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The role of World Heritage Sites
in sustainable community development

The nominated wooden churches in Western Ukraine

On January 28, 2010 eight of the best examples of wooden churches in western Ukraine were nominated to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) World Heritage List by the Department of Restoration and Reconstruction of Architectural Complexes at Lviv Polytechnic National University. The selection process was carried out in cooperation with professionals in Poland who were nominating eight wooden churches near the Ukrainian border in Poland at the same time. The Ukrainian working group consisted of professionals from the Restoration Institute in Lviv, the Department of Restoration and Reconstruction of Architectural Complexes at Lviv Polytechnic National University, representatives from the national government's Department of Cultural Heritage in Kiev, local preservation officers and other interested parties. It is anticipated that these churches will be accepted this year.

The wooden churches in western Ukraine are unique in the world of architecture for their style, construction, and artwork. Due to the region's history, local communities had contact with diverse groups throughout Eastern and Western Europe and this is reflected in the designs of the churches which have architectural features that combine not only the Greek Orthodox tradition, but also elements of the Roman Catholic tradition.

They represent the local building styles of *Old Halych* (Rohatyn and Potelych), *New Halych* (Drohobych and Zhovka), *Boyko* (Uzhok and Matkiv) and *Hutsul* (Nyzhniy Verbizh and Yasynia). Currently, three of the

churches are used as Greek Catholic churches, two as Ukrainian Orthodox churches, two as museums and one is shared between the Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox faiths. The eight churches in order of construction are listed below. Their current use and location are in parenthesis.

1502	Descent of the Holy Spirit (Greek Catholic Parish in Potelych in Lviv Oblast)
Early 1500's	Descent of the Holy Spirit (Branch of Ivano-Frankivsk Museum in Rohatyn)
Late 1600's	Saint Yuriy's (Branch of Drohobych Museum in Drohobych)
1720	Holy Trinity (Greek Catholic Parish in Zhovkva)
1745	The Church of Saint Archangel Mykhailo (Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Uzhok)
1808	The Church of the Nativity of the Birth of the Virgin Mary (Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Nyzhniy Verbizh)
1824	The Church of Ascension of Our Lord (Shared by Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic in Yasynia)
1838	Saint Dmytro's (Greek Catholic Parish in Matkiv)

One of the goals of the nominating party was to engage the local communities in the nomination process to determine how they view the role of the nominated churches in the development of their community. It was clear that extensive community consultation was also necessary given the different geographical locations, different uses of the churches and various stages of preservation at each of the eight sites. The problem that presented itself was

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first to understand how communities develop and then to understand what roles other World Heritage Sites had in improving the socio-economic development of their communities.

Sustainable community development and World Heritage Sites

In recent years, there has been a push for World Heritage Sites to serve a broader role in their communities. In 2004, Francesco Bandarin, the director of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) World Heritage Center wrote in the preface to Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage that, "among the challenges facing UNESCO and the international community is to make the national authorities, the private sector, and civil society as a whole recognize that World Heritage conservation is not only an instrument for peace and reconciliation, for enhancing cultural and biological diversity, but also a factor of regional sustainable development"[1, p. 3].

Often, the use of World Heritage sites as catalysts for regional sustainable development is overshadowed by concerns about preserving the site. This is because preservation is often the main reason for the nomination of a site in the first place. However, if the nominating parties stop at preservation they are doing a disservice to the community by ignoring the additional social and economic benefits that World Heritage Sites can provide. This was especially important given the fact that many of the churches are in areas that are economically depressed.

Article 5 of the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage states that each country should endeavor "to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes". The function of World Heritage Sites shouldn't stop at its preservation, but instead they should be utilized as a vibrant part of the community. Since planning is an iterative process, the roles of World Heritage Sites also need to be evaluated regularly given the ever changing dynamics of communities.

It is important to understand some definitions and theoretical framework before proceeding too much further. First, one of the most quoted definitions for sustainable development comes from the 1987 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development. It states that sustainable development "implies meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". By this definition, the preservation of World Heritage Sites promotes sustainability because it allows the current residents the good use of the site while ensuring that future generations will have the good use of it as well. In fact, not preserving important sites would go against sustainable development because it would deny future generations an important resource used by the current generation.

Another important concept is community development. There are numerous theories that exist on how communities develop. Many of the early theoretical frameworks of community development focused on the adaptation of economic or agricultural models [7]. If we go back to the definition of community the focus is on individuals in a given geographic space[1]. Development comes in when the people use the resources to improve the socio-economic conditions of their community.

The interactional theoretical perspective of community development views people as the source of community development and focuses on the interaction of various groups within a community. This perspective focuses on the role of social organization in the community and is rooted in the writings of Harold Kaufman (1959) [5] and Kenneth Wilkinson (1991) [9]. "From the interactional perspective, community is a natural and ubiquitous phenomenon among people who share a common territory and interact with one another on place relevant matters" [3].

"Community implies all types of relations [...] among people, and if interaction is suppressed, community is limited."[9, p. 17] "In practice, community is always limited because there are inevitable barriers to social interaction such as cleavages along racial, ethnic, class, and gender lines. And of course groups are constantly forming, disbanding, and reforming along diverse interest lines. All of these factors affect patterns of local interaction" [3, p. 383].

"There are numerous barriers to effective community action and widespread, democratic participation in local decision-making elements that are key features of sustainable community development. In the absence of efforts to enhance these aspects of local life, narrow economic interests are likely to dominate the process and many measures justified under the rubric of sustainability will be little more than symbolic gestures designed to placate or coopt opposition" [3, p. 386]. Democratic participation in sustainable community development means that all people are given the opportunity to provide their input.

The first step in the interactional approach to community "involves delineating the various social fields that comprise a community, their roles in agenda setting and decision-making, and the linkages that exist between

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[1] There are numerous definitions for community. Merriam Webster's on-line dictionary provides the following: a unified body of individuals as
a: state, commonwealth,
b: the people with common interests living in a particular area; broadly: the area itself (the problems of a large community),
c: an interacting population of various kinds of individuals (as species) in a common location,
d: a group of people with a common characteristic or interest living together within a larger society (a community of retired persons),
e: a group linked by a common policy,
f: a body of persons or nations having a common history or common social, economic, and political interests (the international community),
g: a body of persons of common and especially professional interests scattered through a larger society (the academic community).
From the Merriam-Webster On-line Dictionary, source: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/community, (access: 19.09. 2012).

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│   COMMUNITY     │      │  RESOURCES  │      │    COMMUNITY     │
│    GROUPS       │ ───▶ │ • Natural   │ ───▶ │   DEVELOPMENT    │
│ • Business Groups│     │ • Man-Made  │      │ • Education      │
│ • Governmental  │      │             │      │ • Infrastructure │
│ • Environmental │      │             │      │ • Economic       │
│ • Preservation  │      │             │      │   Development    │
│                 │      │             │      │ • Civic Pride    │
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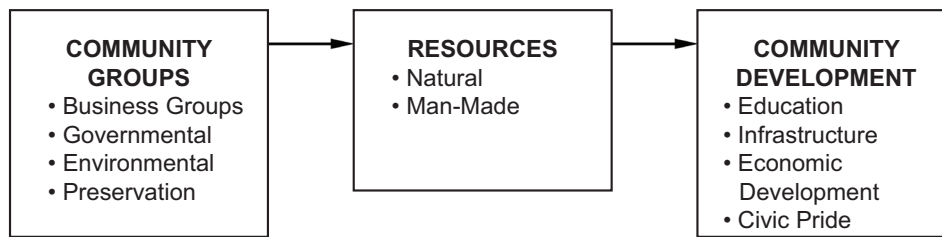
Fig. 1. Simplified view of community development process (ed. by H. Schneider, 2012)

Il. 1. Uproszczony schemat procesu rozwoju społeczności (opr. H. Schneider, 2012)

them… With this information in hand, attention can turn to developing a strong community field that represents the interests of all segments of the population" [3, p. 386]. Areas of overlap among the values of the various groups should be searched for. These can provide a starting point for discussions on desired community development.

Naturally, sustainable community development is also dependent on the local resources. These can be natural or manmade. Resources affect not only community development, but also the community groups themselves**.** If we simply start to list the groups of people, the resources and the types of community development, we get an expanded view of how the system works. People can be broken into social groupings, by numerous factors such as age, economic position, racial lines, etc. Resources include natural and man-made and community development includes such things as economic prosperity, civic pride, etc. Using the interactional theoretical perspective, we end up with a model like the one shown in Fig. 1. This is a simplified view of sustainable community development and is meant as a starting point for discussion.

Now that we have an initial framework on how communities develop, we can apply this to World Heritage Sites. As stated in the previous section, it is important to distinguish the various social fields that comprise a community. In communities with World Heritage Sites, there isn't one grouping of social fields that matches every site. Therefore, community consultation is necessary to better understand the groups within the community. Examples of different groups may include those people who frequently use the World Heritage Site and those who don't (users vs. non-users). Other examples may include educators who view the sites differently because of their role in educating the community or tourism service providers who view the sites as sources of revenue for themselves and their companies.

In our example, the World Heritage Site acts as the resource, but it is also largely affected by other resources in the community. For example, infrastructure has a large impact on how World Heritage Sites can be used for sustainable community development. If a town lacks adequate lodging or is difficult to access this will limit the role of the World Heritage Site to attract tourists and their associated benefits.

Fortunately, the socio-economic benefits of World Heritage Sites have been studied extensively. Although the extent of the benefits is still being debated, studies have shown that there are at least 17 categories of potential benefits. A 2007 study by Scottish Natural Heritage titled "Economic and Environmental Benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks" found that benefits vary widely from site, "depending on the resource base of the site, the nature of the local economy, governance structures, and individuals involved" [4]. This makes sense at its face value. Clearly there are site specific issues that make each site unique and affect its socio-economic benefits on the surrounding community. Therefore, it is unrealistic to expect that all sites can improve all 17 categories of socio-economic for the communities where they are located.

A 2008 study by PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) the United Kingdom's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (UKDCMS), Cadw and Historic Scotland on the benefits of WHS designation in the United Kingdom listed eight potential areas of impact from WHS site designation. These included:

1. "Partnership – WHS status is felt to increase the level of partnership activity through the consultation required to create and fulfill the requirements of the management plan. The PwC research «tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit».

2. Additional Funding – WHS status is felt to increase the levels of investment in conservation and heritage directly and other areas indirectly. The PwC research «tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit» (with the caveat that most additional funding is local/regional).

3. Conservation – WHS status is felt to result in greater focus, planning care and investment of resources in good conservation of sites. The PwC research «tends to strongly support with evidence this area of WHS benefit» as the «quality of development around such sites may be superior».

4. Tourism – The PwC evidence suggests that the impact on tourism is marginal – with the UK research suggesting impacts of 0–3% and more for less well-known sites. Visitor awareness of WHS is often relatively low for existing sites.

5. Regeneration – the assumption that WHS is somehow an automatic catalyst for regeneration, stimulating inward investment, inward migration, and increased tourism. This assumption is «not borne out by the (PwC) evidence to date».

6. Civic Pride – WHS status is felt to be a mechanism for developing local confidence and civic pride. The research «tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit as a strong benefit».

7. Social Capital – WHS status is felt to have the potential for providing increased social unity and cohesion

through increasing opportunities for interaction and engagement with local communities. The PwC research «tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit».

8. Learning and Education – WHS status is felt to be a stimulus to developing learning and educational projects. The PwC research «tends to support with evidence this area of WHS benefit»" [10, pp. 6–7].

The UKDCMS' study found World Heritage Site designation appeared to be overstated for its impact on tourism and regeneration. This contradicts other studies including the 2007 study "Economic and Environmental Benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks" which found that WHS designation enhanced the tourism image and profile of the site. However, a 2008 study by Talandier and Magali seemed to support the finding that WHS designation did not improve tourism. It "took an econometric approach to tourism in a number of French 'cantons' (local area subdivisions), and attempted to identify causal variables in the context of tourism attraction, local economic growth, and other variables. It also looked at before-and-after (WHS inscription) analysis on five sites. The findings were that WHS inscription alone is not a statistically significant cause for increased tourism attraction, all other things being equal" [10, p. 10].

There may be many reasons why some studies show a correlation in increased tourism and WHS designation while others do not. A 2009 study by Redbanks Consulting and Trends Business for the Lake District World Heritage Project of 878 WHS's around the world found that many "WHSs are achieving no tourism or regeneration impact because they make no connection between what they see as a conservation/heritage designation and these regeneration/economic objectives" [10, p. 23].

The same study also found that out of the 878 WHS's around the world it looked at, "approximately 70–80% of WHSs appear to be doing little or nothing with the designation directly to bring about significant socio-economic impacts – they are not failing to deliver economic gain, they are not even trying. The vast majority of WHS sites across the world are, it appears, making no discernible effort to use the designation to bring about such changes (they are not investing any significant resource in any initiatives to bring about such changes and as such one would not expect to see any impact of this kind) because they are about preserving heritage" [10, p. 22]. Local communities are missing opportunities if the people in charge of a World Heritage Site focus only on its preservation. Instead consultation of the local community is needed to determine other desired socio-economic benefits of the sites and to develop a plan to pursue these objectives.

The Lake District World Heritage Study also revised the categories of potential socio-economic development at World Heritage Sites from the eight listed on the UKDCMS study to twelve. This list kept three of the original eight categories: regeneration, civic pride and education and added nine more categories: media value, preservation of heritage, new or improved identity, culture and creativity, cultural glue, coordinated investment through strategy, better and new services, business development and quality infrastructure. Using the original twelve areas of potential socio-economic improvement and the additional nine in the Lake District World Heritage Study gives us a total of seventeen categories. It could be argued that the Lake District World Heritage categories or the PricewaterhouseCoopers categories should be used. However, since both have been proven valid a combination thereof are used for this paper.

Now, we can develop a clearer model of the role of World Heritage Sites in sustainable community development. This is shown in Fig. 2.

"Cultural heritage is internationally recognized as one of the factors of the development and welfare of a terri-
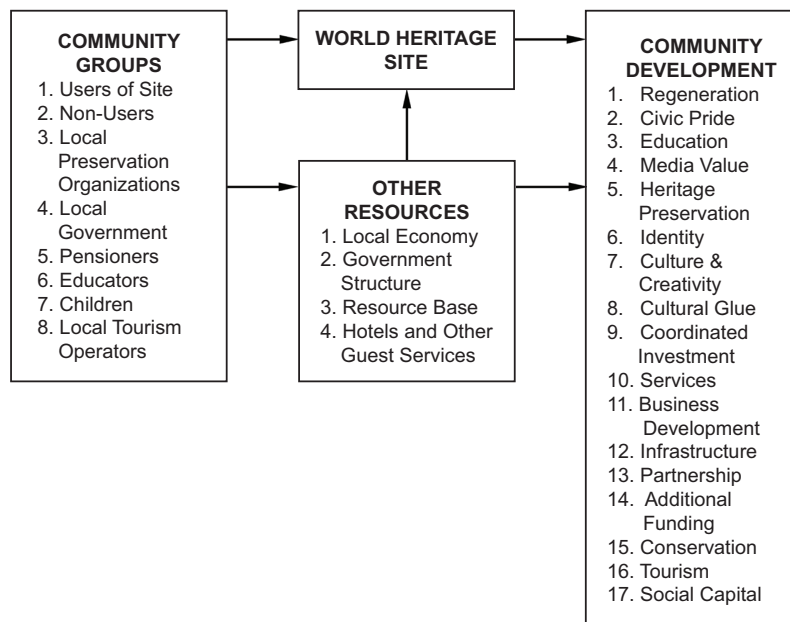

Fig. 2. Simplified view of the role of World Heritage Sites in Community Development (ed. by H. Schneider, 2012)

Il. 2. Uproszczony schemat roli obiektów z listy dziedzictwa UNESCO w rozwoju społeczności (oprac. H. Schneider, 2012)

tory and the individuals that live within it." World Heritage Sites represent a unique opportunity to improve the quality of life for the surrounding communities [2, p. 44]. Clearly, not every World Heritage Site will be used for all seventeen categories of socio-economic improvement. However, it would be a missed opportunity if a site is only used for one or a few categories of socio-economic improvements when it is viable and supported by the local community to use it for more.

Returning to the interactional theoretical perspective of community development, it will be recalled that "democratic participation in local decision-making" is an important part of community development. It has been shown that communities often feel left out in the decision-making process concerning their cultural heritage sites. While "World Heritage Site (WHS) designation is often valued for the increased tourism and associated economic benefits it brings to a region, it can simultaneously lead to the disenfranchisement and marginalization of local communities"[5,]. Therefore, community involvement in the use of World Heritage Sites is critical.

"Most models of sustainable development also include stakeholder collaboration, and in particular community empowerment, as a cornerstone of the development process" [6, p. 55]. In addition, the 2007 study "Economic and Environmental Benefits of World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Geoparks" found that the socio-economic benefits of WHS designation were higher at sites where buy-in from the local community was greatest. It also found that "a system offering only limited and formal involvement to the local population will have a minimal impact on community capacity" and that "where confident site management leaves power with strong local businesses and community leaders, economic and social benefits may be marked" [10, p. 9].

There are numerous ways to involve the local community such as public meetings, surveys and interviews. It would be wrong to say that this is a one step process. Clearly communities do not develop in one step or only one way. The models shown previously simplify the process for the sake of clarity and numerous iterations occur. Therefore, it is important that public consultation occurs on a regular and frequent basis. In addition it would be wise to start this consultation prior to and during the nomination process.

The survey process at the nominated wooden churches in Western Ukraine

Once the framework on the role of World Heritage Sites in sustainable community development was established, a survey for the wooden churches in Western Ukraine could be developed. The first step was to include questions that could help identify the various groups in the community and their views on using their church to improve socio-economic conditions in their community.

Questions about community groups included current and past involvement at the church, age, education, occupation, and desire to remain in the community. In order not to overwhelm the participants, questions were chosen in eight of the seventeen categories of socio-economic improvements that could be provided by the churches. It was desired to have a survey that was only three pages long[2]. It was decided to focus the socio-economic questions on preservation, regeneration, education, cultural glue, business development, tourism and social capital.

Next, a geographic setting had to be selected. It would have been nice to survey everyone in the towns with a nominated church. However, this was an unrealistic goal given that the largest city, Drohobych, has a population of over 70,000 residents and covers over 41 square kilometers.

In addition, maps delineating town boundaries were not available for many of the smaller communities, so it would be hard to determine the boundaries of these villages. Also, one of the churches, Saint Archangel Mykhailo

(Michael) at Uzhok is close to the border of the neighboring village of Husny. Therefore, it was anticipated that many of the people who use the church would be from this village as well as Uzhok. By focusing solely on Uzhok, these people would be left out.

Taking a random sample at town squares was also considered. However, only Drohobych, Rohatyn, and Zhovkva have town squares while the smaller towns do not. Therefore, for the sake of consistency it was decided that the survey would be conducted at households at a 0.5 kilometer radius around the churches. The boundary maps located in the nominating documents for the wooden churches were used as a as a reference point to locate the churches.

In July and August of 2012, every household within the 0.5 kilometer radius were given the opportunity to re-
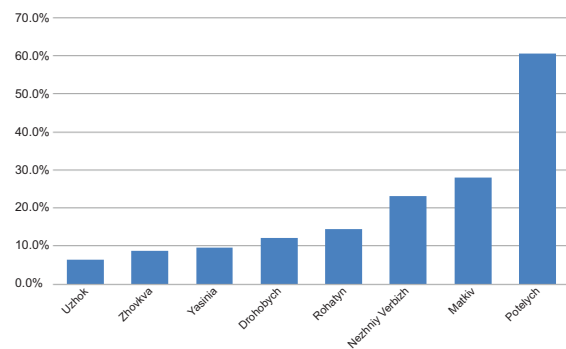

Fig. 3. Survey response rate by location (ed. by H. Schneider, 2012)

Il. 3. Współczynnik odpowiedzi ankietowanych według lokalizacji (oprac. H. Schneider, 2012)

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[2] Three pages was the maximum desired length of the survey not only because we didn't want to discourage people from answering by making the survey too long, but also due to the fact that this is the maximum number of pages that will fit in a self-addressed stamped envelope in Ukraine.

spond to the survey. Surveys were administered door-to-door. If someone was present, they were given the option to answer at that moment or use a self-addressed stamped envelope to send in their responses. In addition, attempts were made to contact the local overseers of the churches prior to the site visit and it was attempted to administer the survey to them and a separate interview.

Over 1,600 surveys were administered and 213 were returned. The responses are still being analyzed and the results will be distributed through Lviv Polytechnic to the other bodies working on the nomination process and the governmental organizations responsible for the preservation of the sites.

In the town of Potelych, Matkiv and Nezhniy Verbizh the church caregivers met with the survey team. One of the observations from the survey process is that these were the communities with the highest response rates. There is not enough evidence to show a direct correlation, between the willingness of representatives of the church leadership to meet with the survey team and the willingness of the community to respond to the surveys. There may be other factors involved here (Fig. 3).

The survey process presented here is not meant as the only approach to community involvement at potential World Heritage Sites. In fact there are many approaches that might provide a richer understanding of a community's desired use of a World Heritage Site. These may include Participatory Rural Appraisal Methods, and more in-depth surveying and interviewing of the community. However, as in all cases, the team working with the wooden churches in western Ukraine had a limited amount of resources and attempted to find the best solution with what they had.

It is hoped that once the responses are analyzed that the differences in the desired socio-economic benefits from the churches among the various groups will be better understood. In addition, the overlapping in the desired benefits will provide a starting point for engaging the communities in the future and may even provide insight into ways that resources can be shared among the churches and cooperation between the churches improved. This way the nominated churches can be incorporated into a comprehensive plan that improves the social and economic status of the communities they are located in while being preserved for future generations.

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Rola obiektów z listy dziedzictwa UNESCO w rozwoju zrównoważonym społeczności

Drewniane kościoły w zachodniej Ukrainie są jedyne w swoim rodzaju w świecie architektury ze względu na swój styl, budowę i sztukę. Z uwagi na uwarunkowania historyczne tego regionu przedstawiciele społeczności lokalnych nawiązywali kontakty z różnymi grupami z całej wschodniej i zachodniej Europy, co znalazło swoje odbicie w projektach kościołów, które posiadają cechy architektoniczne łączące nie tylko tradycję greckiego kościoła prawosławnego, ale także elementy tradycji rzymskokatolickiej. Wyrażają one lokalne style budowlane, takie jak:

„Stary Halicz" (Rohatyn i Potelych), „Nowy Halicz" (Drohobycz i Żółkiew), „Bojko" (Uzhok i Matkiv) oraz „Huculski" (Nyzhniy Verbizh [Vynohrad Dolny] i Yasynia).

Dnia 28 stycznia 2010 roku osiem najlepszych przykładów drewnianych kościołów zachodniej Ukrainy otrzymało nominację do wpisu na listę dziedzictwa światowego UNESCO (Organizacja Narodów Zjednoczonych do Spraw Oświaty, Nauki i Kultury) przez Wydział Odbudowy i Rekonstrukcji Kompleksów Architektonicznych Politechniki Lwowskiej.

Key words: wooden architecture, church, World Heritage Sites

Słowa kluczowe: architektura drewniana, kościół, lista światowa dziedzictwa UNESCO