LUISS Guido Carli

LIBERA UNIVERSITA' INTERNAZIONALE DEGLI STUDI SOCIALI

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POLITICAL RISK DETERMINANTS IN TOURISM FROM UNESCO'S PERSPECTIVE

Supervisor:
Prof. Francesco Galietti

Co-supervisor:
Prof. Stefano Franco

Candidate:
Andrea Giovanetti

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Introduction

The paper analyses the work of UNESCO and how it operates. Moreover it examines how the Organization safeguards its sites under protection and when they are threatened by both man-made and natural threats.

In protecting its sites, UNESCO must always have a key partner: The state where the site is located.

In some cases, however, the interlocutor country may be affected by certain political risks that compromise its work.

In this study, we will examine how the Organization protects its assets when threatened, and how this differs depending on whether the partner state is a stable country or not.

The paper also studies the determinants of political risk that can have negative impacts on a country's tourism sector.

Especially political instability, corruption and terrorism are shown to be the factors that can mainly negatively affect the tourism.

As each of these three components is different, the study analyses each of these factors in detail with a specific reference to those countries with considerable tourist power of attraction but which at the same time are marked by one of these determinants.

However, political instability, corruption and terrorism do not have the same level of impact on the tourism sector, and after analyzing them, a comparison of the three will be made to see which of them has the greatest and the least influence.

Finally, the study aims at examining the impact that UNESCO and its sites can have in mitigating the negative effects of the three determinants in tourism and how it can help to increase tourism flows towards these countries.

Chapter 1: The UNESCO Organization and its role

UNESCO has a unique role to play in strengthening the foundations of lasting peace and equitable and sustainable development. Advancing cooperation in education, sciences, culture, communication and information holds strategic stakes at a time when societies across the world face the rising pressures of change and the international community faces new challenges.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations created with the aim of promoting peace and understanding among nations through education, science, culture, communication and information to foster "universal respect for justice, the rule of law, and for human rights and fundamental freedoms"[1].

The idea of founding an organization with such a purpose was born at the end of the Second World War, when together with the birth of the United Nations Organization, forty-four states founded UNESCO with the main objective of "contributing to peace and security by collaboration among states for promoting education, culture and science" [2].

This important task, according to the organization's constitution, is achieved by preserving, increasing and disseminating knowledge, by assuring the conservation and protection of the world heredity of books, works of art, monuments and science[3].

The organization was founded in the aftermath of the greatest conflict that recent history has ever seen.
As a result of the war, in addition to the deaths of millions of people, many places of great architectural, artistic and cultural importance were destroyed.
Let's think about the destruction of the Abbey of Montecassino by American bombers or the annihilation of many German cities, including the beautiful Dresden, these are just a few of the losses caused by the destruction of war.

UNESCO was therefore created with the intention of avoiding such destruction in the future, and for the first time to convey the message that sites with important cultural connotations are not only important for a single people or nation, but for the whole humanity.
Human beings are therefore the guardians of this heritage; all the peoples in the world have the duty to defend their sites and others in order to pass this legacy both intact, or improved, to future generations.

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[1] UNESCO Constitution
[2] UNESCO Constitution article 1
[3] UNESCO Constitution article 2

The experience of the Second World War, with its tragic consequences for the cultural heritage, showed the substantial ineffectiveness of the following existing regulatory instruments and led the international community to a new regulatory path which led to the Hague Convention in 1954.

Compared to the previous Conventions, the 1954 Convention is the first general instrument exclusively dedicated to the protection of cultural heritage in which the definition of "cultural property" appears for the first time in an international treaty.

With regard to the category of 'armed conflict', the Convention opts for a broad definition: not only does it include cases of declared war between States, but it also extends it to 'conflicts of a non-international nature'.

The Convention provides for two levels of protection of cultural property, the 'general' one, relating to the goods included in the definition in Article 1, which can be identified in time of war by a special distinctive sign, and the 'special' one, to be applied only to certain goods provided that they are included in a special international 'Register' kept by the Director-General of UNESCO, for which notification during the conflict is mandatory.

The 1954 Hague Convention defined "cultural property" as movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people and buildings used for preserving cultural property.

With the coining of this new term, all those elements that are important for the culture of a certain group or community begin to be identified and then becoming for the first time not only important and worthy of protection for the "owners" but for the whole humanity.

In fact, the Hague Convention states that the damage of a cultural property belonging to any people means damage of the cultural property of all mankind[4].

Later, the 1970 UNESCO Convention states that these properties are specifically designated by each state as being of importance for Archaeology, Prehistory, History, Literature and Science.

All in all, the term "cultural property" conveys the fact that we are talking about a property and consequently there should be an owner who holds the rights to use it, in addition this term can often mean a good with its own financial value.

To change this connotation, the World Heritage Convention in1972 coined the term "Cultural Heritage" which is preferable because it includes the idea of a heredity received in a given condition from the previous generations to be safeguarded by the current generation and handed on to the future generations in a condition at least as good as that in which it was received.

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[4] Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, Hague 1954

The 1972 Convention goes beyond the logic of national heritage and embraces that of world heritage, understood as a responsibility shared by the entire international community.

Subsequently, UNESCO has increasingly extended the types of heritage to be safeguarded and protected, including Natural Heritage, Underwater Cultural Heritage, Intangible Cultural Heritage and the protection of the diversity of cultural expression.

The protection of natural heritage was introduced with the World Heritage Convention of 1972.
The elements of Natural Heritage consist of natural features which are an outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view, geological and physiographic formation and natural sites important for the conservation of the natural beauty.

The Underwater Cultural Heritage Convention of 2001 coined the term "underwater cultural heritage", i.e., all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical or archaeological value, which have been partially or totally under the water for at least one hundred years.
An important new feature of the convention is the fact that Underwater Cultural Heritage elements cannot be commercially exploited.
The need for an ad hoc convention for underwater assets had been felt since 1982, when the United Nation Convention on the Law of the Sea stated that "States have the duty to protect the underwater cultural heritage elements found in the sea and have to collaborate for this".

Intangible cultural Heritage encompasses the practices, representations, expression and knowledge that communities, groups and individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.
The above definition comes from the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the 2003, where, in the articles of the convention it is declared that the cultural diversity is necessary for humankind as biodiversity for nature, so has to be preserved for the next generation.

UNESCO has the task of defending all these types of heritages, but the organization cannot fulfil its mandate without the fundamental help of its member states.
As a World Heritage Site is part of the collective heritage of all humanity, the state in which the site is located must guarantee its security and maintenance.
However, states can often find themselves in situations of war, and it is precisely in these situations that nations have the duty to respect the integrity of their own and others' cultural heritage sites.

UNESCO with the first and second protocols of the Hague Convention (1954 and 1999) introduced several basic obligations to be respected during armed conflicts, the main ones are two.

The first is the prohibition of direct attacks against cultural heritage sites, as there is evidence that these sites are not used for military purposes.
The second obligation is to prevent any form of illicit trafficking of elements of a nation's cultural heritage by cooperating in combating trafficking and returning cultural property that has been stolen illicitly.

The United Nations, through its Security Council, has also legislated to implement the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural heritage in conflict situations by issuing United Nations Security Council Resolution number 2343 of the 2017.
The resolution was made in the wake of the looting that took place in the National Museum of Baghdad in 2003 during the US invasion and following the increase in illicit trafficking of cultural heritage by ISIS and Al-Qaeda since 2015.
Resolution 2343 states that, in cooperation with UNESCO, UN peacekeeping operations have a duty to protect threatened cultural heritage and to prevent illicit trafficking.

All these regulations introduced by UNESCO and other international organizations, aimed at safeguarding cultural and artistic heritage, are only effective if the interlocutor, the guarantor of the effective safeguarding of these delicate elements, is a state with an adequate *political stability*.

Nowadays, there are more and more threats to cultural heritages, just think of recent destructions such as that of the archaeological site and UNESCO heritage site of Palmyra perpetrated by the fighters of the Islamic State in 2015, the destruction of the city of Aleppo in Syria or even the destruction of the mausoleums of Timbuktu in Mali, both UNESCO heritage sites.

In all the cases listed above, the protagonists of the destruction are not state entities, i.e. bodies that have to submit to certain rules in case of armed conflict, but non-state armed groups such as ISIS or Al-Qaeda.
These non-state actors are driven by ideologies and strong ethical connotations in their actions, which often spill over versus symbols of cultures that are hostile to them.
By refusing to accept diversity and defend the symbols of other cultures, these groups carry out real acts of destruction aimed at the disappearance of their enemies' symbols.

1.1 How UNESCO works

Let us now look at how UNESCO manages to enforce its dictates.
We will be examining both: first how the organization enforces its rules on state actors with high political stability and second how UNESCO acts when faced with threats to a protected site without the help of the state in which it is located.

First, let's analyze how UNESCO draws up the list of sites to be protected, how to access them and what the organization does to defend its sites from threats that may be either human or natural.

UNESCO has a list of World Heritage properties, created by the 1972 Convention on Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

The list currently includes 1121 sites in 167 countries, of which 869 are cultural and 213 natural[5].
The decision to include a site on the list is taken by the World Heritage Committee according to selection criteria that differ between cultural heritage and natural heritage.

In order for a cultural heritage site to be included in the list it must meet the following criteria, ~~the site must be:~~

- A masterpiece of human creative genius
- An important interchange of human values
- An exceptional testimony of cultural tradition or civilization that is now disappeared
- An outstanding example of type of building, architectural or technological ensemble
- An outstanding example of human settlement which is representative for a culture
- Associated with events or living traditions

Similarly, for a natural site to be included in the list it must be:
- A superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty
- An example representing earth's history
- An example of ecological and biological process
- An important natural habitat for the conservation off biological diversity

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[5] World Heritage List, whc.unesco.org

In addition, sites admitted to the list must pass the authenticity and integrity tests, i.e., they must be fidelity to the social, economic and religious function of the sites rather than the authenticity to the original physical structure and must really exist.

Subsequently, following the committee's favorable decision by a two-thirds majority, the site becomes part of the World Heritage List, which not only gives prestige and importance to the country of origin at international level, but can also be an incentive for tourism since the sites on this list are also synonymous with extraordinary beauty.

Currently, it is not easy to get one's own site into the list as the committee only accepts one nomination per member state and considers a maximum of 35 nominations per year, giving priority to natural heritage sites[6].

Usually for a site to get on the list, there must be a country able, with its dedicated institutions, to compile a proper nomination.
In fact, most of the countries in the world with more sites are all solid countries from the point of view of organization and state administration.

Once a site has been placed on the World Heritage List, the State where the site is located has a duty to ensure its safety and maintenance, i.e. to keep it intact and to implement policies to avoid damaging it. Otherwise, if the country fails to take the right actions to preserve the site and in more serious cases takes actions that may even damage it, the site may be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

There are also many countries with important cultural sites that do not have the necessary capacities and resources for the proper safeguarding of their sites, poor countries, underdeveloped countries or countries in war zones where the protection of cultural sites is not a priority for governments.
Even in these cases, the sites in question could be moved from the World Heritage List to the World Heritage in Danger List.

The World Heritage in Danger list was created together with the World Heritage List as a result of the 1972 Convention on Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.
This list aims at raising international awareness of threats to cultural heritage and to encourage appropriate conservation countermeasures.
Sites on this list may be currently under threat or considered potentially at risk from probable future hazards.

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[6] The Oxford Handbook of International Cultural Heritage Law, *Francioni and Vrdoljak,* 2020

In the case of natural sites, established threats include a significant decline in the population of a vulnerable or endangered species, deterioration of the natural beauty or scientific value of an ecosystem due to human activities such as air and water pollution, mining, agriculture, and the construction of large public works such as dams and roads.

Hazards to natural and cultural sites may include armed conflicts, uncontrolled human development, insufficient maintenance of the sites themselves, or changes in ownership or legislation on cultural heritage protection in different countries.
For cultural sites only, hazards include geological and climatic events and changes in their environment.

Before a site can be placed on the World Heritage List as endangered, its condition is carefully assessed and a programme with measures of protection is developed in cooperation with the local government.
The final decision for listing is taken by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee; the organization may allocate funds to help remedy the causes of the threat.

The conservation status of the site is analyzed annually and the Committee may decide to request additional protection measures, remove the site from the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger, or remove the site from the World Heritage List.

Two types of hazards can also be distinguished; "established hazard" refers to a specific, proven and imminent hazard, which in the case of cultural sites involves the serious deterioration of materials and structures or the impairment of the coherence of architectural, urban or rural planning, with the loss of authenticity or cultural significance.
"Potential danger" refers to threats that are likely to adversely affect the values of the World Heritage property[7].

Currently 53 sites distributed among 33 countries are included in the list, according to the subdivision into regions adopted by UNESCO, the highest number of sites at risk is in the Arab countries (21 sites, of which 6 in Syria and 5 in Libya).
Then is followed by Africa (16, including 5 in the Democratic Republic of Congo), Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific (6) and Europe and North America (4)[8].

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[7] Managing World Cultural Heritage, *UNESCO,* 2019
[8] World Heritage List - List of World Heritage in Danger by Year, unesco.org

Heritage is of increasing importance into every society. However, the reasons for this are not entirely clear, probably due to the increasing speed of modernization and the scale of social change.

In such circumstances, the testimonies of past societies can give a sense of belonging and security to modern societies and provide an anchor in a rapidly changing world.

In many societies, cultural heritage can also be an important element of identity.

Understanding the past can also be of great help in dealing with present and future problems.

Consequently, especially in more advanced and civilized nations, the inclusion of a site in the list of endangered sites is a cause of great embarrassment and indignation as it acknowledges the failure of a state to manage its heritage.

UNESCO has procedures in place to assist the managing state before listing a site.

In such situations, the state party must review its current management in order to prioritize the issues highlighted by the Committee.

Priorities and resources may be changed at this stage, and here again the State Party may request technical or advisory missions and institutional assistance.

The State party may also request the assistance of donors to whom, if necessary, the Committee will extend negotiations and cooperation.

The Committee, the Centre and the Director-General of UNESCO may be involved at different stages if political issues need to be addressed.

Thus, if in spite of warnings first and assistance from UNESCO later, the Committee is forced to list the site, it also means that there was a political will not to take certain measures to change the situation.

Often, in most cases, the countries whose sites are included in the list of World Heritage Sites in Danger are countries with *very high political instability*, suffice it to say that the first countries on this list are at the same time, according to the latest Maplecroft Political Risk Atlas List, the countries with the highest political instability (Syria, Libya and Democratic Republic of the Congo)[9].

All in all, sometimes even *more stable countries* are "threatened" to have their World Heritage Sites placed on the endangered list, and sometimes these sites have even ended up on the list.

Let us now analyze how UNESCO behaves when one of its sites is threatened by some factor that may alter its status.

Let's look at the differences depending on whether the interlocutor state is a politically stable country or not.

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[9] Maplecroft Political Risk Atlas list

1.2 Entering the List of World Heritage in Danger

Cases where the interlocutor is a state with high political stability

As mentioned above, for a developed country its image in the world counts for a lot, both in terms of the credibility of the country itself, the luster it has at international level and also the image it conveys abroad in terms of tourist attractiveness.

A country with many World Heritage Sites is undoubtedly a country with an important history and with a high level of beauty in terms of landscape, and it is very likely that this country will be proud of its sites and in most cases will have taken the necessary measures for the proper administration and conservation of the sites.

Sometimes, however, it has happened that some of these sites have been threatened and sometimes even included in the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger.

We will therefore analyze two cases where sites in developed countries are under threat.

Italy, the case of Venice

By 2021, with the addition of the frescoes in Padua, the porticos in Bologna and the spa town of Montecatini, Italy has 58 UNESCO World Heritage Sites, 53 of which are cultural and 5 natural, making it the country with most sites in the world[10].

Italy is an area rich in artistic and archaeological evidence and beauty left as a gift by the overlapping of peoples and cultures over the centuries.

The country has always focused on promoting its artistic and cultural heritage, both economically and in terms of tourism.

In fact, according to the report "Io Sono Cultura 2018" the creative cultural production system, made up of businesses and non-profit organizations, generates 89.7 billion euros and activates other sectors of the economy, moving a total of 249.8 billion euros, equivalent to 17% of national added value.

In Italy one euro invested in culture produces 1.8 euro of growth in other sectors[11].

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[10] Italy, at whc.unesco.org
[11] Io Sono Cultura 2018, Symbola Foundation

The protection of Italy's national heritage is therefore one of the government's primary interests, or at least it should be since the city of Venice, a World Heritage Site since 1987, was threatened with being put on the list of endangered sites in June 2021.

Venice has therefore been defined as at risk, like Damascus and Aleppo in Syria, like Timbuktu in Mali and like the archaeological sites of Cyrene and Sabrata in Libya, all devastated by war and all included on UNESCO's blacklist.

The former Serenissima Republic was at serious risk of joining the same list and becoming World Heritage at Risk number 54.

This fact was put down in black and white by the World Heritage Forum (the World Heritage Committee that recognizes sites and therefore monitors them) in the draft resolution voted on between 16 and 31 July 2021 in Fuzhou, China.

Mass tourism, the number of residents that inexorably continues to fall, the large ships that nine years after the Clini Passera decree continued to transit through St Mark's Basin and the Giudecca Canal, damaging not only the landscape but also threatening the city's foundations made of piles due to the huge mass of water moved by the ships as they pass, the tide that often, despite the Mose, continued to threaten the city, the polluting factories in Porto Marghera that need to be relocated, the mega-building projects such as the Hybrid Tower in Via Torino in Mestre or the Venis Venus planned for Marghera that conflict with the need for architectural and environmental sustainability in the lagoon: these are the reasons why UNESCO claimed that the State is not doing and has not done enough for the city, a World Heritage Site, where everyone in the world would want to visit at least once in their lifetime.

The other factors are the absence of governance that is more attentive to the climate challenge and that should produce more precise and feasible overheating adaptation plans, and the weakness of systems to protect the fragile and unique lagoon environment and its wetlands.

So, after urging actions and interventions, after sending reminders and commissions to monitor the UNESCO site, three years after the first formal notice in 2019, and two years after the extension granted to introduce the required actions, the yellow card was just a breath away from becoming red.

Doing so, Venice seriously risked ending up on everyone's lips, even more than it already is, because it was at risk of "disappearing".

One of the main problems, or rather the most critical issue, was the passage of large ships in the nearby the city.

UNESCO therefore urged a long-term solution for the large ships as a matter of urgency, and consequently, on the tourism front, a model of sustainability must be found to ensure both economic sustainability linked to income from tourists, while at the same time ensuring that mass tourism does not spoil the "Venetian jewel".

Fortunately, the Italian government, moved by this threat, passed an ad hoc decree (now converted into law) on 13 July 2021 to remedy the problem of large ships in the Venetian lagoon.
The decree law adopted by the Council of Ministers is an important step towards protecting the Venetian lagoon system.
These regulations intervene immediately with the necessary cautions and reliefs to mitigate the employment impact on the sector and go hand in hand with the competition of ideas, the call for which has already been published, for the future construction and management of docking points outside the protected areas of the lagoon with the aim of making cruise activity compatible with landscape and environmental protection[12].

For the time being, the danger has been averted and Venice, following the vote of the committee, has not been included in the sites at risk, and we will talk about this again in 2023, at the 46th meeting of the UNESCO Committee.

[12] Italian Government Official Site, Large Ships Decree

In the meantime, by 1 February 2022, the Italian government will have to present the Committee with detailed documentation on the work in progress in Venice.

For a long time in Italy there had been a public debate on the issue of large ships, but despite this and despite UNESCO's first warnings in the past years, successive Italian governments have failed to remedy such an important and delicate issue.

Analyzing the facts, it can be said that one of the problems that did not lead to a solution can be attributed not only to excessive bureaucratization but also to the volatility of Italian governments and consequently to Italian *political instability*.

In fact, we must remember that Italy, if compared with other European countries, is one of the nations with the highest political instability[13].

At this juncture, UNESCO also found it difficult to establish relations with the Italian government's interlocutors, who were supposed to find remedies for these important problems; let's think that in the three years since UNESCO's first appeal, three different governments have changed.
There was therefore also a real administrative difficulty since those who should have created laws and decrees for Venice perhaps did not have the time to act.
Such a sudden succession of governments in Italy makes it an unstable country from a political point of view and when an international organization like UNESCO must deal with the government it finds it difficult to do so because the interlocutors change too often.

In this specific case, UNESCO's threat to put Venice on the black list in a very short time demobilized the Italian government to take immediate action, so thanks to the Organization, the expulsion of the large ships from the lagoon was decided in a very short time after years of exhausting debate.
Therefore, it is possible to say that this imposition by UNESCO has led to solutions that normally, due to Italian *political instability*, would not have been taken so quickly and so effectively.

However, it must be stressed that Italy and its population is a country that attaches great importance to its cultural heritage, and the inclusion of Venice on the list of endangered sites would have been a very important event that would have caused a lot of embarrassment to the nation and, consequently, could also have had repercussions on the government.

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[13] PRS Group, regional political risk index 2020

However, among more developed countries, this kind of warning from UNESCO has not always had the same results.

There are cases where sites have been put on the list of endangered sites as a result of warnings.

Let us now analyze these cases and try to understand what factors led to the threat of a site being blacklisted and why measures were not taken to avoid it.

United Kingdom, the case of the mercantile maritime city of Liverpool

As of 2021, there are thirty-three sites on the World Heritage List and eight nominations for new entries. The division of sites between the nations of the UK sees eighteen sites in England, five in Scotland, four in Wales, one in Northern Ireland and one shared between England and Scotland.

Four sites are in British Overseas Territories: one in the Pitcairn Islands, one in Tristan da Cunha, one in Bermuda and one in Gibraltar[14].

Until July 2021 there were 34 sites in England, one site, that of the city of Liverpool, has been removed from the list, we will now analyze the dynamics that led to this decision.

The site of Liverpool, a maritime mercantile city includes six sites in the historic center, including Pier Head, Albert Dock and William Brown Street, and many of the city's most famous monuments.
UNESCO received the city council's nomination, for the six sites, in January 2003 and in September of that year sent it to representatives of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) committee to make an assessment of the suitability of these areas for World Heritage status.
In March 2004, ICOMOS recommended that UNESCO inscribe the Merchant Maritime City of Liverpool as a World Heritage Site.
The area was inscribed during the 28th session of the World Heritage Committee in 2004.
Its inclusion by UNESCO was attributed to the fact that it is 'the supreme example of a trading port in an age of Britain's greatest global influence'.

Following new urban redevelopment projects in the port area, UNESCO, already in the years following the site's inclusion on the World Heritage list, repeatedly warned the local authorities to avoid projects that could in any way disfigure the site.
As a result of the unheeded calls, in 2012, the site was placed on the World Heritage in Danger List due to the proposed construction of the Liverpool Waters project.

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[14] United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, at whc.unesco.org

Liverpool Waters is a large-scale, £5.5 billion project proposed by the Peel Group in the Vauxhall area of Liverpool.

The development will utilize several currently derelict harbor spaces in Central Docks, with much of the docks present on a World Heritage Site.

The development is planned to create at least 17,000 full-time jobs and 19.5 million square meters of new commercial and residential space, including 23,000 flats and four hotels. The tallest towers are proposed to exceed 50 stores[15].

The mercantile maritime city of Liverpool before the new building interventions

The mercantile maritime city of Liverpool after the new building interventions

[15] Peel L&P Official Site

Port areas undergoing urban regeneration, also referred to as 'waterfronts', are territories within maritime or river locations whose obsolete port areas have brought with them significant urban voids.

In many cities, these areas, previously involved in maritime activities, have become the object of urban reconversion, with the ultimate aim of being preserved, thanks to their cultural significance, but above all for their historical value.

An important role in the preservation of these heritages is played by UNESCO, thanks to which Liverpool has been inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger.
This inscription implies special attention and protection by the community and local authorities. UNESCO's inclusion of the city of Liverpool took place in 2012.

The reasons why the English city has been designated as a World Heritage Site are many and varied, with many aspects relating to its historical past.
Liverpool can be defined as the birthplace of industrial society, as it was heavily involved in the industrial revolution; capitalist and globalized, as it played a dominant role in trade in the Africa-America-Britain triangle throughout the 18th century.

All these reasons have led UNESCO to take a particular interest in the revolutionary project called Liverpool Waters, which offers to regenerate sixty hectares of the historic port site to create different forms of services from residential to tertiary use.
The project in question, far from the desire to preserve the port's historical artefacts, docks, warehouses, cargo handling equipment, control towers and hydraulic stations, aims at a complete redesign of the area, erasing all forms of identity of a city of a port nature.
The real concern on the part of the community, apart from the cancellation of an identity, is the impact that a majestic project could have on a city consolidated by its past as a maritime and mercantile city.

Despite the site's inclusion on UNESCO's 'black list' the English government and local authorities have not chosen to change their redevelopment plans, and a report published in June by the World Heritage Commission stated that developments on the harbor would lose its authenticity and cited the Liverpool Waters project and Everton's new stadium, which is under construction at Bramley Moore Dock.

After all these developments in July 2021 UNESCO voted to remove the Port of Liverpool from the list of world heritage sites.

Liverpool thus becomes the third site to lose its World Heritage status since the list was launched in 1978. The other two are the Oryx of Arabia Sanctuary and the Elbe Valley in Dresden, Germany.

Comparison of the two cases

In the English case, unlike the case of Venice, the local government did not have the political will to change its plans in order to keep the site on the UNESCO list.
Probably the luster that could have been given by UNESCO'S recognition was less than all the economic interests in that part of the city.

In addition, is it possible to affirm that an important factor to consider is the impact that UNESCO has in the public opinion of a country. Probably in a country like Italy, where the protection of the sites is part of the collective consciousness, the removal of a site could have important effects and repercussions even on the government itself while in a nation like the United Kingdom this perception may not be there or, at least, people think that their sites can be managed and preserved even without the help of UNESCO.

Another factor that may influence a government's decision whether or not to cooperate with UNESCO's requests not to remove a site from the World Heritage list is the tourism importance of the site.
In 2019, the year before the Covid-19 pandemic wiped out tourism, there were 40.9 million visits to the UK in 2019[16], while with 94 million tourists per year (2019) according with ENIT, Italy is the third most visited country in international tourism arrivals[17].

Comparing these figures, the number of tourists who arrive in Italy is far twice as much as those in UK, consequently the revenues related to the sector are much greater for Italy, representing 7% of Italian GDP[18].

In a country where tourism is such a strategic sector, the idea of having a UNESCO site included in the list of sites at risk or even having a site removed from the list of World Heritage Sites could be a threat to the country's image and could, as a result, reduce the influx of tourists, since UNESCO has become a real brand in the world synonymous with extraordinary beauty.
Therefore, a government of a country where tourism is a key sector will follow UNESCO's considerations more closely in order to avoid "embarrassments" both nationally and internationally.

Let us now analyze how UNESCO can add value to a tourist destination, increasing its value and attractiveness.

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[16] visitbritain.org
[17] ENIT, Official Site
[18] Borsa Italiana, Official Site

Cases where the interlocutor is a state with high political instability

Syria, the case of Palmira

As of 2020, there are six sites inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List, while there are twelve nominations for new inscriptions[19]. The first site inscribed on the list was the ancient city of Damascus in 1979, during the third session of the World Heritage Committee.

The following year, at the fourth session, the ancient city of Bosra and the archaeological site of Palmyra became the second and third Syrian sites to be recognized by UNESCO.
The fourth heritage site was the ancient city of Aleppo, added in 1986.
In 2006, the 30th session jointly listed the Krak of the Knights and Qal'at Salah al-Din.

All sites are considered cultural, according to the selection criteria. All six sites were placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger by the Thirty-Seventh Session of the World Heritage Committee on 20 June 2013 due to the continuing Syrian Civil War[20].

Palmyra, one of the most spectacular archaeological sites in the Mediterranean and the world, already listed as a heritage site at risk in 2013 due to the escalating Syrian war is occupied by the Islamic State on 21 May 2015.
Since then, a crescendo of violence involves people and monuments.

First, the horrific execution of soldiers of the Syrian regular army in the Roman theatre of Palmyra, then the vicious assassination of the historical director of the museum and site Khaled Al-As'aad. After the men, the stones. At the end of August of the same year, Isis blew up the temple of Baalshamin.

The reaction in the press and on social networks was not long in coming. Palmyra is one of the most visited sites in the world, its destruction arouses anger and emotion. At the end of August 2015, the majestic temple of Bêl, the most representative monument of the caravan city, was reduced to dust.

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[19] Syrian Arab Republic, *whc.unesco.org*.
[20] Syria's Six World Heritage sites placed on List of World Heritage in Danger, whc.unesco.org

In September, it was the turn of the funerary towers on the Belkis plain, and in October, the Arc de Triomphe also suffered serious damage.

UNESCO "certified" the destruction, the international community's proclamations multiplied but no concrete initiative was taken to save Palmyra.

Finally, in March 2016, Palmyra was liberated by the Russian army.

Archaeologists from the General Directorate of Syrian Antiquities are thus able to go on site to see the damage.

The losses, including at the museum, are enormous. International experts also go to Palmyra and the first restoration work on the finds is launched.

The UNESCO conference will retrace the singular fate of an ancient site, hostage to an ongoing war.

The history of Palmyra in antiquity will be retraced, and through photos and documents taken by Syrian archaeologists in the field, reflections will be offered on the political use of the heritage and the strategy of Isis, between iconoclasm and the economy of jihad, without neglecting the role of the Syrian government, guilty of having left Palmyra in the hands of Al-Baghdadi's soldiers, as well as being the director of the Russian intervention in order to regain the support of the West.

The destroyed site of Palmira

UNESCO launched an emergency recovery project for the archaeological site: 150,000 dollars were used only for the portico of the Temple of Bel while the sculptures were taken to Damascus for restoration with the assistance of specialists from the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.

The Damascus Museum also restored the lion statue of Al-lat while two funerary busts were restored in Italy, by the laboratories of the Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro, using 3D printing. Details of the complex restoration project, estimated to cost around $2 billion, are still awaited.

Syria is now back in possession of its own city, and it is now possible to look to the future again.
Aiding this would be the support of UNESCO (and others), as Barazi told Sputnik News in 2018: "We have also received offers from world powers to restore the works and historical value of Palmyra. I believe that the city can return to host tourists from the summer of 2019. This is about the history of the whole world and does not only belong to Syria"[21].

UNESCO is crucial in this situation because it has not only the right but also the duty to be the main administrator in the reconstruction of the ruins of Palmyra, as it is not only the top expert in this situation but also because currently Syria does not have the capacity to bring back a site of this importance.
The Syrian government has indeed, following the reconquest of the site, started an initial reconstruction of the site, but currently the Syrian government has other primary interests, such as regaining control over the whole country.

At the root of the loss of interest in its recovery by the intricate network of Syrian government actors working on the heritage, there is a lack of political strategies at the national level, as well as regulatory and systemic frameworks, also due to the mass flight of local experts that occurred in the early years of the war.

In addition, the current political and economic conditions weaken the strategic-institutional scenario and do not allow for context-sensitive post-conflict planning, also preventing possible international partners from designing, financing or implementing intervention strategies and protocols.
At the moment, the latter's field of action is only limited to remote documentation, awareness-raising, and on-site training aimed at providing services and skills to technicians and specialized workers.

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[21] Syrian army enters Palmyra, sputniknews.com

UNESCO is therefore the only 'super partes' actor able to efficiently and effectively implement the reconstruction, thanks both to its experts and its resources, funds which in this case are indispensable since Syria is currently in a far from prosperous situation.

In this particular case, the site has not been threatened by natural threats or human neglect of conservation such as in the case of Venice or Liverpool.

Palmyra has become a real military target and as such, UNESCO has no possibility to exclude it from the World Heritage list as this remains the last guarantee for such a delicate and endangered site.

Syria has certainly not proved to be a serious interlocutor with whom to dialogue in order to preserve the site, given also that Syria itself, albeit on the other side, was one of the main actors in the armed conflict that devastated the ruins of the ancient city of Palmyra.

In this case, therefore, UNESCO does not have the persuasive power it may have over the Italian and British governments, but it is the only entity capable of ensuring the safety of the site. Therefore, a site that is in a war zone and strongly threatened by the war itself cannot be excluded from the World Heritage List (as happened with the port of Liverpool) because without the guarantee of being on the list, the guarantee of having the resources available for the reconstruction of the site once it has been damaged would also disappear.

In the event of armed conflict, therefore, it is possible to affirm that UNESCO's power is mainly the political-diplomatic power to avert the destruction of the site, and, should destruction occur, it has the power to rebuild and repair the damaged site thanks to its funds.
This role is crucial because threatened sites in war zones are often located in territories with very high political instability, so if left unprotected by UNESCO these sites could disappear as a result of war and never be rebuilt.

UNESCO, therefore, is the one who may be able to bring Palmyra back as close to its former glory as possible, but at the same time it may also have been the cause of ISIS's thirst for destruction.

The Syrian UNESCO site for excellence has been seen as an enemy to be destroyed in the image of the West, at a time when conflicts are exacerbated by ideology and with a strong cultural connotation a site protected by UNESCO can be seen by certain fundamentalist groups present today as the perfect target.

Unfortunately, all the guarantees given to a UNESCO-protected site, especially those for sites in areas of armed conflict, are of value to nation states, which must abide by international law, but not to non-state armed groups, separate entities not recognized by the international community.

A new challenge for UNESCO, in a world where the armies taking part in conflicts are often not national armies but armed groups without a state of reference, is to create nine safeguards for sites threatened by these groups, perhaps with the help of the United Nations and its peacekeeping missions.

Bosnia Herzegovina, the case of the Mostar Bridge

Bosnia and Herzegovina became a contracting party to the World Heritage Convention on 12 July 1993, as the successor state to Yugoslavia.
As of 2021, there are four sites on the World Heritage List, while there are ten nominations for new entries[22].

The first Bosnian site to enter the World Heritage List was the area of the old bridge in the old town of Mostar.

In November 1993, the city of Mostar was divided between the Croat-Bosnian forces of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, a self-proclaimed independent state in 1991, which occupied the western part, and the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the east, where Bosnian Muslims lived.

The two halves of the city, divided by the Neretva river, had been joined since 1557 by the Stari Most, the 'Old Bridge' built of 456 white stone blocks by the Ottoman architect Hajrudin Mimar.

The fighting had been going on for weeks and six out of seven bridges in the Mostar area had been destroyed. Only the Stari Most remained standing.
Mostar, one of the most important cities in the region of Herzegovina, had already been besieged and bombed by the Serbs in 1992, but initially Croats and Bosnians fought together against the common enemy and managed to drive the Serbian army away.
The situation changed during 1993 and Mostar became one of the cities divided by the war in the former Yugoslavia, with Croatian forces trying to push the Muslim population towards the east, where they wanted to confine them.

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22 Bosnia and Herzegovina, whc.unesco.org

At 10.15 on the morning of 9 November, after two days of artillery shelling by Bosnian-Croat forces, the ancient stones of the bridge collapsed into the river.

The artillery that destroyed the bridge was commanded by Slobodan Praljak, a militia commander during the Bosnian war.

The bombed Bridge of Mostar

In April 2004, Praljak and five other Croatian commanders in Mostar were extradited (and later convicted) to the Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague, where they were charged with war crimes.

The destruction of the bridge was filmed by Zaim Kajtaz and the images became some of the best known of the conflict.

The destruction of the bridge was of little use from a strategic or military point of view, since the two areas immediately connected by the bridge were inhabited by Muslims and the bridge was only a pedestrian bridge: but the psychological effect on the Muslim population of Mostar was enormous.

Today, the reconstructed Mostar bridge is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, but the city of about 100,000 inhabitants remains deeply divided ethnically and religiously.

The destruction of the bridge was not important from a strategic-military point of view, but it had devastating consequences.

It brought the conflict into the identity and cultural dimension of the population: by destroying something material, it created a feeling of detachment and deprived the city of a multicultural character that had hitherto belonged to it.

The destruction of symbolism in war is not something new.

The best way to annihilate an enemy is to erase its history: which is often and willingly told through symbols.

The Hague Tribunal that judged the six Croats on the bombing of the bridge of Mostar stated: "The destruction of the Stari Most represents a violation of the laws and customs of war: a conscious act on the part of the perpetrators who aimed to destroy cultural identity through material destruction and the disheartenment of the population".

However, the action was judged to be "a legitimate military objective" by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, but the same ruling stated that it had caused disproportionate harm to the civilians of the Muslim community of Mostar.

Despite the fact that obligations under the protocols of the Hague Convention categorically prohibit military action against cultural heritage elements, the destruction of the bridge was legitimized because, according to the same convention, the bridge was being used for military purposes.

UNESCO in this case was helpless in the face of the imminent destruction of a site so important to the past, present and future history of that community.

If the bridge in Mostar had been recognized as a World Heritage Site earlier and included on the World Heritage List, the bridge could most likely have been spared the destruction of the war, as bombing it would have meant going against the international community.

The UN, with its troops, was already present in Yugoslavia and could have intervened accordingly if a UNESCO site was threatened with destruction.

UNESCO, however, proved to be instrumental in the reconstruction of the bridge; thanks to its technicians, experts and funds, the Organization succeeded in a very important undertaking.

As a result, once the bridge was reconstructed following the original design as closely as possible, it immediately became a UNESCO site.

Comparison of the two cases

Both cases illustrated above, Palmyra and Mostar, have in common that they occurred in countries with very high political instability, since both are at war.

All in all, there is the big difference that in Syria, the destruction of Palmyra was carried out at the hands of ISIS militiamen, i.e. an armed group of a 'state', the self-proclaimed Islamic State, not recognized by any country in the world.
On the other hand, the bombing of the Mostar bridge was carried out in 1993 by the army of Croatia, an internationally recognized country and a member of the UN since 1992.

The role of UNESCO, if the Bridge of Mostar had been recognized as a World Heritage Site, could have been quite different.
In fact, since IS is not recognized by the international community, it is not subject to any international constraints, including those arising from the Hague Convention, while Croatia is obliged to obey those constraints.

Consequently, the bombing by an internationally recognized state of a UNESCO site would have meant antagonizing a large part of the international community.

The role of UNESCO is therefore crucial in countries with high political instability as it has the power to avert attacks against its own site if the attack is conducted by an internationally recognized country.
In addition, UNESCO once again proves to be extremely important in these countries with political instability because in most cases these states, in the event of the destruction of their cultural sites, have neither the technical capacity nor the financial resources necessary for their reconstruction.

1.3 The value of the UNESCO brand

A study by the Italian National Commission for UNESCO and IULM shows that 98% of the population sampled are familiar with UNESCO and have a vague idea of what it does in the cultural sphere. This growing popularity and tourism power is counterbalanced by the fact that countries with more UNESCO sites also have fewer resources to manage them[23].

The lack of resources to cope with the tourist flows ferried by the nomination can lead, on the one hand, to an inability to develop sustainable development strategies linked to some sites and, on the other hand, for already well-known sites, such as Venice, the drift is that of overtourism with uncontrollable waves that make the sites unlivable for the locals and penalize the tourist experience for those visiting.
The tangible consequence of overtourism is the depopulation by locals of the city left in the hands of multinationals such as Airbnb.

Sustainable tourism is the result of planning that rarely happens and of management plans.
These are the challenges that long-nominated sites also play out, "because being on the List of the prestigious international recognition also represents the opportunity that allows for very clear dialogue with local administrators to impose clear-cut decisions in terms of land protection" as Professor Santagata explained in a 2016 study for the Mibact. "In fact, you cannot have "a world quality label" if at the same time you do not implement consistent choices for the conservation of historic centers and the quality of landscapes"[24].
This is also because it is clear that the race to reach the coveted goal sometimes does not last after recognition if it is not combined with medium and long-term strategic plans.

1.4 How much is the UNESCO brand worth?

A study conducted by Rebanks Consulting Ltd for the Lake District World Heritage Project analyzed various socio-economic impacts of UNESCO site designation in 2009.
The report shows that the existence of positive economic and social effects of being awarded the World Heritage label depends to a large extent on the motivations of states or local stakeholders to promote the candidacy[25].

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[23] The value of the UNESCO brand, Italian Public Relations Federation
[24] A brand for the promotion of territories of excellence
of excellence: from UNESCO sites to Italian places
of culture, art and landscape, *Walter Santagata,* Mibact publications, 2016
[25] World Heritage Status, Rebanks Consulting Ltd, 2009

According to the analysis, only 5-10% of the registered sites used obtaining the UNESCO label as a strategy to enhance the image of the area and create social and economic development mechanisms.

The Welsh town of Blaenavon (UK) registered as a UNESCO site for its industrial landscape led to the creation of more than 100 jobs in construction and property conservation and 65 jobs in tourism (its population was only a few thousand).

In addition, property values have increased by over 300% in 5 years (well above the UK average).

In Germany, the city of Bamberg, registered in 1993, had a growth in visitors from 255,000 in 1993 to 400,000 in 2008. Similarly, international media attention has increased, reaching 32 interviews/reviews in 2008, 80% of which deal with the city in relation to its World Heritage listing.

However, an analysis of French and Turkish sites suggests that the impact of WHL inscription on local development has often been overestimated, while in the case of China, studies underline the importance of being on the list for the development of international tourism in China, the second country after Italy with the highest number of World Heritage sites.

1.5 The effect of UNESCO on tourism

Who does the UNESCO attract? In general, according to the Bank of Italy, 50% of the tourists in the municipalities included in the UNESCO heritage circuit are foreigners: of these, 75% are in Italy for a cultural holiday.

For tourists, the choice of staying in municipalities with a high level of urbanization remains more frequent, but the presence in smaller municipalities where a UNESCO cultural site is located shows an increasing trend.

With the latest nominations, Veneto has become the Italian region with the highest number of UNESCO sites - nine in all - and Padua is one of the few cities in the world to have two: the University Botanical Garden has been a world heritage site since 1997[26].

Having said that, we can say that the recognition of a site by UNESCO can increase tourism not only in the designated area but also in the neighboring areas.

Consequently, thanks to the attractiveness of the place due to the site and the increase in tourism, the entire designated area would increase in value.

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[26] Tourism in Italy numbers and development potential, *Bank of Italy,* 2018.

Now let's look specifically at the political risk determinants that have a negative impact on tourism and with which UNESCO must deal.

In fact, UNESCO often has sites in places where corruption is rife, where terrorist attacks often take place or in countries with high political instability; let's now see how UNESCO influences places of this kind and whether or not it succeeds in mitigating the negative effects of these political risk determinants on tourism.

Chapter 2: Political Instability

Political instability can be defined in different ways.
In a first approach, it can be defined as the propensity for regime or government change.
A second approach deals with the incidence of violence or political revolt on a society, such as demonstrations, murders, etc.
A third viewpoint focuses on the instability of policies, beyond the instability of regimes, for example, the degree to which fundamental policies, such as property rights, are subject to frequent change.

Political stability depends on the legitimate use of public force by governments.
Political instability is closely associated with the concept of the failed state, which represents volatility in the policies that the government implements.
If a government cannot guarantee the provision of basic services to its people, such as security and the ability to obtain food and livelihoods, it loses the power to enforce the law and thus political instability arises.

When a political institution promotes a new law, companies must consider the impact it will have on their operations. In some cases, companies will have to create new strategies or processes to comply with the initiatives imposed by the legislation.
If a state is in an unstable situation, these laws may change in an unplanned and sudden manner, and as a result, investors will lack certainty in the use of their investments and will be forced to limit or even withdraw their previous investments.

Political instability can be caused by several factors, including conflicts between rival political parties, insufficient economic resources, or simple geographical proximity to conflicting nations; this can also occur when there is a sudden change in a country. These sudden changes can leave people in doubt about the situation in their country, which can lead to riots among the population. Currently, most nations with political instability are in Africa and the Middle East.

These nations share some characteristics: in general, their populations feel that their rights are limited and are disgusted by the circumstances.

The leadership of these nations can be responsible for political instability when they cling to power for too long despite opposition.

2.1 Measuring the political instability of a country

Just as there are different definitions for political instability, there are different indicators created to measure its level in different countries.

Some of these indicators have been developed primarily for academic purposes, such as the World Bank's governance indicators.

There are some other indicators that have been created to inform international investors about the political risks involved in investing in certain countries. Some companies and institutions offer these types of indicators professionally.

Most indices can be classified into two categories, depending on how they have been developed.

On the one hand, there are objective indices, which traditionally collect data on the incidence of certain phenomena (social events, revolutions, murders and others).

On the other hand, there are perception indices, which use the opinions of experts or polls to make assessments and obtain conclusions about the state of political instability in a country.

Political instability indices are used in many empirical studies to compare countries.

These studies are generally of two types.

In the first type, political instability is the dependent variable, whose variation is explained by other variables.

This type of study is traditionally carried out in the discipline of political science, researchers seek to establish links between inequity and political instability.

Some of the first analyses of this type that were conducted used indices of political violence as the dependent variable.

In other types of studies, political instability is an independent variable. This type of analysis is common in the field of economics, where political instability is linked to certain dependent variables such as economic growth or investment.

A climate of political instability currently exists in various parts of the world, caused by various factors. Rising conflicts, terrorism and uprisings against authoritarian regimes in the Middle East and Africa are a source of political instability.

Based on results reported in the latest edition of the Maplecroft Political Risk Atlas, which uses 52 indicators to help companies monitor political conflicts that can affect the business climate in 197 countries, some hot spots stand out.

Since 2010, Syria has been one of the most deteriorating countries in terms of political stability.

It now occupies second place, second only to Somalia. Afghanistan, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo complete the top five[27].

Political instability increases as the gap between political freedoms and social benefits, such as education and internet access for young people, grows.

In 2010, before the so-called Arab Spring, Libya, Tunisia, Iran, Syria and Egypt were some of the countries with the largest gaps between political freedoms and social benefits.

Some African countries experienced the greatest increase in the risk of political violence, including terrorism, poor governance and regimes vulnerable to popular uprisings.

Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan are classified as 'extreme risk'.

Meanwhile, Kenya and Ethiopia are considered 'high risk'.

Years after the Arab Spring, more than 60% of countries in the Middle East and North Africa have experienced a significant increase in political violence, illustrating the long-term political risks associated with force-based power shifts[28].

In the West, the impact of the global financial crisis continues to manifest itself in high levels of unemployment. This phenomenon, combined with government austerity measures, has contributed to growing inequality and falling living standards.

The political landscape in Europe and the United States has become increasingly fragmented and polarized as populist parties have gained strength as a reaction to growing voter dissatisfaction with traditional political parties and their participation in these phenomena.

The most important index used to measure political instability are the Economist Intelligent Unit's SACE index, the OECD index and the ONDD index.

Those indices are appealing because of their "objectivity" and "comparability".

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[27] Verisk Maplecroft political risk index 2020
[28] The Economist's democracy index

Translating socio-political variables into numbers inevitably entails philosophical, epistemological and methodological assumptions; as a result, there may be incongruous results in the measurement of political risk.

2.2 Effects of Political Instability on Tourism

As illustrated above, the political instability of a country can have serious consequences on the security of the country, leading to the outbreak of riots among the population, which in turn can increase the rate of petty crime in the country if protests turn into violent riots.

If the law enforcement agencies of the country with popular riots are unable to quell the protests, or at least keep them from escalating, the security of the country would certainly be negatively affected.

Consequently, an ordinary tourist choosing where to spend his or her holidays will take these factors into account and try to avoid places where crimes such as theft, robbery and murder are commonplace.
So, if a country is attractive from a tourist point of view because of its beauty and culture but at the same time is subject to high political instability, it will not be chosen by foreign tourists as a holiday destination. Below we will analyze some countries that, despite their beauty, are not chosen as holiday destinations because of their internal security situations due to serious political instability.

The presence or threat of occurrences of violent protests, social unrest, civil war, terrorist actions, and human rights violations are capable of altering the travel behaviors of tourists.
Countries affected by political unrest inevitably experience a decline in the number of international tourists and in tourism receipts.
No country has been able to shield its tourism sector against the impacts of insecurity.
So, according with Chiang Lee, Williams and Akadiri: "International and/or local tourists mostly prefer to visit countries or locations with past and present records of social, economic, and political safety and security"[29].

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[29] Geopolitical risk and tourism: Evidence from dynamic heterogeneous panel models, *Chiang Lee, Godwin Williams and* Akadiri, 2020, Wiley

The main factors translating political turbulence into a decline in international tourism arrivals relate to media reporting of political conflict, as well as any accounts of negative experiences from family and friends.

Negative images of a tourist destination created in this way can persist for years and affect a whole country, even if the political instability was contained in a small region.

So, according to Kozak, the choice of travel destination of tourism demanders is significantly affected by their risk perception[30]. Slevitch and Sharma further show that tourism demanders display higher willingness to pay for goods and services in safer locations[31].

No country has so far succeeded in shielding its tourism industry from the negative effect of geopolitical risks.
Therefore, if adequate policy is not put in place, geopolitical risk can exercise significant impact on the international tourist arrivals, number of overnight stays, tourism imports, and several significant measures of tourism development

2.3 Examples of states with high political instability

Egypt, Lebanon, Thailand and Ukraine

Thanks to a report made by World Economy Forum we could see some examples, without going into detail, of how the political crisis decrease the tourism.

The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report offers methodology for measuring competitiveness in tourism. The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness index (TTCI) represents the measure of the factors and policies which enable sustainable development of travel and tourism sectors that contribute competitiveness of the country.

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[30] Tourist harassment: A marketing perspective. *Kozak,* 2007, Annals of Tourism Research
[31] Management of perceived risk in the context of destination choice. *Slevitch, L., & Sharma, A.* 2008, International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration

The TTCI is being published and presented every two years.

In 2015, there were 141 countries participating in the index calculation and measurement. The global index includes 4 sub-indexes (favourable production conditions, travel and tourism policies and incentives, infrastructure, and natural and cultural resources). Each of these subindexes is divided into pillars (14 in total), and each pillar is divided into indicators (90 in total)[32].

Egypt's experience over the last decade serves as a good case study.
The 2005 Sharm El Sheikh attacks and 2006 attack on the city of Dahab, which left more than 23 Egyptians and tourists dead, caused a national loss of 8% of foreign tourism receipts in 2006.

The Arab Spring and toppling of President Mubarak in 2011 saw tourist arrivals decline by nearly a third year-on-year, to 9.5 million from 14 million.
History repeated itself two years later, when political turbulence that led to the ousting of President Morsi led to a decline in tourist arrivals from 11.5 million trips in 2012 to 9.5 million in 2013.

Another example is Lebanon, where the Lebanon-Israeli war in 2006 and a series of violent episodes in 2008 led to year-on-year declines in foreign tourism receipts of 17.3% and 7.2%.

Examples can be found in other regions as well: Thailand experienced a decline in tourists' confidence beginning in December 2008 when international airports started closing and many foreign tour agents quit the country. This led to a 3% year-on-year decrease in foreign tourist arrivals and a 12% decrease in foreign tourism receipts in 2009.

The effects continued into 2010, with nearby countries benefitting from an increase in visitors. Similarly, in Ukraine, the 2008 political crisis sparked by the armed conflict between Russia and Georgia caused a year-on-year decline of around 18% in foreign tourist arrivals[33].

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[32] The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report, 2015, World Economic Forum

[33] Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report, *World Economic Forum,* 2015

Figure 1: Number of international inbound tourists in selected countries, 2000–2013
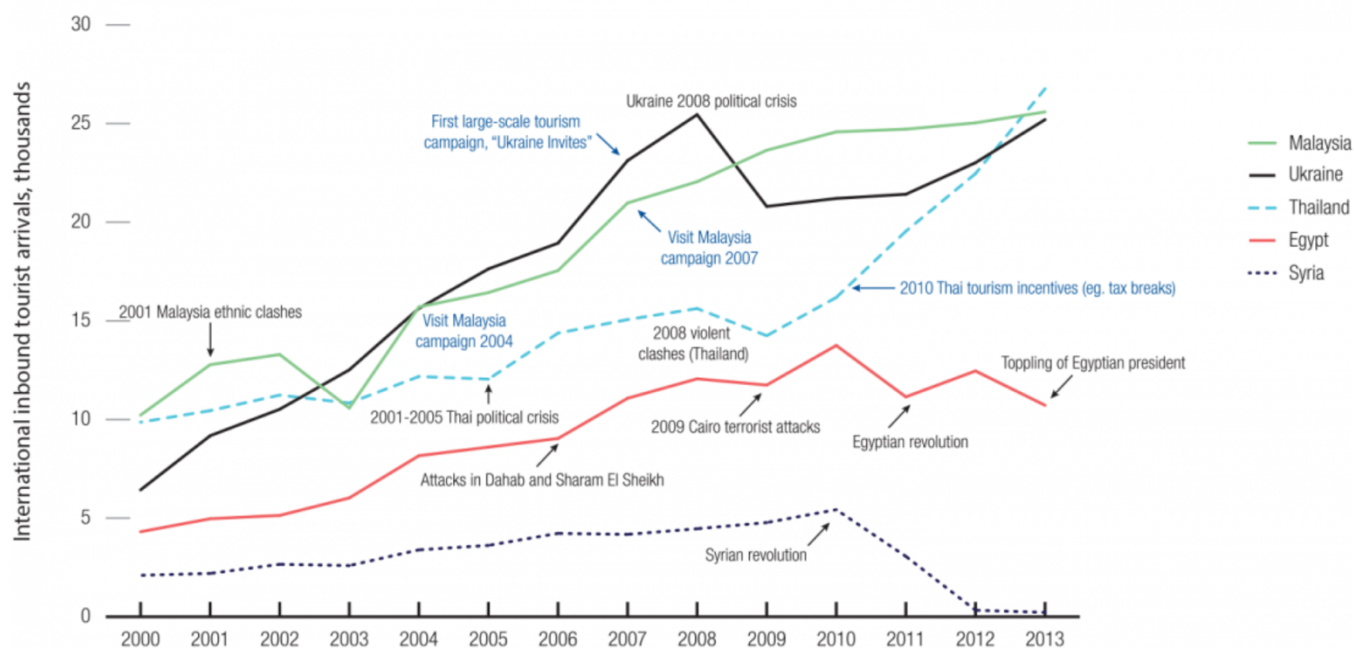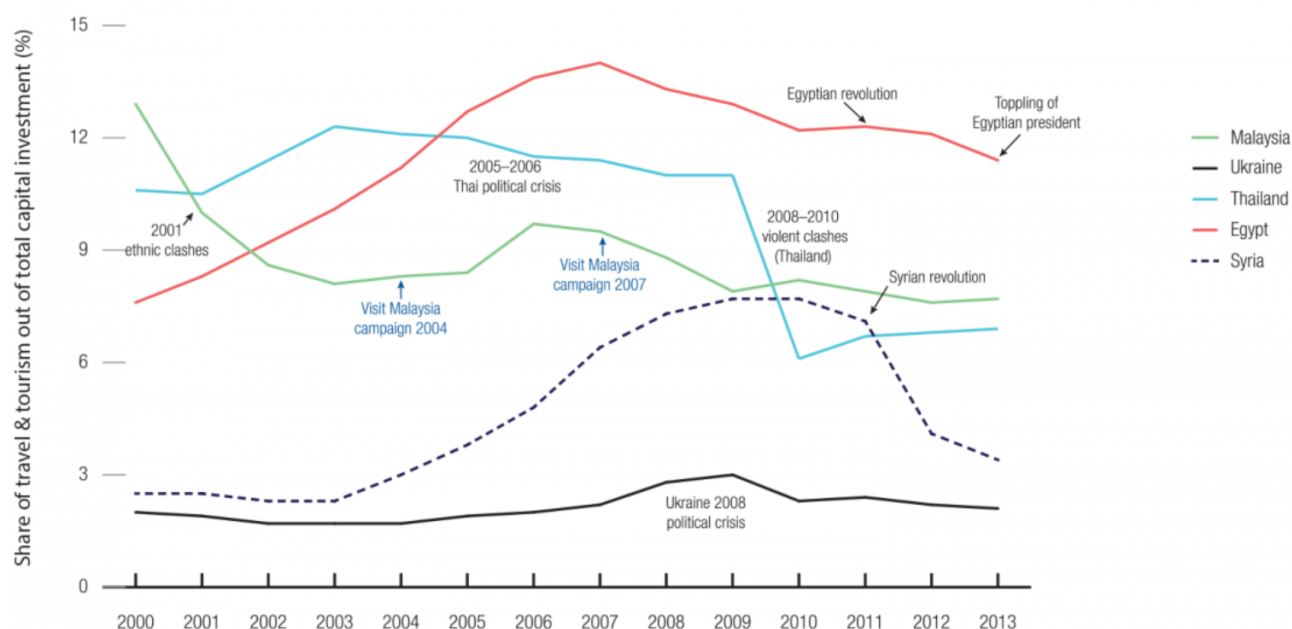

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, Euromonitor.

As a result, a vicious circle can develop: political unrest leads to lower demand, private investment declines as investors lose confidence, and public investment declines as security concerns cause funds to be re-prioritized (see Figure 2).

This leads to decreased readiness of the country as a tourism destination, and a further reduction in its appeal to tourists[34].

Figure 2: Capital investment in Travel & Tourism out of total capital investment, 2000–2013

Sources: Euromonitor, The Economist Intelligence Unit, World Travel & Tourism Council and Strategy& analysis.
Note: Events in black indicate "shocks" to the T&T industry; items in blue indicate T&T promotional activities.

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[34] Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report, *World Economic Forum,* 2015

Myanmar

Myanmar is a country in south-east Asia and occupies part of the west coast of the Indochinese peninsula. Myanmar's recent history has not been without its twists and turns of power.
Following independence from the United Kingdom in 1948, the country was first ruled democratically, then, following a coup d'état in 1962, by a military dictatorship.

Since 2010, the Burmese military government has implemented a series of gradual political reforms, establishing a civilian government, releasing political opponents including Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy, and calling free parliamentary elections, partial in 2012 and general in 2015.

Following the 2015 elections, considered the most democratic ever, Aung San Suu Kyi triumphed, winning the seats needed to rule the nation.
Since 2015, Burma has experienced a period of peace and prosperity that has allowed the country to be seen in the eyes of the world no longer as a military dictatorship but as a democracy, making it more attractive from a tourism point of view.

Myanmar is a beautiful country in terms of landscape and has a first-class artistic heritage of temples, monasteries and funerary monuments.
Despite this, fewer than 750 000 tourists entered the country in 2011[35].

Prior to the liberalization of political life, Aung San Suu Kyi had asked international tourists not to visit Burma, where a large part of the infrastructure and tourist agencies used by international tours were controlled by state-owned enterprises in the hands of the military.
The military junta also used forced labor to redevelop tourist destinations and for this there was heavy criticism from human rights groups.
Tourism was promoted by a minority of pressure groups in order to provide benefits to Burmese citizens, and to avoid the country's isolation from the rest of the world.
Since 2011, however, with the economic liberalization and the first democratic openings of the military junta, the sector has seen a sharp rise; it has gone from 816,369 arrivals in 2011 to 3,081,412 in 2014[36].

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[35] The Politics of Tourism in Myanmar Joan C. Henderson Nanyang Business School, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2020
[36] myanmartourism.org
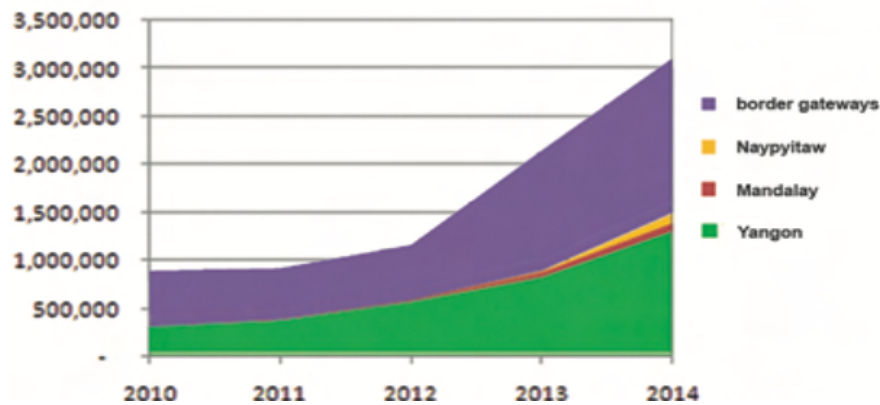
Tourist arrival in Myanmar from 2010 to 2014[37]

In the following years, the political stability achieved by the country and the end of the military dictatorship not only allowed tourism to continue to grow but also the economic situation of the country improved considerably, recording unprecedented GDP growth rates.
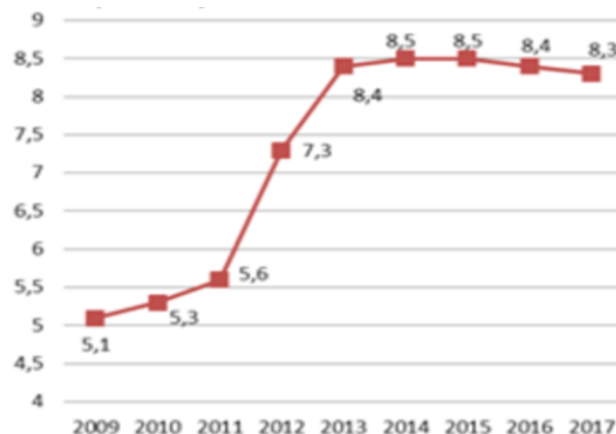
Burmese real GDP growth rate[38]

Coinciding with the increased flow of tourists, Burma, which became a party to the World Heritage Convention on 29 April 1994, saw its own site, the Ancient Pyu Cities, join the World Heritage list for the first time in 2014.

Five years later, Bagan became the second Burmese site to be recognized by UNESCO. Both sites are considered cultural, according to the selection criteria.

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[37] myanmartourism.org
[38] World Monetary Found

However, in October 2016, the Myanmar government headed by Aung San Suu Kyi started to take repressive actions against the Rohingya community, an ethnic minority present in the northern part of the country.

In 2018, in fact, the United Nations defined what occurred against the Rohingya as a real episode of ethnic cleansing, while according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights there is a real risk of genocide, as evidenced by the clear intention of the Burmese security forces to destroy, in whole or in part, this ethnic group.

Following the beginning of the persecution of this minority, social tension has returned to the country and as a result, the image of Myanmar as a democratic and peaceful country ruled by a former Nobel Peace Prize winner has begun to deteriorate.

In fact, starting in 2016, the number of tourists entering the country began to decline after a period of strong growth.

The declining number of tourists to Burma is mainly due to the negative image of the country spread in the newspapers after the Rohingya crisis.
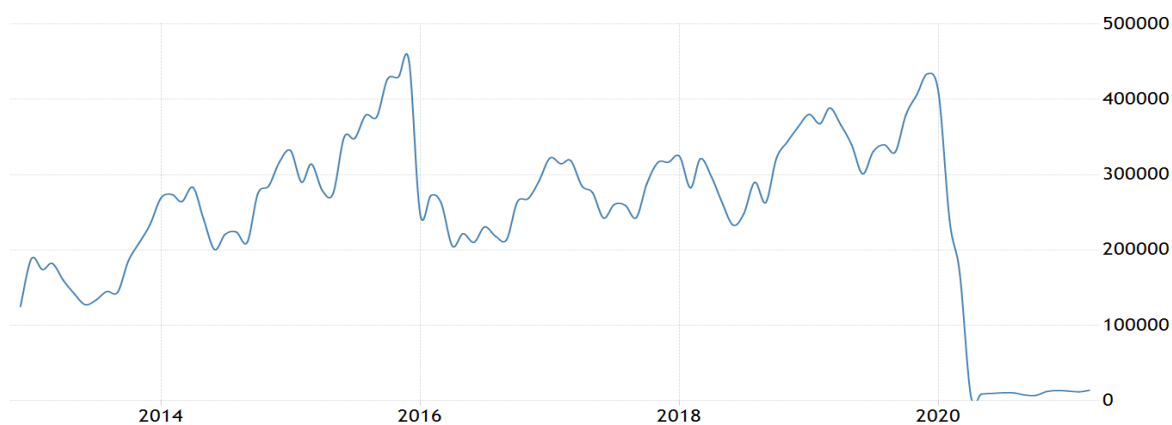
SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | MINISTRY OF NATIONAL PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, MYANMAR

Tourist arrival in Myanmar from 2013 to 2021

Finally, on 1 February 2021, Burmese army generals conducted a new coup d'etè in the country, first deposing Aung San Suu Kyi as head of government and then arresting her for trivial reasons.

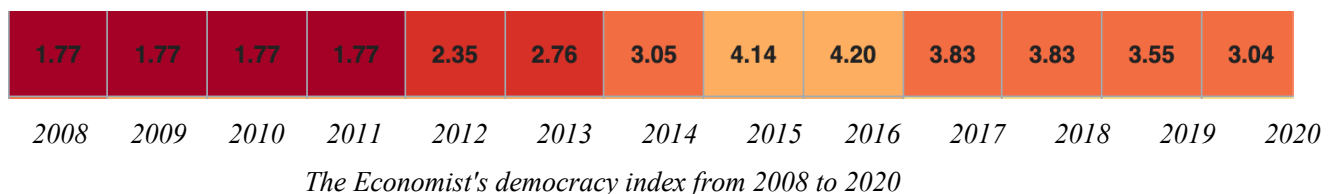This led some of the population to rise up against the military junta that had led the coup.

At first, the rioters protested in the streets, but then organized themselves into guerrilla warfare following the junta's violent suppression of the protests.

According to the Association for the Assistance of Political Prisoners (AAPP), a Thailand-based human rights non-profit organization, Burmese security forces have killed more than 1,000 civilians since the military ousted Aung San Suu Kyi from power[39].

In 2020, as elsewhere in the world, tourism in Burma came to a standstill due to the Covid-19 outbreak. The current near-zero tourist flow, in addition to reasons related to the pandemic, is also due to the political and social situation in the country.

It can therefore be said that the flow of tourists to Myanmar is a clear example of how the political instability of a country negatively affects the arrival of tourists.

In fact, according to The Economist's democracy index, Nyammar ranks 135 (2020 data), coinciding with the increase in tourist luxury from 2011 to 2016, the country has seen its ranking increase in the political stability ranking drawn up by "The Economist"[40].

1.77	1.77	1.77	1.77	2.35	2.76	3.05	4.14	4.20	3.83	3.83	3.55	3.04
2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020

The Economist's democracy index from 2008 to 2020

To conclude, it is possible to argued that UNESCO, if we analyze the data, may also have really contributed to the growth of tourism in Myanmar since 2014, because, as stated earlier the increase in tourism is in fact coinciding with the entry of the first Burmese sites on the World Heritage list.

Tunisia

Another example of how political instability affects tourism is Tunisia.
Tunisia is a North African country bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Its recent history has been characterized by abrupt reversals of power.

Following the independence from France in 1956, in the following year the republic was proclaimed, several authoritarian governments have followed in the North African country, given the not occasional use of force perpetrated by the security forces against the Tunisian population.

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[39] Swiss Info, Official site
[40] The Economist's democracy index 2020

On 7 November 1987, General Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali, Prime Minister since 1 October, deposed President Bourguiba on grounds of senility in a coup d'état.

The general built an authoritarian regime based on abuse and steeped in corruption, placing trusted collaborators in leadership roles and constructing fraudulent electoral laws, which enabled him to achieve plebiscite results in the following years' elections.

In terms of freedoms, non-governmental organizations and foreign media have regularly criticized his human rights policy, penchant for dictatorship, including the repression of his opponents, and attacks on press freedom.

His regime has also been characterized by widespread corruption.

Starting in December 2010, a series of popular protests spread to numerous cities in Tunisia.

Participants took to the streets to demonstrate against unemployment, rising food prices, corruption and poor living conditions.

The protests, which began in December 2010, constituted the most dramatic wave of social and political unrest in three decades and resulted in dozens of deaths and injuries.

Finally, on 14 January 2011, the president fled the country, taking refuge in exile in Saudi Arabia.

Between the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011, Tunisia became the model for popular protest movements that involved most of the countries in the area: it was the first country to witness a change of regime, initiating the phenomenon that would become known as the 'Arab Spring'.

Following the deposition of Ben Ali, Tunisia became a democracy, beginning a profound process of democratization at all institutional levels.

The new Tunisian democracy, despite numerous difficulties, marked a period of peace and stabilization of the country, being seen in the eyes of the world as the only nation in the world where the Arab Spring had achieved its goals and successes without bloodshed or civil war.

Tunisia, therefore, began to give a new image of itself as a stable country without popular uprisings and related unrest, this new reputation has helped the country to increase, among other things, the flow of tourists coming to the country.

Tourism for the North African country has become a very important sector, very important for the national economy, it can also count on the natural beauties of the country (especially the coast) and on a remarkable archaeological heritage, such as the ancient archaeological site of Carthage, and it contributes alone to about 20% of the GDP.

From a geopolitical point of view, Tunisia differs from other players in the area, such as Algeria and Libya, because it is not rich in natural resources; this characteristic makes it similar to Morocco and makes the country more dependent on relations with partners on the northern shore of the Mediterranean.

Also in Tunisia, as in Myanmar, the end of the dictatorship gave rise to the beginning of a very prosperous season for tourism, in fact with a democracy in the eyes of a foreign tourist exudes a feeling of greater security when compared to a government presided over by a military junta or dictator.

Tourists, especially those in the West who are used to living in democracies, start to visit a new country even after a change in power, as democracy gives a feeling of greater stability and, consequently, all those concerns about visiting a country under dictatorship, such as protests in the streets, scenes of violence by the security forces, abrogation of certain rights, disappear.

Below are the indicators that measure the level of democracy and political stability of The Economist's Democracy Index for the years 2009 to 2020.
One can clearly see how the level of democracy has improved and consequently the country's image in the eyes of the world following the end of Ben Ali's dictatorship.

2.96	2.79	5.53	5.67	5.76	6.31	6.72	6.40	6.32	6.41	6.72	6.59
2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020

The Economist's Democracy Index from 2009 to 2020

However, Tunisia's young democracy is currently experiencing a new period of difficulty, following the deposition of the Prime Minister by the President of the Republic, Kais Saied, as a result of renewed street protests over discontent with the former government's administration.

As in the past, in the first half of 2021 Tunisia is faced with a number of issues rooted in its history, recent and otherwise.
Political instability, which increasingly leads to ungovernability and immobility, a progressively deteriorating economic situation and widespread social discontent with the ruling class are the three main elements characterizing the crisis in this young democracy.
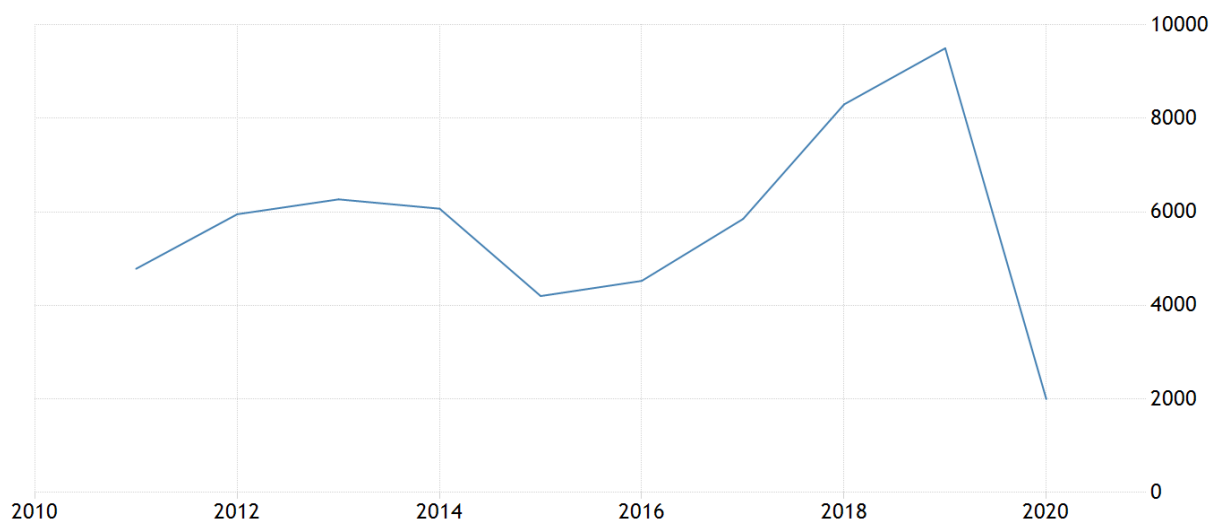
The graph above illustrates the development of tourism in Tunisia over the last 10 years.
It can be seen that following the deposition of Ben Ali, tourism increased to very high numbers before the collapse due to the Covid-19 epidemic.

All in all, within this graph we can see an important contraction of the flow corresponding to the year 2015. This contraction is due to the attacks that took place in the country on 26 June 2015, terrorist acts that specifically targeted tourist targets.

Terrorism is therefore, as will be discussed in the next chapter, another of those factors that negatively affects a country's tourism sector.

Chapter 3: Terrorism

The term terrorism refers to premeditated violent criminal acts with the aim of arousing terror in the population, including bombings, murders, massacres, kidnappings, sabotage, hijackings and other events that cause harm to entities such as state institutions, public bodies, governments, political and public figures, and political, ethnic and religious groups [41].

Terrorist acts can seriously damage a State or an international organization and are committed with the intention of seriously intimidating the population, unduly compelling public authorities or an international organization to perform or refrain from performing any act, seriously destabilizing or destroying the

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[41] International Criminal Law, *A. Cassese*, Oxford University Press, 2003

fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.

The final aim of terrorist acts can be a modification, even a radical one, of a status quo, as well as, paradoxically, its maintenance by drawing attention, possibly bringing new adherents to the cause; often these actions target people, monuments, buildings or places with a strong symbolic value that are very present in the popular imagination and in the national culture of a country.

3.1 Types of terrorism

Terrorism can be differentiated according to contexts and matrices; generally speaking, we can distinguish between political, ethnic and religious terrorism.

Political terrorism is the kind of terrorism that seeks to overturn existing power relations through violence in order to affirm the idea it pursues or, on the contrary, to annihilate that of its adversaries.
In Italy, politically motivated terrorism was widespread between the end of the 1960s and the 1980s: 'red' and 'black' terrorism followed one another without interruption to the point that the entire historical period is remembered as 'the years of lead' and produced a stiffening of the response of the armed forces and even the most moderate political forces to what were the demands of the non-violent wing of the 1968 movement.

Ethnic terrorism is based on what we might call ethical justifications, but it is also deeply rooted in politics and religion, and to give an example we need only think of the IRA in Ireland or the Basque independence movement ETA in Spain, not to mention the clash that has been going on for decades between Israel and the Palestinian people: In all these cases, however, even if we can consider ethnic differences and, therefore, racism as the basis of terrorism (and this is certainly a basis which, when ideologized, convinces and draws within these groups young people who feel ignored and despised), it is important to remember that often strong political interests are present in these conflicts, and that these political interests can even be of other parties involved who do not take an active part in the attacks, but who pull the strings from afar.

Finally, we come to *religious terrorism*. This type of terrorism has strong references to religion in its propaganda and in its implementation, and reference is often made to these groups as "fundamentalist groups", which would then adopt to the letter and in a dogmatic way the sacred texts of the religion of reference, but the conditional is a must, given that various theologians regularly deny those who claim to have carried out a massacre in the name of any deity.

This last type of terrorism differs from the others in the place of execution of the attacks.

As far as political and ethnic terrorist acts are concerned, in the majority of cases, they take place in a precise place, i.e. on the national territory of the enemy being fought, or in the geographical area where the enemy community lives, or against specific targets with a direct line to the enemy country, such as embassies.

On the other hand, religiously motivated attacks are perpetrated against an enemy that does not always correspond to a single state or a single group present in a given territory, but rather against an ideological enemy such as the West for ISIS.

In this case, terrorist acts can take place in different geographical areas of the world, targeting not a single state but a 'group of countries' living according to a certain social, economic or thought model.

Italian political terrorism targeted the institutions of the Italian state, so that all the terrorist acts perpetrated by Italian political terrorists during the Years of Lead spilled over into Italian national territory.

The IRA's attacks were against the British enemy, therefore taking place within British territory or against British targets. The same was true with ETA against Spain.

This difference in the place where the attacks were carried out can have a different effect on the damage that terrorism does to the tourist industry in a given country.

In fact, in the case of political or ethnic terrorism, it is known for certain that a given country can be seriously threatened by terrorist acts, whereas religious terrorism affects a multitude of states in a relative way, although some remain more threatened than others.

3.2 Measuring the level of terrorism in a country

The main index to measure the level of terrorist risk in a country is the Global Terrorism Index (GTI).

The GTI report is produced by the Institute for Economics & Peace (IEP) using data from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and other sources.

Data for the GTD is collected and collated by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) at the University of Maryland. The GTD contains over 170,000 terrorist incidents for the period 1970 to 2019[42].

The Global Terrorism Index is an attempt to systematically rank the world's nations according to terrorist activity.

The index combines several factors associated with terrorist attacks to build an explicit picture of the impact of terrorism, illustrating trends and providing a data set for analysis by researchers and policymakers.

It produces a composite score to provide an ordinal ranking of countries on the impact of terrorism.

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[42] Global Terrorism Index of the Institute of Economics and Peace

The GTI has coded over 190,000 terrorism cases, covers 163 countries, representing 99.7 per cent of the world's population.

The GTI was developed in consultation with the Global Peace Index expert group.

The aim is to examine trends and help inform a positive and practical debate about the future of terrorism and the policy responses needed.

In addition, there is another index that does not directly measure terrorist risk but the level of peace in countries, that is the Global Peace Index.

The Global Peace Index (GPI) is an attempt to classify states and regions according to factors that determine their state of peacefulness, or rather the attitude of a given country to be considered peaceful.

The index is produced on an annual basis and is developed by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) in collaboration with an international team of peace experts from institutes and think tanks on data provided and processed by the Economist Intelligence Unit, a research and consulting firm that provides analysis on

the management of states and companies.

The list was first published in May 2007 and every May or June thereafter. It is believed to be the first study to classify states according to their peacefulness rates.

3.3 How a state can deal with terrorism in order to limit the impact on tourism

While an initial negative shock from terrorist attack is inevitable, governments should be confident that the tourism sector can be slowly revived if action is taken.

Countries can take measures during crises, while security is slowly restored, and to revive the tourism sector once the situation has normalized.

These measures should target four key actors that influence a tourist's decision to visit a destination: the tourists themselves, the media, tourism businesses and the governments of potential tourists.

During the crisis period itself, the immediate priority is to demonstrate exceptional crisis management capabilities to minimize losses, ensure the safety of tourists and limit overly negative media perceptions. This includes effective search and rescue efforts, provision of safe haven for tourists, enhanced security around tourist areas and facilitation of return to countries of origin.

The success of initial panic containment and crisis management efforts can have a major impact on the image of the destination and thus on future tourist arrivals.

Advance planning of crisis management, rather than a reactive response, is a key success factor.

For example, the recovery effort after the 2002 attack on a Kuta nightclub in Bali was designed after the attack took place, which led to a slow and laborious recovery of tourist confidence and revenue.

In contrast, the security response to the 2005 London Underground bombings was swift and decisive, as London officials had established relationships and practiced agreed procedures in the event of a terrorist attack. The terrorist events had no visible subsequent effect on tourism.

3.4 Examples of countries with a high level of terrorism

We are now going to analyze an example of country where the risk of terrorist attacks is high or has been high.

In order to differentiate with the examples of countries with political instability we are going to analyze a country with a high risk of terrorism but at the same time with a high political instability.

France

France is a country with countless tourist and cultural attractions.

After Italy, China and Germany, it is the fourth most visited country in the world with the most World Heritage Sites.

The beauty of its landscapes, the history of the country, the charm of its cities and its food and wine culture make France, with its 86.9 million tourists a year, the most visited country in the world[43].

Unfortunately, France has been the victim of numerous Islamic terrorist attacks in recent years.

From the attacks against the editorial office of the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo in 2015 to the assassination of Professor Paty in October 2020, including the attacks in Paris, Nice and Strasbourg.

Since 2015, the country has suffered 12 attacks that have left more than 245 people dead in total.

For years, France has been the country most affected by the jihadist threat in the whole of the West; this is demonstrated, for example, by the number of attacks carried out, the size of its national contingent of jihadist foreign fighters (almost two thousand people), the frequency of references to the country in jihadist propaganda (which has further increased in recent weeks), the number of attacks carried out in France and the number of references to the country in jihadist propaganda[44].

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[43] World Tour Organization (UNTWO) Statistical Report 2018
[44] the new wave of terrorism in France, ISPI

These attacks over five years have made France, together with the UK, the country with the highest rate of terrorism in Europe.

Below, in the next page, is it possible to observe how the rate of terrorism (World Terrorism Index) has increased over the years, even compared to a lower-risk country like Italy.

Source: Global Terrorism Index
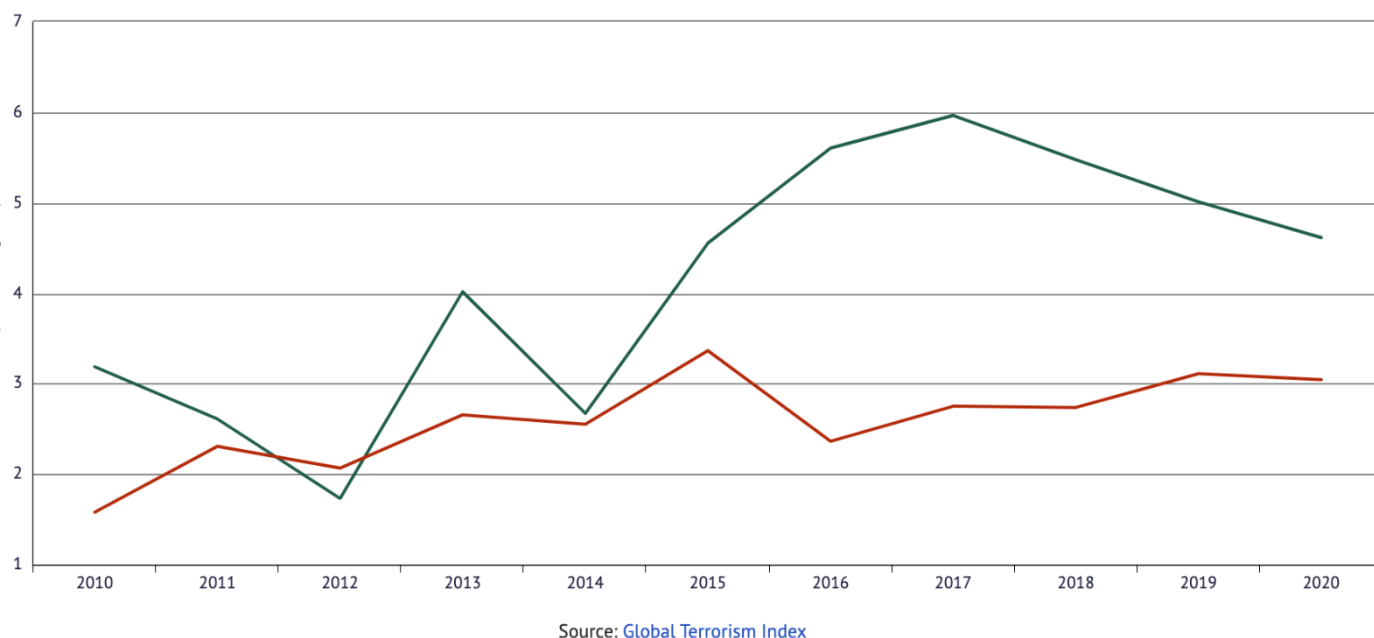
Global Terrorism index from 2010 to 2020. The green line is France, while the red one is Italy

Terrorism certainly has a direct effect on the tourism sector, as it is an unpredictable phenomenon and its unpredictability is very frightening.

Terrorists strike by surprise. They prefer to act by means of bomb attacks and armed attacks that are difficult to predict, despite occasional warnings that are more or less concrete.

Possible targets of a terrorist attack include public or tourist facilities, crowded markets, shopping centers, public transport (buses, trains, planes and boats), sporting events, cultural events, nightclubs, internationally renowned hotels or popular restaurants.

Indeed, tourism in France has seen a decline since the first terrorist attacks in 2015.

Compared to 2014, tourism dropped by an average of around two million fewer tourists, with most of the decline occurring in the city of Paris (around 1.3 million fewer) where the most heinous attacks took place.
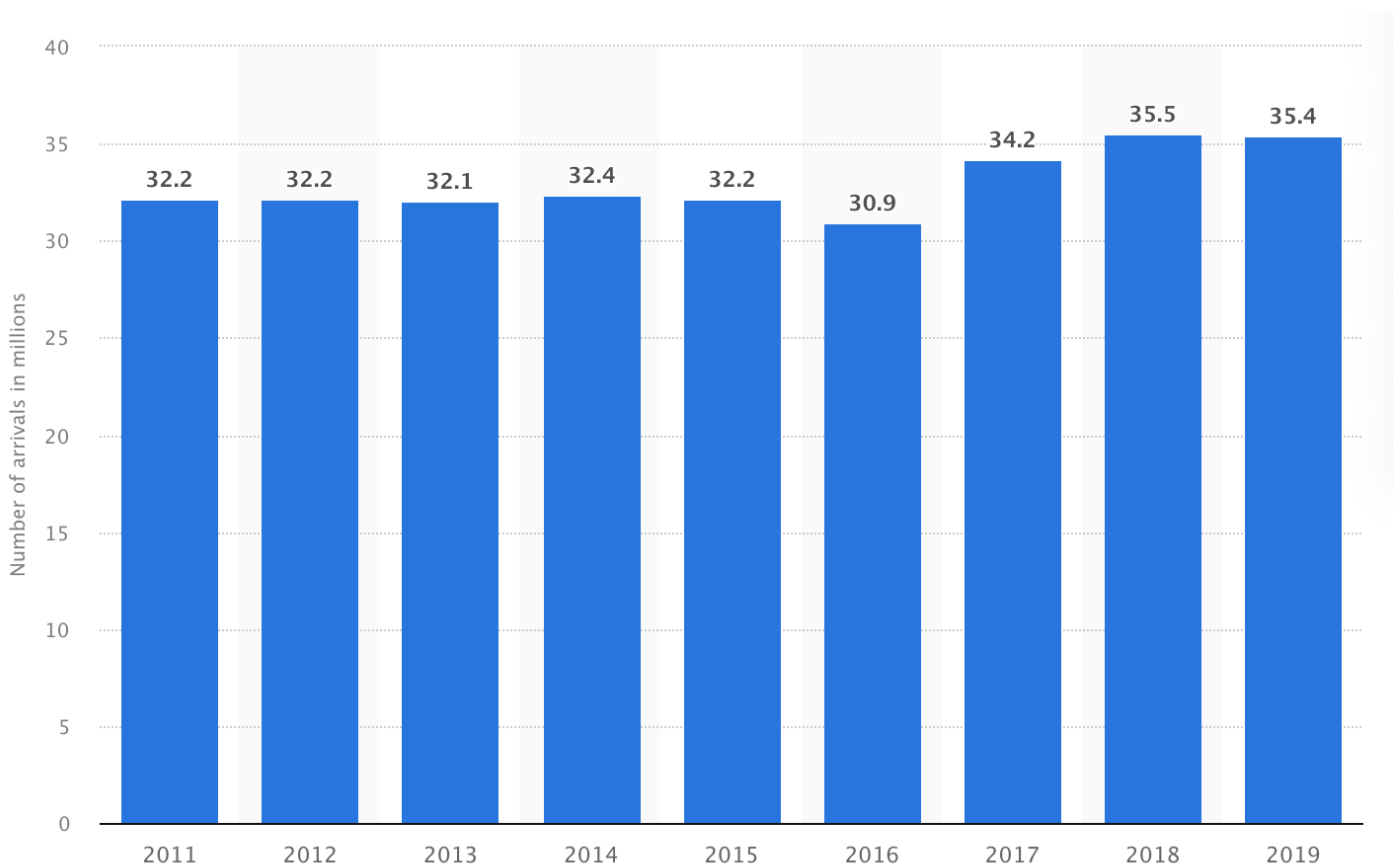
Number of tourist arrivals in Paris (2011-2019). Source: statistica.com

In this case, UNESCO does not have much power to try to reverse the trend, conversely, French World Heritage sites can be seen as a potential target for terrorist attacks since, as this is ideological terrorism, the attackers could target cultural symbols to be destroyed.

In Paris, the only UNESCO site is a stretch of the Seine almost 5 kilometres long, from the Eiffel Tower to Notre-Dame Cathedral, where splendid monuments and places of interest such as the Louvre Museum, the Grand Palais and the Hôtel de Ville follow one another without interruption.

Looking specifically at the arrivals of one of the main monuments in France and located in this World Heritage area, the Eiffel Tower, we can see the drastic drop in arrivals following the attacks.
In 2016, a year after the Paris terrorist attacks, the monument received only 5.84 million visitors, compared to almost seven million the year before. Since then, the number of tourists appears to be increasing reaching over 6 million visitors in 2018 and 2019[45].

Chapter 4: Corruption

Corruption is not easy to define it is the behavior of a person who abuses his position of trust in order to obtain an undue advantage, a private gain. It can occur in both public and private relationships.
Basically, bribery occurs when a private individual and a public official agree that the former will pay the latter an (undue) fee for an act that is in some way related to the latter's powers.
The act of corruption thus occurs with at least two parties involved, where both parties benefit from the unlawful act.

Corruption can be seen as a gigantic hidden tax that impoverishes the entire country on all fronts, makes the economy lose credibility, the image abroad is shattered, direct investments in that country decrease.

According to the Corruption Perception Report of 2020, analyzing the phenomenon in relation to today's issues and more specifically Covid-19, corruption is one of the key barriers to achieving the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the COVID-19 pandemic is making those goals even more difficult to attain.
The long-term effects of corruption on health care systems remind us that corruption often intensifies the effects of a crisis. Corruption is prevalent across the COVID-19 response, from bribery for COVID-19 tests,

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[45] Statistica.com

treatment and other health services, to public procurement of medical supplies and overall emergency preparedness[46].

Corruption is an obstacle to economic growth. By diverting resources away from economically productive objectives, it undermines the efficiency of public spending.

In particular, when public resources are limited, corruption also undermines the sustainability of public budgets and reduces public funds for investment.

In deficit situations, the cost of servicing the part of the debt attributable to corruption has a further long-term impact on public finances. According with Olken, "having fewer resources due to corrupt practices can be detrimental to social protection and public services, as it reduces the available budget and hinders equitable access to public services"[47].

Over time, corruption fuels and increases social inequalities, eroding trust in the state, institutions and governments. Finally, in extreme cases, corruption can pose a threat to democracy itself.

Above all, it undermines trust in legitimate institutions, reducing their ability to provide adequate public services and a favorable environment for private sector development.

In extreme cases, it can lead to the delegitimization of the state, which in turn leads to political and economic instability.

4.1 Fighting corruption

The prerequisite for effective long-term reform at national level is the existence of genuine political will, which translates into awareness of corruption problems at political level, prioritization of resources to implement anti-corruption policies, setting clear and tangible targets and creating a general climate of political accountability.

Measures to reduce corruption, conflicts of interest and favoritism need to be accompanied by a structural and cultural change deeply rooted in public bodies and society, rather than simply adopting legislation and ensuring formal compliance.

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[46] Corruption Perception Report 2020 of Transparency International
[47] Corruption and the costs of redistribution, *Benjamin Olken,* Journal of Public Economy, 2006

4.2 Measuring the level of corruption in a country

Measuring corruption is a complex task. Corruption differs from most aspects that characterize the health and well-being of an economy and that can be measured with objective econometric indicators.
Although it is possible to assess the situation, there is often no way to quantify the full extent of the problem.

However, there are international indices to measure the level of corruption in a country, most notably those published by Transparency International[48] and the World Bank[49], which provide a national measure for most countries worldwide. Both indices aggregate data from surveys produced by consulting agencies, where the TI-CPI (Corruption Perception Index of the Transparency International) requires at least three different sources to be available, while only one is available for the WB-RCC (Rating of control of corruption).

For this reason, each year the WB-RCC index is available for more countries but with less precision than the TI-CPI. The rationale is that the indicators that contribute to the calculation of the perceived corruption index will have a measurement error, as perceptions do not necessarily reflect reality and if these errors are independent of each other than the overall index will tend to mitigate the overall error.

The criticality of this type of analysis lies in the actual degree of reliability of the information provided by respondents, which is unknown.
On the one hand, those directly involved in acts of corruption will downplay the phenomenon, despite the guarantee of anonymity provided to them in the questionnaires, and those who are not directly involved in the acts may not have accurate information and speak 'hearsay'.

In the data, these biases turn into errors, and since the TI-CPI and WB-RCC are a kind of average of distant measures, their reliability tends to be higher for countries for which more indicators are available, and lower for those countries for which fewer are available.
However, as claimed by ANAC, the countries for which fewer surveys are available are also the most corrupt, and it is precisely for them that one would like more accurate measures, whereas the opposite is the case.[50]

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[48] TI-CPI or Corruption Perception Index of the Transparency International, the global coalition against corruption
[49] Rating of control of corruption (WB-RCC) o the World Bank
[50] ANAC (Autorità Nazionale anti Corruzione) annual report 2020

Another route has been taken, towards measures based on direct experience of the phenomenon by constructing several indices, including Transparency International's Corruption Barometer (TI-GCB), and the World Bank's World Business Environment Survey (WB-WBES) carried out by interviewing over 10,000 entrepreneurs in many countries between 1999 and 2000.

If it were compared to a perception index and differences in assessment were found, the explanation would not be clear-cut.

They could, in fact, result from the presence of incorrect perceptions of the phenomenon, leading to more faith in experience-based measures. At the same time, such differences could result from the fact that the surveys target different categories of individuals (entrepreneurs) and therefore measure different types of corruption.

Furthermore, the experience index observes the frequency of bribery incidents irrespective of the size of the amounts paid and is therefore more sensitive to "petty corruption" phenomena than the perception index, for which the number of bribes is also likely to be influenced sensitively.

Lastly, in order to replace indices based on experience and investigations of people potentially involved, an attempt was made to construct indices based on facts, i.e. objective indices, which derive directly from the presence of corrupt phenomena.

The difficulty of this type of analysis is the availability of data, which is expected to disappear in the future due to the spread of IT systems, which will allow the management of public policies and related bureaucratic functions in a digital, easily accessible format. Indices of this kind have been developed by Golden and Picci for the public works sector[51]. This is based on two distinct measures of public capital: one based on a physical inventory, the second on a permanent inventory.

The analysis determines whether a region is found to have relatively more infrastructure than indicated by the cumulative expenditure devoted to its production over time.

The authors then correct the index by means of a production input cost index and relate the infrastructure index based on physical capital to the index calculated using the corrected perpetual inventory technique. Large differences can be explained by the presence of corruption but also, more generally, by the existence of structural problems of governance in those regions.

It is difficult to keep these two aspects separate, since, as discussed in the chapter on the causes and effects of corruption, inefficient governance is likely to be both a cause and an effect of the presence of corruption.

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[51] Proposal for a new measure of corruption, *Golden and Picci*, Economics and Politics, 2005

4.3 How corruption affects tourism

The level of corruption in each country is one of the many factors that can negatively affect tourism in that country. When an individual chooses a destination for his or her holiday, he or she is likely to consider, among other considerations, the level of corruption in the chosen location, because if he or she chooses a country with a high level of corruption, this means going to a country where security and essential services are not guaranteed in a homogeneous manner.

Like political instability and terrorism, corruption can adversely affect a country's tourism industry as revealed by the tourism literature.
Das and Dirienzo argued that if a country practices bribery and fraudulent business practice, this can deteriorate its social and cultural image and impede its tourism competitiveness. Moreover, political inconsistency arising from the constant change of governments could raise the cost of doing business in corrupted countries and generate barriers for investments in tourism[52].

Corruption can have a detrimental effect in the development of a nation and so "sand the wheels of growth" since it generates distortions and inefficiency.
Corruption can reduce tourism competitiveness and can also negatively affect the tourism industry, once the social and cultural image can be deteriorated by the practices of bribery and according with Das and Dirienzo "in countries with a high level of corruption the cost of travelling is higher as travelers may have to pay bribes or permits to some tourist destinations".[53]

To conclude Saha and Yap also argue that corruption could be an obstacle in tourism development because leads to bureaucratic delays and encourages administrative inefficiency. [54]

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[52] Corruption and the role of information, *Das, J., & Dirienzo, C.,* Journal of International Business Studies, 2007

[53] Tourism competitiveness and corruption, *Das, J., & Dirienzo, C.,* Tourism Economics, 2010
[54] Do Political Instability, Terrorism, and Corruption Have Deterring Effects on Tourism Development Even in the Presence of UNESCO Heritage? A Cross-Country Panel Estimate*, Saha and Yap*, Tourism Economics, 2015

4.4 Examples of states with high level of corruption

Let us look at an example of a country where there is a high rate of corruption and at the same time a high number of tourism-related arrivals. Let us examine how corruption affects the tourism sector in this country.

Mexico

The importance of tourism for the Mexican economy is inescapable.

Its benefits result not only in the creation of employment and the boost to regional development, but also in the dissemination of the country's cultural and natural attractions.

Mexico has a cultural, historical and tourist wealth that is hard to find in other countries.

It has a privileged geographical location and an excellent hotel and service infrastructure. The variety and quality of services offered by its hotels make the country one of the most sought-after tourist destinations in the world.

Mexico's wealth of beaches is universally famous, with heavenly beaches stretching all along the Mexican coast.
Mexico is also rich in history: the collection of colonial cities in its hinterland allows travelers to learn about the country's past and history.
Together with its colonial treasures and the riches of its beaches, Mexico has an important archaeological heritage, which is of great interest to international tourism.

Tourism is perhaps one of Mexico's biggest 'industries'. In fact, according to OECD in 2018 tourism contributed to more than 8.5% of the national GDP[55].

In recent years, as shown in the graph below, tourism has increased very significantly.

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[55] Tourism Policy Review of Mexico, 2018, OECD
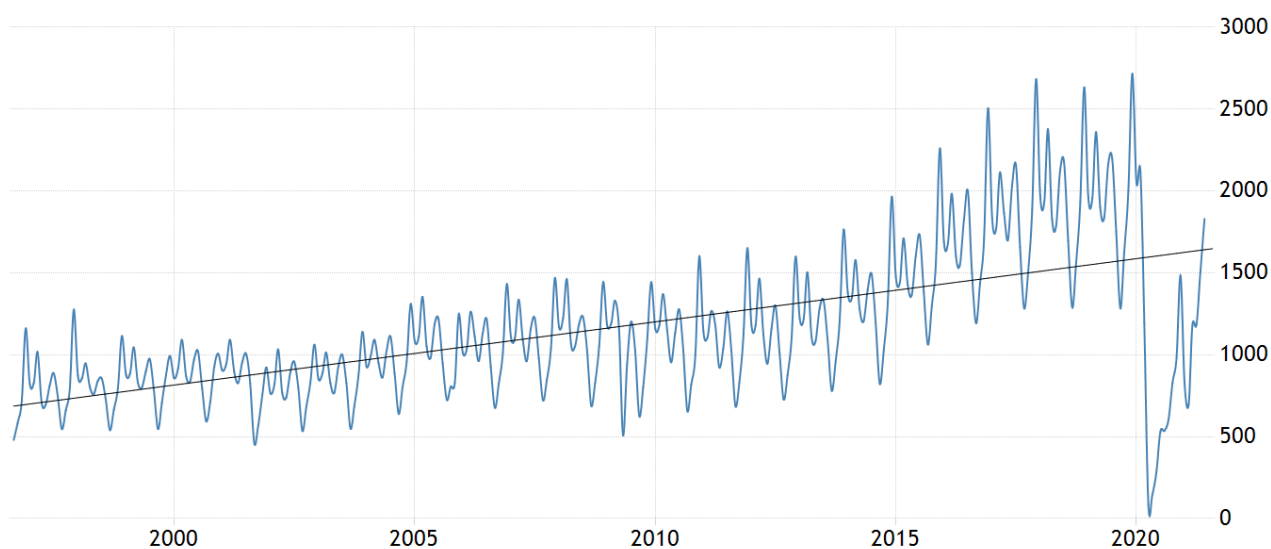
Tourist arrivals in Mexico (1995-2021)

All in all, however, Mexico is one of the countries in the world with the highest rate of corruption. Corruption in Mexico has permeated different segments of society, political, economic and social, and has strongly influenced the legitimacy, transparency, accountability and effectiveness of the country's institutions.

There is corruption in the police, there is corruption in the army, and in the face of all this, political power prefers to deny the evidence, hide, conceal.

Transparency International's 2019 Corruption Perception Index ranks the country 130th out of 180 countries[56].

Corruption in the Central American country is particularly widespread even among the security forces. The rampant corruption among men in uniform has been well illustrated by the case of former Defense Minister Salvador Cienfuegos. Arrested in the USA on suspicion of relations with drug bosses, he was then extradited to Mexico and set free.

Opacity and impunity complete the picture. The probability of a crime being reported and cleared up in the country is about 1%, according to the organisation Impunidad Cero[57].

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[56] Corruption Perception Index, 2019
[57] Administrative Impunity in Mexico: The Inefficiency of the System that Generates Impunity, impunidadcero.org

With no consequences for the abuses and with societies reluctant to cooperate in investigations, illegal violence occupies a central place in the daily operations of police institutions and these behaviours enjoy a certain degree of legitimacy among officers[58].

As we can see in the graph below the corruption rate in the Central American country has clearly increased.
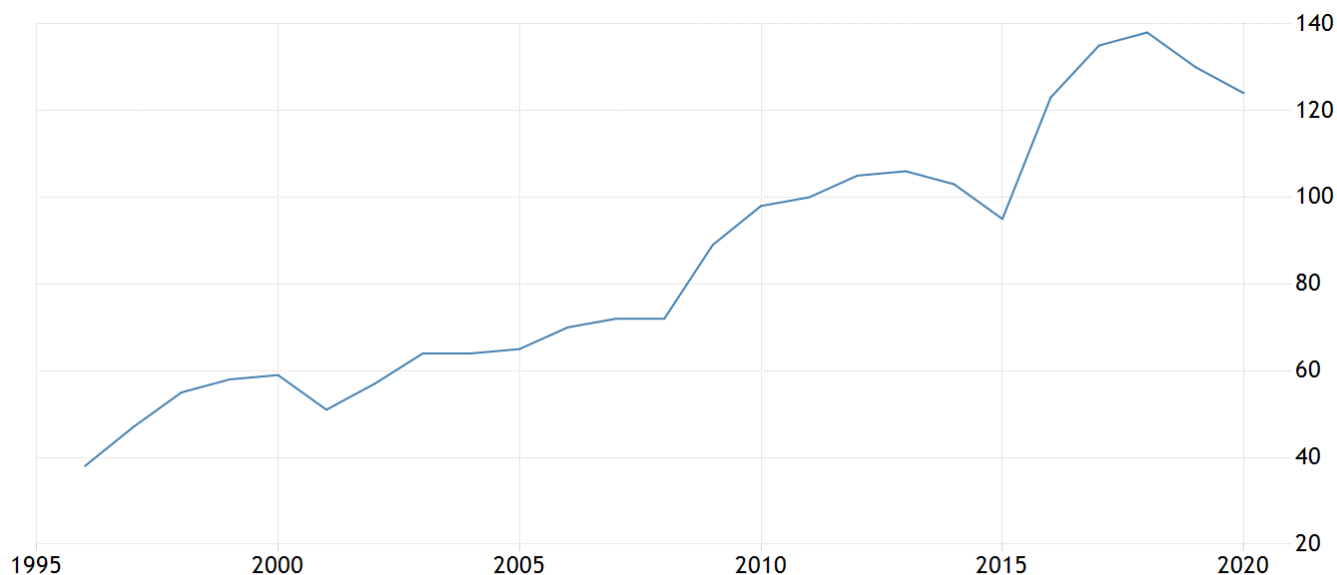
Corruption Perception Index of Mexico (1995-2020)

As we can easily see from the two graphs above, the first relating to tourist arrivals and the second relating to the Mexican corruption rate, there is a proportionality relationship we can observe.
It is therefore possible to say that in this example of Mexico, corruption, unlike political instability and terrorism, does not have a great impact in negatively affecting the country's tourism sector.

In the case of corruption then UNESCO can try to help the country through an educational process.
We have to remember that UNESCO has not only the task of safeguarding cultural and artistic heritage, but also other tasks, one of the most important being the implementation of knowledge and education.
Thanks to programs such as IIEP-UNESCO' and ETICO - Fighting Corruption in Education, UNESCO is able to contribute to the global action against corruption.

Finally, UNESCO aims at strengthening planning strategies to develop a culture of ethics and fight corruption in the education sector, by integrating the principles of transparency and accountability at the political level. With the benefit of the Institute's research and experience in this field, our experts support

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[58] LUISS, Observatory on National Security

UNESCO Member States in strengthening their skills in these areas, through in-country training programs and technical support missions.

Conclusion

Political instability, terrorism and corruption have different influences on tourist arrivals in a given country. In the short term, terrorism is the factor that has the most negative impact, while in the medium to long term political instability significantly alters the country's image abroad, drastically reducing incoming tourist flows. Corruption, on the other hand, appears to be the least influential factor in negatively affecting a country's tourism sector.

At the end of the study, it can be said that if a destination or country is exceptionally attractive from a tourist and cultural point of view, the number of people inclined to visit it would increase notwithstanding its risks, if the risk is acceptable.

UNESCO in this case has the possibility to be the guarantor of the perception of safety in its sites, in fact, thanks to the aegis of the UN it is able to transmit this safety and thanks to its laws deriving from its conventions it is able to guarantee that minimum standard of safety in its sites.
In fact, as explained in the first chapter, UNESCO has laws that categorically forbid the carrying out of certain actions in the vicinity of its world heritage sites: the sites cannot be attacked in the event of conflict and cannot be used for military purposes. Therefore, in a situation of political instability due to an ongoing conflict, perhaps in a limited area of the country in question, UNESCO ensures that the places around UNESCO sites are safe.

Going forward, in order to avoid further destruction of sites in war zones of high political instability, UNESCO should implement its political-diplomatic weight through closer cooperation and coordination with the United Nations itself.
With UN Resolution 2343 of 2011, a major step forward was taken to ensure the safety of cultural heritage in areas of high instability. After all, this action may be necessary to ensure the safety of a site following a UN intervention, but what is needed now is to ensure the safety of sites before they can be threatened beyond repair.

One way to ensure the integrity of sites would be to make this threat a major objective of UN peacekeeping missions, and so doing, many destructions of sites of extraordinary cultural importance could be averted in an era of increasing conflicts and global threats.

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Summary

The study analyses the work of UNESCO and how it operates.

It also examines how the Organization safeguards its sites under protection when they are threatened by both human and natural threats.

In protecting its sites, UNESCO must always have a key partner: the state where the site is located.

In some cases, however, the interlocutor country may be affected by certain political risks that compromise its work.

In this study, we will examine how the Organization protects its assets when threatened, and how this differs depending on whether the partner state is a stable country or not.

The paper also studies the determinants of political risk that can have a negative impact on a country's tourism sector.

Especially political instability, corruption and terrorism are shown as the factors that can negatively affect tourism.

As each of these three components is different, the study analyses each of these factors in detail with specific reference to those countries with a significant power to attract tourists but which at the same time are marked by one of these determinants.

However, political instability, corruption and terrorism do not have the same level of impact on the tourism sector, and after analyzing them, a comparison of the three will be made to see which of them has the greatest and least influence.

Finally, the study aims to examine the impact that UNESCO and its sites can have in mitigating the negative effects of the three determinants in tourism and how it can help increase tourism flows to these countries.

The paper begins by explaining what UNESCO is and what its functions are and then goes on to explore more about the Organization, analyzing how UNESCO protects its sites both in places with high political stability and in areas affected by war and conflict.

UNESCO has a unique role to play in both strengthening the foundations for lasting peace and ensuring equitable and sustainable development.

Advancing cooperation in education, sciences, culture, communication and information holds strategic stakes at a time when societies across the world face the rising pressures of change and the international community faces new challenges.

The idea of founding an organization with such a purpose was born at the end of the Second World War, when together with the birth of the United Nations Organization, forty-four states founded UNESCO with the main objective of "contributing to peace and security by collaboration among states for promoting education, culture and science"

The organization was founded in the aftermath of the greatest conflict that recent history has ever seen. As a result of the war, in addition to the deaths of millions of people, many places of great architectural, artistic and cultural importance were destroyed.

UNESCO was therefore created with the intention of avoiding such destruction in the future, and for the first time to convey the message that sites with important cultural connotations are not only important for a single people or nation, but for the whole humanity

The experience of the Second World War, with its tragic consequences for the cultural heritage, showed the substantial ineffectiveness of the following existing regulatory instruments and led the international community to a new regulatory path which led to the Hague Convention in 1954.

Compared to the previous Conventions, the 1954 Convention is the first general instrument exclusively dedicated to the protection of cultural heritage in which the definition of "cultural property" appears for the first time in an international treaty.

The 1954 Hague Convention defined "cultural property" as movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people and buildings used for preserving cultural property. With the coining of this new term, all those elements that are important for the culture of a certain group or community begin to be identified and then becoming for the first time not only important and worthy of protection for the "owners" but for the whole humanity.

All in all, the term "cultural property" conveys the fact that we are talking about a property and consequently there should be an owner who holds the rights to use it, in addition this term can often mean a good with its own financial value.

To change this connotation, the World Heritage Convention in1972 coined the term "Cultural Heritage" which is preferable because it includes the idea of a heredity received in a given condition from the previous generations to be safeguarded by the current generation and handed on to the future generations in a condition at least as good as that in which it was received.

Subsequently, UNESCO has increasingly extended the types of heritage to be safeguarded and protected, including Natural Heritage, Underwater Cultural Heritage, Intangible Cultural Heritage and the protection of the diversity of cultural expression.

UNESCO has the task of defending all these types of heritages, but the Organization cannot fulfil its mandate without the fundamental help of its member states.
As a World Heritage Site is part of the collective heritage of all humanity, the state in which the site is located must guarantee its security and maintenance.
However, states can often find themselves in situations of war, and it is precisely in these situations that nations have the duty to respect the integrity of their own and others' cultural heritage sites.

UNESCO with the first and second protocols of the Hague Convention (1954 and 1999) introduced several basic obligations to be respected during armed conflicts, the main ones are two.

The first is the prohibition of direct attacks against cultural heritage sites, as there is evidence that these sites are not used for military purposes.
The second obligation is to prevent any form of illicit trafficking of elements of a nation's cultural heritage by cooperating in combating trafficking and returning cultural property that has been stolen illicitly.

The United Nations, through its Security Council, has also legislated to implement the fight against illicit trafficking of cultural heritage in conflict situations by issuing United Nations Security Council Resolution number 2343 of the 2017.
Resolution 2343 states that, in cooperation with UNESCO, UN peacekeeping operations have a duty to protect threatened cultural heritage and to prevent illicit trafficking.

All these regulations introduced by UNESCO and other international organizations, aimed at safeguarding cultural and artistic heritage, are only effective if the interlocutor, the guarantor of the effective safeguarding of these delicate elements, is a state with an adequate *political stability*.

Nowadays, there are more and more threats to cultural heritages, just think of recent destructions such as that of the archaeological site and UNESCO heritage site of Palmyra perpetrated by the fighters of the Islamic State in 2015, the destruction of the city of Aleppo in Syria or even the destruction of the mausoleums of Timbuktu in Mali, both UNESCO heritage sites.

In all the cases listed above, the protagonists of the destruction are not state entities, i.e. bodies that have to submit to certain rules in case of armed conflict, but non-state armed groups such as ISIS or Al-Qaeda.

These non-state actors are driven by ideologies and strong ethical connotations in their actions, which often spill over versus symbols of cultures that are hostile to them.

By refusing to accept diversity and defend the symbols of other cultures, these groups carry out real acts of destruction aimed at the disappearance of their enemies' symbols.

How UNESCO works

UNESCO has a list of World Heritage properties, created by the 1972 Convention on Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

The list currently includes 1121 sites in 167 countries, of which 869 are cultural and 213 natural.

Usually for a site to get on the list, there must be a country able, with its dedicated institutions, to compile a proper nomination.

In fact, most of the countries in the world with more sites are all solid countries from the point of view of organization and state administration.

Once a site has been placed on the World Heritage List, the State where the site is located has a duty to ensure its safety and maintenance, i.e. to keep it intact and to implement policies to avoid damaging it. Otherwise, if the country fails to take the right actions to preserve the site and in more serious cases takes actions that may even damage it, the site may be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

There are also many countries with important cultural sites that do not have the necessary capacities and resources for the proper safeguarding of their sites, poor countries, underdeveloped countries or countries in war zones where the protection of cultural sites is not a priority for governments.

Even in these cases, the sites in question could be moved from the World Heritage List to the World Heritage in Danger List.

The World Heritage in Danger list was created together with the World Heritage List as a result of the 1972 Convention on Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

This list aims at raising international awareness of threats to cultural heritage and to encourage appropriate conservation countermeasures.

Sites on this list may be currently under threat or considered potentially at risk from probable future hazards. Hazards to natural and cultural sites may include armed conflicts, uncontrolled human development, insufficient maintenance of the sites themselves, or changes in ownership or legislation on cultural heritage protection in different countries.

Before a site can be placed on the World Heritage List as endangered, its condition is carefully assessed and a program with measures of protection is developed in cooperation with the local government.
The final decision for listing is taken by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee; the organization may allocate funds to help remedy the causes of the threat.

The conservation status of the site is analyzed annually and the Committee may decide to request additional protection measures, remove the site from the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger, or remove the site from the World Heritage List.

Consequently, especially in more advanced and civilized nations, the inclusion of a site in the list of endangered sites is a cause of great embarrassment and indignation as it acknowledges the failure of a state to manage its heritage.
UNESCO has procedures in place to assist the managing state before listing a site.
In such situations, the state party must review its current management in order to prioritize the issues highlighted by the Committee.
Priorities and resources may be changed at this stage, and here again the State Party may request technical or advisory missions and institutional assistance.
The State party may also request the assistance of donors to whom, if necessary, the Committee will extend negotiations and cooperation.

Often, in most cases, the countries whose sites are included in the list of World Heritage Sites in Danger are countries with *very high political instability*, suffice it to say that the first countries on this list are at the same time, according to the latest Maplecroft Political Risk Atlas List, the countries with the highest political instability (Syria, Libya and Democratic Republic of the Congo).

All in all, sometimes even *more stable countries* are "threatened" to have their World Heritage Sites placed on the endangered list, and sometimes these sites have even ended up on the list.

Entering the List of World Heritage in Danger: cases where the interlocutor is a state with high political stability

Venice has therefore been defined as at risk, like Damascus and Aleppo in Syria, like Timbuktu in Mali and like the archaeological sites of Cyrene and Sabrata in Libya, all devastated by war and all included on UNESCO's blacklist.

The former Serenissima Republic was at serious risk of joining the same list and becoming World Heritage at Risk number 54.

This fact was put down in black and white by the World Heritage Forum (the World Heritage Committee that recognizes sites and therefore monitors them) in the draft resolution voted on between 16 and 31 July 2021 in Fuzhou, China.

Mass tourism, the number of residents that inexorably continues to fall, the large ships that nine years after the Clini Passera decree continued to transit through St Mark's Basin and the Giudecca Canal, damaging not only the landscape but also threatening the city's foundations made of piles due to the huge mass of water moved by the ships as they pass, the tide that often, despite the Mose, continued to threaten the city, the polluting factories in Porto Marghera that need to be relocated, the mega-building projects such as the Hybrid Tower in Via Torino in Mestre or the Venis Venus planned for Marghera that conflict with the need for architectural and environmental sustainability in the lagoon: these are the reasons why UNESCO claimed that the State is not doing and has not done enough for the city, a World Heritage Site, where everyone in the world would want to visit at least once in their lifetime.

The other factors are the absence of governance that is more attentive to the climate challenge and that should produce more precise and feasible overheating adaptation plans, and the weakness of systems to protect the fragile and unique lagoon environment and its wetlands.

So, after urging actions and interventions, after sending reminders and commissions to monitor the UNESCO site, three years after the first formal notice in 2019, and two years after the extension granted to introduce the required actions, the yellow card was just a breath away from becoming red.

Doing so, Venice seriously risked ending up on everyone's lips, even more than it already is, because it was at risk of "disappearing".

One of the main problems, or rather the most critical issue, was the passage of large ships in the nearby the city.

Fortunately, the Italian government, moved by this threat, passed an ad hoc decree (now converted into law) on 13 July 2021 to remedy the problem of large ships in the Venetian lagoon.

The decree law adopted by the Council of Ministers is an important step towards protecting the Venetian lagoon system.

These regulations intervene immediately with the necessary cautions and reliefs to mitigate the employment impact on the sector and go hand in hand with the competition of ideas, the call for which has already been published, for the future construction and management of docking points outside the protected areas of the lagoon with the aim of making cruise activity compatible with landscape and environmental protection.

For the time being, the danger has been averted and Venice, following the vote of the committee, has not been included in the sites at risk, and we will talk about this again in 2023, at the 46th meeting of the UNESCO Committee.

For a long time in Italy there had been a public debate on the issue of large ships, but despite this and despite UNESCO's first warnings in the past years, successive Italian governments have failed to remedy such an important and delicate issue.

Analyzing the facts, it can be said that one of the problems that did not lead to a solution can be attributed not only to excessive bureaucratization but also to the volatility of Italian governments and consequently to Italian *political instability*.

In fact, we must remember that Italy, if compared with other European countries, is one of the nations with the highest political instability.

At this juncture, UNESCO also found it difficult to establish relations with the Italian government's interlocutors, who were supposed to find remedies for these important problems; let's think that in the three years since UNESCO's first appeal, three different governments have changed.

There was therefore also a real administrative difficulty since those who should have created laws and decrees for Venice perhaps did not have the time to act.

Such a sudden succession of governments in Italy makes it an unstable country from a political point of view and when an international organization like UNESCO must deal with the government it finds it difficult to do so because the interlocutors change too often.

In this specific case, UNESCO's threat to put Venice on the black list in a very short time demobilized the Italian government to take immediate action, so thanks to the Organization, the expulsion of the large ships from the lagoon was decided in a very short time after years of exhausting debate.

Therefore, it is possible to say that this imposition by UNESCO has led to solutions that normally, due to Italian *political instability*, would not have been taken so quickly and so effectively.

The study also looks at the example of the maritime mercantile city of Liverpool, which was placed on the World Heritage List in 2012 and removed from it in 2021.
In the English case, unlike the case of Venice, the local government did not have the political will to change its plans in order to keep the site on the UNESCO list.
Probably the luster that could have been given by UNESCO'S recognition was less than all the economic interests in that part of the city.

In addition, is it possible to affirm that an important factor to consider is the impact that UNESCO has in the public opinion of a country. Probably in a country like Italy, where the protection of the sites is part of the collective consciousness, the removal of a site could have important effects and repercussions even on the government itself while in a nation like the United Kingdom this perception may not be there or, at least, people think that their sites can be managed and preserved even without the help of UNESCO.

Another factor that may influence a government's decision whether or not to cooperate with UNESCO's requests not to remove a site from the World Heritage list is the tourism importance of the site.
In 2019, the year before the Covid-19 pandemic wiped out tourism, there were 40.9 million visits to the UK , while with 94 million tourists per year according with ENIT, Italy is the third most visited country in international tourism arrivals.

Comparing these figures, the number of tourists who arrive in Italy is far twice as much as those in UK, consequently the revenues related to the sector are much greater for Italy, representing 7% of Italian GDP.

In a country where tourism is such a strategic sector, the idea of having a UNESCO site included in the list of sites at risk or even having a site removed from the list of World Heritage Sites could be a threat to the country's image and could, as a result, reduce the influx of tourists, since UNESCO has become a real brand in the world synonymous with extraordinary beauty.
Therefore, a government of a country where tourism is a key sector will follow UNESCO's considerations more closely in order to avoid "embarrassments" both nationally and internationally.

Entering the List of World Heritage in Danger: cases where the interlocutor is a state with high political instability

The site of Palmyra, one of the most spectacular archaeological sites in the Mediterranean and the world, already listed as a heritage site at risk in 2013 due to the escalating Syrian war is occupied by the Islamic State on 21 May 2015. Palmyra together with the six Syrian sites were placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger by the Thirty-Seventh Session of the World Heritage Committee on 20 June 2013 due to the continuing Syrian Civil War
Since then, a crescendo of violence involves people and monuments.

The reaction in the press and on social networks was not long in coming. Palmyra is one of the most visited sites in the world, its destruction arouses anger and emotion. At the end of August 2015, the majestic temple of Bêl, the most representative monument of the caravan city, was reduced to dust.

In September, it was the turn of the funerary towers on the Belkis plain, and in October, the Arc de Triomphe also suffered serious damage.
UNESCO "certified" the destruction, the international community's proclamations multiplied but no concrete initiative was taken to save Palmyra.

Finally, in March 2016, Palmyra was liberated by the Russian army.
Archaeologists from the General Directorate of Syrian Antiquities are thus able to go on site to see the damage.
The losses, including at the museum, are enormous. International experts also go to Palmyra and the first restoration work on the finds is launched.

UNESCO is crucial in this situation because it has not only the right but also the duty to be the main administrator in the reconstruction of the ruins of Palmyra, as it is not only the top expert in this situation but also because currently Syria does not have the capacity to bring back a site of this importance.
The Syrian government has indeed, following the reconquest of the site, started an initial reconstruction of the site, but currently the Syrian government has other primary interests, such as regaining control over the whole country.

At the root of the loss of interest in its recovery by the intricate network of Syrian government actors working on the heritage, there is a lack of political strategies at the national level, as well as regulatory and systemic frameworks, also due to the mass flight of local experts that occurred in the early years of the war.

In addition, the current political and economic conditions weaken the strategic-institutional scenario and do not allow for context-sensitive post-conflict planning, also preventing possible international partners from designing, financing or implementing intervention strategies and protocols.

At the moment, the latter's field of action is only limited to remote documentation, awareness-raising, and on-site training aimed at providing services and skills to technicians and specialized workers.

UNESCO is therefore the only 'super partes' actor able to efficiently and effectively implement the reconstruction, thanks both to its experts and its resources, funds which in this case are indispensable since Syria is currently in a far from prosperous situation.

In this particular case, the site has not been threatened by natural threats or human neglect of conservation such as in the case of Venice or Liverpool.

Palmyra has become a real military target and as such, UNESCO has no possibility to exclude it from the World Heritage list as this remains the last guarantee for such a delicate and endangered site.

Syria has certainly not proved to be a serious interlocutor with whom to dialogue in order to preserve the site, given also that Syria itself, albeit on the other side, was one of the main actors in the armed conflict that devastated the ruins of the ancient city of Palmyra.

In this case, therefore, UNESCO does not have the persuasive power it may have over the Italian and British governments, but it is the only entity capable of ensuring the safety of the site. Therefore, a site that is in a war zone and strongly threatened by the war itself cannot be excluded from the World Heritage List (as happened with the port of Liverpool) because without the guarantee of being on the list, the guarantee of having the resources available for the reconstruction of the site once it has been damaged would also disappear.

The elaborate also analyses the example of the destruction of the Mostar bridge in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1993.

Both cases illustrated, Palmyra and Mostar, have in common that they occurred in countries with very high political instability, since both are at war.

All in all, there is the big difference that in Syria, the destruction of Palmyra was carried out at the hands of ISIS militiamen, i.e. an armed group of a 'state', the self-proclaimed Islamic State, not recognized by any country in the world.

On the other hand, the bombing of the Mostar bridge was carried out in 1993 by the army of Croatia, an internationally recognized country and a member of the UN since 1992.

The role of UNESCO, if the Bridge of Mostar had been recognized as a World Heritage Site, could have been quite different (the bridge was only recognized as a UNESCO site after its destruction).
In fact, since IS is not recognized by the international community, it is not subject to any international constraints, including those arising from the Hague Convention, while Croatia is obliged to obey those constraints.

Consequently, the bombing by an internationally recognized state of a UNESCO site would have meant antagonizing a large part of the international community.

The role of UNESCO is therefore crucial in countries with high political instability as it has the power to avert attacks against its own site if the attack is conducted by an internationally recognized country.
In addition, UNESCO once again proves to be extremely important in these countries with political instability because in most cases these states, in the event of the destruction of their cultural sites, have neither the technical capacity nor the financial resources necessary for their reconstruction.

Finally for conclude this part, going forward, in order to avoid further destruction of sites in war zones of high political instability, UNESCO should implement its political-diplomatic weight through closer cooperation and coordination with the United Nations itself.
With UN Resolution 2343 of 2011, a major step forward was taken to ensure the safety of cultural heritage in areas of high instability.
After all, this action may be necessary to ensure the safety of a site following a UN intervention, but what is needed now is to ensure the safety of sites before they can be threatened beyond repair.

One way to ensure the integrity of sites would be to make this threat a major objective of UN peacekeeping missions, and so doing, many destructions of sites of extraordinary cultural importance could be averted in an era of increasing conflicts and global threats.

The paper then goes on to analyze how UNESCO is able to make a site, and consequently a country, more attractive to tourists as a result of the presence of its sites and the value of the UNESCO brand, which is synonymous with outstanding beauty throughout the world.

Political instability, terrorism and corruption

Next, the thesis specifically analyses in detail the three determinants of political risks that negatively affect a country's tourism sector and how UNESCO can mitigate their negative effects.

Specifically, the three determinants are political instability, terrorism and corruption. For each of them, in addition to analyzing their effects, numerous examples were studied to understand their practical application. For political instability the examples of Myanmar and Tunisia were analyzed, for terrorism France and for corruption Mexico.

Political instability can be defined in different ways.
In a first approach, it can be defined as the propensity for regime or government change.
A second approach deals with the incidence of violence or political revolt on a society, such as demonstrations, murders, etc.
A third viewpoint focuses on the instability of policies, beyond the instability of regimes, for example, the degree to which fundamental policies, such as property rights, are subject to frequent change.

Political stability depends on the legitimate use of public force by governments.
Political instability is closely associated with the concept of the failed state, which represents volatility in the policies that the government implements.
If a government cannot guarantee the provision of basic services to its people, such as security and the ability to obtain food and livelihoods, it loses the power to enforce the law and thus political instability arises.

When a political institution promotes a new law, companies must consider the impact it will have on their operations. In some cases, companies will have to create new strategies or processes to comply with the initiatives imposed by the legislation.
If a state is in an unstable situation, these laws may change in an unplanned and sudden manner, and as a result, investors will lack certainty in the use of their investments and will be forced to limit or even withdraw their previous investments.

Political instability can be caused by several factors, including conflicts between rival political parties, insufficient economic resources, or simple geographical proximity to conflicting nations; this can also occur when there is a sudden change in a country. These sudden changes can leave people in doubt about the

situation in their country, which can lead to riots among the population. Currently, most nations with political instability are in Africa and the Middle East.

The term *terrorism* refers to premeditated violent criminal acts with the aim of arousing terror in the population, including bombings, murders, massacres, kidnappings, sabotage, hijackings and other events that cause harm to entities such as state institutions, public bodies, governments, political and public figures, and political, ethnic and religious groups.

Terrorist acts can seriously damage a State or an international organization and are committed with the intention of seriously intimidating the population, unduly compelling public authorities or an international organization to perform or refrain from performing any act, seriously destabilizing or destroying the

fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.

The final aim of terrorist acts can be a modification, even a radical one, of a status quo, as well as, paradoxically, its maintenance by drawing attention, possibly bringing new adherents to the cause; often these actions target people, monuments, buildings or places with a strong symbolic value that are very present in the popular imagination and in the national culture of a country.

Corruption is not easy to define it is the behavior of a person who abuses his position of trust in order to obtain an undue advantage, a private gain. It can occur in both public and private relationships.
Basically, bribery occurs when a private individual and a public official agree that the former will pay the latter an (undue) fee for an act that is in some way related to the latter's powers.
The act of corruption thus occurs with at least two parties involved, where both parties benefit from the unlawful act.
Corruption can be seen as a gigantic hidden tax that impoverishes the entire country on all fronts, makes the economy lose credibility, the image abroad is shattered, direct investments in that country decrease.

Following the analysis made in the thesis by cross-referencing numerous data and studies, it can be stated that terrorism is the element that most negatively affects the tourism sector of a nation in the short term, while in the medium to long term it is political instability that has the most negative effects, and finally corruption is the element of political risk that has the least influence on the sector.

UNESCO, thanks also to the aegis of the United Nations, succeeds instead in guaranteeing an image of security and attractiveness for its own site, in the case where a site is present in an unstable area from the political point of view (e.g. Myanmar).

As far as terrorism is concerned, UNESCO, being a UN Organization, can be seen as an element of danger as its presence, a symbol of the West and a civilized world for some, can be seen as a target for a terrorist attack. In doing so, UNESCO is not able to mitigate the risk of terrorism, and may even exacerbate it (e.g. France).

Finally, about corruption, UNESCO is able to be a key player thanks to its programs aimed at educating the population against this phenomenon.