related Sites
			Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining
			The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement
			Sacred Island of Okinoshima and Associated Sites in the Munakata Region
			Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region
26	Kazakhstan	5	Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi
			Petroglyphs within the Archaeological Landscape of Tamgaly
			Saryarka – Steppe and Lakes of Northern Kazakhstan
			Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor
			Western Tien-Shan
27	Latvia	2	Historic Centre of Riga
			Struve Geodetic Arc
28	Lebanon	5	Anjar
			Baalbek
			Byblos
			Tyre
			Ouadi Qadisha (the Holy Valley) and the Forest of the Cedars of God (Horsh Arz el-Rab)
29	Luxembourg	1	City of Luxembourg: its Old Quarters and Fortifications
30	Madagascar	3	Tsingy de Bemaraha Strict Nature Reserve
			Royal Hill of Ambohimanga
			Rainforests of the Atsinanana
31	Malaysia	4	Gunung Mulu National Park
			Kinabalu Park
			Melaka and George Town, Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca
			Archaeological Heritage of the Lenggong Valley

32	Mexico	35	Historic Centre of Mexico City and Xochimilco
			Historic Centre of Oaxaca and Archaeological Site of Monte Albán
			Historic Centre of Puebla
			Pre-Hispanic City and National Park of Palenque
			Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan
			Sian Ka'an
			Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines
			Pre-Hispanic City of Chichen-Itza
			Historic Centre of Morelia
			El Tajin, Pre-Hispanic City
			Historic Centre of Zacatecas
			Rock Paintings of the Sierra de San Francisco
			Whale Sanctuary of El Vizcaino
			Earliest 16th-Century Monasteries on the Slopes of Popocatepetl
			Historic Monuments Zone of Querétaro
			Pre-Hispanic Town of Uxmal
			Hospicio Cabañas, Guadalajara
			Archaeological Zone of Paquimé, Casas Grandes
			Historic Monuments Zone of Tlacotalpan
			Archaeological Monuments Zone of Xochicalco
			Historic Fortified Town of Campeche
			Ancient Maya City and Protected Tropical Forests of Calakmul, Campeche
			Franciscan Missions in the Sierra Gorda of Querétaro
			Luis Barragán House and Studio
			Islands and Protected Areas of the Gulf of California
			Agave Landscape and Ancient Industrial Facilities of Tequila
			Central University City Campus of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)
			Monarch Butterfly Biosphere Reserve
			Protective town of San Miguel and the Sanctuary of Jesús Nazareno de Atotonilco
			Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
			Prehistoric Caves of Yagul and Mitla in the Central Valley of Oaxaca
			El Pinacate and Gran Desierto de Altar Biosphere Reserve
			Aqueduct of Padre Tembleque Hydraulic System
			Archipiélago de Revillagigedo
			Tehuacán-Cuicatlán Valley: originary habitat of Mesoamerica

33	Morocco	9	Medina of Fez Medina of Marrakesh Ksar of Ait-Ben-Haddou Historic City of Meknes Archaeological Site of Volubilis Medina of Tétouan (formerly known as Titawin) Medina of Essaouira (formerly Mogador) Portuguese City of Mazagan (El Jadida) Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: a Shared Heritage
34	Netherlands	10	Schokland and Surroundings Defence Line of Amsterdam Historic Area of Willemstad, Inner City and Harbour, Curaçao Mill Network at Kinderdijk-Elshout Ir.D.F. Woudagemaal (D.F. Wouda Steam Pumping Station) Droogmakerij de Beemster (Beemster Polder) Rietveld Schröderhuis (Rietveld Schröder House) Wadden Sea Seventeenth-Century Canal Ring Area of Amsterdam inside the Singelgracht Van Nellefabriek
35	Panama	5	Fortifications on the Caribbean Side of Panama: Portobelo-San Lorenzo Darien National Park Talamanca Range-La Amistad Reserves / La Amistad National Park Archaeological Site of Panamá Viejo and Historic District of Panamá Coiba National Park and its Special Zone of Marine Protection
36	Peru	12	City of Cuzco Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu Chavin (Archaeological Site) Huascarán National Park Chan Chan Archaeological Zone Manú National Park Historic Centre of Lima Río Abiseo National Park Lines and Geoglyphs of Nasca and Palpa Historical Centre of the City of Arequipa Sacred City of Caral-Supe Qhapaq Ñan, Andean Road System

37	Poland	15	Historic Centre of Kraków
			Wieliczka and Bochnia Royal Salt Mines
			Auschwitz Birkenau
			Białowieża Forest
			Historic Centre of Warsaw
			Old City of Zamość
			Castle of the Teutonic Order in Malbork
			Medieval Town of Toruń
			Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: the Mannerist Architectural and Park Landscape Complex and Pilgrimage Park
			Churches of Peace in Jawor and Świdnica
			Wooden Churches of Southern Małopolska
			Muskauer Park / Park Mużakowski
			Centennial Hall in Wrocław
			Wooden Tserkvas of the Carpathian Region in Poland and Ukraine
			Tarnowskie Góry Lead-Silver-Zinc Mine and its Underground Water Management System
38	Qatar	1	Al Zubarah Archaeological Site
39	Saudi Arabia	5	Al-Hijr Archaeological Site (Madâin Sâlih)
			At-Turaif District in ad-Dir'iyah
			Historic Jeddah, the Gate to Makkah
			Rock Art in the Hail Region of Saudi Arabia
			Al-Ahsa Oasis, an Evolving Cultural Landscape
40	Slovakia	7	Historic Town of Banská Štiavnica and the Technical Monuments in its Vicinity
			Levoča, Spišský Hrad and the Associated Cultural Monuments
			Vlkolínec
			Caves of Aggtelek Karst and Slovak Karst
			Bardejov Town Conservation Reserve
			Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe
			Wooden Churches of the Slovak part of the Carpathian Mountain Area
41	Slovenia	4	Škocjan Caves
			Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe
			Prehistoric Pile Dwellings around the Alps
			Heritage of Mercury. Almadén and Idrija

42	South Africa	10	Fossil Hominid Sites of South Africa
			iSimangaliso Wetland Park
			Robben Island
			Maloti-Drakensberg Park
			Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape
			Cape Floral Region Protected Areas
			Vredefort Dome
			Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape
			ǂKhomani Cultural Landscape
			Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains
43	Spain	47	Alhambra, Generalife and Albayzín, Granada
			Burgos Cathedral
			Historic Centre of Cordoba
			Monastery and Site of the Escurial, Madrid
			Works of Antoni Gaudí
			Cave of Altamira and Paleolithic Cave Art of Northern Spain
			Monuments of Oviedo and the Kingdom of the Asturias
			Old Town of Ávila with its Extra-Muros Churches
			Old Town of Segovia and its Aqueduct
			Santiago de Compostela (Old Town)
			Garajonay National Park
			Historic City of Toledo
			Mudejar Architecture of Aragon
			Old Town of Cáceres
			Cathedral, Alcázar and Archivo de Indias in Seville
			Old City of Salamanca
			Poblet Monastery
			Archaeological Ensemble of Mérida
			Routes of Santiago de Compostela: Camino Francés and Routes of Northern Spain
			Royal Monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe
			Doñana National Park
			Historic Walled Town of Cuenca
			La Lonja de la Seda de Valencia
			Las Médulas
			Palau de la Música Catalana and Hospital de Sant Pau, Barcelona
			Pyrénées - Mont Perdu
			San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries
			Prehistoric Rock Art Sites in the Côa Valley and Siega Verde
			Rock Art of the Mediterranean Basin on the Iberian Peninsula
			University and Historic Precinct of Alcalá de Henares
			Ibiza, Biodiversity and Culture

			San Cristóbal de La Laguna Archaeological Ensemble of Tárraco Archaeological Site of Atapuerca Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí Palmeral of Elche Roman Walls of Lugo Aranjuez Cultural Landscape Renaissance Monumental Ensembles of Úbeda and Baeza Vizcaya Bridge Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe Teide National Park Tower of Hercules Cultural Landscape of the Serra de Tramuntana Heritage of Mercury. Almadén and Idrija Antequera Dolmens Site Caliphate City of Medina Azahara
44	Sweden	15	Royal Domain of Drottningholm Birka and Hovgården Engelsberg Ironworks Rock Carvings in Tanum Skogskyrkogården Hanseatic Town of Visby Church Town of Gammelstad, Luleå Laponian Area Naval Port of Karlskrona Agricultural Landscape of Southern Öland High Coast / Kvarken Archipelago Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun Grimeton Radio Station, Varberg Struve Geodetic Arc Decorated Farmhouses of Hälsingland
45	Switzerland	12	Abbey of St Gall Benedictine Convent of St John at Müstair Old City of Berne Three Castles, Defensive Wall and Ramparts of the Market-Town of Bellinzona Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch Monte San Giorgio Lavaux, Vineyard Terraces Rhaetian Railway in the Albula / Bernina Landscapes Swiss Tectonic Arena Sardona La Chaux-de-Fonds / Le Locle, Watchmaking Town Planning Prehistoric Pile Dwellings around the Alps

			The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier, an Outstanding Contribution to the Modern Movement
46	Thailand	5	Historic City of Ayutthaya Historic Town of Sukhothai and Associated Historic Towns Thungyai-Huai Kha Khaeng Wildlife Sanctuaries Ban Chiang Archaeological Site Dong Phayayen-Khao Yai Forest Complex
47	United Arab Emirates	1	Cultural Sites of Al Ain (Hafit, Hili, Bidaa Bint Saud and Oases Areas)
48	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	31	Castles and Town Walls of King Edward in Gwynedd Durham Castle and Cathedral Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast Ironbridge Gorge St Kilda Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites Studley Royal Park including the Ruins of Fountains Abbey Blenheim Palace City of Bath Frontiers of the Roman Empire Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret's Church Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey, and St Martin's Church Henderson Island Tower of London Gough and Inaccessible Islands Old and New Towns of Edinburgh Maritime Greenwich Heart of Neolithic Orkney Blaenavon Industrial Landscape Historic Town of St George and Related Fortifications, Bermuda Derwent Valley Mills Dorset and East Devon Coast New Lanark Saltaire Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape Pontcysyllte Aqueduct and Canal The Forth Bridge Gorham's Cave Complex The English Lake District

49	United States of America	23	Mesa Verde National Park Yellowstone National Park Everglades National Park Grand Canyon National Park Independence Hall Kluane / Wrangell-St. Elias / Glacier Bay / Tatshenshini-Alsek Redwood National and State Parks Mammoth Cave National Park Olympic National Park Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site Great Smoky Mountains National Park La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site in Puerto Rico Statue of Liberty Yosemite National Park Chaco Culture Hawaii Volcanoes National Park Monticello and the University of Virginia in Charlottesville Taos Pueblo Carlsbad Caverns National Park Waterton Glacier International Peace Park Papahānaumokuākea Monumental Earthworks of Poverty Point San Antonio Missions
50	Uruguay	2	Historic Quarter of the City of Colonia del Sacramento Fray Bentos Industrial Landscape
51	Viet Nam	8	Complex of Hué Monuments Ha Long Bay Hoi An Ancient Town My Son Sanctuary Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park Central Sector of the Imperial Citadel of Thang Long - Hanoi Citadel of the Ho Dynasty Trang An Landscape Complex

Source: UNESCO 2019

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