The Crises-Cultural Heritage Nexus

The Interplay of Crises and Cultural Heritage: Mutual Impacts and Implications

By René Teijgeler
With contributions by Emma Cunliffe, Gaia Bedini, Eva Licci , Ginevra Rollo, Iona Volynets, and Isber Sabrine

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in association with
Heritage for Peace

Foreword

The idea for this publication began in October 2021, born from a longstanding vision of René Teijgeler, co-founder of Heritage for Peace. René had always envisioned a thorough exploration of heritage protection during crises, with a particular focus on the complex relationship between heritage and peacebuilding. After a thoughtful discussion with René, we decided to bring this idea to fruition and present it to the Cultural Emergency Response (CER) program of the Prince Claus Fund, which later became an independent organization under the name Cultural Emergency Response.

Following several productive meetings with CER, we embarked on a four-year collaborative project. This partnership between Cultural Emergency Response (CER) and Heritage for Peace focuses on advocating for the inclusion of cultural heritage in policies and frameworks designed to respond to crises. Both organizations aim to be pioneers in the field of cultural heritage protection, pushing for a more inclusive sector. Our shared goal is to emphasize the critical importance of protecting cultural heritage and integrating it into the strategic plans of sectors like humanitarian aid, peacebuilding, and disaster and conflict management.

As an initial activity, Heritage for Peace undertook the publication of a white paper that explores the nexus between Cultural Heritage, Crisis, and Peacebuilding. Once published, we will focus on promoting its dissemination through social media and webinars. These expert-led discussions will foster debates, highlight gaps, and deepen our understanding of the connection between cultural heritage protection and related fields.

We present this publication of the white paper with great respect and deep appreciation in memory of René Teijgeler, who was actively working on it until just a few days before his untimely passing. His pioneering work at the intersection of crises and cultural heritage has left an indelible mark on this field, one that continues to inspire and shape both academic thought and practical applications today. René's tireless dedication to understanding how cultural heritage is not only affected by crises but can also contribute to response and recovery efforts remains a cornerstone of our work and discussions.

René's passing on February 17, 2023, left a significant void in the work of Heritage for Peace. Yet, his legacy lives on—not only through his influential writings but through the many individuals he mentored, collaborated with, and inspired over the years. René's vision of cultural heritage as a resilient force, particularly in conflict zones and during natural disasters, changed the way we view heritage. It is not simply a passive casualty of crises but an active participant in the resilience of communities and the healing of societies.

In this volume, The Crises-Cultural Heritage Nexus: The Interplay of Crises and Cultural Heritage: Mutual Impacts and Implications, we continue the work René was so passionate about. This publication reflects his vision of integrating cultural heritage into crisis response, disaster risk reduction, and peacebuilding. with key editorial contributions from Emma Cunliffe, who played a leading role in shaping this publication, along with valuable inputs from Gaia Bedini, Eva Licci, Ginevra Rollo, Iona Volynets, and I. We are all inspired by René's research and his unwavering commitment to showing how heritage can play an essential role in mitigating crises, building peace, and strengthening societies.

René's work was not just about heritage; it was about people. He always emphasized the importance of including cultural heritage in discussions of human rights, humanitarian aid, and sustainable development. His approach was clear: heritage is a resource that can be used to prevent crises, reduce risks, and aid in recovery—a message that resonates deeply throughout the pages of this publication.

This publication is not just a tribute to René's intellectual contributions but an invitation to continue the conversation he started. It's an invitation to explore the complex relationships between crises and cultural heritage and to rethink how heritage can serve as a solution, not just a casualty, in times of disaster.

We hope that this work serves as a reminder of René's extraordinary impact on this field and that it continues to inspire those of us who work to protect and preserve

cultural heritage, especially in times of crisis. In René's spirit, we invite you to explore these chapters and reflect on the power of cultural heritage to heal, rebuild, and offer hope to communities facing unimaginable challenges. His work remains a guiding light for future generations—scholars, practitioners, and advocates—who continue to push the boundaries of what's possible at the intersection of crises and cultural heritage.

May René's memory inspire us all to keep building a more resilient, compassionate. world.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my friend Emma Cunliffe, who played a leading role in shaping this publication with insight, care, and dedication. Her commitment was instrumental in bringing this work

to life. I am equally grateful to Gaia Bedini, Eva Licci, Ginevra Rollo, and Iona Volynets for their valuable support, and collaboration throughout the process.

A sincere thank you also goes to the entire Cultural Emergency Response (CER) team, whose unwavering support, encouragement, and belief in this project made it possible. Their partnership has been both inspiring and essential in guiding this publication to completion.

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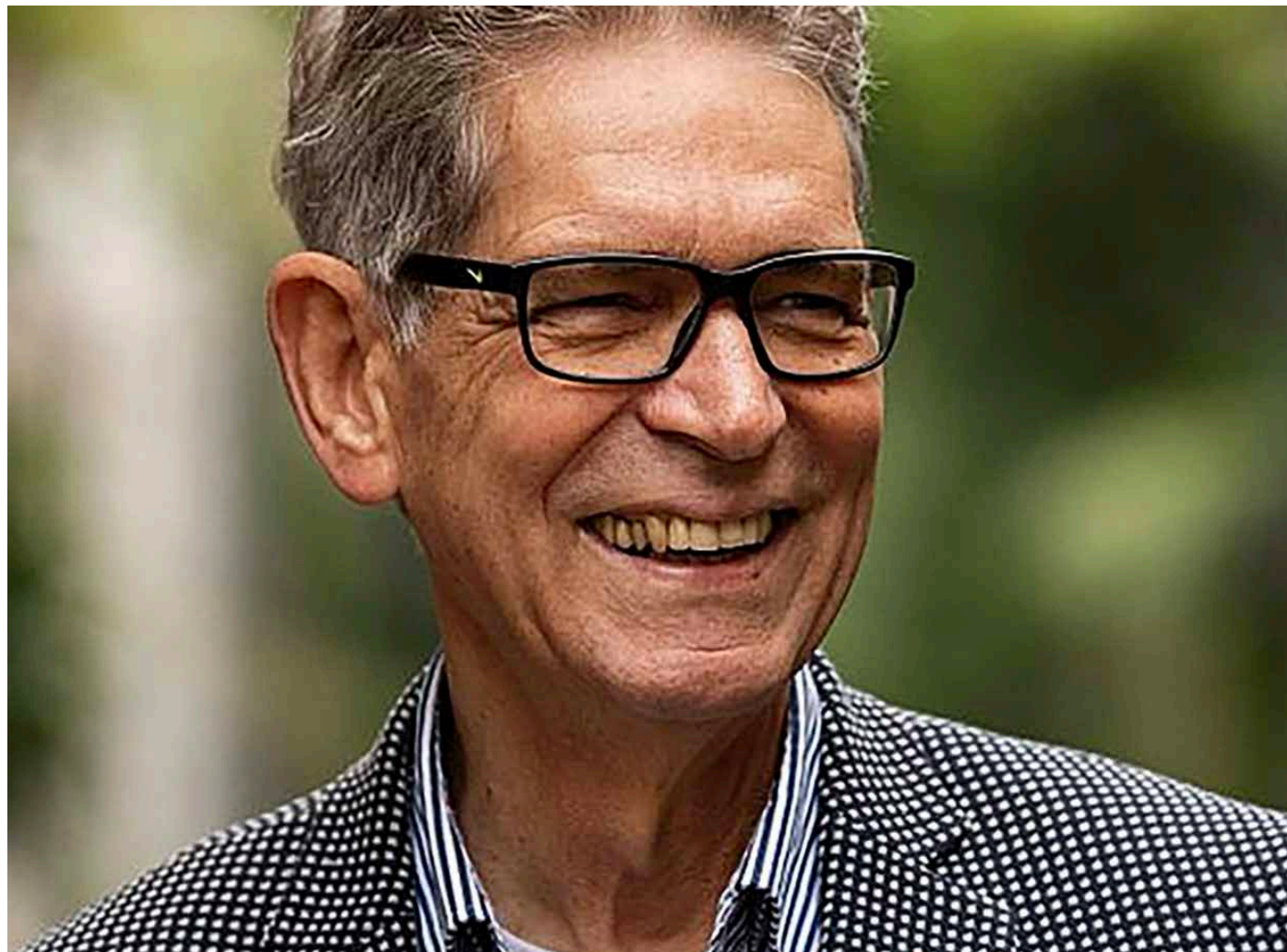
René Teijgeler
Co-founder, Heritage for Peace
d. 17 February 2023

Executive Summary

The global increase in crises (whether natural in origin or man-made such as conflict) has not only impacted communities, governments, and aid agencies around the world – but also the cultural heritage of affected communities. Yet, cultural heritage is rarely considered in national and international risk management planning, and heritage risk management unmistakably lacks a proper integrated approach in crisis areas. It is not fully employed within the different phases of an emergency at any level. Culture is not directly referenced in the 17 goals to give it priority, although there is a direct reference in one of the targets for Goal 11. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 is: 'Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable': SDG 11, Target 4 reads "Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage". The culture sector knows that, in fact, cultural heritage has a far broader role to play in supporting and enabling the SDGs, offering opportunities to address the economic and social dimensions of poverty (SDG 1); contribute to health and well-being (SDG 3); support gender equality (which frequently has a cultural dimension) (SDG 5), and many others. However, too often culture and cultural heritage is restricted by policy-makers, planners, and those in a position to make decisions to a simplistic understanding of what it is, what it can contribute, and why it is so important. As a result, when there is a crisis, the role of heritage within it is poorly understood. For example, one of the arguments for why humanitarians have such difficulty accepting cultural heritage as a basic human need equal to physiological and safety needs, is that there is hardly any evidence of either the impact of its loss on crisis-affected populations, or of the benefits that including it in humanitarian programming can bring.

This paper uses a disaster risk management framework to look more broadly at crises and how they impact heritage, and in turn how heritage can impact crises, with a focus on the social and cultural impacts of crisis and crisis management. It seeks to create and explore a crises-cultural heritage nexus through three types of crises.
· crises caused by conflict
· crises caused by natural events, and
· crises humanitarian actors operate in.

■ **Chapter One** sets the scene for this paper, introducing the issue it tackles.

■ **Chapter 2** begins by exploring conceptions of heritage, the ways they have changed, and the integral link between heritage and communities. Heritage, regardless of who defines it or how it is defined, has a universal value, which is worthy of national and international protection. It is not a static concept, but one which changes and transforms, and which can be created and re-created. Most importantly, heritage is about people; it is made by them, defined by them, and given value by them. It is a part of communities today, and it is also held in trust for future generations. The loss of heritage can equal the loss of human future.

■ **Chapter 3** established the first of the crisis types used and explored in this paper. Disasters (and specifically disasters caused by natural forces) are relatively commonly understood and most disaster risk reduction frameworks relate to them. This chapter sets out the definitions of risk and risk management in an internationally accepted framework, before detailing its link to cultural heritage, with a focus on natural disasters and climate change.

Heritage risk management lacks a proper integrated approach in crises. It is not fully employed within the different phases of an emergency conceptually, and even less so in practice, even in countries with well-developed emergency response systems. Classical approaches to risk management have involved quantifying risk in terms of loss to the heritage asset, but this fails to adequately include intangible heritage, or types of heritage that are hard to quantify. There is also a notable failure to adequately consult those directly affected by a crisis. To assess vulnerability, it is necessary to include not only the traditional assessments of the vulnerabilities of the heritage itself, but to identify the heritage and its vulnerabilities within the communities who create or own it. Heritage and risk alike are now considered social phenomena by scholars and practitioners, which means that local views on risk are at least as relevant as expert views. In addition, as our disaster consciousness increases, there is also a tendency towards expanding the range of events that can be characterised as a disaster.

Chapter 4 defines conflict as a type of crisis, but also considers peace, and the distinctions between the two, along with their overlap with other domains of crisis. It looks at different definitions of conflict, to frame when conflict-crisis frameworks (such as international law) take effect. In order for comparisons between different types of conflict to be established, it is important to understand that there are many ways to define conflict, and to understand which definition is being used and why. Without this, it is not possible to compare different conflicts, and assess needs based on severity, as it may not be a like-for-like comparison. The impact of conflict on heritage is increasingly costly. The deaths and mass displacement of populations decimates intangible cultural heritage, whilst the increasing violence has a catastrophic effect on tangible sites. Yet, as in other sectors, heritage is largely viewed as a matter for the heritage sector, and excluded from wider planning. Most heritage sites will never be reconstructed: the costs of careful heritage reconstruction, compared to the rapid requirements of construction of shelter, are considerable.

As any project will have an impact on its surroundings, a conflict-sensitive approach gives direction to heritage intervention before beginning with recovery, rehabilitation and preservation. After all, the aim of any heritage intervention is to have a positive impact on the context in which the project will be realized. The Do-No-Harm approach (also called conflict-sensitive approach) is part of a larger conflict analysis, leading to a clearer understanding of the risks that exacerbate conflict and the opportunities to contribute to positive change, and how project implementation strengthens the local stakeholders to address the causes of the conflict rather than deepen the conflict. Conflict-sensitive programming is therefore a vital tool and skill for heritage professionals, though it is regrettably often overlooked.

Heritage, both tangible and intangible, has clear links to conflict, and there are increasing calls to recognise the roles it can play in peace and peacebuilding. Although peace is often considered to be the opposite of conflict, or the state in which no conflict exists, the definition of peace, and the relationship between peace and conflict, is much more complex. Peace is also impacted by crises. The loss of heritage during a crisis can thus have a significant impact on peace. By viewing armed conflict as a risk, it is possible to place it into risk management and Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) frameworks, and to begin to develop approaches to mitigating the impacts.

Chapter 5 establishes the third type of crisis explored in this paper – humanitarian crises. A humanitarian crisis is described as "a singular event or a series of events that are threatening in terms of health, safety or well-being of a community or large group of people" that affect vulnerable populations who are unable to withstand the negative consequences by themselves. They usually occur in, or as part of, a complex emergency: all major emergencies may involve or lead to a humanitarian crisis; they are major drivers of humanitarian need. The goal of humanitarian response is always to save lives and reduce human suffering through meeting the basic humanitarian needs. Since not all crises are the same, the response varies accordingly. The chapter explains the humanitarian sector and the contexts it operates in: the need for humanitarian action is growing, requiring more humanitarian interventions. In 2021, two hundred and fifty million people were in need of humanitarian support due to the different crises. Yet, the humanitarian space is shrinking, the system is under financial and political pressure, and the profession is getting more dangerous by the day.

The definition of "humanitarian response" is contentious: a pressing issue today is whether culture is a basic need or not. Since this millennium, the heritage sector has been trying to convince humanitarian colleagues to accept culture, including heritage protection and heritage aid, as a basic humanitarian need. However, so far they have gained little recognition. Many consider heritage destruction and relief as either an international law issue or just a matter for international organizations–such as UNESCO – specialized in heritage protection. This sits in contrast to the crisis domains of violent conflict and natural disasters, where cooperation with the heritage crisis domain is more or less accepted. The premise that culture and heritage are subservient to supposedly more fundamental needs is still widely popular and brings us to the very definition of heritage. Though many think of cultural heritage in terms of monuments, artefacts, and archaeological sites, heritage is about people and not simply physical constructions. It is, above all, about representations of people's identi-ties and the construction of meanings of self, societies and communities. Humanitarian aid is also focused on people, a logical conclusion from the humanitarian imperative which is directed to provide assistance to crisis-affected people. Both humanitarian aid and heritage aid are thus people-oriented by nature and aimed at fulfilling their basic needs, whether cultural or material. Furthermore, cultural heritage can be an effective tool to improve mental health, well-being, and resilience – another good reason to integrate heritage emergency aid into the humanitarian system.

Chapter 6 looks at tools to help predict crises, to help better target heritage interventions, establishing what lessons can be learned from other types of crisis response. Planning and preparedness are key parts of the DRR cycle. One of the seven global targets of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction is to increase the availability of multi-hazard early warning systems. Conflict, natural hazards, and humanitarian crises do not suddenly appear (and nor do they abruptly end). Hence, societies have developed indicators to foretell a crisis. They fall into two broad kinds: Fragile Society Indices, which indicate (amongst other things) how well a society might cope with a crisis, and where the world's most vulnerable people are, and Early Warning Systems (EWSs). Multi-hazard warning systems are valuable for areas suffering from more than one natural hazard and can provide data for decision makers at a high level. A number of successful examples are detailed in the chapter, with approaches including technology, statistics, and local knowledge. In the domain of natural hazards, the physical warning signs are the most developed and applied in disaster risk reduction programs. However, most such systems miss human input, a crucial lack of trust in traditional knowledge systems built on hundreds of years of experience. It is most often in natural disaster preparedness, particularly where the EWS are locally created in contexts with existing strong local knowledge, that such knowledge is best integrated.

It is important to distinguish between true EWSs, and systems which simply provide data to others, for example maps with low-resolution data, or no way to actively disseminate or communicate information, and which have no response capability. Where such systems do exist, some are hindered in uptake, or in providing response due to failures in funding pre-emptive measures and government sensitivities in admitting a looming disaster.

Chapter 7 moves to the dynamic relationship between cultural heritage and crisis: how is heritage impacted by crises, and how do crises impact heritage? That heritage – both tangible and intangible – is impacted by, and changes as a direct consequence of war has been well documented and studied. When access to tangible heritage is limited as it is damaged or destroyed, traditions, rituals, folklore, customs, beliefs – intangible heritage – become more important. Not only is community identity threatened, but also personal identity, the partial loss of the self. This loss of meaning robs people of benchmarks that are necessary to give meaning to their social and cultural contexts. Heritage workers can also be directly affected. Site guards, for example, are often threatened, attacked, and even killed by looters. Conflict not only affects heritage, but heritage also affects conflict: it can even be a driver of conflict. Sites can also be deliberately used in conflict, and/or become part of military strategy. As a result, heritage today is frequently associated with conflict and destruction: it often suffers from negative connotations of deliberate destruction, including identity-related destruction, that allow little room for the positive role heritage can play in conflict resolution.

Natural hazards remain a destructive and damaging force, destroying significant heritage (particularly natural heritage, immovable heritage, or moveable heritage that was not taken to safety) when they occur and making response extremely challenging. As with situations of violent conflict, the pain caused by damaged and demolished heritage leads to new 'places of pain' or 'sites of memory' (lieux de mémoire) that are increasingly considered to be heritage sites. There are many ways in which cultural heritage can assist in reducing the impact of natural hazards and climate change. The study of local and indigenous knowledge has produced a wealth of information for climate change adaptation. Traditional architecture is very much influenced by climate and natural hazards: it has been established that buildings constructed by indigenous populations almost always sustain less damage during natural

hazards than those built by recent inhabitants. Climate change is a significant factor multiplying the impact of natural disasters and has come to play a major part in discussions by itself. Popular debates and campaigns on climate change draw heavily on iconic images from threatened heritage. Climatic events like increased temperatures, changing freeze/thaw cycles, permafrost thaw, increased humidity, winds, and wildfires, changing seasons, and changes in species migrations, including the spread of invasive species, can all cause damage to structural and archaeological heritage and disrupt traditional activities and systems such as food production.

Like heritage, climate change is about people. Many cultures have adapted to natural hazards and incorporated responses into construction techniques and ways of working. Discussions now include: how people adapt to rapid changes in communities and societies; how this embraces loss and how that 'fear of loss' hinders transformation and continuity; how knowledge from the past can contribute and shape our future; and that culture and nature both create a feeling of responsibility of inheritance.

Humanitarian crises have many of the same impacts on heritage, leading to damage, destruction, and loss. The widespread poverty experienced by many refugees, for example, results in reoccupation of heritage sites, damaging them, and has led to major increases in archaeological site looting, damaging and destroying hundreds if not thousands of sites worldwide. There are also significant impacts on the intangible heritage of communities during humanitarian crises. Internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees not only have to leave home involuntarily, but also culturally important places, landscapes, traditions, and histories. Entire communities must part with local traditional material and cultural assets such as cemeteries, places for worship, and sacred places. In these situations, they often also lose their intangible heritage. Heritage destruction can also affect the mental health of communities, most noticeably (but not only) in contexts of displacement. Conversely, local knowledge and intangible cultural heritage can be of great importance in humanitarian programming, supporting culturally appropriate interventions. In some cases, psychosocial support delivered via cultural preservation programmes may be the most appro-

priate intervention to improve mental health. Traditional housing can fulfil the basic need of shelter when other forms of architecture may no longer be available. Refugee integrations programmes use cultural engagement to support engagement with new host countries, and foster social integration and intercultural dialogue.

■ **Chapter 8** looks at that relationship in crisis response and recovery, exploring not only the use of heritage in the post-crisis phases, but how crisis can be used for peacebuilding. Every crisis has its specifics, which can result in totally different situations: crisis analysis remains an essential tool. Heritage management and its structures, policies, and staff must also be rebuilt as much as heritage itself. Training and resources must also account for the new post-conflict realities. Too often, international interventions focus on visually impressive reconstruction, neglecting the ongoing day-to-day management of heritage, which will have suffered a slow, but no less serious, attrition as its tangible counterpart. National capacity building is vital, but often neglected due to the scale of the work required.

An increasing number of heritage professionals argue that cultural heritage can be used for peacebuilding. However, the link between cultural heritage and peacebuilding should not be taken for granted. Cultural heritage is often a source of conflict, where it can be a potent symbol of identity, pride, and belonging for various groups, often becoming a battleground where competing narratives clash. Despite that, cultural heritage does hold immense potential as a bridge for dialogue, reconciliation, and peacebuilding. The main difficulty in utilising heritage for peacebuilding arises when it is oversimplified as a universally recognized emblem of humanity. It becomes detached from its intricate historical and cultural contexts. However, by acknowledging and preserving diverse cultural heritage, communities can find common ground, foster mutual understanding, and build trust across divides. These approaches apply not only to tangible cultural heritage like archaeological sites and intangible practices, but also to natural heritage. For example, peace ecology and peace parks have often witnessed significant success.

■ **Chapter 9** concludes with final thoughts on the dynamic and mutually beneficial connection between cul-

tural heritage and crisis mitigation. Crises around the world are increasing, with a corresponding impact on communities and their cultural heritage. Yet cultural heritage is poorly integrated by national and international responders into the disaster risk reduction cycle. Too often, it is considered to be a matter only for heritage professionals, and one which should not be given priority in the face of other, apparently more pressing, needs. Cultural heritage is a key aspect of a crisis: it is a fundamental part of the identity of crisis-affected people, shaping community and societal identity and playing a pivotal role in resource allocation and crisis response strategies. The relationship between heritage and crisis is dynamic and complex. Cultural heritage is impacted by crises in all their forms. Heritage needs protection in a crisis, but it can also enable and improve the protection of people. Conversely, cultural heritage, particularly local intangible knowledge, has a lot to offer other sectors to improve their response. To minimise risk to heritage from crises, heritage specific disaster risk management plans must be put into place, with resources allocated to those most in need.

Recommendations

Creating long lasting effects and/or change is not simple, and it is critical to learn from others' experiences. This paper concludes with a series of recommendations.

· Climate adaptation strategies, post-conflict reconstruction plans, and emergency response frameworks must incorporate cultural heritage preservation as a key component. Policymakers, humanitarian organizations, and international bodies must recognize heritage not as a secondary concern but as an essential component of crisis response and recovery. Embedding cultural heritage in crisis response requires cross-sectoral policy integration.

· Heritage protection and response strategies have much to learn from disaster risk reduction to be more effective. Fragile Society indicators and Early Warning Systems can help identify where crises will cause the greatest harm and support may be most needed, but other tools also exist to identify where and when crises may occur.

· Stronger legislative frameworks can mandate the integration of cultural heritage protection into national disaster risk strategies, ensuring that heritage is not left as an afterthought but is actively considered in emergency planning and funding structures.
· Sustained advocacy is crucial for ensuring cultural heritage is embedded in crisis mitigation frameworks. Community commitment and political support are essential: political, technical, financial and social challenges need the most time to be overcome during the assessment and planning phase of implementation of any project.

· Advocacy efforts must push for heritage to be systematically included in policy discussions, from the local to the international level, aligning heritage protection with broader security, humanitarian, and development goals. Cultural heritage receives more attention in policy agendas when it is perceived as a tool to achieve results in other fields beyond conservation.

· Stakeholder consultation must be broad and involve all those affected to enable a plurality of voices. Stakeholders involved in a repeatable process should represent multiple sectors, disciplines, and related areas of expertise. As well as local and regional municipal actors, it is important to engage with less obvious stakeholder groups. These might include gender and youth and organisations, indigenous and local communities, and professional associations, who will be able to contribute. External actors, such as local NGOs, institutions or civil associations can gain citizens' support in cultural heritage conservation actions, as well as to overcome capacity issues within the city administration. These stakeholders should all be involved in the early stages of planning, the development of internal capacity building processes, and the adoption of innovative ways to initiate projects.

· Effective knowledge transfer is critical. Communication about the goals and measures implemented must be transparent and involve all stakeholders. Such stakeholders should also involved in designing the means by which they engage.

· It is clear that more research is needed on

· How local and indigenous knowledge can be more effectively integrated into all crisis-response systems.

· The evidence of the impact of its loss on crisis-affected populations, and of the benefits that including it in humanitarian programming can bring.

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction

The global increase in crises (whether natural in origin or man-made such as conflict) has not only impacted communities, governments, and aid agencies around the world – but also the cultural heritage of affected communities. Yet, cultural heritage is rarely considered in national and international risk management planning, and heritage risk management unmistakably lacks a proper integrated approach in crisis areas. It is not fully employed within the different phases of an emergency at any level. In fact, heritage management did not consider risk management until the 1990s, some 30 years after the wider disaster response sector, and today it remains poorly integrated. Furthermore, in difficult times, concerns with culture and heritage always seem to come last: "Food comes first, then ethics".[1]

Abraham Maslow[2] claimed that physiological needs (food, water, etc.) and safety (shelter, health, security, etc.) are more fundamental than other needs and must therefore be listed at the top of a hierarchy of needs. These priorities formed the basic principle in ranking the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Neither culture or heritage was included in the 8 MDG goals and culture is not mentioned in the 6 core values of the MDG's successor, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In 2016, all 193 UN member states committed to achieving the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN Agenda 2030 that will guide international policy and funding for the next 15 years (figure 1.1). However, culture is not directly referenced in the 17 goals to give it priority, although there is a direct reference in one of the targets for Goal 11. SDG 11 is: 'Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable': SDG 11, Target 4 reads "Strengthen

Figure 1.1: The Sustainable Development Goals © UN Office for Sustainable Development.
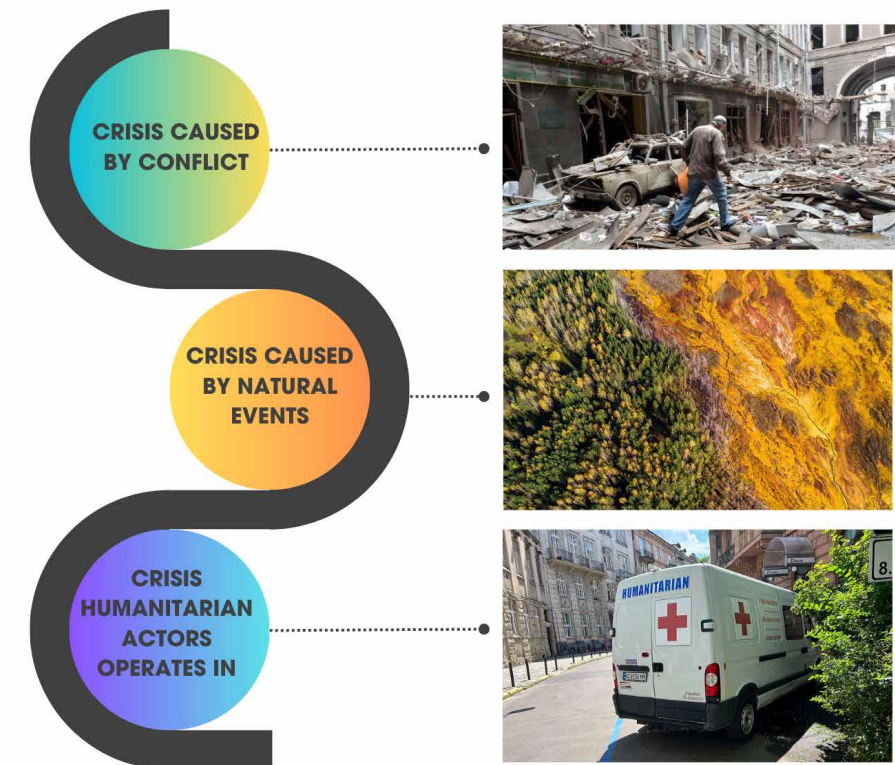
Figure 1.2: Types of crisis. Top: War damage, Ukraine. © Rednasberg, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons Middle: Devastation caused by the Sulfide disaster in Levikha Village. © Vasily Iakovlev, CC BY 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons. Bottom: Humanitarian aid © Cogitato, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons

efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage".[3] The culture sector knows that, in fact, cultural heritage has a far broader role to play in supporting and enabling the SDGs, offering opportunities to address the economic and social dimensions of poverty (SDG 1); contribute to health and well-being (SDG 3); support gender equality (which frequently has a cultural dimension) (SDG 5), and many others.[4] However, too often culture and cultural heritage is restricted by policymakers, planners, and those in a position to make decisions to a simplistic understanding of what it is, what it can contribute, and why it is so important. As a result, when there is a crisis, the role of heritage within it is poorly understood.

This paper uses a disaster risk management framework to look more broadly at crises and how they impact heritage, and in turn how heritage can impact crises, with a focus on the social and cultural impacts of crisis and crisis management. It seeks to create and explo-

re a crises-cultural heritage nexus. Traditional thinking often divides crises into three phases: pre-, during and post-crisis. However, as will be discussed, crises do not have a linear development where one follows the next. Many crises can occur at once, overlapping and compounding each other. Disaster management is a cycle: actions taken at a certain stage of the cycle will have consequences for other present and future actions. As a result, dividing crises into three phases is not always helpful. Reflecting this, this paper uses the disaster management cycle to look at the interplay of crises and cultural heritage, and the mutual impacts and implications in a crises-cultural heritage nexus.

For the purposes of our discussion, crises are broken down into three broad types (figure 1.2):
· crises caused by conflict
· crises caused by natural events, and
· crises humanitarian actors operate in.

1   Erst kommt das Fressen und dann kommt die Moral. Bertold Brecht, Dreigroschenoper, 1928

2   Maslow 1943

3   Sustainable Development Goals Fund. Goal 11 'Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.' https://www.jointsdgfund.org/sustainable-development-goals/goal-11-sustainable-cities-and-communities

4   British Council 2020.

This may seem an odd distinction - obviously, the crises humanitarian actors operate in are caused by conflict and natural events: a humanitarian crisis often is the direct or indirect result of a violent conflict, a natural hazard, other extreme dangerous events, or a complex emergency. The primary cause is often intertwined with several other factors. A humanitarian crisis is distinguished from conflict or natural hazard through its definition as a singular event or a series of events that are threatening in terms of health, safety or well-being of a community or large group of people, or a generalised emergency situation that affects an entire community or a group of people in a region, which involves high levels of mortality or malnutrition, the spread of disease and epidemics and health emergencies.[5] The outcome affects Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion (WASH), Food Security, Nutrition, Shelter and Settlement, and Health.[6] There are also temporal and geographic elements to the distinction. Humanitarian crises often deal with the aftermath of a natural disaster or with those impacted by conflict who may no longer be located near the conflict. That being said, quoting Susanna M. Hoffman, "there is no such thing as a 'natural' disaster. They are all caused by humans at one level or another".[7]

Many of these situations form complex emergencies.[8] A complex disaster is where an array of emergencies come together such as war, ethnic conflict, famine, endemic diseases and political unrest. The number of complex disasters which lead to a crisis are growing.[9] Complex crises, distinguished by their chronic and persistent character, are in effect virtually permanent emergencies. This is especially the case with climate change. Analysis of the State of Conservation reports of World Heritage indicates that 145 out of the 1154 world heritage sites (13%) are threatened by climatic events recorded in 2021, and most of them were affected by more than one hazard.[10]

These three types of crisis can be further distinguished by the tools used to predict them and deal with each of these three situations, which are unique to each sector. For example, there are different Early Warning Systems designed to study the environment and predict natural events that may cause a disaster; as well as those which study social and political situations to predict conflict; and those which predict which situations will have a major impact on communities and require humanitarian assistance. AwaReness of the three types of crisis makes us more aware of the complexity of crises in general. A violent conflict can result in a refugee crisis but the reverse can also be true: a refugee crisis caused, for example, by famine can result in a violent crisis.

Understanding and mitigating the impact of disasters critically depends on a thorough understanding of risk. In addition, ideas about disaster are culturally specific and are linked to wider attitudes about the meaning of misfortune, blame and social expectations. Likewise, our understanding of risk has also evolved. Risk is like heritage: it is a dynamic concept that changes during the phases of the disaster cycle. The challenges of integrating effective risk management are compounded by evolving conceptions of risk, which have been influenced by contemporary views on heritage. These new perspectives have significant implications for how risk is assessed and managed within current frameworks of risk analysis, which often struggle to adapt to these evolving interpretations. Therefore, there is a pressing need for more comprehensive methodologies to incorporate the multifaceted dimensions of risk.

It is essential to include and investigate how cultural heritage is employed in constructing and legitimising narratives surrounding crises. Indeed, culture not only shapes societal identity but also plays a pivotal role in resource allocation and crisis response strategies. The manner in which these narratives are framed, by whom, and how heritage is strategically employed to reinforce specific perspectives are critical components in understanding the dynamics of crises and in formulating effective response strategies. Cultural heritage can play a vital role in peacebuilding, but cultural identity

has provided the justification for conflict. It can play an intrinsic role in the allocation of resources to prevent and respond to crises. Thus, cultural heritage serves not only as a repository of identity and memory but also as a significant factor in shaping and justifying crisis response, underscoring its integral role in crisis management frameworks.

Outline

This paper will first explore a number of key concepts - what is heritage and why does it matter, considering the most important question – who does it matter to? It then moves to the relationship between heritage and risk, before considering how the wider risk sector prepares for and responds to crisis, to gain valuable insights into how the heritage sector can better understand and respond. It presents competing definitions and establishes understandings of the different domains of crisis, to demonstrate the complexity of incorporating cultural heritage management and protection into their work, before exploring the mutual impacts of heritage and crisis in different stages of the disaster risk management cycle. From this context, it will become clear that there is a relationship between heritage and crisis, which is much more complex than previously perceived and which extends across multiple domains of crisis.

· Chapter 2 begins by exploring conceptions of heritage, the ways they have changed, and the integral link between heritage and communities.
· Chapter 3 sets out the definitions of risk and risk management in an internationally accepted framework, before detailing its link to cultural heritage, with a focus on natural disasters and climate change.
· Chapter 4 defines conflict as a type of crisis, but also considers peace, and the distinctions between the two, along with their overlap with other domains of crisis.
· Chapter 5 establishes the humanitarian sector, and humanitarian crises, exploring the status of cultural heritage in humanitarianism.
· Chapter 6 looks at tools to help predict crises, to help better target heritage interventions, establishing what lessons can be learned from other types of crisis response.

· Chapter 7 moves to the dynamic relationship between cultural heritage and crisis: how is heritage impacted by crises, and how do crises impact heritage?
· Chapter 8 looks at that relationship in crisis response and recovery, exploring not only the use of heritage in the post-crisis phases, but how crisis can be used for peacebuilding.
· Chapter 9 concludes with final thoughts on the dynamic and mutually beneficial connection between cultural heritage and crisis mitigation.

Together these form the cultural heritage crisis nexus.

Further Reading

Sustainable Development Goals https://sdgs.un.org/goals What is a Humanitarian Crisis. Concern Worldwide https://www.concern.org.uk/news/what-is-a-humanitarian-crisis

What is the Sendai Framework? UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction https://www.undrr.org/implementing-sendai-framework/what-sendai-framework.

The Missing Pillar: Culture's Contribution to the UN Sustainable Development Goals. British Council, 2020. https://www.britishcouncil.org/sustainable-development-goals

What are the largest humanitarian crises in the planet today? Humanitarian Coalition. 2021. https://www.iberdrola.com/social-commitment/humanitarian-crises-causes-effects-solutions#:~=A%20humanitarian%20crisis%20is%20a,and%20epidemics%20and%20health%20emergencies

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5   Humanitarian Coalition 2021.
6   Sphere Handbook 2018
7   in Ruhe 2017, p.4
8   Concern Worldwide, no date.
9   Convery et al. 2014.
10   Loopesko & Caballero 2021.

Chapter 2 Heritage and Communities

What Is Heritage?

Definitions of heritage are plural, varied, and dependent upon the interrelation of the claims of various groups. What one group or individual considers heritage may not be recognized as such by another. People, communities and interest groups can differ in their attribution of meanings to heritage. For the purposes of this paper we use the ICOMOS (2002) definition:

ICOMOS DEFINITION

CULTURAL HERITAGE MAY BE DEFINED AS THE EXPRESSION OF THE WAYS OF LIVING AS DEVELOPED BY A COMMUNITY THAT ARE PASSED ON FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION, INCLUDING CUSTOMS, PRACTICES, PLACES, OBJECTS AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSIONS AND VALUES. CULTURAL HERITAGE IS OFTEN EXPRESSED AS EITHER INTANGIBLE OR TANGIBLE.

This description does not quite satisfy contemporary conceptualizations of heritage. Different understandings of heritage, often influenced by non-Western views, have emerged considering cultural and natural heritage as well as tangible and intangible heritage as two sides of the same coin. While this paper acknowledges these commonly held conceptualizations and employs them in its arguments, it also emphasises broader perspectives on heritage, which are particularly relevant during crisis and in crisis-prone regions, where far greater nuance is required. For example, in 2010, UNESCO included food on the representative list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, recognizing that food itself constitutes a form of heritage.

Other conceptualizations of heritage, relevant to our discussion, emphasize its nature as both a dynamic process and a space. These perspectives highlight how heritage is continuously shaped by social, political and environmental factors and how it exists within both tangible and symbolic spaces.

HERITAGE AS A DYNAMIC PROCESS

CONTEMPORARY HERITAGE APPROACHES FOCUS ON HERITAGE AND ITS PRODUCTION AS A DYNAMIC PROCESS IN THE PRESENT. IT IS NOT A FINITE, STATIC, IRREPLACEABLE INHERITANCE FROM THE PAST. HERITAGE IS PRODUCED AND TRANSFORMED BY PEOPLE WHO INVEST IN IT, MAKING IT A CULTURAL PRACTICE INVOLVING THE CONSTRUCTION AND DESTRUCTION OF A RANGE OF VALUES AND UNDERSTANDINGS. VIEWED THROUGH THIS LENS, IT IS INDIVIDUAL AND COMPLEX, TIED TO PLACES AND OBJECTS YET DISTINCT FROM THEM, AN INTERPRETATION OF THE PAST AND PRESENT THAT INFORMS THE PRESENT.

HERITAGE AS SPACE

HERITAGE CAN ALSO BE UNDERSTOOD AS A SPACE, OR PLACE, WHERE 'CONTRADICTIONS, COMPLEXITIES AND CONFLICTS, DUE TO INEVITABLE DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION, CAN BE CONTINUOUSLY EXPLORED AND DEBATED, AND SEEN AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR AN INCREASE IN CULTURAL VIBRANCY AND CULTURAL TOLERANCE'. IT IS ALSO A PLACE, SPACE OR STAGE FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTION AND DEBATE, A MEETING- AND WORKPLACE TO UNDERSTAND, PRODUCE, REMAKE, (RE-) NEGOTIATE HERITAGE MEANINGS TOGETHER AND CONCURRENTLY MEDIATE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONFLICTS.

Heritage and Communities

The conversations surrounding heritage, and interpretation of, and engagement with, the past are inherently political and complex social processes. Heritage sits in tension: is it a finite and non-renewable resource, to be cared for in trust for current and future generations, or is it renewable, an ongoing process given meaning only by human behaviour and formed as an indispensable part of that behaviour?

Many models of heritage management around the world privilege expert judgement to determine values of heritage based on age, scale, and monumentality. These management models, although found globally, have their roots in western colonial models of heritage management, which have been increasingly criticised.[11] They often exclude the views of those considered non-experts, allowing no route for them to participate in identifying and managing heritage, yet those people may be the most connected to the heritage under consideration (such as those who live and work in World Heritage sites), or have their own (devalued) relationship to heritage. In many countries, local people feel disconnected or disenfranchised from the nationally registered heritage, or from what is regarded as significant about it, identifying other places, objects, and traditions as significant.

UNESCO describe the World Heritage Site of Palmyra as:

> "An oasis in the Syrian desert, north-east of Damascus, Palmyra contains the monumental ruins of a great city that was one of the most important cultural centres of the ancient world. From the 1st to the 2nd century, the art and architecture of Palmyra, standing at the crossroads of several civilizations, married Graeco-Roman techniques with local traditions and Persian influences."[12]

Syrian archaeologist Salam al-Kuntar, from University of Pennsylvania Museum, USA, on the other hand, has:

> „a special love for Palmyra because the Temple of Bel is where my mother was born. My grandfather was a policeman serving in Palmyra and my grandmother wasn't even 20 years old when she got married and moved to Palmyra. The Palmyrene women taught her how to make bread and cook. I hear many stories about the building, how people used the space, how children played around, including my mum. So that's what it means to me. This is the meaning of heritage - it's not only architecture or artefacts that are representing history, it's these memories and ancestral connection to the place."[13]

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11   Smith 2006, p.11.

12   UNESCO: Site of Palmyra, World Heritage website: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/23/

13   BBC interview, in, Museum of Lost Objects: The Temple of Bel, By Kanishk Tharoor and Maryam Maruf, 1 March 2016: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-35688943

Figure 2.1: Palmyra, as drawn by a Palmyrene in the diaspora using traditional wood burning techniques © Palmyrene Voices[14]

The call for multivocality, alongside inclusive power-sharing and decision-making, is now rising to the forefront of national and international discussions to identify, manage, and protect heritage. Today, more attention is being directed towards the role of local communities as bearers of their own heritage, which have often been overshadowed by national narratives on heritage and the role of national institutions and experts. Identifying the primary (direct users), secondary (indirect users, including local experts) and tertiary stakeholders (key persons, including foreign experts and organisations) through stakeholder analysis is the first step to inclusive heritage. While communities are pivotal stakeholders in heritage management, protection, conservation and restoration, they have often been relegated to a subordinate position to experts and international actors, fostering alienation and deepening structural societal inequalities. Inclusive practices entail partnership and transparency with all the stakeholders involved. However, including local voices is not always easy to achieve as not all societies and communities have a history of public involvement. Communities are not monolithic entities, always speaking with one voice, and communities can be deeply divided.

Heritage, regardless of who defines it, has a universal value, which is worthy of national and international protection. It is a part of communities today, and it is also held in trust for future generations. Those responsible for managing it are stewards who must carefully assess the risk to it to best protect and preserve it. International law underscores this view: the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) states that

> "damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world; [so] the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world".[15]

Likewise the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, better known as the World Heritage Convention (1972), protects heritage because

> "deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world".[16]

Heritage and Crisis

In this light, the loss of heritage equals the loss of human future. But the future is not an unchanging present. Catastrophic events can result in reinterpretation of heritage values and alterations in heritage typology. In crisis situations, people create new heritage and give new meanings to existing places to commemorate the crisis (lieux de mémoire) – creating heritage that would not originally have been recognized as such. Material representations of everyday life like objects, tools, spaces, customs, and traditions can surpass their daily meaning, and come to hold new meanings that can carry traumatic associations and even agency. This unique understanding of heritage challenges the dominant interpretation of heritage value that is based on fear of loss, directly referencing the very concept of heritage and who decides what heritage is. Situations of violent conflict of places of loss can lead to the creation of new heritage, called 'sites of memory' (lieux de mémoire) that are increasingly considered to be heritage sites. Founded in 1999, for example the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC or "the Coalition") is a worldwide network of Sites of Conscience.

> "The need to remember often competes with the equally strong pressure to forget. Even with the best of intentions – such as to promote reconciliation after trauma by "turning the page" – erasing the past can prevent new generations from learning critical lessons and destroy opportunities to establish peace now and well into the future. A Site of Conscience is a place of memory – such as a historic site, place-based museum or memorial – that prevents this erasure from happening in order to foster more just and humane societies today. Not only do Sites of Conscience provide safe spaces to remember and preserve even the most traumatic memories, but they enable their visitors to make connections between the past and related contemporary human rights issues".[17]

Yet, in countries using an age-based demarcation of cultural property such places are often not formally recognised, yet such places can be extremely significant, locally and globally. For example, cultural heritage in Syria must be over 200 years old or recognised by ministerial decree under Law of Antiquities #222 (1966), meaning memorials to loss in the current conflict pass unrecognised.

Whether transformed, or newly created (often more spontaneous in character), both demonstrate that heritage is a renewable resource – and those contemporary perspectives are no less worthy of record. During the COVID-19 pandemic, museums, archives, and sometimes libraries took up a new role as stewards of contemporary information as well as historical information.[18] They were acutely aware of the importance of capturing and preserving a record from official signage to representative objects in order to document the extraordinary moment in time. These memories of crisis are important to commemorate and record a crisis in situ and show the relationship between a new material order and social meaning of 'things', and can assist to cope with the traumatic events once presented to the public.[19] For example, the National Museum of the History of Ukraine has been collecting items left by Russian soldiers and displaying them throughout the war, including destroyed signage, soldiers' boots, and Russian ration packs. [20]As much as heritage is impacted by crises, it impacts it in turn - but cultural heritage can also be used by communities as a witness to record and memorialise crises. New heritage is thus created in a dynamic process that underpins the crisis-cultural heritage nexus.

Further Reading

What is Heritage? Open Learn Course (free) https://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/what-heritage/content-section-2.1

Palmyrene Voices project: https://Palmyrenevoices.org/our-project/

Heritage Guidelines for COVID-19. Iraq, Libya, Syria, Yemen. René Teijgeler, Isber Sabrine, Yoldez Halleb, Mahmoud Barakat, and Elizabeth Korinth, 2020. Barcelona: Heritage for Peace/ANSCH. https://ansch.heritageforpeace.org/guidelines/

Curating the war: Kyiv's museum exhibits objects left by Russian soldiers. The Guardian, 22 April 2023. M. Koutsou. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/apr/22/curating-the-war-kyiv-ukraine-museum-exhibits-objects-left-by-russian-soldiers

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14   *The Palmyrene Voices project, established by Heritage for Peace, seeks to support the Palmyrene people, including those in the diaspora, in preserving their tangible and intangible heritage. https://palmyrenevoices.org/our-project/*

15   *Preamble.*

16   *Preamble.*

17   *International Sites of Conscience: About Us. https://www.sitesofconscience.org/about-us/about-us-2/*

18   *Teijgeler et al. 2020*

19   *See for example Ashmor 2014.*

20   *Koutsou 2023.*

Chapter 3 Heritage, Risk, and Crisis

Addressing and coping with risk has a long history that goes back to ancient times, although the concept was not given any serious study until after World War II, and the first academic books on the subject were not published until the 1960s[21]. However, much of the international law, particularly international humanitarian law, created after World War II was founded on the idea of mitigating risk (developing older laws and concepts). The Geneva Conventions (1949) sought to limit the effects of war on civilians by, for example, demarcating protected areas where they would be safe and conflict should not take place (Geneva Convention IV, Article 15, 1949). Shortly after, a body of international heritage law[22] began to develop which was determined to protect heritage in crisis, and in peace. The Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954), for example, attempts to place limitations on the conduct of war to protect heritage, but also obligates States Parties to minimise the risks to heritage by putting safeguarding measures in place in peace. Similarly[23], the World Heritage Convention (1972) requires States Parties to *"ensur[e] the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage" (Article 4); and "Each State Party to this Convention undertakes not to take any deliberate measures which might damage directly or indirectly the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 situated on the territory of other States Parties to this Convention" (Article 6(3)). Most, if not all countries of the world, also have national legislation defining and protecting their cultural heritage, alongside the international legislation.*

While national and international laws have long focused on mitigating risks to cultural heritage, the climate crisis introduces a new, rapidly escalating, human-induced threat with far-reaching consequences for both people and their cultural heritage. The global climate crisis is an extraordinary example of natural hazard leading to a crisis: almost 30 years ago, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) warned of a rapid increase in temperature causing extreme weather changes all over the globe[24]. They also stated that *"there is new and stronger evidence that most of the warming observed over the last 50 years is attributable to human activities".*[25] This crisis causes more stress on the already vulnerable lives of people and their cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. In some ways it deviates from other natural hazards as it is a clearly human-induced natural hazard, and develops much faster compared to other crisis domains. It is a true global crisis which compels all nation states to cooperate to decrease the climate transformation. But it is also a crisis which can directly be influenced by adjusting our human behaviour. Global warming, a critical part of climate change, is caused by increased concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, mainly as a result of human activities such as burning fossil fuels, deforestation and agriculture. In recent years, the effects have become more visible every day: we see considerable growth in the number and intensity of droughts, wildfires, rainfall, floods, landslides, erosion of coastal areas, amongst other manifestations of a changing climate. This paper does not map all the risks to cultural heritage, as stated it will focus on three broad types.[26]

The UNESCO World Heritage Centre started to assess the impact of climate change on World Heritage almost 20 years ago[27], and today the consequences of climate change for heritage are a common subject of discussion and research. Concerns about climate change have become part of the official heritage discourse, and are acknowledged as a major crisis by world heritage organizations that integrate the crisis into their heritage management programs. Still, as will be shown, the deeper dynamic and critical intersections in the climate change-cultural heritage nexus are falling behind. Research into conflict impacts, another major risk to heritage, are likewise falling behind.

Disaster, Risks, and Threats

Our understanding of what a disaster is has evolved over time. Although some still use the term to include any major event that has a significant negative impact, in the modern language of disaster risk reduction (DRR), an event is only a disaster if it impacts people. Furthermore, the introduction of the concept of vulnerability into the field of disaster studies changed the view that disaster is an event caused by an external agent (for example, a flood, a fire) into a more sociologically oriented interpretation of disaster as a complex social and cultural event.

Although there are differences between the terms catastrophe, disaster, crisis, and emergency, they are closely interconnected, interdependent, and overlap significantly. Mainstream literature often uses them interchangeably. In very general terms:[28]

· Emergency - a serious, unexpected, and often dangerous situation requiring immediate action

· Crisis - a time of intense difficulty or danger. Not all major events are labelled a catastrophe, and not all publicly declared catastrophes are major crisis events, as there are no objective criteria to determine what a crisis is or is not. However, this paper takes the stance that crises are social phenomena that develop in

EMERGENCY — A SERIOUS, UNEXPECTED, AND OFTEN DANGEROUS SITUATION REQUIRING IMMEDIATE ACTION

CRISIS — A TIME OF INTENSE DIFFICULTY OR DANGER
*NOT ALL MAJOR EVENTS ARE LABELLED A CATASTROPHE, AND NOT ALL PUBLICLY DECLARED CATASTROPHES ARE MAJOR CRISIS EVENTS, AS THERE ARE NO OBJECTIVE CRITERIA TO DETERMINE WHAT A CRISIS IS OR IS NOT. HOWEVER, THIS PAPER TAKES THE STANCE THAT CRISES ARE SOCIAL PHENOMENA THAT DEVELOP IN DIFFERENT WAYS DEPENDING ON THE PECULIARITIES OF THE DISASTER.

DISASTER — A SUDDEN ACCIDENT OR A NATURAL CATASTROPHE THAT CAUSES GREAT DAMAGE OR LOSS OF LIFE
*DISASTERS ARE INCREASINGLY WELL STUDIED, AND DISASTER PLANNING AND RESPONSE IS TODAY SITUATED WITHIN THE UN SYSTEM
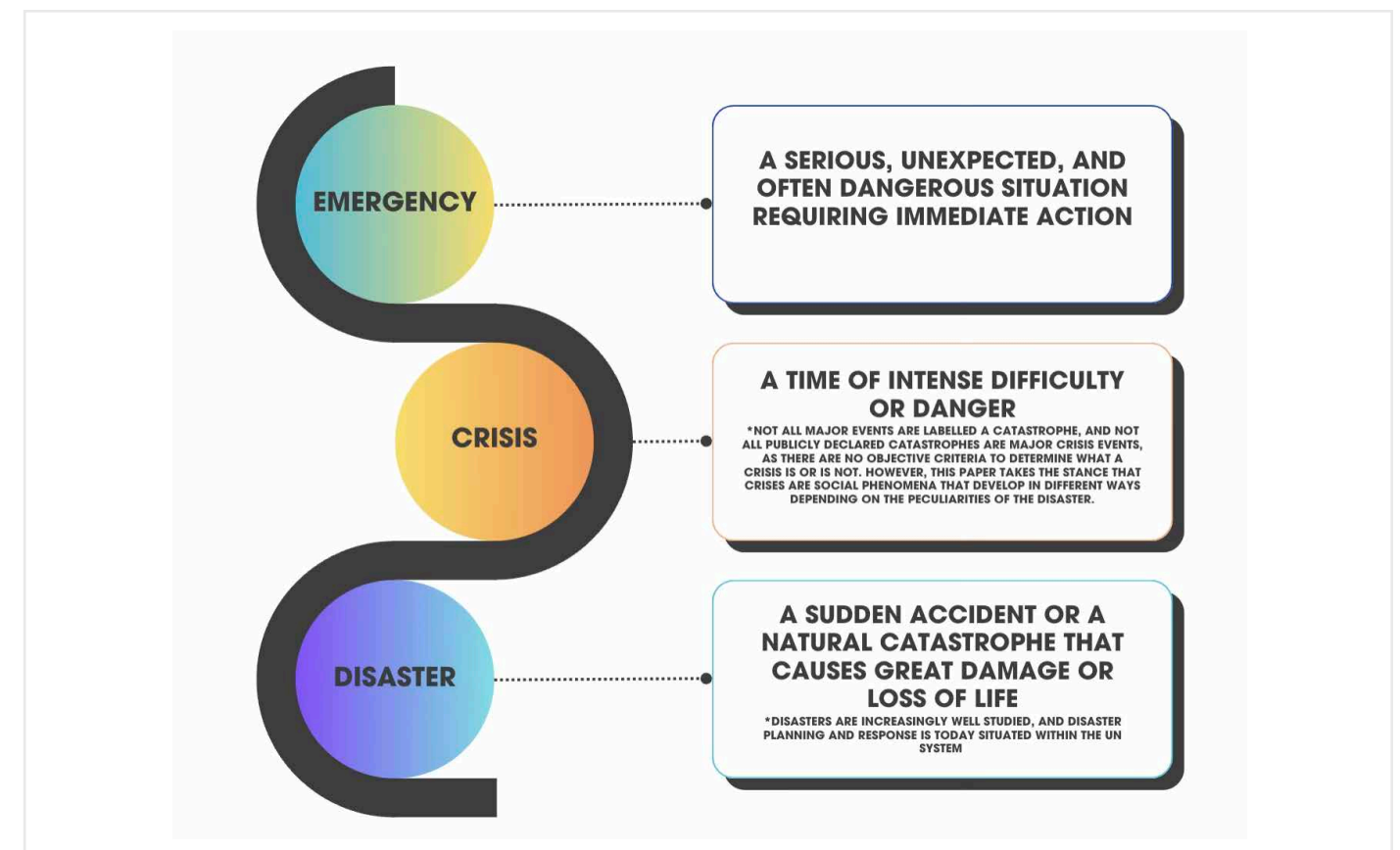
Figure 3.1: Understanding the Terminologies: Disaster, Crisis and Emergency

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21   Teijgeler 2006
22   The most relevant conventions in safeguarding and protecting cultural heritage are: the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) and its First (1954) and Second (1999) Protocols; UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970); Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972); the Additional Protocols (I, II) (1977) to the Geneva Conventions (1949); the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003).
23   Sabucco 2022.
24   The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was created by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in 1988. Their first assessment report appeared in 1990. https://www.ipcc.ch/
25   IPCC 2001
26   For more on risks, however, see ARCH 2020.

27   World Heritage Convention 2006
28   Al-Dahash, Thayaparan & Udayangani 2016.

different ways depending on the peculiarities of the disaster.

· Disaster - a sudden accident or a natural catastrophe that causes great damage or loss of life. Disasters are increasingly well studied, and disaster planning and response is today situated within the UN system.

A disaster is not an abnormality or a deviation from the linear path of development. The cyclical nature of disasters means that actions taken at a certain stage of the cycle will have consequences for other present and future actions just like repeating risk analysis in other stages of the cycle. That is why it is not always helpful to divide a crisis into pre-, during, and post-disaster: these phases can overlap, or be interchangeable. It was not so long ago that heritage interventions in conflict situations would only take place in what the heritage field considered to be considered a post-conflict situation: that is, when (most of) the fighting was over and safety for heritage staff was more or less guaranteed. Later, the heritage sector realized that they could also set up programs during a conflict when fighting was still continuing, though projects are usually carried out by local staff and supervised from abroad. As few foreign heritage experts were willing or able to work in situ, training is often delivered either virtually or in the nearest town abroad. However, violent conflicts that seem to be over can intensify or restart in a different part of the country, or a civil war can change into an international conflict. Even in "peace", there can be outbreaks of violence and civil unrest. In short, a conflict does not have a clear endpoint until peace has proven to be sustainable.[29]

Disasters (whether from natural causes or conflict), and humanitarian crises need to be seen in a continuum: they do not have a linear development where one follows the next. Yemen, for example, is an extremely complex, multi-layered crisis. War began in 2014, in 2020 (and after) it suffered from the COVID-19 pandemic, and had to deal with other crises as well. During the pandemic, major flooding struck Aden in April 2020 and again in 2021, bringing with it tropical diseases.

The floods caused outbreaks of mosquito-borne malaria, dengue, and the chikungunya virus. The following cholera epidemic is the largest in modern history: 2.5 million Yemenis were infected by summer 2024, with some 4,000 deaths.[30] This complex crisis led to difficult choices for young people. As one Houthi activist stated in the media, it is better to die a martyr in heroic battles than to die at home from the coronavirus, and being at a battlefront is safer than being at risk in crowded towns[31]. Despite this, while hostility between the two warring sides remains low, political violence surged in May and June 2024. New waves of violations took place last year, including arbitrarily detaining and forcibly disappearing dozens of staff of United Nations agencies and civil society organizations. One side also began attacking ships in the Red Sea in November 2023 and firing rockets toward and into Israel, who responded with two major attacks on Hodeidah port, a major entry point for humanitarian aid, compounding the already complex situation[32]. As a result of these crises, the ICRC reported that in 2023, more than 70% of the population were reliant on humanitarian aid to survive, forming one of the world's worst humanitarian crises.[33]

For our purposes, disasters - regardless of whether heritage is affected - exist within a wider intentional framework (although the heritage community is often unaware of it). The United Nations has a specific Office for Disaster Risk Reduction which works globally towards the prevention of new, and the reduction of existing, disaster risk, convening partners and coordinating activities to create safer, more resilient communities[34]. This paper uses their framework of terminology and definitions.

29   Cunliffe 2017.

30   IOM 2024

31   Teijgeler et al. 2020

32   Human Rights Watch 2024

33   ICRC N.D.

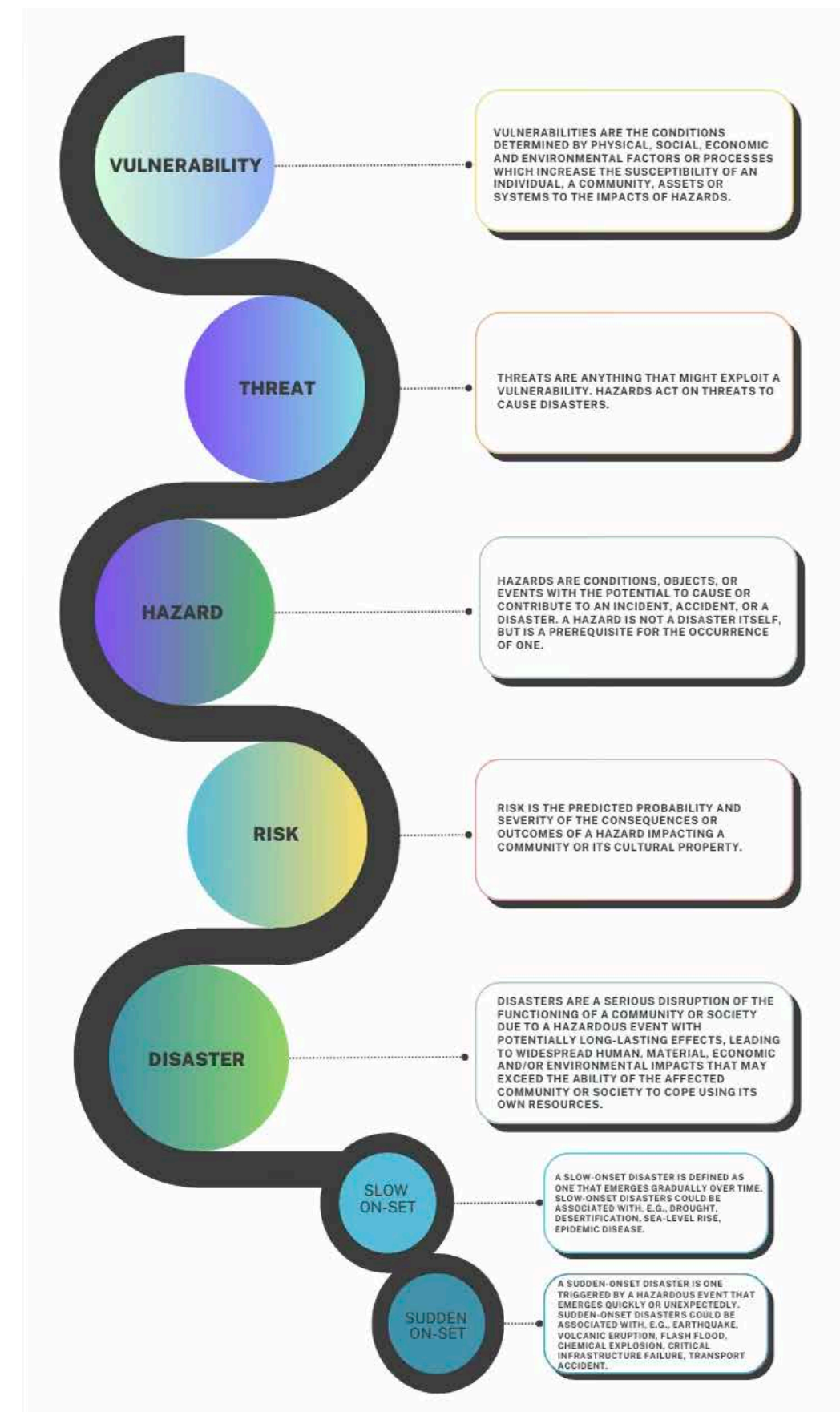34   UNDRR. United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction https://www.undrr.org/.

Figure 3.2: UN Disaster Risk Reduction Terminology.

Disaster: a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or society due to a hazardous event with potentially long-lasting effects, leading to widespread human, material, economic and/or environmental impacts that may exceed the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources. They can be caused by natural hazards, but can also be the result of a human-made emergency (such as conflict).

· A slow-onset disaster is defined as one that emerges gradually over time. Slow-onset disasters could be associated with, e.g., drought, desertification, sea-level rise, epidemic disease.

· A sudden-onset disaster is one triggered by a hazardous event that emerges quickly or unexpectedly. Sudden-onset disasters could be associated with, e.g., earthquake, volcanic eruption, flash flood, chemical explosion, critical infrastructure failure, transport accident.

Risk is the predicted probability and severity of the consequences or outcomes of a hazard impacting a community or its cultural property.

A **hazard** is a condition, object, or event with the potential to cause or contribute to an incident, accident, or a disaster. A hazard is not a disaster itself, but is a prerequisite for the occurrence of one.

Vulnerabilities are the conditions determined by physical, social, economic and environmental factors or processes which increase the susceptibility of an individual, a community, assets or systems to the impacts of hazards.

Vulnerability is inherently hazard-specific, but it is also dependent on underlying causes that are rooted in socio-economic and political dynamics. In academic research, it denotes the susceptibility of exposed entities - such as human beings, their livelihoods, and assets - to endure adverse consequences when confronted with hazard events[35]. This understanding encompasses elements of physical exposure, alongside the broader socio-cultural, environmental, political, and economic contexts that shape and exacerbate vulnerabilities.

Threats are anything that might exploit a vulnerability. Hazards act on threats to cause disasters

Disaster Risk Reduction

UNDRR oversees the implementation of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, a major international agreement which aims for

"The substantial reduction of disaster risk and losses in lives, livelihoods and health and in the economic, physical, social, cultural and environmental assets of persons, businesses, communities and countries. It recognizes that the State has the primary role to reduce disaster risk but that responsibility should be shared with other stakeholders including local government, the private sector and other stakeholders".[36]

This is perhaps the most important standard setting instrument for all forms of disaster, defining terminology and setting concrete actions states should take.

Disaster risk management[37] is the application of **disaster risk reduction[38]** policies and strategies to prevent new disaster risk, reduce existing disaster risk and manage residual risk, contributing to the strengthening of resilience and reduction of disaster losses, whilst disaster risk reduction is aimed at preventing new and reducing existing disaster risk and managing residual risk, all of which contribute to strengthening resilience and therefore to the achievement of sustainable development.

Generally speaking, there are 4 stages to the disaster risk management cycle (figure 3.3).

1. Mitigation: Review of ways to eliminate or reduce the impact of future emergencies and implement appropriate measures
2. Preparedness: the activities undertaken in advance of an emergency, including developing operation capabilities, training, preparing plans, and improving public information and communications systems

3. Response: the actions taken to save lives and protect property during an emergency event.
4. Recovery: Recovery efforts begin at the onset of an emergency. Recovery is both a short-term activity intended to restore vital life - support systems, and a long-term activity designed to return infrastructure systems to pre- disaster conditions.

These efforts all feed into each other. For example, mitigation involves reviewing response and recovery efforts from previous crises to learn lessons and improve future response and recovery.

Figure 3.3: The Disaster Management Cycle

However, the UNDRR goes on to define risk management in several ways.[39]

"Disaster risk management actions can be distinguished between prospective disaster risk management, corrective disaster risk management and compensatory disaster risk management, also called residual risk management."

Prospective disaster risk management activities address and seek to avoid the development of new or increased disaster risks. They focus on addressing disaster risks that may develop in future if disaster risk reduction policies are not put in place. Examples are better land-use planning or disaster-resistant water supply systems.

Corrective disaster risk management activities address and seek to remove or reduce disaster risks which are already present and which need to be managed and reduced now. Examples are the retrofitting of critical infrastructure or the relocation of exposed populations or assets.

Compensatory disaster risk management activities strengthen the social and economic resilience of

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35   Cardona et al. 2012, p.69

36   UNDRR What is the Sendai Framework? https://www.undrr.org/implementing-sendai-framework/what-sendai-framework.

37   UNDRR. Terminology: Disaster Risk Management https://www.undrr.org/terminology/disaster-risk-management.

38   UNDRR. Terminology: Disaster Risk Management https://www.undrr.org/terminology/disaster-risk-management.

39   UNDRR. Terminology: Disaster Risk Reduction https://www.undrr.org/terminology/disaster-risk-reduction.

individuals and societies in the face of residual risk that cannot be effectively reduced. They include preparedness, response and recovery activities, but also a mix of different financing instruments, such as national contingency funds, contingent credit, insurance and reinsurance and social safety nets.

■ **Community-based disaster risk management** promotes the involvement of potentially affected communities in disaster risk management at the local level. This includes community assessments of hazards, vulnerabilities and capacities, and their involvement in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of local action for disaster risk reduction.

■ **Local and indigenous peoples' approach to disaster risk management** is the recognition and use of traditional, indigenous and local knowledge and practices to complement scientific knowledge in disaster risk assessments and for the planning and implementation of local disaster risk management.

Cultural heritage has a significant role to play in these broader conceptions of disaster risk management.

Communities should play a vital role in disaster risk reduction: it is those who are most affected who should have the killed nearly 9,000 people, 22,000 were injured in the quake and its major aftershocks, and hundreds of thousands of people lost their homes to landslide and collapse. Yet, after people had been saved from the rubble, the next priority for many Nepalese was to return to the damaged areas and save their gods from the wreckage of the temples[40]. In addition, local knowledge can also offer significant contributions to crisis mitigation. However, the importance and role of heritage in DRR has been neglected at international and national levels.

Risk and Heritage

Disaster risk management did not make serious headway in the heritage sector at the institutional level until the mid-1990s[41]. In the next decade, several serious catastrophic natural hazards affected cultural sites, including[42] the tsunami in Asia in 2004, Hurricane Katrina hurricane in New Orleans in 2005 (figures 3.4, 3.5), and

Figure 3.4: Devastation caused by Hurricane Katrina 2005. © Commander Mark Moran, of the NOAA Aviation Weather Centre, and Lt. Phil Eastman and Lt. Dave Demers, of the NOAA Aircraft Operations Centre. Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

40   Yates and Mackenzie 2018.
41   Cunliffe 2023; Teijgeler 2006.
42   Teijgeler 2006.

the earthquake in northern Pakistan just before the severe winter of 2005/2006. There was a horrifying loss of human lives, and at the same time, entire regions were left devoid of libraries, archives and museums, causing heritage professionals to view natural hazards as high frequency risks.

Figure 2.5: Hurricane Katrina as seen from space. © Jeff Schmaltz, MODIS Rapid Response Team, NASA/GSFC, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Cultural heritage is not only exposed to risks before a catastrophe occurs but continues to be at risk during the

disaster and post-disaster recovery and reconstruction phases. That is why risk analysis itself is not a single exercise but changes as disaster develops, meaning that action plans are adapted to changing risks. Today, classical approaches to risk management have involved quantifying risk in terms of loss to the heritage asset. This remains the basis of many risk management plans at institutional level across the world. Managing risks is more challenging than ever before since the number of disasters, and their scale and complexity, are on the rise - as is the amount of heritage to be protected.

The 'Heritage at Risk' framework is a perspective that focuses on assigning or refuting 'at risk' status to tangible and intangible heritage alike[43]. It has progressively gained significance in heritage studies and practices[44]. Though the application of the 'heritage at risk' framework has its successes in creating additional attention for sites considered to be most at risk, it is necessary to acknowledge the issues attached to it. Firstly, the heritage industry fares well with, and at times even promotes, the 'Heritage at Risk' framework through catastrophisation, the political act to label a calamitous event as a crisis, and therefore needing response. In doing so heritage professionals act as saviours and earn money at the same time[45]. It has been widely noted that some crises - by this process - are given (and in turn receive) far more attention than others. In fact, as our disaster consciousness increases, there is also a manifest tendency towards expanding the range of events that can be characterised as a disaster. These days, disasters may result in modest levels of harm, and may perhaps be relatively straightforward tasks for the emergency services, and yet still are called 'disasters'. [46]

Another issue is the lack of consultation by experts with those who are directly affected by crises. As noted, experts often fail to consult others when determining what is heritage and what should be protected in peace: this is even more the case during crises. Outside experts will often pre-determine which sites or museums they

43   See for example: the UNESCO List of World Heritage in Danger at https://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/ The World Monuments Fund release a bi-annual "Watch" list of threatened sites to galvanise attention and action: https://www.wmf.org/watch European civil society group, Europa Nostra, release an annual list of what they consider to be the 7 most threatened sites in Europe https://www.europanostra.org/our-work/campaigns/7-most-endangered/
44   Beck 2009.
45   Warner 2013.
46   Furedi 2007.

wish to assist, and offer that plan. For those in crisis, any assistance may be welcome, and so their priorities are subsumed or lost to the external programme. These issues occur throughout the disaster cycle, and must be continually assessed. This is especially true for the response and reconstruction phase. In reconstruction, in the rush to rebuild, many wrong decisions have been taken by heritage professionals. One of the causes is the lack of involving local stakeholders in reconstruction. To assess vulnerability, it is necessary to include not only the traditional assessments of the vulnerabilities of the heritage itself, but to identify the heritage and its vulnerabilities within the communities who create or own it. Assessing vulnerability in partnership with host communities also shows the underprivileged that they are heard and strengthens their confidence in their ability to reduce disaster risks and vulnerability, which applies no less to their heritage.

Heritage and Risk Today

Today, heritage risk management lacks a proper integrated approach in crises. It is not fully employed within the different phases of an emergency conceptually, and even less so in practice, even in countries with well-developed emergency response systems. A 2015 study of the UK, for example found that

> *"The cultural heritage sector, while advancing in terms of planning, through, for example, the accreditation schemes for museums, galleries and archives, and through the development of local and regional networks in response to events, is, however, not well integrated in the wider emergency planning structures of the UK".[47]*

The management and response to risks are often seen as exclusively expert-led. Experts are traditionally viewed as objective, while non-experts are often depicted as relying on subjective, hypothetical, emotional, imprudent, and irrational perceptions of risk. However, views on what constitutes 'risk' are shaped by social and cultural dynamics: risk is ultimately a social phenomenon. Additionally, experts themselves are people - they, too, can be subjective and emotionally influenced in their assessments. Even the most competent people, with the best technical expertise, may find it hard to navigate unresolved social, cultural, and political value conflicts of which they are an integral part. If expert and local opinions clash it is because they hold sets of differently informed opinions: conflicts between expert and local viewpoints often stem from fundamentally different information bases. A reliance solely on expert-driven conceptualizations of risk might overlook the context the risk originates in, neglecting valuable local knowledge systems. Consequently, effective risk analysis requires a methodological approach that integrates both qualitative insights and quantitative data: it should be multivocal and holistic.

Heritage and risk alike are now considered social phenomena by scholars and practitioners, which means that local views on risk are at least as relevant as expert views. There are no objective criteria to determine what is a crisis and what is not. Local voices experiencing disasters hold dissimilar views to experts, but experts lead on decisions about what a disaster is, what the risks are, and what heritage should be prioritised.

New views on heritage have also had consequences for the concept of risk. Risk management is no longer only about 'stones', but also about people and what they value. Heritage is a process and is subject to unavoidable changes and transformations over time. Traditional risk analysis hardly meets these new interpretations. Managing heritage risk today is a complex process. It must take into account national and local conceptions of heritage, many of which may be unmapped, or even entirely unknown to those wishing to provide support. Multiple voices within communities should be consulted, not just the loudest or most powerful.

Further Reading

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47   *Macalister 2015, p.115.*

Chapter 4 Peace, Conflict, and Crisis

This paper explores the crises-cultural heritage nexus through three types of crises. The first, disaster (and specifically disasters caused by natural forces) is relatively commonly understood and the majority of DRR frameworks relate to it. Conflict, and its relationship to peace, is the second type of crisis used to frame this paper. Although peace is often considered to be the opposite of conflict, or the state in which no conflict exists, the definition of peace, and the relationship between peace and conflict, is much more complex. Peace is also impacted by crises. The loss of heritage during a crisis can thus have a significant impact on peace. As such, it is worth reviewing understandings of peace and conflict, and their impacts on heritage in crisis.

Defining Conflict and Risk

Armed conflict is complicated to define: the ICRC has a 30-page opinion paper entirely devoted to this topic!

[48]The definition is important for them as many obligations of international humanitarian law (IHL), the framework of law governing armed conflict, only apply during such situations, and do not apply during, e.g. prolonged civil unrest. In applying IHL, the law distinguishes between international armed conflict (IAC) and Non-International Armed Conflict (NIAC).

Common Article 2 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 states that:

„In addition to the provisions which shall be implemented in peacetime, the present Convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them. The Convention shall also apply to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a High Contracting Party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance".

Figure 4.1: The Kölner Dom (Cologne Cathedral) in Koeln stands seemingly undamaged (although having been directly hit several times and damaged severely) while entire area surrounding it is completely devastated. The central railway station and Hohenzollern Bridge lie damaged to the north and east of the cathedral. Germany, 24 April 1945. © U.S. Department of Defense. Department of the Army. Office of the Chief Signal Officer. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

An IAC therefore occurs when one or more States have recourse to armed force against another State, regardless of the reasons or the intensity of this confrontation. Additional Protocol I extends the definition of IAC to include armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination, alien occupation or racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination (wars of national liberation).

In order to distinguish an armed conflict from less serious forms of violence, such as internal disturbances and tensions, riots, or acts of banditry, the situation must reach a certain threshold of confrontation. Two criteria are usually used:

· hostilities must reach a minimum level of intensity. This may be the case, for example, when the hostilities are of a collective character or when the government is obliged to use military force against the insurgents, instead of mere police forces.

· Non-governmental groups involved in the conflict must be considered as „parties to the conflict", meaning that they possess organized armed forces. This means for example that these forces have to be under a certain command structure and have the capacity to sustain military operations.

Additional Protocol II (1977) further adds that NIAC should

"take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol".
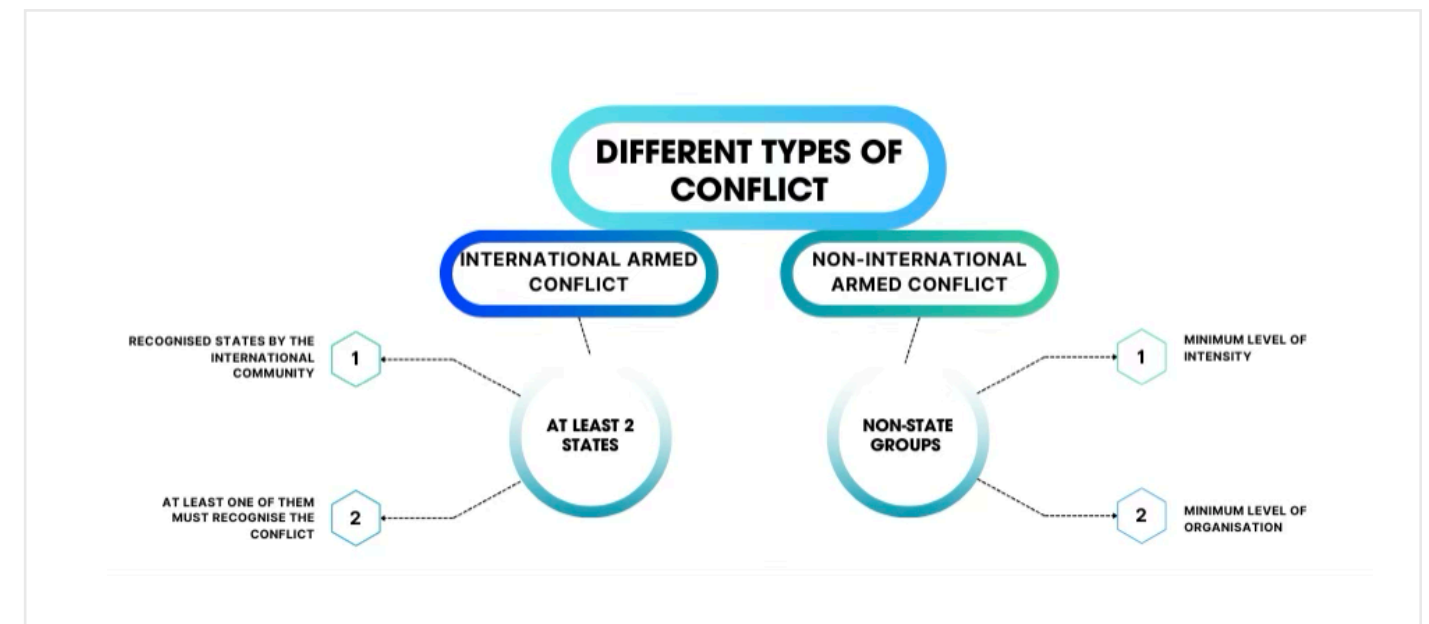
Figure 4.2: Types of conflict

However, it is not always necessary to define conflict according to the application of IHL, although it is probably the most commonly used definition. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) offers a quantitative definition of state-based armed conflict as

"A contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year," whilst a war is "a state-based conflict or dyad which reaches at least 1000 battle-related deaths in a specific calendar year." [49]

It is important to understand that there are many ways to define conflict, and to understand which definition is

48   ICRC 2024.

49   Uppsala Conflict Data Program https://pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#tocjump_4344782528784751_9

being used and why. Without this, it is not possible to compare different conflicts, and assess need based on severity, as it may not be a like-for-like comparison. For the purpose of this paper, however, a strict definition of conflict is not needed. When viewed in a risk management framework, conflict is a type of hazardous event with specific characteristics that have certain impacts on cultural heritage. It is distinguished as a specific type of crisis, alongside disasters caused by natural elements (fires, floods, climate change); and humanitarian crises (defined in the next chapter).

Conflict, Hazards, and Risk

Armed conflict is a particular type of hazardous event, which occurs when people perceive that they have different and incompatible objectives -- and which is almost always a disaster for the communities affected. It is not a single event, and the risks (to people and their livelihoods, property, and cultural heritage) occur and reoccur in peaks and troughs, depending on the conflict activity. It may occur over a wide geographic scale and continue over a long period. To impacted communities, conflict can act as a significant multiplier to the disruption experienced when compared to other types of hazard. It is typically characterised by:

· Extensive violence, loss of life, and widespread damage to societies and economies;
· Displacements of populations (including heritage staff);
· Movement constraints which may be ongoing and long-term (including on emergency responders);
· Political and military constraints which impact humanitarian assistance;
· Increased security risks for health staff, humanitarian relief workers – and cultural staff;
· Increased security risks for communities and their way of life, which may be deliberately targeted;
· The relevance of the motivation of all those causing the harm.

Although the specific impacts of the conflict are unpre-

dictable in any given area, the outbreak of conflict and some patterns and impacts may be predictable, offering opportunities to prepare and mitigate and manage the risk.

Today, it is generally understood by the major heritage actors and funders that if a violent conflict breaks out, a conflict analysis should take place before any heritage intervention.[50] Violent conflicts are not mono-causal and have to be understood in their own contexts and histories. What events preceded the conflict? What are the dynamics? Who are the main players? What are the different narratives? How does it play out locally? What are the supra-local imperatives, and so forth…. Through the specifics of a violent conflict the program planner gains insight into the nuances of the conflict. As any project will have an impact on its surroundings, a conflict-sensitive approach gives direction to heritage intervention before beginning with recovery, rehabilitation and preservation. After all, the aim of any heritage intervention is to have a positive impact on the context in which the project will be realized. The Do-No-Harm approach (also called conflict-sensitive approach) is part of a larger conflict analysis, leading to a clearer understanding of the risks that exacerbate conflict and the opportunities to contribute to positive change, and how project implementation strengthens the local stakeholders to address the causes of the conflict rather than deepen the conflict[51]. This way, heritage project planners get an idea of which groups are the dividers, and which are the connectors, which warring parties can not be reached, and which ones are ready to talk and enter into a dialogue -- an absolute must for conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Conflict-sensitive programming is therefore a vital tool and skill for heritage professionals, though it is regrettably often overlooked.[52]

Defining Peace

Conflict is not just the absence of peace. Peace is a complex and multifaceted concept that extends far be-

Figure 4.3: Positive and Negative Peace

yond the mere absence of violence or conflict.[53] It encompasses both negative peace and positive peace, two interconnected but distinct dimensions. Negative peace refers to the absence of violence or war, while positive peace involves the presence of social justice, equality, and conditions that reduce the likelihood of violent conflict. Peace manifests in various forms: at the societal level, peace is characterised by conditions that foster mutual understanding, cooperation, and collective flourishing. Culture is a key element of positive peace, and one that is under significant threat during a crisis.

Furthermore, peace is not a static state but a dynamic process: it requires ongoing efforts to build and sustain. It involves addressing underlying tensions, unresolved grievances, and structural inequalities that can perpetuate cycles of violence and instability. By tackling root causes and promoting systemic change, societies can move towards a more enduring and inclusive peace. True peace cannot exist in a society marked by inequality, oppression, or discrimination. Peace is therefore also the presence of conditions that empower individuals to exercise their capabilities and participate fully in society. Economic development and social stability are viewed as essential components of this process, as they contribute to the creation of more equitable and just societies. Peace therefore requires the presence of

conditions that ensure fairness, equality, and dignity for all members of society.

Barnett proposed a comprehensive definition of peace as *„the equitable distribution of economic opportunities, political freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security, and freedom from direct violence.“*[54] This definition emphasises the interconnectedness of various factors that contribute to peace, including economic justice, political participation, social inclusion, transparency, and security.

By considering peace in terms of the equitable distribution of resources, opportunities, and freedoms, it moves beyond the absence of violence to encompass broader dimensions of social justice and well-being. It recognizes that true peace requires addressing underlying inequalities and injustices that can fuel conflict and instability.

Heritage, Conflict, and Peace

Heritage, both tangible and intangible, has clear links to conflict, and there are increasing calls to recognise the roles it can play in peace and peacebuilding. By viewing armed conflict as a risk, it is possible to place it into risk management and DRR frameworks, and to begin to

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50   See step one of the ICCROM PATH toolkit (Tandon, Harrowell, and Selter 2021).
51   Anderson 1999.
52   Tandon, Harrowell, and Selter 2021.

53   Breen 2023.
54   Barnett 2008.

develop approaches to mitigating the impacts. Conflict, unlike disasters, may continue for many years, and the intensity and human cost is surging. According to the Armed Conflict Survey 2024, fatalities from violent events rose by 37% year-on-year during the reporting period (1 July 2023–30 June 2024), reaching nearly 200,000 globally. Additionally, the overall ratio of fatalities per event increased by approximately 17%, underscoring the growing intensity and lethality of armed violence.[55]

The impact on heritage is likewise increasingly costly. The deaths and mass displacement of populations decimates intangible cultural heritage, whilst the increasing violence has a catastrophic effect on tangible sites. Yet as in other sectors, heritage is largely viewed as a matter for the heritage sector, and excluded from wider planning. Most heritage sites will never be reconstructed: the costs of careful heritage reconstruction, compa-

red to the rapid requirements of construction of shelter, are considerable. For example, following the fighting between Iraqi Security Forces and their allies, and the terrorist group, the "Islamic State" (also called IS, ISIS, and Daesh) in 2016-2017, the city of Mosul, especially the old historic town, was about 65 per cent destroyed. Over 138,000 houses were damaged or destroyed, including 53,000 in West Mosul alone. The buildings and laboratories of the University of Mosul were 70 per cent destroyed and the main library, which contained 3 million books, was burnt. Total damage to the housing sector alone was estimated to amount to around US $6 billion.[56] UNESCO, with 15 partners, mobilised US$115 million to rehabilitate 124 historical homes, rebuild 4 emblematic religious monuments, renovate 404 classrooms, creating more than 7,700 local jobs in Mosul (work completed January 2025).[57] $50.4 million of this was put to rebuild the Al-Nuri Mosque, destroyed by

[55]   IISS 2024.

Figure 4.4: Views around the ruins of Al-Nuri Mosque in Mosul summer of 2019, after its destruction by the Islamic State. © Levi Clancy, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons.

[56]   MRG 2020.
[57]   UNESCO 2025.

the Islamic State at the end of their occupation (figures 4.4, 4.5). The amount spent by UNESCO is between 5-10% of the reconstruction costs of the entire city.[58] It is unlikely that the general reconstruction costs include the specificities of heritage reconstruction, and due to the high costs involved, many will be irrecoverable.

Figure 4.5: Reconstruction of the al-Hadba Minaret at the al-Nuri Mosque, January 2024. © Ali.tinbo, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons

The return from conflict is not just the absence of fighting: true peace requires addressing the underlying problems that can fuel conflict and instability. Yet, as Dacia Viejo-Rose explores

> "States develop their policy towards cultural heritage on the basis of a value framework that informs decisions about what remains of the past are worth preserving… In the aftermath of such conflicts there is a rush to redefine the emerging state and its citizens… It raises many questions: should recons-

> truction occur along the fault lines created by the conflict? Is the aim to return the country to its pre-conflict appearance? Is reconstruction an opportunity to redraw the politics of space and delimit new boundaries of inclusion and exclusion? What narratives of shared past and group belonging will be favoured and with what consequences?"[59]

As will be explored further in future chapters, the role of heritage in peace is intricately tied to conflict.

Further Reading

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[58]   KFW. N.D.
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Chapter 5 Heritage and the Humanitarian System

The third type of crisis explored in this paper are humanitarian crises. Throughout history people have assisted their fellow human beings in need of food or material aid during famine, drought or natural hazards. Especially in wartime, help was organized often based on religious dictates like charity or zakat.[60] Acceptable conduct during war has been recorded in the ancient Greek, Romans and Chinese empires, and can be considered a forerunner to the twentieth century Geneva Conventions (1949). After the atrocities of nineteenth century wars like the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Battle of Solferino (1859), a widespread desire to stop war and strive for peace slowly but surely developed into an ethical anti-war movement and led to the foundation of the humanitarian system we see today.

Historically the main objective of humanitarian aid has been to meet basic needs as soon as possible during or after an emergency. Today, a humanitarian crisis is described as

> "a singular event or a series of events that are threatening in terms of health, safety or well-being of a community or large group of people"

that affect vulnerable populations who are unable to withstand the negative consequences by themselves.[61] They usually occur in or as part of a complex emergency: all major emergencies may involve or lead to a humanitarian crisis; they are major drivers of humanitarian need. The goal of humanitarian response is always to save lives and reduce human suffering through meeting the basic humanitarian needs. Since not all crises are

Figure 5.1: Henry Dunant at Solferino 1859. Unknown artist. © Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.
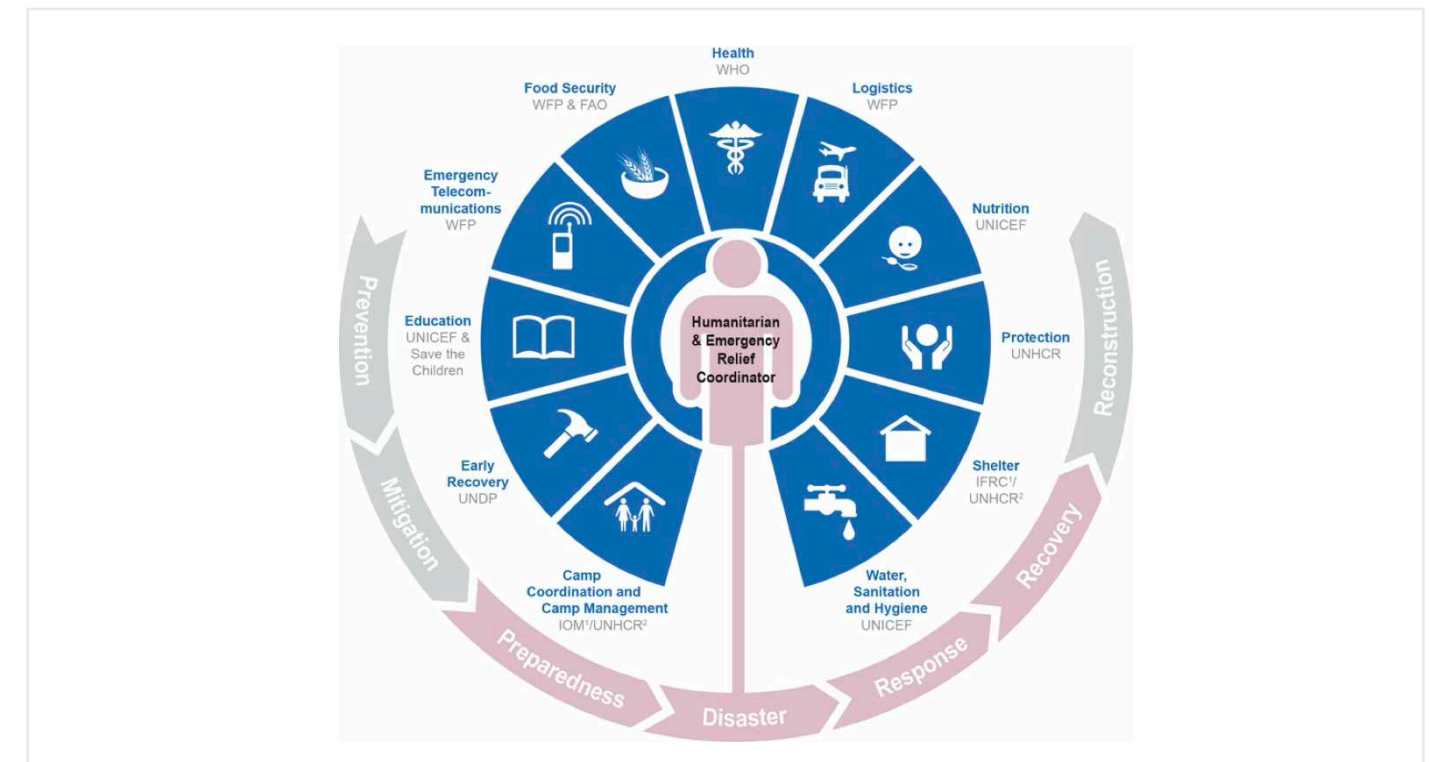

Figure 5.2: The cluster system. © UNOCHA (2020), Public Domain.

the same, the response varies accordingly. A drought response, for example, is not the same as a flood or cyclone response. However, the place of heritage in this response is contested.

Introducing the Humanitarian Sector

Henri Dunant witnessed the carnage of the Battle of Solferino in 1859 (figure 5.1) and decided there was a great need for a relief organization to attend to the many casualties. He founded the Red Cross in 1863 and a year later the organization received a formal mandate at the first Geneva Convention to provide neutral and impartial assistance to both military and civilian victims of war. The Treaty of Versailles, ending World War I, provided for a system of international aid. With the founding of the United Nations (1945) and a multitude of subsidiary organizations like UNICEF, WHO, UNHCR and UNESCO, a growing body of international humanitarian law developed. However, it was not until 1991 that the modern humanitarian ecosystem

was formalized at the UN General Assembly in Resolution 46/182, outlining the core principles of humanitarian action (humanity, impartiality and neutrality; and independence in Resolution 58/114, 2004), along with the legal and operational rules, and regulations of the humanitarian system. The humanitarian ecosystem further professionalized with the adoption of the Cluster System in 2005 (figure 5.2), which facilitates interagency coordination and the development of technical standards. It divides the humanitarian response areas into the thematic groups of Health; Logistics; Nutrition; Protection; Shelter; Water, Sanitation and Hygiene; Camp Coordination and Camp Management; Early Recovery; Education; Emergency Telecommunications; and Food Security. UNESCO, and thus the protection of heritage and heritage emergency aid, unfortunately is conspicuously absent. The clusters are led by one coordinating agency, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), and the cluster group participants can be both UN and non-UN.[62]

In 1997, the humanitarian sector came up with a voluntary Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards based on the practice of over 450 participating NGOs,

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including the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, to uphold principled quality and accountability. The Sphere Handbook, which elaborates these standards is now one of the most referenced resources in the humanitarian sector. The two core beliefs of the Sphere project are [63]

1) *"People affected by disaster or conflict have the right to life with dignity and, therefore, the right to assistance"* and
2) *"all possible steps should be taken to alleviate human suffering arising out of disaster or conflict."*

The minimum standards that are set for the different fields in humanitarian action are almost the same as the thematic groups in the UN Cluster system. The handbook also underpins the legal instruments relevant to the humanitarian sector.

The Humanitarian Sector Today

Damage from violent conflicts is increasing, as is the increase in natural hazards, often caused by climate change: the need for humanitarian action is growing, requiring more humanitarian interventions. Recent reports all indicate the need for humanitarian aid has grown tremendously between 2018-2023.[64] In 2021, two hundred and fifty million people were in need of humanitarian support due to the different crises. Appeal requirements in 2022 totalled US$52.4 billion, a 37% increase from 2021 - whilst the appeals funding shortfall grew to a record US$22.1 billion. The UN's humanitarian and emergency relief office reported in 2022 that cash assistance would be halved to 43% of the people they were serving. Requirements for 2023 were even higher. In 2022, IASC had to adjust their prediction of people in need of humanitarian aid to 274 million, compared to 235 million in 2021[65]. In particular, fragile states are increasingly affected by the rise of humanitarian emergencies and

their impacts on communities. They are confronted with mounting numbers of forced displacement, growing food insecurity, and extreme poverty and inequality.[66] The number of humanitarian NGOs has increased in accordance with growing humanitarian needs, which contributes to the fact that 'aid' has become a global industry. Yet, the humanitarian space is shrinking, the system is under financial and political pressure, and the profession is getting more dangerous by the day.[67]

Heritage and Humanitarianism

What constitutes humanitarian aid, and what constitutes a priority within that, has been under constant discussion since the concept first arose. Many feel that the concept of humanitarian aid has become a catchall for all kinds of aid, especially aid for longer term projects such as peacebuilding or sustainable development, which take place long after an initial emergency response. As a result, they seek to limit what is included under "humanitarian response". Yet, emergency aid – relief – is a forerunner of a wider response phase where relief cannot be considered without response. For example, dialogue, the beginning of reconciliation and an early phase of peacebuilding, can be included in relief projects. Additionally, there has recently been a call to include the humanitarian consequences of a nuclear attack into the humanitarian system. Seen in the light of the Russian threat to use small, tactical nuclear weapons in the Russo-Ukrainian war, that is hardly surprising.[68]

A pressing issue today is whether culture is a basic need or not. Since this millennium, the heritage sector has been trying to convince humanitarian colleagues to accept culture, including heritage protection and heritage aid, as a basic humanitarian need. However, so far they have gained little recognition. Many consider heritage destruction and relief as either an internatio-

Figure 5.3: A close-up view of the Zaatari camp in Jordan for Syrian refugees as seen on July 18, 2013© U.S. Department of State, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 5.4: Oxfam health workers in Dadaab prepare to distribute 7,000 jerry cans and bars of soap to newly arrived refugees who have walked for many days across the desert from Somalia. The Dadaab camps are severely overcrowded, and clean water is scarce. Without sanitised jerry cans to store the water, it can quickly become contaminated and risk spreading disease. The soap also helps to improve sanitation in the camp and reduces the risk of potentially fatal illnesses such as diarrhoea, especially among children. 2011. © Oxfam East Africa, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons

63   Sphere 2018, p.4.
64   Parker 2022.
65   OCHA 2021.
66   OECD 2020.
67   OCHA 2021.
68   Sanders-Zakre 2022

nal law issue or just a matter for international organizations-- such as UNESCO -- specialized in heritage protection. This sits in contrast to the crisis domains of violent conflict and natural disasters, where cooperation with the heritage crisis domain is more or less accepted. The heritage community aims to have culture and heritage accepted as one of the key areas of humanitarian assistance, with its own cluster in the UN humanitarian aid structure. It is becoming more widely understood that disasters have a negative impact on mental health, well-being and resilience of people and communities.
"Emotional instability, stress reactions, anxiety, trauma and other psychological symptoms are observed commonly after the disaster and other traumatic experiences. These psychological effects have a massive impact on the concerned individual and also on communities".[69]

One can understand that nobody in the overworked humanitarian sector is waiting for an additional task. There is a fear that vital resources will be diverted from humanitarian aid to heritage aid. However, this presumes a hierarchy within the list of basic needs (as proposed by Maslow in the Introduction). The premise that culture and heritage are subservient to supposedly more fundamental needs is still widely popular and brings us

to the very definition of heritage. Though many think of cultural heritage in terms of monuments, artefacts, and archaeological sites, heritage is about people and not simply physical constructions. It is above all about representations of people's identities and the construction of meanings of self, societies and communities. Humanitarian aid is also focused on people, a logical conclusion from the humanitarian imperative which is directed to provide assistance to crisis-affected people. Both humanitarian aid and heritage aid are thus people-oriented by nature and aimed at fulfilling their basic needs, whether cultural or material. Cultural needs of people should be valued no less than their material needs. Furthermore, cultural heritage can be an effective tool to improve mental health, well-being, and resilience - another good reason to integrate heritage emergency aid into the humanitarian system.

Culture is not a luxury or an obstacle to relief and response projects; on the contrary it is an important resource to response interventions. The Dutch NGO Cultural Emergency Response (CER) argues that culture is a basic need because their

> *"actions are closely tied up to the primary goals of humanitarian response in a crisis situation as they save lives (i.e. reinforcing damaged structures of*

> *cultural properties to avoid collapse), alleviate suffering (i.e. allowing local communities to continue their cultural practices) and maintain human dignity (i.e. empowering local actors to take ownership of their own recovery)."[70]*

To stress the vital role culture and heritage play in emergency aid, an adjective is needed in the notion "culture is a basic need"; that is, "culture is a basic human need".[71]

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https://www.spherestandards.org/

Cultural Emergency Response:
https://www.culturalemergency.org/

Figure 5.4: Refugee Settlement, 2024. © Asunta sura, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

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69   *Makwana 2019.*

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70   *Cultural Emergency Response: https://www.culturalemergency.org/*
71   *Frerks et al. 2011.*

Chapter 6 Predicting Crisis

Planning and preparedness are key parts of the DRR cycle. Conflict, natural hazards, and humanitarian crises do not suddenly appear (and nor do they abruptly end). Hence, societies have developed indicators to foretell a crisis. They fall into two broad kinds: Fragile Society Indices, which indicate (amongst other things) how well a society might cope with a crisis, and where the world's most vulnerable people are, and Early Warning Systems (EWSs). Ports Robbins describe an early warning system as

> "the set of capacities needed to generate and disseminate timely and meaningful warning information to enable individuals, communities and organizations threatened by a disaster to prepare and to act appropriately, and in sufficient time to reduce the possibility of harm or loss".

The UN Disaster Risk Reduction website describes it as

> "An integrated system of hazard monitoring, forecasting and prediction, disaster risk assessment, communication and preparedness activities systems and processes that enables individuals, communities, governments, businesses and others to take timely action to reduce disaster risks in advance of hazardous events"

built on the principle that it is people centred.

The systems that have been developed use sets of different indicators to forecast crises like conflict, natural hazards, and humanitarian emergencies: usually they focus on fragile societies (using general predictions of fragility), with other hazard specific indicators to identify where certain hazards have the greatest potential to become disasters. In most early warning systems 'disaster' is used instead of 'natural hazard' or just 'hazard', but it is important to remember the international understanding that a hazard event only becomes a disaster because of its impact. Understanding these indicators can offer important insight into where a crisis may occur, what its impacts might be, and how best to mitigate it.

Crisis and Fragile Societies

A crisis often occurs in fragile societies. Although there is no universally accepted definition of a fragile society, development organisations typically characterise them as:

■ **Fragile societies:** societies who live in fragile contexts - the world's most dangerous places, fraught with chronic instability, conflict, and violence, trapping large numbers of people in a cycle of desperation and poverty - or societies who live in so-called 'fragile states'.

■ **Fragile states:** typically characterised as being unable to fulfil essential functions required to meet the basic needs and expectations of its citizens. They are often depicted as unable to ensure basic security, uphold the rule of law and justice, or offer essential services and economic opportunities to their population.[72]

The concept of fragile societies covers the prelude to, the actual occurrence of, and the aftermath of a crisis. Fragility can lead to negative outcomes including violence, poverty, inequality, displacement, and environmental and political degradation, and in fragile states disaster may be more likely to occur, and - if it strikes - the consequences for communities can be much worse, and can be devastating for fragile societies. In the last decade the differences in levels of fragility have widened, which means that the global inequality has grown. The progress made to close the inequality gap has stalled (even before the COVID-19 pandemic).

State stability (or lack thereof) is a key indicator of fragility and is critically linked to conflict[73], but also to the capacity of enforcing law in peace. Efforts to calculate fragility remain predominantly quantitative, often overlooking the unique characteristics of each fragile society. The themes and indicators used in these calculations are typically based on Western standards, ethical imperatives, and geo-strategic considerations, which miss the local complexities and nuances of fragility.

Several other models have developed to try and capture the level of state fragility. The Fragile States Index Heat Map (based on a conflict assessment framework – known as "CAST") by the Fund for Peace measures fragility across 4 themes (cohesion, economic, political, social).[74]

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) measures fragility on a spectrum of intensity and expressed in different ways across economic, environmental, political and security and human capital themes.[75] The BTI Status Index "analyses and evaluates whether and how developing countries and countries in transition are steering social change toward democracy and a market economy" using 3 themes (political transformation, economic transformation and governance).[76] It studies the processes of transitioning to democracy and a market economy on an international scale, highlighting effective strategies for achieving peaceful change. Another statistical state stability model uses various indicators to categorise states into six levels:[77]
· Highly functional;
· Moderately Functional;
· Brittle;
· Impoverished;
· Struggling;
· Fragile.

Over an 11-year assessment period, "Fragile" states experienced fatal armed conflict of at least twice the integrated intensity and duration of conflict in "Struggling" and "Brittle" states, and even more so compared to other state types. This is exacerbated by their inability to respond effectively, usually increasing the length of the conflict. This model is beneficial in determining the likelihood of conflict and governance issues that may compound risk, but it lacks an ethnic or an ideological dimension: how these issues may contribute to conflict within a state is not considered. Although there have been many calls to generate a predictive model inclu-
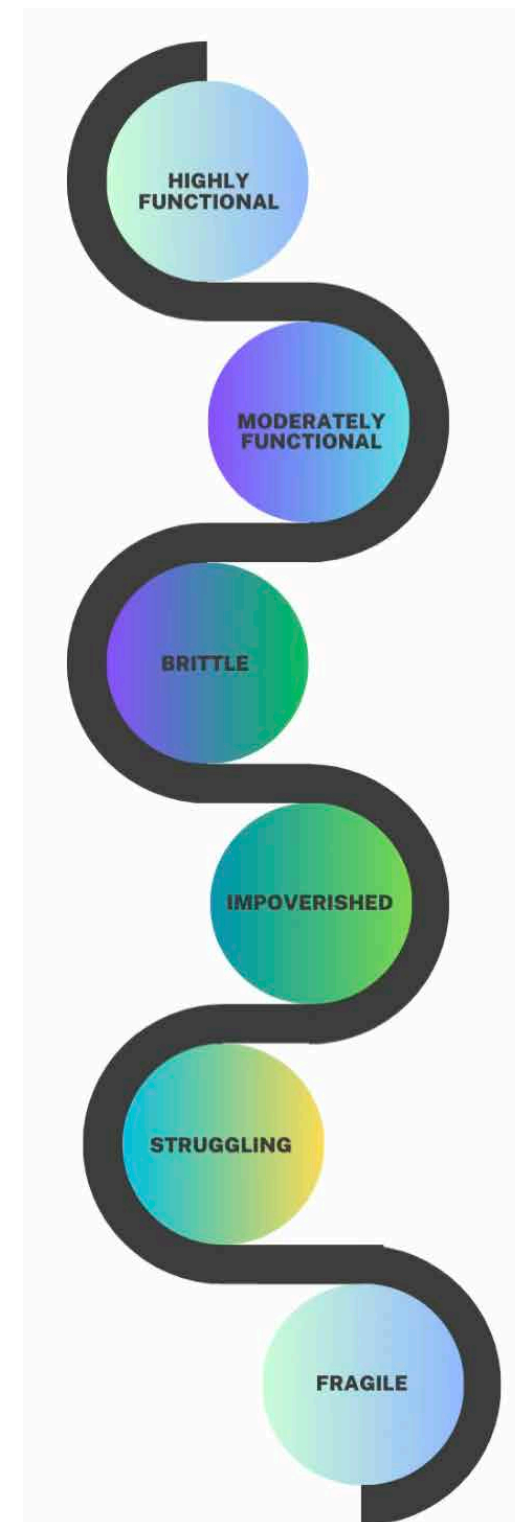
Figure 6.1: Classification levels of state stability.

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72   There are several Fragile States Indices, using different indicators. See Mcloughlin 2012.
73   Van Der Auwera 2012; Viejo-Rose 2007.

74   The Fragile States Index, Fund for Peace https://fragilestatesindex.org/
75   The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) States of Fragility https://www.oecd.org/dac/states-of-fragility-fa5a6770-en.htm
76   Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI) https://bti-project.org/en/methodology
77   Tikuisis et al. 2015.

ding this dimension, none has yet materialised. In addition, states themselves are highly resistant to the use of such models and their categorisation within them.

Despite their shortcomings, such indices offer a general impression of fragile societies and can guide the international community in directing heritage aid funds and projects. For example, climate change is a significant factor in worsening the impact crises in fragile states. Half of the 48 contexts most exposed to climate change are fragile; together, they account for 61% of the total population of fragile contexts.[78] A similar relationship exists between conflict and fragility. Even within a fragile society, not everyone is equally exposed to risk: some are more prone to disasters than others. The weakest individuals and groups, the most vulnerable, have less power in the communities. Subsequently, they are less resilient and have less capacity to anticipate and cope with disaster.

A crucial aspect of disaster preparedness is the ability to foresee or even partially predict disastrous events. Fragility is often an indicator of potential future crises, as violent conflicts and natural hazards are directly linked to fragile states. Fragile states are significantly more susceptible to complex emergencies that necessitate international humanitarian intervention. A fragile state index, though often not people centred, should put heritage risk managers on the alert. These indices also serve as warnings to exercise additional caution. Given the high probability of crises in these areas, affected societies and assisting parties need to prepare accordingly. Unfortunately, cooperation among heritage authorities, governments, and affected populations is often problematic.

However, as yet there is no indication that these indexes are used in heritage risk management.

Introducing Early Warning Systems

While fragility indices give us a general indication of where to direct our first attention, early warning systems (EWS) for violent conflicts, natural hazards, and humanitarian emergencies give us more specific information about where particular disasters may break out, enabling preparation to begin for the catastrophe to come.

For any early warning system to be effective there are four co-dependent elements (figure 6.2):
1. Disaster risk knowledge – systematic data collection and risk assessment, including vulnerability assessment
2. Monitoring – detection, analysis and forecasting crises
3. Dissemination and communication - authoritative, timely, accurate and actionable warnings from an official source
4. Response capability – preparedness to reduce risk and respond to received warnings.
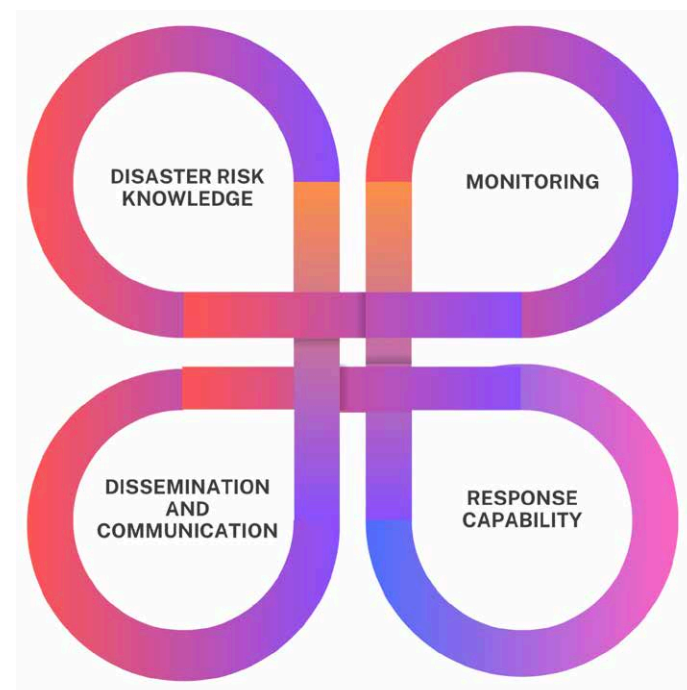

Figure 6.2: The four elements of an effective early warning system.

Early, particularly in the context of disasters, usually means (at most) days or hours of warning for an impending crisis, which may not be enough time to warn everyone or put mitigation measures in peace. Early warning systems predicting conflict fall into two categories: general indications of which societies may be particularly prone to conflict, and specific warnings of the imminent (days or more likely hours) outbreak of violence in a particular conflict. Such systems are not infallible, as we see in conflicts and disasters around the world. The earliest US tornado identification programmes, which dated back to the 1890s, were forbidden to warn the public for fear of inciting panic, a position not revoked until the 1950s! Today, however (in general), the benefits of disaster-based early warning systems have been clear since the 1970s: reduction in loss of life; early notification of emergency systems; orderly disruption of social and economic facilities; reduced individual and public stress. In 1963, Cuba, for instance, was confronted with a high number of casualties (1,200 lives lost) and enormous damage (US $300,000,000) caused by Hurricane Flora. As a result, the government implemented effective early warning systems to mitigate future disasters. Over the years since, the system has proved to be very effective: when Hurricane Irma reached the country in 2017, 'only' 10 lives were lost. [79]

The benefits of Early Warning Systems - and community responses - can be hazard specific. Their effectiveness is dependent on local infrastructure and the type of response required. Evacuation, for example, which requires more time, may not always be the best response. On May 20, 2013, a large tornado touched down outside Oklahoma City, USA. Over 40 minutes, it travelled 17 miles, killing dozens and causing huge damage. [80]11 days later, another, larger, tornado came: when they received the warning, thousands tried to drive away rather than heading for shelters, blocking the roads for a 25 mile radius. The tornado then changed its path, heading for the road and hundreds nearly died. By luck, the tornado's path ultimately avoided the blocked roads, but the outcome could have been much worse. It's not yet possible to provide warnings of more than an hour at best for a tornado, and many warnings are only minutes, which means the best response is to get to a shelter. Users of EWSs need to understand the limitations of the system, and the goal they are aiming for. What is the best way to save lives?

A strong early warning system goes well beyond preparedness and early response for an approaching disaster as it lays the foundation of good communication with all stakeholders in the aftermath of a crisis, and strengthens political and institutional commitment, which is positive for future heritage projects in general. In fragile societies, however, which are often characterised by a weak government, the last point will be difficult to achieve.

Figure 6.3: Board warning of volcanic risk at Stromboli, Italy 2024 © Gaia Bedini

Obviously, heritage can benefit from early warning systems.[81] The sooner an imminent natural hazard is indicated, the sooner heritage managers can prepare to safeguard heritage assets, and prevent a disaster. Yet, although using early warning systems predicting such hazards has become normal practice in many countries, such systems are not always used by heritage managers. Early warning systems in other crisis domains are rarely used if not totally ignored by heritage managers. As a result, those with heritage management responsibility not only miss out on the opportunity to prepare in advance for the specific crisis to come, but also miss out on the opportunity to proactively set or adjust their program priorities and direct their attention more effectively to those societies and communities that will absorb much of their heritage aid assistance capacity in the near future. Though early warnings alone do not keep hazards from turning into disasters, early action is essential in heritage crisis management, as in all other spheres.

78   OECD 2020.

79   Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago Office of Disaster Preparedness and Management. https://www.odpm.gov.tt/Early-Warning

80   Zimmermann 2023.

81   See UNDRR: Developing Early Warning Systems: A Checklist: https://www.unisdr.org/files/608_10340.pdf

EWS and Conflict

Currently, violent conflicts are a major impediment to progressive development. Despite this, there are fewer early warning systems than those for natural hazards.

Although conflict is not synonymous with fragility, fragile contexts account for 76% of all active conflicts.[82] Since the COVID-19 pandemic, this has only grown worse. States can be strong and effective in their social and economic infrastructures, but in conflict these can quickly degrade. These are not favourable prospects for heritage protection.
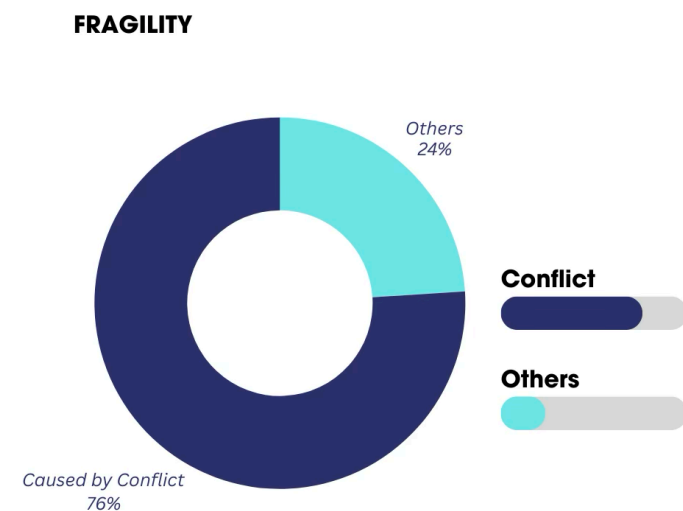
FRAGILITY

Figure 6.4: Fragile states and conflict[83]

There are several maps and indexes for conflict-prone areas, which serve different purposes and use different indicators. For example, the UN, through the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, monitors human rights violations to identify issues that may lead to conflict and crisis, so measures can be taken to address and prevent them.[84] There is also evidence that in some contexts, heritage destruction and suppression of access to cultural rights may be an early indicator of the suppression of other human rights and (at its worst) a

precursor to genocide.[85]

They are all based on different definitions of conflict. It is important to understand what each index is measuring, what indicators it uses, and how often it is updated, in order to select the most appropriate information to support heritage programming. For example, the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK) releases an annual Conflict Barometer which covers political conflicts worldwide summarised retrospectively at the end of the year.[86]

"In 2023, the HIIK documented a total of 369 conflicts worldwide, an overall increase of ten conflicts. Of these, 220 were violent and 149 non-violent. Compared to the previous year, the number of wars rose from 20 to 22. … The number of limited wars worldwide remained constant at 21 conflicts. The number of non-violent conflicts rose from 148 to 149".[87]

Understanding how HIIK defines conflict and war is vital to using a Conflict Barometer correctly.

For example, they monitor political conflicts, defined as

"an incompatibility of intentions between at least individual or collective actors. Such an incompatibility emerges in the form of observable and interrelated actions and acts of communication (measures) with regard to certain positional differences of values (issues) relevant to society and threatening (the continuity of) state functions or the international order. Actors, measures, and issues are the constitutive attributes of political conflict".

The study also includes a conflict intensity assessment which

"accounts for not only the intensity of a given conflict area in a given year, but also determines the intensity of a conflict for first-level subnational political units and per month. As such, it allows for a much more detailed measurement of conflict dynamics. Furthermore, conflict actions and acts of communication can be operationalized with the help of qualitative and quantitative indicators of the means and consequen-

ces of violence. This allows for a more comprehensive overview of political dynamics and intensities. Most recently, in 2017, HIIK introduced the concept of inactive conflicts to widen the span of observed cases and create space for dormant dynamics that may become active again within three years".

They have a wide suit of indicators, and also use on the ground research and assessments.

The International Crisis Group provides the Crisis Watch Conflict tracker, updated monthly and designed *"to help decision-makers prevent deadly violence by keeping them up-to-date with developments in over 70 conflicts and crises, identifying trends and alerting them to risks of escalation and opportunities to advance peace."[88]* It uses socio-political analysis and situational monitoring to assess and highlight events and trends likely to have major impacts in areas which are already crisis-prone, and is supported by a series of more in depth special investigations and infographics.

An alternative to measuring conflict is measuring peace. Unsurprisingly, considering the complex and multilayered definition of peace, measuring peace is hard. The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) is a non-profit organisation that annually publishes the Global Peace Index (GPI), regarded as the foremost metric of global peacefulness. The GIP measures

"the peacefulness of countries made up of 23 quantitative and qualitative indicators each weighted on a scale of 1-5; the lower the score the more peaceful the country."[89]

It ranks 163 nations, representing 99.7 percent of the world's population. Using 23 qualitative and quantitative indicators it measures peace across three domains: Societal Safety and Security, Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict, and Militarization. The 2023 GPI identifies Iceland, Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand, and Austria as the most peaceful nations, while Afghanistan, Yemen, Syria, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are deemed the least peaceful. As well as measuring the level of peace in specific countries, the GPI has also recorded a global decline in peace over the past 15 years, a 5 percent deterioration

in peace globally during that period, and an increasing gap in peace levels between the most and least peaceful nations (in 2023).[90]

These systems, and others like them, offer ways to identify high priority existing conflicts - or conflicts where it may not be safe to carry out externally-led heritage programming, or areas which are most likely to be prone to conflict, where support and resources could be targeted.

Once conflict has broken out, early warning systems can sometimes indicate an imminent threat of violence to communities, but these are measured in hours, or at best, a day or two. By then, response (if it is possible at all) is focussed on protecting the lives of those at risk, and it will not be possible to protect heritage as well.

EWS and Natural Hazards

Early warning systems for specific hazards or regions are useful: some systems concentrate on one particular natural hazard like an earthquake, tsunami, flood, or drought, and/or a specific region. The problem with natural hazards is that there are many different hazards, and from the start there have been divergent models of natural hazard warning systems with different structures. Several websites offer maps of natural hazards; however, the data is not precise enough for predictive purposes. In addition, the data is not actively disseminated or communicated, and on its own it does not present a response capability (although other organisations may utilise it) -- these are two out of four important elements of an early warning system.

Some systems are global, functioning between international agencies. For example, the Global Disaster Alert and Coordination System (GDACS) is a multi-hazard *"cooperation framework between the United Nations, the European Commission and disaster managers worldwide to improve alerts, information exchange and coordination in the first phase after major sudden-onset*

82　　Desai 2020.

83　　OECD 2020 / Desai 2020.

84　　OHCR N.D.

85　　Bevan 2006/2016; Novic 2016.

86　　Conflict Barometer from the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research
　　　https://hiik.de/conflict-barometer/current-version/?lang=en/

87　　Conflict Barometer from the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research:
　　　https://hiik.de/conflict-barometer/current-version/?lang=en/

88　　CrisisWatch and Conflict Risk Alerts (International Crisis Group) https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch

89　　Global Peace Index by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/#/

90　　IEP. 2024 Global Peace Index. https://www.economicsandpeace.org/global-peace-index/

disasters."[91] It provides a global map of disaster alerts over the past four days and it also gives past events before the past four days of earthquakes, tropical cyclones, floods, volcanos, droughts and forest fires. It also offers the Virtual OSOCC (Virtual On-Site Operations Coordination Centre), *"a restricted online platform for real-time information exchange and cooperation among all actors in the first phase of the disaster."*

Others are global, but all information is shared publicly, as they are not intended as coordination tools as well. The Pacific Disaster Center (PDC), run by the applied research centre managed by the University of Hawaii, [92]has created DisasterAWARE Pro, a multi-hazard early warning, hazard monitoring, and risk intelligence platform, which is free for nongovernmental and governmental organizations. The disaster awaReness app is supported by worldwide big data modelling and analysis, creating a global hazard risk index. The final tool in their suit is AIM 3.0 (All-Hazards Impact Model), which provides fine resolution exposure estimates, estimating population and capital exposure with precision down to a 30 x 30 meter radius, and estimates by sector / age demographic, including estimates for schools and hospitals and age breakdowns in 5-year increments for vulnerable populations. The centre won the 2022 United Nations Sasakawa Award for Disaster Risk Reduction.

Another good example is the multi-hazard and interdisciplinary (and also award winning) Nationwide Operational Assessment of Hazards (NOAH)[93] project. Established in the University of the Philippines, it uses a website as its primary interface with navigations on weather, sensors, flood, landslides, storm surge, boundaries, critical facilities, dengue monitoring, webSAFE and twitter. The project includes dissemination through television and the internet of real-time satellite, doppler radar, and other weather information. As well as real time updates, it includes research reports and data. The early warnings it produced for Typhoon Bopha in 2012 enabled the authorities to evacuate over 167,000 people, saving hundreds of lives. Today, it also encoura-

ges citizens to contribute ground-level risk information through the use of the OpenStreetMap (OSM) tool.

Other tools are regional, but still multi-hazard. The European Copernicus program (Copernicus EMS On Demand Mapping) [94]provides on-demand detailed information for selected emergency situations that arise from natural or man-made disasters anywhere in the world, offering *"critical geospatial information at European and global level through continuous observations and forecasts for floods, droughts and forest fires' and 'detailed information for selected emergency situations that arise from natural or human-induced disasters anywhere in the world.* Monitored hazards include floods, fires and droughts. However, the service is restricted to authorised users; entities and organisations at regional, national, European and international level active in the field of crisis management within the EU Member States, the Participating States in the European Civil Protection Mechanism, the Commission's Directorates-General (DGs) and EU Agencies, the European External Action Service (EEAS), as well as international Humanitarian Aid organisations.

Figure 6.5: Zimbabwe is facing a severe El Niño-induced drought. The drought has severely affected subsistence agriculture, which supports 70% of the population. Crop yields have plummeted, and water reserves are at historic lows, creating a humanitarian crisis in rural communities. With maize production down 72% last year, the situation is particularly dire. The UN has identified Zimbabwe as one of the hunger hotspots where acute food insecurity is expected to worsen. The severity of the drought is illustrated by two images from the Copernicus Sentinel-2 satellite. The first image, acquired on 19 August 2022, shows the area around the capital, Harare, which is still largely green. In contrast, the second image, acquired on 23 August 2024, shows vast brownish areas, indicating the widespread loss of vegetation caused by the prolonged drought. The ongoing drought in Zimbabwe can be monitored using data from the Global Drought Observatory, managed by the Copernicus Emergency Management Service. © Contains modified Copernicus Sentinel data 2024, European Union, via Wikimedia Commons.

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91   Global Disaster and Alert Coordination System https://www.gdacs.org/default.aspx

92   PDS Global https://www.pdc.org/

93   NOAH - Nationwide Operational Assessment Of Hazards https://noah.up.edu.ph/

94   Copernicus Emergency Management System https://emergency.copernicus.eu/
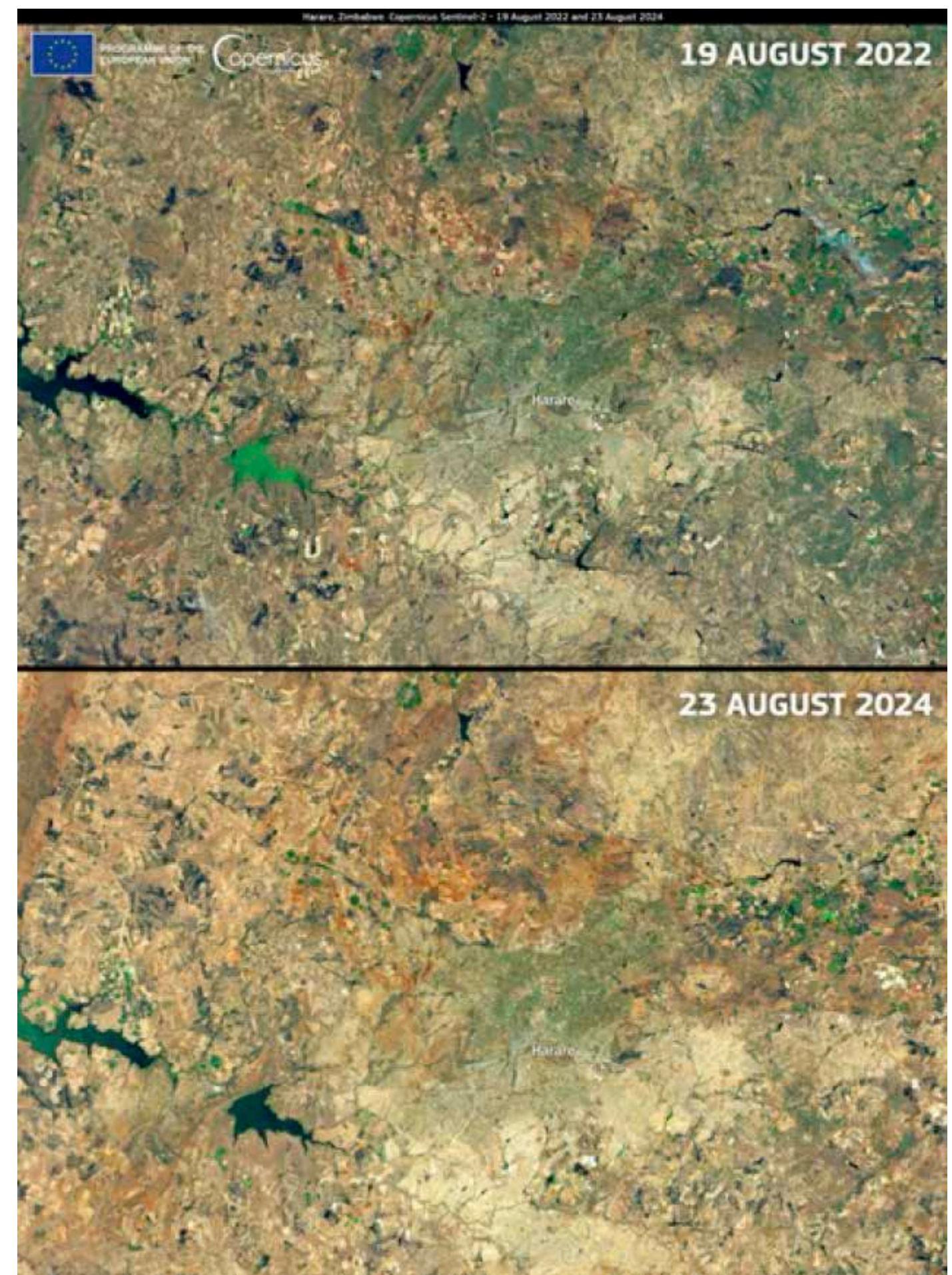
Others are more community focussed. The International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), an intergovernmental institution of eight countries in the Hindu Kush-Himalayan region, was set up as a community-based flood early warning system (CBFEWS).[95] This is an integrated system of tools and plans managed by and for communities providing real-time flood warnings to reduce flood risks, where the local population provides data as an early warning. Some are local, and deal with specific hazards. The Earthquake Warning California system[96] covers the entire West Coast of the USA, makes use of mobile APPs and wireless alerts to warn the inhabitants against an earthquake, and several areas of the USA have tornado warning systems

and shelters. However, in order to ensure good dissemination and response, these tools must be used by authorised agencies and governments, and have public trust to ensure people respond. In many parts of the world, that is sadly lacking.

EWS and Humanitarian Crisis

Predicting a humanitarian crisis, whether it is a direct or indirect consequence of other crises, is as complicated as the other types of crisis, and has many of the same limitations. Abundant emergency outlooks, response plans, hotspots, dashboards, bulletins, strategic

Figure 6.6: On October 17, 1989, at 5:04:15 p.m. (PDT), a magnitude 6.9 earthquake severely shook the San Francisco and Monterey Bay regions. The epicentre was located near Loma Prieta peak in the Santa Cruz Mountains. In this photo: An automobile lies crushed under the third story of this apartment building in the Marina District. The ground levels are no longer visible because of structural failure and sinking due to liquefaction. [J.K. Nakata, USGS]. Since 1989, the work of the U.S. Geological Survey and other organizations has improved understanding of the seismic threat in the Bay region, promoted awareness of earthquake hazards, and contributed to more effective strategies to reduce earthquake losses. These efforts will help reduce the impact of future large quakes in the San Francisco Bay region. © U.S. Geological Survey, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons.

and situation reports, flash updates, quick risk assessments, models, criteria index, concepts, frameworks, and projects on specific humanitarian emergencies are published. However, the lack of early warning systems are thought to leave millions at risk.[97] Many studies and humanitarian agencies acknowledge the urgency of humanitarian early warning systems like the INFORM Project[98], a collaboration between the Inter-Agency Standing Committee and the European Commission, providing open-source risk assessments for humanitarian crises and disasters. It supports decision-making at various stages of disaster management, focusing on prevention, preparedness, and response. Key products include the INFORM Risk Index, INFORM Warning, INFORM Severity, and INFORM Climate Change Risk Index, which assess general risk, emerging crises, crisis severity, and climate-related risks, respectively.

Epitomising the challenges, a 2021 UNHCR report[99] noted

> "The recent Global Compact for Refugees has acknowledged that the increasing number of forcibly displaced persons and the difficulty to predict mass-movements of people have created an urgent need for data-driven early warning systems that allow governments and humanitarian organisations to use their limited resources most efficiently. Efforts to install early warning systems have led to advances in predicting and forecasting global migration flows; however, forced displacement remains the most elusive and challenging migration form to predict discussed modelling and prediction of forcibly displaced personsù."

Based on the findings, it highlights possible avenues for UNHCR to include big data sources into their work.

Although some systems refer to themselves as 'early

warning systems', they often miss real-time data, have no capability for dissemination and communication, and lack a response capability - all essential characteristics of a true early warning system. The prediction of high risks of famine in the Horn of Africa (Anyadike 2022), the Hunger Hotspots, early warnings on acute food insecurity[100], and the Global Humanitarian Overview[101] are all examples of this problem. Even the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) does not yet have a true early warning system. Their emergency policy focuses 'on risk analysis and preparedness before a crisis erupts'[102] but there is no reference to true early warning systems.

There are some examples of systems meeting the EWS criteria. The NGO Action Against Hunger was successful in using satellites to monitor several indicators of food security in order to predict which areas might need the most assistance in Africa's Sahel region. However, the response was very slow due to *"difficulties in funding pre-emptive measures and government sensitivities in admitting a looming disaster".*[103] The Assessment Capacities Project (ACAPS) is a non-profit, non-governmental project that started in 2009. It is an independent information provider on humanitarian needs analysis and assessment helping humanitarian actors respond more effectively to disasters. They publish the CrisisInSight map that shows a severity ranking along five indicators, including conflict, of over 100 humanitarian crises in the world and provides crisis-specific data on a weekly basis.[104] Although not quite a true early warning system, it does give off warnings for different humanitarian crises as a result of conflict, natural hazards and a complex crisis. The World Health Organization publishes a map of Health Emergency Dashboard[105] and set up the Early Warning, Alert and Response System (EWARS) that *„is designed to improve disease outbreak detection in emergency settings, such as in countries in conflict or*

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95   *ICIMOD Community based flood early warning system https://www.icimod.org/mountain/cbfews/*

96   *Earthquake Warning California https://earthquake.ca.gov/get-alerts/*

97   *Broom 2022.*

98   *INFORM Project https://drmkc.jrc.ec.europa.eu/inform-index*

99   *UNHCR 2021, p6.*

100   *WFP and FAO 2022; GIEWS - Global Information and Early Warning System on Food and Agriculture at https://www.fao.org/giews/background/en/*

101   *Global Humanitarian Overview, 2024, Relief Web https://reliefweb.int/topics/global-humanitarian-overview-2022*

102   *UNHCR. N.D. Emergencies https://www.unhcr.org/emergencies.html?query=early%20warning*

103   *IRIN News 2013.*

104   *ACAPS. World In Crisis. Global Situation https://www.acaps.org/countries*

105   *WHO Health Emergency Dashboard https://extranet.who.int/publicemergency*

following a natural disaster [sic]." [106] The EWARS entails a Data Hub to collect, submit and analyse data, a Mobile App to collect and submit data anywhere, even in remote and insecure environments, and an eExchange to choose what data you wish to share with others and when. At present, however, these EWSs are limited, and not widely used, by humanitarians or heritage professionals.

Today there is a specific field of humanitarian work called "anticipatory action", which UNOCHA define[107] as "acting ahead of predicted hazards to prevent or reduce acute humanitarian impacts before they fully unfold". They go on to explain:
Effective implementation of anticipatory action ideally requires three elements:
· Pre-agreed trigger: This consists of thresholds and decision-making rules based on reliable, timely and measurable forecasts.
· Pre-agreed activities: This consists of accountable, feasible, effective and efficient actions to be implemented to support vulnerable communities in the window of opportunity between the trigger moment and the full impact of a shock.
· Pre-arranged financing: This consists of funding that is guaranteed and available to be released based on the pre-agreed trigger towards the pre-agreed activities."

A key leader in the humanitarian anticipatory action field is the Anticipation Hub[108], which is a platform to facilitate knowledge exchange, learning, guidance, and advocacy around anticipatory action both virtually and in-person. They collect data on what constitutes appropriate effective anticipatory action; triggers to help provide decision-makers the necessary information to know when and where early action should take place and who and what is likely to be impacted; and other key information available via their website. The website also hosts examples of where Early Action Protocols have been triggered in advance of crises around the world to assist those judged to be most at risk.
In 2024, the Red Cross Red Crescent Climate Centre

(RCCC) published their handbook for disaster risk reduction professionals, Navigating fragility, conflict, and violence to strengthen community resilience, written in partnership with the Bangladesh Red Crescent Society, Colombian Red Cross, Lebanese Red Cross, South Sudan Red Cross, German Red Cross, IFRC and the ICRC. It harnesses this expertise to provide guidance to those hoping to work in unstable environments disrupted by fragility, conflict, and violence. These case studies provide excellent examples of how to ethically and responsibly work in fragile environments.

Conclusion

The development of fragile society indices and early warning systems are valuable tools to warn us in advance if a disaster is coming our way. One of the seven global targets of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction[109] is to increase the availability of multi-hazard early warning systems. Multi-hazard warning systems are valuable for areas suffering from more than one natural hazard and can provide data for decision makers at a high level. In the domain of natural hazards, the physical warning signs are the most developed and applied in disaster risk reduction programs. It is important to distinguish between true EWSs, and systems which simply provide data to others, for example maps with low-resolution data, or no way to actively disseminate or communicate information, and which have no response capability. Where such systems do exist, some are hindered in uptake, or in providing response due to failures in funding pre-emptive measures and government sensitivities in admitting a looming disaster. In the MENA region, for example, warnings of impending hazards have been hindered by a lack of media coverage and great opposition from autocratic and authoritarian regimes, particularly relating to climate change. The MENA region lacks any extreme weather early warning systems. The same goes for the urgent calls for a stronger and more inclusive health emergency preparedness, response, and resilience (HEPR) after the first

Figure 6.7: Kīlauea's lower Puna eruption, 2018 © United States Geological Survey. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

signs of the COVID-19 pandemic.[110] The architecture for Early Health Warning Systems is not fully developed yet and the existing early health warning systems "rarely apply statistical methods to detect changes in trends, or sentinel events that would require intervention."[111] It is surprising that before a violent conflict breaks out, there are early warning systems available, but they are rarely taken seriously in risk management. In the domain of humanitarian crises, the urgency of early warning systems is acknowledged but the information needed is still being built upon. There are a lot of reports but still few true early warning systems.

Further, EWSs and fragile society indices need to go beyond the mainly quantitative indexes reviewed here. A more qualitative people centred approach will lead to different outcomes. However, most such systems miss human input, a crucial lack of trust in traditional knowledge systems built on hundreds of years of experience. It is most often in natural disaster preparedness, particularly where the EWS are locally created in contexts with existing strong local knowledge, that such knowledge is best integrated. Splendid examples are

given here of a people centred approach. Individuals and communities often act both as 'early warners' and 'first responders'.[112] Local indigenous knowledge can act as an excellent indicator for weather events and climate hazards, and can provide ways to adapt to climate change. For example, the behaviour of buffaloes enabled local people to forecast a tsunami in Simeulue, Indonesia (in chapter 7), while the flowering of coffee trees in Kenya is an indication that the rainy season is near. Local perspectives may also teach other ways of responding to crises which are equally valuable. During the eruptions of Mount Kīlauea, Hawai'i, in May 2018 (figure 6.7), thousands of people needed to be evacuated and many houses were destroyed. However, the losses were accepted. The local population was familiar with the risks living close to the volcano, the home of Pele the Hawaiian volcano goddess, and accepted and even revered the power of the Goddess Pele. Here the notion of "fear of loss" is absent.[113]

Another example of indigenous knowledge is from the Moken of the Andaman Sea, who survived a 2004 tsunami because their legends warned that the sea re-

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106   WHO Early Warning, Alert and Response System (EWARS) https://www.who.int/emergencies/surveillance/early-warning-alert-and-response-system-ewars/

107   UNOCHA N.D.

108   Anticipation Hub: https://www.anticipation-hub.org/

109   Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction https://www.preventionweb.net/sendai-framework/Hyogo-Framework-for-Action

110   WHO 2024.

111   Drishti. Early Health Warning System. https://www.drishtiias.com/daily-updates/daily-news-analysis/early-health-warning-system

112   This is called the 'first mile approach' as opposed to the 'last mile approach.' See Marchezini et al. 2019.

113   Botkin-Kowacki et al. 2018.

cedes and cicadas go silent before a "wave that eats people." Noticing these warning signs, the Moken moved to high ground and were saved from the tsunami.[114] Similar stories of indigenous knowledge resulting in tsunami survival can be found among the indigenous peoples of Simeulue in Indonesia, the indigenous peoples of Japan, and the Melanesians of the Solomon Islands, among many others. Additionally, the Badua tribe of East Java's traditional home construction practices result in homes that are able to withstand the shocks of earthquakes, even the 6.9MW earthquake that rocked Java in 2019. Similar stories can be found among the indigenous peoples of India and the United States.[115]

In 2019 the Risk-informed Early Action Partnership (REAP) was launched, aiming to

> *"bring together an unprecedented range of stakeholders across the climate, humanitarian and development communities with the aim of making one billion people safer from disaster by 2025."[116]*

REAP has recently studied how different organisations conceptualise the linkages across early warning and early action (EWEA) components. These expert contributors came from NGOs, media, academia, meteorology services, regional bodies, donors and UN agencies to produce a compendium of EWEA approaches, to compare and contrast how different EWEA specialties (disaster risk management, meteorology, hydrology, agro-meteorology, agricultural economy, geology, earth observations, epidemiology, etc.) and types of organisations (donors, civil society organisations, international organisations...) approach EWEA and how their approaches differ.[117] It provides a clear overview of EWS systems and how they work.

Omitting, or failing to further develop, true early warning systems is a lost opportunity to get a better grip on a future catastrophe. Researchers studying how indigenous knowledge can protect people from the harms of tsunamis and earthquakes are finding that these forms of knowledge could serve as early warning systems, create shock resistant buildings, foster mutual aid, pre-

vent erroneous house construction, and reduce the consequences of tsunamis.[118] True EWSs, together with Fragile State Indexes, should be fully integrated into heritage risk management. When successfully used, they can indicate which contexts are particularly fragile and at risk, and could be used to identify areas where heritage protection should be implemented proactively (and urgently). In spite of this, the majority of heritage projects are implemented in settings where conflict is considered to be over, or occurring far from the work undertaken, or at least where the area is stable enough to enable foreign access as many projects are conducted with partners outside the countries under threat. Early warning rarely translates into early response. This does not make sense at all as prevention is the most important part of the crisis cycle.

[Editors Note: Since this paper was written, the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction has begun to strongly promote the use of ancestral and indigenous knowledge to strengthen early warnings, recognising the value of these information systems (UNDRR 2025).]

Further Reading

The Fragile States Index, Fund for Peace https://fragilestatesindex.org/

States of Fragility 2020, The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2020, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/ba7c22e7-en

Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI) https://bti-project.org/en/?&d=D&cb=00000

UNDRR: Developing Early Warning Systems: A Checklist https://www.unisdr.org/files/608_10340.pdf

Navigating fragility, conflict, and violence to strengthen community resilience: Full handbook, RCCC, 2024 [pdf] Available at: https://preparecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Full-Handbook_RCCC-Navigating-

fragility-conflict-and-violence-to-strengthen-community-resilience.pdf

Resources for conflict analysis and community resilience to support communities in settings of fragility, conflict and violence (FCV), PrepareCentre.org https://preparecenter.org/resource/navigating-fcv-drr-handbook/#:~:text=This%20handbook%20provides%20practical%20guidance%20on%20how%20to,programming%20to%20ensure%20effective%2C%20inclusive%20and%20conflict-sensitive%20DRR.

UNDRR: How ancestral insights can strengthen early warnings https://www.preventionweb.net/news/how-ancestral-insights-can-strengthen-early-warnings

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114   UNDRR 2023.

115   Mikulecký et al. 2023.

116   Risk Informed Early Action Partnership. https://www.early-action-reap.org/. See also Broom 2022.

117   REAP 2024

118   Mikulecký et al. 2023.

Chapter 7 Crises and their Impact on Heritage

The continued emphasis on conservation and safeguarding of heritage threatened by crisis reflects the concept of value as fear of loss embodied in the Heritage at Risk framework. Change is considered a threat, the past as a static point of reference and the experts define the crisis and how to handle it. This leaves little to no room for the human and humanitarian consequences of crises. Yet, all three types of crisis impact heritage, and in turn heritage impacts them. However, those impacts (in either direction) are poorly understood. Yet, without such understanding, effective mitigation and response are not possible. Furthermore, heritage not only needs protecting, but can even be of benefit in some situations.

Conflict: How Conflict Impacts Heritage

That heritage - both tangible and intangible - is impacted by, and changes as a direct consequence of war has been well documented and studied. As a result, heritage today is frequently associated with conflict and destruction: it often suffers from negative connotations of deliberate destruction, including identity-related destruction, that allow little room for the positive role heritage can play in conflict resolution, even though wartime destruction of heritage is only a small fraction of the overall loss of cultural heritage around the world. The same is true for the destruction of heritage by natural hazards. The massive looting of sites and plundering of museums, libraries, archives, and the illicit trade of artefacts only attracted more attention to the detrimental outcome of violent conflicts. Collateral damage to heritage in times of conflict lies in the destructive nature of waging war: yet, the civil wars in the 1990s demonstrated that, in addition to experiencing collateral damage, heritage was increasingly deliberately targeted. Warring parties intentionally destroyed the heritage of their op-

ponents holding a different nationality, religion, or ethnicity. This is not to say this was the first time such activity occurred, but it was likely the first in which the scale of such activity was documented. Since then, many similar instances have been documented. [119]These ideological attacks aim to eradicate an adversary's identity and collective memory.

We must ask ourselves, when the reference points to the past are abolished, what stories of the past can we tell our children? What do they learn about their society from their surroundings when diversity is replaced with homogeneity? It undermines the narratives transmitted from one generation to the other. Violent conflict tears families, neighbours and communities apart driving them in part into extreme political or religious positions. Others look for trusted socio-cultural systems deeply rooted in their surroundings. Hence, traditions, rituals, folklore, customs, beliefs - intangible heritage – become more important particularly when access to tangible heritage is limited as it is damaged or destroyed. Not only is community identity threatened, but also personal identity, the partial loss of the self. The result is another form of the loss of meaning which shakes the fundamentals of identity and how we give meaning to our surroundings.[120] It robs people of benchmarks that are necessary to give meaning to their social and cultural contexts. In conflict areas where extremist parties dominate socio-cultural life, many expressions of the intangible are suppressed leaving people with little to fall back on in their social lives, causing more trauma and psychological stress. The wilful destruction of cultural heritage in times of violent conflict is more harmful than commonly realised, causing increased trauma and stress for crisis-affected people.

Intangible heritage can also be decimated as communities are fragmented and dispersed, or lose access to the materials and objects needed to maintain their traditions.[121]

Aleppo's most celebrated Sufi singer was Sheikh Habboush, who used to hold his spectacular zikr every Wednesday evening. He was also a prominent member of the leading classical Arabic music group, al-Kindi ensemble: „No one has heard from Sheikh Habboush for the past three months," al-Kindi's director, Julien Jâlal Eddine Weiss, told me over the phone from Istanbul, where he has taken shelter. „He has disappeared and may well be dead. His [teke] received a direct hit from a bomb and the top floor was destroyed…. Most of our musicians are homeless, and our principal whirling dervish now has shrapnel riddling his legs.

Also in danger are the musicians of the Christian Urfalee community. Musicologists believe that the Urfalee chants are the most ancient still in use anywhere in the Christian world. They were composed in the 3rd century by St Ephrem, based on earlier Jewish melodies, and became so popular that they were imported by the early church in the west. If the musicologists are right, the Urfalees preserve the root traditions of both western plainchant and eastern Orthodox sacred music. Now the Urfalees quarter is on the frontline between the government and the rebels".[122]

In assessing the impact of climate change, 6 domains were developed showing the intangible aspects in food systems. Although developed for climate change impact assessment, they are equally important and vulnerable to disruption in conflict.
1) food traditions and customs
2) food production, processing, and storage
3) dietary culture
4) eating and social practices
5) culinary and
6) geographical indications.
All the domains are directly or indirectly under threat, and if one domain is affected it is likely that others might

Figure 7.1: Semâ ceremony at the Dervishes Culture Center at Avanos, Turkey. © Schorle, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

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119   See the records of the documentation and ensuing prosecutions at the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia on the Targeting History and Memory website: https://heritage.sensecentar.org/

120   See examples in Blue Shield International and Blue Shield Türkiye (eds) 2024.

121   See also Tou'meh and MacKenzie 2012; Abu-Fadil 2013.

122   Dalrymple 2012.

become impacted as well.,[123]

Eating for nutrition is one thing and eating for pleasure and memory is another. The allowance was enough for Rabab [a refugee] to feed her family, but not for them to eat the way they did back home.[124]

In addition to the impacts on the intangible cultural heritage of people, heritage workers can also be directly affected. Site guards, for example, are often threatened, attacked, and even killed by looters. Heritage workers may also be displaced, or unable to get to work, or may have caring responsibilities that impact their ability to manage the heritage in their care. As a result, those who are able to care for heritage may be short-staffed, or inadequately trained, further impacting already at-risk cultural items. If staff cannot access sites, the risks to the site from neglect also increase. For example, a tile may become loose and if no staff are available to repair it, the hole in the roof may grow, and ultimately collapse.[125] The domes of many of the buildings in

the Ancient City of Aleppo suffered slight damage in the early stages of the conflict: however, the damage could not be repaired due to the fighting and ultimately many of the domes collapsed.[126]

Conflict has a close relationship with physical heritage. From the outset, some heritage sites are specifically designed with conflict in mind. Early signs of how people protected themselves against intruders and violent invaders can be found in vernacular architecture, which today is often designated as cultural heritage, such as different forms of cave dwellings – some of which are still in use (Matmata and Toujane, Tunisia; Cavusin, Turkey; Guyaju, China) or underground cities (Derinkuyu, Türkiye, figure 7.3)). During the Middle Ages, richer citizens built fortified houses (Camarsac, France; Sarntal, Italy) and even churches could be fortified (Transylvania, Romania, figure 7.4). These are just a few examples of many worldwide.

Figure 7.2: Comida Grande ("the Big Meal"), an intermission between two days of dancing. © Diego Emilio Cuesy Edgar. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 7.3: Derinkuyu underground cave city, today a World Heritage site in Turkey. © Nevit Dilmen, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 7.4: The Fortified Church of Cincsor, Transylvania, Romania. © vutu, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons

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123 *Dembedza et al. (2022), see note 6, published on page 5 a table on intangible aspects of food: Table 2: Categories of elements or dimensions of food that can make food be considered as intangible cultural heritage.*

124 *Helou 2014; al-Wasl 2015.*

125 *Stone 2019.*

126 *UNITAR & UNESCO 2018.*

Figure 7.5: Blue shield painted on the roof of the National Museum of Iraq, 2003. © John Russell.
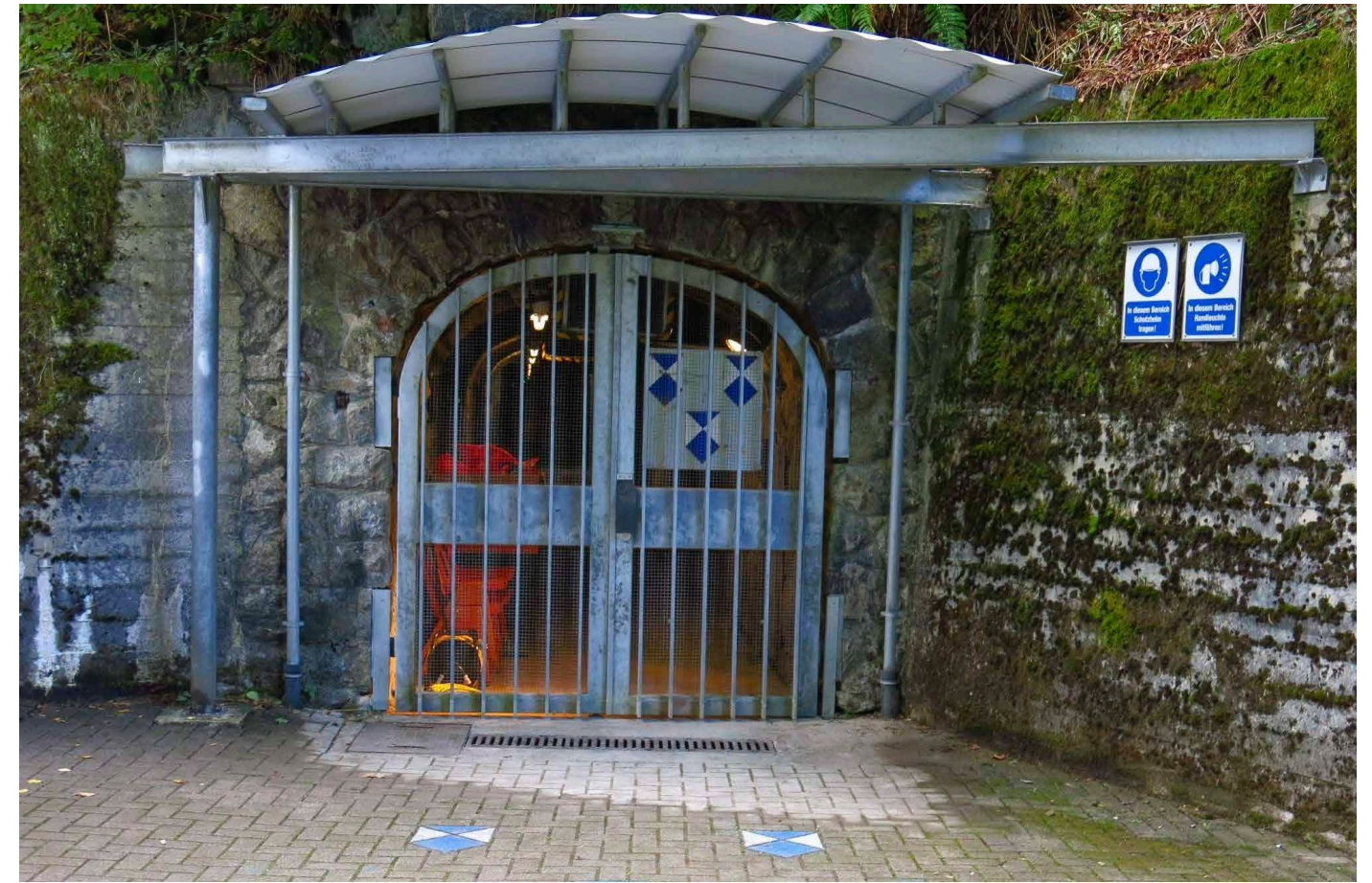

Figure 7.6: Barbara Stollen, a refuge in Oberried, Germany under special protection under the 1954 Hague Convention, used to store microfiche. 2016 © Preus / Bundesamt für Bevölkerungsschutz und Katastrophenhilfe, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

The 1954 Hague Convention and its two Protocols (1954, 1999) stipulate measures countries should take in peace to protect sites during conflict. Some measures result in cosmetic changes - the Convention designates a distinctive emblem – a blue and white shield – to facilitate the recognition of protected cultural property (figure 7.5)[127], but there are concerns that this may lead to the deliberate targeting of cultural property[128] as it clearly identifies sites as important to a particular side or people. Numerous sites were marked with the emblem during the fighting in Croatia in 1991-1993, and reportedly deliberately targeted as a result. [129]

Some changes are more significant. In some cases, protective measures for conflict have been built into the design of buildings. For example, the Mauritshuis, in The Hague in the Netherlands, has a bomb proof shel-ter constructed in the basement so that, should a conflict even occur, objects may be moved there for safety (fulfilling the requirements of Article 8(2) of the Convention). Some buildings are specifically designed to hold and protect collections (called refuges) in conflict or crisis (figure 7.6).

Most obviously, heritage sites may be damaged by conflict. When this occurs, the relationship between people and physical sites may change, as they become locations of memory and repositories of intangible heritage. The Convention lays out obligations on armed forces to try and minimise damage, but these rules are not always adhered to. Cultural property (of great importance)[130] may only become a military objective or be taken into military use in cases of imperative military necessity, and looting is always prohibited.[131] These military obli-gations are now widely considered customary, binding on all parties in all conflicts. Armed forces have been accused of illegally occupying sites with no necessity and causing damage: for example, although they were not a signatory to the 1954 Hague Convention at the time, US forces may have breached customary law through the military occupation of heritage sites like Babylon in Iraq (today a World Heritage Site) during the Iraq War (2003-2011).[132] Although the Commander of the US force at the time later claimed he occupied the site to protect it from looting, the action caused extensive damage. The conflict in Yemen began in 2014 and is ongoing today: it is noted for the lack of adherence to IHL. In 2016, military vehicles were parked in the Taiz Archaeological Museum, and their opponents targeted it, causing heavy damage to the museum.[133] How we view damage is dependent on many things - even our understanding of that term *"Damage is an all-encompassing term for a* *scale of effects on heritage sites that range from small and reversible, such as graffiti, to complete destruction".[134]* Many discussions of damage also generalise across heritage types, across geographic areas and across time. For example, damage which occurs to a specific heritage type may be discussed as if it occurs buildings, museums, religious sites and archaeological sites; or damage which occurs in a city is discussed as if it has the same pattern as that occurring to sites in rural areas. The technique of study can also affect results: it is often argued that archaeological sites which are damaged by conflict and looting lose all scientific value: it is important to realise that whilst some information is certainly lost, and new methods of study may be required, it can still be possible to gain a great deal of significant knowledge from conflict-damaged sites.[135]

Due to the nature of violent conflicts, change and trans-

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127   Article 6, 16, 17.

128   UNESCO and Blue Shield International.

129   For more on the measures taken to protect heritage in Croatia and the destruction of heritage, see Šulc 1992; Vinterhalter 1991; Walasek 2015.

130   Convention Article 1

131   Convention Article 4; Second Protocol Article 1f, Article 6, Article 7.

132   Siebrandt 2016; Gerstenblith 2006.

133   Neuendorf 2016.

134   Cunliffe 2023.

135   Newson and Young 2017.

formation of heritage are accelerated, and the extent of commemoration can be significant, touching on individual locations, streets, or even entire cities. As examples of newly created heritage in war time, after the conquest of the Syrian city Homs in 2014 during the Syrian Civil War, some areas of the almost completely destroyed city became destinations for people to visit. They laid flowers on the ruins, calling them silent witnesses so as not to forget the catastrophe.[136] The Sarajevo Roses are a more permanent installation - artillery impacts filled with red resin to remind people of the 44 month siege of the city of Sarajevo in the civil war, which lasted from 1992-95.[137] The entire village of Oradour-sur-Glane in France has become a memorial (figure 7.7). On 10 June 1944, all 643 citizens in the village (and surrounding area), including non-combatant men, women, and children, were massacred by a German

company as a punishment for resistance activity. The village was never rebuilt; President Charles de Gaulle ordered that the ruins of the old village be maintained as a permanent memorial and museum, which can still be visited today. There were just 6 survivors - the last of whom died in 2023. Despite the horrors he witnessed, Robert Hébras was known for his activism for reconciliation between France, Germany, and Austria.

Architecture can also serve as a tribute to peace and reconciliation. Monumento a la Memoria y la Verdad [Monument to the Memory and Truth] is a memorial wall located in Cuscatlan Park in downtown San Salvador. It contains panels with the names of the fallen during the country's civil war (between 1980-1992), when it is estimated over 75,000 Salvadoran civilians were killed (figure 7.8). The Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in

Figure 7.8: Monumento a la Memoria y la Verdad [Monument to the Memory and Truth] memorial wall, San Salvador, 2013 © Max ram, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons

Figure 7.7: Oradour-sur-Glane. © Gvdbor, 2005, GNU Free Documentation License via Wikimedia Commons

Berlin was severely damaged in World War II and reconstructed in 1963 into an anti-war memorial to peace and reconciliation,[138] an example of transformed heritage created to commemorate that very crisis that damaged it.

On occasion, destruction can also allow the discovery of 'new' heritage - archaeological remains that were previously unknown or inaccessible discovered under the ruins and rubble of destroyed buildings. These then require documentation, and perhaps excavation, before reconstruction of the rubble begins. In turn this requires storage for the finds, which is often financially unavailable. The rebuilding of Beirut in Lebanon following the civil war, for example, unearthed extensive archaeological finds which could not be studied or restored as there was no space or money allocated. Understandings of heritage also influence what is preserved. For example, the reconstruction company Solidere preserved some archaeological ruins when rebuilding the city, but wider

conceptions of community heritage were neglected.[139]

Heritage, then, whether tangible or intangible, is strongly impacted by conflict. The reverse is also true.

Conflict: How Heritage Impacts Conflict

Heritage often plays a crucial role in conflict dynamics. Conflict not only affects heritage, but heritage also affects conflict: heritage can even be a driver of conflict.

Non-state armed groups such as Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and the Taliban released videos of their deliberate destruction of heritage. These videos were part of clever public relations strategies. The West regards the antiquities of the Middle East as predecessors of their own early history, an idea that was fostered in the

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136   Azzouz 2023; Blanford 2014.

137   Ristic 2013.

138   Zill 2011; Bevan 2006/2016.

139   May 2024.

Figure 7.9: Giant standing Buddhas of Bamiyan still cast shadows. © Sgt. Ken Scar, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 7.10: Remains of Shrine of Uwais al-Qarni in 2015. The shrine was demolished by the Islamic State with explosives on March 26, 2014. © Heritage for Peace

19th century to justify archaeological excavations in the area.[140] Although the Taliban had promised to leave the two monumental Buddha's in Afghanistan alone in a decree in 1998, when they destroyed them in 2001, the entire world was ready to condemn them as barbarians destroying ancient beauty (figure 7.9). However, the destruction was not so much the obliteration of the ancient art of unbelievers, but rather a calculated strategic action responding to, amongst other things, lack of Western humanitarian aid during a major famine and the increase of anti-Taliban forces.[141] For IS, the videos they made of their destruction (figure 7.10) aimed to increase their support, justify their ideology, and humiliate targeted communities.[142] In these, and other, conflicts, targeted heritage destruction became an integral part of the strategy of the combatants.

Heritage sites can also be used in conflict due to their structure or location, when the heritage aspect of the site is immaterial to its physical attributes. The occupation of a heritage site or historic building may give armed forces a strategic advantage. Castles, for example, are often reused in conflict due to their good vantage points and strong defences, which can provide significant advantages to the force that holds them - as they have always done. In some cases, it is precisely because a location is considered significant that it is chosen for military use: IS, for example, used mosques as communication centres and to store weapons. They aimed to force their opponents to either leave their sites alone, or target them and make themselves unpopular amongst local people.[143]

Heritage also suffers in conflict from looting: the ensuing illicit trade in artefacts is used to finance the continuation of conflict.[144] Much of the looting in IS-controlled areas was not even carried out by IS: they sold permits to civilians to dig for artefacts in the areas they controlled. Artefacts were then sold in markets or abroad (illegally) to raise money for the conflict[145] (though total financial amounts are unknown and highly debated). However, the looting nonetheless devastated the archaeological sites and museums exposed to it.

As much as heritage destruction can be a part of a conflict strategy, heritage protection can also become part of a military strategy. In Syria and Iraq, for example, as IS began their campaign of destruction in 2014, Shia clerics called for people to mobilise to protect their threatened shrines: militias, and entire battalions formed. The shrine protection narrative strongly contributed to the enlisting of thousands of men. However, the mandate of these non-state actors and the scope of their operations extended well beyond their stated objective to protect key sacred spaces. Whilst some were deployed to protect their sacred sites, many were then sent to fight very far from significant Shia populations or holy sites.[146] The huge increase in non-state groups had a major effect on the conflict, in terms of military strategies of all parties to the conflict, and in its aftermath as the conflict ended and the groups disbursed (sometimes to go on to fight elsewhere in other conflicts).

140   Pollock 2005.

141   Bernbeck 2010; Elias 2013.

142   Cunliffe and Curini 2018; Isakhan and Gonzalez Zarandona 2017; Smith et al. 2016; Harmansah 2015.

143   ARA News 2016.

144   The Docket 2022; Schindler and Gautier 2019.

145   Sabrine, Abdo and Brodie 2022.

146   Isakhan 2018.

Natural Hazards and Climate Change: How Natural Hazards and Climate Change Impact Heritage

Natural hazards are more common today and their numbers are growing. Yet, while the number of people affected and the damage is growing, the death rate is falling.[147] Clearly, this is due to the success of Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) programs. Heritage management plans increase the resilience of the material past as well as that of the local population. This way it can be argued that, although the hazard itself will take place, its impact on heritage can be mitigated. Thus, the preparation for natural hazards has a positive effect, reducing the vulnerability of heritage and increasing the resilience of the local population. Neither of the other crisis domains - violent conflict and humanitarian crisis - have been able to match the success of DRR for natural hazards. Nevertheless, they remain a destructive and damaging force, destroying significant heritage (particularly natural heritage, immovable heritage, or moveable heritage that was not taken to safety) when they occur and making response extremely challenging.

Max Scriwanek is the Director of the National Archives of Curacao and a Coordinator of the Caribbean Regional Cultural Emergency Hub, an organisation established by the NGO Cultural Emergency Response (CER)[148], to act as a coordination point for cultural emergency response which can mobilise in the event of crisis. The CER hub partner is the Cultural Heritage Emergency Network (CHEN), an initiative of the Caribbean Regional Branch of the International Council of Archives (CARBICA). It works across all Caribbean Sea islands and Suriname, to tackle climate emergencies, which are considered to be the primary threat in the area.[149]

"Recent disasters we have dealt with include hurricanes in the Caribbean, volcano eruption on St. Vincent, and fire at the Archives Barbados.

"Have you ever experienced a Hurricane?" asked Scriwanek. "It knocks out all infrastructure: telecommunications, airports, roads, harbor etc. We must take small steps for recovery and mitigation.

"Salvaging critical records like the Civil Registry helps all other crisis management efforts. Heritage is a community's Identity. It helps people to maintain a sense of recognition when they experience shock".[150]

The launch of the Regional Hub in the Caribbean in 2023 signifies a pivotal moment in ongoing efforts to protect and preserve the region's cultural heritage. The objectives of the Regional Hub go beyond coordination - they aspire to develop channels and protocols for seamless collaboration among authorities, civil emergency actors, and cultural heritage institutions. This includes integrating cultural heritage into disaster response mechanisms at local, national, and regional levels.

Traditional architecture is very much influenced by climate and natural hazards: it has been established that buildings constructed by indigenous populations almost always sustain less damage during natural hazards than those built by recent inhabitants.[151] Some heritage sites are deliberately built with natural disasters in mind. In the early Middle Ages, some churches in the northern provinces of the Netherlands were constructed on mounds to protect them from flooding. Given its geographical location, Japan has always been very susceptible to earthquakes, city fires, floods, and other hazards including tsunamis. Consequently, traditional buildings and historic cities have been constructed in such a way as to withstand these disasters through traditional materials and construction methods, now called 'survival designs.' Japanese disaster experts appeal to modern architects to integrate survival designs into their modern designs.[152] Other sites incorporate DRR planning into features within the site. For example, Speicherstadt and Kontorhaus District with Chilehaus is a UNESCO

Figure 7.11: Lakeview Floodline High Marking. © U.S. Army Corps of Engineers / Information, Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons.

World Heritage listed ensemble of port warehouses built on canals that lead to the sea. Many of the buildings have flood defences built into the basements, such as sealable doors. In cases of flooding, moveable objects (whether belonging to businesses and museums) are moved to basements in well-practiced operations and there is no loss.

As with situations of violent conflict, the pain caused by damaged and demolished heritage leads to 'places of pain' or 'sites of memory' (lieux de mémoire) that are increasingly considered to be heritage sites. There are several examples of transformed and newly 'constructed' heritage resulting from a natural hazard. One example is from the tsunami in Atjeh, Indonesia in 2004, where a boat landed on the second level of a home in Lampulo, about 2 km north of Banda Aceh and 1km from where it was docked. It's said that 59 villagers survived the tsunami by climbing into the stuck boat. The boat became part of heritage trails launched in 2010.[153] It is maintained by the local community to witness and

memorialize the tsunami whilst also attracting tourists. Lonely Planet calls it *"the most famous of the 2004 tsunami sights".[154]* After Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans in 2005, the spray-painted "X" symbols left by rescue and recovery teams on every building were purposefully preserved by the occupants as the graffiti was seen as a form of memorial (figure 7.11).[155] An earthquake in 1968 completely erased the little town of Gibellina on Sicily, which was rebuilt years later at a nearby location. The site of the village ruins was given to the artist Alberto Burri, who entirely covered it with concrete while preserving the streetscape. Now it is preserved as a concrete art project and at the same time turned the disaster area into a permanent memorial (figure 7.12).[156] Natural disasters have unexpectedly become potent drivers for peacebuilding, often prompting communities to come together in solidarity and cooperation during times of crisis. Disasters and conflicts can foster solidarity among communities, leading to increased trust and understanding.[157]

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147   The Data Team 2017.

148   Cultural Emergency Response: https://www.culturalemergency.org/

149   For more see the CER Annual Impact Report 2023 https://cms.culturalemergency.org/storage/media/CER-Impact-Report-2023-Interactive.pdf

150   Scriwanek, personal communication via interview April 2024.

151   Forbes 2018; Doğangünet al. 2006; Abhyankar 2023.

152   Okubo 2016.

153   Rico 2014.

154   Lonely Planet N.D.

155   Dawdy 2016.

156   Bouse 2016.

157   Ide and Scheffran 2014.

Figure 7.12: The „Cretto di Burri" of Gibellina, by Gabriel Valentini, 2009 © Boobax, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

Samuel Arce Franco is the Executive Director of Casa K'ojom/ Centro de Rescate Cultural in Guatemala, and one of the coordinators of the Central America Regional Hub, an organisation established by the NGO Cultural Emergency Response (CER),[158] to act as a coordination point for cultural emergency response which can mobilise in the event of crisis. The hub aims to improve coordination and capacity building across Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and other neighbouring and nearby countries where possible.

Franco said: *"We have basically managed crises caused by natural disasters, like floods, volcano eruptions, hurricanes where some archives, libraries and archaeological sites were affected. Communities in Saint Marteen, St. Vincent, El Salvador, and Guatemala were affected by not having access to the sites for a short period of time during the stabilization stage. This did not cause a serious crisis, it was a temporary situation. Only in Guatemala after a volcano eruption, some communities were evacuated and transferred to a different location which affected their intangible cultural heritage, as these communities for generations have been coffee pickers and workers. They were transferred to a totally different land where no coffee grows, causing significant crisis in their professions and traditions. The community had to be resilient and adapt to new jobs or ways of income. Some returned to the ground zero area to restart their lives again - even though they are in a high risk area, they refuse to evacuate or live away from their family homelands".[159]*

Many of these crises, Franco said, were outside of their control, budget, and capacities. Addressing these issues is critical. As just one example, supported by CER, to try and develop capacity in his region, Franco participated in the Regional Course for Emergency Response to Documentary Heritage in Quito, Ecuador. During the course, he led heritage stewards in training to become experts in safeguarding collections and facilitated the strengthening of the nascent cultural emergency responder network in Latin America.[160]

As noted, climate change is a significant factor multiplying the impact of natural disasters, and has come to play a major part in discussions by itself.[161] In the first instance, the heritage sector has tended to focus on the direct and potential effects of climate change on the physical integrity of the variety of heritage assets. Influenced by the first World Heritage climate action plans, heritage professionals tackled the effects of climate change with standard preventive actions (including monitoring, reporting, and mitigation) and corrective actions, through global and regional strategies and local management plans, and by sharing knowledge.

A report of the ICOMOS Climate Change and Cultural Heritage Working Group shows in great detail what the impacts of climate change are on tangible and intangible heritage (ICOMOS 2019). For example, climate change can have an adverse impact on culturally relevant species, impacting or restricting peoples' ability to engage in traditional cultural practices. Climatic events like increased temperatures, changing freeze/thaw cycles, permafrost thaw, increased humidity, winds, and wildfires, changing seasons, and changes in species migrations, including the spread of invasive species, can all cause damage to structural and archaeological heritage. These events can cause cracking, deterioration, rust, decay of biological materials, looting, foundational damage, collapse, loss of artefacts, destabilization of buildings, appearance of vegetation, and more forms of damage. Movable heritage is also impacted by climate change, as it can cause space constraints and strain on Heating, Ventilation, and Air Conditioning (HVAC) facilities in museums, damage to museums themselves, change in access roads and paths, corrosion of metals, warping of paintings, warping and cracking of wood, damage to archival paper, mould, and increase in pest populations. Climate change can also lead to loss of local language or vocabulary that is linked to specific natural elements or relationships with the natural environment.

Changes in environmental conditions can directly affect the buried evidence of our past. Archaeological sites become victims of exacerbating decay mechanisms, by the growing danger of floods, draughts, permafrost melting, and quick changes in precipitation. A sad example is the Bering Land Bridge National Preserve on the western coast of Alaska that is covered with archaeological artifacts, the highest concentration in North America (figure 7.13). Warming temperatures, thawing permafrost, and rising sea levels cause much damage to the site and artefacts are washed away.[162]

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158   Cultural Emergency Response: https://www.culturalemergency.org/

159   Franco, personal communication via interview April 2024.

160   For more on the hub, see the CER Annual Impact Report 2023. https://cms.culturalemergency.org/storage/media/CER-Impact-Report-2023-Interactive.pdf

161   Dawson 2023a/b.

162   Neal 2020.

Figure 7.13: Stone structure and lake, Bering Land Bridge National Preserve. © Alan Levine / Bering Land Bridge National Preserve, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

The same goes for the famous statues on Easter Island, the majority of which are on the coast. Rising sea levels and increasing storms cause heavy damage to the statues, including the significant subsurface archaeological deposits.[163] Extreme low water levels and the retreat of glaciers uncover hidden archaeological remains that are then in need of documentation or emergency excavation or face the risk of being lost forever. A very recent example is the sudden exposure of the so-called 'Hungersteine' (Hunger Stones), which once served as omens of crop failure and hunger, warning the inhabitants of bad times to come. They were exposed when water levels in the rivers Rhine and Elbe were lower than ever before. Built heritage in coastal lowlands are threatened by rising sea levels, and those built too close to the river banks have become progressively vulnerable to increased flooding. The rising number of catastrophic floods and future precipitation trends threaten historic centres such as Prague and Venice, while the threat of sand encroachment forces the walls of the Sankoré mosque in Timbuktu to be raised more

frequently. The historic walls of Ludlow in the United Kingdom began to crumble due to climate change. They stood for 800 years, but in the last decade the damage has become so severe that inhabitants living near the walls were advised to leave their homes.

Indirect impacts of climate change like changes in average temperatures and relative humidity over short time periods and more extreme fluctuations cause conservators to adjust their management plans. HVAC systems need to be constantly adjusted, and pest management plans need to be modified as higher temperatures enable increased biological attacks from fungi or insects and exotic pest agents can enter colder climate zones. Climate change has prompted many administrators to pay more attention to sustainability by retrofitting historic buildings for energy efficiency to mitigate greenhouse gases, and to take a closer look at the chemicals used in their conservation laboratories.

Over time, heritage professionals have also come to re-

cognize the negative consequences of climate change impacts on heritage for human well-being, and the impact on social and cultural aspects of society. Taking action to protect and safeguard material heritage from climate change is not enough. Climate change puts an extra burden on already vulnerable heritage assets. Too often, data is collected with quantitative methods, neglecting the notion that heritage is about people and not only about 'stones.' What are the consequences of climate change at community level, for social cohesion, inclusion and equity? Adaptation to climate change can lead to loss of cultural memory, traditional practices, ways of life and the stories and practices that are connected to tangible heritage. In Japan the timing of the annual traditional cherry trees blossom festival was forced to change as a result of the changing seasons due to climate change. The flowering of the blossoms is a metaphor for the transience of life, and its celebrations involve massive picnicking under a cherry tree and enjoying the blossom-covered landscape. As the warm seasons have grown longer the dates of the festivities have had to shift. Yet, any deviation from the ancient tradition is interpreted as trouble for the coming year. At the Kanuma Autumn Festival, held every second week

of October at Imamiya Shrine, near Nikko, the centerpiece of the celebration - which has been designated a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage ("Yama, Hoko, Yatai, float festivals") - are 27 massive wooden floats, exquisitely maintained by artisans using ancient skills to this day. These carnival floats had to replace the cherry blossoms with artificial flowers, as the natural ones had already fallen from the trees (figure 7.14).[164]

As noted in the previous conflict section, traditional food systems, including the production, processing, transportation, and consumption of food items, are a relatively new field of study. [165]Today traditional food systems are disrupted by floods, cyclones, and droughts -- all of which occur more frequently due to climate change. The availability of local foods decreases, as do festivals centred around those foods, food preparation, and food storage practices, all while food insecurity is on the rise. Indigenous Americans such as the Navajo, for example, are noting that it is more challenging to find quality traditional ingredients like chokeberries and yucca, as climate change is damaging and threatening crops. Members of this community note that their teachings lie within their food and land, both of which are negative-

Figure 7.14: Hachinohe Sansha Taisai, float, 2017 - Hachinohe, Aomori © Daderot, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons

163   Neal 2020.

164   Brimblecombe et al. 2018.
165   Dembedza et al. 2022.

ly impacted by climate change.[166] Kimjang, the making and sharing of Kimchi, inscribed in 2013 on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, is threatened by climate change, as it requires a narrow band of temperatures to grow cabbage. As temperatures warm, the available land in which to grow cabbage shrinks, and unpredictable rains and increased pests further threaten crops.[167]

Natural Hazards and Climate Crisis: How Heritage Impacts Natural Hazards and Climate Change

For a long time, the study of climate adaptation and mitigation practices was primarily the remit of natural sciences, and the potential of cultural heritage knowledge to inform climate adaptation has been noticeably underestimated in discussions amongst managers and policymakers. That changed once climate and heritage researchers, archaeologists, ethnographers, and historians approached each other to find ways for collaborative research to identify better adaptation strategies. They soon realised that the results of their interdisciplinary research were beyond expectation. The history of climate change, the use of local and traditional knowledge to adapt to climate change from ethnographers, and data from prehistoric climate change and social transformation yielded precious information to improve climate action today.

Archaeology and natural sciences have a long-standing tradition of cooperation where the studies of nature provide data that are critical for the interpretation of the results of archaeological studies. For a long time the contributions of archaeological research have been overlooked. Today, this has changed, certainly since the introduction of a new and evolving discipline called 'the archaeology of climate change' where heritage sites are not only considered as victims of climate change but also part of the solution.[168] The aim is to study the inter-

actions between the physical realities of the natural environment and the human social environment owing to climate change and accelerated warming in the past. As the climate has changed frequently throughout history, human beings were impelled to adapt to the changes and reorganize their societies in order to survive, just as is the case today. The archaeology of climate change enables us to identify the different climate challenges people were facing through time and across space, the strategies they developed to stop or mitigate them, and whether they were successful or not: in short, factors of human resilience. This new interdisciplinary science combines archaeological records from excavations with data from natural climate archives (e.g., pollen data, sediment records, ice cores) and paleoclimate records.

When in the mid-20th century climate modelling became popular, more paleoclimate information became available and stimulated the cooperation between paleoclimate researchers, earth scientists and archaeologists. With the availability of data of interactions between the natural and social environment, scientists were able to design models of future climate risks and sustainable responses. The close collaboration between the different climate researchers and the integration of their datasets also overcame the problem of spatial association – to what extent can data from polar areas be compared to data collected in tropical or moderate climate zones? In addition to paleo-environmental records, regional and local climate signals from archaeology can bridge the global-scale character of the paleoclimate data by providing data at local-to regional-scale more suitable to investigate climate change on a human scale. The archaeology of climate change also documents complete cycles of change and therefore becomes an important planning tool toward a substantial response to global warming. The relevance of this new field of archaeology lies in the fact that, on the one hand, it informs us about the human interactions, values, expectations, perceptions, and beliefs on which past communities and societies based their decisions to adapt to climate changes. On the other hand, it expands our catalogue of possibilities of climate action in todays' complex social environment. Today, most politicians and policy makers accept

Figure 7.15: Mud houses near Aleppo, Syria. © Bernard Gagnon, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

that climate change is a man-made problem, and that it can be more effectively addressed mostly through changes in the social environment.[169]

Many scholars and practitioners are now re-investigating the utility of traditional architecture to withstand natural hazards, particularly in the face of climate change. For example, mud, a traditional construction material in Africa, more easily keeps buildings cool compared with concrete (figure 7.15). Architects are now reinvestigating the utility of mud as a construction material given the significant warming of Africa.[170]

However, traditional knowledge is not always indigenous knowledge. For example, Dutch cities have been repeatedly exposed to flooding events over history, and have needed to learn to adapt. As part of the 2018 National Government Delta Plan on Spatial Adaptation

(Deltaplan Ruimtelijkeadaptatie), the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands aims to help municipal departments integrate traditional knowledge(e.g. construction techniques and historical reasons for certain construction choices) into their stress tests by looking at aspects such as historical water systems, natural landscape dynamics, climate change, urban morphology and traditional measures and knowledge of flood protection. As well as significantly enhancing flood prevention / protection, the initiative has contributed to reinforcing the cultural identity of the municipalities, resulting in adaptation policies that are tailored to their local conditions and existing heritage. Such respect for the local character has contributed to winning residents' support. One review of the project (and others like it) found that cultural heritage receives more attention in policy agendas when it is perceived as a tool to achieve results in other fields beyond conservation.[171]

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166   Inside Climate News 2024.

167   Kim 2024.

168   Burkea et al. 2021.

169   See 24th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP24) 2 - 14 December 2018 Katowice, Poland. https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/conferences/past-conferences/katowice-climate-change-conference-december-2018/sessions-of-negotiating-bodies/cop-24

170   Schwartzstein 2023.

171   ARCH 2020.

New views on heritage have come to the fore in the climate debate. The cultural dimensions of climate change cannot be disregarded anymore; they have become a strategic resource. Neither can the contributions of cultural heritage to the climate change debate. This was officially acknowledged by the 2015 Paris Agreement[172] and the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals[173], where international world leaders agreed that cultural heritage can guide choices and contribute to the promotion and support of resilience and sustainability in climate action programs. However, it is also true that some agricultural traditions exacerbate climate change, certainly in today's modern contexts. Wetland cultivation by local populations, for example, can have an adverse effect on the wetlands themselves resulting in their disappearance and the loss of their biodiversity.

Like heritage, climate change is about people. Discussions now include: how people adapt to rapid changes in communities and societies; how this embraces loss and how that 'fear of loss' hinders transformation and continuity; how knowledge from the past can contribute and shape our future; and that culture and nature both create a feeling of responsibility of inheritance. Popular debates and campaigns on climate change draw heavily on iconic images from threatened heritage. For exam-

Figure 7.16: Flooding at Piazza San Marco, Italy 2004 © Wolfgang Moroder CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons

Figure 7.16: New Zealand delegation at the UN Forum on Indigenous Issues. © Broddi Sigurðarson, CC BY-SA 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

ple, images of a flooded St. Marco Square in Venice, Italy (figure 7.16), are used as a totem through which the urgency of the climate crisis and the huge future loss caused by global warming is portrayed to a worldwide audience.

There are many ways in which cultural heritage can assist in reducing the impact of natural hazards and climate change. The study of local and indigenous knowledge has produced a wealth of information for climate change adaptation. Local and indigenous communities have millennia of experience in adapting to a changing environment and have developed sustainable adaptation strategies and methods passed on by oral history and traditions. The value of this knowledge for our response to climate change has been recognized but more could be done to protect these communities, many of which are at risk of disappearing (largely due to aggressive economic policies).

A number of cases illustrate the use of local and indigenous knowledge to adapt to climate change. The 80,500 inhabitants from Simeulue, an island off the west coast of Sumatra, knew from their ancestors how the sea behaves and knew that ahead of a tsunami, the buffaloes would seek higher ground. In 2004, when the buffalo fled to the hills the people followed, resulting in only 7 deaths during the tsunami, an extremely low number compared to that experienced more widely, where the tsunami killed an estimated 227,898 people in 14 countries.[174] Across the global south, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, many communities rely on local and indigenous knowledge to anticipate climate change and forecast natural hazards.[175]

In many countries the blossoming of trees warns of the changing of seasons. If these signs are earlier or later than expected, they can turn into bad omens for changes in nature. The flowering of coffee trees in Kenya

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172   The Paris Agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 2015 was signed by 196 countries under the auspices of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and seeks to keep global temperature rise well below 2°C this century, and to pursue efforts to limit it to 1.5°C.
       UNFCCC: https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement.

173   The Sustainable Development Goals were created in 2015 by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and are intended to be achieved by 2030. The collection of 17 interlinked global goals are drawn up to be a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future.
       Sustainable Development Goals: https://sdgs.un.org/goals

174   Villagrán de León et al. 2006.
175   Filho et al. 2022.

is an indication that the rainy season is near; and in other African countries including Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, the blossoming of peach trees is considered a sign that the rainy season is about to start. African farmers also use traditional knowledge in farming systems, including livestock management, land management and soil-fertility management. A final example of the use of local and indigenous knowledge is that of the inhabitants of Majuli, an island in the Brahmaputra River in Assam, India. The annual flooding has caused significant erosion of the river and the displacement of communities. Over the years they developed modular and portable building techniques using local materials including building on stilts. This enabled them to move over 30 ancient monasteries (sattras) holding important tangible and intangible value in cases of immediate threat.[176] Heritage and the traditional skills that have been maintained over the centuries, therefore, can be essential to enhance prevention and mitigation of natural hazards and climate change.

There are, however, a few catches to these forecasts. First of all, they only apply to the location, community or culture where they originate from, and thus may be limited in scalability. Second, not all predictions are still valid today, as some of the signs like vegetation, land-use, or animals are simply non-existent in the relevant areas today. Due to recent natural and social developments, the weather forecasting of the Borana herders in Kenya, who base their forecasts on intestine readings, animal body language, and plant body language, are not believed to be reliable anymore. Third, the intergenerational transmission of knowledge – the stories told by the old to the young – is threatened by urbanization and the perception among younger generations that local and indigenous knowledge is unreliable. Fourth, (anecdotal) evidence indicates that often people seem to give preference to modern prediction systems over traditional knowledge systems. As a result, knowledge from local or indigenous people has not been well documented. One reason is that the qualitative methodology needed to collect such data often contrasts with the quantitative approaches of modern scientific data collection. Exacerbating this is the general disinterest in non-expert views.

The clear conclusion is that both modern and traditional knowledge systems which complement each other, need to be integrated into climate adaptation strategies. Additionally, it is clear that more research is needed on local and indigenous knowledge.[177] The 2022 issue of Development Policy Review published three tables revealing interesting information around indigenous knowledge. Table 1 lists the "Common indicators used by communities and smallholder farmers for weather and climate hazard prediction informed by indigenous and local knowledge possessed across Africa"; Table 2 shows the "Benefits of ILK (indigenous and local knowledge) knowledge/practices in climate change adaptation strategies"; and Table 3 gives an "Overview of existing National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) mentioning ILK in the 10 African case-study countries". For example, the study noted that

"ILK of the natural environment has proven helpful for farmers and pastoralists as early warning and alert signs. Even so, the evidence of effectiveness is not generalizable across all geographic areas or indicators. In sub-Saharan Africa, established forms of ILK include observations of and inferences drawn from animal behaviour, cloud type and cover, and specific vege-tation phenomena. The early-warning alert signs, or indicators have been useful in specific contexts for predicting weather conditions and/or climatic impacts, including the onset of rains, rainfall yield (high or low amount of rainfall),and drought."

Although the were clear benefits, the study went on to note that indigenous and local predictions can be in disagreement, and not can such predictive systems be generalised outside the area in which they were developed. It is also clear that global warming affects less developed, often fragile states more than the industrialized states, as they have fewer resources for warning systems, adaptive measures, and recovery.

Heritage and climate change are now both recognized as dynamic, and the notion of transition instead of stability or a static past is a much preferred way to assure climate action. Yet, in the climate change-cultural heritage nexus there still remains room for improvement, including developing new methods and models to generalize knowledge from different scales and levels to the global reality of today.

Humanitarian Crises: How Humanitarian Crises Impact Heritage

A humanitarian crisis often is the direct or indirect result of a violent conflict, a natural hazard, or a complex emergency. Many of the negative outcomes on heritage in these crises continue when a humanitarian emergency arises. However, impacts on heritage from some of the thematic groups under the UN cluster system for humanitarian emergencies, in particular refugees, has received very little attention so far.

Relocation of crisis-affected people and communities have different causes. Violent conflict, drought, famine, climate change, and ethnic cleansing are just a few of the causes that can lead to a massive influx of refugees. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that by mid-2023, 117.3 million people worldwide were forcibly displaced at the end of 2023 as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, human rights violations or events seriously disturbing public order. The number of refugees worldwide will reach 103 million. Seventy five percent are hosted by low- and middle-income countries.[178] Forced displacement of people, whether internally displaced people (IDPs) or refugees, has diverse effects on their relations with heritage.

Some outcomes can be seen in direct impact on material heritage. In 2023, more than 7 million people were internally displaced in Syria.[179] Considering the number of people on the move and the ongoing war, safe havens became rare, and some took shelter in the Roman Byzantine so-called "Dead Cities". The Dead Cities are a group of approximately 700 abandoned settlements in northwest Syria between Aleppo and Idlib. Around 40 of the best preserved villages have been grouped

Figure 7.17: Displaced Ivorians queue for food at a UNHCR distribution site in Liberia. © DFID - UK Department for International Development, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

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176   *Neal 2020.*

177   *Filho et al. 2022.*

178   *UNHCR 2025.*

179   *UNHCR: Syria website 2025 https://www.unhcr.org/sy/internally-displaced-people*

Figure 7.18: Site looting, Maskhan Shapir, Iraq, 2003. © John Russell.

into eight archaeological parks and inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List as the "Ancient Villages of Northern Syria."[180] However, many have been reoccupied as the only available shelter, resulting in extensive damage from digging, sewage, cracking of the basalt building stones from the flames of the fires needed for heating and cooking -- and the emptying of 'occupied' tombs to use as shelters.[181] Yet, for many IDPs, there is no other choice. The widespread poverty experienced by many refugees has also led to major increases in archaeological site looting, damaging and destroying hundreds of sites across Syria.[182] The same was also recorded in Iraq following the 2003 invasion (figure 7.18)[183], and in many countries since, with clear links

between the sale of those antiquities and organised crime and terrorism.[184]

There are also significant impacts on the intangible heritage of communities during humanitarian crises. IDPs and refugees not only have to leave home involuntarily, but also culturally important places, landscapes, traditions, and histories. Entire communities must part with local traditional material and cultural assets such as cemeteries, places for worship, and sacred places. In these situations, they often also lose their intangible heritage. The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage accepts that intangible heritage always adapts to the present, but it

does not always recognize the role of place and materials to continue the intangible practices.[185] In the Russo-Georgian war in August 2008, for example, 225,000 Georgians were forced to leave their homes during the fighting. They lost access to the materials for many of their traditional practices, including baking and brewing, and could no longer celebrate traditions such as Angels Day in the same way. The NGO Blue Shield Georgia has been working to document the effects of these losses on the IDPs from the Didi Liakhvi Valley and help ensure the traditions are remembered.[186]

One would think that among the displaced, nomads would suffer less than others. True, as a continuously travelling people, their possessions, traditional or not, are very sparse for practical reasons. Their household and working tools can usually be easily reproduced in a new context with some adaptation. Yet, pastoralists

from East Africa indicate that they do feel displacement: it completely changes their pastoralist relationship with the land and landscape, on which they are so dependent for survival. Practically all their skills and knowledge are directly related to their surroundings: how to produce food, medicine, and shelter. As for their few cultural objects, it seems that the knowledge, memory, and stories that they hold are more important than the objects themselves. Once they are forced to leave their ancestral grounds, all intangible knowledge, a basic need that is a great source of nomadic pride and identity, becomes nearly entirely meaningless.[187]

Similarly, relocation of artisans has a great influence on their work. Their craft is reconfigured by their loss of space and the intangible practices that are dependent on that space. Though changes in artisanal practices and craft are not unusual as they are continuously de-

Figure 7.19: Traditional herding of the Awassi sheep at Palmyra © Palmyrene Voices

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180   UNESCO World Heritage List: Ancient Villages of Northern Syria https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1348

181   Al Jazeera 2021; The Syrian Observer 2014.

182   Brodie and Sabrine 2018; Casana and Laugier 2017.

183   Stone and Farchakh Bajjaly 2008.

184   The Docket 2022.

185   UNESCO 2003

186   Tevzadze et al. 2022; Blue Shield Georgia - Intangible Heritage of Occupied Didi Liakhvi Valley: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLwKlxRoJGqUGzc7quoo4uGP46_v2xwESr

187   Mire 2017.

veloping, forced displacement leads to growing adaptation in a new environment that threaten their sense of belonging and identity as well as their economic and existential survival. [188]The project Palmyrene Voices is a good example of a humanitarian crisis with significant heritage impacts. During the civil war in Syria, which began in 2011, the World Heritage Site of Palmyra and adjacent town of Tadmur were heavily affected due to their geographically strategic location and cultural significance. Thousands of local people fled. The project, established by Heritage for Peace, seeks to support the Palmyrene people, including those in the diaspora, in preserving their tangible and intangible heritage. It aims to tackle looting of cultural objects from the area; support traditional handicrafts of the diaspora, selling their goods online; document the traditions relating to the Awassi sheep of the Palmyrene pastoralists (figure 7.19); and has a photo gallery of the local people - *"Human stories behind the data, etched in every line.*

Glimpses of impact, reflected in a thousand smiles".[189]

Humanitarian crises can also lead to the creation of new, unexpected, heritage (figure 7.20). An example of a seemingly unimportant tool that becomes a symbol of diaspora and of identity is the story of some Palestinian refugees who hold on to the key of their ancestral houses, though some of the houses were destroyed decades ago. The keys to their homes became a symbol of the Palestinian "Nakba" – the "disaster"; the moment when the Palestinians were expelled from their homes or made to flee through various violent means before and during the establishment of the Israeli State in 1947-1948. Most Palestinians have so far been unable to return to their ancestral homes, yet they save their keys for better days to come.[190]

The link between heritage and humanitarian programming is slowly becoming more established. Shortly after

Figure 7.20: "Future Memory - Tricycle" sculpture by Akira Fujimoto and Cannon Hersey, created in 2022, on display at the ICRC Museum. It represents the tricycle of three year old Shinichi Tetsutani, who died in the nuclear blast at Hiroshima, 6 August 1945, along with 140000 others. The original tricycle is in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. © E Cunliffe.

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188   Shahab 2021.

189   Palmyrene Voices https://palmyrenevoices.org/

190   Fisk 2018.

the Russian invasion of Ukraine began in February 2022, the international community sent heritage aid materials: the first shipments were stopped at the Polish-Ukrainian border as the Ukraine custom officials considered them 'building materials' and as such needed proper custom and tax forms. With the assistance of humanitarian colleagues the materials were sent through humanitarian corridors. They were considered humanitarian goods and were not liable for taxes. [191]

Humanitarian Crises: How Heritage Impacts Humanitarian Crises

One of the arguments for why humanitarians have such difficulty accepting cultural heritage as a basic human need equal to physiological and safety needs, is that there is hardly any evidence of either the impact of its loss on crisis-affected populations, or of the benefits that including it in humanitarian programming can bring.

The Humanitarian Charter, a series of rights and obligations aimed at ensuring the welfare of crisis-affected populations, states that crisis-affected people have the right to life with dignity, which it describes as "more than physical well-being; [dignity] demands respect for the whole person, including the values and beliefs of individuals and affected communities …"[192] (Sphere, 2018 p.29). Currently, it is not normal for humanitarian actors to ask about cultural needs in their community impact assessments, missing both community needs, and potential impacts on their work.[193]

Yet, local knowledge and intangible cultural heritage can be of great importance in humanitarian programming. For example, in digging a new well to fight water shortages, humanitarian workers sometimes forget to find out who had access to the well in the first place: tradition might prevent certain groups like the Paria in India from using the same well as the Brahmins. In Afghanistan (a semi-arid area), some NGOs ignored the

traditional water management systems (karez) that were still intact but out of use in some places, going to great effort to create new wells. These wells were an effective short term solution, but over time, they decreased groundwater levels resulting in increasing salination of the earth. Karez (large underground water tunnel networks) exhibit excellent craftsmanship and are an extraordinary cultural technical achievement balancing out the environment, economics and gravity, which have been in use in Afghanistan for several millennia. They are usually operated by local communities, many of whom need aid to rehabilitate their karez after years of neglect from conflict and other factors.[194] Similar examples can be recounted for all the other thematic groups that comprise the humanitarian ecosystem.

Traditional architecture can also provide direct benefits in humanitarian crises (as previously demonstrated in times of conflict and natural hazards). The example of Nias demonstrates how traditional housing can fulfil the basic need of shelter when other forms of architecture may no longer be available. The earthquakes of 26 December 2004 and 28 March 2005 demolished entire villages in Nias Island, Indonesia. Through the ADB-assisted Earthquake and Tsunami Emergency Project, houses were rebuilt using traditional designs which incorporated earthquake-resistant construction principles of interlocking pillars and beams that had been essential to Nias' traditional architecture, while allowing some degree of modernization, such as improved in-house sanitation and use of the ground floor for additional living space. The project struck a balance between budget constraints (utilizing cost-efficient construction methods) and the island's rich culture and heritage. The reconstruction experience showcased the benefits of direct community contracting and direct participation of residents in the post-earthquake rehabilitation of the island. By giving residents ownership and control of the reconstruction process, community contracting avoided the typical problems associated with conventional contractor-built projects. The outcome was "housing built by the people."[195] The work supported many facets of Nias social and cultural life: no foreign material such as

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191   Personal communication November 2022 with Sanne Letschert, CEO Cultural Emergency Response.

192   Sphere 2018, p18.

193   Price-Jones 2023.

194   Azami et al. 2021.

195   Steinberg 2009.

Figure 7.21: U.S. Ambassador, Earl R. Miller visited Rohingya refugee camps during a December 4-6 trip to Cox's Bazar, 2018. © U.S. Embassy Dhaka, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

concrete needed to be imported, all the required materials were locally available, and the indigenous construction knowledge was not lost. This story shows again how heritage can be a vital resource in a humanitarian crisis and help meet basic human needs.

However, it is not just traditional knowledge that can impact humanitarian crises. Heritage destruction can directly affect communities, adding another element to the crisis impacts. In particular, it affects the mental health of communities, most noticeably (but not only) in contexts of displacement.[196] Forced displacement means ties are broken abruptly, leaving the displaced with physical, mental, and spiritual health challenges. Communities are torn apart, resulting in loss of collec-

tive memory, social cohesion, the loss or disruption of their living heritage and in general the loss of identity. Thus, it is less the actual destruction of heritage itself that is our main concern but the impact it has on people confronted with it on a daily basis. The stress worsens when refugees are received in camps, reach a provisional destination, or resettle. The UN migration agency (IOM) found out that the Rohingya who fled from Myanmar to Bangladesh in 2017 sustained countless mental health problems owing to the destruction of their heritage. A rapid assessment in 2019 shows that 50% of the interviewees recognized an identity crisis as a normal problem and 73% declared that "a loss of cultural identity following their forced exodus from Myanmar in 2017 as one of the main factors of their distress".[197]

This realisation significantly impacted IOM programming: they decided to implement an inter-disciplinary psychosocial support project with a focus on intangible heritage preservation.[198] In itself, such a project is not unusual, but for a humanitarian organisation to use cultural heritage to solve mental health problems is certainly an exception. In the Rohingya Cultural Memory Centre, Rohingya cultural liaisons were recruited who interviewed hundreds of intergenerational Rohingyas. They were asked to identify intangible and tangible heritage that was the most central to them and worthwhile to preserve. The participants could upload their favourites on forums available on a website and YouTube. Next, to document and preserve the Rohingya's heritage, the initiative provided an online community space, interactive gallery, digital archive, and web-based exhibition (figure 7.21). Mental health officers offer art therapy, protection, and skills development activities. Through the collected artefacts and artworks, the refugees are thus given the opportunity to "tell their story" and "address their identity crisis." Both the project leader and the IOM stated that the project led to an improvement of refugees' mental health and well-being. In this instance, a humanitarian organization did consider cultural heritage a basic human need.

Hitherto, there has been little wider progress in getting those in the humanitarian aid sector to recognize culture and heritage as a basic human need and integrate it into the humanitarian structure. Fortunately, the situation is beginning to change. In a V&A Culture in Crisis roundtable event, two participants stated that they worked very well with their humanitarian colleagues during the heritage relief interventions after the Haiti earthquake (2010) and Nepal earthquake (2015). In their perception, the problem with recognizing heritage as a basic human need lies with the highest administrative levels.[199] If humanitarians do accept cultural heritage as a basic human need, as the IOM did, they will discover increasing evidence that heritage can assist them in solving, or at least mitigating, some of the impacts of the crisis on those affected.

There are several refugee projects directed towards creating new forms of coping strategies that enhance resilience among refugees. It is in the context of displacement that mental health problems are the most noticeable.[200] In particular, museums are very active in this field, targeting a combination of refugees and migrants with different projects.[201] Some museums have enabled those new to the host country to explore their experience through the history of their host country, showing them that at some point in time, the dark pages in history forced others to flee their countries too, either from or to the host country, giving them a connection to their new home. Other museums have concentrated on giving the refugees a voice, giving them room to tell their personal stories -- the human stories behind the statistics. Some have trained refugees to become tour guides, often for collections that have the same origin as the refugees, enabling them to find a sense of home in their new country.

One such project is the Abuab (Doors) project that started in 2019 in Barcelona, Spain.[202] It aims to use cultural heritage, mainly as represented in local museums, for social integration and intercultural dialogue. The target audience is refugees and migrants from the Middle East and North Africa. They have left their country involuntarily, and so struggle with their identity and feeling of belonging. Through the objects in the museum, they get insight into the history of migration and people fleeing from disaster from all parts of the world. Many of these artefacts are an expression of this very history, providing a transregional connection. Seeing the artistic fruits, the heritage of their own country, in the host country can stimulate their self-esteem and knowledge of history, revealing that the world is interconnected and that people have had to reinvent their identity many times before. By 2021, the project had reached around 5,000 refugees and migrants (figures 7.22, 7.23).

A similar project, the Multaka Project (Meeting Point), started in Berlin, Germany in 2015.[203] Unlike the Abuab project, this project only services refugees and takes

196   Ruhe 2017.
197   IOM Bangladesh 2021.
198   IOM 2021; IOM Bangladesh 2021.
199   V&A Culture in Crisis 2022; also see Manhart 2018.
200   Ruhe 2017.
201   Coates 2019.
202   Nolla et al. 2021.
203   Sabrine 2019.

Figure 7.22: Abuab Project at the Frederik Mares Museum, 2023 © Heritage for Peace

place twice a week in the four museums. The museum guides are chosen from the refugees who go through a one month training program covering German history and the history of their home countries through the museum objects. German history has many similarities with the histories of the refugees, as the nation expe-

rienced two world wars in the last millennium which caused many Germans to flee their country to build a new life and existence elsewhere. Those who stayed or returned were facing the atrocities of a violent war while seeking ways to cope with trauma, forced to reinvent a new identity in a country under reconstruction. The new modern Germany gives the refugees hope that there is light at the end of the tunnel. It is the task of the guides to show this development through the museum objects and in dialogue. At the same time the guides demonstrate the heritage of the refugee home countries on the basis of the museum objects, proving that their heritage is part of outstanding testimonies of human history, which increases their self-esteem. In addition to the museum visits, the refugees are offered different workshops. Together with local inhabitants they can choose from introductions to photography, mosaic work, textiles, glasswork, writing and the representations of women in Islam and Christianity. In addition to skills development, the aim of these workshops is 'to meet and greet'. The Multaka project has been replicated in several museums around the world. Both the Abuab and Multaka projects attest that museums can be active places for responding to a crisis and become real spaces for inclusion.

Many other museums have designed similar projects in an effort to include refugees in their new country and to tell their stories.[204] Today there are efforts directed towards Ukrainians who have fled as a result of the Russo-Ukrainian war. Several museums have worked to highlight the human stories of the war, like the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in Washington, DC, in the United States, which opened a 'portal' in 2016 where visitors could have a live conversation with refugees who fled IS in Northern Iraq and Assad's regime in Syria.[205] In the United Kingdom, the New Walk Museum in Leicester worked on a relabelling project during the refugee week in 2019. While visiting the museum's World Arts gallery, refugees reacted emotionally or felt a personal connection with artefacts exhibited from their home country. With the assistance of their creative writing teacher, each person wrote down their own thoughts and emotions that were triggered by a particular artefact. Refugees were able to tell their story, sharing their

204   Coates 2019.
205   United States Holocaust Memorial Museum N.D.

Figure 7.23: Abuab Project at the Sagrada Familia, 2023 © Heritage for Peace

knowledge and experience connected to the artefact.

Several refugees were trained as 'global guides' by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania in 2018. They make personal connections between artefacts in the new Middle East Gallery and the countries they came from.[206] At the London's Migration Museum the Room to Breathe exhibition started in November 2018 and lasted over half a year. The refugee and migrant artists in residence were offered a number of rooms where visitors are invited to interact with the space to open drawers, investigate the objects and read stories thus presenting a personal narrative of the refugee experience. [207] [208]

As Price-Jones sets out in one of the first detailed studies of the interlinkages between the heritage and humanitarian sectors, and as evidenced here:
"When considering heritage destruction through a hu-

manitarian ecosystem lens, it is not the destruction itself that is the main consideration but the impact of the destruction on the people experiencing it. It may indeed be the case that people are indivisible from their culture as heritage organisations claim; however, this does not necessarily mean it is a basic need during a crisis that the humanitarian ecosystem should be meeting. Instead, the focus for the humanitarian ecosystem should be to understand the impact of heritage destruction on affected people and how it can create humanitarian needs."[209]

Culture may not automatically be a basic human need, but nor is never one. It is up to the crisis-affected communities to determine what their needs are, and, in line with the Sphere Standards, for humanitarians to respond in culturally sensitive ways. In addition, traditional knowledge and cultural adaptations to local situations can offer new and better ways of working when

206   Also see Jia, 2019.
207   Coates 2019.
208   For other similar projects see Assandri 2016; Dunmore 2016; and Yeo 2018.
209   Price-Jones 2023: 252

integrated into humanitarian response, much as neglecting them can cause challenges.

Towards a Crises-Cultural Heritage Nexus

The impacts of crises on heritage, at least on tangible heritage, are relatively well understood by the heritage sector. However, including it more widely in any stage of the disaster response cycle by other actors will require significant further work. Fortunately, the impacts of the loss of cultural heritage on communities, and the importance of heritage in the Response and Recovery Stages of the DRR cycle are becoming better established. Just as relevantly, the contributions of local knowledge and intangible heritage to the Planning and Mitigation stages are also becoming clearer. Collating these impacts represent important first steps, although significant further research is needed.

So far, this paper has focussed on planning for crises, and the crises themselves. The penultimate chapter will focus on crisis response and recovery, and the role that heritage plays.

Further Reading

Targeting History and Memory website:
https://heritage.sensecentar.org/

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Distinctive Marking of Cultural Property. UNESCO & Blue Shield International. UNESCODOC.
https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000380180?posInSet=1&queryId=efd06f07-0013-4363-b46a-fed82913ab96

Conflict Antiquities: How Looted Artifacts Fund Conflict and Terrorism. The Docket. 2022. https://cfj.org/news/conflict-antiquities-how-looted-artifacts-fund-conflict-and-terrorism/

Cultural Emergency Response: https://www.culturalemergency.org/

Cultural Emergency Response (CER) Annual Impact Report 2023 https://cms.culturalemergency.org/storage/media/CER-Impact-Report-2023-Interactive.pdf

24th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP24) 2 - 14 December 2018 Katowice, Poland. https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/conferences/past-conferences/katowice-climate-change-conference-december-2018/sessions-of-negotiating-bodies/cop-24

Good practices in building cultural heritage resilience. ARCH 2020 https://savingculturalheritage.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/Deliverables/ARCH_D7.2_GoodPractices.pdf

Chapter 8 Responding to Crisis

The ultimate goal of DRR is to reduce the risk of disasters and strengthen communities' resilience. DRR aims to prevent new disasters, reduce existing ones, and manage residual risks.[210] Before any intervention at any stage of a crisis, a detailed analysis of the situation is required. Take for example a refugee crisis as a consequence of a violent conflict. What are the causes of the conflict and refugee crisis? Do the refugees belong to a specific group (ethnic, religious, women and children, the poor)? Are they mostly internally displaced persons (IDPs), or taking refuge abroad? Does the local population have any experience with refugees in the past? Are there any known hostilities towards or between some of the refugees? How big is the inequality between the refugees? And so forth. The same goes for any other crisis. Every crisis has its specifics, which can result in totally different situations: therefore crisis analysis remains an essential tool. Many such tools rely

on big data and quantitative information analysis, but as noted, the human element is essential.

However, undertaking such work is challenging. IC-CROM have developed PATH - a Peacebuilding Assessment Tool for Heritage Recovery and Rehabilitation, a

> "first-of-its-kind tool that enhances an understanding of the interplay between heritage and conflict dynamics in a given context. Designed as a self-assessment and reflective tool, PATH enables its users to identify the cultural drivers of a conflict that could prolong it or make the conflict reoccur due to unresolved, or newer grievances. The guiding questions and exercises in the Tool can be used at any stage of a heritage recovery and rehabilitation project. Additionally, it can be applied to diverse conflict contexts and different types of heritage. It is intended to help

> heritage practitioners, peacebuilders and supporting organizations to take key decisions on which heritage gets preserved or rebuilt; where, when and by whom. Such decisions are key to maintaining peace and addressing the root causes of a conflict".[211]

One such PATH tool is 'Mapping Stakeholders'. The Guide offers several exercises that make it easier to identify the stakeholders who could be affected by heritage interventions. Such approaches, that map heritage vulnerabilities, community vulnerabilities, and wider stakeholders, may also prevent, or at least mitigate, the structural societal inequalities and contribute to peace.

Likewise, a detailed vulnerability assessment gives more insight into the root causes of inequality of those who are exposed to disaster. The vulnerabilities of the heritage must also be identified and assessed, as well as the vulnerabilities of the communities, as part of any risk analysis. Inclusive heritage means that the

role of experts has to change: they are key participants in discussions of heritage, but in partnership with communities.

As response moves to recovery, longer term dynamics come into play.[212] Acute societal crisis can lead to profound change on both individual and group identities. Group identities are often simplified to an irreconcilable "us" and "them". Whilst cultural heritage can be used to form bonds between some groups, it can lead to further distancing from other groups, and further violence on a symbolic and ideological level. This inevitably has important consequences in the subsequent reconstruction process, whether locally, nationally, or internationally led.

The deliberate shelling by Croat forces, leading to the eventual collapse of the Stari Most Bridge on 9 November 1993 in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, was interpreted internationally as a symbol of the ultimate collapse of dialogue and of a shared heritage. Yet, speaking to

Figure 8.1: Sudanese people at the Meroe Pyramids © Heritage for Peace.

Figure 8.2: The reconstructed Stari Most Bridge. Ramirez, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons

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210   UNDRR: Disaster Risk Reduction https://www.undrr.org/terminology/disaster-risk-reduction#:~:text=Disaster%20risk%20reduction%20is%20aimed,the%20achievement%20of%20sustainable%20development

211   Tandon, Harrowell and Selter 2021.
212   Viejo-Rose 2013.

the shared power of heritage, Croatian writer Slavenka Drauliç wrote:

> "Why do we feel more pain looking at the image of the destroyed bridge than the image of massacred people? Perhaps because we see our own mortality in the collapse of the bridge. We expect people to die; we count on our lives to end. The destruction of a monument to civilisation is something else. The bridge in all its beauty and grace was built to outline us; it was an attempt to grasp eternity … A dead woman is one of us – but the bridge is all of us forever".[213]

Led by UNESCO, the international community poured money into the reconstruction, lauding it as a symbol of reconciliation and the building of a metaphorical bridge between the different communities on each side of the river. Today, the site is a World Heritage site (figure 8.2), but the city of Mostar remains highly divided, with segregated schooling, two football teams and two universities.[214]

Heritage management and its structures, policies, and staff must be also rebuilt as much as heritage itself. Training and resources must also account for the new post-conflict realities. Too often, international interventions focus on visually impressive reconstruction, neglecting the ongoing day-to-day management of heritage, which will have suffered a slow, but no less serious, attrition as its tangible counterpart. National capacity building is vital, but often neglected due to the scale of the work required.

Organisations like Cultural Emergency Response (CER) are at the front of such partnerships. The Dutch based NGO aims to coordinate and support locally-led protection of heritage under threat, developing and strengthening decentralised infrastructures for cultural emergency response. Their work focuses on providing fast, flexible support to fit the needs of local actors in crisis situations and investing in partners' capacities through dialogue, training, and sharing expertise.
"CER's primary approach of engaging directly with local communities and responders underscores its commitment to protecting endangered cultural heritage. The successful establishment and support of regional hubs have further enhanced our ability to identify and address regional needs while strengthening existing local capacities and infrastructure. The operational readiness of the Levant, Western Balkans, Central America, and Caribbean Regional Hubs, with plans underway for the Black Sea Regional Hub in Ukraine, is a significant achievement in CER's mission. Through these Regional Hubs, CER serves as a beacon of support for local communities, ensuring that their cultural needs are met through organic and localised approaches."[215]

In 2023 they received 51 requests for aid, and were able to support 16 different countries experiencing crisis, conflict, and disaster. Following the devastating 2023 earthquake in Syria and Türkiye, for example, CER worked with the Regional Hub in the Levant, hosted by NGO Biladi.[216] With CER, and NGO Heritage for Peace, the Regional Hub succeeded in leading and informing a comprehensive response effort, supporting heritage experts in preparing, training, equipping, and coordinating third-party damage assessments specifically for earthquake damages in all the regions affected by the seismic events. Regional teams on the ground produced more than 1500 assessments covering earthquake damages in all affected areas. They examined public spaces, cultural sites, religious sites, schools, markets, workshops, archaeological sites, and more. Additionally, CER worked with Ettijahat – Independent Culture to distribute substantial financial stipends to 14 cultural workers and heritage practitioners whose work was directly interrupted by the earthquakes in Syria. This enabled them to continue their work even in the prolonged aftermath of devastation.

The Regional Hub also had a significant impact on the work of others globally. They provided training to heritage stakeholders in Jordan, strengthened their relations with counterparts in Iraq, offered in-kind support to damage assessors in Türkiye, and shared knowledge and insight with colleagues in Ukraine.

At the heart of response and recovery are different conceptions of heritage. It is important to realise that none are wrong. Experts, communities, and interest groups can differ in their attribution of meanings to heritage. Though different understandings may be in competition, they can also be used to start dialogue, a forum to 'meet the other' - and perhaps even provide the modest beginning of a reconciliation process and a move to peacebuilding, another area where cultural heritage can play a key role.

From Crisis to Peace

Peacebuilding is the process of proactively and sustainably addressing the root causes of conflict and promoting long-term peace and stability in societies affected by violence or fragility. It involves a range of activities aimed at preventing the recurrence of conflict, resolving existing disputes, and building resilient communities capable of managing conflicts peacefully.[217] In peacebuilding, conflict does not necessarily refer to an armed conflict between states, but to disputes between societies and communities. Conflicts can occur following disasters, when there are disputes about rebuilding priorities, for example, or in humanitarian crises, as refugees try to settle into new cultures. Peacebuilding is a long-term process of encouraging people to talk, repairing relationships, and reforming institutions.

The international arena hosts various actors pivotal to peacebuilding endeavours, each offering distinct expertise, resources, and influence to advance such initiatives. Key actors include the United Nations (UN), which orchestrates peacekeeping missions, mediation efforts, and post-conflict reconstruction initiatives, serving as a central hub for international cooperation in peacebuilding. International Financial Institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), contribute financial support, technical know-how, and policy guidance to aid countries in rebuilding infrastructure, fortifying institutions, and fostering economic development post-conflict. Regional Organisations like the African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) mediate conflicts, support peacekeeping operations, and foster dialogue among member states. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and NGOs play vital roles in peacebuilding, advocating for marginalised groups, facilitating reconciliation, and providing humanitarian aid at grassroots levels. National Governments are central in post-conflict settings, implementing peace agreements, rebuilding institutions, and addressing underlying grievances. Lastly, Peacekeeping Forces, deployed by the UN or regional bodies, maintain peace, protect civilians, and support political processes in conflict zones. Together, these actors form a comprehensive network dedicated to fostering peace and stability worldwide (figure 8.3).

Unfortunately, the peacebuilding industry has been dominated by top-down approaches, prioritising Western values and interests over the needs and aspirations of local populations. Moreover, international hierarchies and geopolitical considerations often sideline local peacebuilding efforts. This has resulted in ineffective or even counterproductive outcomes, undermining local ownership and legitimacy and leading to resentment and resistance from affected populations.

As a reaction to the failures of the existing peacebuilding system, a new form of peacebuilding has begun to emerge, called community peacebuilding. It involves the active participation and collaboration of community members, civil society organisations, local leaders, and other stakeholders in identifying, addressing, and resolving conflicts and tensions. Advocates of the so-

213   In Bevan 2006, p.26.
214   Bevan 2006; Viejo-Rose, 2013.
215   Rouhani, B. in. CER. 2023. Annual Impact Report. CER. https://www.culturalemergency.org/programs/impact-reports
216   Regional Hub Biladi - https://www.linkedin.com/company/biladi-ngo/posts/?feedView=all
217   Breen 2023.

Figure 8.3: International Day of Peacekeepers © Ministério da Defesa, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

called "communitarian approach" emphasise the importance of creating opportunities rather than imposing solutions. They argue that peacebuilding should facilitate the identification, development, and utilisation of local resources by indigenous actors to foster peaceful, prosperous, and just societies. This perspective views peacebuilding as a process aimed at strengthening sustainable structures and processes for peaceful coexistence, dismantling the root causes of violent conflict, and constructing peace-promoting frameworks. However, the success of such approaches remains controversial. Challenges are highlighted with respect to how international bodies define and engage with „local" actors, as well as the limited opportunities for their meaningful participation in peace processes.[218]

Cultural Heritage and Peacebuilding

An increasing number of heritage professionals argue that cultural heritage can be used for peacebuilding. However, the link between cultural heritage and peacebuilding should not be taken for granted. Cultural heritage is often a source of conflict, where it can be a potent symbol of identity, pride, and belonging for various groups, often becoming a battleground where competing narratives clash. Disputes over ownership, representation, and interpretation of heritage can escalate tensions and exacerbate divisions, leading to conflict and violence. Cultural heritage also becomes a tar-

get in times of strife, subjected to deliberate destruction or appropriation as a means of erasing the identity and memory of opposing groups.

Despite that, cultural heritage does hold immense potential as a bridge for dialogue, reconciliation, and peacebuilding. The main difficulty in utilising heritage for peacebuilding arises when it is oversimplified as a universally recognized emblem of humanity. It becomes detached from its intricate historical and cultural contexts. However, by acknowledging and preserving diverse cultural heritage, communities can find common ground, foster mutual understanding, and build trust across divides. For example, three years into the Syrian civil war, in 2014, the NGO Heritage for Peace was able to bring members of DGAM (themselves employees of the Syrian regime) and their opposition equivalents from the Syrian Interim Ministry of Culture and Family Affairs to sit at the same conference table for the first time at the conference "Heritage and Conflict: Learning from previous experiences to safeguard cultural heritage during the Syrian crisis", [219]The conference was organised in April 2014 in Santander, in partnership with the Spanish National Research Council and the Institute of Prehistory at the University of Cantabria. At the end of the conference, the participants agreed to the Santander Statement and Outcomes. In this statement, the participants agreed on a Declaration regarding Syria's heritage in which they:

> "Invite the governments, multilateral and international organisations, civil society organisations and especially the national and international heritage communities to
> 1. affirm the role cultural heritage can play in enhancing the peace process
> 2. support and assist the parties to realize their efforts to safeguard and protect the cultural heritage of Syria
> 3. call upon the governments, especially those of the Syria's neighbouring countries, to do their utmost to stop the illegal trade in Syrian artefacts."

All the conference participants signed the document together.

Celebrating cultural diversity and heritage can also strengthen social cohesion, promote inclusivity, and provide a platform for cross-cultural exchange and co-operation. Moreover, cultural heritage serves as a tool for healing collective trauma, preserving historical memory, and fostering a sense of shared identity and history, essential elements for peacebuilding and the promotion of harmony within societies.[220] The value of this approach has now been recognised by major agencies, including the EU[221], and UNESCO who clearly linked the protection of heritage in conflict to peace in their 2024 conference celebrating the 70th anniversary of the 1954 Hague Convention (figure 8.4). [222]
"Protecting cultural property, whether during peacetime or an armed conflict, means safeguarding the memories of peoples and societies, and passing down the diverse fabric of humanity to the generations to come. Instruments such as the 1954 Convention contribute to building and cementing a foundation of peace."

However, to effectively employ heritage for peacebuilding, a critical approach is necessary, acknowledging its complexity and potential for both division and reconciliation. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of cultural heritage interventions in conflict and peacebuilding contexts remains uncertain and challenging to evaluate due to the complexity of post-conflict environments.

Figure 8.4: Logo from the 1954 Hague Convention Anniversary Conference, May 2024 © UNESCO / E Cunliffe

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218   *Paffenholz 2014.*

219   *Sabrine and Cunliffe 2021.*
220   *See multiple case studies and examples of good practice in Walters, Laven, and Davis (eds) 2017.*
221   *EEAS 2021.*
222   *UNESCO 2024.*

Figure 8.5: Imjingak Park Peace Bell © E Cunliffe, 2024

These approaches apply not only to tangible cultural heritage like archaeological sites and intangible practices, but also to natural heritage. For example, peace ecology emphasises the importance of equitable access to resources, sustainable economic practices, food security, and climate justice in fostering peaceful societies. By viewing peace through an ecological lens, peace ecology recognizes the inherent capacity of the environment to sustain peace and informs peacebuilding practices accordingly.[223] This approach acknowledges the dynamic relationship between the natural and cultural worlds, highlighting the multiple opportunities for peacebuilding interventions within environmental contexts. From addressing transboundary environmental issues to establishing conservation areas such as peace parks, peace ecology promotes cooperation, dialogue, and reconciliation among conflicting parties. By recognizing the shared responsibility for environmental

stewardship and the mutual benefits of environmental cooperation, peace ecology offers a pathway towards sustainable peace and resilience in a changing world.

Peace parks, exemplified by conservation areas and marine protected areas, embody the principles of peace ecology by utilising natural heritage as a platform for reconciliation and cooperation. These parks, designated as transboundary protected areas by the World Conservation Union, serve the dual purpose of conserving biological diversity and promoting peace and cooperation among conflicting parties. By sharing a common space, peace parks facilitate dialogue and collaboration between neighbouring communities or nations, fostering mutual recognition of environmental challenges and their societal impacts.[224] The premise underlying their operation is that competing parties are more likely to cooperate when they understand the shared threats posed by environmental degradation and recognize the benefits of joint conservation efforts. Through their establishment and management, peace parks demonstrate how natural heritage can be harnessed as a catalyst for peacebuilding, promoting sustainable development and harmony in regions marked by conflict.

One such example is the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ)[225], which results from an armistice drawn up in 1953 that ended the open conflict of the Korean War. It consists of a clearly demarcated region broadly running northeast-southwest across the Korean peninsula, employing a series of treaty-agreed lines on the map that regulate management of space on the ground. High levels of cultural and symbolic value are ascribed to both its natural and man-made features, not least those associated with historic conflict and contemporary defence. The prohibited access, limited settlement and development, and absence of natural resource exploitation means that the DMZ has become an ecologically significant area, which has allowed wildlife to flourish and there are now numerous calls to protect the area, linking ecology to peace. Despite a heavy military presence and political tension, over 1.2 million tourists visit the DMZ's border zone every year. The overwhelmingly promoted message is one of the desire for peace and

Figure 8.6: Peace riding her chariot, Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, Pari © PierreSelim, CC BY 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

reunification: even the observatories are called "Peace Observatories." A temple at the edge of Imjingak Park contains a large Peace Bell (figure 8.5); for 10,000 won (about £5.70), visitors can ring the bell to send a message of peace.

Peacebuilding entails not only resolving conflict but also facilitating societal transition to normalcy by addressing social, economic, and environmental needs. Cultural heritage plays a pivotal role in this transition, fostering socio-economic revival and promoting cultural activities (figures 8.6, 8.7). It is crucial to embed cultural heritage within sustainable development frameworks to address structural inequalities, which are often root causes of conflict. Reconstruction efforts must employ culturally

sensitive approaches that prioritise local participation and decision-making, moving away from reliance on external experts. Direct involvement of local communities ensures projects are responsive to their needs, respect local belief systems, and consider the political context. Such efforts can yield development benefits, including capacity building, employment opportunities, and the realisation of cultural and tourism initiatives.

Heritage Response: A Basic Need

For many international organisations, food and shelter are perceived as the critical needs. Yet, not only is culture a basic human need, analysing and understanding the reconstruction of heritage and the choices made around it can contribute to a more lasting and sustainable peace. A key goal of peacebuilding (and transitional justice processes) is institutional reform, seeking to implement systems that can act fairly towards all parts of the society in crisis.

"Reconstruction inescapably occurs along the fault-lines created by the conflict… In this light, interventions that address culture and cultural heritage issues would not seem to be extravagant luxuries, despite the urgency of attending to many pressing basic human needs such as security, housing and employment. The values that

Figure 8.7: Street art for peace, Berlin © Marko Kafé, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

223   Amster 2015.
224   Ali (ed) 2007.
225   Collins et al. forthcoming.

inform the rebuilding of heritage sites will also inform the construction of infrastructures, state institutions, a judiciary and police force, and other dimensions of civic life. Seeing how these values are manifest in making decisions over one of these dimensions will help understand their impact on the others. Attitudes towards the past and choices about what moments of that past are to be cherished and celebrated can be exceptionally revealing. Examining these choices will contribute to determining how the divisions born of the conflict itself will shape the emergent state and society".[226]

The inter-relation between heritage and peace is complex and critical. The involvement of international agencies in reconstruction work, and the inherent values in their work, can have significant impacts on societies, particularly fragile societies. Too often, they are undertaken without an understanding of the long-term consequences of their actions. At the same time, the potential to contribute to peace is enormous.

Further Reading

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First Aid to Cultural Heritage in Times of Crisis – Toolkit. ICCROM and Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development, 2018 https://www.iccrom.org/file/2698/download?token=zp-ng6HI

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Chapter 9 Cultural Heritage and Crisis Mitigation: A Dynamic and Mutually Beneficial Connection

René Teijgeler passed away before he could write this final chapter. We don't know what his final conclusions would have been on the cultural heritage-crisis nexus; he left us only the title. We can only approach those insights through the work in the preceding chapters.

Crises around the world are increasing, with a corresponding impact on communities and their cultural heritage. Yet cultural heritage is poorly integrated by national and international responders into the disaster risk reduction cycle. Too often, it is considered to be a matter only for heritage professionals, and one which should not be given priority in the face of other, apparently more pressing, needs. Using the UN Disaster Risk Reduction framework, this paper has explored the interrelationship of heritage and crisis through three types of crisis:
– crises caused by conflict
– crises caused by natural events, and
– crises humanitarian actors operate in.

Cultural heritage is a key aspect of a crisis: it is a fundamental part of the identity of crisis-affected people, shaping community and societal identity and playing a pivotal role in resource allocation and crisis response strategies. The relationship between heritage and crisis is dynamic and complex. Cultural heritage is impacted by crises in all their forms. Although crises can obviously lead to loss, the true relationship is much more complex. At the international level, we have seen the creation of new international laws to protect heritage in crisis, seeking to establish international norms of behaviour that recognise the need for national and international preservation. As much as these laws are a response to loss, they are also a reflection on human behaviour, and the need to hold humanity to a higher standard. Whilst many criticise them, they nonetheless represent significant steps forward in an international rules-based order that acknowledges a global need to preserve cultural heritage. In some cases, crisis is built into the very fabric of a structure. Without the potential crisis, the heritage would not exist in its current form: the crisis

literally gives the space its form, definition, and use, for example traditional architecture that is deliberately built to withstand earthquakes. In other cases, new heritage is created as a response to crisis, some forming lieux de mémoire that recognise and remember the trauma suffered. Museums have found ways to demonstrate the relevance of their collections for refugees, not only helping them address trauma, but giving human faces to the various crises. Intangible heritage is no less affected: communities become displaced and lose access to the materials and places that enabled manifestations of their practices, but they also develop new practices in response.

The impact of the loss of cultural heritage on communities is only just starting to be researched, but the work of the IOM, for example, indicates that loss of cultural identity can have severe consequences, and that specific humanitarian programmes are needed to address them. Too often, culture is excluded from humanitarian needs analysis, yet examples from the round world show that, in some circumstances, crisis-affected people can consider it a priority - if only they are asked. Stakeholder consultation before any intervention must be broad and involve all those affected to enable a plurality of voices.

DRR has only been a real part of heritage management for less than 40 years: many sites and institutions globally still lack effective funding and disaster management planning. Almost 20 years go, Teijgeler wrote

"Risk preparedness, as part of a bigger risk management plan, should start to look at the measures that can be taken before a conflict [or disaster] breaks out. In other words, cultural heritage institutions should develop a strategy for the protection of cultural heritage … The guiding principle in the development of such plans should, without a doubt, be that 'local problems need local solutions' All too often solutions from developed countries are chosen to address problems in developing countries".[227]

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226   *Viejo-Rose 2013, p.136.*

227   *Teijgeler 2006.*

It is sad to note that, in a global sense, little seems to have changed. A re-examination of the inter-relationship between heritage and crises demonstrates many ways cultural heritage protection can be improved. Disasters and humanitarian crises have important tools and lessons to teach those responding to heritage emergencies. Heritage needs protection in a crisis, but it can also enable and improve the protection of people. Conversely, cultural heritage, particularly local intangible knowledge, has a lot to offer other sectors to improve their response. To minimise risk to heritage from crises, heritage specific disaster risk management plans must be put into place, with resources allocated to those most in need.

Fragile societies are particularly prone to crisis, and heritage practitioners should provide assistance to these contexts. Plans must be proactive - prevention and preparedness are the most important part of the risk reduction cycle. Even in conflict, when there are many competing pressures, states who have ratified the 1954 Hague Convention are *"of the opinion that such protection cannot be effective unless both national and international measures have been taken to organize it in time of peace."[228]* However, heritage protection and response strategies have much to learn from disaster risk reduction to be more effective. Fragile Society indicators can help identify where crises will cause the greatest harm and support may be most needed, but other tools also exist to identify where and when crises may occur.

Beyond technical responses, sustained advocacy is crucial for ensuring cultural heritage is embedded in crisis mitigation frameworks. Policymakers, humanitarian organizations, and international bodies must recognize heritage not as a secondary concern but as an essential component of crisis response and recovery. Stronger legislative frameworks can mandate the integration of cultural heritage protection into national disaster risk strategies, ensuring that heritage is not left as an afterthought but is actively considered in emergency planning and funding structures. In this regard, advocacy efforts must push for heritage to be systematically included in policy discussions, from the local to the international level, aligning heritage protection with broader security,

humanitarian, and development goals. Furthermore, embedding cultural heritage in crisis response requires cross-sectoral policy integration. Climate adaptation strategies, post-conflict reconstruction plans, and emergency response frameworks must incorporate cultural heritage preservation as a key component.

The challenges of integrating effective risk management into its protection are compounded by evolving conceptions of risk, and evolving conceptions of heritage. What constitutes heritage, and whether someone has a right to decide, is at the heart of the cultural heritage-crisis nexus. Definitions of heritage have changed, and existing risk management structures are poorly equipped to deal with this. Most definitions of heritage focus on its tangible nature, but heritage is also a process which constantly changes, defined and given meaning by people. Expert judgement can play an important role in heritage management and protection, but local communities are also bearers of their own heritage. Dialogue must be multivocal, and enable inclusive decision-making of national and international discussions to identify, manage, and protect heritage. However, it is the multivocality of heritage that also poses the greatest risks, as heritage is inextricably linked to identity. As identity-based conflicts increase, the use of heritage to exacerbate division increases. As such, heritage interventions must be handled carefully, with a detailed understanding of local processes, identities, and symbolism attached to heritage. Heritage is not, and never can be "neutral": it accumulates meanings, and it is those meanings that give it value. They cannot be controlled or assigned, and should not be used to exclude, but acknowledged to encourage and accept plurality and multivocality to mitigate conflict as a first step to peace. Peacebuilding - like DRR - aims to build resilient communities who are more resistant to conflict and crisis, and heritage can be a valuable tool if the challenges are understood and practice adapted accordingly.

A vast number of initiatives have been tried globally, many of which have transferable lessons or practices. Replicating and transferring initiatives or parts of initiatives from one specific context to another local context should take a thorough look into the design and implementation details of such initiatives, to understand repli-

cability. Cultural heritage resilience cannot automatically be transferred: it is important to examine whether and how the initiative would actually improve the overall, long-term resilience of the proposed area. ARCH, for example, has created "Criteria for replicability assessment" for cultural heritage resilience initiatives in cities.[229] In their review of the replicability and success of several initiatives designed to mitigate climate change and improve the reliance of historic urban cultural centres, several lessons were identified. Many, if not all, touch on themes identified throughout this paper.

The interplays between crises, crisis mitigation, and cultural heritage are complex and dynamic. Heritage itself is complex and multi-faceted. It is informed by crisis as much as crisis can result in its loss, with a corresponding critical impact on affected populations. Although our ultimate goal is to mitigate the impact of crises with detailed and informed strategies, it must be remembered that those strategies are (or should be) informed by, or even come directly from, the crisis itself. This relationship is at the heart of the cultural heritage-crisis nexus.

> *"Cultural heritage is a crucial part of our individual and collective identities; it enriches our lives in countless ways, connects us to our past, helps keep communities together and provides a foundation for our future… We see culture as a basic human need, one that has a critical role in the recovery, resilience and wellbeing of communities following crises."*

Cultural Emergency Response.

Recommendations

Creating long lasting effects and/or change is not simple, and it is critical to learn from others' experiences. This paper concludes with a series of recommendations.

– Climate adaptation strategies, post-conflict reconstruction plans, and emergency response frameworks must incorporate cultural heritage preservation as a key component. Policymakers, humanitarian organizations, and international bodies must recognize her-

itage not as a secondary concern but as an essential component of crisis response and recovery. Embedding cultural heritage in crisis response requires cross-sectoral policy integration.

– Heritage protection and response strategies have much to learn from disaster risk reduction to be more effective. Fragile Society indicators and Early Warning Systems can help identify where crises will cause the greatest harm and support may be most needed, but other tools also exist to identify where and when crises may occur.

– Stronger legislative frameworks can mandate the integration of cultural heritage protection into national disaster risk strategies, ensuring that heritage is not left as an afterthought but is actively considered in emergency planning and funding structures.

– Sustained advocacy is crucial for ensuring cultural heritage is embedded in crisis mitigation frameworks. Community commitment and political support are essential: political, technical, financial and social challenges need the most time to be overcome during the assessment and planning phase of implementation of any project.

– Advocacy efforts must push for heritage to be systematically included in policy discussions, from the local to the international level, aligning heritage protection with broader security, humanitarian, and development goals. Cultural heritage receives more attention in policy agendas when it is perceived as a tool to achieve results in other fields beyond conservation.

– Stakeholder consultation must be broad and involve all those affected to enable a plurality of voices. Stakeholders involved in a repeatable process should represent multiple sectors, disciplines, and related areas of expertise. As well as local and regional municipal actors, it is important to engage with less obvious stakeholder groups. These might include gender and youth and organisations, indigenous and local communities, and professional associations, who will be able to contribute. External actors, such as local NGOs, institutions or civil associations can gain citizens' support in cultural heritage conservation actions, as well as to overcome capacity issues within the city administration. These stakeholders should all be involved in the early stages of planning, the development of internal capacity building processes, and the

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228   Convention Preamble.   229   ARCH 2020.

adoption of innovative ways to initiate projects.
– Effective knowledge transfer is critical. Communication about the goals and measures implemented must be transparent and involve all stakeholders. Such stakeholders should also involved in designing the means by which they engage.
– It is clear that more research is needed on
  – How local and indigenous knowledge can be more effectively integrated into all crisis-response systems.
  – The evidence of the impact of its loss on crisis-affected populations, and of the benefits that including it in humanitarian programming can bring.

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