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Opportunities, dilemmas and challenges at a UNESCO World Heritage Site

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Preface

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the dilemmas of managing a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is a part of common understanding, that UNESCO World Heritage consist of Outstanding Universal Value, and when a site is inscripted on the World Heritage List, it means that the site has something unique. On the other hand, World Heritage also attracts visitors to the site, which may arise dilemmas or conflicts for management. Already after my Bachelor graduation in 2014, I stumbled upon this topic based on earlier experiences and found the topic interesting.

From personal observation, pictures of Bryggen in Bergen are often used in marketing and advertising, especially in the context of tourism. It is interesting to find out what the World Heritage status has meant for development and management of Bryggen after more than 30 years on the list. In addition, Bryggen is a popular tourist attraction in Bergen, which also lean towards the topic I had in mind before I started on the Master Degree.

Regarding this thesis I would first of all like to thank my supervisor, Jan Vidar Haukeland, for his support, advice and guidance. Thank you for always being available. This thesis would not have been complete without your help. Thank you to all the informants, for taking time to attend the interviews for this thesis. I want to give my mom a special thank, who has been positive and supportive during the cloudy days, as well as the sunny days. Big thank you to my family in Switzerland for encouraging and supporting me all the way throughout my study. Also, many thanks to my closest friends, from near to far, for being there for me when needed. And finally, a thank to Tess Espey, from the Writing Centre at NMBU, for giving me guidance of structuring and guidance to work out my thesis even better.

I hope you enjoy reading this thesis as much as I enjoyed writing it.

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Phatchara Olsen

Abstract

One of the missions of UNESCO World Heritage is to ensure the protection of the cultural and natural heritage that are inscribed on the World Heritage List. Bryggen was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979, along with Urnes Stave Church. These are the first World Heritage in Norway. Due to the history of locals' attitude against Bryggen from the past; the news articles stating that Bryggen is sinking; and the latest political discussion about making Bryggen as car-free zones by replacing transportation with light trains, questions about World Heritage management at Bryggen arise. In addition that Bryggen is one of the first World Heritage in Norway, and yet there has not been done any research concerning management at Bryggen. Therefore, this thesis provides a new research aiming for the management in Bryggen, relating to opportunities, dilemmas, challenges and potential conflicts that the site managers face with an insight of the tourism industry as well.

In this thesis qualitative method is applied, with descriptive design and deductive analysis approach to collect the data. There are six informants, who attend in the in-depth interviews. The interview guide was prepared in beforehand based on the research question. Both interview guide and the interview process are semi-structured, with a limited time to approximately one hour. From the transcription, 11 topics are created to select and sort out the relevant data: (1) the impact of the UNESCO status; (2) Opportunities; (3) Challenges; (4) Obstacles; (5) Dilemmas; (6) Development; (7) Relationship to tourism; (8) Potential conflicts; (9) In 20 years; (10) Opportunities in 20 years; (11) Challenges in 20 years. Some of these topics are chosen and used in discussion, in order to narrow the focus of discussion even more.

According to the benefits and the advantages that UNESCO World Heritage claims, are found in Bergen. The site managers at Bryggen face many challenges and dilemmas. Some of them are controllable, and some are not. Additionally, it seems like there is lack of communication and cooperation between the management and the tourism industry. It appears that tourism industry is operating on its own, for their benefits. However, it seems that the managers are aware of all the challenges and dilemmas at Bryggen, and that they work continuously to find solutions to solve those problems. The finding shows and proves the importance of UNESCO World Heritage, how

crucial it is to conserve and protect the heritage sites for the humanity and for the future generations. The finding also gives the insight of what dilemmas and challenges the site managers at Bryggen are facing, and how they handle them.

Keywords: UNESCO World Heritage, World Heritage management, opportunities, dilemmas, challenges, conflicts

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Acronyms and abbreviations

UNESCO:	The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WTO:	World Tourism Organization
WTTC:	World Travel and Tourism Council
ICCROM:	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS:	International Council of Monuments and Sites
IUCN:	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
Committee:	Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value
OUV:	Outstanding Universal Value

1.0 Introduction

The demand of tourism consists of three main components: (1) those people who have resource and willingness to travel and actually travel; (2) those people who are motivated to travel, but their financial situation is crucial in decision-making; and (3) those people who could travel, if motivated. There are many determinants of tourism demand, but mainly determinants are such as increased income, desire to escape from the daily-life, increased education levels, changes in demography and growth of chartered and budget airlines (Wall and Mathieson, 2006, 22-25).

Today, traveling around the world had become more affordable and efficient. Traveling is no longer exclusive for those who have money after the low-cost airlines were founded, in addition to increased economical and social development in many countries, such as the BRIC - countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China). Today tourism and travel is one of the biggest and fastest growing industries in the world. There are around one billion international tourists each year (UNWTO). It is predicted that the volume of global travel will double by 2020 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre).

The definition of tourism that has been accepted worldwide has been formulated by several organizations; Eurostat, the World Tourism Organization (WTO), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and UN Statistic Division:

Tourism comprises the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (referred in Wall and Mathieson, 2006,14).

According to International Ecotourism Society (TIES), ecotourism is defined as “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education” (TIES). TIES revised the principles of ecotourism in January 2015, in order to follow up the changes and development of the knowledge, which has been discovered over time. It is important that knowledge is reflected by the principles. The principles indicate to minimize physical, social, behavioral, and psychological impacts from tourism; to build awareness around environment and culture; to create financial benefits for

conservation; to generate financial support and benefits for locals and private industry involved in ecotourism; to give memorable experiences to visitors; to design, construct and operate low-impact facilities; and to recognize the right and beliefs of Indigenous People and to create empowerment through partnership (TIES). The mission of the UNESCO World Heritage agree partly to the principles of ecotourism. We will come back to this in the theory chapter.

The UNESCO World Heritage assures protection of the sites on the World Heritage List for the humanity and for the future generations. Today there are 1031 properties, that have been inscribed on the World Heritage List. Due to wars, armed conflicts, natural disaster, pollution, disapproval of tourism development and uncontrolled urbanization, there are 48 sites on the World Heritage in Danger List. Being inscribed on the World Heritage List gives more attention, both nationally and internationally, but the site also gets financial support for conservation and protection projects. One of the key tasks of UNESCO is to practice sustainable management, which we will come back to in the theory chapter. Last but not least, the World Heritage site will attract more visitors from all around the world. An increased number of tourists helps to stimulate the local economy, but it may at the same time also cause damage to the site (UNESCO World Heritage Centre; NWHO, 1999, 17).

This thesis examines Bryggen, the old wharf, in Bergen. Bryggen is one of the first sites in Norway that got inscribed on the World Heritage List as cultural heritage. The site has an important historic background of the Hanseatic of 1400 - 1600 era, including the cultural layers beneath the ground, where it has been found many traces from the past due to excavation works in 1955 - 69. Today the image of Bryggen is used for marketing purposes of Bergen, and also for Norway, nationally and internationally. In 2014, there were 1.2 million people passing the front of Bryggen (UNESCO; Stiftelsen Bryggen).

The aim of this thesis is to find out what opportunities the World Heritage status has given the site and its area, and what challenges and conflicts the site managers face. Due to the prestige and the attraction effect of the World Heritage status, there is an increased number of visitors at Bryggen, which may lead to many problems, such as crowding and damage on the site. At the same time as Bryggen has to be restored and protected, due to its status as a World Heritage.

1.1 Research questions

In order to examine the aim of this thesis, the research question is therefore:

What opportunities, dilemmas and challenges are facing the site managers at the UNESCO World Heritage site, Bryggen in Bergen? And what potential conflicts arise among the site managers, and how can such divergences be solved?



View towards the Hanseatic Museum and Fløyen. (Picture by: Phatchara Olsen)

2.0 Theory

This chapter introduces UNESCO World Heritage, its mission and the relevant parts to this thesis, in order to understand the overall how UNESCO World Heritage is built up, including of the Outstanding Universal Value. One of the impacts of inscribing a site as World Heritage is attracting tourism and an increase in visitors, therefore this topic is included in this chapter, in addition to benefits the inscription may result in. Due to one of the key tasks of UNESCO is to practice sustainable management, therefore sustainable tourism is taken as a part under this chapter. Moreover, this chapter includes a description of World Heritage Management in Norway, and the cultural World Heritage, Bryggen, which is the case for this thesis.

2.2 UNESCO World Heritage

At the General Conference of the UNESCO in Paris in 1972 the World Heritage Convention was established. It was noted that there was an increasing danger to many cultural and natural heritage due to wars, natural disaster, pollution, lack of conservation management and increasing tourism. The cultural and natural heritage were considered as legacy from the historic past and needed to be protected in order to keep the outstanding universal value of the heritage for the world's future generations. There are 1031 world heritage properties on the UNESCO World Heritage List as per today. Where 31 are transboundary, 2 are delisted and 48 are in danger. 802 of the heritage are cultural, and 197 are natural, while 32 are mixed. There are 163 State Parties involved. Currently, there are five heritage sites on the Tentative List, which is the suggestion list to the World Heritage Committee. There are 180 out of 191 State Parties that have submitted a Tentative List (UNESCO).

2.2.1 UNESCO World Heritage Mission

UNESCO's World Heritage mission is to encourage countries to sign the World Heritage Convention and nominate their natural and cultural heritage to ensure protection of the sites by establishing management plans and reporting system. The mission is to help State Parties to protect the heritage sites by providing assistance and professional training, in addition to provide emergency assistance for the sites when in immediate danger. The mission encourages local participation in preserving their cultural and natural heritage. And finally, the UNESCO's World

Heritage mission is to encourage cooperation worldwide in protection of world's cultural and natural heritage, in addition to supporting public awareness activities for World Heritage conservation (UNESCO).

What is the difference between the national heritage site and World Heritage site? The difference lies in the term "Outstanding Universal Value" (from now on "OUV"), and the role of Convention that aims to secure necessary financial support and intellectual resources, to assure that the World Heritage sites will be protected (UNESCO World Heritage Centre). We will come back to the OUV afterwards.

2.2.2 The Convention Text

The Convention Text was adopted by the General Conference of the UNESCO, in Paris, on 16th November 1972, at its seventeenth session.

Increasing threats towards cultural and natural heritage may cause impoverishment of all nations of the world. On the other hand, protection and conservation requires high financial support in order to fulfil projects relating to conservation and protection. Due to lack of economic, scientific and technological resources, the protection of heritage at the national level often remains incomplete. The nations are recommended and encouraged to conserve and protect their heritage, while the Constitution of the Organization could assure to maintain, to increase and to spread knowledge of the heritage. The cultural and natural heritage are of outstanding interest represent for all the human being, and the uniqueness of the heritage should be protected, despite of the territory or nation it may belong to. With these remarks, an effective system of protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value should be put in place. These notices are the essential purpose of adopting the Convention Text (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2015).

The Convention Text contains eight headlines and 38 articles all together. The headlines are as following (1) definition of the Cultural and Natural Heritage; (2) National Protection and International Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage; (3) Intergovernmental Committee

for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage; (4) Fund for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage; (5) Conditions and Arrangements for International Assistance; (6) Educational Programmes; (7) Reports and; (8) Final Clauses (UNESCO).

According to the Convention Text, the definition of cultural heritage concerns monuments, groups of buildings or sites. Monuments could be architectural works, sculptures, paintings, inscriptions or cave dwelling. Groups of buildings means separated or connected buildings with historic, art or science as OUV of their architecture, construction or place in the landscape. Sites may be places, which have works of human beings or combined works of nature and human beings. These include archeological sites with historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological as OUV.

The definition of natural heritage includes physical and biological-, geological- and physiographical formations with aesthetic or scientific OUV, and areas with habitat of threatened animals and plants species. It also includes natural sites or areas with science, conservation or natural beauty as OUV.

The Convention Text also explains that all the State Parties of the Convention are committed to identify cultural and natural properties. In addition, the State Parties are, despite territory, committed to provide help and to identify, protect, conserve, present and transmit the cultural and natural heritage for future generations. The Committee's duties are (1) define the criteria; (2) update and publish the World Heritage in Danger List; (3) consult the State Parties and; (4) coordinate and encourage research and studies to improve World Heritage in Danger List and World Heritage List.

Any State Party of this Convention may apply for international assistance, which is operated by the Committee. The international assistance is to help the State Party to arrange part of cultural or natural heritage. Moreover, the State Parties are responsible to submit reports to the General Conference of UNESCO, further the Committee has to submit a report on its activities at each General Conference of UNESCO (UNESCO).

2.2.3 The Operational Guidelines

The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (or *Operational Guidelines*) are revised occasionally to reflect the Committee's decisions. The Operational Guidelines are meant to help the achievement of the World Heritage Convention by a specific procedure. The procedure includes to inscript sites on the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger; to protect and conserve World Heritage sites and properties; to contribute funds and assistance; and to be able to support each State Party, both nationally and internationally, in favor of the Convention (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2015).

The Operational Guidelines may be used by *the State Parties* to the Convention; *the Committee*; *the Secretariat* (the UNESCO World Heritage Centre as Secretariat to the World Heritage Committee); *the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee*; and *site managers, stakeholders and partners* who involve in the protection of World Heritage properties (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2015). Later in this chapter, the Norwegian World Heritage Management will be presented.

2.2.4 The Nomination Process and the Criteria for Selection

In order to get inscripted on the UNESCO World Heritage List, all State Parties of the Convention are encouraged to identify the cultural and natural properties within their territory, and there are some steps to take before the nomination and the inscription can take place.

First, a country must make a Tentative List, including a forecast of the site that the State Party decides to submit for inscription in the next five to ten years. The Tentative List may be updated at any time. The time of the nomination process is 18 months. The next step is to prepare the Nominations File, which needs to be as detailed as possible, and also to make sure that all necessary documents and maps are attached. The submission of Nomination may be done in February in the first year. The World Heritage Centre is responsible for reviewing and approving the nomination file, before sending it to appropriate Advisory Bodies for further evaluation. The Advisory Bodies consist of ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM. This evaluation process may take

from March of the first year to April of the second year. Finally, when the nomination has been evaluated by the Advisory Bodies, the final decision is in the hand of the World Heritage Committee. In June/ July of the second year, the decision will be made. The Committee meets once a year to decide which sites will be inscribed, or to request further information on sites, or rejecting the inscription.

After the Operational Guidelines were adopted in 2005, one criteria needs to be fulfilled. *“To be included on the Wolrd Heritage List, sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria”* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2015). These criteria is the main working tool on World Heritage, beside the text of the Convention. The criteria are revised by the Committee regularly to reflect the World Heritage concept (See Table 1).

Being inscribed on the World Heritage list is an ongoing commitment. Site managers and the authorities of the country have to work continually with managing, monitoring and preserving the properties. All State Parties are obligated to report, as mentioned in the Convention Text above, in order for the Committee to get updates of the sites’ conditions and eventually make further plans and decisions (UNESCO World Heritage Centre).

Cultural criteria	Natural criteria
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; 2) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture of technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; 3) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to civilization which is living or which has disappeared; 4) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; 5) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; 6) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria); 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7) to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance; 8) to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features; 9) to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals; 10) to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation

Table 1: The Criteria for Selection (UNESCO).

2.3 Outstanding Universal Value

The World Heritage sites represent Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for all humanity and for the future generations. At the UNESCO Expert Meeting in 1976, the ICCROM report refers to values for consideration of OUV. The values are (1) artistic value; (2) historic value and; (3) typological value. The artistic value concerns creations, which are original and unique, with exceptional quality, that are recognized globally by specialist in the concerned fields. The historic value is the sites with importance of the historical proof, and these sites can contain in variable degrees, of different factors: uniqueness r extreme rarity of the document; the degree of novelty or importance of concerned the time and/or space, and; the importance for comprehension of advancement of related historic events. The typological value requires explicit identification and distinction in order to assure the characteristic works of traditions that got threatened and devastated by the modern life.

The ICOMOS's report to the expert meeting in 1976 gave a further reflection on OUV, and also evaluated the report from ICCROM. The report suggests that the Committee should avoid choosing the best-known properties, but should also include properties that are less known, but with potential for aesthetic, educational and scientific value. Further, the property must satisfy the criteria for unity and integrity of quality. Additionally, it should meet the test of authenticity as well (Jokilehto et. al., 2008, 11-13). The 10 Criteria for inscription on the World Heritage List defines the uniqueness and the OUV of a site. The 10 Criteria on the World Heritage List differentiate World Heritage sites from national heritage sites. OUV is therefore the key principle in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (Galland et. al., 2016, 22-26).

The first definition of OUV was adopted in 2005, after over 30 years after the UNESCO General Conference adopted the Convention. The definition of *OUV according to the Operational Guidelines is:*

Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance, which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole. The Committee defines the criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List. (Galland et. al., 2016, 22-26)

2.4 The Benefits for the Countries and Sites

Having a property inscribed on the World Heritage List is attractive, because the difference between the World Heritage and the national heritage is huge diverge. Not only do the State Parties get increased prestige, honor and attention to the site, but there are far more benefits than that.

First of all, the overarching benefit is to be a part of an international community that appreciates and concerns to protect OUV properties. A key benefit is access to the World Heritage Fund, particularly for developing countries. The sites on the World Heritage List and the World Heritage concept is so well understood that they attract international cooperation and possibly financial support for conservation projects also. Other than financial support, the site managers also receive assistance for site management, measures and monitoring mechanism, in addition to technical and knowledge training. The inscription on the World Heritage List causes public awareness, including increasing the tourist activities as well. Sustainable tourism is therefore essential part of the tourism management on the site. When the tourism management is well-organized, based on sustainable tourism principles, it may result in important funds to the site, in addition to stimulate the local economy (UNESCO; UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008; Galland et. al., 2016, 30 - 31). The benefits that UNESCO World Heritage status brought to Bryggen will be mentioned later in this chapter.

2.5 Impacts of Tourism

How the total tourism industry operates, is complex. It involves many components, inter-relationships, dynamism and vagueness of boundaries (Wall and Mathieson, 2006, 15-20). The economic, physical, social, cultural, environmental elements are the consequences of tourism.

Tourism may bring both positive and negative impacts to the destination that UNESCO World Heritage is located. The potential positive impacts are creating and enhancing identity and pride of a community; implement better intercultural understanding; encouraging maintenance of traditions and cultures; providing funds for protection and management; and enhancing local and external appreciation and support for cultural heritage. The potential negative impacts are loss of identity, culture and traditions due to the globalization; displacement of traditional residents; conflicts over land right and access to resources; damage on the site and facilities; loss of authenticity; and undermining of local traditions and ways of life (Lindberg and Endresen, 1999, 7).

Tourism will no matter what bring impact to the mentioned elements. It is suggested a key goal, that is to have a sustainable management of the destination and the tourism. This brings us further to the next chapter.

2.6 Sustainable Tourism

The first definition of term “sustainable development” was included in the report *Our Common Future*, by the Brundtland Commission in 1987: “*Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*” (referred in Lundberg, 2014, 38 - 39).

Another definition of sustainable development is mentioned in Wall and Mathieson (2006, 289) that sustainable development is a long-term perspective and working process towards equity between people, cultures and environments. The sustainable development is the fundamental of sustainable tourism management. One of the best-known definition of sustainable tourism is from Butler (1993): “*Tourism is in a form which can maintain its viability in an area for an indefinite period of time*” (referred in Wall and Mathiesen, 2006).

Sustainable tourism appears to include economic, environmental, and sociocultural dimensions of development. It requires an operation in a way that minimizes the impact on the environment, enhance benefit and participation of the locals, and educate the visitors (Endresen, 1999, 9). The Convention’s aim is to identify, protect, conserve, present and transmit the cultural and natural

heritage of OUV of World Heritage sites for the humanity and future generations. Therefore, sustainable development and management is an important task for all the State Parties of the Convention (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008).

Lundberg (2014) and Wall and Mathiesen (2006) refer to economic -, environmental- and social impact which can be found in within tourism industry. In order to have a balance of impacts and benefit of tourism, it is essential that the destination knows and has a form of sustainable tourism. There is no specific procedure of sustainable management. Because it depends on many factors at the area, including of how the tourism is operated and managed. In 2001, the World Heritage Committee launched the World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Program. It aims to examine the key issues in maintaining a balance between sustainable tourism and conservation, by seven actions:

(1) Build the capacity of the site management in dealing with tourism, notably through the development of a sustainable tourism management plan; (2) Training local populations in tourism-related activities so that they can participate and receive benefits from tourism; (3) Helping to promote relevant local products at the local, national and international levels; (4) Raising public awareness and building public pride in the local communities through conservation outreach campaigns; (5) Attempting to use tourism-generated funds to supplement conservation and protection costs at the sites; (6) Sharing expertise and lessons learned with other sites and protected areas; (7) Building an increased understanding of the need to protect World Heritage, its value and its policies within the tourism industry (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008).

2.7 Opportunities and Challenges for Cultural World Heritage

In order to prepare a sustainable management plan, it is essential to be aware of the opportunities and challenges on the site. Gallard et. al. (2016) have collected recent information of World Heritage in Europe, including of the factors of opportunities and challenges that affect the World Heritage.

The opportunities for cultural World Heritage in Europe today are (1) social and cultural uses of heritage; (2) management and institutional factor; (3) buildings and development; (4) transportation infrastructure and; (5) biological resource use. The challenges for cultural World Heritage in Europe today are (1) local conditions affecting physical fabric; (2) social and cultural

uses of heritage; (3) buildings and development; (4) transportation infrastructure and; (5) service infrastructure.

It is noted that the affecting factor of the social and cultural uses have a rather positive impact, where the importance of visitor management has been signified. Many factors are both seen positively and negative, such as buildings and development, transportation infrastructure and social and cultural uses of heritage. This emphasizes the need and the importance of sustainable development and management, which could benefit the local community and bring out the value of World Heritage even better. In majority, the impacts are from the internal and external side of the World Heritage property. This stresses the importance and the need of integration and cooperation between authorities at the local, regional and national level (Gallard et. al., 2016, 52 - 57).

2.8 The World Heritage Management in Norway

In Norway, there are eight World Heritage Sites. There are seven cultural heritage; Bryggen, Rjukan-Notodden Industrial Heritage Site, Rock Art of Alta, Røros Mining Town and the Circumference, Struve Geodetic Arc, Urnes Stave Church and The Vega Archipelago. And the natural heritage is West Norwegian Fjords - Geirangerfjord and Nærøyfjord. Bryggen and Urnes Stave Church are the first sites that were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List already in 1979 (UNESCO).

In Norway, the Ministry of Climate and Environment has established the Directorate of Cultural Heritage, *Riksantikvaren*. Riksantikvaren consults the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, and works with ten different preserving projects. One of that is the Preserving Programs that involves protection and restoration of cultural heritage. About 250 million NOK is distributed among the ten Preserving Programs each year, another program is the Preservation of World Heritage ("*Bevaringsprogrammet for verdensarven*"), which means that World Heritage in Norway receive financial support for restoration from this program (Riksantikvaren).

Further, the county municipality and the Sami Parliament of Norway also take part of the cultural heritage management. Their role is to take care and have responsible of the cultural heritage in the territory of the Sami and county municipality. They also have to take care and have responsible for the municipality level, addition of having the decision authority, based on the Norwegian Cultural Heritage Law. The Sami Parliament and the County Municipality also prepare cases for Riksantikvaren. The County Municipality is responsible for leadership of process and regional plans and strategies. Municipalities within a county municipality also take part in cultural heritage management. Their role is to manage the cultural heritages and environments through the Planning and Building Act (Riksantikvaren).

Now that World Heritage management system of Norway is presented, we can finally move over to the actual case of this thesis, namely Bryggen. First, the history of Bryggen will be identified.

2.9 History of Bryggen

King Olav Kyrre founded Bergen in 1070. Bergen was Norway's largest and most important medieval town. The city and the population grew, and so did the trading tradition. German merchants settled down in Bergen because of the trading opportunities they discovered. The first Germans arrived in 1250. This was the start of the Hanseatic settlement. Bryggen was slowly bought, and overtaken by the Germans. Then the German Office was established around 1360, as one of the Hanseatic offices abroad. They dominated the export and import trade of stockfish and grain. Then Bergen became the main trading city in Norway, which had routes to mainland European countries and to Britain. The German Office was a strict regulated male society. The Hanseatic members were not allowed to have any contact with the locals in Bergen, nor marry. As power of the Hanseatic weakened in Europe in 16th century, at the same time the power of the nation got stronger and started to control the trade. After the reformation in Norway in 1536, Danish-Norwegian demanded all foreign merchants in Bergen to follow the Norwegian law. The Germans in Bergen were forced to take Norwegian citizenship, or leave, which led to decreasing power and support of the Hanseatic organization. By 1754, the Norwegian Office was established and replaced the German Office. To conclude this, the Hanseatic foreign office in Bergen was the longest lasting one, compared to other cities in Europe. However, establishing the Norwegian

Office did not mean that everything on Bryggen changed to be Norwegian. A large part of the regulations and trading activities were still heavily influenced by the way the Hanseatic did it. In 1899 the Norwegian Office dissolved, which also was the end of the German history in Bergen (Dagsland, 2004; Bjørkhaug, 2011, 190 - 196).

Bergen Municipality redeveloped half of the area of Bryggen in 1899 with modern buildings and retail trade. This redevelopment took 20 years to complete. There was a major city fire in 1916, which caused damaged to a large part of the city. Again then it took another 20 years to rebuild after the damage of the city fire. Bryggen received protection status in 1927, due to the establishment of the new legislation for building conservation.

Bergen was occupied by the Germans during the World War II, from 1940 to 1945. Many buildings at the site were destroyed due to an explosion during the time. After the WWII, many houses were destroyed and about to decay. In addition to the locals' negative attitude against the Germans after the war, most of the locals were against conserving Bryggen.



Bryggen during WWII. Source: Stiftelsen Bryggen.



Where the fire took place in 1955.
Source: Bergenskartet.

In 1955, the northern part of Bryggen was on fire (see the map). This fire expanded rapidly, and about 7000 m² were affected by the fire and burnt to the ground. After several investigations, police finally concluded that there is no clear cause of fire in Bryggen. Arne Nygård-Nilssen, from the Directorate of Cultural Heritage, stated that it would have been a national accident and the greatest cultural lost, if all of the buildings of Bryggen were burnt down (Andersen, 1985). The damage of this fire caused another reason for the local movement of demolish the buildings at Bryggen. Because of the protection

status that Bryggen received earlier, the Prehistoric Law of 1951 was prioritized and decided the next action at Bryggen, which means that excavation should be done on the land of fire damage before replacing with new building (Prosjekt Bryggen). Thereafter, the examination and the excavation of the site was able. The excavation lead to discover value and knowledge from the past on the site, and also brought knowledge of cultural value of Bryggen to the locals. From then on, the attitude of people started to change, also the interest and respect for the place were increasing (Stiftelsen Bryggen; Bjørkhaug, 2011, 188 - 197).

2.9.1 Bryggen: the Cultural World Heritage

An association, “Bryggens Venner” (Friends of Bryggen) was established in 1962, which later on established “Stiftelsen Bryggen” (the Bryggen Foundation) in the same year. Due to the political pressure from the conservation advocates, Bergen municipality decided in favor of protection of Bryggen. Thanks to the effort of Bryggens Venner Association and Stiftelsen Bryggen, they also slowly changed the locals mentality and attitude towards Bryggen, especially when Bryggen was inscripted on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1979, as one of the first World Heritage in Norway (Stiftelsen Bryggen; Bryggens Venner; Bjørkhaug, 2011, 188 - 197).

On the management side, Bergen Municipality and Hordaland County Municipality have the management role of this World Heritage, because Bryggen is located in Bergen Municipality, which is in Hordaland County Municipality. Bryggen accomplished criterion III (see criterion above), which means that there are traces of cultural and social civilization from 14th century at the site (UNESCO). Further in this subchapter, we will have a look at details of the site, to have an insight of the OUV at Bryggen.

The remaining buildings at Bryggen are around 300 years old, from rebuilding after the destructive fire in 1702. However, the findings from the excavations proved that the area had settlement already from the Medieval era. The rebuilding of Bryggen kept the pattern from 12th century, and building structure has been repeated in rebuilding process thereafter. The buildings are characterized from the common European building tradition, but the material use had the local traits and Norwegian architectural root. The houses are built in both tradition timber log



The protected buildings at Bryggen. Source: Rigmor Huus (Prosjekt Bryggen).

construction, and column and beam construction with horizontal panel cladding of wood. Bryggen is preserved in the original compact medieval structure, which is long narrow rows of buildings, separated by narrow passage of wood, which were well suited for trading with cargo sent by ship, and storing of the goods. Originally the shore line lay up to 140 meters further inward on the land from the quay front of today. The lot was enlarged by filling in the bay and the bay was moved further out, this was in order to increase the number of buildings.

The buildings at Bryggen today consist of criss-cross layers of logs placed on the ash from the latest fire. Over the logs, there are timber constructions with often three stores high. The galleries are located along the passageway side, that were also used as working space for weighing and sorting the fish. The goods were transported by the hoist wheels in dormer structures which can be seen from the passageways (Prosjekt Bryggen; Dagsland, 2004).



Closure of the buildings at the site. Source: Stiftelsen Bryggen.

and objects from the past. When the cultural layers do not receive low dissolved oxygen water, or receive dissolved oxygen water, the materials and objects in the cultural layers will decompose and may cause the buildings to sink. This is an issue of Bryggen today. Due to the modern reparation after the fire in 1955 caused less water stream down to the cultural layers (Prosjekt Bryggen).

After many fires, the buildings at Bryggen were built on the area the fires took place. This means that Bryggen were rebuilt and now standing on something called *cultural layers*. Cultural layers are the rest from the human activity from the past. The cultural layers at Bryggen is about 10 meters deep under the ground. The buildings at Bryggen are standing on the cultural layers, which require low dissolved oxygen water in order to conserve the materials

2.9.2 Changes of Bryggen

Bryggen faces Vågen, the central harbor of Bergen. Due to the technological development towards the end of 19th Century the sailing ships were replaced with engines ships and making shipping more efficient, as well as making it possible to ship fish directly from Northern Norway to abroad. The way of using the buildings of Bryggen became less traditional. Eventually, it put an end of the trading history of Bryggen. The quays were thereafter built for service the coastal traffic. Due to the geology of the West Coast of Norway, it took time to connect and build the roads, so the traffic by sea was at that time very important. Vågen brought traffic from and to places around Bergen, nevertheless the motor ships brought goods and people to the city as well. The buildings of Bryggen converted into shops and cafés. It was meant to serve the travelers who arrived at the quay.

In the middle of 1960s and further, the traffic on sea switched to traffic on road. The center of Bergen started to lose the retail trade and services. On the other hand, the city grew, in addition to new districts. The use of cars in the city center increased, which lead to parking problem in the city. In 1970, a road northward was build over the old quay, close to the front of Bryggen. The vibration of heavy trucks caused tremors far into the area. The solution to the traffic problems was a bypass tunnel, which lead the traffic away from the city center. This had a great improvement for Bryggen. In 2002, the road was moved further away from the buildings, this improvement resulted a pedestrian area in front of Bryggen (Bjørkhaug, 2015, 198 -202). These changes were the fundamental of today's Bryggen.

Due to development of the city with suburbs, the retail trade in city center has changed and reduced. This change had an impact of use of Bryggen, where it gradually became a tourist attraction and replaced the earlier use of Bryggen as a city quarter with workshops, retailing and many types of businesses (Bjørkhaug, 2015, 202). Today 26 buildings at Bryggen have private ownership, while Stiftelsen Bryggen owns 35 buildings. Some of the buildings are for office use and some are for business rental. At Bryggen there are various businesses, such as designer boutiques, art galleries, jewelers, gift shops, fashion shops, offices, handmade shops, cafés, restaurants, and a visitor center (Stiftelsen Bryggen; Explore Bryggen).

2.9.3 Tourism and passage of Bryggen

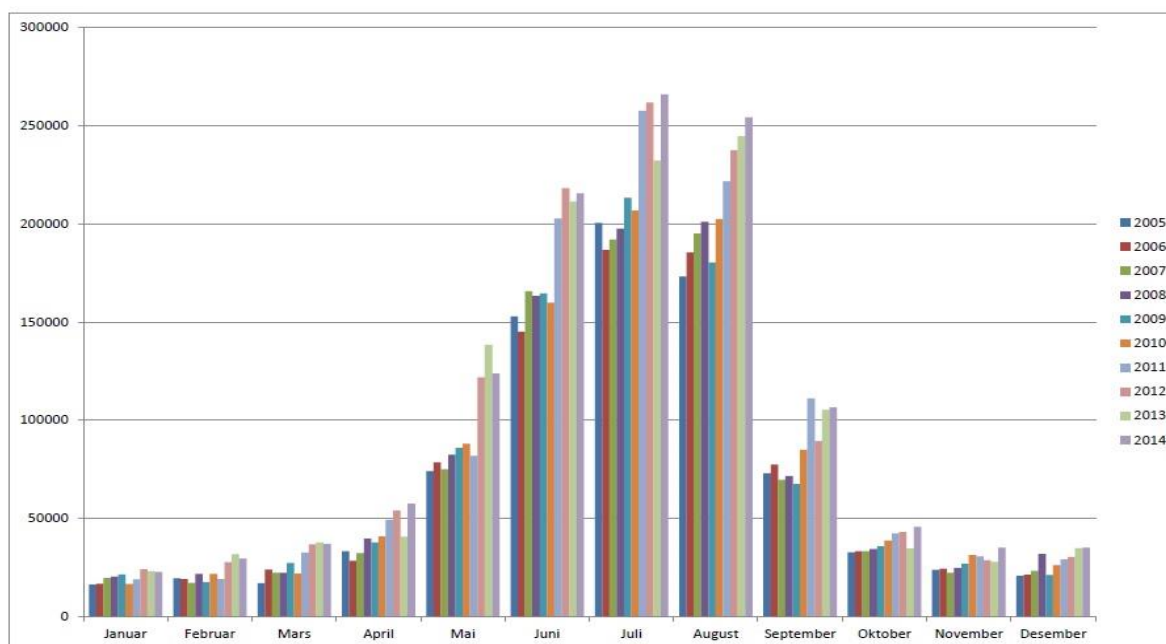


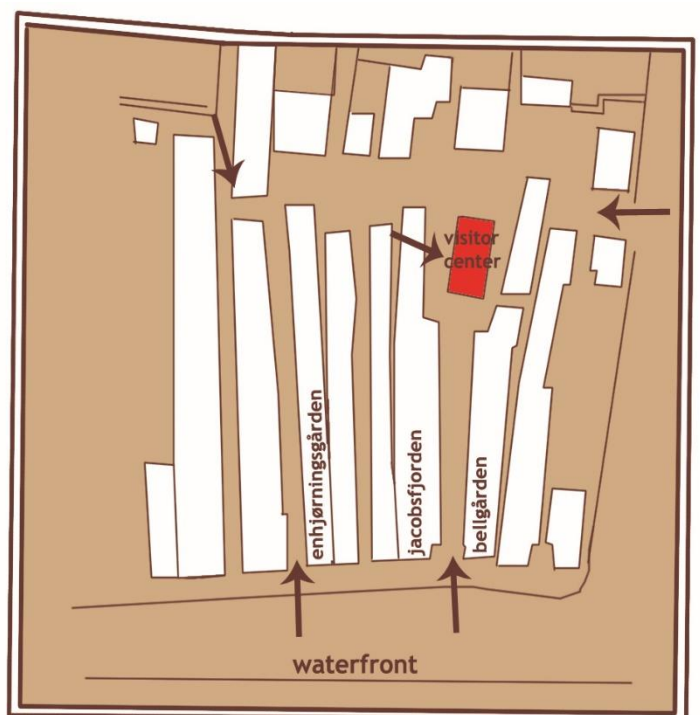
Figure 1: Passage graph from front area of Bryggen (Stiftelsen Bryggen).

Norway receives a large number of international tourists mostly during summer season, which is from May to September (Innovasjon Norge, 2015). This pattern affects the tourism across the country, including Bryggen in Bergen. We will have a look at the number passage at Bryggen later. Anyhow, the harbors of cruise ships are located within walking distance from Bryggen, which causes the overwhelming tourist traffic, especially during the summer season when the cruise ships berth in Bryggen. 262 cruise ships berthed in Bergen in 2010, which brought about 250.000 passengers. In consequence, that Bryggen is an open and free tourist attraction, the site is crowded by cruise tourists and other visitors in summer. This matter lead the inhabitants' point of view that Bryggen and everything on the site are made for tourists only (Bjørkhaug, 2015, 202). From cruise tourism studies performed in 2010, 2011 and 2012, resulted that out of various categories of tourists, the cruise tourists spend at least money comparing to other types of tourists (UIB; Larsen et.al, 2013).

Stiftelsen Bryggen are responsible for installing the counting equipments at Bryggen. In addition, they collect the numbers and publish the passage result each year. The digital counting equipments

are installed by the entrance of Bryggen in 2004. In the Figure 1 there is graphic illusion of passage each month from the period of 2005 till 2014. In 2005 there were registered 837 thousand persons passing. From the graph, it shows that already in 2010, there were significantly increased number of visitor compared to the period of 2005 to 2006. This may have a connection to the cruise tourism in Bergen. In 2014 there were registered 1.2 million persons passing the front of Bryggen. The result each year includes both tourists and locals. However, if the number of local passage was taking away, the total amount of passage will still pass a million in the period of May to September. The highest number of passage of a year tends to be between June to August (Stiftelsen Bryggen).

As mentioned earlier, at Bryggen is an open and free attraction. The front area is open, where people could walk by, or take pictures towards or of the buildings of Bryggen. There is a road for motor vehicles in front of the buildings. There are bus stops in front of Bryggen, which makes it easier for visitors to visit the site. In front, there are various private businesses offering such as souvenir shops, designer shops, cafés, restaurants and kiosks to the visitors. It is possible to walk around and explore the buildings of Bryggen by oneself, or attend a guided tour as other option. The inner area of Bryggen contains small passageway between the buildings.



Map of Bryggen and the Visitor Center. Source: Stiftelsen Bryggen

Several companies have located their offices here, in addition to craft and art galleries. In some galleries, you may enter and watch the artist work on their art. There is also a visitor center, where visitors can buy books, postcards and t-shirts, or just have an informal talk with the visitor host who has solid knowledge about Bryggen. The visitor center is open from 09 - 17 every day in the period of June - August, and from 10 - 16 in May and September (Prosjekt Bryggen; Stiftelsen Bryggen).

2.9.4 Opportunities and Challenges for Bryggen

We have an overview of opportunities and challenges for cultural World Heritage in Europe. Now the opportunities and challenges for Bryggen will be identified, by gathering information from the last Periodic Report of Bryggen in 2013 (UNESCO). In the report, the negative impacts may be seen as challenges, and the positive impacts may be seen as opportunities.

According to the report, the negative impacts come from transportation infrastructure, services infrastructure, local conditions, social/cultural use of heritage, climate change and severe weather events and other human activities. At the same time, the positive impacts could also be seen from services infrastructure and social/cultural uses of heritage, in addition to management and institutional factors.

The management has taken action on the transportation infrastructure, services infrastructures and local conditions impact factors. Still, there is lack of action to impact from the social/ cultural uses of heritage, which include society's valuing of heritage, changes in traditional ways of life and knowledge system and impacts of tourism/ visitor/ recreation. The priority and the critical status may have an influence the decision-making, due to its description as a potential impact and not a current impact.

Moreover, it was also mentioned about another factor that may affect the property, which is the planning process of the light trail system. This has been a discussion for many years, and still ongoing.

In conclusion, there are both opportunities and challenges for Bryggen. The most critical challenges on the site has been taken care of by the management, but still there is lack of management of the potential impacts on the site.

3.0 Methodology

The strategy of how the data was collected and analyzed will be presented in this chapter. The chosen method and design will guide through the collection of data and find answers relating to the research questions. The consideration has been based on what the research questions are aiming at, the goal of this thesis, time and resources, in addition to the existing knowledge. In this chapter, the research method for this thesis will be presented. Furthermore, the process of approaching data collection will also be described.

3.1 Method

In the previous chapter the UNESCO World Heritage Management in Norway, and the cultural World Heritage, Bryggen, were presented. At the same time, we had an overview of the benefits and impacts World Heritage may bring, in addition of an overview of impacts that could be found at Bryggen. The research questions aim to find opportunities, challenges, dilemmas and potential conflicts the site managers face. Due to the target of finding the experiences of site managers, and also in order to find an answer of opportunities, challenges, dilemmas and potential conflicts there could be on the site, therefore qualitative research was considered most suitable. Because there is flexibility in analyzing and interpreting in quality research, which is the purpose of this thesis. Further, in order to focus on a small number of informants, but on the other hand collect in-depth and detailed information for the research questions, therefore it was reasonable to perform in-depth interviews. Since the aim of this thesis is to approach result based on the previous knowledge and theory. Therefore deductive analysis approach and descriptive design study were considered as most appropriate approach for this thesis. More details will be described further in this chapter (Kunnskapssenteret; Thagaard, 2009, 19 - 22; Dalland, 2000, 132 - 143).

3.2 Classification of the recruitment

Due to the purpose of the research of looking at opportunities, challenges and dilemmas the site managers face. Therefore, it was important to aim for managers, who work with protection of Bryggen, as informants (Dalland, 2000, 144 – 148). To have an insight of the tourism industry, it was considered that there should be informants from the tourism industry as well. The aim was to

find leaders from the tourism industry, because leaders tend to have a good overall view of his/her working field (Thagaard, 2009, 55 - 57).

Finding the potential informants was a challenge, due to lack of local network and complexity of the system in the public sector. This limited the number of informants for this thesis. However, it was possible to recruit four informants (Thagaard, 2009, 59 - 61; Dalland, 2000,149). Three informants work with World Heritage management, one informant represent an organization of volunteers. Due to confidentiality, the organizations' names or the working position of each informants will not be mentioned, nor described in details. Therefore, they will be described with suggested names.

One of the informants works with the operational tasks and project of conservation-, protection- and restoration management of Bryggen. This informant will be mentioned as "Manager 1" further in the text. Two of the informants work in the public sector, but in different levels. Their work mainly involve management and also funding of projects on the site. These will be described as "Manager 2" and "Manager 3". One informant represents the volunteer side for protection of Bryggen. The organization supports the management and good cases for Bryggen. This informant will be mentioned as "Volunteer 1". In order to have in insight and reflection into the tourism industry, two informants from the tourism industry were contacted for interview as well. These two informants have leader position in their organization. Further in the text, these two informants will be mentioned as "Tourism 1" and "Tourism 2".

The process of finding informants went mainly through making searches on websites and phone calls. The informants were first contacted by an email including a little background and a description the topic of the thesis, and asked if he/she would be willing to help out with being interviewed. As further it got in the process of this thesis, they were again contacted with suggestions for exact date and time for the interviews. The informants were supportive and positive to be a part of this thesis (Dalland, 2000, 152 - 156).

3.3 The Interview Guide

The interview guide was prepared before hand. In order to get answers that reflect the research questions, the questions of the interview guide were based on what the research questions were aiming for (see Appendix 1). The interview guide consist of introduction questions, core questions and ending questions (Thagaard, 2009, 91 - 92; Dalland, 2000, 150 - 152). The introduction questions do go straight into the point, but at the same time they are leading to the core of the interview and also purposely an attempt to make the informants feel comfortable. Since the time of the interview was limited to approximately an hour, the focus was therefore put into the core questions. The ending questions were to make the informants reflect, at the same time they also have a connection to the introduction and the core questions. Some of the questions had additional questions. This was to go in-depth of the topic of the questions. All three groups, the managers, the volunteer and the tourism industry, have the same questions. This was to see the perspectives and reflections of both groups.

3.4 The Interviews

During last week of February, the interviews were set up, and were held in a quiet meeting room or office. The interviews lasted for approximately an hour as planned. The informants were informed about voice recording which would be taking during the interview in before hand, and that there would be taking notes while interviewing (Thagaard, 2009, 102; Dallas, 2000, 161 - 163). All informants have accepted and agreed to voice recording. They were also informed that their names and the organization's name will be confidential, and that the voice recording and the notes will be demolished after the writing of the thesis is done. The informants also agreed to be contacted, in case if there were further questions in the future. The interview was semi-structured in order to the purpose of getting as much information as possible, and also intentionally tried to make the informants feel comfortable by following up their answers, so that the interviews seem more like an informal conversation (Thagaard, 2009, 103). It was also reasonable to have a semi-structured interview, since there was a time limit and yet so much information which need to be collected. The informants' body language and behavior during the interview were also observed in order to evaluate validity of their validity (Dallas, 2000, 162). From the observation, there were no signs from any of the informants that their answers were not valid. The impression was rather

that all the informants had an insight of the importance of being interviewed for this thesis. Observation of Bryggen and its surrounding was also made, in order to increase understanding of the site from the theory chapter and from the data collection of the informants.

The transcription of the interviews were proceeded shortly after the interviews were finished. In this way, the impressions and memory were still fresh, and therefore also easier to include the impressions while transcribing. The transcription consisted of work of listening to the records from the interviews and typing in exactly what it had been said. In addition, thinking pauses the informants made and the impressions from the interviews have been noted down. At the same time, reflections and thoughts during the transcription process have also been noted down, in case they could be useful for discussion later on (Dallas, 2000, 174 - 179).

3.5 Data Analysis

For the data analysis part, the transcribed texts from all the informants had been arranged under following topics: (1) the impact of the UNESCO status; (2) Opportunities; (3) Challenges; (4) Obstacles; (5) Dilemmas; (6) Development; (7) Relationship to tourism; (8) Potential conflicts; (9) In 20 years; (10) Opportunities in 20 years; (11) Challenges in 20 years.

These topics are based on the aim of the research questions. This is to collect the most essential data in line with the research question, and also to sort out the unnecessary and irrelevant data (Dalland, 2000, 173 - 179). After arranging texts under each topic was complete, the next process was to read through each topic from one informant to another, to see if there are words or opinions which informants have in common or if there could be patterns in the data collection. This is known as coding process. The same words and opinions under the same topic were marked with color in order to see the total picture of what had been said, and if there could be any connection or common understanding/opinion. In case of remarkable expressions or use of words, they were underlined or typed in bold. In addition, some keywords were also written down.

3.6 Limitations

Qualitative method allows us to increase understanding of the society, the environment we are surrounded by and the social phenomenon. This can be done by performing in-depth or group interviews and observation, or a combination. The purpose of the qualitative method is to go in-depth within a field or a topic, which one wishes to include in his/her research, and it aims to emphasize the meanings, thoughts and opinions. While quantitative method aims to emphasize numbers and facts, that is not depending on the social context as quantitative method. In qualitative method it allows to find answer to “what, why, how, who and where”. Contrary, in quantitative method limits to find in-depth answers as in qualitative method. Therefore, it is reasonable to choose qualitative method for this thesis, because this method provides to collect the necessary information in order to get answer to the research questions. As mentioned earlier in this chapter of how the interview guide was built up. In qualitative method, interview guide is a tool that is used to approach data. By performing the in-depth interviews, it allows me to have a subjective-subjective relation with the informants.

However, the consequences with qualitative method are as following: (1) it sets limitation of the amount of people who can attend in the research; (2) it sets limitation in data collection; (3) challenges lays in the way of doing analysis and interpretation; (4) the data result does only cover a small part of the society; and (5) it cannot represent the whole society (Thagaard, 2009, 11 19).

4.0 Result from Interviews

In this chapter, an overall result of the coding analysis will be presented, before going into details into each topic that is connected to the research question.

Distinctly, Managers 1, Manager 2 and Manager 3 seem to be very concerned of protection on the World Heritage site, Bryggen. Moreover, they also reflect over the cooperation situation today and that there is potential of growth. Volunteer 1 seems to lean more towards the locals, their engagement, due to the organization Volunteer 1 is working for. In addition, political discussion about the light train was a relevant topic during the time the interviews were planned, which was also mentioned by all informant several times under the interview.

With prepared and structured interview guide, it was possible to control the interviews to be on track. On the other hand, from the tourism side, both Tourism 1 and Tourism 2 state that there are good cooperation within the tourism industry in Bergen. Tourism 2 stress that Bryggen is “the production arena” for tourism in Bergen, which arises interesting opinions from Manager 1, Manager 2 and Manager 3. Tourism 1 seems to stand for both usage and protection, and signalizes that both are equally important and depending on each other. Tourism 1 seems to have a close relationship with management. Controversy, Tourism 2 seems to be mostly positive on the growth of tourism and expresses to have nearly contact or cooperation with management. However, Tourism 2 also reflects over the growth of tourism, especially to crowding from cruise ships in its season, that there should be a way to calibrate and create a guideline of how to limit numbers of visitors in the city on a day in order to prevent crowding that there already is at Bryggen in its high season.

In order to make it easier to orientate further in this chapter, there are tables of which informant agrees on what. The readers are recommended to have a look at Appendix 2, Appendix 3 and Appendix 4. This is to help the reader have an overview of who mentions and/or agree to what.

4.1 Opportunities

The impact of the World Heritage, Bryggen, is largely seen as positive impacts and opportunities. All informants, including of all parts, agree that the status has provided Bryggen financial support in conserving and protection projects. All believe that the process of protection would have been much slower, if Bryggen has not been inscribed on the World Heritage List, because of the high cost of conserving and protecting the site. The status gives Bryggen a higher priority of protection than other national cultural heritage. This is an opportunity, also a benefit that Bryggen is inscribed on the World Heritage List, because it follows with a responsible for protection and conservation the site in order to pass this to the future generations. Nevertheless, all informants are informed and knew about a project, which is to stabilize the groundwater below Bryggen, called “Project Bryggen”. In addition, all informants are aware of the amount the National Budget provides to Bryggen for this project.

(...) without the World Heritage status, we would still receive financial support for protection from Riksantikvaren, because Bryggen got the protection status before it came on the World Heritage List. But if it was not for the status, and protection would be depending on the resource that we receive... So it would not gone well with the buildings. Then, if you compare the budget for protected buildings, every of them in Hordaland, which is 550. It would be approximately 10 million, cirka. But here, it is 17 million. (...) So Bryggen receives much, much more than all the other protected buildings in Hordaland County. It says a lot about the prioritization here, but also how important the World Heritage status is regarding of protection. And it so obvious, that it is not just responsibility of the nation, but that Norway, as a nation, has undertaken a commitment on behalf of the humanity (Manager 2).

The World Heritage status has resulted in increased identity for Bergen and its inhabitants. The status also had an effect on changing local inhabitants’ attitude and mentality. All informants agree that local inhabitants would consider that Bryggen is a part of the Bergen city, and also a part of their identity. Volunteer 1 and Tourism 2 mention that Bryggen is the icon of Bergen, while Tourism 1 stresses that every inhabitant in Bergen would recommend or show off Bryggen, not because of the status, but because it is one of the existing part of the old city of Bergen. Manager 3 mentions that a TV-program, known as *Anno*, which has used Bryggen as one of their filming

locations, has increased inhabitants' curiosity to visit Bryggen. On the other hand, all informants agree and stresses that the status has brought more attention from the local inhabitants.

Furthermore, along with increased local attention, the status also had an effect on changing locals' attitude and mentality. Before the excavation at Bryggen after the fire in 1955, the local inhabitants were strongly against rebuilding Bryggen. At the same time Bergen municipality had plans to replace and urbanize the area. Due to shortage of finance, urbanization plan did not approve. However, the findings from the excavation after the fire in 1955 was the starting point of changing the locals' mentality and attitude. As all informants agree, as Bryggen received the World Heritage status, the local inhabitants also started to realize and understand the value of Bryggen.

(...) I have seen the drawings, there were plans of totally something else. Because Bryggen was supposed to be demolished. There were plans... When it was on fire in 1955, there were people who thought that Bryggen should be removed. The plan was to build hotels there, in modern style. (...) it was in 60s' and 70s', not just because of the status, but the locals started to understand that this was important, which they did not before. But in 50s' Bryggen was about to decay. Then half of it was on fire in 1955, and it just got worse. And then you may ask "what should we do?", and then you enter the modern era, that it should be replaced with something modern. (Pause) So, Bryggen has been saved due to short of money, because they could not afford to start all the modern projects... So, yes (Volunteer 1).

Apart from increased attention and affect of changing locals' attitude and mentality, another opportunity is that Bryggen receives international attention as well. Tourism 1 stresses how meaningful it is that Bryggen is a part of something big and international, such as being one of the UNESCO World Heritage. They also agree that Bryggen is known internationally, especially in the relation with marketing. Manager 1 and Tourism 2 refer Bryggen as one of the most photographed buildings world wide, with comparison with photographs of Brooklyn Bridge. In addition, Manager 1 sees that the World Heritage status has a strong position when it comes to commercial, sale and marketing. Manager 2 and Volunteer 1 confirm that picture of Bryggen is frequently used in marketing, from local to international level.

Bryggen is a symbol for Bergen. It has been used in housing advertisements in Bergen, car advertisements, on the news, and, well, as frontpage of Michelin's guidebook, and in my hand I am holding a fresh report from UNESCO which was published for some days ago. Well, I would say that it is definitely a very strong symbol. But it is not just a strong symbol, it also helps to generate great resource for example for the tourism industry and so on (Manager 2).

From the interviews, new opportunities were discovered. Manager 2 and Manager 3 mention that there is an ongoing discussion about recruiting a *World Heritage Coordinator*. This is a job position, possibly a political representative, who could be a main person for the management. Who also provides communication between all stages within the management, and make the management organization less complicated. Moreover, another opportunity is the *World Heritage Center*, which will be a center where knowledge, history and OUV will be presented, and disseminated to the visitors and local inhabitants. The World Heritage Coordinator and the World Heritage Centre are suggestions from the Norwegian Parliament. These two tasks are very new and they are just at the start of the planning, which means that there are yet too little information to get from Manager 2 and Manager 3.

“Sustainable management and sustainable tourism” are two words with vague meanings, but expresses the vision of where to be in the future. Therefore questions about Bryggen in 20 years were formulated, this is to see the future perspective of each informants without mentioning “sustainability”. Yet only two of the informants mention the word “sustainability” or “sustainable”, in context of visitor management and crowding. According to the others, their answers are not bad wishing, despite that they did not say “sustainability/ sustainable”. All informants have a positive and optimistic vision of Bryggen in 20 years. We will come back to this in the discussion chapter.

4.2 Dilemmas and Challenges

(...) Also that part where UNESCO status is so well-known, that it attracts a lot of people to come and sightseeing the heritage. But you cannot receive one thing without having the other (Tourism 2).

Tourism 2 give an understanding that the UNESCO World Heritage status will obviously bring more visitors to the site, these two factors are depending on each other, and will not occur without another. Tourism 2 reflects that there is no problem or challenge for the tourism industry that Bryggen is a Cultural World Heritage. Bryggen is rather a benefit, because it makes marketing for tourism in Bergen easier. Tourism 2 states that Bergen has “a positive problem” today, which is “there are too many travelers from the cruise ships” problem. However, Tourism 2 mentions that there may be too many people at the site sometimes for those who have their businesses at Bryggen. Despite, positive thoughts about increased tourists in Bergen, Tourism 2 also mentions that there is a need of having a plan of how to distribute visitors, in order for the tourists to have a better experience, as mentioned in the last sub chapter.

Further, Tourism 2 refers to the fact that World Heritage status brings opportunities, but also limitation, because it aims for protection in order to pass the World Heritage for the future generation. This means that before any actions start on the site, evaluation and consideration has to be done first, in order to assure that the actions will not have a negative effect on the site. Tourism 2 discussed that it is both a joy and a responsibility, which lay in managing a World Heritage, but some regulations or conditions that follow, may arise difficulties and challenges for both tourism and management. The dilemma is whether one will understand and accept the regulations or not. However, Tourism 2 reflects that the regulations and conditions are essential for management of Bryggen.

The challenge that Tourism 1 is facing is crowding, especially in the summer season with mass-tourism from both cruise and arranged bus tour. Tourism 1 reflects that crowding is affecting the experience of the tourists who is not a part of the mass-tourism, and may give them bad experience when visiting Bryggen during summer season. For Tourism 1, who has a close relation with the management, referred to the complexity in renovation of a building at Bryggen, with an opinion that management may be a challenge in itself. The dilemmas arise to Tourism 1 when working on

something, but then there are conditions and regulations from the management that determines the work of Tourism 1.

Manager 1 explains that in the past 10 years it was an increased number of visitors with 1 million cruise nights. Manager 1 discusses further that it has been a noticeable change, but how reasonable it is when there could be about 30'000- 40'000 tourists at Bryggen on a day. The challenge is that Bryggen is a free and open attraction. The reflection of Manager 2 according to this challenge matches the statement of Manager 1.

In the past 10 years, we have had a torrential explosion in both cruise ships and other forms of tourists (...) Tourism is very important for Bergen. So, in this point of view, increased number of visitors is certainly interesting. (...) Of course it is important, as long as it is growth within a certain limit. It could be discussed if it is reasonable, or not -eventually, when there the number of visitors is increasing. (...) In July, some days we have approximately 30'000 - 40'000 visitors at Bryggen. Then it is so crowded with people here that it is not possible to get through. And we make questions to ourselves: is it good with this much visitors?; do we manage to disseminate about the World Heritage in the way that we want?; and what impression does one get when being apart of mass-tourism? Is this good? And as far as I am concerned; no, it is not good. We cannot let mass-tourism ongoing for long without getting consequences (Tourism 1).

Along with Manager 2, another challenge is to control dissemination of the information and the OUV of the World Heritage to the visitors, which is uncontrollable in practice. Manager 1 sums up that the quality of dissemination per today is not satisfying, because they lack of control of what tour guides disseminates to the visitors. In addition of certain things, that UNESCO requires the site managers to include in dissemination in order to bring out the OUV. Often, mass tourism from bus and cruise, have a schedule and plan they follow for each day. Often the mass tourism also arrive to Bergen with a prepared guiding package for the tourists. On behalf of the site managers, there is no certification if these tour guides disseminate correct history, knowledge and value of the site according to what UNESCO requires.

On the management side, there are several challenges (1) the complexity of bureaucratic system of management; (2) to operate management in order to remain the OUV of the site, which means that every process of protection and renovation has to be done in traditional way; (3) the organization which Manager 1 works for has a little staff, because of the highly requested qualification, that sometimes many workers bear too much responsible on themselves. Because sometimes, the workers have to take responsible of some tasks, which there is no other fitting position for it. And another time, it could be overworking; (4) financial distribution, since that the organization receives governmental financial support apart from other forms of income; (5) the organization want to deliver excellent work, but many factors in reality puts a limit to be realized; and (6) complexity of Bryggen considering the ownerships and the stakeholders, who has the same goal which is to make income, but also with various of interests which is a challenge to satisfy all parts. Further, Manager 1 reflects on the tourism industry, which would like to receive income from the visitors with a “consumption focus”. The dilemmas lay in usage versus protection.

In addition to that case, Manager 1 mentions that if their organization made the decision they would like to change Bryggen from an open attraction to a ticket-required attraction, but that may have a negative result to the local inhabitants, the municipality and such. Manager 1 discusses further that many other countries in the world where visitors have to buy tickets in order to see the World Heritage, then why not make it possible at Bryggen as well. Manager 2 appears to be aware of this dilemma as well.

There are other places that have quota of how many people can entry. And we do not have this today. The question is, if it is 1.3 million or 500'000, and where goes the limit? And if we could distribute 1.3 million throughout the year, then it would not have been a problem. (...) There is no other way to regulate the mass tourism than actually require for payment. You can find this everywhere else in this world, so why not here as well? (Manager 1).

Further, Manager 2 discusses that World Heritage status for instance gives some limitation to city and urban development to some degree for instance, but on the other hand, Manager 2 states that there are way more opportunities. Additionally, Manager 3 refers to the indistinct positions and

roles of management has arisen challenges into their work. This includes of various working task, how these are distributed to whom with a suitable position. In some cases, some managers have to be responsible of tasks, which are not a part of their field, which Manager 2 also refers as a challenge.

Volunteer 1 and their organization do not have any challenges, except from some internal disagreement within the organization, which all Managers also experience. Mainly, it is about various interests that meet and may that arise interest disagreement within the organization. This is not concerned as an unusual case.

In the interviews, the informants were asked about the challenges and opportunities at Bryggen in 20 years. This is to make the informants reflect, not only on the bright side, but also on potential challenges in the future. In general, all informants agree that the challenges in the future could possibly be establishing cooperation and conclude with common agreement, due to many interests involved.

Since Bryggen consists of different ownerships and owners, who may also have various interests. Manager 1 confirms this as a slightly form of challenges today, and reflects that there will not be a great change in this in 20 years. Each individual has unique way of understanding, interests and opinions, which means that the challenge arise when making a decision that everyone will agree too. Due to organizational confusion, as Manager 3 mentions, that some positions or people in the management have different or defused roles. Manager 1, Manager 2 and Manager 3 agree that these challenges will remain in the future as well, but with hope that some of these challenges too will be solved. Tourism 1 seems to have the same reflection of potential challenges in 20 years as Manager 1. Reflection from Tourism 2 is based on tourist volume with a challenge which already existing today, also possibly for the future, is to have a strategy and plan how to even out the number of tourists throughout the year, or how to limit the numbers of visitors.

4.3 Potential Conflicts

Overall the informants do all agree that the conflicts arise when there are various of interests and when each individual would like to gain benefit. However, initiative to cooperation and involvement may provide to reduce conflicts. This is what we will have a look at in this subchapter.

Manager 1 mentions specific conflict between managers and tourism, which is the public toilet at Bryggen. On the site there are public toilets facilitated for visitors. The organization, which is currently responsible of the cleaning- and maintenance service requests, the tourism industry to provide some financial support. Unfortunately, the tourism industry does not consider it as their responsibility, even though the public toilets are facilitated for tourists at Bryggen especially. Public sector neither want to take responsibility of this matter.

For eight years ago, we found out that there is need of public toilet at Bryggen. There are so many tourists here, it is so hopeless, because there was no public toilet that one could use. So we built two public toilets, which is facilitated for the visitors at Bryggen. (...) So we asked Port of Bergen for financial support. Because it is unreasonable that we have to offer toilet facilitation for all cruise tourists on our own, so of course they could provide something, because it costs us to run these toilets. *lift up both hands* “No”. See, so this is something they will not be a part of and take responsibility for. So far, we have not received a clear answer yet. (...) The public sector says: “Yes, well, that is the matter of the private sector”, like this is not a case for them. And that is a little odd, right? This is a touristic city, there should be tourist facilities and services available (Manager 1).

Manager 3 explains that despite the complexity of management, the key core is communication. Managers need to talk and discuss with each other, regardless of disagreement, because there will always be different interests. Manager 3 believes that managers have to find the best solutions for Bryggen.

(...) One has to think what is the best, what is not, which impacts will arise and if there are any other solutions (Manager 3).

Volunteer 1 experiences that both management and tourism have a good cooperation in general, but in some cases there might be some tension between different parts -which Volunteer 1 does not consider as unusual. Volunteer 1 has a specific example of good cooperation, which is the World Heritage Conference that took place in Fall 2015. Manager 2 also expresses that there was good cooperation at the conference, but there was lack of initiative and interests from the tourism industry.

(...) There is good cooperation, for example the World Heritage Conference that we arranged last fall, where we gathered all interest parts of Bryggen together. And.. As we experienced, the tourism industry was not so eager to be a part of it (Manager 2).

Manager 1, Manager 2 and Manager 3 agree that the tourism industry works for their benefits and seems absent in their cooperation with the management. On the other side, Tourism 2 discussed that there is and always will be conflicts, since there are different interests involved. And the conflicts concern various interests, also conflict between usage versus protection.

Manager 3 mentions possible cooperation for the future, which is based from what is missing today. Mainly, it is about involving more stakeholders and tourism industry into management. Volunteer 1 refers that cooperation in 20 years needs to consist of people who work for the best to Bryggen, also people with intention of making the site more interesting and attractive for both local inhabitants and tourists. While Tourism 1 and Tourism 2 both believe that in 20 years cooperation within the tourism industry will hopefully be better than what it is today.

In the next chapter, these topics will be discussed along with the theory, and other relevant references.

5.0 Discussion

Now that the result from the data collection has been presented, this chapter will go on to discuss the result from the interviews as well as present the theory. This is to analyze the answer according to the research questions. The arrangement of discussion will be organized into the same order of topic as in the last chapter, due of the intention of giving a better overview to the readers.

5.1 Opportunities

According to the result of the interview, all informants shared the same thought about if Bryggen did not receive the World Heritage. They reflected that some buildings might have fallen down, due to shortage of resource and the lack capacity of protection. As earlier mentioned, Bryggen is one of the first Cultural Heritage in Norway and the World Heritage status appear to have played an important role regarding this matter. Since inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List obligates the State with the World Heritage to protect the sites in its country, it also means that the Government of Norway has the responsibility to protect all the World Heritage sites in its territory. Being a part of the UNESCO World Heritage, is being a part of something universal and great. It brings great honor to the country, the region and the people. Being inscribed on the World Heritage List also brings many opportunities apart from assuring the protection on the site, it also brings such as retaining the authenticity, the uniqueness and the outstanding value of the site. And this is what we will have a look at in this subchapter.

First of all, it is about receiving funds and financial support to operate protection in a more effective way. All informants mentioned that the status has provided financial resources to the protection and renovation projects, so that the buildings are standing today. World Heritage status requires that the site should retain its authenticity, in order to keep its originality for the humanity and for future generations, which in the case of Bryggen requires high financial cost for protection. From the National Budget, Bryggen receives NOK 17.5 million for the groundwater project, *Prosjekt Bryggen*. This is the number all of informants had knowledge about. Manager 2 mentions that Bryggen is very lucky to receive such a big amount of financial support, since it is the highest amount compared to other protected buildings in Hordaland municipality. If Bryggen did not

receive the World Heritage status, the priority from the Norwegian Government may possibly be less, because then the Government does not bear the important role and responsibility to conserve a World Heritage.

When it comes to restoration of the site, being on the World Heritage List brings the opportunity of keeping the authenticity and remaining the OUV. Manager 1 explains that the renovation process in each house is made in traditional ways, which means the same way they built the buildings in the past without any modern carpenter tools, or even a saw. At Bryggen, the carpenters use the same tools like how they used to in the past. The renovation process has to go into every detail, that could be for instance the building structure has to be alike the original, the materials have to be the same and so on. All the informants know more or less about how the buildings at Bryggen are being renovated. From the observation of the site, there was a building, which was under the renovation, had a big window, so that people could peek and watch how the carpenters renovate the building. This is not only a good example of keeping the authenticity of the buildings at Bryggen, and preserving the OUV for the humanity and for the future generations. But it is also a way of involving visitors on the site to have better understanding and increase knowledge for both locals and tourists as well, which we will come back to later.

From the data collection, it appears that Bryggen and other World Heritage in Norway are prioritized above other national cultural and natural heritage, because of the UNESCO World Heritage status. Tourism 1 confirms this. That despite of national protection status, there will be continually renovation happening at Bryggen. But due to high cost it requires, all informants state that the buildings apparently would have fallen, if Bryggen was not inscribed on the World Heritage List. However, it appears that all informants are concerned of protection at Bryggen, despite the level of concern may seem to be vary from each individual. This result confirms the citation from the theory chapter that being inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List will bring opportunities of financial support to protect the sites. This opportunity regarding of financial support correspond with UNESCO's convention text and missions.

Second, public attention, which means that UNESCO World Heritage Sites attract attention from media and increase interests from people all over the world. Because the World Heritage status

confirms that the site is unique and consist OUV. This makes it more interesting for people to come and visit the site. According the statistic of the passage in front of Bryggen, the number of passage has increased in the past 10 years since the passage counters have been installed. This is confirmed by Manager 1 and the graphic of passage at Bryggen, that the number of visitors have increased. Referring to the theory chapter, in 2014 there were 1.2 million people passing Bryggen, which shows that there are about 400 thousand more passage since the passage counters have been installed in 2004.

The front of Bryggen is claimed by Manager 1 and Tourism 2, to be one of the most popular picture of buildings as the object, worldwide. Manager 2 and Volunteer 1 confirm that the picture of Bryggen is frequently used in such context from local to international advertisement. Bryggen often appears in commercial posters, magazines and other sorts of advertisements. The picture of Bryggen is used frequently in marketing and advertising context, both nationally and internationally. For the tourism industry, Bryggen is an easy-sold product, because of the prestige that the World Heritage status has brought. Volunteer 1 believes that some of the tourists, who visit the site, knows Bryggen better than some of the locals. This indicates the awareness and attention from abroad, that Bryggen consist of interesting history from the past and OUV, which is the result of being on the World Heritage List. This opportunity also reflects on UNESCO's convention text and missions.

The World Heritage status does not only result international attention, but it also increases local awareness of the value of the site. Moreover, it also heightens and increases local engagement and involvement. In Bergen, in particular, the status has been a part of affecting and changing the locals' opinion and mentality. As mentioned in the theory chapter, after WWII the local inhabitants of Bergen were strongly against rebuilding Bryggen, because of the Hanseatic era and also the occupation by the Germans during the second world war. The inhabitants did not consider Bryggen as a part of the Norwegian territory. A statement from Tourism 1 corresponds with the description in the theory chapter.

(...) When it was at the north-part in 1955, the local people stood and clapped their hands. Because they were happy that "the old german shit" was going to be removed. The reasons were that it was old and decayed, and that 2nd World War just finished and they had sort of hatred to the Germans (...) (Tourism 1).

As Bryggen was inscribed on the World Heritage List, as one of the first World Heritage in the country, the locals started to open their eyes to realize what value Bryggen has. Manager 1, Manager 3 and Volunteer 1 confirm this statement, that the locals in Bergen have a positive attitude towards protection at Bryggen and increased involvement to cases concerning the site. According to the latest Periodic Report of Bryggen, the benefits, which the UNESCO World Heritage status has given, are increased social and local usage on the site. The result from the report confirms the statements that were collected from the informants. Volunteer 1 states that the numbers of volunteer members are increasing and so is the interest of the locals as well. Manager 1 mentions that people in Bergen have a degree of interest of what is going on at Bryggen. The building, which is under renovation with big the window, as mentioned earlier, draws people's attention and passively involve them to learn more about Bryggen. Manager 3 mentions about a TV-serie, called "Anno", which was filmed at Bryggen. Because the series was a success, it also caused more curiosity of the locals, who followed the TV-series, to pay a visit to Bryggen and actually walk around and explore the site instead of just passing by.

According to all informants, the inhabitants of Bergen do feel that Bryggen is a part of their identity, which they are proud of. Today the pride lays in each inhabitant, that there is a World Heritage in the area where they grow-up or live in. The local inhabitants also feel that Bryggen is a part of their identity. Which is something all informants agree on. Volunteer 1 stresses that the status has positively provided an increase of locals' interest and engagement in cases regarding of Bryggen. An example is the engagement from the locals regarding to the light train demonstration in February 2016. Volunteer 1 stresses how important Bryggen has become, since the local people stand and fight for it. Which in this case is the opposite attitude and engagement comparing to the fire in 1955. The result from the data collection confirms that the benefit of the World Heritage status causes increased prestige, honor and attention to the World Heritage site, as described in the theory chapter.

From the interviews, new opportunities at Bryggen were discovered. Manager 2, Manager 3 and Tourism 1 mention the World Heritage Coordinator and World Heritage Center. As earlier mentioned, these are suggestions from the Norwegian Parliament that they have received recently.

These topics are fresh, but the discussion is ongoing. According to the description of World Heritage Coordinator, that was mentioned in the last chapter, it seems like this job position may bring solution and benefit to some issues that are there today. The organization of the management is complex, and some of the positions are vague. This causes confusion for people within the organization and also for others who are not involved in the organization. That is where the World Heritage Coordinator could come in. Due to the description, the role of World Heritage Coordinator is to be a central person in the management, who should have knowledge of the management organization, how it is structured and who is responsible for what field. Therefore, the World Heritage Coordinator could be a solution to this matter. Further, according to Manager 2 they wish to establish the World Heritage Center within 2018. The point of establishing the World Heritage Center is first of all to have a better control of the dissemination of the history and OUV of Bryggen. Secondly, they assume that the center could be a possible solution for the crowding at Bryggen, because the center could attract and spread visitors to the center as well as on the site. Due to the early stage of planning, unfortunately it was not possible to get further information of where the World Heritage Center would be located and who would be in charge of it. However, the World Heritage Center is a new opportunity. It could prove to be a solution to solve the currently problems on the site, which we will come back to in the next subchapter.

In the previous chapter, the insight of the future vision of the informants was mentioned. Manager 1 and Manager 2 have the same opinion about the restoration of the site, which is that there will still be restoration work on the site in 20 years. Manager 2 is also concerned about what potential a World Heritage Center will bring in the matter of having control of knowledge and OUV dissemination to the visitors. Manager 2 adds that the management plan has to be renewed in the nearest future, since the previous one has been made in 2005. While Manager 3 mentions that the restoration work and the groundwater project would be done in 20 years, and that there should be a plan or a procedure of how to protect the site further. Manager 3 also mentions that in 20 years there will hopefully be a well-established administration, specifically for World Heritage, due to diffused role of managers today.

Volunteer 1 concerns about raising locals' awareness of Bryggen with perhaps establishing something interesting or something that could attract the locals to visit the site as well. Tourism 1

and Tourism 2 have optimistic thoughts of the future for Bryggen. On the tourism side, the vision is to be a better tourism destination, which will provide more visitors. At the same time, Tourism 2 reflects on that tourism management in Bergen should also consider calibrating the visitors and have prepared a plan for cruise tourists with a guideline of how many tourists there should be in the city.

I believe that Bergen will constantly develop to be a better tourism destination. But I think that Bergen needs to have two thoughts. The one is to develop the product. The other is to calibrate it. (...) So, according to my view in 20 years, there should be guidelines for how many cruise ships are allowed to be in Bergen at a time. There will be guidelines of how many should be in the city center. There will be guidelines of how to wind up our visitors (Tourism 2).

Sustainable development or sustainable tourism are both vague terms. According to the theory, there is no specific procedure of sustainable management. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude whether Bryggen has a sustainable management or not. On the other side, even though only Manager 1 and Manager 2 mention were the only two who mentioned the terms “sustainable” or “sustainability”, it does not mean that the other informants do not reflect over reasonable plans for the future. It appears that the informants’ vision of Bryggen in the future is good wishing and reasonable.

5.2 Dilemmas and Challenges

Despite of the many opportunities the World Heritage status brings to Bergen and Bryggen, unfortunately some dilemmas and challenges follow as well. From the result of all informants, there are different dilemmas and challenges from each individual, because of their position and working field. The topics that will be discussed further in this chapter is: (1) prestige versus an increased number of visitors; (2) joy and responsibility; (3) the consequences of crowding; (4) open attraction and visitor management; (5) control of dissemination; (6) usage versus protection; (7) internal challenges within management; and (8) future challenges.

Prestige versus an increased number of visitors:

Since UNESCO World Heritage is well-known worldwide, being inscribed on the World Heritage List causes attention and attracts visitors from all over the world. Manager 3 appears to be aware of that there are travellers who travel around to visit World Heritage. It means that there is a type of tourists who have a certain interest in visiting World Heritage. According to the graph of the passage at Bryggen in the theory chapter, it shows that the number of visitors has increased. Whether the World Heritage status is the main cause of increased visitors at Bryggen or not, this is not yet clarified because there are many other types of tourists at the site as well. However, it can be assumed that there is a certain number of visitors at Bryggen visiting because of the World Heritage status, since that the World Heritage tourists do exist.

As Tourism 2 mentioned, the prestige of being a World Heritage will attract visitors, and these are two factors that are depending on each other. If Bryggen was not inscribed on the World Heritage List, it would not be as easy to attract visitors to Bryggen. In the case of Bryggen, it receives a high number of visitors from the arranged bus and cruise tourism in summer. This means that Bryggen must be an interesting attraction, which the travel agencies recommend their customers to see. All managers seem to be concerned of the increased number of visitors, while tourism industry appears to be positive to the growth of visitors. From the tourism industry point of view, the prestige of Bryggen is a gift for their industry. Because Bryggen is used as a part of their marketing, and it seems to work with efficient result. Therefore, from the tourism industry's point of view, it appears that the World Heritage status and the increased number of visitors have a positive effect for their industry.

Joy and responsibility:

As Tourism 2 mentions, it is a joy, but it brings other responsibilities along with the World Heritage Status. In order to keep the greatness and uniqueness of the site, it needs a solid management who operates and finds solutions which is considered as the best for Bryggen. From the data collection, all informants are concerned about Bryggen and its best being, especially the Managers. However, this does not mean that the management is committed to take responsibilities in protection and conservation of Bryggen only. The responsibilities lay in everyone's hand. In order for that to be realized, everyone needs to provide. The responsibilities lay therefore in the hands of those who

are at Bryggen daily, those who use Bryggen commercially, those who visit Bryggen and those who actually are committed to protect it, such as those who work as managers for Bryggen. For instance, in order to maintain the authenticity and the OUV of Bryggen, it is essential that restoration of the buildings at Bryggen should be done like how they used to in the past. According to this, Manager 1 expresses accordingly:

As a World Heritage place, we have to follow up the World Heritage Convention, and how it should be. And according to that we should be an Eco-Lighthouse at the national level. That we should stretch towards being.. Excellent. We should have professional staff for what we do; we should “tug our hair”; we should include researchers to do a proper job for what we do. So it is a challenging position (Manager 1).

Consequences of crowding:

Manager 1, Manager 2 and Manager 3 appear to be most concerned about the crowding of visitors in summer season, mostly of cruise tourists. Manager 1 mentions that there could be up to 30'000 - 40'000 visitors at Bryggen for a day during the high season. Per today there is not clear limit of how many visitors Bryggen can bear. If the number could be spread throughout the year, then it would not be as noticeable as some days in summer, and for the sustainability it would be more positive. Manager 1 discusses further that these arranged tour tourists most likely drop by, take pictures, do the tour and leave to their next destination, without leaving any benefit to the shops at the site for instance. Manager 2 mentions the same, but appears to be unsure of the consumer behavior, due to that the working position does not involve being at the site. Referring to the theory, the study of Larsen et.al. (2013) shows that cruise tourists spend little money on land compared to other types of tourists, which is considered as not sustainable. On the other hand, Tourism 2 appears to be most positive to the cruise tourism in Bergen, and calls it as “a positive problem” for Bergen. Manager 1, Manager 2 and Tourism 1, are concerned that crowding may ruin the tourists' experiences when they visit Bryggen. Even though Tourism 2 seems to be positive that the number of visitors has increased, Tourism 2 also reflects that if there are queues everywhere and tourists will have to wait, then it will ruin the experience of the visitors.

According to the impression from the data collection, it seems like there is either a lack of visitor management, or the visitor management is not strong enough to handle the crowding challenge. Another factor that Manager 1 and Manager 2 agree to, is the fact that Bryggen is an open and free attraction, which brings us to the next point.

Open attraction and visitor management:

Bryggen is an open and free attraction, where visitors or anyone else can enter. This may be the cause of crowding at the site. The UNESCO World Heritage status will no matter what attracts visitors to the site, as discussed early, the status can therefore not be blamed on as a cause of crowding. On the other hand, it seems that there is lack of visitor management at Bryggen, even though the passage counters have been installed at the site. This is another reason that may have caused the crowding issue at Bryggen.

In order to have control of visitor management, Manager 1 mentions a way to achieve that, which is to require the visitors to pay for their entrance tickets. This topic is considered a dilemma, because that consequently may exclude the local inhabitants to visit the site, since it always has been an open and free attraction, so this change may affect locals' involvement negatively. Manager 2 is aware of the same solution and reflects that Bryggen needs visitor management. At the same time Manager 2 seems to be uncertain about if there might be other solutions, so that this solution could be ignored, due to its potential consequences of the local inhabitants. World Heritage Center has been mentioned by Manager 2 as another suggestion.

Another dilemma factor that may have an affect on whether Bryggen needs to be a ticket-required attraction or not, is that all UNESCO World Heritage in Norway receive financial support from the Ministry of Climate and Environment yearly. This is a factor which other countries may not have a well-functional governmental support and system, and therefore in order for them to maintain and protect World Heritage, they will need to require visitors to pay for their entrance tickets.

If the intention of using the income from the entrance tickets for maintenance and protection of Bryggen, and this information about it will spread to the locals and visitors. There will certainly

be numbers of people who will have understanding that paying for the entrance ticket will provide to a good case for Bryggen. It does not mean that the price of an entrance ticket needs to be high, because then it will not only exclude the locals to visit the heritage site, but in addition may exclude tourists to pay for their entrance due to high price. It should be considered that the local inhabitants may have an access to an exclusive deal. Perhaps in a form of yearly pass, that does not cost a fortune, as an example. Surely, it will be discussions and it will take some time to understand the change, in this case, mostly for the local inhabitants. On the realistic side, there is no right or wrong decision that could satisfy all types of people, but there are many decisions that managers may conclude on in order to do what is best for Bryggen.

However, according to the Periodic Report and to the interviews, they both correspond each other that this is an issue. Manager 1 and Manager 2 agree that this issue needs to be solved. So far, it only appears to be on the wishing-list, because of the consequences it may bring and also disagreement in the management. From a personal experience, Park Güell in Barcelona has a solid visitor management. Not only does it require visitors to pay for tickets, but the park has the maximum limit of visitors at the park. Therefore when buying tickets, either online or at the site, you have a specific time on the ticket, which is the time for you to enter into the park. Even though there is a limit of numbers of visitors inside the park, in some cases the queuing is not unavoidable, due to the regulation of number of visitors exiting the site and the number of visitors entering into the park has to be even. Visitor management at Park Güell is a good example of how to regulate the matter of crowding.

Control of dissemination:

In the convention text of UNESCO, it is required that the World Heritage disseminate history, culture and OUV of the site to the public and visitors. This is a task that requires responsibility from the site managers. No wonder why Manager 1 and Manager 2 seem to be more concerned about dissemination compared to other informants. Manager 1 and Manager 2 appear to be skeptical to what information and knowledge are being passed on to the visitors through guides on arranged tours, such as tourist buses and cruise ships. Since that Bryggen is one of the UNESCO World Heritage, it is necessary that its history and its OUV need to be disseminated correctly to the visitors. Here will museums play an important role, including of the local guide services.

There are two museums at Bryggen; Bryggen museum and the Hanseatic museum. At Bryggen museum there are exhibitions of the findings from the excavation of Bryggen after the fire in 1955, in addition to some historical exhibitions of Bergen. The Hanseatic museum has a permanent exhibition of the Hanseatic era in Bergen. These museums are cooperating with the managers. These museums present and lift up the historical and cultural value of Bryggen. They are the qualified disseminators, which the managers have control of to some extent. However, this does not mean that every tourist will visit these museums, due to the entrance tickets. On the other hand, it is unclear of how much cooperation the manager have with the private guiding companies. The type of dissemination from guiding companies, or guides that come with mass-tourism package, are considered as not controllable.

According to the result of the data collection, there is lack of cooperation between management and tourism, and tourism seems to work for its benefit. Therefore, the dissemination of knowledge is uncontrollable for managers per today, which is considered a challenge. Nevertheless, the management has now started with a new project of establishing a World Heritage Center, where visitors could visit and learn more about World Heritage and Bryggen. In this way, it would be possible for the managers to control the dissemination of knowledge. However, it seems that the site managers have discovered this challenge and have a certain plan that hopefully will improve and give them more control of dissemination.

Usage versus protection:

From interviews there were mentioned a few times, that the director of tourism in Bergen stated that Bryggen is their consumption arena for tourism industry in Bergen. There is nothing wrong with this statement. Rather, there should be a sense of consideration that the protection and conservation should be stressed as an important part at Bryggen as well. There should be a balance of usage and protection.

The challenge lays in the tourism industry and the management, where the balance of use and protection is unclear for both parts. The tourism industry operates in the way that increase the numbers of visitors to the city and to the site, which in their context is considered as reasonable.

At the same time, the tourism industry should also show more interest and engagement in being a part of conserving and protecting Bryggen. Since the tourism industry uses Bryggen for their commercial benefits, they should as well give something back. On the other side, the management needs and should focus on challenges, find solutions and solve the problems. Some of the important tasks in management is depending on the decisions of management. The managers have the authority to put limits, make decisions and generate what is reasonable to do at/for Bryggen. But this may as well be another challenge, which bring us to the next topic.

Internal challenges:

The management system of Bryggen is complex. Manager 1, Manager 2 and Manager 3 agree to that the management system is a challenge. First of all, it is about the levels and roles each of the managers have. Many of the roles are not well defined, even within management there are challenges to get in touch with someone who works with a specific case or field. For enterprises or private persons who need to contact someone in the management, it could prove to be quite a challenge. Even for the managers, who are working with management, find the organization complex and blurry. However, Manager 3 appears to be the only one who brings this dilemma further in discussion that there should be able to fix this easily by reorganizing the organization of management.

Because Bryggen includes several ownerships, many companies and businesses operates at Bryggen. Therefore many interests and opinions are involved. Whether it is in the case within an organization, or it is the case between concerned parts and/or companies, there will be disagreement based on interests. This is considered as a challenge, since all parts are interested in benefiting from it. All informants appear to recognize this matter, but it is also considered as a common case. However, the challenge lays in decision making, or concluding with agreement for everyone that is involved, for instance. The discussion of light train has been ongoing in the last few years.

Future challenges:

It seems to be good cooperation within the management, despite interest disagreement within the organization. All informants express that it is common that there is disagreement, especially when there are many people and parts involved in the World Cultural Heritage, Bryggen.

Therefore, Manager 2 sees this as a possible challenge in the future as well, but on the other hand hopes that there will be a way of coordinating in order for the management to work more effectively and towards the same goal. Manager 2 reflects that in the future there should be cooperation that involves many organizations and sectors together, working towards a common goal. Manager 3 refers to the challenge of it being too many opinions floating around, but there is no opinion that initiate action regarding of World Heritage Coordinator and World Heritage Centre, and for the future this challenge may still remain. Volunteer 1 is concerned that the discussion about the light train crossing the front area of Bryggen may still be remaining in the future, due to the long process of discussion, which is very common for Bergen. Moreover, Volunteer 1 also mentions that it is important to put aside one's wish or will, and rather help to find the best solution or development for Bryggen. Volunteer 1 reflects on that this will remain as one of the challenges in the future as well, since this is how it has been at Bryggen since it was inscribed on the World Heritage List. This does not involve just management but tourism, and many other companies and organizations as well.

In the next subchapter, we will go through discussion of the potential conflicts at Bryggen.

5.3 Potential Conflicts

At the time the interviews were performed, the political discussion whether the light train should pass in front of Bryggen or not was on its peak. The discussion was on the local and national news at that time. All informants mentioned this case during their interviews, because the topic. However, without getting in depth of this topic, this is an example of conflict existing in Bergen regarding Bryggen per today.

The most common example given by the informants is the complexity of Bryggen and its ownership structure being the fundamental of conflict. Because there are many people involved, both private, businesses, users and site managers. It brings various interests and opinions together. According to Volunteer 1 there could also be conflict within an organization. This means, conflicts arise when various interests and opinions from different parts appear to be so distinctively, and that neither of the parts wants to give in. From the data collection, this matter of internal conflict seems to be a common part for every informant, and in his/her working organization. In addition, this type of conflicts appear to be acceptable for the informants as well.

Moving towards the potential conflict between the management and the tourism industry. First of all, it is the fact that the management and tourism industry are working on two different fields. The management works mainly with protection and conservation at Bryggen, while the tourism industry are rather working to use the site as their resource to commercialize. There is no problem with their working purpose on its own, but in this case, where the tourism operates on a World Heritage site, which primarily is meant to be protected, then there should be consideration from both parts in order to balance the usage versus protection. From the result of the data collection, it is unfortunately lack of cooperation and there is limited communication between tourism industry and the management. The tourism industry seems to be satisfied with the result that Bryggen attracts tourists to the city and seem to be concerned of the cruise tourism and crowding in the summer season. This is because the tourism industry gets benefit from a World Heritage which is an open and a free attraction, which means that it does not cost them for using Bryggen, rather they would receive financial benefit from it.

All three Managers expressed that the tourism industry operates on its own and it there is lack of interest from the tourism industry. Manager 1 and Manager 2 wish that the tourism industry could participate more than what they are doing today. On the other hand, Manager 1 and Manager 2 also reflect that there is an opportunity for the management in the future, that is to establish cooperation with the tourism industry.

Contrarily, it appear to be that the tourism industry is not and should not operate on its own, according to Volunteer 1. Further, Volunteer 1 mentions that the tourism industry is supportive of

the political case about the light train. According to Manager 1, the tourism industry may only be concerned because the light train would have an effect on the tourism at Bryggen and that they would lose one of their main consumption arena in the city, not necessary that the tourism industry starts to care about protection of the site. Even though the cooperation is missing, it does not seem that there is conflict between the tourism industry and the management despite of their distinctive working field. According to the data collection, it appears that the tourism industry is aware that crowding during the summer season may result bad experience to the visitors, but it does not seem to be motivated to cooperate with the management in the future, except from focusing on their own field.

From reflection of data collection, it seems like there is lack of communication between site managers and the tourism industry. Tourism 1 and Tourism 2 claim that the communication and cooperation within the industry itself work fine, but there are no sign of consideration of developing communication and cooperation with the management. All informants from the management confirm that the tourism industry operates on its own, and there is lack of cooperation, interests and involvement from the tourism industry. Further, it also seem that there is lack of communication between the site managers and the tourism industry. From the impression of the data collection, the informants from tourism are not aware that they do not pay enough attention to the management of Bryggen.

To solve a conflict between two or more parts, communication is the key. Establishing cooperation is neither a bad idea. It would bring two part of interests to join forces and find out ways that may work for both parts. It would make both part understand the importance of one another. And understanding would bring tolerance and respect to each other. Involving tourism industry into management may make them realize that over-usage may bring consequences to the World Heritage site, and most importantly for their industry as well.

Now that we have been through the discussion chapter, where the result from the data collection and interpretation has been discussed with the theory. We now will move on to the conclusion in the next chapter.

6.0 Conclusion

Referring to the research question of this thesis, there are many opportunities that the UNESCO World Heritage status has brought. Not only has Bryggen become a well-known tourist attraction because of the World Heritage status, but it also assures that Bryggen will be protected and conserved for the humanity and for the next generations. The opportunities, which are stated in the UNESCO convention text and the missions, are found at Bryggen as well. The opportunities that are present at Bryggen are the following: (1) financial support to conservation projects; (2) increased locals inhabitants' identity and awareness, also changing locals' attitude and mentality; (3) international attention and awareness; and (4) new opportunities: World Heritage Coordinator and World Heritage Center. It proves that being on the UNESCO World Heritage List will bring a list of opportunities to the site and the region it is located to. All informants acknowledge the opportunities and benefits the World Heritage status has given.

It is hard to conclude whether Bryggen is being managed sustainable or not, because there is no certain procedure or guideline to measure sustainable management. The idea of sustainable management is to think some steps ahead, see the possibilities, changes and risks, then make goals and plans according to where one want to be. Sustainable management should however include positive impacts on the economic, environment and social factors (Lundberg, 2014). It is reasonable to conclude that all informants want the best for Bryggen, for today and also for its future.

Despite of many benefits and opportunities, there are a few dilemmas and challenges that have been discovered from implementation with the interviews and data collection. The prestige of World Heritage status leads to increased attention and visitors. Which is positive according to the tourism industry, because increased visitors means growth in revenue of tourism industry. While the site managers meet the challenge of handling an increased number of visitors. Further, there are both joys and responsibilities that comes with the World Heritage status. It appears that Bryggen is well-known nationally and internationally, the local inhabitants feel that it is a part of their identity and it is a honor to know that there is a World Heritage with unique history and

cultural background located in the region that one is from. At the same time, there is also responsibility to take. Not only for those who are born and raised in Bergen and the management, but everyone else who is somehow involved or interacts with Bryggen, including other State Parties -according to the UNESCO mission.

Another challenge is crowding and open attraction. The dilemma regarding crowding is due to lack of visitor management, and it seems like the alternative solution will have a negative consequence on the local inhabitants. If Bryggen became to be a ticket required attraction, this may exclude the locals who may just want to take a pleasant stroll at Bryggen, as what they usually have done in years before. And this exclusion may have an effect on the locals' attitude and mentality, after the effort that has been put into changing their attitude and mentality from the past. Another additional alternative to this matter is to offer the local inhabitants yearly pass, that is low-cost, that will give them unlimited entrance within a year. And for one-time visitors, such as tourists, there should be a higher price for the tickets. In the low-season, the management should consider if it is necessary to require entrance ticket, when there is a significantly less number of visitors on the site, and also with a concern of the cost of having staff. In addition, the management should consider to put a maximum limit of how many people should be on the site. With this proposed method, which is used at other World Heritage in other countries in the world, the management would have better control of visitor management.

Dissemination of history, culture and OUV of the World Heritage Site is one of UNESCO World Heritage missions. In the case of Bryggen, there are many arranged guided tours to Bryggen, in addition to Bryggen Museum and the Hanseatic Museum. The museums do an excellent and professional job in dissemination of knowledge of history and culture at Bryggen. The challenge lays in the private guide operators, who the management does not have control over. On the bright side, the management has discovered this challenge and work on a plan of establishing the World Heritage Center to help addressing this issue.

It appears that it is unclear for both management and the tourism industry of where the line of usage versus protection crosses. There seems to be a lack of cooperation and communication between the tourism industry and the site managers. The tourism industry operates in the way that they think is reasonable. A growth in numbers of visitors to Bergen and Bryggen is beneficial for their industry, for instance. While the management has to find a solution to solve the problem of crowding, dissemination and usage of the site. The management is aware of this matter and sees possibilities to establish cooperation. While it seems like the tourism industry does not recognize that there is a need to cooperate with the site managers, and seems to be satisfied of how the tourism industry has grown until today. To address this, there is a need of communication and cooperation between these parts. Cooperation will bring both interests together and both could find solutions that both parts agree on.

Even though the management of Bryggen works to protect and conserve the site, there are still internal interest disagreements within the organization. There are also disagreements between organizations and companies, who are involved with Bryggen. Interest disagreement is however considered as the common to all the informants, and in their case it is acceptable. But the complexity of Bryggen and the management system will not make anything easier. Bryggen consists of many parts and interests, and when these gather, it is a challenge to come to a point that every part agrees on. It seems that people who are involved have strong opinions that they stick to, and of course everyone wants to benefit from it. When it comes to questions concerning Bryggen, I agree with Volunteer 1 that it is more important to think of what is the best for Bryggen and bring out arguments from that, instead of thinking of what one wishes or wants for Bryggen.

The managers are committed to protect and conserve Bryggen as a part of their work, but in some cases discussions and disagreements arise, due to various interests within the management and also from the external factors. Even though the managers have different roles and worked in different levels and work with various cases within management of Bryggen, it appears that the managers share one interest; that is to protect and conserve the historical and cultural rich World Heritage site, Bryggen. Despite the challenges, dilemmas or any obstacles there may arise, all informants conclude to want the best for Bryggen.

To conclude this chapter and this thesis, the site managers of Bryggen have and are doing an incredible job in conserving and protecting the World Heritage site. Being one of the first World Heritage Sites in Norway has brought Bryggen very far, especially in the context of conservation and protection of the site. This is easily noticeable when you look at pictures from after the WWII and the picture of Bryggen today. You can see that the rebuilding has brought back its original shapes of the buildings, and also been spoken as the identity and symbol of Bergen and its inhabitants. However, Bryggen would possibly not have its original shapes and buildings back, if there was not for the UNESCO World Heritage inscription. The World Heritage status has brought Bryggen back to life with the financial support and funds to conservation and protection projects.

The site managers meet various dilemmas and challenges. According to my impression, they are fully aware of the dilemmas and challenges regarding Bryggen, and they are working to find solutions to solve the problems that they have discovered. However, it is not possible to take care of every challenges at once, but it seems like the representatives from the management are highly competent in their working field, and they reflect on the challenges and the solutions as well.

Except from the light train discussion, crowding, lack of cooperation and interest disagreement, it appears to be that there are no other conflicts at Bryggen. There are highly competent site managers, who care and are aware of today's issue and at the same time try to find solution to solve the problems. In addition, it seems that the local inhabitants also care and are concerned about Bryggen. Even though the tourism industry sees Bryggen as their consumption arena, it also seems like they are afraid of the consequences that may happen to Bryggen. With this, I would like to end with my personal impression, that Bryggen is in good hands, and the management are doing a good job to solve the challenges and problems that arise at Bryggen.

7.0 Further research

Even though this thesis provides to new findings regarding the management of Bryggen, the findings in itself does not cover or represent the entire society system. It gives an insight and an example of the opportunities, dilemmas and challenges inside the management at one of Norway's World Heritage, Bryggen. Even though the representatives from the management, the volunteer and the tourism industry expressed their opinions and thoughts, still these cannot consider to represent, nor to confirm that everyone who work in their organization would have the same opinions/ thoughts. However, it covers a little part of the society and it is reasonable to say that

This study has limited by focusing mainly on the management side, and it only gives a picture of one little part of the society. Therefore, these following suggestions may be interesting to do further research based on:

- Focus on any other parts, such as the volunteers or the tourism industry
- The groundwater project or other conserving projects
- The crowding issue at Bryggen
- Cooperation: how to involve the interests to cooperate, and what benefits are there
- Dissemination of Bryggen and its OUV
- Follow up the World Heritage Coordinator and World Heritage Center
- Sustainable management



Front area of Bergen. Photo by: Phatchara Olsen

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Introduction questions:

What role does your organization play regarding of Bryggen?

- What is the most important task that your organization does?

What role or impact has Bryggen given Bergen after it got the UNESCO World Heritage status?

Core Questions:

Bryggen was one of the first places in Norway which received the world heritage status. After so many years, how has the development been on Bryggen?

- Opportunities?
- Dilemmas?
- Is Bryggen operating in a sustainable way and how?

Do you/ your organization meet challenges regarding of Bryggen, if yes, what?

Has it been disagreement both internal and external of the organization?

- What had happened?
- Who were involved?
- How were the problem solved?
- What disagreements are there today?

What is your opinion of cooperation between the site management and the tourism industry?

- How would you describe the initiative and the involvement from tourism industry?
- How often do the site management involve the tourism industry?
- In what degree the tourism industry is willing to cooperate, or does it rather do things on their own?
- What could be the reason that prevents cooperation between the management and the tourism industry?
- What needs to be done in order to increase more cooperation?

Has Bryggen and its status been an obstacle in for instance city development, or “caused” conflict?

- Protecting vs. using

Has the increased number of tourists at Bryggen given any effect on the site considering the critical limit?

- Is there a critical limit at Bryggen, since the site is available for the public?
- Did it ever happen that the number of tourists crossed the critical limit?

Ending questions:

How do you imagine Bryggen today if it was not inscribed on the World Heritage List?

How do you imagine Bergen and Bryggen in 20 years?

- What opportunities and potentials are there?
- Will there be some changes in cooperation? In what way?

Appendix 2:
Table of Opportunities

Topics/ Informants	Manager 1	Manager 2	Manger 3	Volunteer 1	Tourism 1	Tourism 2
Funds and financial support to conservation projects	•	•	•	•	•	•
Bryggen is an icon for Bergen				•		•
Increased pride and identity	•	•	•	•	•	•
Increased locals' awareness, attitude and mentality			•	•	•	
International attention and acknowledgment	•	•	•	•	•	•
New opportunities: <i>World Heritage Coordinator and World Heritage and World Heritage Center</i>	•	•	•		•	
Mentioned "sustainable/sustainability"	•	•				

Appendix 3:
Table of Dilemmas and Challenges

Topics/ Informants	Manager 1	Manager 2	Manager 3	Volunteer 1	Tourism 1	Tourism 2
Prestige and increased numbers of visitors	•	•				•
Opportunities and limitations	•	•	•		•	•
Crowding	•	•	•		•	•
Decreased experience for visitors	•	•	•		•	•
Free and open attraction	•	•				
Dissemination of Bryggen	•	•				
Complexity of bureaucratic system in management	•	•	•			
OUV management	•	•				
Responsibilities on workers	•	•	•			
Distribution of financial resources	•	•	•	•	•	•
Usage vs. protection	•	•	•		•	•
Ticket-required attraction	•	•				
Defused roles in management		•	•			

Appendix 4:
Table of Potential Conflicts

Topics/ Informants	Manager 1	Manager 2	Manager 3	Volunteer 1	Tourism 1	Tourism 2
Public toilet	•					
Cooperation is good					•	•
Lack of initiative and interests from tourism industry	•	•	•			
Interest conflict	•	•	•	•	•	•
Usage vs. protection	•	•	•		•	•
Involving stakeholders and other industries	•	•				
“Find what is best for Bryggen”			•	•		
Establish cooperation	•	•	•			



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