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Making the Past in the Present

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We unexpectedly lost our beloved colleague, ***Steve Watson****, on January 22, 2016, as this volume was nearing delivery to Springer. Those familiar with Steve's instinctive feel for the heritage field will need little help imagining his immense contribution to the volume. He was instrumental for this project not only in terms of the guiding role he played in its intellectual formation but also for his enthusiasm, collegiality, and endless good grace. We are privileged to be in the position to include here one of the last essays Steve penned, which will serve alongside his already impressive collection of writings as a lasting testimony to his rare and impressive intellect.*

Steve in Whitby, England (August 7, 2015)
With the greatest affection and respect,
we dedicate this volume to Steve.
Emma and Helaine

Contents

About the Editors

Helaine Silverman is Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Director of the Collaborative for Cultural Heritage Management and Policy (CHAMP) at UIUC. She is interested in the cultural politics of heritage production and management, tourism and economic development, and local and national imaginaries of identity. In addition to her authored works and edited volumes, she serves on the editorial boards of *American Anthropologist*, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Heritage & Society*, *World Art*, and *Thema*. Her current research projects are "Tourism, Heritage and Identity in Cuzco, Peru," "World Heritage and Community at Cahokia-Collinsville, Illinois," and "Heritage Promotion at the Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site, UK." Professor Silverman is an expert member of ICOMOS' international scientific committees on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) and Cultural Tourism (ICTC). She is also a Visiting Research Fellow at Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage at the University of Birmingham. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, IL, USA

Emma Waterton is an Associate Professor in the Geographies of Heritage at Western Sydney University, Australia. She works in the area of Heritage Studies. Before taking up her post at UWS in 2010, she held an RCUK Academic Fellowship in the areas of History and Heritage at Keele University. Her research interests emphasize community heritage, representations of the past and the critical analysis public policy, especially those tackling social inclusion, multiculturalism, and expressions of national identity. Together, these interests challenge the dominant conceptualizations of heritage found in policy, which tend to privilege the cultural symbols of a particular social group. In particular, her work attempts to illustrate how and why, despite attempts to mitigate instances of exclusion, recent policies continue to lean towards the predictable melding of cultural diversity with tendencies of assimilation. Emma has a prolific publication record, including a sole authored book and two coauthored books, as well as multiple edited volumes. She

also has published peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters, both sole authored and jointly authored. In addition, she has been successful in obtaining major grants for her heritage fieldwork, including a prestigious multi-year ARC Discovery Early Career Researcher Award. Western Sydney University, Sydney, NSW, Australia

Steve Watson taught a range of subjects in undergraduate programs in business management and tourism management and in postgraduate programs in marketing at York St. John University, UK. He also supervised doctoral students in the field of cultural tourism and tourism development. His main research interest was cultural and heritage tourism and he was a leading expert in this field having published books and papers exploring the interactions between heritage, culture, tourism, and communities. He had extensive experience working in the public sector and conducted research for a number of local authorities and other organizations, including English Heritage. He taught in several universities in the UK, including Edinburgh, York, John Moores, and Hull, and had given guest lectures in universities in the United Kingdom, the United States, Spain, and Australia. Apart from his academic responsibilities, he was active in the tourism industry working with groups and individuals to develop and enhance tourism for the benefit of the local economy. Steve was one of the founding members of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, an international organization dedicated to the study of heritage as a social and cultural practice. He was on the editorial boards of two international journals and was book reviews editor for both. He regularly reviewed books and contributions for other academic journals and worked with scholars from around the world on a variety of projects. Steve was a nonexecutive director of Visit York and had been instrumental in developing its research program. York St. John University, York, UK

About the Authors

Yomna Borg earned a bachelor's degree in Architecture from the Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Alexandria, and holds a professional master's degree in Cultural Heritage Management from the Faculty of Fine Arts at the French University in Egypt (UFE) in collaboration with the Université Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne. She is a full-time volunteer with *Save Alex,* an initiative committed to protecting Alexandria's built heritage within the wider urban context of the city. Her work there includes monitoring endangered buildings and research working toward creating public awareness. Save Alex, Alexandria, Egypt

Robyn Bushell is Associate Professor in the Institute for Culture and Society and the School of Social Sciences and Psychology at Western Sydney University. Her work focuses on the values underpinning everyday life, quality of life, sustainable development, and heritage management. She works closely with a range of national and international bodies related to heritage conservation in the formulation of policies and planning frameworks, in particular community development strategies involving tourism. Her current research interests examine the entangled relationships between the local and global and between conservation and development in heritage places. Western Sydney University, Sydney, NSW, Australia

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Maria Fernanda Escallón received her Ph.D. in the Department of Anthropology at Stanford University and was a 2015–2016 Dissertation Fellow in the Department of Black Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her work examines the consequences of heritage declarations and draws attention to the political and economic marginalization of minority groups that occurs as a result of recognition. Her dissertation evaluates whether heritage proclamations are useful instruments to attend to broader issues of economic inequality, territorial rights, and political participation for descendant groups. Maria Fernanda holds a B.A. in Anthropology and an M.A. in Archaeology from the Universidad de Los Andes, Colombia. She has worked in sustainable development and heritage policy-making for nongovernmental organizations and Colombian public entities, including the Ministry of Culture and the District Secretary of Culture and Tourism. University of Oregon, Eugene, OR, USA

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Suzie has worked as the Community Archaeology Support Officer at the Council for British Archaeology, a UK-wide educational charity based in York. She worked for 2 years at the University of Glasgow's Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research as a Research Associate on the Trafficking Culture project. She has worked in a number of heritage organizations, sites, and museums in England, including the Galleries of Justice in Nottingham, Creswell Crags in Derbyshire, and Bede's World in South Tyneside. Currently, she is also a Visiting Tutor at Bishop Grosseteste University College Lincoln and a Visiting Fellow at Newcastle University and holds a Research Associateship with the University of York. Among Suzie's research interests are the illicit trade in antiquities, archaeology and metal detecting, alternative perceptions of cultural heritage, and heritage crime. She also continues to maintain an interest in community archaeology and, more broadly, the role of the voluntary sector in archaeological heritage research and activities. She is one of the founding editors of the *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage.* University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

Part I
Introduction

Chapter 1
An Introduction to Heritage in Action

Emma Waterton, Steve Watson, and Helaine Silverman

Academics did not create heritage, but they disciplined it, so to speak, in the late twentieth century. Heritage was already happening in the context of multiculturalism and globalization as "people all over the world … turned to ethnic and cultural identity as a means of mobilizing themselves for the defense of their social and political-economic interests" (Turner, 1993, p. 423). It was also happening via the mechanisms of UNESCO's World Heritage List, which began to operate in 1978, and as mass tourism opened up new horizons for that industry.

Indeed, cultural heritage was—and is—on the move: heritage is *in action*. One clear demonstration of this is the "overproduction" of heritage. Whether it is the expansion of the World Heritage List (1,052 inscriptions as of 2016 with no end in sight/site, if we may be permitted the pun), the proliferation of museums, individual and community heritagizing actions, business sector appropriations of heritage discourse and imagery, the new European Heritage Label, or heritage-justified internal and international ethnic strife—it seems that everything and anything is being declared, contested, and/or performed as heritage. Moreover, heritage now travels with a mobile population—temporary, permanent, and along a scale between those extremes—and it (re)creates and reconfigures itself in its destinations. Heritage is produced and mobilized by individuals and communities in any number of actions, including remembering, forgetting, generating, adapting, and performing. Heritage shapes and reshapes people's sense of place, sense of belonging, and cultural identities locally and nationally.

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Clearly, then, heritage does "work" (Smith, 2006). And as work, cultural heritage is a tool that is deployed broadly in society today. It is at work in indigenous and vernacular communities, in urban development and regeneration schemes, in expressions of community, in acts of memorialization and counteracts of forgetting, in museums and other spaces of representation, in tourism, in the offices of those making public policy, and, all too frequently, in conflicts over identity and the goals of those politics of identification.

Thus, heritage is not simply an inert "something" to be looked at, passively experienced or a point of entertainment; rather, it is always bringing the past into the present through historical contingency and strategic appropriations, deployments, redeployments, and creation of connections and reconnections. It implicates how memory is produced, framed, articulated, and inscribed upon spaces in a locale, across regions, nationally and, ultimately, transnationally. It enables us to critically engage with contemporary social and political issues of grand import while also being a familiar prop drawn upon to make sense of more mundane processes of negotiating self, place, home, and community. And while the heritage of nations and dominant groups may appear static and unwavering in its representational practices, repeating and reinforcing the same discourses, the heritage of communities or places is provisional and fragile, and depends on the capacity of people to organize; to do things; to act, react, and reenact; and to make itself meaningful in moments of encounter and engagement.

In these socially, discursively, and physically constructed spaces it is possible to glimpse heritage in action. An understanding of this "doing" of heritage—this active heritage—is more important than ever in differentiating national, official, and authorized versions of it from its more local, voluntaristic, mobile, and alternative forms. Robinson and Silverman (2015) emphasize the rapidity with which heritage becomes popular culture: the popularity of heritage in contemporary society. As such, "heritage is a constantly accumulating category … in totality the stock of heritage grows" (Robinson & Silverman, 2015, p. 3). Moreover, "heritage at the personal, national, and international level has never been more open" and more accessible to more people (Robinson & Silverman, 2015, p. 4). It is in constant production and consumption, available physically as well as digitally, with the latter offering the potential for virtually unrestricted opportunities to (re)interpret, critique, subvert, reinforce, and (re)deploy heritage beyond the control of official agencies.

Above all, heritage today is argued to be something that ought to be participatory and increasingly generated "bottom-up"; yet all the while, UNESCO seeks to maintain its firm authority to elevate a particular suite of tangible places into its heritagescape (Di Giovine, 2009). A particularly interesting challenge to this monopoly occurred in 2000, when Canadian-Swiss cultural entrepreneur, Bernard Weber, launched the "New 7 Wonders of the World" campaign, generating the opportunity for citizens and tourists around the world to vote for their favorite sites (http://world.new7wonders.com; http://www.new7wonders.com). A total of 77 nominations were received by the New 7 Wonders Foundation from around the world. However, it was the Foundation's panel of seven experts that chose the 21 finalists, of which 19

were already on UNESCO's World Heritage List or were soon thereafter inscribed. Following the announcement of finalists in 2005, a web portal for voting was opened so that seven winners could be chosen by numerical outcome, and declared as such on 7 July 2007 at an official ceremony. Therefore, although the process up to a point was democratic and transparent, the crucial intermediary step of choosing the finalists for the competition was not. Still, the many millions of votes cast were a demonstration of the popularity and pervasiveness of the concept of heritage and a keen awareness of its tangible benefits.

Having said that, and as Robinson and Silverman argue, "amidst a landscape of monumental heritage buildings and objects that were once created to be markers of events or of ego and which feed national and collective memory and identity [there is] an increasing desire by *individuals* to record and mark their own existence within wider social groups and networks" (2015, p. 15, emphasis in original). And those social groups and networks themselves engage in vernacular heritage-making activities such as pilgrimages, festivals, and enactments. As Robinson and Silverman go on to observe, the "Pandora's box of popular culture is open, no matter what the official heritage script. The fascinating question is how these new cultural forms become appropriated and performed as heritage" (2015, p. 18). Following the lead of Harrison and Schofield (2010), we may also look to the public concern for the conservation of the "contemporary past"—a past that may be as recent as "now, alive, current" as in the 2013 David Bowie exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, curated (before his unexpected death in January 2016) with his own material culture (lyrics, costumes, handwritten papers, photos, musical instruments, set designs, etc.)—thereby becoming heritage.

Unpacking the Volume

Whether renowned or local, tangible or intangible, the entire heritage enterprise, at whatever scale, is now inextricably embedded in Herzfeld's (2004) "global hierarchy of value," of which the UNESCO World Heritage List could be posited as the preeminent example. Globalization—or Ulf Hannerz's (1989) "global ecumene" or Marshall Sahlins' "World System of cultures, a Culture of cultures" (1993, p. 19)—is the frame for all heritage. This idea is expressed rhetorically by the "global metaphors" of "one world" identified by Jo-Anne Pemberton (2001). This global context requires a sanguine approach to heritage in which the so-called critical stance is not just theorized in a rarefied sphere of scholarly lexical gymnastics, but practically engaged with and seen to be doing things in the world (see, e.g., Winter, 2013), for heritage is active. It is part of the global or transnational flow of culture (Hannerz, 1989), with all the promise and potential as well as negative aspects that this may hold.

Although there exists a dominant discourse of heritage which promotes its "feel-good" aspect—cultural heritage as a common good shared by humanity—the evidence around us also speaks to the emergence of a pragmatic heritage.

Richards (1996, p. 27) observes that "culture is now primarily being promoted for economic, rather than cultural ends." Likewise, Yúdice (2003) has argued that culture is expedient—a political-economic asset, a valuable resource to be invested in, contested, and used for varied sociopolitical and economic ends. "Heritage" is frequently replacing "culture" in that discourse. And, expanding Yúdice's argument, cultural heritage is not just objects, sites, and performances; rather, it is part of the "stuff" (Miller, 2010) with which we create meaningful, productive lives. It is a cultural process, to borrow from Smith (2006), a discourse, a political reality, an economic opportunity, and a social arena. As such, we can see heritage being strategically deployed around the world, which is an observation that comfortably cushions the overarching volume.

Out of an almost limitless number of conceptual frameworks that we could draw on to illustrate *heritage in action*, we have identified five that particularly speak to our point that in this competitive world, heritage must be efficient and effective: it must do something, be practical, be strategic. Thus, while any easy generalization about the concept of "heritage in action" is, we argue, impossible, we consider the frameworks we have chosen to organize the volume to be interlinked and sufficiently muscular to hold it together. That said, like Julio Cortázar's (1966) *Hopscotch*, we nonetheless invite readers to regroup and reorder these chapters and to choose their own path through them however they see fit.

Making and Remaking Heritage

We commence the volume with the theme of "Making and Remaking Heritage," which we see as revolving around the various cultural processes through which heritage is conjured and mobilized, and, in those moments, rubs up against, and reacts to, a range of politics, policies, identities, experiences, and presences. Across the three papers we have gathered around this theme, readers will catch a glimpse of the myriad ways in which heritage drifts into politics, events, the community, and everyday life, where it is inevitably appropriated or rejected, bent or buffed, packaged or repacked in rivalry, parallel or partnership. For some, it avidly holds the imagination, allowing its users to make conscious links between physical spaces, historical pasts, and contemporary affiliations; for others, there are far more subtle human responses at play, but beneath or alongside each sit the possibilities for moments of engagement, which prompt responses that are not immediately expressible but are felt, physical, and visceral. Conceptually, we grant heritage this power due to its propensity to sit on the cusp of what Kathleen Stewart calls the "charged border between things public and private" (2003), or that "dynamic zone rich with indicators of how and through what forms cultural forces and sensibilities circulate" (Stewart, 2001–2002). The papers in this section are thus interested in the intersections of heritage places with people, and the way that we understand these as sustainable and meaningful entanglements. Our focus on this theme stems from the critical perspective we have adopted on what constitutes heritage, and a concern for

the political and cultural implications of this critique. In foregrounding the "making" and "remaking" of heritage, each paper details the ways in which spaces of heritage are experienced, not only by visitors and the people who live in them, but those officially tasked with their management and definition, too.

We launch the section with *Michael Angelo Liwanag's* analysis of the challenging interactions between UNESCO's World Heritage Committee, the States Parties that participate in the renowned World Heritage Convention, and the communities that are impacted by listing. Far too often, heritage is in action in the hands of the World Heritage Committee and national governments keen for inscription without adequate attention to the needs, desires, and rights of the stakeholders who will be most affected by listing. The 1972 World Heritage Convention and its accompanying *Operational Guidelines* still do not offer definitive parameters to which the World Heritage Committee can refer when deciding on nominated sites that are in dispute or under protest. Decisions by the World Heritage Committee are vulnerable to political pressure (see Meskell, 2014 inter alia), and nominations have become a source of conflict on both local and international levels (e.g., Silverman, 2011). Liwanag takes a critical view of the current approval process and examines cases that have led to conflict and observes that in some cases heritage has been remade by the very nature of the inscription. Thus, Liwanag explores how ethical guidelines can potentially balance competing histories asserted by former adversaries concerning sites relevant to past conflicts and human trauma, as well as ensure that the rights of all stakeholders are not sacrificed because of the World Heritage designation. Given the problems he identifies, he powerfully calls for inclusion of ethical guidelines in the site selection procedure and evaluation of Outstanding Universal Value. He posits that augmenting the existing criteria for selecting World Heritage sites with guidelines based on ethical principles would help the World Heritage Committee arrive at more consistent decisions—decisions that judiciously take into account all parties involved. He argues that conflict can be averted through application of a lens of ethics in considering the possible negative ramifications of inscription.

Hayley Saul and Emma Waterton discuss a collaborative community project to restore a Tibetan Buddhist monastery (*gompa*) in the village of Langtang, Nepal. The restoration work was entirely local-led and executed by traditional artisans. Saul and Waterton seek to explore the relationship between materiality, antiquity, and authenticity from an indigenous standpoint so as to frame a Langtangpa (people of Langtang) notion of heritage. Heritage spaces in this context are used self-consciously to position oneself and to allow the past to come back to us in the present: the intensity and depth of heritage may "transport" some actors to a particular time and with associated modes of embodiment. Such local representations are timely for heritage policymaking in Nepal, which has seen an increase in ethnic politics in the last decade, as a counterbalance to centralized government authority. Their paper also resonates with recent critiques of dominant heritage narratives in its careful detailing of the ways in which a heritage landscape can be filled with embodied encounters and semiotic content, animated by the making, knowing, and doing of heritage, and thereby becoming a place replete with affective resonances and emotional affordances.

Heritage in its many forms and practices is not just a representation of the past; it is also a connection or a reconnection with the past that is active and alive in the present. And whereas official heritage is often highly materialized and monumental, with a tendency to presentism and an urge to legitimize identity and power, *reconnection* is a relatively new heritage, active in discovery and rediscovery, free from official gloss, and more gentle in its politics of belief, attachment, and participation. In this sense, it derives its motilities from individuals and communities who are affected and emotionally engaged with an object, a place, or an event that may not even be recognized or represented in the official-professional account of the past. *Steve Watson and Emma Waterton* work from this point of departure so as to delineate a heritage made in the present and for the future by people for whom the official version of national heritage is very much a thing of the past. They interrogate the proposition that local people in the north of England have formed communities of interest as active participants in making heritage in their own localities, often making connections with the distant prehistoric past that challenge official treatments of the sites concerned, or that reinvest forgotten places with an emotional resonance that breathes new life into them.

Stakeholder Challenges

In the 1970s the nascent field of UNESCO-influenced heritage management began to speak about a need for attention to "the public." Thus, the *Declaration of Amsterdam* (1975) stated that architectural heritage would survive only if appreciated by the public, and that educational programs should be developed toward that goal. The *UNESCO Nairobi Recommendation on the Participation by People at Large in Cultural Life and Their Contribution to It* (1976) advocated for "participation by the greatest number of people … [as] essential to the development of the basic human values and dignity of the individual [and] access by the people at large can be assured only if social and economic conditions are created that will enable them not only to enjoy the benefits of culture, but also to take an active part in overall cultural life and in the process of cultural development." That statement adumbrated current thinking about rights to/in cultural heritage (e.g., Ekern, Logan, Sauge, & Sinding-Larsen, 2012; Logan, 2012, 2014; Logan, Langfield, & Nic Craith, 2010; Silverman & Ruggles, 2007; Weiss, 2014). The *ICOMOS Canada Deschambault Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage* (1982) was explicit in claiming that the public has a right to participate in decisions about the national heritage. The 1987 revision of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* caught up with these ideas stating in Paragraph 31: "In view of the effects which the entry of a town in the World Heritage List could have on its future … [i]nformed awareness on the part of the population concerned, without whose active participation any conservation scheme would be impractical, is also essential." ICOMOS New Zealand's *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value* (1992) argued that indigenous

people have a role in the care and protection of their cultural heritage and must be involved in decision making about cultural property, regardless of legal ownership. By the late 1980s, throughout the 1990s, and into the present the field of archaeology, in particular, has been at the forefront of community engagement advocacy, as exemplified by the World Archaeological Congress' implementation of "community-based participatory research" (e.g., Atalay, 2010) in many projects, and as seen in publications such as Shackel and Chambers (2004), Smith and Waterton (2009), and Little and Shackel (2007, 2014). In 2005 the *Operational Guidelines* explicitly referred to "participation by a wide variety of stakeholders" including "local communities" and the World Heritage Committee has demonstrated an increasing concern with this principle. But stakeholder *cum* community claims to heritage and its spaces are not monolithic nor unproblematic. There may be unintended consequences and all manner of political pitfalls and cultural controversy—as we see in the chapters comprising this section of the volume.

The town of San Basilio de Palenque, in Colombia, was proclaimed "Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" by UNESCO in 2005. *Maria Fernanda Escallón* analyzes how rights discourse has been appropriated by intellectual elites in this Afro-descendant town to solidify social, symbolic, and political distinctions. She argues that rights discourse has become a valued resource for local elites that has further entrenched social exclusion and forged new forms of inequality between Palenqueros. Entrenchment of difference and the creation of elitism are evidence of heritage's limitation to foster inclusiveness and equality. Given the increasing attention that rights rhetoric receives in current heritage scholarship, her contribution is timely in its ethnographic examination of how heritage-based rights talk may be used locally as an element of segregation.

Helen Human interrogates the case of the Haci Bektaş-ı Veli Complex in central Anatolia. In 2012, Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism began the process of nominating the complex—run as a state museum but the most sacred and significant site of worship for Alevis, a historically rural Muslim minority—to the UNESCO World Heritage List. Turkey has long tried to assimilate the Alevis in an effort to shape a homogenous, ethnically Turkish and Sunni Muslim citizenry. Human argues that the state is seeking to strategically deploy Haci Bektaş, a medieval Sufi mystic and patron saint of the Alevis, as a Turkish humanist at the forefront of a modern, universal human rights doctrine. At the same time, however, Turkey has violated the human rights of Alevis, and other minority groups (notoriously, the Kurds), within its borders. As Human explains, the Haci Bektaş-ı Veli heritage site sits awkwardly at the intersection of human rights celebration and violation. Human considers the ethics of World Heritage nomination in conflictual contexts, tracing the role of heritage in the interplay of social inclusion and exclusion in Turkey and beyond.

Denis Byrne examines migration heritage in the form of the arrival of new stakeholders—Vietnamese and Arab immigrants—in an established cultural landscape: an Australian national park where they seek to make their own heritage while maintaining the cultural heritage that was formulated in their homeland. Byrne adopts the theory of place-making in examining the way that immigrant communities have expressed a sense of themselves in a new place and he interrogates the

challenges this has posed for the authorities whose conventional sense of place is disrupted by their arrival. This case of mutual misunderstanding opens the way for an incisive critique of multiculturalism's "unity in diversity" ethos as a way of accommodating cultural difference without threatening those in a privileged position.

Memories of War

Paul Ricoeur (2004) elegantly raised some of the most critical issues in the relationship between heritage and memory: *Who* decides *how* societies will *remember which* events, and *which* will be chosen to be *forgotten*? Will the collective (i.e., public) memory and remembrance of events conflict with a narrative of celebrations obligated by a state? How do we overcome the authoritative bias of tradition? Which traditions shall be kept and which shall be modified or even shunned? In effect, how do we come to grips with the past? Or, quoting Ricouer directly: "the problematical nature of the past's manner of persevering in the present" (2004, p. 391).

War, by definition, minimally implies two sides and thus, by definition, memories of war will be contested, difficult, and dissonant. How to commemorate, what to remember, and what to forget as well as what to physically conserve or deliberately destroy become fraught practices as individual memory becomes enveloped in group memory and group memory is scaled up to the national level and its various authoritative offices. Connerton (1989) is especially effective in calling attention to the incorporated or embodied practices that enable memory—recollections of the past that are conveyed and perpetuated through bodily acts and ritual performances. We see this play out in *David Harvey's* consideration of the productive and mobile nostalgia surrounding Britain's commemoration of the First World War, linking it to the dynamic production of heritage. Nostalgia is important in heritage as one of the ways in which societies engage with their past. Nostalgia is mediated and constructed and it drives the creation of new heritage forms and practices. Of interest, says Harvey, are the debates about the proper form of commemoration, the commemorative processes, as well as the conflicts around them. Harvey illustrates the scalar context of heritage processes and how heritage rhetoric has been deployed to legitimate the state as it "curates" the event for public consumption and infiltrates everyday life.

Indeed, as much as Hewison (1987) identified "the heritage industry," we are clearly also in the midst of a "memory industry." Just as "heritage" is bandied about as seemingly everything is worthy of being heritagized, so, it appears, we feel an obligation to remember rather than ignore. Benton, for instance, observes "the importance now given to the role of memory in identifying what is important in society" (2010, p. 1). And even if not memorialized in physical form or enacted through some gesture, we—in the West at least—seem obsessed with the generation of Nora's (1989) *sites* of memory in the absence of *milieux de mémoire*—the real, lived environments of memory, where memory was a part of everyday life. Objects

can readily fulfill the constitution of sites of memory, including those material remains undeliberately left behind. *Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto and Suzie Thomas* consider how different communities, whether in situ, online, or united by a particular hobby or interest, relate to a past that may be difficult or painful to reconcile. Do these encounters with difficult heritage lead to exploitation, indifference, destruction, or other even more diverse responses? The authors focus on communities in far northern Finland where different groups, both locally and via online encounters, have chosen to engage with (or not to engage) the physical remains left by German activity in Lapland during the Second World War. They analyze the multiple ways in which multiple groups of "users" (including tourists, local residents, and hobbyist treasure hunters) attend to the tangible World War II remains on the landscape. These groups respond differently to this "dark" heritage and in so doing generate their own connections and reconnections with the past, and in so doing a "phenomenon of 'memory places' is constituted" (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 41).

Urban Contexts

As the chapters contributing to the above theme illustrate, much has been written about the subject of remembering, drawing upon the relationship between heritage, memory, and place. Interestingly, this line of thinking often settles on the processes of absorbing memories via engagements with the built environs of urban contexts, which tend to be punctuated with memorials, monuments, and other signs of the past. This focus on the materiality of memory, embedded in urban settings, has been crucial to underlining the point that the individual is not, and will never be, the "sole province of remembering" (Trigg, 2012, p. 71). The central thrust of our theme "urban contexts" progresses this position by focusing upon the materiality of heritage, and thus the *placing* of heritage narratives and the *spatiality* of those narratives in the thick atmosphere of the built environment (Nora, 1989; see also Trigg, 2012). We focus on the "urban" because of the unique physical and cultural presence such settings have in contemporary culture and touristic spaces, in which numerous heritage objects, sites, experiences, and buildings are embedded into everyday materialities, and where spatial productions, objects, and places are recognized as heritage because they are attributed as such by professional or expert powers attending to the provision of urban services and economic activity. The urban context is thus one in which we can study various patterns of movement, whether in the form of people enacting their lives in different cultural spaces, or in the distribution of spaces of heritage across a cityscape and its various connections at regional, national, and global levels.

This focus is commenced in the chapter provided by *Kalliopi Fouseki and Maria Shehade*, in which they present a new take on the Acropolis Museum in Athens. Attention to the Acropolis has focused on the repatriation of the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum. Fouseki and Shehade, in contrast, are interested in what happened to the neighborhood that was impacted by the new Acropolis Museum,

explicitly designed to receive the marbles or to reveal their continuing absence. Fouseki and Shehade discovered a bitter property rights conflict over the construction of the new museum in terms of archaeological land and residential land. This conflict emerged when authorities announced the decision to demolish the 1950s' blocks of flats (apartments) as well as the listed neoclassical and Art Deco buildings surrounding the site of the new museum so as to enhance the environment of the museum and provide uninterrupted views towards the Acropolis Hill. The long-lasting and intensive debates that ensued demonstrate how the Acropolis Museum formed an arena for "heritage activism" where a diverse range of interest groups (including architects, archaeologists, local residents, local societies) fought against the official and authoritarian decision.

Lama Said and Yomna Borg appreciate cultural heritage as the outcome of a dynamic process, consisting of the interplay of varying factors including socioeconomic statuses, business interests, and cultural contexts. This results in conflicting perceptions of heritage. As such, heritage conservation needs to take into account variant understandings of heritage as their reconciliation is vital for its sustainable management. The built heritage of Alexandria, Egypt, exemplifies these points. It has been facing a wave of degradation and destruction (which has significantly intensified since the 2011 revolution), with over 30 listed buildings being demolished in the past 3 years (as of 2014). Conflicting perceptions of the value of built heritage are a key cause. Interestingly, however, whereas heritage professionals in Alexandria express the belief that the public does not value modern heritage, protest stands were organized by a pressure group so as to save Alexandria's built heritage. This movement, *Save Alex*, constitutes a remarkable "heritage in action." Said and Borg's pioneering field survey into different public perceptions of Alexandria's built heritage serves as a starting point towards the formulation of a sustainable management plan for Alexandria's fast-degrading built heritage. Its larger value lies in its emphasis of the perceived community value this—or any—material repertoire must have in order for it to be saved and sustained.

New Mobilities

In this section we find the theme that most literally aligns with the volume's title—it is about movement, after all; but our purpose is to point also to a more nuanced understanding of "action" and thus position mobility, to borrow from Urry (2007), as something that is both a central and significant part of everyday life—both in the past and in the present. To signal this alignment with the work of Urry, we have adopted the theme "new mobilities," which we position at the conceptual intersection between heritage studies, tourism and geography, and a shared interest in mobility and fixity, or the movement of people, information, ideas, and things into and out of heritage places (Merriman, 2009; see also Cresswell, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007). Despite the affix of "new," it is important to note that the mobilities paradigm is interested in both historical and contemporary experiences,

as well as both microscale and institutional levels of movement (Cresswell, 2012). Such movement is never devoid of power and politics, and in the chapters that cluster against this theme readers will find engagements with marginalization, privilege, inclusion, and immobilization. They also will find concerted efforts to move beyond an Anglo-American focus, bringing to bear on such debates perspectives from Laos, Thailand, South Korea, Italy, and Vietnam, as well as from the virtual world.

Not too long ago Luang Prabang was a Laotian town comprised of distinct villages, each with an economic specialization and each devoted to the maintenance of its local Buddhist temple. But through massive attention from the tourism industry, a UNESCO listing, and policy changes in the government, Luang Prabang has become a very different kind of place. *Russell Staiff and Robyn Bushell*, long-time observers of Luang Prabang, recognize a "world of things" animated by movement, dynamism, spiritual energy, and change. Heritage, officially constructed around the beautifully built environment, is also active and mobile with diverse segments of tourists and residents doing things *to*, *as* and *with* heritage. New heritages and heritage claims are being constructed among the Lao and foreign residents, both permanent and transitory.

Helaine Silverman apprehends "strategic deployment" in its most literal sense, calling attention to the mobilization of heritage in iconic international airports where it affirms the identity of domestic travelers and projects a positive, albeit past-looking, image of the country to be taken abroad. She explores Suvarnabhumi (Bangkok) and Incheon (Seoul) airports as a new space for the exhibition and performance of cultural heritage, offering "heritage on the go" to the domestic and international tourist. She argues that acts of "heritage on the go" are a response to globalization's hypermobility whereby countries undertake an abbreviated heritage scripting that is readily consumed and easily transported (re-territorialized). Conceptually, "heritage on the go" opens a new space for critical inquiry into tourism and heritage. It can be applied to other officially sanctioned performances and installations of heritage that are distilled to their most iconic representations and intended to be rapidly consumed. Of particular interest is where these rapid distillations take place and who authorizes them.

Food is one of the most conservative aspects of a community's culture (along with burial patterns). But with migration and globalization food has become highly mobile. It travels the globe and is representationally very active. *Michael Di Giovine, Jonathan Mabry, and Teresita Majewski* observe in Italy, the USA, and Vietnam that food and food-based festivals are deployed within broader preservation initiatives to emotionally, socially, and even physically move diverse groups of stakeholders into favorable and productive engagements with each other. Food is reinvented, reconceptualized, and, in certain cases, recultivated after years of being out of favor. And as foodstuffs move through space in their communities of origin and circulate abroad, food creates tourist imaginaries and associations that serve to put these places on the map. In this mix, heritage and heritage tourism can positively impact local communities economically and also sustain, reorient, and re-center the identity and values of communities, particularly those struggling in the context of globalization and modernization.

The potential of the Internet to generate, disseminate, and stimulate the discussion of ideas and information is becoming more and more apparent. *Trinidad Rico* engages the global turn towards more technologically advanced approaches to heritage preservation and management and its drawbacks in her chapter exploring the promise of "alternative" heritage values. She moves beyond the current concerns of digital heritage scholarship (such as open access and archiving norms) to pose the important questions of who is constructing heritage, how it is being done methodologically, and what agendas are in play. Thus, she addresses not just the user of heritage as a product, but also the user of the processes—the methodological approaches—that construct specific heritage forms and their agendas.

Conclusion: An Active Heritage

In *Heritage in Action*, each author has contributed vital and persuasive insights about a sense of the past that is rooted or significant in everyday life, thereby affording a different register of engagement and encounter than might be triggered by heritage that is institutionalized or commercial. Collectively, the authors have highlighted the palpable energy and dynamism of heritage, its colorful chaos, so to speak, which allows us to confidently label it as something that is subjective, emergent, and performative. Communities of place, communities of identity, and communities of interest make this understanding of the past relevant to people's lives in the present. This is not the heritage of the nation-state; it is not the heritage of the professional, the archaeologist, or the curator. Rather, it is the heritage that is made from whatever locally significant assets can be marshalled into some local landscape of meaning and shared among willing (and often eager) participants. We have seen that *who* makes the decision about *what* heritage is valid and *which* is investment-worthy is a fraught issue. The de-romanticized, dynamic heritage presented in this volume reveals a pressing need for engagement between heritage theorists, heritage practitioners, and communities. With its healthy balance of theory and empiricism we hope that this volume will generate debate and open the possibility of a new agenda in heritage studies that more overtly emphasizes its active and participatory nature. We propose that the future of heritage lies in its expediency, and in its ability to do productive work.

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Part II
Making and Remaking Heritage

Chapter 2
The Case for Ethical Guidelines: Preventing Conflict in the Selection of World Heritage Sites

Michael Angelo Liwanag

Introduction

The basis for inscribing a cultural or natural heritage site on the UNESCO World Heritage List (henceforth the List), as well as the selection process that leads to that inscription, is clearly defined by the World Heritage Convention, officially known as the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (henceforth the Convention), and its manual, the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (henceforth the Operational Guidelines). The latter was first drafted in 1977 by the World Heritage Committee (henceforth the Committee) which has since revised it multiple times to better implement the Convention. The selection process involves the Committee assessing nominations to the List submitted by States Parties (states that have ratified the Convention) and bestowing the World Heritage designation on a site if it satisfies at least one of the ten inscription criteria (UNESCO World Heritage Centre [WHC], 2013a).

Both the Convention and the Operational Guidelines, however, still do not have parameters that can help the Committee decide on ethically challenging nominations. In particular, there are no guidelines for deliberating on nominated sites involved in sovereignty disputes or hampered by protests. The Convention's only text regarding disputes between States Parties stipulates that "the inclusion of a property situated in a territory, sovereignty or jurisdiction over which is claimed by more than one State shall in no way prejudice the rights of the parties to the dispute" (Article 11, Para. 3)—a simple assertion that inscription of the property should not affect any contested aspect of it. There is no mention of how to approach such contestations as the inscription criteria and selection process both lack the framework

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for addressing sites that are embroiled in political disputes (Galis, 2009). Furthermore, there are no guidelines that can aid the Committee when deliberating on whether or not site inscription, in the absence of any dispute or protest, can lead to conflict with other States Parties or the disadvantage of certain segments of society. Therefore, if a site meets the existing criteria but its nomination is encumbered by a dispute, protest, or discernible potential for conflict, on what basis should the Committee make its decision?

As this chapter will show, the lack of guidelines to help the Committee decide on such ethically challenging nominations has led to conflict, even within the Committee itself. For this reason, I propose that ethical guidelines augment the existing criteria for the selection of World Heritage sites in order to help prevent conflict, both within and outside the Committee. Ethical guidelines in this context do not refer to a code of personal conduct directed at individuals in the Committee. Rather, as all heritage designation criteria are based on certain values (De la Torre, 2005), they are guidelines rooted in ethical principles that reflect the values a site must possess in order to deserve the World Heritage designation. Ethical principles in this case refer to statements regarding the state of being needed to fulfill these values, which in turn correspond to courses of action (Cooper, 1998).

The inscription criteria prescribed in the Operational Guidelines are already configured to determine if a site possesses an Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)[1] to all humanity. In this chapter, I argue that augmenting the inscription criteria with guidelines based on ethical principles can help the Committee arrive more consistently at judicious decisions on ethically challenging nominations, thereby helping prevent conflict. I present three case studies to explore whether such guidelines are necessary, feasible, operable, and enforceable given the current site selection structure and process. My focus is on the potential of ethical guidelines to prevent conflict on an international level, i.e., between States Parties.

Ethics of Substance and Consequence

Nominations are evaluated by the Committee's Advisory Bodies, namely the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), which then give their recommendations for each site (UNESCO WHC, 2013a). The final decision belongs to the Committee, officially known as the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Formed in 1977, it is composed of 21 States Parties (Member States) elected to six-year terms, which each member is encouraged to voluntarily limit to four years ((UNESCO WHC, 2013a). Member States then appoint individuals to represent them at the yearly

[1] Outstanding Universal Value is defined as "cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO WHC, 2013a, Para. 49).

session for deliberating on nominations. As the task of periodically defining the inscription criteria also rests with the Committee (UNESCO WHC, 2013a), it bears the crucial responsibility of staying true to the Convention as it continually interprets the World Heritage concept.

During the Committee's evaluation process, I posit that an ethical assessment of two critical aspects of a nominated site be conducted—first, what the site exemplifies or represents, which I refer to as the site's substance, and second, the possible consequences if it is inscribed on the List. This procedure of conducting ethical assessments of substance and consequence, as well as courses of appropriate action for the Committee to take, are what should be codified into a set of ethical guidelines.

The answers to both ethical assessments may be reached by addressing certain types of questions. For instance, with regard to substance, if the nominated site is a representation of human behavior that is deemed unacceptable, sometimes categorized as "negative heritage" (Meskell, 2002), does the nomination sufficiently promote the site as an expression of behavior that should never be repeated? Also, if a site is nominated as a representation of outstanding human achievement, was this achievement attained at the expense of other States Parties or particular segments of society? Regarding possible consequences, will inscribing the site initiate or exacerbate disputes between States Parties, ethnic groups, or religious factions? Will inscription place particular segments of society at a disadvantage?

It may be easy to assume that the answers to these questions need not be arrived at through proper ethical assessments, that the Committee's decisions will always be made with some form of ethical basis, and that politics will not unduly influence any outcomes. Without a codified set of ethical guidelines, however, there is no guarantee that the basis for decisions concerning ethically challenging nominations will be the same each time the Committee deliberates.

Ethically Challenging Nominations

To better understand how the substance and inscription of a site can cause discord, three ethically challenging nominations involving States Parties in varying diplomatic relations shall be reviewed. A basic formulation of an ethical guideline is offered in each case to demonstrate the potential of such a measure in preventing conflict in the site selection process.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial

The USA and Japan were enjoying decades of close relations when the latter submitted the nomination entitled "Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)," which features the building symbolizing the devastation caused by the atomic bomb dropped by the former on the city in 1945. Although ICOMOS (1996) supported Japan's justification and recommended approval of the site because it exemplified

"the achievement of world peace following the unleashing of the most destructive force ever created by humanity" (p. 117), the USA strongly protested as its inscription without the context of World War II events prior to the bomb's use would reflect an anti-American representation of history (Beazley, 2007). Intense arguments ensued within the Committee to the point that "the memorial that should have symbolized peace became again a political battleground as various groups ascribed various values to the site" (Omland, 2006, p. 253).

Japan's justification and the USA's concerns were arguably both valid. This underscores the need for ethical guidelines when considering such war-related sites as former combatants often have differing interpretations of history. Additionally, that the Committee approved the nomination in 1996 despite its decision in 1979 to no longer include sites commemorating human suffering after inscribing the Auschwitz Birkenau Concentration Camp in Poland (UNESCO WHC, 1979) shows that the absence of such guidelines can result in backtracking from previous rulings. Conflict may have been prevented had there been an ethical guideline, for instance, that precludes the Committee from conferring World Heritage status on sites with disputed histories unless such contestations are satisfactorily resolved by the States Parties involved prior to submitting nominations. Such a guideline addressing a site's substance can incentivize States Parties to work together in reconciling interpretations of history, or at least use nomination language acceptable to all concerned. Without it, the door is open for nominations that can bring into conflict States Parties with differing accounts of historical events.

The Jerusalem Nominations

Unlike the Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Jerusalem was already the subject of an age-old struggle with both Israel and Palestine claiming sovereignty over the city. The dispute notwithstanding, Jordan, which for a previous period had governed East Jerusalem, nominated the city in 1980 (UNESCO WHC, 1980). ICOMOS subsequently recommended approval of the nomination, entitled "Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls" provided that six sites significant to Jewish traditions be included in its scope (ICOMOS, 1981). At the Committee's extraordinary session in 1981 to address the nomination, the USA seconded Israel's request to be present given that the latter was the de facto state administering Jerusalem. The Committee Chairman ruled against Israel's attendance, however, as it had not yet ratified the Convention at the time. Jordan then acceded to the inclusion of the six Jewish sites and, despite vehement objections by the USA based on Para. 3 of Article 11 of the Convention, which states that the permission of the nation concerned is a prerequisite for the inscription of a nominated site, the nomination was approved (UNESCO WHC, 1981).

In 2000, Israel in turn submitted a nomination entitled "Jerusalem—the Old City and Ramparts to include Mount Zion" as an extension to the property already inscribed (UNESCO WHC, n.d. a). As it included areas within Palestine's claimed

capital, the Palestinian Authority and the League of Arab States condemned the initiative as an attempt by Israel to assert sovereignty (Aziz, 2003). During its 25th Session in 2001, the Committee decided to "postpone further consideration of this nomination proposal until an agreement on the status of the City of Jerusalem in conformity with International Law is reached" (UNESCO WHC, 2001, p. 57). The Committee essentially acknowledged that approving the Jerusalem nomination could lead to violence and advised the disputing parties to resolve the matter (Galis, 2009)—a direct contrast to its ruling on Jordan's nomination 20 years earlier.

This case illustrates how Committee rulings on a single site involved in the same ongoing dispute can still be inconsistent. The temporary nature of the Committee's constituency means that the values and political persuasions influencing its decisions will differ as its membership changes. Even if a Member State serves for multiple terms, its stance on issues could still shift as its policy makers come and go. Indeed, the Committee's cautionary ruling on the latter Jerusalem nomination showed a grasp of the dire consequences of inscribing a bitterly contested property. However, a similarly volatile site—Preah Vihear, the temple long-disputed by Cambodia and Thailand—was inscribed just seven years later, resulting in deadly clashes between the two States Parties (Silverman, 2011a). This highlights the need for consistency in the Committee's decisions.

In both nominations, Jerusalem's substance was never in question. All parties agreed that the city deserved World Heritage status. The differing decisions, however, demonstrate what can happen without a codified ethical assessment of possible inscription consequences. Inconsistency and conflict may have been avoided had there been an ethical guideline, for example, that directs the Committee not to accept nominations of territorially contested properties until the dispute has been resolutely settled by the States Parties involved through means that are acceptable to the Committee and all concerned, *and* if no foreseeable violent consequences shall arise after inscription. Such a guideline can help prevent conflict by encouraging States Parties to settle any territorial rows prior to submitting nominations, and by deterring the pursuit of the World Heritage designation to bolster sovereignty claims.

The Meiji Industrial Revolution Sites

The 23 sites included in Japan's 2014 nomination entitled "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining" were presented to the Committee as a single cluster that drove Japan's modernization during the Bakumatsu and Meiji eras, particularly from 1853 to 1910. Justified as a representation of the first industrial modernization by a non-Western state and achieved in a considerably short period at that, the nomination effectively exhibited OUV based on ICOMOS' evaluation and subsequently received the recommendation for inscription (ICOMOS, 2015).

One of the sites in the cluster, the Nagasaki Shipyard's facilities operated by Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, is notable not just for its pivotal role during the Meiji industrial revolution, but also because here Japan's warships were built in the years leading up to and during World War II ("Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Inc.," 2001). At the time these warships were being constructed, Japan had already annexed Korea and is purported to have used Korean citizens as workers in its industrial facilities (Morris-Suzuki, Low, Petrov, & Tsu, 2013). As these places were alleged venues for forced labor, the Nagasaki Shipyard and other component sites of the nomination drew protests from South Korea (Sung, 2013). On the other hand, Japan maintained that its government was never involved in the mobilization of laborers by Japanese companies during the war (Underwood, 2008), while the Japanese consortium promoting the nomination had for its part organized activities and invited experts to study the issue (Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi to Inscription on the World Heritage, n.d.).

This case required an ethical assessment of both substance and consequence. The historical role of a component site elicited protests from another State Party even though the purported events drawing the objection occurred after the time period for which it was being nominated. And despite having close trade relations, this was not the first time that Japan and Korea had quarrelled over war-related issues such that any new dispute could ignite conflict on a wider scale (Kristof, 1998). As I had advocated prior to ICOMOS' evaluation of this case (Liwanag, 2014), such a complex situation need not lead to conflict if there is an ethical guideline, for instance, that directs the Committee to receive the nomination of a site satisfactorily proven to have been involved in both outstanding human achievement and improper human behavior at different times in its existence *only* if both aspects (positive and negative) are sufficiently made part of the site's representation—regardless of the aspect for which it is being nominated. After all, the aim of codifying ethical guidelines is not to discourage the nomination of sites posing ethical dilemmas, but rather to encourage States Parties to resolve any ethically ambiguous aspects of their nominations prior to submitting them, or at least prior to the Committee's deliberations.

Despite the Advisory Bodies being tasked to assess nominations based solely on the existing criteria, ICOMOS eventually advised the nominating State Party (Japan) to arrange an "interpretive strategy" that "allows an understanding of the full history of each site" (ICOMOS, 2015, p. 103)—arguably an attempt to address the ethical issues involved. Had the proposed ethical guideline been in place, ICOMOS' resorting to such extraordinary efforts need not have been warranted. Indeed, the benefit of prior resolution of conflict over a site nomination was reaped by Japan and South Korea as both countries opted to settle the issue just before the Committee's 39th Session in 2015 (Higashioka & Matsui, 2015). Japan pledged to acknowledge the plight of Korean and other forced laborers in the sites' representation. South Korea pledged to vote for inscription of the Japanese sites, and the nomination was subsequently approved without acrimony in the meeting (UNESCO, 2015). Moreover, had ethical guidelines providing the framework for deciding on ethically challenging issues existed, bypassing Committee deliberations—as requested by the Chairperson for this nomination (UNESCO, 2015)—might not have been necessary.

Necessity

The inscription process is already deemed problematic by some as "selection is subject to political pressures, and is not solely determined by the ten criteria" (Frey & Steiner, 2011, p. 560). Even Francesco Bandarin, Director of the World Heritage Centre, remarked that "inscription has become a political issue. It's about prestige, publicity and economic development" (Henley, 2001, Para. 16). As Meskell (2012) notes, this politicking was apparent during the Committee's 35th Session in 2011 as Member States overturned 22 of the Advisory Bodies' 35 recommendations, and "long-standing political allegiances and new socioeconomic alliances were key factors in voting trends" (p. 145). Meskell further reports that the intense lobbying by States Parties for their nominations hindered relevant discussions about the sites' qualifications, while the questioning of the Advisory Bodies' competency and the inscription process itself by some Member States, together with the hasty approval of nominations lacking the prescribed requirements, even led to talk that the Convention's demise was imminent.

The similar pattern Meskell observed at the 34th Session the year before, wherein the Committee inscribed 21 sites despite the Advisory Bodies recommending only 10, prompted *The Economist* to write that "the UN agency is bending its own rules under pressure from member states" (2010, Para. 3), and to conclude about UNESCO that "in its care for precious places, the UN cultural agency is torn between its own principles and its members' wishes; the principles are losing ground" (Para. 1). This deviation from the selection process is seen by ICOMOS President Gustavo Araoz as the Committee's desire for less rigors in determining a site's OUV and more leniency in the preconditions for inscription ("ICOMOS report," 2010). For the sake of the Convention's future, however, Araoz stresses the need for "consideration of the working methods of the Committee itself" (p. 3)—a prudent suggestion given the influx of complex nominations from States Parties eager to capitalize politically and economically on the World Heritage designation.

Arguably contributing to the inconsistent decisions and political pressuring that occur during the site selection process are certain provisions of the *Rules for Procedure of the World Heritage Committee* (henceforth the Rules). For example, the Rules (UNESCO WHC, 2013b) allow the Committee to hold private meetings the records of which need not be publicized for 20 years (Rule 19.3)—long after the terms of the involved Member States and their representatives are finished. Secret balloting may also be used to vote on decisions through the request of just two Member States or the decision of the Chairperson (Rule 41), and Member States may decide by simple majority on matters that they deem are outside the Rules or the Convention (Rule 38.2). Although private meetings and secret balloting may provide anonymity to Member States wishing to escape political pressure, these stipulations diminish accountability as well—a situation conducive to politicking. Furthermore, free reign in interpreting ethically ambiguous issues not covered by the Convention is left to a Committee that, because of its temporary membership, is constantly changing.

The unrelenting politicization of the Convention and its implementation (Burke, 2012) is further complicated by the prevalence of "contested cultural heritage," an occurrence Silverman (2011b) attributes to parties that exploit cultural heritage, be it others' or theirs, either to establish or refute political, territorial, or historical claims. Silverman argues that a group promoting its own heritage will likely run into conflict as "all groups can claim what otherwise would be the heritage of others, supported, when necessary, by differing degrees of argumentation and historical legitimacy" (p. 24). The possibility of selective legitimization of history to promote nominations was acknowledged as a detriment to the Convention by the Committee itself as early as its third session in 1979, when it professed that "nominations concerning, in particular, historical events or famous people could be strongly influenced by nationalism or other particularisms in contradiction with the objectives of the World Heritage Convention" (UNESCO WHC, 1979, p. 9).

Contested sites form just one of many types of ethically challenging nominations. The creation of nature reserves that negatively impact local inhabitants is another example. For instance, a number of inscriptions have led to the eviction of indigenous people after the establishment of protected areas (Disko, 2010). That several types of nominated sites continue to cause conflict because of their substance or as a consequence of their inscription indicates that the existing inscription criteria need the support of conflict prevention measures. As the nominations analyzed in this chapter demonstrate, heritage sites will continue to be coveted and contested by States Parties, whether through territory, cultural identity, or versions of history, resulting in various forms of conflict.

Feasibility

The similar need to address ethically challenging issues in their fields prompted major international organizations such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO; UNWTO, 1999), International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC; IFRC, n.d.), and World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (WANGO; WANGO, n.d.) to create ethical codes. UNESCO itself felt it necessary in 1999 to enact the International Code of Ethics for Dealers in Cultural Property (ICEDCP; UNESCO, 1999) to protect objects that could be referred to as the movable counterparts of World Heritage sites. In 2002, UNESCO eventually designated ethics as a top five priority area in recognition of the need to integrate ethical initiatives in the organization's workings (Ten Have, 2006). As its Ethics Office points out, "implementing a system of ethics based on principles" is necessary because "rules and regulations can never cover every possible scenario" (UNESCO, n.d., "Why does UNESCO need an Ethics Office?" Para. 1). UNESCO Director-General Irina Bokova herself has pushed for a culture of ethics which she considers essential if UNESCO is to achieve meaningful reforms (UNESCO Ethics Office, 2011). Even the Advisory Bodies have for decades seen the need to base sustainable conservation strategies on ethical principles (IUCN, n.d.),

enact declarations of ethical commitment for their constituency (ICOMOS, 2002), and devise internationally agreed-upon ethical standards for conservation practice (ICCROM, n.d.).

A basic examination of the ethical codes and structures of the UNWTO, IFRC, WANGO, and even UNESCO reveals the following underpinning elements that help determine their effectiveness.

(a) An organization with an extensive international membership: a global reach can better establish ethical guidelines.
(b) A foundation in an internationally ratified convention: adherence to ethical guidelines rooted in and created to augment a widely accepted convention will likely be more justifiable.
(c) An international committee permanently tasked to oversee operations: a dedicated agency will likely have the resources to sustain its implementation.
(d) A capability to form and maintain expert working groups to conduct feasibility studies and draw up ethical guidelines: the best international experts will likely produce more representative and credible results.

Of the four ethical codes reviewed, only the structure supporting UNESCO's ICEDCP has all the above-mentioned fundamental elements present. The feasibility study by O'Keefe (1994) that led to its creation concludes that such a code "provides guidance especially in ethically ambiguous situations," recommends appropriate actions, and is "morally binding on the members of the group" (p. 44). O'Keefe's report also recognizes that ethical codes usually develop because of the insufficiency of existing rules and are beneficial as they can circumvent cumbersome and costly interventions by governing bodies. This is an important characteristic given that producing a World Heritage site nomination can take several years and amount to millions of dollars (Meskell, 2012). All the other structures have at least one element missing: the UNWTO's Global Code of Ethics for Tourism is not based on a convention; the IFRC's Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Disaster Relief is not managed by a dedicated agency; and WANGO's Code of Ethics and Conduct for NGOs is neither founded on a convention nor overseen by a committee. These factors, together with the absence in each of the mechanisms to enforce compliance, arguably contribute to operational limitations.

Conversely, just like the ICEDCP, UNESCO's World Heritage site selection structure currently possesses all four basic elements, and further builds on them as follows: (a) it is founded on the World Heritage Convention, one of the world's most widely accepted international agreements with 191 States Parties as of 2014, and potentially gains from parallel UNESCO regimes such as the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, as well as the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity; (b) it has the World Heritage Committee to permanently implement the Convention and its Operational Guidelines, as well as the World Heritage Centre to render administrative support; and (c) it has on

numerous occasions formed expert subcommittees, such as the World Heritage Reform Groups (UNESCO WHC, 2000), to study how to improve its functions.

No major changes to the current site selection structure are therefore necessary for the creation and sustainable implementation of ethical guidelines as UNESCO's vast membership, accepted conventions, and dedicated agencies are already in place. Additionally, enacting such guidelines heeds the call to employ ethical initiatives in attaining sustainability and harmony amid the new millennium's globalization processes, particularly regarding international agreements (Earth Dialogues Forum, 2002). This in turn is in line with the Committee's 2010 decision to look into revising the Operational Guidelines to incorporate sustainable development initiatives for the future of the Convention (UNESCO WHC, 2010), and also in accordance with the established preambles of UNESCO's Executive Board which acknowledge "the essential role of ethical principles and values in UNESCO's mandate" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 50).

Operability and Enforceability

During the pioneering Earth Dialogues Forum organized in 2002 by renowned political figure Mikhail Gorbachev and leading environmentalist Maurice Strong, making ethics operable in international institutions was identified as the key challenge to sustainable development, particularly because "most global governance bodies have little enforcement capacity" and the majority "lack the teeth to ensure compliance" (Earth Dialogues Forum, 2002, p. 5). The IFRC's ethical code, for instance, has yielded mixed results as adherence has not been made mandatory among its members (Walker, 2005); it lacks mechanisms to verify both compliance and noncompliance—a weakness the IFRC itself acknowledges (Lloyd & de las Casas, 2005). UNESCO's ICEDCP and the ethical codes of the UNWTO and WANGO, just like most such guidelines, are only morally binding as well. Indeed, such codes are difficult to consistently enforce given the structure in which they operate—how can a cultural property dealer, tourist, or an NGO in an isolated location be monitored for unethical actions? Noncompliance in such situations can at most be reported after the fact and, since compliance is not mandatory, levying any sanctions cannot be justified. Even if compliance to such codes was made mandatory, virtually nonexistent are enforcement mechanisms extensive enough to constantly monitor all the constituents of a global organization or industry.

The distinction of the ethical guidelines proposed in this chapter is that they are operable and enforceable. The World Heritage designation is sought by States Parties for all manner of reasons, and awarding this designation is already contingent on States Parties' nominations satisfying the existing inscription criteria. Because the proposed ethical guidelines are meant to augment the existing criteria, they strengthen the Committee's position in ensuring that States Parties adhere to the preconditions for inscription. In other words, the Committee possesses the ulti-

mate bargaining chip in ensuring that the guidelines are followed: if a State Party does not comply, then the Committee does not inscribe the nominated site. Because States Parties want the World Heritage designation, however, it is in their best interest to formulate nominations that will conform to both the existing criteria *and* the ethical guidelines. The developments that led to the peaceful resolution of the Meiji Industrial Revolution nomination exemplify this point. On the Committee's side, consistent implementation of the guidelines will also be beneficial as they provide a much needed framework for deciding on ethically challenging nominations.

This mutually reinforcing dynamic is strengthened further by the unique structure of the site selection process for States Parties worldwide are the ones who come to the Committee, not the other way around; they submit their nominations at an appointed time for an assessment process knowing that only the Committee can award the World Heritage designation. This process, wherein the proposed ethical assessments are to be included, needs to only take place once. If a nomination is approved, the Operational Guidelines' established system of site monitoring will take effect, and complete with mechanisms for removing sites from the List should their States Parties fail to protect the values for which they were inscribed (UNESCO WHC, n.d. b). The Committee therefore need not run after States Parties for the proposed ethical guidelines to be operable and enforceable.

Conclusion

As the cases and issues examined in this chapter show, ethical guidelines are necessary to help prevent conflict arising from ethically challenging nominations, particularly between States Parties both within and outside the Committee. Ethical guidelines are feasible given that the current site selection structure already possesses crucial elements conducive to their creation and sustainable implementation, and doing so coincides with the mandates of both UNESCO and the Committee itself. Finally, ethical guidelines are operable and enforceable because the Committee, being the sole source of the World Heritage designation, possesses the necessary leverage to ensure compliance from all States Parties submitting nominations. Enacting such guidelines to augment the existing inscription criteria is therefore a justifiable conflict-prevention measure.

The only vital component needed to make ethical guidelines a reality for the selection of UNESCO World Heritage sites is (arguably) the will to create them. This starts with recognizing that problems in the current process need to be addressed, followed by understanding that inaction can only result in more conflict. Although conflict in a process set within such an international political arena can never be completely eliminated, attempts to prevent it should at least be made whenever possible. After all, selecting heritage sites with Outstanding Universal Value to all mankind should bring the world's cultures closer together and help resolve conflict, not create it.

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Chapter 3
Restoring a Nyingma Buddhist Monastery, Nepal

Hayley Saul and Emma Waterton

Introduction

For some time now, a level of discomfort has been building around the presumed universality of much that comes to mind when we talk about heritage. In this chapter we are concerned with a precise area of this debate, one that has been gathering force since the early 1980s and looks set to continue as we settle into what is commonly referred to as "the Asian Century": that of non-Western heritage conservation (see chapter by Staiff and Bushell in this volume). As a number of scholars have pointed out, this is an area deserving attention in the ongoing quest to represent local heritage values (see for example Byrne, 2014; Winter, 2014). Indeed, from such scholars we have gained good evidence that there are discursive modes operating at the global level through which dominant representations of "heritage" have found favor—global spaces wherein it has become possible to locate Eurocentric perspectives as those that have come to (seemingly) embody "international best practice" (Winter, 2014, p. 124).

Clearly, questioning these dominant positions on heritage is an agenda that has been with us for some time. The adoption of the *Burra Charter* in 1979 and the emergence of the *Nara Document on Authenticity* in 1994, the *Principles for the Conservation of Sites in China* in 2002 and the *INTACH Charter* in 2004 are testament to this in the emphasis they place on context contingent philosophies. These documents arrived off the back of effective petitioning by a range of professionals, academics and community groups for heritage principles that take account of diverse and often localised attitudes to authenticity, materiality and antiquity. Yet a

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rich vein of academic publishing continues to highlight the persistence of Eurocentric approaches (see Winter, 2014 for a more developed critique), and the associated displacement of non-Western alternatives, to the extent that indigenous organisations such as *Survival International* now argue that "conservation remains responsible for serious human rights violations" (Bayer, 2014). This tells us something important—that the story is not yet complete: more work needs to be done fleshing out precisely how dominant heritage discourse fails to adequately speak to and represent the values of non-European/non-Western/indigenous heritage trajectories. Moreover, what might we see in their stead? As Winter (2014) argues, perhaps the surest way to answer these questions is to gather together a series of in-depth, multidimensional studies of localised approaches to heritage across a range of geographical locations.

In what follows, we respond to Winter's (2014) challenge by reflecting on a specific case study: the restoration of a Nyingma[1] Buddhist monastery, or *gompa*, in Langtang village, located in an area of the Nepalese Himalayas north of Kathmandu.[2] To make our case, we draw on our long-term involvement with the community of Langtang and report on research that took place over two of our fieldwork seasons in 2013 and 2014, during which time we observed a series of local attitudes relating to materiality/immateriality, change and antiquity.

The Langtang Community and Its Gompa

In 2013, the Shree Samling Monastery Restoration Committee, local to the village, contacted us with an invitation to observe the restoration of their gompa. At that time, the gompa was located on the edge of the village, below the holy mountain of Langtang Lirung (7234 m asl). It was not a residential monastic complex; indeed, a casual observer glancing upslope would be forgiven for mistaking it for one of the many homesteads between which it was nestled. A plain building comprised of stone and wood, it was two storeys in height, dusty and faded (Fig. 3.1). Weathered white prayer flags adorned its front and a proudly ornate door sat at its center, aside which were two wooden windows with a set of five larger ones marking out the second storey. It was, in almost every way, a modest affair. That is, until one stepped inside. Its wooden interior was ornately carved and painted with extensive Thanka murals, most of which were concentrated on the western second storey wall and dated from the original construction phase (Fig. 3.1).

On our first visit, our Western trained eyes honed in on various structural "issues" that appeared to compromise the building, stemming from techniques used to con-

[1] Nyingma is a tradition of Buddhism that has resulted from a historically novel combination of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Madhyamaka philosophy, as well as elements of the pre-Buddhist Bön shamanism and a Theravada monastic system.

[2] On 25 April 2015 a magnitude 7.8 earthquake struck Nepal, taking a devastating toll on the population as well as the built heritage. We were in Nepal at the time, conducting fieldwork in the small hamlet of Langtang. We are very lucky to be alive as the village we had just departed was leveled. The monastery discussed here is gone, and tragically, so too are around 200 of the inhabitants.

Fig. 3.1 Langtang gompa and Thanka murals (photographs by Hayley Saul)

struct the original roof: large stone slabs (up to 0.5 m diameter) had been arranged like tiles, supported by pine rafters. According to committee members, this constituted a traditional method of construction. During the centuries since its initial construction, the weight of the roof had caused a pronounced bowing to the walls. While this was evident in the form of cracking to the exterior white clay paint, it was most pronounced where the interior wooden skeleton was offset from the stonework, sometimes by up to 6 in. In addition to the bowing, the monastery stonework carried a midline tilt to the west, causing some of the wooden support beams to lean and, in places, crack (Fig. 3.2). In the process, many of the Thanka murals painted directly onto the plasterwork (Fig. 3.2) were cracked and fragmented. By the time of our visit, the monastery had been deemed no longer fit for use by its community.

But there was more to this process of "decay" than our Western training could grasp; so, too, was there more to its restoration. This was not about halting decay or even conceiving of it in a negative sense. Instead, in talking through the possibilities with the community, what emerged was a desire to restore or renew, something Byrne (1995, p. 274) describes as prioritising "the idea and prestige of the original … rather than the physical form". Here, it was the *act* of restoration that emerged as critical, in a way that carefully mixed together official religion, popular belief, sacred objects, special places and numinously empowered individuals, which in turn not only informed local appreciations of the interface between past, present and future, but was materially articulated into and across the local landscape. And it had been for centuries. Oral history records a rich religious itinerary leading to the construction of the gompa. Two figures feature prominently: Padmasambhava (*Tib. Guru Rimpoche*), an eighth-century Buddhist master, who was instrumental in establishing Tibetan Buddhism, and Terton Mingur Dorje, who is considered locally to have established the gompa during his pilgrimages throughout the Himalayas. On the basis that Mingur Dorje was born in 1645 (Dorje & Tendzin, 2006), the monastery was at least 350 years old, though locally it was consistently described as 600 years old.

Fig. 3.2 Degradation of the Langtang Gompa (photographs by Hayley Saul)

Local stories surrounding both figures were told to us through a series of unstructured interviews (a mix of one-on-one and group interviews) with 19 people living in the village, ranging in age from 19 to mid-40s. The interviews were conducted either in the monastery itself or during walks around the valley. As we do not speak Nepali, Tibetan or Tamang, we anticipated some issues with communication, and while our conversations were greatly enhanced by input and translation provided by our friend and guide, Dil Gurung, we were also fortunate to find ourselves talking to a community whose command of the English language was impressive. Langtang Valley is one of the most popular tourist trails in Nepal and the generous hospitality towards visitors has led many locals to learn multiple languages. During our interviews, reference was made to the gompa and its restoration, as well as a broader notion of "ancient things". Our participants also spoke of special places in the valley. For example, the venerated arcane wisdoms of Padmasambhava are articulated through sites that demonstrate his miraculous feats. One such place is a rock bearing the imprinted shape of a footprint, that of a guru possessing the power to bend the very nature of the physical world.

It is the gompa, however, that holds our interest. Our discussions with the community foregrounded it as a space of ritual placemaking, both in everyday life and at various important points in the year, such as rhythmic festival prayer ceremonies (*puja*) and those marking deaths in the community, the latter of which are an important threshold in the *samsaric* (wheel of existence) cycle. Our observations of the gompa's restoration—and coming to understand that process within the context of community life—were central for allowing us to reorientate our understandings

of heritage. What follows is our attempt to summarise those dialogues and point to the ways in which they disrupt Western ontologies of heritage, particularly those surrounding the common themes of antiquity, materiality and authenticity.

A Langtangpa Notion of "Ancient Things"

Materiality/Immateriality

The committee's invitation to observe the monastery's restoration provided a waypoint into thinking about the intricacies of "ancient things" and religion in Langtang, particularly in relation to the role played by materiality. Immediately, we were struck by a seeming paradox in the Mahayana tradition of Buddhism: the non-dual awareness (*rigpa*) necessary to appreciate the non-material essence of the object world arises from sensual experience that has a material basis. Consideration of the concept of *sunyata*, or the "voidness" of materiality, is instrumental in bridging this divide. Appreciating *sunyata* is not about instituting detachment from reality, however; rather, it is about realising its true nature by cultivating a critical and particular engagement *with* the material world—in this case, the gompa. Materiality thus became a series of cues for unpicking causality, or the way objects acquired their particular identity through time. This is comparable to Derrida's (1998) *différance*, especially as it relates to the deferral of meaning into a fluctuating array of signifiers, all of them mutually dependent and informing of a material objective. However, there are a few significant variations. Whereas the object world is, by nature, dispersed amidst a flux of attributes in *différance*, compromising an illusory solidity for materiality, in Mahayana Buddhism these attributes are conceived as having a further layered dimension, in time. Not only is meaning dispersed amidst a web of signifiers, but those signifiers are variously constituted with different points of conceptual origin, arriving via varied trajectories and weaving layers of dependency amidst each other. Crucially, material attributes in this ontology are appreciable by not only the operation of logically recognising causal interdependence between things in the singular dimension of the object world, but also actively seeking to alter consciousness to engage, sensually, with multidimensional layers of reality, namely through meditation. What this means is that a culture of materialised concepts (artefacts, objects) is the means by which to expose the fallibility of those concepts, and thus move towards a non-conceptual reality (Tulka Thondup Rinpoche, 1986). In this tantric worldview, artefacts and the gompa itself become esoteric *tools* or *methods* for exposing the essentially impermanent nature (*svabhava*) of materiality. In the context of Langtang, it quickly became apparent that artefacts considered important within the monastery were those that one might use to "think with". Indeed, we found that the objects of value housed within, and protected by, the monastery were the musical instruments, the texts (which are a canon that includes commentaries and reinterpretations), the prayer wheels, figurines (these are not considered to be idols, but literally imbued with potential energy of a

bodhisattva or Buddha spirit), the *vajra* (thunderbolt), *phurpa* (magic dagger), bells, silk wall hangings, butter sculptures (*torma*) and incense (Beer, 2003). These items were directly nominated in our discussions as those requiring protection.

A second consequence of *sunyata* philosophy is that the monastery—an arena for religious devotion—simultaneously references household architecture and domesticity, playing down grandiose monumentality. Commitment to the Dharma (a complicated concept meaning cosmic law and principles of order, phenomena, the teachings of the Buddha) is thus inseparable from any other practice—cultural, social, mundane, political or otherwise. In daily life in Langtang, a distinction between the "home" and the gompa was de-emphasised. *Sunyata* impermanence precepts also arrived through the social history of Nyingma—a tradition historically transmitted orally by lay personages—the very existence of which relies upon cultivating a community for dissemination rather than imbuing certain objects or places with rights to authorise a symbolic orthodoxy. In fact, Nyingma Kama (*rnying ma bka' ma*) (Nyingma canonical teachings) literally means the "Oral Lineage of the Ancient Ones", though textual transmission is another, more fixed, method for communication. Though similarity to the home is an important architectural principle in Nyingma, a detailed look at the Langtang gompa's design revealed an additional principle that guided encounters with the material: sensual triggers built into the experience of the structure. Before the restoration work, for example, the windows on the second storey were positioned to capture sunrise. Access to sunlight, and the subsequent effects on sensory experience that this entails, was thus measured and controlled. The lower storey windows, by contrast, were much smaller and far more restrictive of light. Ascending to the second storey to the altar/puja room from the eastern staircase thus entailed a sense of emerging into a light-filled space, an experience often referred to in the literature as a sensation of "awakening" (Landaw, 2006, p. 26), or realising Enlightenment. The qualities of the Thanka were also enhanced by this play on light. Similarly, the second storey windows were located at the front (or to the south) of the gompa, leaving its northern side in relative darkness. The rear (north) of the gompa was where the altar structure was housed, and this was also where the greatest concentrations of butter lamp offerings were presented to the deities, representing the illumination of wisdom that the Dharma teaches (Beer, 2003). It was these contrasts between light and dark—their inversions and intensities—that prompted us to think about how their atmospheres were felt, with the material surroundings acting as a simile for meditative experience.

Though the *gompa* style was largely drawn from household architecture, it made key references to its religious, monastic function. White clay pasted to the exterior and echoed by the white prayer flags outside is the symbol of knowledge and learning in Tibetan Buddhism, and the transformative capacity of those into wisdom. It thus encased and marked out the interior space of the monastery as protected by wisdom. Additionally, the metal pinnacle atop the gompa performed a similar function to the "jewel of enlightenment" that is a feature of *stupa* architecture (Fig. 3.3). These elements were drawn from Buddhist historical texts that describe an "Enlightenment-elevation", said to emerge from the crown chakra in enlightened beings, connecting the earthly and divine realms through them (McArthur, 2004).

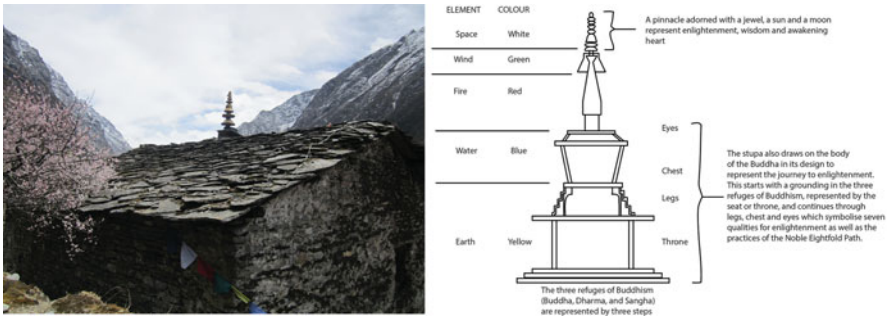

Fig. 3.3 The "Enlightenment-elevation" situated atop the roof of the gompa (photographs by Hayley Saul)

The role of the monastery's fabric was again one of communication, linking the devotional community within the walls to a collective religious ancestry of sages, Bodhisattvas and Buddhas. Those beneath the elevated pinnacle practiced the Dharma while housed, metaphorically, in the body of an enlightened being. For such communication the demarcation of a dedicated space is essential, as noted in many of our interviews.

The use of an Enlightenment-elevation also suggests that the Langtang Gompa was constructed according to mandala geometric principles: namely a "graphic cosmological image depicted in the form of a circle divided into four separate sections that are usually conceptualized as an arrangement of deities" (Grieve, 2006, p. 132). This is the case not only for the built environment; indeed, as Grieve (2006, p. 16) has argued, "many aspects of Nepal's cultural landscape are organized through *mandalas*: cases have been made that music, hand symbols, people, festivals, ceremonies, temples, shrines, and even the entire Kathmandu Valley have been configured this way". We could pluck numerous examples to illustrate this point but at essence we are interested in *how* material architecture designed as a mandala communicates a particular idea of heritage. Foremost, mandalas act as a vehicle to bridge the divine and everyday worlds, drawing attention to the idea of sensorial and tacit knowledge. For example, in the context of our study mandalas acted as esoteric tools for visualisation, for entering a mind space that could facilitate the essential nature (*svabhava*) of materiality. Mandala images are not mandalas themselves but the blueprints for a divine architecture. The outer enclosure in a mandala is a two-dimensional representation of an actual esoteric space that protects the cubic palace of a deity. Nothing *samsaric*, that is, nothing connected with the wheel of existence, can penetrate this enclosure and enter into a mandala. The mandala is used as an aid to "seeing" the three-dimensional reality of the divine palace. When the visualisation has been done successfully, the mandala literally projects itself without regard or reference to ordinary perceptions of space. It neither appears in front of, nor inside, the practitioner. Instead, the practitioner is inside *it*. The mandala is reality. The room is samsara.

Fig. 3.4 The open joist arrangement of the Langtang gompa (photographs by Hayley Saul)

A consequence of this mandala reality is that the practitioners are themselves the deity in the mandala. This transcendent phenomenon is called Deity Yoga (Tib. *lha'i rnal'byor*), during which the adherent realises their Buddhahood that was latent all along. Deity Yoga works by "acting as if" from the standpoint of the goal, rather than striving for attainment along a path. As a material representation of a mandala, the monastery itself becomes a tool for attaining enlightenment. In heritage terms, it is less a *thing* and more an endorsement of practice, of *doing* and *being* (cf. Smith, 2006), acting within a divinely arranged space to experience that divinity. This is concomitant with recent thinking in the heritage field, but here the relationship between objects, places, people and practices—and the collaborative processes of keeping the past alive that result—is perhaps more complicated. Firstly, it reiterates that the monastery fabric is itself of secondary importance when compared to its role as a method for enacting this virtual reality meditation technique. And secondly, the transcendence involved in Deity Yoga intimates at the strong influence that magic, revelation and fortune play in guiding heritage decision-making in Tibetan Buddhism, numinous qualities that Byrne (2014) also recognises in Thai Buddhist monuments.

In the *Vinaya* (monastic regulatory code), there are guidelines to abide by for constructing buildings in order to take precautions against, amongst other things, fostering material attachment (Chapagain, 2013). In particular, the roofing style of buildings is considered indicative of how permanent they are, and thus to what degree they might be construed as a possession by the maker/commissioner (Bhikkhu, 1994). The roof of the Langtang gompa demonstrated an "open joist" arrangement, with the pine crossbeams slotted into prefabricated stone gaps, but beyond that remaining unfixed (Fig. 3.4). Such a design situated the structure within the category of impermanent construction. Crucially, it also lent the structure a processual nature, as something that could not be finished or owned, or, as Byrne (1995,

p. 274) has eloquently put it, "[e]ven as a ruin there is always the possibility of a *stupa* or temple being reactivated". Indeed, as our interviewees put it, the key asset of the building is not the structural mass, but the hollow and sacred space it protects inside.

Intactness and Change

Observing local residents undertake work to the monastery, and through analysis of successive photographic recordings, it became clear that at times non-vocalised, intuitive decisions were being made about what could change and that which was considered important to preserve. This negotiation with "change" seemed strongly related to two things: first, a distinctive Nyingma notion of what change *is*, almost in the sense of the mechanical workings of Buddhist time, and second, the "place" in time envisaged as a counterpoint to establish—through comparative means—that a difference had occurred in the present. Our discussions about change led us to "quarantine" the notion of authenticity so as to reinterrogate it within the confines of Buddhist time discourses. What had become clear is that the value of "ancient things" was less embedded in their ancientness and more connected to their ability to function within and through community ritual practice. This required a focus that was directed to the "place" in time identified as communally significant or fulfilling of an origin for certain local values, such that it was the temporal origin that acted as a referent for claims to authenticity. Within Tibetan Buddhism there is an attitude to materiality in which there is a suitable but negotiable set of material conditions for communicating the Dharma that can be streamlined to particular social circumstances (Queen & King, 1996). Doctrinal flexibility is "built in" and elements of the Dharma can be more or less emphasised.

It is the Dharma *experiences* of prayer and meditation that are of key importance, and these do not always rely on direct encounters with ancient materiality. Rather, they are about an individual cultivating a particular and a-temporal attitude to the material world. Practicing the Dharma is accompanied by bodily sensations, or a changing awareness of the corporeal attitude. What this amounts to is an overriding emphasis on *intactness* of the teachings as opposed to a concern with the authentic age of the items they are taught with. This is because Tibetan Buddhism is a *method* or *practice*: it emphasises the whole experience as greater than the sum of its parts, with the former irreducible to each or any of those parts. In the restoration work we observed, it became clear that the structure itself had been designed in a way that made it easy to dismantle, thus underscoring the importance of transience: interior wooden supports are ephemerally joisted to the stone surround by only a few key beams; the wooden interior and the stone exterior operated almost as separate structures. In other words, flexibility to alter the structure had been built into the very fabric. More than that, the flexibility to alter the building in turn facilitated the intactness of valuable teachings, reducing the length of time that communication of the Dharma—the practice—was disrupted during repair work.

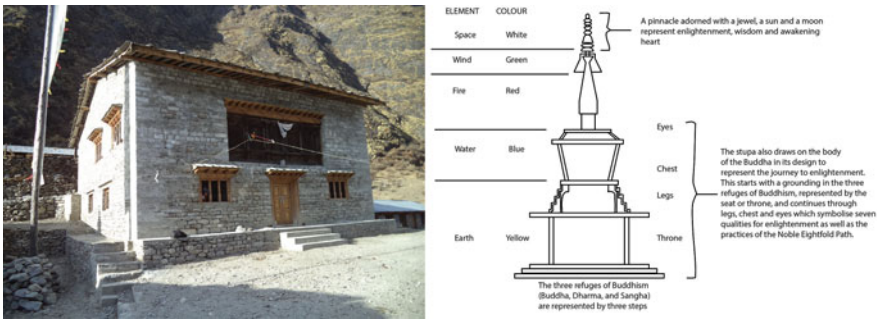

Fig. 3.5 The restored gompa, with raised terracing (photographs by Hayley Saul)

Also clear from our observations was that despite a canonical emphasis on the impermanence of matter, some elements of the gompa were selected for preservation. This does nothing to undermine the message of impermanence, however. Indeed, though the community may not lament the degradation of the fabric of the building, it does not naturally follow that they would be similarly unaffected were all original materials to be relinquished to unfettered change. Some structural components of the building were retained, deliberately so, and those selected for retention included elements that were symbolic of the sentient body, e.g. the Enlightenment-elevation pinnacle. Further accentuations reminiscent of the architectural principles of the stupa (and thus mandalas) were made by raising and terracing the ground surface to resemble a plinth (Fig. 3.5). Significantly, three steps were added from the courtyard to the terrace, with this architectural region symbolically associated with the element of Earth and grounding, with the steps representing the three primary jewels or refuges of Buddha (the teacher), Dharma (the teaching) and Sangha (the community) on a stupa.

Any additions made to the structure enhanced its functionality in terms of community engagement and use. The extra lower storey window added on the western side and the enlarged and relocated lower storey windows on the façade, for example, were additions that gave much light to the ground floor. Areas of the monastery (particularly the lower storey) used for community administration and activities (e.g. festivals) were those areas that were enhanced and changed most by the restoration work. At a time of encroaching social changes largely brought about by tourism, the intactness of the community secured the intactness of the Dharma. Crucially, the roof style stayed exactly the same.

Antiquity

Concepts of time in Tibetan Buddhism are unique and pervade notions of age, antiquity and that which constitutes tradition in Langtang. Often characterised as predominantly cyclical, Buddhist concepts of time are influenced by the spiritual belief in reincarnation. This, of course, is an oversimplification of the complex Tibetan

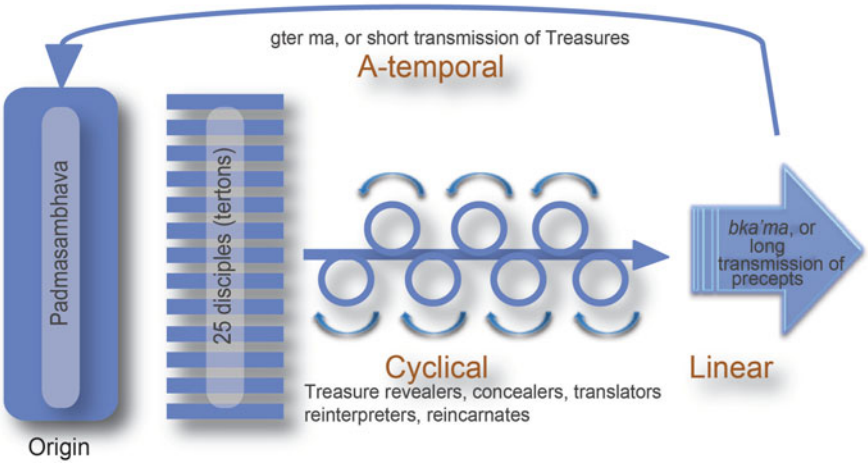

Fig. 3.6 Diagram depicting the cyclical and linear nature of Tibetan Buddhist concepts of time (illustration by Hayley Saul)

Buddhist sense of time, but it remains true that the way rebirth is dealt with in influential practical works such as the Tibetan Book of the Dead (*Bardo*) is almost a science, with detailed methods for navigating the stages of death so that rebirth to a higher plane can occur, a process through which cyclical time becomes the foundation. That said, linear concepts of time are influential too, particularly in Nyingma (though not exclusively so). Unlike other branches of Buddhism from Asia that also derive from Indian traditions, Tibetan Buddhism traces an unbroken lineage of teacher to student as far back as the eleventh century AD (although this was disrupted in 1959 with the Chinese invasion). The Nyingma tradition thus claims that their lineages stem directly from the religious figures in the eighth and ninth centuries. It also claims to be the oldest of the Tibetan Buddhist teachings, differentiating itself from a bipartite (*Kangyur* and *Tengyur*) canon of the other three main sects (Thondup Rinpoche 1986).

The Nyingma School differentiates between the *bka'ma* (long transmission of precepts) and the *gter ma* (short transmission of treasures). The first refers to the lineage of a long, uninterrupted transmission of precepts and Dharma from master to disciple that takes many centuries. The latter claims to be the shortest form of teaching transmission because what is received are the actual words of Padmasambhava, passed directly as a treasure (or arcane wisdom) (Thondup Rinpoche, 1986). Padmasambhava developed the Terma tradition of treasure revelation as a conservation measure, a cult of the text (Germano, 2002). Arcane knowledges were hidden by Padmasambhava in locations throughout the Himalayas, and would be revealed only when humanity was ready to receive the teachings. Treasure-revealers (*tertons*), like the gompa's founder, Mingur Dorje, have developed a level of spiritual attainment that allows them to *directly* access the residual Dharma teachings of Padmasambhava using meditational techniques (see Fig. 3.6).

In other words, by attaining a certain level of spiritual accomplishment it is possible to communicate *directly* with masters of the Dharma from previous generations in the lineage of teachers.

As a result, the Nyingma Gyübum texts, which are at the heart of Langtang, represent a complex authorship of both divine contributions to their construction and reincarnate authorship. They are a project of ongoing, non-linear temporality. Divinity, a-temporal in character, inhabits the words. In the context of the Nyingma Gyübum, "divine originator", "interpreter", "concealer" and "revealer" all contribute to the eventual text (Germano, 2002). The visionary element has an a-temporal aspect to it, and the wider tantric material cultures of the monastery (particularly Deity Yoga elements) are designed to tap into this potential.

Although the linearity of "lineage" is important in establishing Nyingma concepts of antiquity, it would be incorrect to conflate "lineage" with "duration", which is an aspect that is characteristic of western time concepts. Indeed, it is precisely this novelty of the duration of survival in the face of fluctuating context/surroundings that is key in dominant (western) valuations of heritage. By contrast, the religious lineage with which the Langtang community identifies is concerned not with the content or span of time, but the trajectory that it arises *from*: the ultimate origin of that lineage. The origin or source of that lineage has a divine aspect to it, and it is the desired sensory experience of that divinity, in the present, that takes precedence. What is essential for Nyingma-pa Buddhists is not so much the weight of time an object has successfully accumulated, but the *way* an object makes a link back to the divine origin/source. This is done either directly (as would be undertaken by a visionary *terton*) or by tracing its lineage. From here, it is possible to tease out of the restorations of Langtang gompa the temporal trajectory of the materiality that was important to the locals. Maintaining the roof structure, enhancing the lower floor and even the manner of carrying out the restoration work were an exercise in community-building. Those households that could afford to give money did so, whereas those that could not lent their time and labour, carrying the stones and wood from nearby forests and mountains. Rather than a sense of ownership that comes with identification, this sense of contribution extended lineage into the *future*.

The fate of the 600-year-old Thanka murals that adorned an entire upper storey wall of the gompa typifies this attitude to antiquity: the old murals were replaced with new. There did not appear to be any aesthetic value drawn from the alterity of their antiquated construction. In fact, when we wondered if pieces of the old murals ought to be saved, the restoration committee met the idea with some confusion. The Thanka depicted condensed narratives of the characters that make up the lineage of Nyingma thought, and this was where their importance lay. The narratives offered pictorial coherence to the canon, and elucidated many of the complicated morals, or philosophies, as legends and fables. They were a tool for encompassing participation from the whole community, and Thanka with fractures or pieces missing lacks the intactness necessary to communicate the method of the Dharma.

Linked to this conceptualisation of time is the notion of residue or that which lends weight to materiality. In Tibetan Buddhism, there is a spiritual residue of a person or divinity, but that residue is not latent; rather, it is seen and felt as dynamic

and imbued with potentiality. Thus, it is also directional. In Western heritage philosophy, materiality is often assumed to offer a tangible "snapshot" of the past, one that refers to a greater whole (history) but is always just a part of that whole. Weight, in this line of thinking, is offered by the span of time and the importance that the history to which the material object refers has had in causal terms, not its potential for future causality. In Tibetan Buddhism even an object that has not directly been involved in a particular history (whether because it is new or otherwise unrelated) can be imbued with the weighty potential of that historical trajectory because of the unique sense of interconnectedness that the philosophy teaches. The nature of this interconnectedness derives from a combination of cyclical existence and karmic cause-and-effect relationships.

Conclusions

Our purpose in this chapter has by no means been to offer a full articulation of "the Asian perspective" on heritage; we do not think that such a thing exists. Nor do we profess to have captured something that could stand up and represent national patterns of heritage conservation particular to Nepal, where there are more than 100 ethnic and caste groups (Diwasi, Bandhu, & Nepal, 2007). Instead, we have offered our reflections on one community's practices of restoration, giving careful weight to the specific formal and prosaic religious complexities that surround and support them. Our reporting on the richness of these engagements with the past blended both orthodox Tibetan Buddhist principles drawn by us from wider Nyingma literature and popular religious expressions of those principles that lie at the heart of the community's social structure. In our observations, we might recognise the objects, people, places and practices that are important for bringing forth the past in the present—elements of the past that have been formally and informally "curated", if you like, as "past presencing", to borrow from Sharon Macdonald (2012, pp. 233, 234), through which we might sharpen our awareness of the ways in which a community dialogues with the past on a daily basis (Harrison, 2013).

But there is also an imperative in our efforts to capture something of a Langtangpa notion of heritage in order to understand how it differs from conceptualisations that have found favour in national and international policy. In writing about Langtang, we have started to pick apart a notion of caring for the past that revolves around materiality/immateriality, intactness, change and antiquity. These, we viewed through the lens of Langtangpa decision-making during processes of altering the monastery's fabric and renegotiating which values would be relevant for guiding cultural practices in the village. But we make no claims to have entirely understood the Langtangpa notion of heritage or their processes of caring for the past; indeed, framing our argument in terms of how dominant and localised understandings of these themes diverge is more of a point of departure than a conclusion.

For the Langtangpa, the locally led restoration was a process of empowerment and investment in the uniqueness of their community. It is to monasteries that the

survivors have looked for comfort and to confront their grief, and explicating some of the values of this spiritual heritage may prove useful in processes of cultural resiliency in an uncertain time.

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Chapter 4
Reconnections

Steve Watson and Emma Waterton

Introduction

In this chapter we look at the Thornborough Henges, a Neolithic monument complex in the north of England, and one that is emblematic of the way a particular place can become disconnected from its surroundings and lose what was once significant and meaningful about it. This story, however, is ultimately one of *reconnection*, a knowing and conscious desire to attend to a sense of loss or change. This is a story well known by communities and societies where disconnection with the past has been one of the realities of economic development and social change. Such disconnections are related to specific geographies and the web of political, social and economic changes that make places meaningful or replace or reconstitute meaning in new circuits of exchange and production. But it is not a simple story: indeed, it raises many questions about who reconnects with what, and how. We argue that the idea of reconnection is expressive of the different and changing relationalities (Harrison, 2015) of people with places over time, and rather than a linear "reaching back" to a specific, historically mediated time, it is more the *sense* of a past that has been somehow lost in long and eventful years of fundamental transformation. In this sense, *heritage in action* becomes the totality of connections, disconnections and reconnections that constitute the past, over time, in places. Some of this is history, some of it is revealed in archaeological research and conservation, some of it is expressed in the embodied engagements of tourism, and sometimes it is just something felt when walking by or in the practical activity of the "native dweller" (Ingold, 1993, p. 152). Always, however, it makes people be there, do things, feel things.

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Disconnection

Disconnection with the past is typical of societies that have undergone transformations that have moved people and communities, in significant numbers, from one place to another or changed the way they work and live. The industrial revolution in the UK and its associated dislocations is one archetype; colonialism and its aftermath is another. But there are many processes that produce similar results, including urbanization, changes in agricultural practice or land ownership, natural disasters and, most recently, the mass migrations of people fleeing war and civil conflict in the Middle East and Africa. In fact, any large-scale development or event that results in the disconnection of a group or community from a place that has cultural significance for them may be counted as part of this phenomenon, including the dislocating characteristics of globalization (Appadurai, 1996). Indeed, such disconnections may be so momentous as to permanently transform the relationship between a people and its past, or the past of people in a particular place. We could use the word "deracination" to describe it, where roots are obliterated, or where they are occluded by a cultural or an ideological imperative to seal off the present from a past that might be unsettling (Walsh, 1992). The relationship between people and places is always complex, in flux, contingent on multifarious factors and prefigurations, and the temporal dimension adds more to the mix, as Casey (2009) points out in his contemplation of *implacement* and *displacement*:

> Place, already cultural as experienced, insinuates itself into a collectivity, altering as well as constituting that collectivity. Place becomes social because it is already cultural. It is also, and for the same reason, historical. It is by the mediation of culture that places gain historical depth. We might even say that culture is the third dimension of places, affording them a deep historicity, a *longue dureé*, which they would lack if they were entirely natural in constitution (2009, pp. 31–32).

These associations and affinities are not necessarily conditioned by historical knowledge per se and it is just as important to *feel* an affinity of some kind with a place. Indeed, as Escobar (2001) has argued, such affinities may act as a counterbalance to the marginalization of place in the atopias of globalization, and may have subaltern characteristics. Importantly, he asks: "Is it possible to find in place-based practices a critique of power and hegemony without overlooking their embeddedness in circuits of patriarchy, capital and modernity?" (Escobar, 2001, p. 142). This question undoubtedly has a role in the emergence of place in philosophical discourse, geographical enquiry and the recognition that places are real contexts for embodied social and cultural processes that express identity and belonging and the relationships that we associate with being local in a society that pulls us in other directions (Lippard, 1997). To this extent, perceptions of place are active in creating meaning over time, and are associated with complex temporalities that resonate with the present (Ingold, 1993; Tilley, 1994). They are also implicated in the creation of meaning about the past and the production and consumption of heritage (Janowski & Ingold, 2012).

Official responses to conditions of rapid and incomprehensible change include the "invention of tradition", to use Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) familiar phrase. A characteristic of such traditions is that rather than being dependent on the historical record, which they employ selectively, there is an orientation around practices that are expressed in symbols and ritual, and performances of continuity with a "chosen" past. As such, they are active in inculcating values and norms that are meaningful and functional in the present (1983, pp. 1–2). Hobsbawm and Ranger do not themselves use the word "heritage", perhaps because they were writing just before academic interest in the field began in earnest, but it is interesting that their phrase is now part of the lexicon of heritage studies (Geismar, 2015, p. 74), displaced though it is by more recent and wide-ranging critical examinations that place heritage explicitly in its social, cultural and political setting (Smith, 2006).

However they are framed, these "official" versions of heritage seem to fill much of the cultural space that is available for *knowing* and *feeling* the past (Crouch, 2015). Both within and outside the history books, archives and museums they weigh on what and how we know, flexing and shaping the lenses through which the past is understood. But does it fill *all* the space available or is there room for negotiation? Does it allow other renderings, other desires for the past, either in opposition or away from the places and sites that are sequestered for official or commercial use as Escobar implies? Is it possible that heritage as it is performed in situ, not as a discursive and static rendering, but as something active and *in action*, can disrupt the essences that the heritage "industry" mixes and conjures for its audience?

Thornborough

Our case study comes from North Yorkshire, UK, where there has been a long journey from largely agrarian economies, through industrial modernity and then into a post-industrial world where leisure and tourism vie with intensive agriculture and extractive industries for the use of land and a role in the regional economy. Though surrounded and profoundly affected by the changes that have gone on around them and over them for so long, the Thornborough Henges impose themselves timelessly in a landscape that carries the imprint of everything that has happened since they were built. Here, like prehistoric islands in a sea of change they reconnect us with "times before"; however these are conceived and understood (see Fig. 4.1). In doing so they represent a form of cultural place attachment (Altman & Low, 1992) and Low (1992, pp. 166–167) draws attention to various forms this may take, including genealogical, economic, community, cosmological and religious or secular pilgrimage and storytelling, all of which are evident to some degree in the place we discuss here. The henges are of considerable archaeological significance. Begun in the British Neolithic over 5000 years ago, they are three more or less identical massive earthen circles that track across the landscape in a roughly north–south alignment. Each one is approximately 240 m across, surrounded by earthen banks and ditches

Fig. 4.1 The Thornborough Henge complex (© Historic England, image reference NMR 17393/06, used by kind permission)

representing different phases of building (Harding, 2013). The northern henge is probably the best preserved henge in the country—only the great bank and ditch at Avebury exceeds it in size. It is massive (and deep), but it probably only survives as well as it does because it is covered in trees, which mark its position but diminish its visibility. Together, the henges span a distance of 2 km, part of a more extensive ritual landscape extending from Catterick in the north to Ferrybridge in the south—making it one of the most significant (and least understood) in the UK. The henges are also significant because they represent some of the first human monumental structures in the landscape and as such are associated with the earliest forms of settled agro-pastoralism (Barker, 2006).

We have chosen Thornborough as a place to think and write about heritage in action because its past speaks eloquently about the connections people make with places, how these change over time and how, in a post-everything world of disrupted mainstreams, disorientation and feelings of loss, Thornborough affords those qualities that enable people to engage with it electively, with an active "sense of place", rather than "rootedly", as an unconscious reflection of long habitation, to echo Tuan's (1980) dyadic concept of place experience. Tuan cites what he sees as a "strong longing for roots" in contemporary American culture, to the extent that modern cultural values are challenged and replaced by such idealized place attachments:

> In the larger world we see its influence in people's concern with genealogy, in programs of neighbourhood revitalization, and in the numerous efforts to designate and preserve historic buildings (1980, p. 3).

For Lippard (1997, pp. 4–20) this idealism is best expressed in notions of the local: "The lure of the local is that undertone to modern life that connects it to the past we know so little and the future we are aimlessly concocting". Why people should elect to connect themselves with Thornborough in particular—and through it reconnect themselves to an almost unknowable past—is of central interest to us, especially as we decide how and what to invoke as a theoretical orientation in understanding the nature of such engagements. Perhaps Böhme's (1993) notion of the "ecstasy of things" is important here in laying the foundations for understanding the perception of atmosphere, somewhere between the object and the subject.[1] Thus we have a sense of the place that while difficult to define is clearly and strongly related to its presence in the landscape, and our perception and experience of that presence in a sentient and embodied way. As Duff (2010, p. 881) would have it, "[t]o experience place is to be *affected by place*, just as it involves an active reckoning of the tactical opportunities and practical resources places invariably present".[2] For Lippard (1997, p. 7) it is the local "entwined with personal memory, known or unknown histories, marks made in the land that provoke and evoke". In this vein, the presence of the site and its atmospheric resonance seem to be prefigured in the original engagement with the landscape experienced by early Neolithic farmers, so that our experience of the henges in their setting reflects something of the drama of their building and the way they modified the space they occupied (Barnatt, 1998; Harding, 2003).

There is certainly a sense that the Neolithic in the UK presents a dramatic shift in the way that landscape was understood and organized, and culturally the Neolithic seems to us to be more sophisticated than was once thought.[3] At the same time, it seems very closely connected, in a complex way, with its natural and landscape context, especially the sky, water and the subterranean world, as well as surface features of the landscape—something discussed by Harding (2003, 2013) in relation to Thornborough and elsewhere and by Tilley, Hamilton, Harrison, and Anderson

[1] See Sørensen (2015) for a discussion of this in relation to prehistoric monuments.

[2] See Anderson (2009) for a discussion of "affective atmospheres" and the associated social, cultural and material resources that resonate with them.

[3] See Gibson and Simpson (1998) for a collection of essays that explore these issues.

(2000) in an archaeological investigation of the Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement at Leskernick Hill on Bodmin Moor, also in the UK. For Tilley and his colleagues, the engagement with the natural stone that littered and dominated the landscape was a necessary cultural moment, motivated by the need to create a place where none had previously existed. To develop this line of thought Tilley and his colleagues borrow from Appadurai (1996) the notion of the "spatial production of locality":

> The arrangements of stones on the hill are part of a spatio-temporal technology of localization involving sentiment and feeling, local knowledge and local subjects. Building houses and building clitter structures both objectified local knowledges and formed a fundamental element in the production and reproduction of local subjects … The material structures and spaces they created were skilled social accomplishments which acted recursively … in the production of meaning and value. (Tilley et al., 2000, p. 218)

Similar complexities are apparent at Thornborough and there are other monuments that appear to contain the landscape, in some way, to assert in themselves a naturalness or at least a "naturalization" of themselves so that the conventions of nature versus culture are occluded by the contiguities between the two. Recent theories of symmetrical archaeology[4] attend to these fundamentally different relationships between humans and the things in their world, and, indeed, things and the humans in theirs. Dualities of nature and culture, along with tangibility and intangibility, have been replaced by an acknowledgement of the complex entanglements of people, objects and places that characterize the lived world and the traces of its past that are investigated by archaeologists.[5] Nearby there are other henges, a cursus, rows of standing stones and burial mounds, all of which "respect" and continue the natural features of the landscape and the presence of water. The River Ure, for example, dissects the plain and the monuments respect it in their configurations and alignments.

Collectively, the three structures must originally have made a striking visual impression, especially as they may have been coated in locally mined white gypsum (Harding, 2013, p. 51). They also enclose large spaces, and evoke a strong embodied feeling of being both inside and outside, a key duality of built space, evoking not only the mutual exclusivity of these spaces (one cannot be both inside and outside at the same time) but, more than this, the continuity between the two: the passage (often literally) from one state to the other injects meaning into both.[6] By containing space, the henges create a spatio-temporal place that can be entered and exited through entrances on opposing sides of the circle and we can assume, therefore, that entry and exit were important, and that inside and outside were key factors in the

[4] Symmetrical archaeology refers to a "new ecology" of archaeology that draws attention to mutual patterns, arrangements and relationships (Shanks, 2007). It is "packed with things, mixed with humans and companion species … and which prioritizes the multi-temporal and multi-sensorial qualities, the multiplicity, of the material world …" (Witmore, 2007, p. 547). For a deeper discussion of symmetrical archaeology, see Shanks (2007) and Witmore (2007).

[5] See Harrison (2015; and 2012, pp. 36–41, pp. 213–217) for a discussion of the social and philosophical antecedents in such approaches.

[6] See Casey (2009) for a discussion of this in the context of architectural theory.

experience of the site, inspiring awe with their physical presence and appearance (Harding, 2003, pp. 63–66). The central henge still affords these feelings for a visitor, such that within the henge the outside world is lost beyond the enclosing bank: our horizons disappear, our movement is limited and our orientation changed. This is the sense in which Casey claims that built places reflect the somatic and are, indeed, extensions of our bodies (2009, p. 120), to which we might add that they are extensions of our bodies *in action*.

This feeling of being there and of movement makes us think about the purpose of the henge complex, or rather what can be imputed about their purpose from their morphology, landscape context and cosmological relationships. This "knowledge" provides a point of contact between the now and the then, a call to action, a reason for being there, doing something. Although their purpose is unclear henges are not unnaturally assumed to have some ritual or religious significance, an assumption that is supported when astronomical alignments of various kinds are found to be present, as indeed is the case at Thornborough. There is evidence, for example, that the complex is orientated on the rising of Orion's Belt, as well as the midwinter solstice sunrise at 3000 BCE as viewed from the central henge (Harding, 2013, pp. 211–215). We also know that, and as recent archaeological research at the henges has suggested, they tend to be found in special places, where rivers are important or where their course in relation to the landscape and its morphology is significant. This awareness, fragmentary though it is, makes us feel something more about the site, as if we are on the cusp of understanding something that has been lost for millennia, and we are feeling this, as much as anything, through our bodies moving around. It is as if the embodied experience of the henges and the moods and emotions they must have evoked, which as Harding points out (2003, pp. 59–82) was part of their original concept and design, have left an echo in what remains and in our own embodied encounters and affective engagements with them. The more there is to feel—to be embodied about—the more intense our engagement with the place. Understanding these complexities and appreciating them augment the *sense* of place to which Tuan (1980) refers—and the *feeling* of place is intensified as a result.

Drawing these ideas together brings us closer to the notion of relationality proposed by Harrison (2015) on the basis of the ontologies of connectivity evident in natural–cultural processes and the inter- or "intra"-actions of natural and human agency (see also Harrison, 2012, pp. 216–217). Drawing on the idea of a "dialogical" relationship between multiple human and non-human subjects that project the past into the present, Harrison (2012, p. 216) argues that the "production of heritage emerges from the relationship between people, 'things' and their environments as part of a dialogue or collaborative process of keeping the past alive in the present" (see also Harrison & Rose, 2010). Harrison's perception of these processes as "relationalities" not only provides a perspectival orientation to contemporary lateral connectivities and past–present reconnections, but can also be invoked to describe the multiple temporal connections and reconnections that characterize the "history of heritage" and also its active affordances in modulating a sense of place. The word "heritage" may be a modern usage, but its engagements and processes have deep roots and resonances (Harvey, 2001, 2010).

While the henges dominate their landscape, they are very much a part of it, as if the landscape has grown around them: things go on across them, over them, through them. In some ways they seem to intrude, or at least they carry an echo of their original intrusion. Yet while they have become naturalized, they do not readily feature prominently in guidebooks or the kind of representational practices usually associated with cultural capital—heritage tourism, for example. While tourism has its own imperatives and the development of a new attraction by no means assures the arrival of tourists in sufficient numbers to sustain it, it is in the nature of tourism authorities to gather as much as possible into their portfolio to achieve a kind of critical mass of attraction value and heritage plays a significant part in this. For Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, p. 153–154) heritage is a way of producing the "hereness" that is demanded of a tourism destination. But there are no guarantees. How many henges does the tourism industry need? The question we are left with is how something can be so present and so absent at the same time? As a way of describing the intersections of representational practice and affectual experience we have elsewhere referred to the *semiotic landscape* of heritage objects (Waterton & Watson, 2014).[7] At some point in modernity the semiotic landscape of the henges had become depleted, their meaning reduced to real estate and agricultural yields, and the henges themselves, as legally protected ancient monuments, representing a cost, a disbenefit, a loss of value to the landowner in their local context. As a semiotic landscape, they were empty, they lacked intensity and they communicated nothing through their presence; only their growing absence was significant. In a way, their archaeological significance was a measure of that absence, in that archaeology was all that they had become.

This provides an opportunity to think about the past at Thornborough and its own serial past–present connectivities, the totality of which now bears down on it. The henges were already ancient when the Romans arrived at the turn of the first millennium, but what would they have made of them? They would have been in better shape then, of course, their presence more commanding and unaffected by the laws of property and the demands of the local economy. The Romans apparently respected them rather than removed them, and their mystery and former sanctity probably would have been sources of value that could be assimilated into their own presence in the landscape. The main north–south Roman road passed close by, as indeed it still does in the form of the A1 motorway and may even have been influenced by their alignment (Loveday, 1998). Later, in Anglo Saxon times, these types of monuments tended to be *explained* as places of supernatural activity, the haunts of fairies, hobs and witches, or else they were assimilated euhemeristically, as at Rudston in East Yorkshire, by building a church nearby or on the same site. The mysterious but decaying monument was thus domesticated in the developing agricultural landscape. Its physical erosion mirrored the decay of past beliefs from rituals associated with powerful deities to a kind of mischief-making underworld where wicked sprites, as opposed to local gods, had to be appeased in order to protect animals from disease and crops from failure. And through this narrative construction, the henges remained active.

[7] See Jaworski and Thurlow (2011) for accounts of semiotic landscapes in other contexts, and Wetherell (2012) for an attempt to reconcile affective and discursive practices.

The reconnection here is found in giving meaning to mystery, to unpredictability and the inability to control nature, which might destroy the crops or bring a plague or cause a sudden death. Monuments invested with magic would help to explain such constant threats. But in senescence the henges were subject to constant changes in meaning. Eventually, old beliefs were eradicated by institutionalized religion; Christianity certainly had no place for objects that were so clearly associated with paganism however much they had been domesticated by folklore. By the later "Middle Ages", the henges had become meaningless, anomalous, but because of their presence they still had to be ploughed around. Eventually, such monuments might be destroyed or dismantled, which could be expensive, although some were recycled for road building or field walls. Mostly, they were left to moulder into the ground until, in time, a plough could be drawn over them, and leaving them to be found again through aerial photography as a cropmark, or through ground-penetrating radar.

Senescence would eventually signal the look of age, as Lowenthal (2015) puts it, and this would carry new meanings that tapped into an urge to reconnect with ancient objects and places in order to create a national past and identity. It is no coincidence that John Leland, generally credited with being England's first antiquarian scholar, was given his warrant by Henry VIII "to make a search after England's Antiquities …". Henry is not someone with whom we associate a thirst for historical knowledge, but he is someone with a nation to build, and Leland was charged with providing the empirical evidence needed to define it. He was followed by others in the antiquarian tradition, including William Camden, but for a sense of prehistory and real temporal depth it was John Aubrey in the second half of the seventeenth century, whose investigations at Avebury and Stonehenge opened the door on the possibility that "ancient Britons" might be of some interest, especially as nation-building was now focused on the new Greater Britain rather than merely England. The much decayed things of the past thus became objects of interest, curiosity and reconnection, gradually creating the corpus of knowledge that became archaeology.

Thornborough, however, escapes much notice. By the time of Aubrey there was little to see except for the sheep that wandered over its disintegrating structures or the cloaking vegetation. The henges were first recorded on the Ordnance maps of the 1840s and 1850s, but were not "noticed" as such until 1864, when a local antiquary, the Reverend William Lukis, embarked on one of those campaigns of excavation that is emblematic of the period (see Harding, 2013). The henges escaped further attention until the mid-1950s, when archaeologists, having replaced antiquaries, were now equipped with a temporal map of prehistory based on the classification of field monuments and potsherds and went out in search of more material to enter into their chronologies.

In their senescence and with little value attached to them, the Thornborough Henges have been in a poor state of preservation for many years, if not centuries, with twentieth-century industrial agriculture having encroached upon them almost entirely. Many of the features in the landscape around them have been destroyed, so that the henges are now framed by English Heritage and professional archaeological

practice as fragile heritage in a sea of industrial and agricultural modernity. Furthermore, the threat that had been posed by agriculture, which was now lapping on the very fringes of the monument, was exacerbated by the industrial extraction of gravel. All that held total destruction at bay was the archaeological value of the monument itself, institutionalized in its statutory listing and protection.

The threat of destruction (from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s), however, brought forth new voices that had not been heard in the area before: non-archaeological interest groups, local stakeholders and those with esoteric concerns that are broadly categorized as "New Age". Though by no means homogenous, these voices expressed common support for the henges as objects of heritage, objects with a renewed and contemporary cultural meaning and value. And thus, once more, heritage was in action.

A bitter dispute ensued. For the first time, possibly in 5000 years, the henges assumed a significance in themselves beyond their object presence, beyond their senescent state and beyond their status as an archaeological site. The emergence of new relationalities engendered new levels of activity: further archaeological investigations were carried out (Harding, 2013) that importantly raised the profile of Thornborough and corrected the perceived injustice of their previous neglect. Thornborough became described as the "Stonehenge of the North" or, as many preferred to express it, "Stonehenge was the Thornborough of the South". For some in this region, they became places of intensity and attachment that were emblematic of wider struggles against environmental loss.

The quarry developers affected innocence, even injustice, and claimed a greater good in providing local employment and economic benefits. In a letter to a local newspaper, one of the quarry managers hit back at the protesters, asking for a more balanced view in light of the employment opportunities the company provided and the financial support they had provisioned for archaeological exploration, and also because the henges themselves were no longer under threat. Interestingly, in that letter he claimed that none of the proposed development would be near the "sacred" henge.[8] A lost place, a disappearing place, was now noticed, reconnected and recreating its age-old intensities (see Figs. 4.2 and 4.3). The central henge now plays host to the spring festival of Beltane, thus connecting Thornborough with the wider sensibilities of contemporary *celtophilia* and its New Age associations.[9] For one weekend each year the henge is ringed with tents and camper vans. Trinkets, crystals, clothes, crafts and souvenirs are sold; traditional songs are sung and folk dances danced. People in costumes of their own design (but vaguely ancient-looking) dance around a portable maypole and "Sue's Holistic Therapies" help you to heal, de-stress, unwind and recharge your energy levels. Simultaneously, a very twenty-first-century queue for cappuccinos, skinny lattes and tea "to go" reminds us that at least these modern necessities are not going to be sacrificed to the ancient gods.

[8] Letter from Alan Coe, Quarry Manager, Tarmac Northern, published in the Darlington & Stockton Times, August 6th, 2004. Available online: http://www.darlingtonandstocktontimes.co.uk/news/6982136.Quarry_facts/. Page consulted 15 October 2015.

[9] See discussions by Bender (1998) and Blain and Wallis (2004) on New Age activities and their contestation at sites such as Stonehenge and Avebury.

Fig. 4.2 Gathering for Beltane within the central henge (*photo*: Steve Watson)

Fig. 4.3 Dancing around a portable maypole at the Beltane festival (*photo*: Steve Watson)

Through these reconnections, a 5000-year-old ritual site is now mobilizing social, cultural and economic activity. During one festival, we encountered a barman that one of us knew from nearby York. To our surprise, he introduced himself as a high priest and, to our further surprise, we expressed suitable humility.

Conclusions

This is a story about reconnection—one of the possible outcomes of transformative, dramatic and sustained change and disconnection. There is no single past place at Thornborough, only an accumulation of pasts that present networks and relationalities—the outcomes of prevailing social, economic and cultural conditions. By the time the Romans arrived the henges had lost their purpose but not their sanctity. That lasted longer in tales of magic, with goblins and fairies, interfering in the lives of the new immigrant settlers, vestigially threatening the Christian hegemony, yet an increasingly naturalized part of what had gone before. As such, the structures belonged to England's deep pre-English past for which there was no story that made sense, not until the antiquaries and archaeologists found something to say. Yet as objects, the henges impressed and obstructed with their scale, intruding from the past on the emerging agricultural and industrial landscape. And when the people who had farmed the land for generations left to work in factories in the new and expanding towns and cities of the industrial revolution, the stories they left behind were collected as folklore. But much was forgotten in that great disconnection.

Nowadays, the henge complex has come to symbolize a coalescence of the human and non-human expressed in something primeval and natural, a locus for reconnecting with the past in the face of their threatened destruction, and a vehicle for activism, belief, a place for being and doing, engaging and creating meaning. And this engagement is with all of Thornborough's past/pasts and its accumulations and accumulated relationalities. Its physical residuality expresses this totality so that its survival surprises and delights us, and prompts our desire to engage with it in a new pattern of relationalities that mean something now. The henges have always been active in their environment, in different ways at different times: now they are active again in this latest reconnection through the medium of heritage—*in action*.

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Part III
Stakeholder Challenges

Chapter 5
The Formation of Heritage Elites: Talking Rights and Practicing Privileges in an Afro-Colombian Community

Maria Fernanda Escallon

Introduction

As adherence to UNESCO's heritage protection frameworks grows, it is important for heritage scholars to interrogate the local effects of cultural heritage policies and discourse. In less than a decade, academic scholarship concerning the intersections between cultural heritage and human rights has dramatically increased (see, e.g., Barry, 2013; Ekern, Logan, Sauge, & Sinding-Larsen, 2012; Hodder, 2010; Langfield, Logan, & Nic Craith, 2010; Lydon, 2009; Meskell, 2009, 2010; Shaheed, 2011; Silverman & Ruggles, 2007; see also Fouseki & Shehade, and Human in this volume). Although human rights rhetoric has been used to elevate the gravity of academic research, it has been insufficient to better understand the local contexts in which heritage claims and controversies arise. As new conventions, treaties, nominations, and political bodies multiply, it is unclear whether this proliferation of instruments is effectively protecting minorities against human rights violations or better safeguarding cultural practices at risk of disappearance (Anaya, 2014). Some scholars are particularly concerned with the drawbacks of pairing human rights and heritage, as well as the limitations this pairing has created for both researchers and locals alike (see, e.g., Meskell, 2009, 2010).

Amidst growing criticism on the use of rights rhetoric to bolster heritage claims, few studies have transcended the theoretical debate. In response to this situation, this chapter examines ethnographically the *work* that rights discourse *does* on the ground in the Afro-descendant town of San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia. Since UNESCO declared the "cultural space" of Palenque as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (ICHH) in 2005, a small group of community members have disproportionately benefited from the declaration and gained privileged access to financial

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resources and political power. In this chapter, I identify who speaks about rights in Palenque[1] and reveal how local intellectual elites have used the language of heritage-based rights to justify their current status, resulting in entrenched social exclusion among Palenqueros. Perceiving themselves as self-made cultural entrepreneurs, these heritage elites feel exclusively entitled to benefit from Palenque's declaration. Indeed, heritage benefits are not distributed solely on the grounds of race, ethnicity, or descent, but are chiefly based on who worked towards the ICHH nomination. My focus on the elites is not meant to exclusively blame them for the growing inequalities in town, but instead, to show how the neoliberal paradigm of heritage policies as exercised in Palenque is supported by—and reinforces—class hierarchy. While most scholars highlight the unintended consequences of heritage declarations, I argue that the entrenchment of elitism and rising inequity in Palenque are not altogether unexpected consequences of the heritage declaration. Rather, they demonstrate the difficulty of employing heritage to foster social inclusiveness and economic equality.

Palenque's transformation into a heritage town is inexorably tied to the development of local elites. As their economic advantage increases, their political influence grows, granting them more leverage on regional cultural politics and public investments. Although Colombian state bureaucrats consider heritage nominations as vehicles for economic redistribution and integration of all Afro-descendants, I show how the language of rightful entitlements to heritage limits the scope of their social inclusion. In the context of Palenque, rising status differentiation and inequality illustrate that a shared ethno-racial identity and heritage are not enough to preclude the rise of class conflict.

This chapter begins by briefly summarizing recent critiques of applying human rights rhetoric to heritage claims. While these critiques usefully underscore the limitations of pairing human rights and heritage, this chapter shows how simply critiquing is an insufficient strategy for understanding how rights talk has served to entrench difference and justify elitism on the ground. The second section turns to ethnographic material from San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia, including interviews with government officials, Palenqueros, local elites, and Afro-descendant leaders residing away from the town, to examine with more nuance how rights discourse is used locally. This material illuminates how the language of rights has been used to justify elitism and entrench social difference. Next, I examine the growing inequality experienced in Palenque where economic gains translate into political power. This serves to show how ethno-racial ascription and status differentiation are

[1] In this chapter, I use the name Palenque as a shorter version of the town's full name, San Basilio de Palenque. In Spanish, Palenque means maroon town. Historical research asserts that since the fifteenth century there have been dozens of maroon communities—Palenques—founded in what is today known as Colombia (McFarlane, 1991; Navarrete, 2003). Despite the historical proliferation of maroon settlements, San Basilio de Palenque is one of the most widely known and studied maroon towns in the region and commonly referred to as Palenque by Colombians. Inhabitants of this town call themselves Palenqueros and other Colombians know them by this name as well.

not mutually exclusive processes. Finally, the chapter questions how the language of rightful entitlements to heritage benefits is affecting broader notions of cultural citizenship and national belonging.

Defining Heritage as a Human Right: Current Critiques

Proponents of framing heritage within the language of rights espouse that heritage conventions and other similar policy documents must consider the practice of one's culture as a basic human right (Kurin, 2004, p. 75). Silverman and Ruggles (2007, p. 5), for example, propose that access and enjoyment of heritage should be considered as important as freedom of religion, political expression, movement, and freedom from violence, torture, and hunger. They believe that considering heritage as a human right is crucial for ensuring the protection of individual or group identities and promoting tolerance worldwide. Rights discourse has the benefit of moving heritage into an international register where it is discussed side by side with issues of equality and global justice. As Ivison (2008, p. 86) asserts, the rhetoric of rights may serve as leverage for claims of vulnerable groups and helps introduce heritage to wider public political debates.

The pairing of human rights and heritage, however, may not be adequate, useful, or even appropriate. The language of rights can underscore the urgency of the interests at stake (Meskell, 2010, p. 853), but human rights framework and language are not appropriate to resolve the problems created by heritage. As noted by Meskell (2009), the recognition of heritage as a human right may have rhetorical and symbolic importance, but the way it translates to practice is much more fraught. It is paradoxical that there is so much talk about heritage rights when, in actuality, enforcement procedures, duties, and obligations are usually absent (Burri-Nenova, 2009). Human rights are still difficult to enforce, easy to manipulate, and hard to manage in conditions of deep pluralisms and cultural diversity (Ivison, 2008). As Meskell (2009) argues, given the lack of success in prosecutions of extreme violations of human rights, it is unlikely that infringement of heritage rights could also be effectively prosecuted within this same framework. Although the philosophical, ethical, and political validity of rights cannot depend on how efficiently they are protected, it is still relevant to question the existence of appropriate legal systems, institutions, and procedures that make them enforceable (Stacy, 2009).

As rights debates become entangled with heritage issues, it may be more effective to focus on what people are immediately claiming, rather than to translate heritage demands too quickly into terms of universal human rights. Likewise, reliance on transnational bureaucracy to resolve heritage conflicts may be inadequate, as heritage depends on local, context-specific approaches, and informal settings in which claims can be addressed (Hodder, 2010, p. 865; Meskell, 2010, p. 848). Meskell (2009) also indicates that human rights and cultural heritage inhabit distinct registers and calls for different levels of urgency and severity to be acknowledged. Ethnographic research in Kruger National Park in South Africa, for example, casts

doubt on the effectiveness of international systems of rights protection and considers whether individuals would benefit more from local interventions than they do from generic universal frameworks (Meskell, 2010).

The current rights rhetoric entails a state-to-state dialogue that may be inappropriate and unrealistic when applied to local communities, minorities, and indigenous groups that are seldom in direct communication with national bureaucracies (Meskell, 2010, p. 852). These bureaucracies function in very localized arenas, within regional antagonisms, and rarely translate to internationally agreed agendas (Arantes, 2007, p. 291). Often, claims emanating from disenfranchised populations are not properly represented by the state, and frequently it is the government itself who impinges upon their rights. Given that the onus of protecting and enforcing human rights falls on nation-states, and that state representation and national citizenship remain fundamental for advancing human rights claims (Turner, 2006, p. 2), vulnerable groups may simply fall through the cracks of a state-centered system.

Invoking Heritage, Claiming Rights

My ethnographic fieldwork, conducted in San Basilio de Palenque, Cartagena, and Bogotá between 2009 and 2013, looks at the role that rights discourse plays on the ground. I examined the differences between what the national government and the local population expected from the heritage nomination, as well as the actual results of the eventual declaration. I also unpacked the meaning of recognition and examined its relationship with the work and political lobby of local elites. Accompanying Palenqueros on their daily activities, attending their meetings with government officials, and conducting personal interviews, I analyzed what heritage meant both for locals and the government, what problems and opportunities it created, and what terms were used to describe it. I paid special attention to the mention of rights, particularly of human rights, in an effort to understand the place of this topic in Palenque's new heritage landscape.

Contrary to my expectations, very few government officials explicitly referred to rights when talking about heritage, and did not mention human rights at all. In the words of a highly ranked bureaucrat from the Cultural Heritage Division, "legally speaking, well … here the laws really don't offer protection, that is no real guarantee (…) Anyway, in the text of the 2003 Convention it clearly says that nominations don't create rights. It's not about rights." Rather, heritage was about protecting cultural diversity, strengthening sustainable development, and maintaining a good international reputation. Indeed, as asserted by the public official, neither national policies nor the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage explicitly refer to the right to use, exploit, or benefit from heritage. The Convention, for example, only mentions human rights when stating that the elements nominated for inscription must be compatible with existing international human rights instruments (Kurin, 2004, p. 70).

Although rights barely appear in the 2003 ICH Convention and Colombia's own national heritage policies, when talking with Palenqueros in Cartagena and other

Afro-descendant political leaders in Bogotá, the situation was very different. During one of my meetings with an influential political figure of the Colombian Black movement, she offered me an insightful critique of heritage policies and Afro-descendants' rights. She noted that Palenqueros were part of an ethnic and racial minority in Colombia, and had been historically discriminated against and forgotten by the state. In her view, the heritage declaration would only be useful for Palenque if it helped to protect its rights as a Black community.

According to this Black leader, the nomination, by itself, was absolutely meaningless. More than heritage, Palenque was a community of Black people, a vulnerable population whose rights were constantly violated by large-scale agro-industrial projects and the armed groups who controlled surrounding areas. Palenqueros are claiming rights and demanding reparation. It is not solely a matter of heritage, she stressed: "Because they are Black, these communities have suffered immensely, and they deserve a differentiated and positive treatment (…) it's not culture for the sake of culture, it's linking culture to the right to be different, to the protection of difference, the right to have an alternative society." In her view, the Palenqueros, not their heritage, were in need of protection. The bearer of heritage is the bearer of rights, she said, "yet the ministry keeps choosing an easier path and continues to protect culture rather than people."

Inspired by her critique, I revisited my interviews with Palenqueros living in town in an effort to identify how and when they referred to rights in our discussions about heritage; and I discovered something intriguing. As with the government officials, no one in town connected rights to heritage, let alone spoke to me about human rights. I had long discussions about jobs, money, public services, and even corruption, but heritage as a right, or even more, as a human right, was simply not in their discourse. Intrigued, I further scrutinized my notes and turned to the meetings held with Palenqueros who lived or worked in Cartagena. In particular, I interviewed a group locally known as *mochileros*, which I identify as the intellectual heritage elite or the cultural entrepreneurs (for more on this term refer to Cunin, 2003).

In short, the *mochileros*[2] are a tightly knit group of Palenqueros—also African-descended—from a handful of local families who a have long-standing relationship with the government and have been involved with the heritage nomination process for years. Some members of this group of lawyers, politicians, anthropologists, historians, and other locally known figures have been educated in Bogotá, Cartagena, or other nearby cities, and many enjoy a slightly more comfortable living standard. Many of them are politically active, have created local cultural organizations, teach in nearby universities, write books about Palenque, and have a good amount of influence in heritage committees, local councils, and the like.

[2] The origin and meaning of this word are still debated. In town some explained that mochilas—a type of traditional handwoven shoulder bag with no internal pockets—are usually worn by social scientists, particularly anthropologists. Wearing a mochila is thus an indicator of being an anthropologist or a social scientist. Other Palenqueros explained that mochilero had a demeaning connotation as everything that is stored inside a mochila gets lost and is difficult to find.

I noticed that contrary to many of the Palenqueros living in town, these cultural entrepreneurs did refer to rights in our interviews. Many told me how Palenque's nomination was a direct result of their work, and how, without them, nothing would have happened. Indeed a few of them wrote the candidacy dossier for UNESCO, but besides this direct involvement, many emphasized their history of committed work supporting and preserving Palenque's culture. While detailing their connection with the town's heritage, many sought to explain why they had the right to manage cultural projects or represent the community. In meetings with the Ministry of Culture, members of this group stressed the importance of distributing projects among those who could demonstrate experience and know-how in cultural initiatives. In private and public meetings, the cultural entrepreneurs implied that granting them control of heritage projects was also a way of recognizing their own long-standing work and positive trajectory in the field.

The rights talk among cultural entrepreneurs was less concerned with pursuing equal benefits for all Palenqueros, than with shoring up the privilege of a few to exploit the fruits of their labor. In a series of interviews I held with one member of this group, cultural heritage was described as the result of their hard work, their political lobby, and the years of networking with government and UNESCO officials. Recognition for Palenque was also recognition for them, and implicitly entitled *mochileros* to advertise, sell, and profit from a symbolic asset, which they claimed that they had helped create.

In Palenque, avoiding references to human rights, yet stressing the importance of entitlements, is a critical pattern. On the one hand, it highlights the perception that not everyone should benefit equally from a nomination spearheaded by a small group. On the other, it uses hard work as a justification for cultural entrepreneurs' exclusive rights. To be clear, here I am not demeaning the years of hard work by many Palenqueros, nor am I implying that elites alone are responsible for Palenque's rising inequality. I am simply noting what sort of effort serves to justify distinction and a rightful claim to a position of power. For elites, controlling the symbolic, economic, and political benefits derived from heritage is not an infringement on shared communal rights; it is simply the assertion of their earned privileges as cultural entrepreneurs.

Most certainly the discussion of rights has locked heritage into conflicts concerning who controls what and why. Although the indexes of poverty, malnutrition, and illiteracy in Palenque continue to soar (Daza, García, & Quintero, 2009), discussions over rights, access, and ownership frequently trumped council meetings and reunions with national civil servants. As a member of the Ministry of Culture's Heritage Office bitterly commented: "It's all about the money, everything is. Who is hired for which project, it's all political back and forth. Palenque is a myth, the idea of community is a myth. It's an opportunity niche, an excuse for political power and economic gain, and while the president celebrates their declaration, the social fabric of Palenque crumbles away." Her frustration was evident as her work meetings with Palenqueros kept revolving around who got hired for what, rather than what was being done for heritage.

As elites speak of rights to maintain their position, most Palenqueros feel that what once was common heritage no longer belongs to them. In a survey conducted

by a Colombian NGO about how Palenqueros perceived the declaration, locals reported that most knew about the nomination process and that being declared by UNESCO had been one of the most important events in the town's history. Yet nearly 83 % of respondents said that they could not or did not participate in the process (Fundación Erigaie, 2009). In town, many were resistant to speak about heritage as some felt that it "belonged" to a politically powerful group and they wanted to keep themselves out of trouble. Local musicians and dancers repeatedly reminded me that though they have been singing, composing music, and performing for years, they would rather keep themselves out of the "heritage thing." As one of these community members explained to me "the declaration was the work of one small group of Palenqueros. I worked with them on traditional music for a while. But I had very strong differences with the people that control Palenque's heritage. I preferred not to work like that. I don't agree with those who took over Palenque's heritage. So I had to stay out of it. Now I work in human rights elsewhere."

In Palenque, the ones who speak of rights are the ones who can actually exercise them. In their own struggle to make a living, cultural entrepreneurs have used the language of rights to their advantage, and perhaps inadvertently, furthered social exclusion and inequality. Intellectuals and activists outside Palenque have taken up their rhetoric, and inadequately translated the cultural entrepreneurs' discourse into claims for human rights and equality. This, in turn, has continued to misrepresent what rights discourse actually does on the ground.

Growing Inequality

As demonstrated in other countries around the world, the rights discourse has been instrumental in forging new forms of inequality, fostering elitism, and undermining effective democratization efforts (Englund, 2006). In Palenque, conflicts have emerged within community factions with unequal access—and rights—to the benefits derived from its UNESCO declaration. Although wealth and education disparities existed long before Palenque's heritage declaration, the nomination did exacerbate social segregation within the town. As privileges and rights to heritage are increasingly maintained within elite circles, preexisting hierarchies have accentuated and political tensions increased. However, class differentiation cannot be understood as a direct result of the elite's will, or as an unexpected negative consequence of the declaration, but rather as an integral part of how heritage has been administered locally. Although heritage recognition was prompted on the base of race and ethnicity, the way in which is capitalized, requires and reinforces social hierarchies. Indeed, the types of entrepreneurial opportunities that the Colombian neoliberal state allows and expects, end up accentuating class stratification. The unequal exchange and distribution of benefits experienced by Palenqueros serve as evidence that heritage may simply be an inadequate medium for achieving equality and inclusion.

The inequality in terms of overall wealth and economic income that the declaration created not only serves to make a few Palenqueros increasingly wealthy, but also keeps the excluded majority trapped in poverty. As wealth continues to concen-

trate in the hands of a small group, the gap between rich and poor widens and inequality grows. The existence of wealthier individuals who possess greater economic, symbolic, and social capital affects political power and public policies that progressively tend to favor the rich and well connected. Economic and political power go hand in hand; the greater the concentration of wealth, the greater the concentration of power (Fuentes-Nieva & Galasso, 2014; OXFAM, 2014).

This growing trend speaks to a profound transformation in Palenque's social fabric. This change has affected the local economy and internal politics, as it ties heritage to money in a village where exchange of labor and reciprocal favors have long predominated over cash transactions. As the social fabric is transformed, the inequalities of local hierarchies become evident and take concrete form in the shape of rights discourse. Money, heritage, and rights are fueling an ever-accelerating process of unequal accumulation that increasingly favors elites. These heritage-driven inequalities cannot be easily dismissed. As discussed by Lipsitz (2011), political and wealth gaps tend to increase rather than decrease over time. In the Colombian neoliberal climate, where culture is increasingly de-centralized and managed privately, inherited wealth stemming from heritage declarations may become even more important for privileged social classes.

In this scenario it is unlikely that heritage can perform as cultural diplomats and national bureaucrats expect. The wealthier the cultural entrepreneurs get, the more leverage they have in political decisions, public investments, and hiring choices related to Palenque's heritage projects. Indeed, this has been the trend so far, where a handful of cultural entrepreneurs keep participating in public events, representing the community in meetings with national bureaucrats, and even holding permanent positions in public offices. As the elite's economic capital expands, its circle of influence becomes larger, making it easier to control money disbursements and information channels.

Although some members of the Ministry of Culture working with Palenqueros are well aware of this fact, it is a trend that is difficult to change. As noted by public servants from the ministry, the elites speak the language needed to interact with the state, write projects, and receive public funding. They know who to talk to, what paperwork to file, and what is expected from them. Working with elites is easier, faster, and, in bureaucratic terms, more effective. Today, a decade after Palenque's declaration, we are seeing the ripple effects of a system of unequal heritage bargain, exchange, and benefit. Sadly, there are few incentives to change this situation any time soon.

Heritage in a Broader Context

To be sure, while in this chapter I focus on elites and their increasing control of heritage capital, this situation results from a series of complex historical, social, and cultural factors that exceed the scope of this analysis. I acknowledge that both the creation of elites and the maintenance of their privileges are part of a broader context that involves civil servants, local representatives, non-elites, and

Afro-descendant leaders. The benefits enjoyed by elites today also respond to structural conditions such as outdated bureaucracy, national political interests, and international agendas, which are all far from elites' control. Certainly, the current situation is a result of intricate long-term processes, not merely of the elites' will. The entrepreneurial language of heritage supported by the neoliberal state has created unequal opportunities that, in turn, exacerbate class differentiation. Yet, even though elites are not singlehandedly responsible for the changes experienced in Palenque, they are still a powerful force behind larger heritage-driven processes.

Indeed, acknowledging the relationship between rights, elites, and class differentiation in Palenque can help evaluate broader claims sustained by national bureaucrats and cultural diplomats worldwide. Considering the consequences of the declaration in Palenque, is it reasonable to assert that heritage recognition leads to sustainable economic development and integration for the community as a whole? The entrenched differentiation in this town certainly invites skepticism with regards to heritage's ability to promote redistribution, poverty alleviation, or equal economic development. These same entrenched differences also raise questions about the capacity of a shared ethno-racial ascription to avoid class and status conflict. For many, Palenque was better off before the declaration; "we don't want more money for our culture," one former council member said. "It's better that no one gets money instead of only a few receiving it," he added. For all the government's talk on the benefits of recognition, in Palenque, heritage has become a synonym for inequality.

These observations show how the promotion of shared heritage and the creation of status distinction are not mutually exclusive processes, even within a small minority group. Identity categories of ethnicity and race have long been presented as elements of cohesion and community building (Eriksen, 1993). Although this is true for Palenque, certainly the communal identification as maroons, Afro-descendants, Blacks, or bearers of heritage has not trumped the rise of class differentiation and elitism. For non-elites, heritage recognition has been the driver of inequality and conflict rather than integration.

Privileging ideas of resistance, maroons have too often been portrayed as homogenous communities with a shared past of exploitation and abuse. The heritage declaration has strengthened this notion by recognizing an idealized communal culture that belongs to all Palenqueros. In public policy literature, Afro-descendant minorities are depicted as poorer and more homogenous than the rest of Colombians (Cruces, Gasparini, & Carbajal, 2010, p. 28). My analysis of Palenque adds nuance to this claim by examining previously overlooked layers of hierarchy within the community itself. I incorporate previous ethnographic findings, which rightly point to the distinctions that exist between different groups of Palenqueros and question the notion of a cohesive Black Colombian community (Cunin, 2003).

Although this chapter has emphasized the status difference of local elites, and highlighted the negative effects this hierarchy has for most Palenqueros, it is crucial to understand that cultural entrepreneurs are regarded by some as "the first who did something for Palenque." Many of these entrepreneurs are genuinely concerned about Palenque's situation and even though they are seen as local elites, they are still part of a segregated national minority. In Colombia, Blacks are still disproportionally

poor, have the worst housing conditions, work in the lowest paying jobs, and have the highest unemployment rates. Compared to their fellow citizens, by and large, Afro-Colombians have less access to education, health, and sanitation services (Cruces et al., 2010; Gamboa, & Asprilla, 2013). Almost half of this population has no health insurance or social security benefits, and reports lower incomes per household and overall worse indexes of quality of life (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2007; Urrea, Ramírez, & Viáfara, 2002).

In Palenque, elites appear to have local influence and control over a good portion of the heritage benefits. Yet in a national perspective, their political power as Blacks is extremely limited. In Colombia today, of all the members of President Santos' cabinet only one is Black, and historically less than a handful of Afro-descendants have occupied high-ranking positions in government. In the Atlantic region where Palenque is located, 67.6% of Afro-descendants are considered poor (Gamboa et al., 2013, p. 21). It is important to understand the scale of local elites' power in the Colombian broader socioeconomic context, and to be clear that even as *mochileros* perpetuate elitism, they are subject themselves to racism and exclusion. Instead of simply blaming the elites, it is crucial to acknowledge the broader political structures that are based on—and continue to reproduce—inequality. In this scenario, small differences have a significant cumulative effect, and certainly the unequal opportunities afforded by the declaration cannot be underestimated.

Conclusion: Granting or Earning Cultural Citizenship?

The discussion about heritage entitlements and rights leaves unanswered larger political and ethical questions regarding how to establish a basis for distributing heritage benefits (Arocha, 2007; Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2010). The Colombian government presents Palenque's declaration as a form of political recognition and an opportunity for economic support for Afro-descendants. Yet, effects from the nomination trickle down unequally, creating rising tensions over who has a legitimate claim to heritage's gains. As defined in the 2003 UNESCO ICH Convention and the Colombian cultural legislation, intangible heritage is a communally shared good. The claims associated with Palenque's heritage, however, are not based on community belonging, but on the work invested in refashioning local culture as heritage of humanity. Heritage benefits are not distributed solely on the grounds of race, ethnicity, or descent but also in exchange for a specific type of work. The fact that elites perceive other Palenqueros as taking advantage of their labor epitomizes how cultural membership alone is not a strong enough claim to benefit from heritage.

The moral language of heritage elites, which combines ethno-racial ascription with labor, is one that should be taken cautiously. Quite overtly, the Colombian government promotes minorities' heritage as a way of acknowledging their belonging to a pluri-ethnic state. Yet, if only entrepreneurial elites are rightfully entitled to heritage benefits, how is the notion of multicultural citizenship affected? What does

this mean for other minorities worldwide who continue to use heritage as a promising avenue for claiming political inclusion and national belonging?

Understanding the effects of heritage-based rights discourse is both timely and important, seeing as this topic is so widely debated in current scholarship and yet so poorly understood as an element of segregation on the ground. Continuing the abstract debate on the benefits and pitfalls of rights and cultural heritage will position academics as yet another privileged elite whose prerogative it is to entertain theoretical discussion (Englund, 2006, pp. 8–12). Engaging instead with the *ethnographic effects* of heritage-based rights discourse, the findings discussed in this chapter suggest that elitism and unequal entitlements are not unexpected consequences of declarations, or of heritage gone wrong. Rather, they serve as evidence of heritage's limitation to foster inclusive and equitable modes of national belonging.

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Chapter 6
Ethical or Empty Gestures?: World Heritage Nominations in Turkey

Helen Human

Introduction

The emergence of the idea of the "cultural heritage of mankind" laid the foundation for today's global organizational field of heritage. In the post-World War II era, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) oversaw the proliferation of cultural heritage principles and legislation, detailing the international community's responsibility to protect heritage. This flourishing of international activity around cultural heritage culminated in 1972 with the promulgation of the World Heritage Convention. This instrument is the most ratified international treaty for cultural and natural heritage preservation in the world. It aims to create globally shared standards for the conservation of properties found to be of "outstanding universal value" and inscribed on the prestigious World Heritage List, which now contains over 1000 sites in 161 countries. Within the international forum created by the World Heritage Convention, evolving global discourses on diversity and human rights configure the value of heritage and how it is managed. Today, in line with the broader objectives of the United Nations, the rhetoric of human rights entwines with the preservation activities taking place within the World Heritage Program. Global movements to protect human rights make use of forums designed to preserve cultural diversity. Urged on by academics, activists, and NGOs, State Parties to the Convention have carried out reforms asserting that the mechanisms of this globally implemented heritage program have the potential to promote both conservation and nonconservation benefits, such as the social empowerment and inclusion of historically marginalized communities.

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On the international stage, state representatives and activists increasingly regard non-state actors, such as local and indigenous communities, as having rights to cultural heritage deriving from the human right to culture. The violent destruction of the Stari Most Historic Ottoman Bridge in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan, for example, serve as iconic representations of the violation of an ethno-religious group's right to preserve their cultural past. Heritage practitioners have swiftly and optimistically embraced the conceptual link between heritage and human rights, especially in the context of conflict and post-conflict situations such as these. Both of these historic sites were, for instance, declared World Heritage Sites following their destruction, largely in recognition of their symbolic value as sites of human rights abuses and the loss of irreplaceable cultural heritage.

While the entanglement of heritage and human rights generates much excitement amongst archaeologists and ethnographers hoping to advance a sense of social justice for the vulnerable communities with which they work, this chapter demonstrates how the recently forged link between heritage and rights does not always empower progressive forces. The chapter provides a critical analysis of the planned World Heritage nomination of the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex in central Turkey. Turkey, despite having signed a number of international human rights laws, struggles with a bad reputation in the realm of human rights. Amidst its efforts to secure the nation and to shape an ethnically Turkish and Sunni Muslim citizenry, the Turkish state has been repeatedly accused of erasing inconvenient histories, cultural domination, and political violence (Tambar, 2014). As a case in point, Turkey has long tried to forcibly assimilate its Alevi community, a historically rural non-Sunni group of Muslim background for whom the thirteenth-century mystic Hacı Bektaş is a patron saint.

Amidst accusations of human rights abuses, the World Heritage Program has provided the Turkish state a significant opening to advance a different narrative. The planned World Heritage nomination of the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex, the most sacred and significant site of worship for Alevis, I argue, allows Turkish officials to highlight their preservation of cultural heritage affiliated with a historically marginalized community. The nomination even goes so far as to cast Hacı Bektaş as a Turkish philosopher promoting principles in line with modern, universal human rights doctrine. Rather than a place where human rights are violated through religious and cultural repression, officials use the infrastructure of World Heritage to claim Turkey as the birthplace of human rights. This case study, I ultimately argue, gives pause about the debatable, if not altogether dubious, ends of "rights talk" in heritage circles. This is particularly important as scholars, practitioners, and activists all too optimistically ignore the outcomes that may result from this linkage (Logan, 2007).

Rhetorics of Human Rights and Heritage

Since ancient times, heritage has been understood as an exceptional category set apart from simple property. Historic and artistic objects have, for example, been regarded as plunder and protected as symbols of political legitimacy and identity (Kohl & Fawcett, 1995; Meskell, 1998; Miles, 2008). In the wake of the devastation

wrought by the Second World War, intellectuals and political leaders moved to defend heritage as the shared property of humankind (Gerstenblith, 2006). In the hopes of using culture to bring about peace and solidarity between national peoples, UNESCO declared that humanity had a collective obligation to preserve its heritage (Droit, 2005). The Turkish Republic in particular was a founder of UNESCO and participated in the organization's internationally cooperative preservation efforts, such as the 1954 Hague Convention; the 1970 Convention on the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property; and the World Heritage Convention.

More recently, critiques of the state-dominated structure of the World Heritage forum prompted UNESCO to rearticulate the value of heritage as something more than a means of fashioning national and international communities. Inspired by an emerging global consensus around the importance of protecting cultural diversity, for its "intrinsic potentials as a source of innovation, creativity, and exchange" (Meskell, 2011, p. 27), UNESCO developed the concept of culture in the wider field of legal human rights norms. As part of a UN-wide program of "human rights mainstreaming," UNESCO purposefully integrated human rights into its activities, highlighting the potential of human rights norms to promote and protect cultural diversity, just as cultural diversity holds the potential to bolster certain human rights (Charlesworth, 2009; see chapters by Byrne and Escallon in this volume). Thanks to UNESCO's wide-reaching efforts, particularly the promulgation of the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, the maintenance of one's culture is now regarded in international discourse and in the programs of global organizations as an inalienable human right (Donders, 2010).[1]

UNESCO's elaboration of the concept of cultural rights and its relationship to cultural diversity form the foundation for the heritage rights talk of today. As Judith Nagata observes, the elasticity of the concepts of heritage and human rights has allowed for the evolution of heritage, partly sustained and informed by an international heritage network, as a "weapon of the weak" (2009, p. 113). In some ways, the dramatic upsurge in "rights talk" is not surprising and can be explained, as Lynn Meskell describes it, by "the desire to harness the urgency of human rights discourse" (2009, p. 309). While the firm concept of cultural heritage did not feature in the human rights documents of the twentieth century, heritage may stake claim, through its association with culture in general, to the benefits afforded to the "rights to culture" in international human rights legislation (Nagata, 2009). UNESCO affirmed that human rights include cultural rights and that the defense of cultural diversity implies a commitment to human rights. Shortly thereafter, the preservation of cultural heritage came to be seen as a means of contributing to the defense of cultural diversity and human rights.

[1] The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity describes the defense of cultural diversity as an ethical imperative which implies a commitment to human rights. It further declares that cultural rights are an integral part of human rights. Continuing in this vein, UNESCO's 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions promotes cultural diversity as a "defining characteristic of humanity" that is important "for the full realization of human rights."

Scholars and activists have fervently critiqued states for not adequately safeguarding minority and indigenous groups' right to heritage, documenting cases in which official heritage interventions have undermined rather than strengthened traditional practices, community identity, cultural diversity, and human rights. NGOs, activists, and minority groups themselves now deploy the rhetoric of human rights in their struggles with states in order to use heritage to create more inclusive histories (Silverman & Ruggles, 2007; World Heritage and Human Rights, 2012). These mobilizations of human rights rhetoric are supported by actions such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) affirming in 1998 that the right to cultural heritage is an integral part of human rights and the promulgation of the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, which is the first human rights instrument to explicitly reference material cultural heritage (Hodder, 2010; Langfield, Logan, & Craith, 2009).

In light of these rhetorical and legal developments, scholars, activists, and State Parties to the World Heritage convention seek to connect the original concepts and mission of the Convention to human rights in order to carve out a central role—one both mobilizing and "catalytic"—for World Heritage in the future (UNESCO, 1994). Studies now promote best practices for ensuring that human rights are respected in World Heritage areas and processes, and experts also emphasize the challenge that minority groups face in having their cultural heritage preserved (see chapter by Escallon in this volume) and recognized by hostile states. While the World Heritage Program currently has no policy explicitly framing access to or the conservation of cultural heritage as a human right, the transparency requirements imposed by the World Heritage nomination process may make visible the fragility of the status and rights of communities closely associated with World Heritage Sites (Nagata, 2009). In recognition of linkages between World Heritage, cultural diversity, and human rights, experts at a meeting that the World Heritage Centre organized in Paraty, Brazil, in 2010 concluded that the format of the nomination dossier for World Heritage Sites should be changed to include "questions to assess whether stakeholders' views, needs and human rights considerations have been integrated in proposed nominations" (UNESCO, 2010; Labadi, 2013, pp. 134–136). In the absence of any clear legal definition of cultural rights, rights talk in the forum of World Heritage has come to suggest at different moments (1) a right to heritage; (2) that heritage contributes to rights through the promotion of cultural diversity; and (3) the notion of human rights as heritage. It is important to consider what might be the effects of this scattershot use of heritage rights talk.

Turkey and the Politics of the Past

Nationalism, as Sophia Labadi notes, "continues to shape the way countries interact … with global institutions such as the World Bank and, in particular, the United Nations" (Labadi & Long, 2010, p. 5). States participate in UNESCO's various initiatives to advance national, regional, or alliance interests and the success of the

World Heritage Convention reflects this. With the media focusing on the economic impacts of World Heritage designation, State Parties strive for new inscriptions to reap prestige and tourist dollars. In addition to leveraging World Heritage in support of its national tourism development goals, Turkey aggressively uses this program to pursue foreign policy objectives, such as in 2012 lobbying for intervention in Syria and in 2014 bolstering its campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council.

As one UNESCO staffer lamented to me at the World Heritage Centre in Paris in 2012, inscription has increasingly become a political issue (Human, 2015, p. 164). Contrary to popular perception, states are the real loci of power in the "global heritage game" and, in the past several years, State Parties to the World Heritage Convention have increasingly dominated the inscription process through international political pacting and voting blocs, often paying little heed to the expert advisory bodies' recommendations (see Bertacchini & Saccone, 2012; Meskell, 2012, 2014). While Turkey signed the World Heritage Convention in 1983 and has 15 sites on the list, it is only in the past several years that the state has sought to become a leader in this field. A highly publicized five million dollar donation to UNESCO's emergency relief fund in 2012 is but one of many ways in which Turkey aims to shape its position on the international stage (UNESCO Türkiye Millî Komisyonu, 2012). The state is investing tens of millions of dollars into nominating, managing, and marketing World Heritage Sites, with six sites added to the list in the past five years. In 2014, Turkey also seconded personnel to work in the World Heritage Centre in Paris. After extensive lobbying campaigns, Turkey took on new leadership roles in UNESCO in 2013. Opportunities for maneuvering, such as these, make the forum of the World Heritage Convention an ideal location for states to communicate historical, economic, and environmental credentials to the world (Askew, 2010, p. 22).

In Turkey, the relatively recent connection between cultural diversity and human rights has provided a significant opening for a state struggling to convince the international community generally, and the European Union (EU) more specifically, that it is committed to human rights. The state's continued alignment with the West makes human rights a topic of concern as it aims to advance its foreign policy objectives. Turkey is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the European Convention on Human Rights. Following Turkey's 1980 military coup and during its conflicts with various Kurdish insurgent groups, however, the world community became increasingly aware of the state's violation of physical integrity rights—such as the freedom from torture, government-sponsored killing, and political imprisonment. By the close of the Cold War, the Turkish political system had returned to a formal democracy, but its limitations remained numerous. Questions regarding civil and political rights, such as freedoms of speech, assembly, movement, and religion, as well as voting and workers' rights came to the fore over the course of the 1990s (Dalacoura, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 1993).

The state machinery in place to maintain the nation's imagined, unified, and stable political community is formidable. This may be explained by looking back to the founding of the Republic. In the 1920s, as the new Turkish republican political elite attempted to forge a national people with a shared religion, language, and

Fig. 6.1 Cem room at the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex (*photo*: Helen Human)

history, non-Sunni groups of Muslim background, such as the Alevi Turks, Alevi Kurds, Circassians, Arabs, and Lazis, presented a political problem for the state. The "Bektaşi network," which constitutes the basis of today's *Alevilik* (Alevihood), consolidated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as an institution resistant to Sunni orthodoxy (Yürekli, 2012). Scholars note that Alevism displays the influence of Shi'i Islam, various forms of Islamic mysticism, Central Asian shamanism, and expressions of Christianity found in Anatolia. In contrast to Sunnis, the majority of Alevis do not attend mosque services or follow the five pillars of Islam. The central religious ritual of Alevism is the Cem ceremony, led by religious leaders called *Dede*, usually in Turkish in a *Cemevi* (Aykan, 2013) (Fig. 6.1).[2] Historically there is no single Alevi community. The definition of Alevism remains contested, with different Alevi groups asserting that Alevism is within Sufi Islam, that Shi'ism is the defining feature, or that Alevism is entirely outside of Islam. It is only in contemporary Turkey that the category *Alevi* became socially legible and politically inescapable (Tambar, 2014).

[2] A typical Cem ceremony involves lectures on the Alevi belief, recitations from the Quran, religious stories, symbolic gestures, mystical songs, and dancing of *semah*, in which men and women dance together in small groups in circular patterns.

The state's response to Alevis, and other non-Sunni Muslim groups, was to implement Turkification policies. These policies promoted the dominance of Turkishness and Sunni Islam, and denied the religious diversity presented by these groups, identifying them as in no way distinct from the Sunni majority (Kaya, 2013). All Sufi dervish orders were declared illegal, with the rationale that they were backward, superstitious, and antimodern. The state instituted a Directorate of Religious Affairs, abolished all places for religious communion and practice other than mosques, and banned the use of mother tongues (targeting non-Turkish speakers) (Kaya & Harmanyeri, 2010). Perhaps surprisingly, at the same time Turkey's nationalist, ruling elite incorporated Alevi cultural heritage into the nationalist historical narrative. Owing to aspects of Alevism that stem from ancient beliefs and practices of Central Asian origin, nationalists held up the Alevi as representative of the original Turkish nation, unspoiled by the Ottomans (Meeker, 2002). Alevi Turks, who had a long history of suffering harassment and discrimination to outright persecution in Anatolia, were suddenly relatively free from state repression. Public manifestations of some elements of Alevi tradition, such as literature, music, and festivals, were tolerated as long as they were represented as aspects of Turkish folk culture and not religious difference (Aykan, 2013).

Within this context, history and cultural heritage, with their capacity to contest forms of organized domination, are loci of power and danger. Events which represent the darkest periods in the history of the Republic are often passed over in silence, if not deliberately misrepresented (Goçek, 2014). Today, despite the fact that Alevis constitute the second largest religious group after the Sunni-Muslim majority in Turkey, making up about 15–20 % of the population, their unique religious identity continues not to be officially recognized by the Turkish state. Following sporadic sectarian violence in the late 1970s and early 1990s, there was an explosion of Alevi organizations and public intellectuals promoting the rights and entitlements of Alevi communities in a historical moment often referred to as the Alevi Awakening. The majority of Alevis and Alevi voluntary organizations today reject the state's identification of their community as no different from the Sunni majority. While amongst themselves there is debate about whether Alevism is a cultural or religious identity, the majority are asserting the religiosity of their beliefs and practices. Alevi organizations express a clear set of political demands for religious rights and the elimination of policies promoting conversion to Sunni Islam.[3]

The EU and other sources regularly remind the international community that the Turkish state has jailed, tortured, and killed historians, artists, and journalists for calling into question Turkey's official historical narratives and policies regarding marginalized ethnic and religious communities.[4] The Alevi awakening corresponded

[3] For more on Alevism and Turkish politics, see Shankland, 2003; Soner & Toktas, 2011; and Tambar, 2014.

[4] For instance, the sociologist Ismail Beşikçi's books were banned and he spent more than 10 years in prison for writing on the state's organized violence against the Kurds in the 1930s (Bruinessen, 1997). Numerous others have been taken to court over the violation of Article 301 of the Penal Code, "insulting the Turkish national identity," which may include referring to the Armenian Genocide (including Hrant Dink, Orhan Pamuk, and Elif Şafak).

with foreign powers placing increasing pressure on Turkey to respect the human rights of minorities. Immigrant populations and ethnic lobbies in the EU and the USA, including Alevis, Kurds, Armenians, and Greeks, alerted public opinion and government officials to Turkey's human rights abuses. Alevis have successfully brought their claims to the attention of the European Court of Human Rights and the European Commission, which has critiqued the Turkish state for its violation of Alevis' religious rights (Aykan, 2013; Soner & Toktas, 2011).

In response to this rising criticism, Turkey firmly asserts that it is, in fact, a beacon of freedom and democracy in an unstable region. This claim represents a high-stakes maneuver for tourism revenue, foreign investment, and international power. In the 2000s, Turkey undertook a series of democratic reforms under the leadership of the Justice and Development Party (AKP). The AKP, born from amongst the ranks of the Islamist movement and in power from 2002, initiated a program to raise toleration and respect for the freedom of religion and conscience and for the protection of religious rights. For the AKP, which has found its political success in the country's growing prosperity, the economic marginalization that may result from a bad human rights reputation is unacceptable. Globally, governments are increasingly sensitive to the close connection between the world's fantasies of their countries and the "real" world of global investment and capital flows (Ferguson, 2006). Negative perceptions of Turkey may have real and material costs, outside of derailing EU accession negotiations. The Turkish Government responds to Western critiques of its democratization program by using the discourse of cultural diversity and tolerance to position itself in world politics as a conservative democracy, grounded on a libertarian discourse of universal rights and liberties (Kaya, 2013).

Through the promotion and selective preservation of minority heritage, the Turkish state conveys to the international community its claim to take human rights seriously. It is possible to trace this strategy through the state's enthusiastic participation in programs such as the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations and UNESCO's 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention. These are international forums that allow the state opportunities to show its commitment to cultural diversity and, implicitly, human rights, while glossing complicated and contradictory recollections. In the tentative nomination of the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex, I was intrigued to see this strategy extend for the first time into the forum of the World Heritage Program.

The Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex

In 2012, the Turkish Government added the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex to its "Tentative List"—the list that each country participating in the World Heritage Convention keeps of sites they intend to nominate to the World Heritage List. The Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex, located in central Turkey, is the site of Hacı Bektaş's tomb and a dervish convent of the Bektaşi order (Fig. 6.2). While little is known about the life of Hacı Bektaş, he is believed to have migrated to central Anatolia

Fig. 6.2 Entrance to the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex (*photo*: Helen Human)

from Persia and taught about humanity, humility, honesty, perseverance in the face of human suffering, and the attainment of universal truth. The center and source of Hacı Bektaş's teachings was the Prophet Muhammad's cousin, Ali, placing his followers in the fold of Shi'i Islam (Soileau, 2006). The dervish lodge, established following Hacı Bektaş's death in the thirteenth century, hosts a complex of cells, tombs, pools, courtyards, and kitchens. In addition to being a popular pilgrimage destination, the site is ranked as one of the museums most visited by Turkish citizens (Özbey, 2004). For centuries the Hacı Bektaş Veli shrine and dervish convent served as a center of resistance for non-Sunni individuals and groups of Muslim background, and in the 1960s, the complex emerged as an important space for the historically secretive Alevi community to develop as a public religion.

Within this context, the planned World Heritage nomination of the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex represents a twofold opportunity for the Turkish state to demonstrate to the international community its commitment to human rights: first of all by asserting a heritage of human rights and, secondly, by nominating a site with deep significance for a marginalized community, signaling its commitment to preserving cultural diversity and supporting human rights. It is a double movement made possible by the recent entanglement of heritage with the discourses of human rights and cultural diversity.

While the tentative World Heritage nomination briefly explains the significance of the architecture and interior design of the complex, it predominately emphasizes the associated values of the site, casting the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex as an eastern birthplace of human rights ideals. While this might seem like a natural way for a state to use the forum provided by the World Heritage Convention, it is in fact something rarely seen. UNESCO introduced the notion of "associative value" as a criterion for cultural World Heritage site nominations in the late 1970s, allowing for the nomination of properties "importantly associated with ideas or beliefs, with events or with persons, of outstanding historical importance or significance."[5] Between 1978 and 1980, however, concerns about the nationalist, political potential for nominations concerning historical events or famous people resulted in a revision of this criterion, including the removal of "persons" from the criterion and the incorporation of the World Heritage Committee's preference that the criterion be used only in exceptional circumstances.[6] Despite these cautions, Turkey has pursued a debatable interpretation of this criterion, which allows the state to promote sites with a connection to human rights, as an idea of outstanding universal significance.

The Turkish state's tentative nomination describes Hacı Bektaş as a thirteenth-century philosopher, explaining that "the base of his philosophy lies on … human rights," that his words "coincide with the 'Un-Declaration of Human Rights,'" and that his beliefs not only enlightened Anatolia, but were also disseminated to the Balkans and the Middle East. This interpretation of the site's significance is underscored to visitors in the museum's interpretation as they pass through the second courtyard (Fig. 6.3). While human rights doctrine is commonly understood as a product of Western history, this nomination represents an interesting counterclaim to the heritage of human rights. It allows Turkey to promote the idea of a historically based Turkish humanism over and against human rights criticisms raised by Western bodies such as the EU. Turkey calls upon the figure of Hacı Bektaş to affirm the state's commitment to liberal ideals—calling into question Europe's monopoly on the topic, while also shoring up the government's political legitimacy and expanding Turkey's global influence.

This politically expedient nomination is grounded in a nationalist interpretation of Hacı Bektaş Veli as a secular humanist, who contributed to the emergence of human rights ideals. This representation extends back to the founding of the new "secular" Republic in the 1920s and the closure of the Sufi dervish orders. As with

[5] Paragraph 7(vi), Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 1978).

[6] It was considered that including sites associated with scholars, artists, writers, or statesmen could lead to the list becoming "a sort of competitive Honours Board for the famous men of different countries" (in Cameron & Rössler, 2013, p. 36). While leaders in the World Heritage forum acknowledged that an idea may haunt a historic place, it was felt that emphasis should be placed on "concrete" cultural property. The revised criterion read that a site nominated for its associative values must "be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considered that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria)." Paragraph 18(vi), Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 1980).

Fig. 6.3 Sayings attributed to Hacı Bektaş Veli above the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*photo*: Helen Human)

the Alevi, in pursuit of its Turkification policies, the state wanted to recognize Hacı Bektaş Veli for his contributions to the preservation of pure Turkish language by having introduced rituals celebrated only in Turkish. The state emphasized his Turkish ethnicity and certain universalist themes found in his discourse and legends—such as love for humankind and nonviolence. This nationalist narrative is clearly the source of the connection asserted between Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the tentative nomination description.

This nomination also represents one instance amongst many in which the AKP-dominated Turkish Government has celebrated the country's diversity and highlighted its tolerance, preservation, and promotion of heritage belonging to marginalized communities. It has taken a number of well-publicized steps to signal acceptance of the country's minorities, including new policies to accommodate Kurdish language and culture and, in a gesture to the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities, the reopening of a number of historical churches for occasional, highly publicized liturgical use.[7] Organizations in Europe and the USA have lauded

[7] This includes the Church of St. Nicholas, the Sümela Monastery in the Black Sea province of Trabzon, and the Surp Haç Church on the island of Akdamar in Lake Van in eastern Turkey.

and positively reinforced initiatives such as these. The World Monuments Fund is supporting the restoration of historical ruins at the medieval Armenian city-site of Ani in northeastern Turkey, on the border with Armenia. Meanwhile, the EU has provided funds for a project (EUR seven million) that will involve "the conservation of sites of cultural diversity" (European Commission, 2012).

In the case of the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex, through the World Heritage nomination process the Turkish state is able to celebrate Alevi cultural diversity internationally and the state's implicit support for human rights. This tentative nomination also reveals, however, divergent attitudes towards Turkey's effort to deploy the universal ideals of tolerance and human rights through the designation of the "cultural heritage of mankind" within its borders. Contesting ideas about Turkey's embrace of places and practices of significance to many Alevis in UNESCO's international forums reflect a widely shared sense amongst Alevi groups that this recognition does not in fact signal their inclusion, as the state claims, but rather the continued domination of their community.

The Hacı Bektaş Veli World Heritage nomination reinforces the continued misrepresentation of Alevi difference as distinctly cultural, rather than having anything to do with religious differences. The secularization of Hacı Bektaş Veli is mirrored by the secularization of the dervish lodge. In 1964, the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex was opened as a museum and set up in the style of an ethnographic museum. The effect of the interpretation is a historicization of beliefs, practices, and artifacts, representing them as dead, arcane, or useless. It is possible to draw parallels here with the Soviet strategy of turning churches into "museums of religion" (Paine, 2009). Museumification has a way of moving religion from the present to the past tense. The state's attempt to transform the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex from a holy to a secular site is evident in its designation as a museum overseen by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Within Turkey's divided system for cultural heritage management, the General Directorate of Foundations administers Ottoman and Islamic monuments, which require no ticket to visit, while the Ministry of Culture and Tourism oversees prehistoric and Greco-Roman monuments, which are open to the public as museums, and do require a ticket (Baraldi, Shoup, & Zan, 2013). The complex's designation as a museum restricts public access and sets it apart as a site irrelevant to the religious life of Turkey's contemporary citizens.

In addition to advancing the nomination of the Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex, in 2010, the sacred dance of semah was inscribed as a cultural expression on the UNESCO List of Intangible Heritage. Much to the chagrin of a number of Alevi organizations, the inscription represents the reinscription of semah as a form of culture, rather than religious worship (Aykan, 2013). Drawing upon this strategy of misrepresentation, the current Turkish Government is able to demonstrate internationally its support for the human rights of marginalized communities within its borders, while on the national level denying the Alevi community's religious identity.

Conclusion

World Heritage Sites, as this chapter has shown, are strategic (de Certeau, 2011).[8] The entanglement of heritage, cultural diversity, and "rights talk" (Meskell, 2010) encourages the use of World Heritage to fulfill statist desires for political dominance both abroad and at home—rather than advancing the rights claims of marginalized communities. For such communities, human rights signify an essential domain for voicing rigorous criticisms of sovereign nation-states. Therefore, in the face of the statist power structure of UNESCO, international processes like World Heritage raise concerns. In the Alevi case, for instance, the Turkish state's misrepresentation of Alevi difference as cultural diversity on the international stage has the potential to undermine Alevi religious rights claims. A discourse of pluralism, inclusion, liberalization, and tolerance operates in contemporary Turkish politics to neutralize human rights rhetoric, as one of the most influential tools for foreign power intervention and marginalized communities to criticize the Turkish state. This discourse further allows for the governance of communal differences and disciplining of national belonging.

While the World Heritage regime is rapidly developing new discourses tying material heritage to human rights, it is important to reflect on how such linkages might touch down locally, at the very moment when new freedoms are promised, and instead lead to the formation of new forms of inequity. There is a need to ensure that World Heritage is not used to victimize marginalized communities, constraining the expression of their social difference and undermining the full spectrum of their fundamental rights.

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[8] Michel de Certeau defines a strategy as "the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power … can be isolated" (2011, p. 36). Strategies are spatial in that "every 'strategic' rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its 'own' place, that is, the place of its own power and will" (2011).

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Chapter 7
Encountering Migration Heritage in a National Park

Denis Byrne

Introduction

Sydney is unusual in having large areas of native bushland surviving deep within the cityscape. These include the environment of the Georges River National Park,[1] an area of bushland extending along both sides of a river located approximately 20 km southwest of the central business district. Steep bush-covered slopes run down to alluvial flats along the river, some of these flats having been extended by reclamation (infilling) of mangrove wetlands in the mid-twentieth century to form lawned picnic grounds. In 1992 when the present national park was declared, the picnic grounds were retained in recognition of their importance to people in the neighboring suburbs. At the top of the slopes the bushland extends for a short distance out into the flat surrounding country before it gives way quite abruptly to a suburban landscape of detached houses.

Precolonial Aboriginal occupation along the river has left traces in the form of rock paintings, shell middens, and scatters of stone artifacts (Goodall & Cadzow, 2009). The British arrived in Sydney in 1788 and from the early nineteenth century the suburbs along the northern side of the Georges River (closest to the city center) were being settled by successive waves of low-income Anglo-Celtic[2] working class families. From the 1970s these suburbs received new waves of migrants, including refugees fleeing post-conflict Vietnam (Thomas, 1999) and Arabic speakers fleeing civil war in Lebanon and violence elsewhere in the Middle East (Dunn, 2004). These people are sometimes referred to as "recent migrants" to distinguish them

[1] The park homepage: http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/nationalparks/parkHome.aspx?id=N0080. Last accessed 14 September 2016.

[2] "Anglo-Celtic" refers to Australian settlers from Britain and Ireland.

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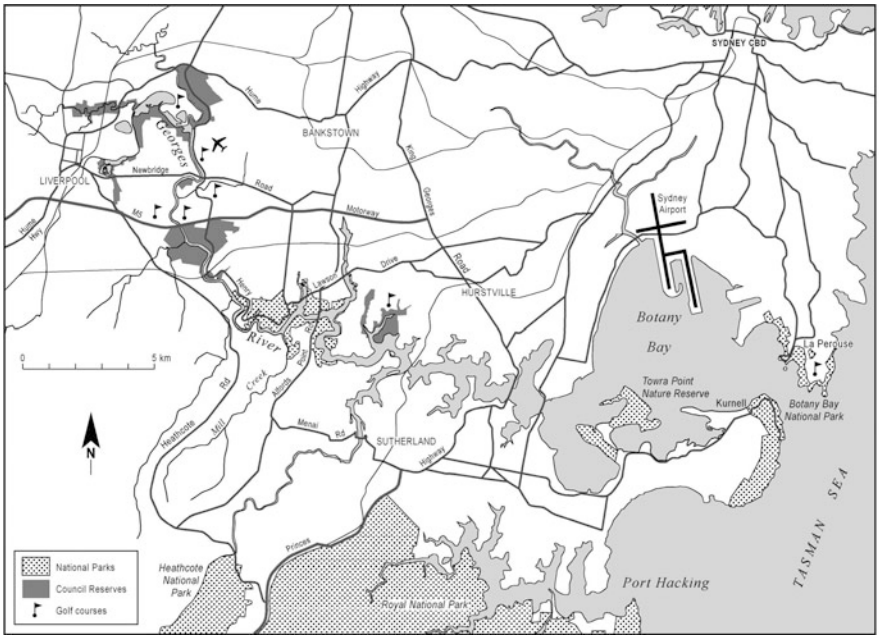

Fig. 7.1 The location of the Georges River National Park (*stipple area* at center frame) (Denis Byrne)

from earlier waves of mostly Anglo-Celtic migrants arriving in Australia. In the present day, these southwest suburbs have the highest concentration of recent migrants in Sydney, a city of 4.4 million people of whom 40 % in 2011 were born overseas.[3] Of the 360,000 people living in the southwest Sydney census area in 2011, 51 % were born overseas and 79 % had at least one parent born overseas.[4]

In the early 2000s the Office of Environment and Heritage NSW (OEH)[5] became interested in the question of how migrants of a non-Anglo-Celtic background relate to the environment of national parks located near their places of residence: To what extent, for example, do they visit the parks and feel comfortable in them (Thomas, 2001, 2002)? This chapter is based on a program of research carried out by OEH and the University of Technology Sydney, which looked in detail at the way Arab and Vietnamese immigrants living in southwest Sydney perceived and experienced the Georges River National Park (Byrne, Goodall, & Cadzow, 2013; Byrne, Goodall, Wearing, & Cadzow, 2006, 2013; Goodall & Cadzow, 2009, 2010a) (Fig. 7.1). In the course of this work it quickly became apparent that these people did not merely

[3] Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Greater Sydney Statistical Division, 2011 census. http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/1GSYD. Last accessed 14 September 2016.

[4] ABS Sydney South West Statistical Division, 2011 census. http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/127. Last accessed 14 September 2016.

[5] NSW is an abbreviation of New South Wales, one of Australia's six states.

passively adapt themselves to the established cultural landscape of the park but worked to make it amenable to their own social needs in a manner that merged their conceptions of what a park should be with their growing understanding of the limitations and possibilities of the environment they had migrated to.

Arguing Against the Notion of Parks as Culture-Neutral Spaces

Place attachment is a key concept in heritage studies and heritage practice. In our study we were interested in how recent migrants develop attachments to national park landscapes. A key aim was to provide national park staff with an insight into the ways minority ethnic groups in Australia (i.e., those that are neither Anglo-Australian nor indigenous) perceive and experience national park environments on the basis of their cultural difference and the experiences they have had in relating to the natural environment in their home countries. We soon became aware, however, that many park staff saw the issue of cultural diversity as a simple matter of equity of access. They saw the parks as protected natural landscape areas that were there for all to enjoy and care for, and while special consideration might be given to educating people from non-Western cultures in how to behave in national parks in ways that did not compromise biodiversity or other natural values, there were not seen to exist culturally specific patterns of park use, on the part of either recent migrants or the Anglo-Australia majority who had arrived in the country since 1788, which should be accommodated in the park. The one exception to this was made for indigenous Aboriginal people—the park service had an active program of accommodating Aboriginal cultural activities in national parks and of employing Aboriginal staff.

We came to appreciate that the failure of many park staff to acknowledge the cultural difference of recent migrants stemmed not from intolerance but from a belief that cultural diversity ended at the park gate. This is to say that while they had no problem with the principles and policies of multiculturalism, which had been officially adopted in Australia in the 1970s, they perceived national parks as constituting a space that was beyond culture. Most park rangers and managers were committed to nature conservation and to a belief that the park boundaries were for many nonhuman species a last defense line against human encroachment on the fragments of habitat left to them. The management philosophy was that humans, as visitors in these spaces, should modulate their behavior so as to minimize impact on nonhumans. The parks, in this sense, were seen to be culture neutral.

We had no argument with the notion of national parks as refugia for wildlife but we put the view that the "culture-neutral" stance in effect privileged whiteness insofar as it overlooked the fact that the national park phenomenon had emerged out of a specific history of Western global dominance. In the colonial world, approaches to nature conservation emerged that were very different to those in Europe. To begin with, it is important to distinguish the approach that developed in European colonies such as India and Vietnam, where the colonizers were a privileged and empowered

minority, from those in the settler colonies like the USA and Australia where they quickly became settled majorities, dispossessing indigenous peoples in the process. In the former, although the colonizers saw their presence in the positive light of helping develop so-called backward peoples and "underused" landscapes, their overriding concern was with the efficient exploitation of natural resources, such as timber, minerals, and rubber, and the efficient exploitation of indigenous labor. But the unrestrained harvesting of natural resources was quite unsustainable, resulting in incidents of environmental collapse and a general environmental degradation that by the second half of the nineteenth century began to seriously alarm colonial authorities (Griffiths & Robin, 1997; Grove, 1995). Something similar was occurring in the settler colonies: in Australia, for instance, a series of droughts led to the ruination of farmers and to severe soil loss. Colonial responses to environmental degradation ranged from regulation to conservation. The key response was to create protected areas of various kinds. As Adams (2003, p. 39) observes, "the classic feature of colonial approaches to nature was the attempt to separate people and non-human nature."

"Wilderness" reserves were not established in the colonial world because there were "empty" landscapes, but because they were *perceived* by Western colonists and settlers as empty. It was not just Australia that was classified as *terra nullius* (Latin: land belonging to no one). Landscapes in the colonial world became available for the creation of protected areas because indigenous people had been removed from them earlier in the process of colonial settlement (Goodall, 2006) or were removed specifically to create people-free landscapes, lending a wilderness effect to particular protected areas, as occurred for instance at Kruger and Yellowstone national parks (Meskell, 2012).

Thus, however "natural" Australian national parks may appear to be, they are co-constituted in cultural history. This argument was not disputed by park staff but nor did it appear to move them particularly. The great majority of them had their higher education in the biological sciences rather than the social sciences or humanities, meaning that they had little contextual knowledge in which to make sense of this kind of argument. This is a common predicament for heritage practitioners, one remedy for which, in seeking to make the cultural dimension of a place or landscape more visible and tangible, is to draw evidence from closer to home. In this regard my historian colleagues, Goodall and Cadzow (2010a, 2010b), undertook research in local and state government archives and undertook a program of oral history recording among long-term Anglo-Australian residents along the river in order to piece together the story of how working class people there had sought an accommodation with the bushland along the river corridor. In the early and mid-twentieth century, Anglo-Celtic residents along the river "reclaimed" mangrove mudflats, particularly where mangroves had expanded dramatically under the impact of heavy siltation and increased nutrients in waterways resulting from sewage infrastructure failing to keep up with residential expansion (Hayworth, 2002; Goodall & Cadzow, 2010b). The residents' aim in undertaking these reclamations was to create level picnic areas and playing fields they had long wanted but had often been denied when local governments decided to allow further subdivision of land for residential development along the river. They largely achieved their goal and the reclaimed

"flats" along the river are where migrant communities now gather for picnics. Since 1992 when the area was formally annexed to the state's national park estate this history has tended to be "forgotten" at an official level and while this forgetting has not necessarily been conscious or strategic it has nevertheless made it easier to imagine the Georges River National Park as a "natural" bulwark against the cultural landscape of suburbia.

In pressing for recognition of the park as both a cultural and natural landscape, we had to be careful not to convey an impression that the Georges River National Park was merely a cultural construction. Haraway's (1997) term "natureculture" is more appropriate to convey the entangled relations between human and nonhuman actors that make up such an environment. Even the picnic grounds situated on reclaimed mangrove swamps were not simply human artifacts but rather represented ecologies in change, their river-edge boundaries subject to erosion by river currents, and their soils colonized and reworked by a range of insects and microorganisms, some of which fed on crumbs of food that fell to the ground during picnics. I can now, in 2015, appreciate the fact that these reclamations, though collectively comprising only a few hectares in extent, form part of a global Anthropocene strata of artificial ground that in future may coalesce as a geological unit. I would follow Crossland (2014, p. 124) in being unpersuaded by those commentators who situate the Anthropocene within a dystopian story of "disillusionment with progress and horror at modernity's effects." Crossland characterizes Anthropocene discourse as a "closed narrative" (2014, p. 126) that has already decided that our future is one of ruin, thus undercutting the power of the concept to mobilize us towards other possible futures. The picnic ground reclamations do not represent the ruin of nature but a new kind of habitat.

In our final report to the parks service (Byrne et al., 2013) we urged park managers to recognize the critical value of the riverside picnic grounds as a liminal space between the urban and the natural environment, a space which many migrants see as a safe and comfortable position from which to observe and enjoy the adjacent bush without actually being inside it. The prospect of entering the bush left many feeling nervous or uneasy. The picnics represented for many migrants their first close encounter with the Australian natural environment and thus, in the long-term perspective, their first step towards becoming knowledgeable custodians of and carers for that environment. The existence of the picnic grounds obviously does not guarantee such an outcome but it does open up the prospect of it as a possible future.

A Placemaking Perspective

Although it was clear from our interviews that Arab and Vietnamese migrants saw the Georges River National Park as a category of Anglo-Australian public space it was equally clear that these people were actively engaged in forms of placemaking activity that would change that situation. As our project moved into its writing-up stage, the concept of placemaking became central to us. It did so for two reasons. Firstly, placemaking theory provided a good fit with the activities by migrant visitors

that we were observing in the park and the migrant's own descriptions of their activities. Secondly, the concept of placemaking struck us as having great potential for engaging the attention of park managers and rangers in the particular way that it destabilized the notion of the park as a fixed, immutable landscape. It recognized the agency not only of recent migrants but also of all park visitors in shaping that landscape, just as park staff shaped it through their management practices.

Place is an outcome of social "work." According to Appadurai (1996, p. 181), people rarely take locality for granted but rather "seem to assume that locality is ephemeral unless hard and regular work is undertaken to produce and maintain its materiality." This work may involve ritual enactment or it may consist of more mundane activities in which people, mostly unconsciously, become identified with localities via the action of memory, emotion, imagination, and sociality. The work of making places out of spaces is now seen as a fundamental priority of human existence (Casey, 1993). Since the innovative work of Jacobs (1961), urban planners, community groups, local governments, geographers, and others have made an effort to promote greater understanding of the way the inhabitants of particular streets, neighborhoods, villages, and other localities have worked to make these spaces habitable by imprinting them with the patterns of their own local lives. Even if this entails only minor physical changes to these spaces, the concept of placemaking recognizes the agency of ordinary inhabitants in formatting and reformatting their environment: urbanites socialize capitalism's concrete jungle and villagers reinterpret and rework the traditionally built environment they are born into. Placemaking is not, however, something humans simply do to the environment; it entails responsiveness to its cues and possibilities which implies a symmetry in human–nonhuman relations (Feld & Basso, 1996; Ingold, 2000; Massey, 2005; Stewart, 1996; Tilley, 1994).

Placemaking is central to the experience of migration. In the field of migration studies since the 1990s considerable attention was given to the agency of migrants in reworking the destination (Silvey & Lawson, 1999, p. 124); their presence is seen to be constitutive of arrival landscapes (Hewage, Kumara, & Rigg, 2011, p. 204) rather merely layered onto them. While this scholarly work has been focused on migrants in urban settings, little attention has been given to migrant placemaking in urban natural environments or national parks [although for the latter see the important work of anthropologist Setha Low and her coworkers (Low, Taplin, & Scheld, 2005) who have studied the way Latino and other migrant groups became a presence in parks in New York]. In what follows I turn to consider the activity of picnicking in the context of migrant placemaking in the Georges River National Park.

Picnics as Placemaking

Picnics staged in the park by recent migrants have tended to involve groups larger than the nuclear family (Byrne et al., 2013). For Arab-Australians interviewed, an average picnic would be attended by 10–50 people who were mostly members of an extended family: "cousins and their cousins," as one young interviewee put it. Much

Fig. 7.2 Lebanese-Australians picnicking in the Georges River National Park (*photo*: Denis Byrne)

larger picnics were also organized to mark special occasions, such as the birth of a child, or to bring large fraternities of people together. An example of the latter are the annual picnics held in the Georges River National Park by the families of emigrants from the village of Toula in northern Lebanon (Fig. 7.2). Most picnics are held on weekends and public holidays, many people participating in one almost every week of the year.

Large group picnics have been a feature of migrant existence in a number of countries. The British Italian community, for example, has held picnics at Shenley near London (Fortier, 2000, p. 108). In Los Angeles, large annual picnics were held by those who had migrated from other states, particularly during the Depression years of the 1930s. These "state picnics" included the famous Iowa Picnic at Bixby Park, Long Beach, which in 1940 attracted 100,000 people.[6] These picnics were not about ethnicity; they were about homesickness, shared identity, and a shared experience of being outsiders in a new city.

At the picnics in the Georges River National Park, participants were enveloped in a sensory environment, or sensorium. Its elements included the smell and taste of food from "home," the sound of music from "home," the sounds of familiar language, and the vision of people with familiar facial features. At picnics by Arab-Australians it included the aroma of the hookah (*shisha* in Arabic). Writing in the

[6] See http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-then11-2008may11,0,188403.story. Last accessed 14 September 2016.

context of British-Indian migrant experience in London, Tolia-Kelly (2004, p. 285) describes this kind of sense memory as a "placing mechanism." Scents and sounds can "operate as a gateway into other environments" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, p. 286), namely in this context the home environments of the Middle East. But it is not a case of people being "transported" to these other places, rather of a hybrid or transnational place coalescing in the space people currently inhabit. There is a symmetrical sense in which people resident in the homelands of the Middle East have co-presence at the Georges River picnics by virtue of the technologies of transnational phone calls, messaging, and photo- and video-sharing. Via technologies like Google Maps those in Lebanon may easily discover the location, layout, and topography of the park that has become a key habitat for their relatives and friends in Sydney and which, by extension, has become a habitat for them. As Chu (2010, p. 38) in her landmark work on transnational placemaking reminds us, you don't have to actually leave the homeland to be emplaced elsewhere.

In the course of the picnics, associations are created between a locale and the social experiences people have there. Eisenhauer and his colleagues have documented this in a well-known study of recreational use of public lands in Utah, stressing that "activity at a locale is necessary for a space to be regarded as a place" (Eisenhauer, Krannich, & Blahna, 2000, p. 423). I assume that most park managers in Australia would similarly recognize that the activities engaged in by park visitors are constitutive of the bonds they form with a park environment. However, since the natural environment of a park is alive, active, and "vibrant" (Bennett, 2010), human activity in the park always has the aspect of culture-nature *interactivity* in terms of which the other-than-human elements of the park are affected and the park "environment" is altered. A simple example of this would be the feeding of birds by picnickers, an event which via repetition over time influences bird behavior. Clearly it is not simply a case of migrants adapting to park environments but of migrants and parks being mutually reconstituted by their co-presence.

Some of our interviewees spoke with great affection of places in the park where they had picnicked habitually. I accompanied a group of second-generation Arab-Australian young men on a visit to a location they had often picnicked with their families when they were small children and where, when they had grown up and acquired their first bicycles, they returned to without their families. "We grew up here," one of them said of the place. This old picnic spot was part of the familiar landscape of their growing up, at once unremarkable to them but also intimately known and fondly remembered (Byrne et al., 2013, p. 13). This was a close-knit group of young people, a number of whom were now at university, whose social bond had been formed partly during those long-ago afternoons down by the river. They had this place in common. On the occasion of our visit they pointed out to each other how much certain trees had grown since the days when they were children, implicitly if not consciously registering the fact that they and the place had grown up together. Within the temporal scale of their individual and collective lives and perhaps those of their children—for those who went on to have children—this old picnic spot was a heritage place.

Migrant Heritage in the Context of Multiculturalism

Central to our project was an awareness that migrant placemaking in parks was also heritage in the making. The picnic sites and other locales in parks to which migrants became attached, such as the riverside fishing spots used by the Vietnamese-Australians in our study (Byrne et al., 2013, pp. 91–95; Goodall et al., 2009), might well, a generation or two into the future, be regarded as elements of their collective heritage landscape. However, to be recognized at the broader level of Australian public institutions and of the "Australian public," this posits a host society that is amenable to the remaking of its sovereign space by immigrants. The ethos of multiculturalism appears to promise just such amenability, but as we have seen in the case of the managers of the Georges River National Park, the reality on the ground seems less flexible.

According to Hage (1998), the rhetoric of multiculturalism disguises a trenchant ontology in terms of which migrant cultures are positioned as enriching the host society rather than changing it. While the concept of social inclusion is held to be an unalloyed social good in modern society, a variety of policies in migrant-intake nations enact a situation of "differential inclusion" (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013, p. 159). In the context of Australia, I suggest a practice of differential inclusion operates in the arena of heritage practice. This is not to deny that much has changed since the days of the White Australia policy, enacted in 1901 and progressively dismantled between 1949 and 1973. Prior to the 1970s, what was regarded by white Australians as the nation's built heritage consisted of colonial government buildings, Christian churches, grand private mansions, and pastoral estates with their homesteads and woolsheds. For non-European migrants who began arriving in significant numbers in the 1950s, this heritage was part of the Australian culture they were encouraged to embrace as their own. The multicultural turn changed this and by 1994 a total of 112 places had been listed on the Register of the National Estate for their significance to non-Anglo-Celtic migrant groups, comprising 1.2 % of the 8279 historic places on the register at that time (Purdie, 1997, p. 33). However, these sites were seen by heritage agencies and practitioners as belonging to a particular category of heritage, known as "migration heritage."

I see the category of migration heritage as something of a two-edged sword. On the one hand (or should I say "edge"?) it recognizes immigrants as having distinctive cultures and particular arrival and adaptation experiences that are reflected in the archaeological and architectural record. The celebratory attention given to this record by public institutions has unquestionably been valuable in smoothing Australia's transition from a monocultural to a multicultural society (Ang, 2011, p. 88; Ashton, 2009; Witcomb, 2009). Moreover, I acknowledge that the official recognition of this record came about not just at the stroke of a policy writer's pen but as a result of the efforts of a group of path-breaking heritage practitioners who recorded and researched the sites and nominated them for government heritage inventories. I suspect they saw their work as striking a blow against the White Australia mindset. On the other hand, the category would seem to connote a process of "differential inclusion" insofar as, in separating off immigrant heritage places

into their own realm, they never quite penetrate or disturb the terrain of the majority culture. Whereas, in reality, non-Anglo migration has since the 1950s profoundly reconstituted Australian society, the migration heritage category seems to depict the material footprint of this migration as sitting merely alongside that of Anglo-Australian and indigenous Australian heritage.

Placemaking and heritage-making are, I contend, one and the same thing. I do not see the picnic places "made" by Arab and Vietnamese immigrants on the foreshore of the Georges River as just additions to the cultural landscape of the Georges River National Park. Instead, the picnics and picnic sites have reworked that landscape and changed what it is. This is not to say that the boat ramps that Anglo-Australians built on the river in the mid- to late twentieth century or the Aboriginal rock carvings and shell midden deposits along the river do not exist in all the descriptive specificity that archaeological methods can bring to bear on them. But they exist in a different present to what they did in the 1960s or at points earlier. They have been folded into a different landscape, a suburban landscape with one of Australia's densest recent-migrant demographies. Harrison (2011, p. 154), in speaking to the archaeology of the contemporary past, suggests that we should "think about the present as a surface—a physical stratum that contains not only the present, but all its physical and imagined pasts combined." The "surface" occupied by recent migrants in the park incorporates the picnic sites, the memories of picnics held there last week, last month, and last year, and also whatever traces remain of the original concrete boat ramp that was built several decades ago by Anglo families to launch their motor boats and has been superseded on the same site by a wooden ramp which young Arab males use for launching their jet skis. Whether conscious or not of the spectral presence of the old ramp, the jet skiers nevertheless are entangled in its history and in its physicality. They, for instance, launch their skis at the exact spot that was chosen as most convenient or felicitous by the original ramp's builders. If those Anglo ramp builders or their children consider the original ramp to be an element of their local heritage they cannot be unaware, when they visit the site in the present day, that it has a new constituency in the Arab jet skiers and their younger relatives and friends who gather there to watch them (Fig. 7.3). They cannot fail to see that it has been folded into a new present.

In concluding, I would mention that some scholars of and commentators on Australian immigration and race relations see the country as having reached the end of multiculturalism as we have known it (e.g., Collins, 2013). By no means is this an acknowledgment that multiculturalism is a failed project, a claim made by many European commentators (see Lentin (2012) for a review of critiques of multiculturalism in Europe). On the contrary, multiculturalism is seen to have served Australia comparatively well; but it is also seen, in its classic "liberal multiculturalism" form, to be inadequate to encompass the complex reality of twenty-first-century immigration patterns and identity politics. Collins (2013, p. 173) calls for Australian multiculturalism to be given a "cosmopolitan makeover" which, among other things, will make it inclusive of all Australians, not just those of non-Anglo immigrant background. This addresses the point, made earlier, that White Australians often see

Fig. 7.3 Young Lebanese-Australians watching jet skiing at the boat ramp in the Georges River National Park (*photo*: Denis Byrne)

multiculturalism as something that goes on around them in what they apprehend to be the minority-culture fringe of mainstream society, rather than something that has changed them and their world (this world consisting of the fantasy of the cultural core). The counterpart of this view, from a heritage perspective, would be that migrants have added a quantum of heritage sites to the solid and stable landscape of "Australian heritage."

Heritage practitioners have something to contribute to the new era of Australian multiculturalism. An aspect of migration heritage not touched on here but which is ripe for critique is the manner in which it construes migration as a one-way narrative, for the most part ignoring the transnational placemaking that migrants have engaged in and hence being blind to the connectivity between migrant heritage sites in origin and destination locales (Byrne, 2016). We also need a more sophisticated understanding of the nexus between heritage and placemaking, of which the current chapter offers a modest beginning.

Notes

1. The park homepage: http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/nationalparks/parkHome.aspx?id=N0080.
2. "Anglo-Celtic"' refers to Australian settlers from Britain and Ireland.

3. Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Greater Sydney Statistical Division, 2011 census. http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/1GSYD. Last accessed 1 February 2013.
4. ABS Sydney South West Statistical Division, 2011 census. http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/127. Last accessed 1 February 2013.
5. NSW is an abbreviation of New South Wales, one of Australia's six states.
6. See http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-then11-2008may11,0,188403.story.

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Part IV
Memories of War

Chapter 8
Critical Heritage Debates and the Commemoration of the First World War: Productive Nostalgia and Discourses of Respectful Reverence During the Centenary

David C. Harvey

Setting the Centenary Scene

The commemoration of the First World War has attracted significant academic attention (see, for instance, Todman, 2005; Reynolds, 2013; Wilson, 2013, 2014a; Sumatojo & Wellings, 2014) and has also been paralleled with an exposure, interest, and sometimes keen debate within a wide range of popular circles. While the death of the "last Tommy" in 2009 saw the conflict slip from living memory, the event of the war's centenary, commencing in 2014, has seen a renewed vigor and profile of the popular and academic debate on the First World War (see Mycock, Sumatojo, & Wellings, 2014; Wilson, 2015). Questions as to the proper form of commemoration, together with increasing reflection as to the meaning and contemporary relevance of both the conflict itself, as well as the commemorative process more broadly, have been brought to the fore. The high profile of the centenary occasion has provided an imperative for critical examination, while the sheer scale of the financial and other resources involved has provided some high stakes for "doing it right" (see Mycock, 2014, pp. 102–107). Much of the debate has revolved around the "proper format" of public display, the appropriate narrative for pedagogic digest, the prominence of military history, and the nature of "celebration" and/or "mourning" that should comprise an apparent "duty to pay respect." This has been an ongoing episode of heritage in the making, which has had both exceptional prominence and colossal purchase during 2014 (Mycock, 2014, p. 102), at times, seeming to grip the nation.

This chapter investigates how the commemoration of the First World War in Britain proceeded during 2014 and asks how these commemorative practices have operated with regard to emerging heritage discourse. What can a critical heritage perspective

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bring to bear in terms of understanding the work that heritage does? And, potentially, how can critical heritage scholars make an intervention in these debates of the past that inform the present and future? The chapter develops an appreciation of the power of a *productive* nostalgia as a "dynamic process that develops in relationship to, and shapes, human activity" (Bonnett & Alexander, 2013, p. 394). By paying attention to the scalar context of how heritage processes operate, the chapter examines how universal heritage rhetoric is channeled through embodied practices and individualized dispositions in order to legitimate and cement the power of the nation-state. Furthermore, the chapter explores the potentialities and, conversely, the "tamings" of critical heritage narratives surrounding the centennial commemoration of the war.

By placing the analysis within a scalar framework of how national and individual practices and processes are related (a scalar rhetoric of the debate), the chapter traces how a universal and banal language of "reverence" acts to instill a national (and largely quiescent) frame of reference onto individual practice. An interweaving of productive nostalgia arguably ends up articulating a distinctly conservative and reactionary position—one in which many actual or potential critical voices are tamed and entrained into a state-led hegemonic reservoir of symbolic capital. I examine some iconic emblems of the centenary experience—the poppy and the Christmas Day Truce as well as the "Shot-at-Dawn" saga. Each story seems to have strong potential critical or subversive heritage messages. Perhaps this is resonant of Wilson's (2015, p. 2) suggestion that the contemporary deployment of First World War language in popular and public discourse might be a potentially dissonant resource. In practice, however, while potential certainly exists, I have found that these messages are countered and/or tamed. This chapter interrogates how a critical heritage perspective can specifically be brought to bear on some of the key commemorative events and practices in the UK, connected with the First World War's centenary in 2014.

The Difference That (Critical) Heritage Can Make

The critical analysis of the commemorative events can allow an examination of how Authorized Heritage Discourses (AHDs; see Smith, 2006) are (re)constructed, circulated, and consumed. It is also necessary, however, to do more than just point to the existence of AHDs; we need to ascertain what difference they make; how they operate; and what consequences they have. First, we need to expose how AHDs are entrained within the services of the nation. We need to pay attention, therefore, to the process through which certain heritage narratives become accepted as part of the everyday experience of the national imagined community (Anderson, 1991). In particular, we need to unpack the context of scalar politics through which AHDs are conducted and negotiated (Harvey, 2015). Secondly, by seeing this terrain as being open and dynamic, we provide space for contestation. While many critical opportunities exist, the chapter argues that an "organizational field" (drawing on Bourdieu, 1994) is created through which a *habitus* or set of "norms" become tacitly accepted and many critical narratives are tamed.

According to Anderson (1991), membership in an imagined national community is experienced through a sense of horizontal comradeship, expressed through bonds that trump alternative axes of identity, such as class, gender, or religion. Rather than being "awakened" to a (monolithic and essential) national consciousness, therefore, people are provided with a description of the world through the seemingly commonsense language of the nation. Imaginative narratives of heritage must be regarded as one of the key elements of this process of authoritative framing. An explanation for how AHDs came to be encoded and instilled within the very being of nation-states can be traced through a sense of cultural "thickness," supported by civil society institutions, and taken-for-granted narratives of origin and comradely connection (see MacLeod, 2002; Paasi, 2009). Rather than comprising stable or inevitable entities, such nationally articulated AHDs require constant maintenance and rehearsal; such management—both conscious and unconscious—connects large-scale institutional activity with personal and embodied performance, to account for the collective waxing and waning of the nation as a recognized and accepted entity. This process, through which institutional norms, agendas, and modes of operation become aligned, can be related to Bourdieu's notion of the organizational field (see Barthel-Bouchier, 2015; Bourdieu, 1994).

Drawing on Billig's (1995) notion of "banal nationalism," at the scale of the individual, heritage narratives are (unconsciously) performed as part of everyday life, through which the nation becomes "authorized": naturalized as an obvious, self-evident, and unquestioned necessity for framing one's existence. According to Bourdieu (1994), the organizational field explains how a realm of institutional life becomes shaped and framed to share values and norms in an unreflective manner (Barthel-Bouchier, 2015, p. 152).[1] Drawing on DiMagio and Powell (1991), Barthel-Bouchier notes how an organizational field develops through a mixture of *coercion*, prompted by governmental policy and direct funding regimes; by *mimesis*, as various institutions and bodies copy one and other; and through *normative processes*, as a tacit agreement is reached over "how things should be done." These elements of personal worldview comprising rituals and norms of behavior can be connected to the operation of the nation-state via Bourdieu's ideas of "symbolic capital." According to Bourdieu (1994, p. 4, italics in the original), the "state is the *culmination of a process of concentration of different species of capital*, [including] … symbolic capital." Defined as "any property […] (whether physical, economic, cultural, or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 8), symbolic capital would seem to include a processual view of heritage, whereby certain spatiotemporal narratives become valued. These often accrue around particular sites, events, and practices, as *lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1989).

At the scale of the nation, the contest and negotiation of heritage narratives are played out through processes of institutionalization, as certain heritage discourses

[1] This process of naturalization and "taken-for-grantedness" among state actors or organizations is a development of Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus*; the generation and structuring of principles, practices, and representations, which are objectively regulated without obedience to rules, adapted to goals without conscious aiming, and collectively orchestrated without being the product of conscious direction (see Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72; Harvey, 2000, p. 49).

achieve hegemonic acceptance and are attached to specific sites and practices (see Paasi, 2009; Mycock et al., 2014, p. 2). On achieving such legitimacy, the internalized logic of active conservation provides an imperative towards an ideal of stability and preservation "in perpetuity," which is forever out of reach (see Pendlebury, 2013). In practice, the very being of a national community demands observance on a personal basis, and, therefore, to be supported by an institutional framework, and to be practiced through individualized ritual performance or *habitus*. With respect to the First World War, for instance, such a set of consciously and unconsciously choreographed ritual events and performances can be seen annually in connection to Remembrance Sunday.[2]

While providing a theoretical explanation for how heritage practice as an organizational field can develop and be tacitly maintained through institutional and civil society activities, it is crucial that such a process is not seen as somehow inevitable. Furthermore, while a disposition of continuity and stability necessarily resides within the notion of "perpetual remembrance" that lies at the heart of First World War heritage tropes (for instance), this *dream of preservation* should always be seen as both dynamic and contested.[3] Thus, on the one hand, it has a life history of waxing and waning, and broader ever-changing circumstance and meaning. On the other hand, however, it is a narrative that is always being challenged.

Critical heritage studies (e.g., Harrison, 2013; Winter, 2013) invite the active participation of marginalized voices, vigorously challenge conservative cultural and economic power relations, and ask many uncomfortable questions about traditional ways of thinking about and doing heritage. Moreover, heritage itself "does things" (Smith, 2006), so that heritage is something that can *engage*, as well as something to be *engaged with*. Heritage, therefore, becomes a powerful resource that operates over a highly contested terrain.

This purposeful and progressive sense of heritage would seem to be at the heart of Samuel's (1994) critique of more traditional apprehensions of heritage. One of the most powerful elements of Samuel's project was the way in which he used a reinvigorated space of recognizing individual (and often marginalized) people as having agency within the context of debates over what the nation-state was, or could be. People were "makers" rather than "victims" in a national story that was neither celebratory nor inevitable (Gentry, 2015). As Gentry (2015, p. 569) makes clear, therefore, in Samuel's "criticism of the privileging of history, nostalgia had arisen to serve or stand in for a critical and subversive potential of the past." What was required, therefore, was a more critical heritage—perhaps recognized in a reinvigorated formulation of *nostalgia*, not as a reactionary "illness," but as a subversive challenge to standard AHDs.

Such a project is also implied by Bonnett and Alexander's (2013) "rehabilitation" of nostalgia as a "productive" and "living disposition." Identifying a "new

[2] In the UK, "Remembrance Sunday" is the official day used to commemorate the military and civilian contributions to the two World Wars and later conflicts. It is always held on the nearest Sunday to November 11th, in memory to the First World War armistice.

[3] This *dream of preservation* reflects an assumption and tacit demand that certain "sacred duties" should be untouchable for future generations.

mood" that attempts to frame nostalgia in less negative terms, Bonnett and Alexander (2013, pp. 392–393) sketch a space in which nostalgia can be seen as active, antiessentialist, and connected to a multifaceted politics (see also, Blunt, 2003; Legg, 2005). Coining the term *mobile nostalgia*, Bonnett and Alexander (2013, p. 391) envision a productive space for nostalgia that is interwoven, and where (more reactionary and state-led) forms of "restorative" nostalgia coexist with more reflective forms, "maintained in a complex and mutually sustaining relationship."

Many of these ideas of an enfolding and entwined sense of nostalgia work can be encapsulated in Harrison's (2013) invocation of heritage process working through a dialogical relationship. Unsettling conventional categories—of history and memory, objective and subjective, official and unofficial, elite and vernacular—the dialogical approach breaks down the bureaucratic divide between lay persons and experts (Harrison, 2013, pp. 4–5). But, does this disposition to see heritage as "dialogical" and connected, in itself, necessarily invoke the further demand that heritage research and practice should also be critical? In other words, where does this leave Samuel's (1994) project to reinvigorate heritage as a democratic and distinctly quotidian challenge to dominant and reactionary narratives?

The processual and historically contextualized understanding of heritage as an active, emergent, and antiessentialist phenomenon (Harvey, 2001) has provided good theoretical foundations from which a critical heritage project can flourish. The identification of a critical field of enquiry, in which politics operates through AHDs, has provided a language and lens of enquiry (Smith, 2006), while the provision of nostalgia with a productive, mobile, and forward-looking agenda has given an opportunity to perceive a positive and progressive sense of purpose for heritage studies (Bonnett & Alexander, 2013). I worry, however, that in attempting to intertwine and interweave the progressive and the reactionary, a bland dish ends up being served. And with blandness and banality at the top of the menu, a conservative politics can flourish. Drawing from Samuel's (1994) demand that a more progressive politics be attended to, there should be a space of "unease," where open challenge and confrontation are allowed. Surely this would be within the spirit of celebrating a "heritage from below" (Robertson, 2012), and it would take courage from Smith and Campbell's (2011) imperative: *Don't mourn; organize*.

The State Curation of the First World War Centenary in the UK

In many ways it is possible to trace a certain amount of higher state curatorship of heritage capital with regard to the First World War centenary. The UK Prime Minister David Cameron's announcement at the Imperial War Museum, in London during October 2012, of further state funding for the centenary commemoration of the First World War is clear in its heritage ambitions: to draw upon and develop the full symbolic repertoire of "significant commemoration" in order to instill and maintain the power of Britain as an imagined community—"who we are as a nation"

(see Mycock, 2014; Wilson, 2014a). In particular, a scalar imperative seems to act as a key framing device for the commemorative experience: an invocation (quoting David Cameron[4]) of "national spirit," evenly spread through a horizontal comradeship in "every corner of the country," operating through formal state educational programs (in "our schools") and in the everyday lives of "our workplaces." The question of who "we" are within this speech is never raised nor reflected upon; it is self-evident, and it would almost be a heretical thought crime not to see oneself as being part of the collective.

Looking past the official language of statecraft, and beyond the national media representation of public debate, a more ubiquitous heritage message becomes ingrained in everyday life, which seems to blend individual and personal conduct with a sense of public duty "to remember" on a national stage. This can perhaps be seen most clearly in the *Lights Out* national event, in which more than 1000 major public buildings around the country were darkened at the very hour of the centenary of the declaration of war. Some 65 % of the UK's population was aware of the *Lights Out* public event and more than 16 million people actually took part in it themselves. These figures tend to support the public hyperbole that this really was an overwhelmingly popular mass audience and mass participation event—a heritage event around which a sense of "national community" can seem to be structured and performed (cf. Anderson, 1991). But what does such a heritage event actually mean, and what does the participation in the event actually *do*?

The *Lights Out* event invoked the idea of being part of an imagined community, but also has the in-built expectation of personal conduct—that each one of "us" has a birthright but also a communal responsibility to act in accordance with a perceptibly "national," yet specifically "everyday," brand of common sense that is founded upon a supposedly shared heritage that ought to trump all other axes of identity. In other words, people are compelled to take part in a national commemoration, but on a specifically individual basis: *keep calm; download the official "Lights-Out" app; turn off your lights at exactly this hour; keep one strategically placed light on; take a selfie; tweet about your activities; check on your neighbors; and ensure that they are taking part as well*. At one level, this is a clear example of Billig's (1995) "banal nationalism" and is resonant with Bourdieu's (1994) notion of *habitus*. However, in its ambition to provoke a conscious reflection, it promotes a knowing internalization of a national message far beyond the scope of waving flags or marking coins and stamps with national symbols would ever do.

The Productive Nostalgia of the Poppy

While the poppy is hardly a new means through which practices of remembrance are conducted, the level of poppy-related commemoration has increased in both scale and breadth in recent years (Saunders, 2013). In short, it has become part of

[4] Speech details available at https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/speech-at-imperial-war-museum-on-first-world-war-centenary-plans (last accessed 30 June 2015).

the required uniform for anyone in the public eye—from television presenters to being incorporated into Premier League kits of professional footballers. Despite already attaining near-saturation prominence, however, 2014 saw the significant addition in the repertoire of poppy commemoration in the form of an art installation at the Tower of London: *Blood Swept Land and Seas of Red* (Fig. 8.1). Created by the ceramic artist, Paul Cummins, in conjunction with the stage designer Tom Piper, this installation involved the "planting" of 888,246 ceramic poppies in the moat of the Tower of London, with each poppy representing a British military First World War fatality. Although there was some public debate, this was a hugely popular arts installation. There was also a fundraising element to the exercise: the public were invited to purchase the poppies for £25 each, 10 % of which was shared between six military charities.[5] Emblematic of a personal connection of remembrance—of sacrifice, and senseless loss, but also of hope in adversity—the poppy now also bears the weight of a nation's expression of reverent conflict heritage.

Fig. 8.1 *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red*, created by the ceramic artist, Paul Cummins, in conjunction with the stage designer Tom Piper, at the Tower of London. *Picture credit*: Wiki Commons

[5] The charities benefitting from this installation included Cobseo (Armed Forces community support), Combat Stress (specialising in PTSD), Coming Home (connected to the Haig Housing Trust), Help for Heroes (veteran support group), The Royal British Legion, and SSFA (veteran's support group). See https://poppies.hrp.org.uk/about-the-charities for more details (last accessed 29 April 2015). Some of the remaining ceramic poppies are also going to be incorporated into the Imperial War Museums' collection.

The Tower of London installation seems to have been a resounding success, in terms of public profile and interest. As an illustration of "heritage in action," however, it is also a useful example of how heritage has been enrolled to raise money for essential services for ex-servicemen. This speaks to the political-economic function of heritage as a neoliberal replacement of state responsibility with Third Sector activity, perhaps combined with a more general increasing acceptance and visibility of the military in wider society. It is quite jarring to witness a seemingly universal feeling of emotional debt, gratitude, and reverence towards those that died in the First World War being actively conjoined with contemporary military policy in the twenty-first century (see also Wilson, 2014a). The near-universal sense of respect for the soldiers of the First World War is being used as a means through which to cement support for today's wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

This use of heritage as a sort of productive nostalgia is resonant with King's (2010) reflection on the "domestication" of Britain's Afghanistan war dead, in terms of how military activities are softened, and are invoked as being both everyday and personable, alongside being explicitly "national" in their frame of reference. Rather than the poppy being used to encourage reflection on the causes, consequences, and ethical positions regarding the use of military power within any specific context, therefore, all wars are seemingly packaged together and aligned with a generalized sense of reverence for those that fought in the First World War. The image of the "citizen soldier" of the First World War is deployed for all occasions (Wilson, 2014a). Furthermore, and mirroring King's (2010) considerations over the personalization of conflict narratives, the practice of focusing on individual soldiers (even—or especially—888,246 of them) as a lens for remembrance activities tends to deflect further attention on why any war is fought in the first place. A potential for critique of any military action—the invasion of Iraq, or the Suez intervention for instance—is replaced by an all-consuming sense of "poignant reflection" on the lives and deaths of individual soldiers.

Poppies invoke a specifically "national" frame, but operate through the suggested connection between individuals, of dead soldiers, and of contemporary participants in commemorative activity. The 888,246 ceramic poppies are each representative of an individual fallen soldier, but collectively they represent only British military fatalities during the First World War: not Commonwealth/Empire; not allied; and certainly not including any members of the enemy's forces. Rather than a prompt for reflection on the sadness, horror, and futility of war in general, this installation ends up being a celebration of a specifically national sense of identity that is represented through a decidedly "nationalized heritage," with its generic title being appropriate for any historical war context. This is reflected in many of the public responses reported in the national press, in which people report a sense of "pride," or of otherwise being conscious of their membership of a national community. The unquestioned significance of the poppy seeps into everyday personal consciousness without deeper reflection. At the same time, however, the poppy prompts us to recognize the supposed stability and legitimacy of the nation, as a respectful reverence acts to crowd out other voices.

The poppy pictures that dominated media images of the period can be described as "banal," but in many ways, that is the point: their banality makes them powerful (Billig, 1995). Applying Vallestrand (2015) to the poppies, we see the importance of taming potentially dangerous and ambiguous items of heritage by making them commonplace and predictable. I would argue that the process of rendering potentially "difficult heritage" (such as the industrial scale of war dead as experienced in the First World War) into something slightly banal, which the nation can take pride in, is occurring with certain elements of poppy remembrance. While it was once peoples' duty to go and fight and die for their country, it is now our national duty to wear a poppy and bow our heads in respectful reverence to a sometimes undifferentiated militarism of "heroes in uniform." Potentially difficult articulations of the past can thus be made safe, and made harmless through their predictability.

The Productive Nostalgia of the Christmas Day Truce

As an example of a subversive heritage narrative that would appear, at face value, to be wholly critical of AHDs, the legend of the 1914 Christmas Day Truce would seem to have great potential. Certain facts, such as the detail of the England vs. Germany football match, together with the extent to which a truce occurred along the front lines are heavily disputed (see Connelly, 2014; Wilson, 2014b). While we should acknowledge that many soldiers were killed and injured on Christmas Day, on non-truce sections of the Front, and glossing over the supposed scoreline of any "international" football match, however, it does seem fairly certain that unofficial truces really did take place along sections of the Front Line; that these truces involved many thousands of men; and that it is probable that it involved elements of all combatant forces (with truces reported along sections of the Eastern Front, according to different Christian and cultural traditions). In terms of its power as a heritage discourse, however, whether the events actually occurred (together with their detail) is actually less important than the effect and current potency of its message. All commentators acknowledge that the truces were not official; they definitely were not sanctioned by military or political authorities, and they seem to have stoked a great deal of anxiety among elites at the time. These were professional soldiers,[6] ignoring direct orders not to fraternize with the enemy and refusing to bear arms on an enemy combatant. While few would claim that the supposed actions corresponded to a more committed and permanent refusal to fight, or an organized "antiwar" mass movement, the actions of swapping postcards, photos, cigarettes, and chocolate are certainly suggestive of a recognition of common bonds between fellow humans, for whom fate had bound to a greater duty to conduct a war.

There seems to be a powerful antiwar message within the episode that sometimes has been lost in the respectful reverence that has been channeled in its direction.

[6] By Christmas 1914, conscription had yet to occur in the UK. The soldiers involved were all "battle-hardened" professionals, many with a long prewar military career behind them.

However, since few people claim the truce as evidence of any broader "antiwar" feeling, perhaps the episode can be recalled as evidence for just how powerful a sense of national duty can be—that while people in both trenches recognized the senselessness of the slaughter, their honor and national pride should trump any acknowledged recognition of a common humanity. This idea certainly chimes with King's (2010) analysis of "last letters home" from British troops during the First World War. But this message of the "all-powerful" pull of the nation overcoming the sanity of common brotherhood is not the narrative that emerges from the discourse surrounding the truce's centenary. In practice, the episode is largely "tamed." Its profile and public fame require it to be referenced and celebrated, but its authoritative curatorship has tended to avoid either overt national posturing or an allowance that "ordinary people" might wrest control of and reinterpret the very meaning of armed conflict and nationalism.

Shot-at-Dawn

Perhaps an even more critical antiwar message might be found within the stories of troops, many suffering from shell shock, who were executed—shot at dawn—for "desertion." After concerted public pressure, the hundreds of British troops who were shot for desertion during the First World War were finally pardoned in 2006, and the story has been the subject of several recent television documentaries and critical arts projects.[7] In July 2014, however, I discovered a photograph-montage video on YouTube, *The Killing of Private Harvard*. It reenacted the execution of a British soldier who deserted on a First World War battlefield on the Western Front. Filmed in black-and-white, the video is reminiscent of wartime photographs of that era.[8]

Reenactment is a popular practice and a particularly effective means of heritage—ontologically intensive, performative, and experiential (Daugbjerg, Eisner, & Knudsen, 2014). Daugbjerg (2014, p. 728) invokes the idea of reenactment as a sense of shared knowledge that produces a collaborative heritage of possibility. The "shot at dawn" video that I discovered was filmed during a British Parliament "House of Commons Defence Select Committee" study visit to the former battlefields and the doomed soldier is played by Dai Harvard, a Member of Parliament.

[7] For instance, Channel 4's *Not Forgotten*, first aired in 2006 (and re-aired in 2014), partly followed a *Who Do You Think You Are?* format, following the family history experiences of contemporary relatives of those executed (see http://www.channel4.com/programmes/not-forgotten/episode-guide/series-2/); Chloe Dewe Matthews' exhibition of photographs (ongoing), taken at the exact spot of execution 100 years after the event (see: http://www.chloedewematthews.com/shot-at-dawn/). BBC 3's *Our World War* historical drama (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p022twsy) utilized televisual techniques pioneered during the BBC 3's Afghanistan-based war drama, *Our War* (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00vhs86). All websites in this note were last accessed 9 April 2015.

[8] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HtMhjEaVyGA&noredirect=1*The Killing of Private Harvard* (last accessed 24 February 2015).

The victim's sentence is read out in front of a visibly grim-faced audience, and then carried out behind the scenes to leave "Private Harvard" dead on the ground, with "dead" eyes staring skyward. The final scenes of the clip see Dai Harvard, MP, standing next to a war memorial, with "thanks" being paid by the MP "and his comrades," followed by a close-up of wooden crosses with a red poppy, its red color in stark contrast to the black-and-white footage. The sentiment seems clear, tapping into well-known and immediately recognizable images of respectful reverence: a tribute to the heroes who were shot by an army acting under the jurisdiction of the same Parliament a century before. How should we interpret the House of Commons Defence Select Committee reenactment of a First World War execution?

The *Killing of Private Harvard* is not the only YouTube tribute to those that were shot at dawn, but it stands out in contrast to the straightforwardly "critical" reflective stance of so much of the "Shot at Dawn" output, by virtue of it being undertaken by MPs while on a trip that was paid for by the UK Defence Forum (UKDF), a defence industry "information exchange" group that is funded by (among others) BAE Systems, Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Rolls Royce, and (the nuclear submarine builders) Babcock.[9] Indeed, the uploading of the clip onto YouTube appears to be particularly curious with hindsight, as, just a month later (from August 2014), brutal video clips of real quasi-military executions carried out by the (so-called) Islamic State became ubiquitous in the public eye.[10] Why did the House of Commons Defence Select Committee study trip to the Western Front battlefield sites choose the execution of a British soldier as a suitable subject for reenactment? This is hardly a story of British Military pride, nor one that, on the surface, has implications that are of interest to the UK arms industry. It is an example of "heritage in action," but in practice, this slightly mawkish "tribute" to the (state-executed) fallen ends up glossing over issues that are critical to a military-industrial complex, as represented by the interests of the UKDF (and House of Commons Defence Select Committee). A potentially powerful and critical antiwar heritage narrative is tamed; suffocated by a thick blanket of poignant reflection.

Conclusion

As a present-centered and future-orientated phenomenon, based on a perceived impression of the past, the various events and practices associated with the First World War centenary commemorations have been a powerful example of heritage in action.

[9] See www.ukdf.org.uk for more information on this group (last accessed 24 February 2015). Described by the conservative *Daily Telegraph* newspaper as "a group which organises meetings between key players in the defence industry" (www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/labour/4348729/labour-peers-Robin-Ashby-profile.html) (last accessed 13 February 2015), the UKDF has a "no-lobbying" policy.

[10] James Foley became the first Western journalist to be so executed, sometime around 19 August 2014, a month after the UKDF execution reenactment was uploaded.

Taking a critical heritage perspective, this chapter has explored some of the spatial and affective aspects of several strands of this First World War commemorative activity. In terms of its scalar rhetoric, the centenary of the First World War appears to operate within the authorizing framework of the nation. Whether acting as a touchstone that might bring the nation together in the context of contemporary conflicts, or reflecting a tacit spirit of competitiveness—of being supposedly more revering of the dead than other nations—this theme appears to reflect a hegemonic sense of an AHD. Such an AHD can be unpacked and critically analyzed to reveal the mode of its dynamic operation. Far from being homogenous in either form or scale, the realm of authorized commemoration is a dynamic process, operating in a complex scalar fashion. Thus, a variegated "national" heritage narrative is put into action through internalization of a personalized message that is performed by individuals in sometimes unreflexive ways (Bourdieu, 1994). Rather than being the expression of a one-dimensional monolithic state apparatus, the politics of war heritage, as seen through the centennial period, is shown to be reflective of wider debates about issues of sovereignty and identity.

Furthermore, taking strength from the potential of a critical heritage agenda that was championed by Samuel (1994), the chapter uses the notion of "productive nostalgia" to reflect on the potential for alternative narratives within. The poppy, the Christmas Day Truce, and the "shot-at-dawn" phenomena all seem to provide the raw material for an affective and critical heritage narrative to be developed—one which consciously undermines the power of the AHD, and one that would seem to have an emancipatory potential. In practice, however, each of these fields of commemorative practice are shown to be far from straightforward, in terms of the accounts that they offer and the significance of their consequences. It seems to be more difficult, rather than less, to find an unambiguously "critical" space, and the dualistic nature of adjectives such as "critical" ("progressive") and "celebratory" ("reactionary") becomes blurred.

Heritage can be very powerful—perhaps no more so than when it becomes predictable, ritualized, and seemingly banal. We need to challenge authorized discourses and expose the ambiguity (and paucity) of their essentialized scalar logic—showing them to be dynamic, contested, and contestable. We should not allow difficult heritage to be tamed, and we should try and develop our analysis so as to reach beyond a heritage of war in which it is simply the "pity of war" that acts as an affective prompt. "Heritage," therefore, is not the problem, and we need to be more conscious of recognizing and celebrating the heritage stories that are critical of war, whether on the Western Front 100 years ago, or in Iraq or Afghanistan since the turn of the Millennium.

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Chapter 9
Lapland's Dark Heritage: Responses to the Legacy of World War II

Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto and Suzie Thomas

Introduction: Dark Heritage in Context

In this chapter, we explore the concept of heritage as a potentially "dark" force; that is, we discuss how the more dark, macabre, and even painful elements of heritage can be singled out for engagement with different groups and individuals. We focus here on aspects of the past, and of concepts of the past in the present time, that become celebrated, commemorated, collected, or otherwise consumed because of their "darker" qualities. However this "darkness" may sometimes also be incidental to the primary "value" of the heritage, which may come from other aspects such as the geographical or temporal proximity between those who engage with heritage and the historical events to which it relates. In our case study, we look at the dark heritage legacy of the Second World War (WWII), as it is understood and regarded within the region of Lapland in northern Finland. Lapland is the northernmost region of Finland, with the city of Rovaniemi as its administrative capital (Fig. 9.1). "Lapland" is also the name sometimes used in English to refer to Sápmi, the cultural region in the northernmost areas of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and northwestern Russia. For the purposes of this chapter however, we will use the term Lapland to refer specifically to the Finnish region of that name.

As a site of tourism, Lapland is traditionally associated with wilderness, and increasingly with "magical" experiences such as Christmas-related tourism, as in the case of Rovaniemi's Santa Claus Village attraction (Herva, 2014, p. 298). These impressions of Finland's Lapland region persist, although as we discuss below, there is also an interest in WWII heritage, which is not limited only to visiting tourists.

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Fig. 9.1 Map of Finland indicating Lapland and its administrative capital, Rovaniemi, Inari, Vuotso, and the city of Oulu (in Ostrobothnia)—all of which are mentioned in this chapter. Map by Oula Seitsonen

Before exploring the dark WWII heritage of Lapland further, we first outline some of the literature and research to date concerning dark tourism and dark heritage, contextualizing it also with the concept of contested heritage and contested landscapes. The idea of "dark" heritage, and particularly "dark" tourism appears to have originated with Foley and Lennon (1996, p. 195) as a means of recognizing the process of visiting, primarily as tourists, heritage sites connected with atrocity "for remembrance, education or entertainment." Influenced by these and other scholars, Stone (2006) developed a "spectrum" of dark tourism, in which individual attractions may exhibit different degrees of "darkness." Factors affecting the extent to which a tourist attraction is dark may include such variables as authenticity (a site where a traumatic event occurred is "darker" than an exhibition about the event that is situated elsewhere), and the extent to which the attraction has been commoditized for touristic consumption. The darkest sites are those that have the least tourism infrastructure and the worst atrocities associated with them. They are also situated in the actual place where the dark event (or events) took place—death camps are feasibly therefore the darkest of these sites (Stone, 2006, p. 157).

There is now a wealth of literature debating and problematizing dark tourism, but it is important to acknowledge that "dark" sites have more than just a touristic value. Heritage generally is understood as more than a resource for generating tourism, and can have multiple meanings to different communities. Acknowledging that

"community" itself should not be regarded as a catch-all term based on uncritical assumptions and practices (Watson & Waterton, 2010, p. 1), we can move on to suggest that multiple communities of interest and of practice can exist, perhaps connected by a particular interest in history, by where they live, by ethnicity, or online as digital communities—themselves representing a range of different types of engagement (Rosenbaum & Shachaf, 2010). Furthermore, these different communities may represent quite different sets of opinions, perspectives, and values to those of the cultural heritage professionals. As Waterton (2005, p. 310) has noted, "landscape" as a concept "oscillates between the dominance of aesthetic and scientific values within heritage protection, and an understanding that invariably draws in intangible associations such as identity, social history and a sense of place, thus providing an important focus for local communities."

Although in Waterton's case she was discussing community values within English archeological heritage in the landscape, which is not necessarily specifically "dark," her point stands that local communities are likely to use cultural landscapes in a different way to heritage professionals, linking in intangible, often very personal, ontologies. Our approach also draws on Schofield's (2005, p. 15) characterization of what he terms "combat archeology," by "recognizing the multiplicity of views and interpretations, but recognizing the relevance and validity of all," including those that are significantly at variance with official and "professional" cultural heritage interpretation approaches (see also Schofield, 2014). Heritage of war can be seen therefore as a result of agency, contingency, politics, power, and resistance (as shown by Wilson, 2013). Gegner and Ziino (2012, p. 2) also underline the importance of acknowledging the agency of people and communities who do the work of making the meanings from the past. According to them, "[h]eritage is constituted in the act of identifying what is appropriate to remember and preserve in the light of experience."

The case study we present in this chapter essentially draws upon elements from dark tourism and dark heritage studies. We first provide some historical background to the German materiel heritage in Lapland, before moving on to examples of contemporary engagement with this heritage. Other scholars have discussed the impact of war on personal lives, for example of children (e.g., Korppi-Tommola, 2008), and the legacy of traumatic events in the form of memory (e.g., Sääskilahti, 2013). Hence, we focus on the legacy of the events of WWII in Lapland in terms of cultural heritage and interactions therewith, including a proposed "continuum" of different actor types. We suggest that this continuum can help establish the different ways in which both groups and individuals appear to engage with the WWII heritage in Lapland, particularly that which is connected to the German presence.

German WWII Involvement in Finland

Like much of Europe, Finland was not spared from involvement in WWII. Finland was a small, and to begin with neutral, nation located between the two superpowers of the Soviet Union and the Third Reich. After the Finnish-Soviet "Winter War" (1939–1940), Finns believed that a new conflict with the Soviet Union was only a

matter of time. After negotiations with Sweden to develop a defense pact intended to deter the Soviet Union failed to reach an agreement, Finland found itself "entirely without military support in the autumn of 1939 when Hitler and Stalin in collusion began their simplification of the political map of eastern and northern Europe" (Meinander, 2011, p. 136). However, since the early twentieth century Finland had had a close relationship with Germany, and as part of Hitler's Operation Barbarossa—the attack on the Soviet Union—German troops began arriving in Finland (Seitsonen & Herva, 2011, p. 173). Some 200,000 German troops were based in Finland, mostly in the northern parts of the country. The German presence in Lapland from the end of 1940, under Eduard Dietl, was relatively harmonious with the local community until the change in relationship between the Soviet Union necessitated hostilities. Finland declared war with Germany from October 1944 as part of the condition of peace with the Soviet Union (Korppi-Tommola, 2008, p. 445). Consequently, towards the end of WWII, Finns turned against their former German brothers-in-arms. However, the two former allies at first merely pretended to be at war, although this escalated eventually into actual war and large-scale devastation of northern Finland (Tuominen, 2005). As Sääskilahti noted (2013), the scale of destruction by the German army adopting "scorched earth" tactics, along with the necessary mass evacuation of the Lapland residents, left traumatic and painful memories for many.

The complicated Finnish–German relationship during the war resulted in a controversial and contradictory perception of the German military presence in Finland. As Herva (2014) commented:

> On the one hand, there is the perception of 'good Germans' who provided Finland with much needed help in a difficult time. On the other hand, there is the embarrassment that Finland sided with Nazis who furthermore ended up 'burning down Lapland.' Finns have been anxious to distance themselves from the German war efforts ever since the war. (p. 300)

The situating of Finland between Axis and Allies during WWII resulted in conflicting opinions and experiences for those attempting to come to terms with the events of the war. Others have noted the difficulty of some Finns in acknowledging their close alliance with Nazi Germany (e.g., Herva, 2014), while there are also relatively fond recollections of interactions with the German soldiers. This is illustrated particularly well in the recent exhibition "*Wir waren Freunde*/*Olimme ystäviä*" (in English "We were friends") at the Provincial Museum of Lapland in Arktikum, Rovaniemi, running from April 2015 to January 2016 (discussed below, and see also Alariesto et al., 2015). The question of Finnish–German relations has remained a sensitive topic for a long time and has only recently become critically reassessed (e.g., Westerlund, 2008).

WWII German Sites and Materiel in Lapland

Schofield (2005, p. 117) has suggested that WWII "added one million sites to the UK's archaeological resources," and so it is the case in northern Finland that the landscape is awash with sites and materiel culture from WWII. Examples range from buildings that still stand and are still in use (such as the "Mansion of Kaleva"

in Oulu—originally a Waffen-SS Officers' Club but deliberately renamed to disassociate the building from its Nazi past—see Ylimaunu et al., 2013, pp. 10–11; Herva, 2014, pp. 300–301), through remains of Prisoner of War (PoW) camps, through to scattered materiel culture such as remains of tanks and other military vehicles. The majority of Lapland's wartime German sites were completely destroyed and burned down. Thus the physical remains are mainly war junk or ruins. In the postwar years, people of Lapland who returned to the sites of their destroyed homes used much of the remaining war junk for building new homes. In the beginning, people had to stay in temporary shelters such as "holes in the ground, cardboard shacks or old barracks" (Tuominen, 2005, p. 154). Reconstruction was important and proceeded fast despite the extreme lack of materials and resources. While the infrastructure and dwellings were rebuilt, the remains of German military base and prison camps were mainly left untouched. Many of the people we have interviewed in Lapland who are interested in the cultural heritage of WWII today told us how they as children played with war junk, even especially explosives, despite their parents' warnings. Today, the WWII German sites—some of which are located right next to (or upon) tourist attractions as in the case of Rovaniemi's Santa Claus Village (Forrest, 2015; Mullins, 2014)—are mostly ignored by many local people although there are still visible elements in the landscape. None of these sites have any signage or have received any kind of official status as cultural heritage.

Additional to the remains in the landscape, there are numerous examples of individuals with personal memorabilia and stories about German sites. There is also commemorative cultural heritage in the form of monuments and exhibitions (such as the Norvajärvi cemetery for fallen German soldiers—the only official monument in Rovaniemi commemorating the Germans in WWII see Koskinen-Koivisto 2016—and the collections held and interpreted within museums). WWII military history and materiel have also been exhibited in numerous smaller tourist destinations. In Inari, local history hobbyists who we have interviewed have collected some military equipment such as a tank and some artillery from the area and placed them on public spots as unofficial monuments (see also the blog Sovintovaara: http://sovintovaara.blogspot.fi). Members of our research team have also observed WWII materiel found from the ground being used as decoration at local camping sites such as Muotkan Ruoktu and Kielajoki (Sámi name Giellajohka).

It has been claimed that, compared to the Winter and Continuation Wars, the Lapland War occupies only a "marginal" place in Finland's collective memory of WWII (Kivimäki, 2012, p. 483). However, as we discuss below, certainly at a local level, the legacy of Lapland's WWII experiences and history are still seen and even felt among different groups of people who are somehow engaged with the heritage of WWII.

Encounters and Engagement with Lapland's Dark Heritage: A Continuum of Interests

Who is attracted by the dark heritage of wartime Lapland? On the basis of interviews and encounters with the official heritage agents (museum professionals) and hobbyists, we speculate a sort of "continuum" of different types of people interested

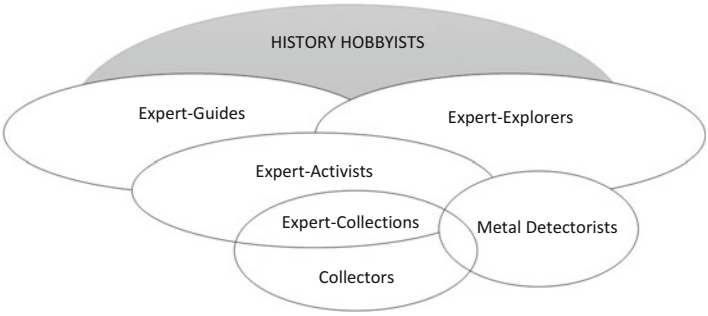

Fig. 9.2 Continuum of the interests of different actors interested in the WWII cultural heritage in Finnish Lapland. Graphic by Suzie Thomas and Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto

in the German materiel of Lapland War (Fig. 9.2). We identified the key "categories" as expert-guides, expert-activists, expert-explorers (including metal detectorists), collectors (including expert-collectors), and—most broadly—history hobbyists. The actors in these categories differ from official or authorized persons who follow agendas set by institutions and organizations, and instead participate and act in the heritage scene according to their own personal motivations and interests. We are interested in the *active agents* who, rather than participating in events and activities organized by others, take part in actions such as conserving, documenting, mapping, and collecting WWII material culture. Some hobbyists are also volunteers who offer un-coerced help (either formally or informally) with no token pay, for the benefit of the common good (cf. Stebbins, 1996), in this case heritage work. Some individuals fall into more than one category, and we see the boundaries between our different categories as porous.

In our research we have carried out interviews with museum professionals, as well as history hobbyists (some of whom are also collectors), and members of groups involved in searching activities related to repatriation of fallen soldiers—involving documentary research and metal detecting. These groups mainly act through groups and societies (e.g., Lapland's Association for Cherishing the Memory of the Dead of the War; Lapland's Society of Military History), although individual, lone activity is not uncommon. All interviewees consented to their interviews being recorded and to the information they gave us being used in our analyses and in the dissemination of our research. We have taken care not to name any of our informants. All of the people we have interviewed were aware of the potential of dark heritage and dark tourism, but also of the sensitivity of the topic. They do not wish to hide any of the cruel sides of WWII heritage but rather to acknowledge it as part of local history. In other words, our impression was that our informants were aware of the darkness of the heritage in question, but the attraction to interact with this heritage was founded upon other aspects—for example its local relevance and the relative ease with which material heritage connected to this period can still be discovered in the landscape—*in addition* to its status as dark heritage.

In the case of Rovaniemi, there are several different actors who document and preserve WWII history. Official or "authorized" actors, to borrow from Smith and Waterton (2009) and others, include the Provincial Museum of Lapland at Arktikum. The museum's collection and documentation policies include accessioning and preserving items and recollections of the Lapland War. The municipal library also has a large collection of literature related to the Lapland War. These official agents cooperate with the history hobbyists. One group of these WWII hobbyists, themselves heritage agents, are the local *expert-guides*, those who have studied the history of the area and actively guide and help others interested in military history. These expert-guides have often had a long-lasting relationship with the area which is either their home region or has become their home and they are motivated by emotion and/or ideology. The Provincial Museum of Lapland cooperates with a man who is dedicated to mapping and documenting the ruins of German sites in Rovaniemi's landscape. This man, who has training in both history and archeology, bikes thousands of kilometers a year visiting sites, studies documents, interviews elderly people, and draws detailed maps of the areas (Forrest, 2015).

Other expert-guides include a former military officer who is interested in local military history and especially Germans. Together with the local Rotary organization, he cares for the Norvajärvi German cemetery and guides German visitors, some of whom come there to see the grave site of their loved ones who died in WWII. The cemetery is also popular among Finnish tourists, who often go there in groups. A visit to the cemetery is part of a WWII themed bus tour entitled "Cape of Chimneys" (*Piippuniemi*) created by two local professional guides specialized in local war history. Thus, Rovaniemi feeds/attracts some degree of dark tourism which is linked to tragedies such as death sites and battlefields. The paid nature of some of the expert-guide activities, such as the tour bus organizers, also indicates the fluidity between this category and other official or authorized heritage interpreters such as the museum, which also gain an official status from their professional nature.

Our fieldwork in smaller villages of Lapland, where there are only a few if any official heritage agents dedicated to cultivating WWII legacy, feature local hobbyist *expert-activists*, who educate other local people about the importance of preserving local sites. An example of this is a woman who moved at the age of 15 to the small village of Vuotso in Sodankylä, where the German army used to have a *Rasthaus* (a place to rest), and also an airport. Soon after moving to Vuotso, this woman became interested in WWII history and started documenting sites and raising awareness locally about the heritage, for example encouraging them to make use of it in tourism businesses.

We have also encountered a different type of "expert," which we call *expert-explorers*, whose activities include studying and documenting WWII battlefields, prison camps, crash sites, and so forth. Many of these expert-explorers belong to groups or societies who organize journeys in order to explore certain sites of particular interest. Their repertoire of activities includes documenting the site, taking photographs, and marking down the place on a map. Museum professionals working in the two main Finnish aviation museums, situated in Vantaa (in the Greater

Helsinki region) and Tikkakoski (on the outskirts of Jyväskylä in Central Finland), informed us of one particular type of expert-explorer group. These groups are called wreck or crash site explorers and they have existed since the late 1970s when their first expeditions in Finnish Lapland took place (see Valtonen, 2009). Many of the groups and individual explorers collaborate with the museums, providing the information about crash sites, their location, and the current condition of the remains. Other examples of expert-explorers include members of fallen soldier repatriation groups which cooperate with the Finnish police and Army on the basis of legislation and formal agreements between the states of Germany and Russia. In Finland, these activities were initially coordinated by the Ministry of Education and from 1998 onwards by the Association for Cherishing the Memory of the Dead of the War (*Sotavainajien muiston vaalimisyhdistys* in Finnish, see www.sotavainajat.net). Most expert-exploring seems to be systematic and includes studying of military documents and use of technical equipment such as global positioning systems and/or metal detectors.

Expert-explorers share a mutual interest not only in history and archeology but also in nature, trekking, and wilderness, and therefore the attraction to dark heritage is only one part of their motivation. Repatriation is also motivated by patriotic thinking and gratefulness to the Finnish veterans who gave their lives for the nation. As one of our interviewees put it, participating in the repatriation activities is about "paying back the honorary debt." Cooperating with and helping other nations' repatriation groups seem to go hand in hand with the respectful attitude towards all fallen soldiers.

A special case among the expert-explorers is the *metal detectorist*, who visits and explores the sites in search of valuable findings. These metal detectorists operate in a gray zone between licit and illicit activity, and some of their actions, for example if they were digging on sites protected under the Antiquities Act (National Board of Antiquities, 2014), would be illegal. Metal detectorists operate both individually and in active small groups, and in Finland seem to be mostly men in their 30s and 40s. Some foreign metal detectorists have visited Lapland in search of certain German military equipment which is highly valued among collectors of WWII militaria. While we have yet to explore in depth the degree to which these groups are organized, parallels in other countries (such as the UK—e.g., Thomas, 2012, and Denmark—e.g., Dobat, 2013) suggest that metal detectorist groups can be fairly structured, with online forums, planned group meetings and other activities, and even a paid membership through which to obtain and maintain affiliation.

Some of the expert-explorers and detectorists are also *collectors* who study (local) military history and collect objects from antique markets and other sources, as well as add to their collections by discovering artifacts in the surrounding area from their explorer activities. These exploring collectors, who also exchange information and trade objects with other collectors, might also be called *expert-collectors* because of their vast knowledge and expertise. The collector category also includes individuals who are not engaged in expert-explorer activities, and therefore this is another category in which there is overlap on the continuum.

Fig. 9.3 WWII material on display for sale in a general store in Rovaniemi. *Image credit*: Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto

German WWII materiel is among the most desirable—and therefore of the most financially valuable—WWII-related objects around the world, with Gillian Carr, for example, noting that collectors of German militaria in the Channel Islands regard their collections as "nest eggs" due to their increasing market value (2014, pp. 47–48). According to one of the collectors that we interviewed, this is because of the "darkness" of this materiel, and the curiosity of collectors and others about this darkness. Some Finnish collectors specialize in certain German-related objects, or in local groups such as volunteer Finnish SS men who fought in Hitler's army. The same collector mentioned above told us that he has received many of his objects directly from these Finnish SS veterans or their families. Objects can also be found online or from militaria fares. We also saw evidence of shop sales of WWII militaria in local centers of commerce such as Rovaniemi, as shown in Fig. 9.3. In this case the objects we saw on sale used to belong to a collector who had died and whose family had decided to sell the collection.

In summing up this proposed continuum of experts, explorers, and collectors, we have ultimately met *history hobbyists* whose activities combine all or some of these fields. We therefore understand this category as at once all-encompassing of the other. For example, there are expert-explorer-collectors who only collect objects they have found from the ground themselves and (local) expert-explorer-activists who have explored local WWII sites and act to preserve them and make plans to create tourist activities at these sites which would thus benefit the local community and economy.

The Provincial Museum of Lapland and a Box of Matches

Before concluding the chapter, we want to emphasize that, despite our efforts to understand and identify the different ways in which those individuals and groups interested in WWII in Lapland choose to engage with the past, the relationship

between contemporary residents in Lapland and the dark heritage of WWII remains complex and sometimes surprising. The following example, relating to a museum exhibition and planned promotional material, illustrates this point.

The exhibition "*Wir waren Freunde*/*Olimme ystäviä*," mentioned earlier, covers the experiences of both local residents and the German soldiers posted in Lapland from 1940 to 1944, arranged thematically to cover topics such as the emergence of local bartering and black markets, romantic relationships between the soldiers and local women, and the proliferation of propaganda press in both Finnish and German languages for the local and German communities in Lapland. The exhibition even acknowledges the presence of PoW camps in Lapland, although this section of the exhibition is noticeably brief compared to others.

Interviews with the museum staff involved in the development of "*Wir waren Freunde*" indicate to us that the staff were very mindful, even at the earliest stages of planning, of the potential of the exhibition's subject to cause controversy and tensions. Staff apparently had lengthy discussions about how they themselves felt about the exhibition's content, as well as prepare themselves and their responses for the possibility of negative or inflammatory feedback from both the media and local residents. They speculated that some local residents might be uncomfortable with the idea of resurrecting the memory of the connection between Finland and Nazi Germany, in light of the many Nazi atrocities that came to light after the end of the war.

The exhibition itself has in fact received positive feedback from both media and museum visitors, as evidenced by the comments from a visitor exit survey (the official results of this are unpublished at the time of writing). However, the marketing material of the exhibition included the creation of matchboxes with the text "*Wir waren Freunde*," the box colored black with the text itself in old-style red font (Fig. 9.4). These matchboxes were launched in the previous fall (2014). They inspired sometimes strong reactions in local people. The director of the museum informed us that some days before the official opening of the exhibition in April 2015, the mayor of Rovaniemi had asked the museum to cease distributing the matchboxes. The banning of the matchboxes made national news (e.g., Räihä, 2015; Vesa, 2015). The matchboxes have been described by one journalist as "a cheeky

Fig. 9.4 The now-infamous "Wir waren Freunde" matchboxes produced by the Provincial Museum of Lapland at Arktikum as promotional material for their exhibition of the same name. *Image credit*: Suzie Thomas

reference to a rather hostile prank from the 1950s and 1960s, when Finns would give matchboxes to German tourists and ask them if they'd prefer to light up a Marlboro or Lapland" (Forrest, 2015). However, rather than the potential for interpreting the matchboxes themselves as in bad taste, those who objected to the matchboxes seem to have primarily criticized the *textual* message they might give to Germans. This was especially since the wording on the matchboxes announces that the friendship with them has ended (we "were," rather than "are," friends). In the view of many of the objectors, including some of the informants that we interviewed, the texts should have emphasized the restored and continuing good relations. The case of the matchboxes demonstrates that German alliance and presence in Lapland continue to be a sensitive issue in local cultural heritage politics.

Final Thoughts on Lapland's Dark Heritage

In this chapter we have sought to introduce the concept of dark heritage in relation to connected concepts such as dark tourism, and to present examples of the manifold ways in which encounters and engagements with this kind of heritage occur in the context of Finnish Lapland. The status of Lapland as a provider of dark tourism and heritage encounters runs contrary to other perceptions of the region, for example its association with Santa Claus and nature-based adventure tourism—and it is arguable that in much of the official tourism marketing, notwithstanding coach tour packages such as *Piippuniemi*, the dark heritage has been silenced in favor of these other less contentious images. As discussed above however, the boundaries of interest are not always rigid, and some of our informant history hobbyists were also avid nature enthusiasts.

Focusing primarily on local actors rather than incoming tourists, we do see that there are intriguing communities of interest relating to the dark heritage of Lapland. We have suggested a continuum of different actors that engage with this dark heritage in a variety of, often related, ways. This model attempts to capture the balance between clear "types" of interaction and motivation with the dark heritage while also acknowledging the fluidity of these categories, with different actors potentially occupying more than one part of the continuum at any time. It remains to be seen whether these suggested terms for our actors cover the full gamut of engagements with the WWII cultural heritage in Lapland. Furthermore, analysis of communities in other regions with a "dark" heritage provided by war or some other past catastrophe will shed light on whether this particular continuum is unique to Lapland or represents categories which apply in all cases.

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Part V
Urban Contexts

Chapter 10
Heritage Activism and Cultural Rights: The Case of the New Acropolis Museum

Kalliopi Fouseki and Maria Shehade

Introduction

This chapter uses the New Acropolis Museum in Athens, Greece, as a vehicle for reconceptualising human and cultural rights within the context of cultural heritage. We argue that the ways in which human and cultural rights are defined and prioritised in legislation sometimes cause not only conceptual ambiguities but also practical problems with evident socio-economic effects. We further contend that the notion of cultural rights can and should also refer to the right to belong to a certain place and that the right to individual property is both a human and cultural right (see chapters by Escallon and Human in this volume).

The case of the New Acropolis Museum (NAM) clearly illustrates the problematic clash between cultural and human rights through the multiple layers of heritage on the area surrounding the Acropolis, the implicit heritage hierarchy that favours 'older' and monumental heritage over more recent forms of heritage, and the different groups of stakeholders involved. Our particular concern is the dislocation of the local community surrounding the NAM, whose houses were demolished in order to enhance the outer area of the museum building.

But the NAM is not just another case study in the abrogation of stakeholder rights. Rather, the NAM is worth studying because it also provides an indicative example of a new form of heritage activism. As will be shown, in most cases of heritage activism, people are trying to protect heritage sites from destruction. In this case, the creation of a structure which houses and actually protects archaeology (i.e. the museum) was the reason that provoked heritage activism. Different manifestations of heritage activism were thus provoked by conceptual ambiguities between rights (cultural, human and property) and between different manifestations of

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heritage (older and modern). An explicit or implicit prioritisation of 'what forms of heritage' should be preserved is imbricated in the NAM case, posing serious ethical questions and dilemmas.

Cultural and Human Rights: An Ambiguous Clash

Cultural rights are recognised by a number of international instruments as well as by various state constitutions and legislation as part of human rights. The term 'cultural rights' usually refers to the right of every individual and community to access and 'enjoy' their cultural heritage. We use this standard definition in a critical manner in order to argue that the definition is narrow and actually encompasses a much wider scope of issues, such as the sense of belonging.

The idea that cultural rights are an integral part of human rights was first introduced in Article 27 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which recognises that 'everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits'. Since then, a number of international and transnational instruments have included special reference to cultural rights, such as the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the American Convention on Human Rights-ACHR (Organization of American States, 1969).

However, the recognition of the cultural aspect of human rights remains problematic.[1] As O'Keefe notes (2000, p. 182), 'the cultural aspect of human rights is relatively underdeveloped compared with political, economic and social aspects'. This uneven approach also results in a vague definition of cultural rights per se. As Psychogiopoulou (2013, p. 159) stresses, 'in major human rights instruments and treaties, there has so far been no precise definition of cultural rights as such'. In most cases, specific rights have been associated with culture and recognised as having a 'cultural dimension'.[2]

The very nature of cultural rights covers an extremely broad range of issues: the right of minorities and indigenous people to enjoy their heritage, the right of ethnic groups to access heritage sites connected to their religion, the right of a state to preserve and protect from destruction archaeological sites in order to safeguard the right of its citizens for the enjoyment of heritage, just to name a few.

Property rights constitute another important facet of human rights. Article 17 of the UDHR states that 'everyone has the right to own property […], no one shall be

[1] It has been acknowledged by many scholars in the past that the cultural rights aspect of human rights has not been treated equally to the other categories of human rights. For example, Stavenhagen (2013, p. 30) noted that 'cultural rights have not been given much importance in theoretical texts on human rights and […] are treated rather as a residual category'.

[2] This vagueness is not only present with regard to the definition of 'cultural rights' but also with regard to the very meaning of 'culture'. Refer to Logan (2007, p. 44), Psychogiopoulou (2013, p. 159).

arbitrarily deprived of his property'. Similar provisions are included in the ACHR and the European Convention on Human Rights-ECHR (Council of Europe, 1950). It must be noted, however, that property rights are not absolute, but rather 'subjected to the interests of society' (O'Keefe, 2000, p. 184). For example, Article 1 of the First Protocol[3] of the ECHR states that 'no one shall be deprived of his possessions except in the public interest and subject to the conditions provided for by law'. The second part of Article 1 explains the justifications for interference with this particular right: 'the preceding provisions shall not, however, in any way impair the right of a State to enforce such laws as it deems necessary to control the use of property in accordance with the general interest or to secure the payment of taxes or other contributions or penalties'. Therefore, the protection of cultural heritage can generally be considered as a justification for the interference of the state in individual property rights.

This leads us to the following contradiction: a state is responsible for the preservation and protection of cultural heritage (be it antiquities, archaeological sites and so on) in order to ensure the right of its citizens to enjoy their heritage. However, particular measures taken by the state in order to achieve this, such as land expropriation, interfere with individual rights with regard to the enjoyment of property. To make matters more complicated, this interference can also affect the individual cultural rights of the affected citizens, as we will argue in the following sections. Indeed, as Silverman and Ruggles (2007, p. 6) note 'it is evident […] that human rights and cultural heritage are not self-contained; they may overlap and in doing so may conflict with each other'.

Heritage Activism and the Case of the (New) Acropolis Museum

The ambiguous definitions of human and cultural rights and the clash between them lead inevitably to conflicts that are further reinforced through the formation of social movements that are in favor of—or sometimes against—the protection of cultural heritage. Social movements created for the protection of cultural heritage are increasingly being discussed in the literature as forms of 'heritage activism' (Barber, 2013; Mozaffari, 2015). The term is mainly used to denote attempts, mostly grassroots efforts, for saving and protecting heritage that is under the threat of loss.

One such example is grassroots groups of heritage enthusiasts in Iran that mainly operate as cultural or heritage non-governmental organisations and which emerged back in the 1990s (Mozaffari, 2015). In Canada there is a growing social movement to protect architectural heritage that is threatened by development (Barber, 2013).

[3] The full text of the first part of Article 1 of the First Protocol is as follows: 'every natural or legal person is entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of his possessions. No one shall be deprived of his possessions except in the public interest and subject to the conditions provided for by law and by the general principles of international law'.

Community-based archives can also be classified as an example of heritage activism, since they produce activity that often represents what can also be characterised as archival or heritage activism. Such activity sees history-production as a participative practice, a form of *Do It Yourself* cultural and political activity that engages with and promotes a 'useful' past as a form of social movement activism (Flinn, 2011; Gilliland & Flinn, 2013, p. 9). Sometimes a resource centre or library will evolve over time into an archive, perhaps denoting a shift from contemporary resources being used to support activity to the use of the past to support the activism (Gilliland & Flinn, 2013, p. 13; see also Flinn, 2011).

Current literature on 'heritage activism' focuses on social movements for the protection of archaeological or architectural heritage. The case of the NAM brings to light a new form of heritage and a new form of heritage activism—that of vernacular architecture inhabited by a group of local residents and thus linked with personal and collective memories at neighbourhood level. Indeed, as will be shown, the NAM has mobilised 'heritage activism' at various levels—one movement is for the protection of the archaeological and architectural heritage of the Makrygianni site (see below) and on the other hand it is a movement for the protection of the blocks of flats surrounding the Makrygianni plot which are viewed as an alternative form of heritage (of architectural interest by the architects and of cultural value by the residents). The fundamental question and dilemma in heritage activism is *"whose heritage is erased and/or claimed by whom"?* (Türeli, 2014, p. 5). This dilemma is at the core of the case of the NAM.

The first Acropolis Museum was erected in 1865 on the south-eastern corner of the Acropolis Hill. The idea first emerged in 1834, soon after the birth of the Greek State. At that time, the sacred rock of the Acropolis and its monuments were transformed into a 'symbolic capital' of democracy and revivalism of Greece (Hamilakis & Yalouri, 1996, 1999; Lowenthal, 1985, pp. 75–86). The Acropolis Museum, however, proved to be inadequate in terms of space. Its location on top of the Acropolis Hill imposed further spatial limitations. It was not until the aftermath of the fall of the military dictatorship in Greece in 1974 that an extensive restoration programme took place on the Acropolis monuments (Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 1989). As part of this restoration project the then Prime Minister of Greece, Konstantinos Karamanlis, proposed the construction of a new Acropolis museum which would display the Acropolis artefacts according to modern museological standards. A series of national and international design competitions were held over the years. One of the key challenges was finding the most suitable location—one which should allow visual contact with the Acropolis Hill and hence form an implicit argument for the repatriation of the Parthenon sculptures from the British Museum.

Finally, the Makriyianni plot was chosen for construction (Fig. 10.1). It contained listed buildings (Figs. 10.2 and 10.3) as well as blocks of flats where more than 100 families lived (Fouseki, 2006, 2008; Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 1990, pp. 58–59).

The decision provoked reactions by the Association of Greek Architects (AGA) and the local inhabitants who denounced the museum construction to the Supreme Judicial Council. The council decided to cancel the project in September 1993 (decision no: 2137, 24 September 1993; Eleftherotypia, 10 March 2002; Ta Nea, 25

Fig. 10.1 The Makriyianni plot as viewed from the Acropolis Hill. The Acropolis Museum is placed at the centre of the plot. The two white buildings at the front are Art Deco and Neoclassical listed buildings. On the *left-hand side* of the picture is the Weiler building, which is also a listed building of the nineteenth century, and at the side of the museum on the *right-hand side* of the picture two other neoclassical listed buildings are also visible. *Photograph*: Maria Shehade, February 2012

November 1993; To Vima, 3 November 1996). The main claim of the architects was that the high, contemporary building on this site would threaten the aesthetic and historic character of the Athenian landscape. Local inhabitants whose blocks of flats had to be demolished reacted against the proposal for the NAM using similar arguments although their main interest was to save their flats from expropriation. Opposition to the construction of the museum in the Makriyianni plot was also voiced by international architects (Fouseki, 2006, 2007; Ta Nea, 24 July 1997). The results of the first international competition, which was held in 1989, were voided.

The Hellenic Ministry of Culture announced a second international architectural competition and it, too, aimed at building a new museum on the Makriyianni plot, which would integrate the in situ-conserved archaeological remains into the modern structure (Papachristos, 2004; Ta Nea, 2 June 2000). Similarly, the Citizens' Movement kept repeating that the location of the Makriyianni area was inappropriate due to the archaeological interest of the area (To Vima, 20 May 2000). Greek and British newspapers published articles on the destruction of the remains on the

Fig. 10.2 One of the two listed buildings at the front of the Acropolis Museum. This building, situated in 17 Dionysiou Areopagitou street, was designed in 1930 by Greek architect Vassilis Kouremenos and is characterised as a fine example of Athenian Art Deco. Its exterior is decorated in pink marble, a mosaic of Oedipus and the Sphinx as well as marble statues of women at the sides of the main entrance. Although the building was listed, the Ministry and the Archaeological Council originally decided to demolish it to facilitate the view of the new museum towards the Acropolis Hill. However, the decision was recalled after the strong opposition of architects and local residents and a ruling of the Council of State. *Photograph*: Maria Shehade, July 2015

Makriyianni plot (Eleftherotypia, 20 April 2002; Ta Nea, 17 July 2002; The Guardian, 15 July 2002). Despite the oppositions, the second international architectural competition was completed in 2001 and the first prize was awarded to the architects Bernard Tschumi and Michalis Fotiadis (Fouseki, 2006, 2007).

In July 2003, inhabitants of the area, representatives of ICOMOS and architects appealed against the decision to the Supreme Judicial Council, each arguing their interests—against the destruction of archaeological remains and against the design (Ta Nea, 17 July 2003; To Vima, 8 June 2003). The then Organisation for the Construction of the New Acropolis Museum (OANMA) provided evidence that the museum had been modified in such a way that it protected the archaeological site

Fig. 10.3 The Weiler building is one of the listed buildings included in the Makriyianni plot. It was constructed in 1836 by the Bavarian engineer Wilhelm von Weiler and housed the military hospital. It now belongs to the Greek Ministry of Culture. *Photograph*: Maria Shehade, July 2015

and so the project continued (Ta Nea, 28 July 2003). The issue with the stakeholders was a separate matter for during this period police officers requested the inhabitants to leave their flats while several residents demonstrated against the demolition of their homes (Eleftherotypia, 25 July 2003; Ta Nea, 17 July 2003) and expressed feelings of displacement. As one of the local inhabitants stated in a local meeting attended by Kalliopi Fouseki: 'According to the law our houses must be demolished for the common benefit. However, I cannot understand what the meaning of the common benefit is since none of the inhabitants accepted the state decision' (Fouseki, 2008). Another inhabitant stated: 'I think that the only solution to our problem is to hang big panels on our balconies writing in capitals "REFUGEES IN OUR OWN COUNTRY"'. Another inhabitant also declared: 'We have spent a lot of years in this area and we are emotionally tied to this site'. These words reveal the feeling of displacement dominating the inhabitants. Their removal from the place is equal to 'movement' of their memories associated with it. A sympathetic architect and historian asked: 'What right do we have to underestimate these blocks of flats that might be of special architectural or historical value in the future? Did anybody consider the landscape that has been shaped for decades by the presence of these blocks of houses and is tied to the memories of people who used to walk around the area?' (To Vima, 19 September 1991).

The dislocation of the local inhabitants (Bender, 2001, p. 8) is reflected in newspaper articles with titles such as 'When the Ancient Greeks move away the Modern Greeks' (To Vima, 16 December 1990) and 'The museum uproots 150 families' (Epikairotita, 30 November 1990). Such reactions reveal how people are emotionally tied to the buildings in which they live and the scenes and memories created by these (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2005). The local community of the Makriyianni area used its personal and collective memories to shape a sense of belonging and the notion of loyalty to the surrounding place (Lovell, 1998; Schama, 1995; Tilley, 1994).

Rights, Heritage Activism and the Legal Regime

This particular example of a local community dispute reconfirms the disjuncture between human rights as universal and all-encompassing, and cultural diversity and cultural heritage which are by definition culturally and temporally specific (Logan, 2008, p. 440). Activism has manifested itself at various levels (local, national and transnational) and in various forms. In the case of the local residents, the activism is towards the protection of an alternative form of heritage, which is linked with their own personal memories and identities conveyed through the physical existence of their properties. The case of the local residents, whose flats had to be appropriated and demolished, turns the issue of cultural and human rights into a complex problem. The human need to safeguard sense of place, belonging, ownership and identity is a human as well as a cultural right. Logan (2008, p. 439) has rightly stressed that 'having a say in determining one's own life circumstances, including one's cultural and physical environment, is now commonly seen as a fundamental human right'. He further states that it is essential to see cultural heritage within a human rights context and as part of people's efforts to maintain their own identity and through this the cultural diversity of the world (Logan, 2008). This remark is of critical importance. In the end, it is about what fosters individual and collective identities—and this is both a cultural and a human right. If the focus is on identity-making then we could argue that social movements related to the protection of any form of heritage are, above all, a form of cultural activism where heritage is the object/aim of such social movements. Cultural activism here is understood as encompassing anything that relates to identity-making.

On the other hand, the decision to demolish the flats was based on the protection of the 'cultural right' to provide access to the collections of the Acropolis Hill, building a museum that might lead to the repatriation of the marbles. The problem derives from the attempt to distinguish 'cultural' from 'human rights', while in the end both types of rights correspond to the right to 'belong' and 'freedom of expression'.

The ambiguity between cultural and human rights exists at legislation level in the first instance. In the case of Greece, archaeology and property rights are dubious. Due to this ambiguity, the conflict escalated. The example of the NAM shows that there are serious consequences between the protection of archaeological remains and the pro-

tection of the individual property rights of the citizens, which constitute an obligation of the state both in Greek Constitutional Law and in the Greek national legislation.

The Greek Constitution (Constitution of Greece, 1975) protects both cultural rights and the individual's right to private property. Article 24 of the Greek Constitution of 1975 protects cultural heritage and recognises this as an individual right on its own merit, within the wider context of the right for the protection of the environment. In particular, Paragraph 1 of the article[4] states: 'the protection of the natural and cultural environment constitutes a duty of the State and a right of every person'. Also, Paragraph 6 states: 'Monuments and historic areas and elements shall be under the protection of the State. A law shall provide for measures restrictive of private ownership deemed necessary for protection thereof, as well as for the manner and the kind of compensation payable to owners'.

Further reference to property rights is made in Article 17 of the Constitution, which places an individual's right to property under state protection but also specifies that individuals cannot exercise property rights if it would be detrimental to the public interest.[5] Moreover, the article allows the government to expropriate private property for public benefit. Paragraph 2 states: 'no one shall be deprived of his property except for public benefit which must be duly proven, when and as specified by statute and always following full compensation corresponding to the value of the expropriated property at the time of the court hearing on the provisional determination of compensation'.

The details of the expropriation process that should be followed are defined by national legislation and in particular in Article 19 of Law 3028/2002.[6] In practice, the expropriation and compensation process is not as simple as described by the law. According to legislation, archaeological explorations by the Archaeological Service are required prior to any development in areas which are characterised as having an 'archaeological significance'[7] or areas which are close to archaeological sites. Due to the heavy workload of the Archaeological Service and the numbers of such requests from citizens, this process can take months or even years before permission is granted. When archaeological remains are found on private land, the Minister of

[4] The full text of Paragraph 1 of Article 24 states: 'the protection of the natural and cultural environment constitutes a duty of the State and a right of every person. The State is bound to adopt special preventive or repressive measures for the preservation of the environment in the context of the principle of sustainable development […]'.

[5] In particular, Paragraph 1 of Article 17 of the Greek Constitution of 1975 states: 'Property is under the protection of the State; rights deriving there from, however, may not be exercised contrary to the public interest'.

[6] The current law in Greece that regulates everything related to antiquities and cultural heritage is Law 3028/2002 'on the protection of antiquities and cultural heritage in general'. Regarding the expropriation process to be followed in case that antiquities are found in private land, Article 19 states: 'for the protection of monuments, archaeological or historical sites or for carrying out excavations, the Minister of Culture may order the temporary or permanent deprivation or restriction of the use of an immovable' and 'in case of substantial permanent restriction or permanent deprivation of the original use of an immovable as a whole, full compensation shall be paid'.

[7] The concept of archaeological significance can cover a wide terminological range, since it does refer to not only areas with archaeological remains but also the surrounding areas. refer to Siouti (2004).

Culture decides whether an expropriation is needed, depending on the importance of the findings, taking into account the recommendation of the Archaeological Council. In case of expropriation, compensation is dispensed by the Greek Ministry of Culture. It must be noted that the whole process can take years to complete and although the expropriation has immediate effect, the payment of compensation could be delayed, especially nowadays due to the economic recession and the lack of funds. When examining the laws and the problems that occur when the laws are enforced, certain contradictions and complexities immediately arise. These complexities are not only practical by their nature, but also conceptual.

The unclear relationship between cultural rights and other human rights results from a basic contradiction between the collective and individual dimension of these rights.[8] In most cases, cultural rights relate to the community, group or nation and therefore they are viewed as having a 'collective dimension' (Logan, 2007, p. 44). On the other hand, property rights are viewed as individual rights. Therefore, striking a fair balance between these two dimensions has proved to be very tricky and tensions appear inevitably.

It is a general rule that 'no right can be used at the expense or destruction of another, in accordance with international law'. Indeed, this also applies to the Greek Constitution since the rights which are protected by the constitution are equal and one cannot be inherently superior to the other. However, in practice, this equality 'clashes' with the clause of 'public interest'.[9] Therefore, the protection of cultural heritage outweighs the individual property rights in the weighing process. As Kontiades (2004, p. 100) explains, in practice there is an 'evaluated hierarchy of importance in favour of the right to the protection of cultural heritage, which seems to have an increased importance in the hierarchy of the constitutionally protected interests, thus tending to enjoy a prima facie predominance in the comparative weighing process'. In this way, there is a tendency for prioritising the rights to 'preferred' (and 'non-preferred') freedoms[10] (Kontiades, 2004, p. 97).

In the case of Greece, this clash of rights is considered by the legal system as 'solved', since the actual constitution provides for the compensation of the individuals whose property is affected. However, moving away from the strict legal doctrine, there are certain questions that arise with regard to the actual meaning of the terms to which we refer. For example, one could not help but wonder if the right to compensation is enough. Can we put a price tag on the emotional loss that people have to deal with when losing their house? How is the clash of rights avoided if the state does not have the necessary funds to pay the compensation, or when this process takes years to proceed? In that case, should the 'public right to culture override private property rights?' (O'Keefe, 2000, p. 189).

[8] For the 'unclear' relationship, as characterised by O'Keefe, refer to O'Keefe (2000, p. 187) and also Logan (2007, p. 44).

[9] The clause is included in Article 17 Paragraph 1 of the Greek Constitution.

[10] For the concept of evaluated hierarchy of freedoms refer to Tsatsou (1987) and Xrisogonos (2002).

On the other hand, questions also arise with regard to the 'general interest' clause, which is the justification for the aforementioned hierarchy between the rights. Who defines what constitutes public interest and public benefit and how? It seems that the answer is always defined by the state, which does not necessarily mean that all measures taken are absolutely necessary for the benefit of the public. This uneven approach is also reflected in cases where citizens file an objection in Greek courts about the expropriation of their land. As Giannakourou and Balla note (2006, p. 537), 'the courts have not always secured a fair balance between the general demands and interests of the community and the protection of individual property rights'.[11]

This is closely connected to the somewhat wide definition of 'cultural environment' mentioned in Article 24 of the Greek Constitution. This term covers a wide scope of areas that extend beyond the actual archaeological space. Thus, we can define 'cultural environment' as the geographical space that includes archaeological remains, but also the area surrounding a site or the area that is adjacent to an archaeological site or a place of 'cultural interest' (Siouti, 2004, p. 83). This wide notion, although ensuring the protection of both the site and the surrounding area, opens the opportunity for an arbitrary interpretation of its definition, as in the case of the NAM.

Cultural rights are associated with a collective dimension and with the rights of citizens to enjoy their heritage. In the case of Greece, we have seen that in order for this to be achieved, the state has the responsibility to take all the necessary measures, including some limitations on individual property rights, to protect the archaeological remains of the country. However, this approach fails to take into account the individual aspect of cultural rights. For example, could the sense of belonging and the sense of being part of a community, which is closely related to the individual right to property, be classified as a cultural right? And if so, then which cultural right should prevail, the collective or the individual one?

As evident from the case study of the NAM, there are many more complexities in this clash of rights that are evident at first sight and the problems occurring when dealing with such a clash are much more complicated for them to be surpassed just by the payment of compensation. The contradictions created by the attempt of the law to be regulatory in its nature create a dissonance which, in turn, can lead to cultural activism, as illustrated in the present case study.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrates a new form of 'heritage activism'—a form of activism that revolves around the protection of personal, vernacular heritage that is threatened by a heritage project of national and universal significance. While in most cases of

[11] Moreover, Giannakourou and Balla (2006, p. 537) stress that the 'courts have formulated a body of case law that is generally tolerant of government actions that serve legitimate public objectives'.

heritage activism, people are trying to protect archaeological sites from destruction, in this case the creation of a structure which houses and actually protects archaeology (i.e. the museum) was the actual reason that provoked heritage activism. A different manifestation of heritage activism, which was provoked by conceptual ambiguities between rights (cultural, human and property) and between different manifestations of heritage (older and modern), was revealed.

We also argued that this new form of 'heritage activism' unveiled a clash between human and cultural rights. Indeed, the relationship between cultural heritage and the archaeological profession with human rights is not always evident or clear, let alone the implications that arise when issues related to cultural heritage are associated with and examined under the spectrum of human rights. Although we acknowledge that a fair balance between these rights is not always possible and so in many cases these expropriations are necessary to protect archaeological sites, it is vital that we bear in mind that in the end cultural heritage is so closely related to almost every facet of human rights that clashes and implications appear more often than not when dealing with this troubled relationship. Indeed, it could be argued that we cannot conceptually differentiate cultural from human rights as they both refer directly to the sense of identity and belonging. Within this, we argued that the right to enjoy property is a form of cultural right.

A further question raised here is *who* has the right to define *what* constitutes or does not constitute heritage and *which* type of heritage is more important than the other. As mentioned in the case study, the demolition of the blocks of flats was justified on the basis of the national and universal significance of the Acropolis Hill and the museum. However, is this enough to justify the dislocation of a neighborhood and erasure of collective memory? To what extent should the classical past predominate the more recent, vernacular heritage? These are critical questions that heritage managers should have in mind during the implementation of such projects.

These questions should not be considered as rhetorical, but rather as instigators of a wider awareness of heritage professionals, which can, in turn, lead to more informed decisions. Therefore, on a practical level, we advocate the development of such awareness through every possible means, such as training seminars aimed at heritage managers. The ultimate goal of such initiatives should be to provoke critical reflection and equip heritage managers with essential skills and knowledge on cultural and human rights and their implications. This could also be promoted through revisions of ethical codes and guidelines.

More work is also needed on a theoretical level. The notion of heritage activism has not been studied at its full potential and many of its forms still remain unknown. Therefore, further research on case studies of heritage activism is essential in order to better understand the socio-psychological forces that drive people to fight for their rights within the context of heritage. Thus, we argue that it will be of great interest to understand the underpinning, ideological drivers that transform heritage from a process in action into a phenomenon of activism. Only through the exploration of the various levels of this phenomenon we will truly understand the ways in which heritage in action fosters heritage activism.

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Chapter 11
Public Perception and Conservation: The Case of Alexandria's Built Heritage

Lama Said and Yomna Borg

Introduction

The construction and identification of cultural heritage are almost always acts of politics, and power can define heritage and also control the conceptualization of its stewardship (Kuutma, 2012). Regrettably, the rich built heritage of Alexandria—the city built by Alexander the Great and that has seen millennia of subsequent historical imprints on its urban fabric—has been suffering massively from an aggressive wave of neglect, damage, and demolition. The physical palimpsest which has given Alexandria its unique character and identity is being lost due to an absence of political will to effectively protect and conserve the city's heritage, a lack of effectively planned urban and suburban expansion,[1] an unstable political and security situation, and because the type of heritage that Alexandria possesses is not normally that which attracts tourism to Egypt.

For many years now, and due to many pressures, the city of Alexandria has been constantly losing its built heritage. The rate of this loss has become much more dramatic following the January 2011 revolution that brought down the government of Hosni Mubarak. Indeed, destruction has been so rampant that it is now a pressing concern for historic preservationists and a real threat to the image of the city. If the

[1] Urban extension plans attempted during the last few years have failed to attract the Alexandrian society away from the city center, due to lack of efficient transport systems and infrastructure. This has resulted in a dramatic increase in the value of real estate, thus making real estate investment very lucrative for any investor and which in turn presents significant pressure on owners and residents alike to demolish or add encroachments to their buildings.

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current situation continues, Alexandria's built heritage, and consequently its unique character, will be lost forever. Destruction is not limited to the most notable buildings of Alexandria's history. In fact, the vast wave of demolition has included non-heritage building stock as well. The destroyed buildings are mostly low-rise residential edifices, which are, nearly always, replaced by high-rise concrete "towers" of up to 20 floors—in other words, the built heritage has succumbed to development (compare to chapter by Fouseki and Shehade in this volume). Also generating pressure on the city's heritage is the nature of Alexandria as a thin strip of land bordered on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the south by the vast Lake Mariout.

This chapter focuses on public attitudes towards the conservation of Alexandria's modern heritage. This is not only the main constituent of the city's built heritage but also the most consistent victim of a wave of destruction that has gone largely unopposed by the public. The impression given is that this heritage is underappreciated and that the city's inhabitants are unaware of its value. Through a pilot field survey, the chapter investigates public awareness of this heritage and of the laws and regulations protecting it, and, furthermore, what value—if any—the public actually attaches to it. Such knowledge is important in serving as the backbone for creating a sustainable heritage management plan in the context of Alexandria's fast-degrading built environment.

Listing and Loss

Law 144/2006, "On the regulations of demolition of structurally sound buildings and the preservation of architectural heritage," was issued in 2006 with corresponding regulations. Following its issuance, two committees were formed and assigned the task of creating an inventory of all buildings in Alexandria having the following characteristics: outstanding architectural style; association with a national historic event; association with a historical persona; representative of a historic era; and touristic attractions. The committees were also assigned the task of categorizing the buildings according to significance at three levels: national, city, and local. The national level includes the most valuable buildings—those of significance to the nation as a whole, such as royal palaces and national museums. The city level includes buildings of significance to the city of Alexandria and its inhabitants such as Villa Aghion (the first building Auguste Perret designed in Egypt) and Villa Ambron (the former residence of famous British author Lawrence Durrell). The local level consists of buildings of significance to their local context, inhabitants, and urban fabric.

The resulting inventory, which included a total of 1135 buildings, was published in 2007 and was the basis of the prime ministerial Decree 278 for the same year, which gave these buildings their heritage status and protected them from demolition in accordance with the Law 144/2006. Of the 1135 buildings listed, 1000 are at risk of being delisted as a result of a loophole in the abovementioned law and would thus lose their statutory protection from demolition.[2]

[2] Thirty-six buildings have already been delisted following a lawsuit, while another 92 currently have ongoing lawsuits.

Fig. 11.1 Three case studies in destruction. *Top left*: Villa Ambron (*source*: Ayman Gamal), *bottom left*: Villa Aghion (*source*: Authors), and *right*: Majestic Hotel (*source*: Authors). The transgressions against the city's built heritage stock pose a serious threat to the sustainability of this heritage and its preservation for the next generations and give an impression that either the public perceives it in a negative light, is unaware of its value, or at the very least does not care very much for its conservation

As of July 2014, more than 40 buildings had indeed been demolished, with three-quarters of these occurring after the revolution (according to AlexMed[3]). Bear in mind that the demolition of some listed heritage buildings passed unrecorded and other non-heritage buildings that possessed significant characteristics were destroyed while other buildings remain endangered. Figure 11.1 presents three case studies of destruction. On top of the disturbing issue of losing the urban fabric, development is affecting the social lives of residents and taking a heavy toll on the city's infrastructure such as sewage, electricity, rubbish collection systems, transportation, and traffic.

The extraordinary devastation of Alexandria along with the postrevolutionary open sociopolitical environment led a group of young professionals, academics, and activists from different backgrounds and ideological stances to create Save Alex, a civil initiative committed to the protection and conservation of Alexandria's built

[3]The Alexandria and Mediterranean Research Center (AlexMed) is based in the Library of Alexandria and it aims to document and research both the tangible and intangible heritage of Alexandria and the Mediterranean and provides a number of specialized databases including maps, reports, bibliographies, and photographs.

heritage and the development of its built environment. Due to the restricting rules and laws governing NGOs in Egypt, Save Alex has elected to remain an informal entity, a pressure group aiming at increasing public awareness of what is left of Alexandria's built heritage and promoting its cultural value. Save Alex is "action in heritage" whose goal is to rescue and enable "heritage in action." The "right to heritage" as part of the broader concept of the "right to the city" is at the center of the core values of Save Alex. Transforming built heritage preservation from an elitist practice into a public matter discussing socioeconomic, cultural, and functional issues is its main target. Save Alex seeks to return to residents their own sense of place and sense of personal history in the city.

The Three Case Studies

Built Heritage That Has Been Demolished: Villa Aghion

Villa Aghion (Fig. 11.1, bottom left) was built in 1926 by the famous architect Auguste Perret and is considered a milestone in his design career, being the first building in which he used red brick as a decorative element, a trend which he continued to use in his designs even outside of Egypt (El-Habashi, 2009). For nearly two decades, it had been the subject of an ongoing dispute between the owner and the Egyptian Government. One demolition attempt in 2009 left one of its facades in bad condition. This dispute ended in February 2014, after the owner started another demolition attempt supported by a law order that removed the building from the heritage list. After the efforts of Save Alex and exposure in the national and international media, the villa was expropriated by the Egyptian Government, but this was after more than 80 % of it has been demolished.

Built Heritage That Is Endangered: Villa Ambron

Designed by Italian architect Alessandro Loria, Villa Ambron was built in the late nineteenth century with an addition in the 1920s (Fig. 11.1, top left). It was designed in grand baroque style with many significant architectural features including its octagonal tower, which adds to its grandeur and the detached purpose-built artist studio, known for its embedded roman columns (Redwine, 2008). The villa's significance is further enhanced by the fact that it is known to have been the residence of the famous British writer Lawrence Durrell, author of *The Alexandria Quartet*. It was also at one time the residence of former Italian king Vittorio Emmanuelle III during his exile in Egypt. Its last residents were two prominent Egyptian artists. After their death in the mid-1990s, it was taken over by a construction company and has since been the subject of an ongoing dispute (Miller, 2005). The construction company has long ago built three apartment buildings on what used to be its gardens

and has lately been able to attain a law order that removes the building from the heritage list. Thus, the villa is no longer protected by law and it now stands in a deteriorated state awaiting demolition.

Built Heritage That Had Been Subjected to Encroachments: Majestic Hotel

Majestic Hotel (Fig. 11.1, right) was designed by architect Henri Gorra Bey and constructed by the industrial building company of Egypt in 1912. Its unique grandeur added to the quality of the newly renovated "Place des consuls" at the time (Awad, 2009). Since then it has been a landmark of one of Alexandria's major squares, currently known as Mansheya Square. Since the 1960s, its condition has deteriorated along with the rest of the square. In 2012, the lack of maintenance and resulting structural problems led to the collapse of one of its characteristic domes. It stayed in this condition until late 2013 when suddenly the owner decided to demolish the remaining dome so as to build two additional floors on top. After public disapproval, the owner decided to rebuild the two domes on top of his additional floors. However, the result is a poor imitation of the original domes.

Public Perception

The term "public perception" is difficult to define as it encompasses many aspects and can change with time and in different contexts. From a pragmatic point of view, it could be defined as the sum of the individual views of a group of random people on a certain issue in a certain point in time obtained from a public opinion survey (Dowler, Green, Bauer, & Gasperoni, 2006). Public perception is affected by various factors, some pertaining to the perceiver such as socioeconomic status, expectations, and previous experiences, and others relating to the type of the perceived object which in this case is built heritage and its conservation. The type of interaction—such as active or passive interactions—between the perceiver and the perceived object can also be considered another influential factor (Zube, Sell, & Taylor, 1982). Lastly, there are also external factors, which include the political situation, the economic climate, and the cultural context. Through this interaction between the perceiver and the perceived object, the perceiver gains new information, develops habitual behavior, and attaches value to this object. Here, we focus on the external factors affecting public perception of built heritage in the context of postrevolutionary Alexandria.

Understanding public perception of built heritage is becoming increasingly important to the management and conservation of heritage; yet very limited research has been conducted about it in the Egyptian context. A better understanding of the perception of the people who use built heritage and interact with it would help in the formulation of conservation programs and management plans for its

sustainability over the long term (UNESCO, 1973). Additionally, it has long been established that there is a strong link between perception and behavior and as such how people perceive built heritage influences their interactions with it and their overt behavior towards it. In light of the current situation of heritage in Alexandria, studying the public perception of heritage can help achieve a better and deeper understanding of the motivations behind the consistent and aggressive wave of destruction that has been plaguing the city's built heritage and perhaps even help prevent further destruction. Furthermore, public interests and benefits should not be marginalized in the process of heritage management (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005) because the public is the main user of these heritage buildings and as such should be the main contributor to creating a sustainable management plan for them. The above is supported by previous research which states that contemporary perception of heritage adds meaning and value to the heritage asset in question (RPDC, 2003).

Whereas some contemporary societies (notably, developed ones) are rather keen on the conservation of their heritage assets due to the important role they play in satisfying a variety of needs (Greffe, 2004), this does not appear to be the case in Egypt. In the developing world, the primary reason for heritage conservation is the income generated by tourism; generally saving heritage for other reasons is of little interest to the public or to governmental bodies and is even sometimes perceived as hindering the development and modernization process (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). The apparent negative perception of Egyptian built heritage and its decay and destruction could be the result of a variety of issues. Egypt's postrevolutionary political instability has shifted the focus to issues more pressing than conservation. As such, conservation is not high on the list of priorities of either the government or the people. In the wake of the issuing of a court order for the demolition of Villa Ambron (see Fig. 11.1 above), Mohamed Awad, the previous director of AlexMed and head of the Alexandrian Architectural Heritage Conservation Committee,[4] spoke to this effect saying that "it seems neither the economic nor political climate is ripe for this kind of sophisticated, almost elitist approach" (Spencer, 2013).

According to Greffe (2004), public awareness of heritage preservation is largely based on the changes of social and economic environments. Following the events of the revolution, the Egyptian economy suffered some massive setbacks, and like many developing countries, Egypt is still struggling to cover the most basic needs of its citizens. On this note, Egyptian architect May El Tabbakh said that heritage conservation is considered a luxury in this climate, not a necessity and that for now the focus should be on people's needs and requirements (Athanasiadis, 2013). On a smaller scale, for heritage buildings' owners who, for example, are either in need of money or looking for a bigger profit, it is quite challenging to sell or rent a heritage villa in today's market. Under these economic pressures, Mohamed Abuelkheir, cofounder of the Save Alex initiative, said that most heritage building owners usually cave and so instead of

[4] The Alexandrian Architectural Heritage Conservation Committee consists of technical trustees whose main mission is to protect built heritage values and provide technical consultancies to the owners of heritage buildings regarding maintenance, repairs, and restorations.

being perceived as investment opportunities these buildings are seen as an obstacle and a financial burden (Kingsley, 2014). A quite lucrative and currently very popular way to deal with a heritage building is to tear it down—legally or illegally—and replace it with a high-rise apartment building; if the owners don't have the resources to do so, then the building is sold to a contractor who does.

Generally speaking, heritage is the outcome of a historical process in which ownerships over a particular past are created and maintained (Grydehøj, 2010). However, in the case of Alexandria, this heritage is neither claimed by the local community nor by the foreign population that produced these buildings. This uninherited heritage is another factor which is thought to contribute to the public de-valorization of Alexandria's heritage as most of the city's heritage buildings were built during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city with a large population of foreign residents, mainly from Europe, which was in turn reflected in the built environment with neoclassical, neo-baroque, and neo-Gothic buildings. That is why some heritage professionals argue that the local community does not feel that these buildings are a part of their heritage and do not have any sense of belonging to them and in turn do not particularly care about their conservation. To this effect, architect May El Tabbakh says:

> If current Egyptian society doesn't feel any appreciation for these buildings, it's due to historical and colonial reasons. The foreign communities recreated architectural Disneylands, lost homelands from which they'd been expunged and in whose place they erected nostalgic, Venice-style constructions. There was nothing organic about them, nothing linking them to Egypt. (cited in Athanasiadis, 2013)

Another contributing factor to the rather negative way built heritage is perceived could be the shortage of successful adaptive reuse or rehabilitation projects in the Egyptian context. Consequently, the public does not fully understand or realize the investment or aesthetic potential that these historic structures possess. It does not help that most of these buildings are usually left to reach a rather pronounced state of decay and structural damage to the point where demolishing them becomes the more logical solution.

Additionally, education has a very big impact on the formation of the individual's characters, values, and perceptions. This determines their future interaction with their society and surroundings (Delors, 1996). Thus, it can be deduced that knowledge transmitted through academic curriculums has a major role in shaping society's perception and valuation of various tangible manifestations of this history, thus impacting the value they attach to their built heritage. This in turn influences the prioritizing of protecting certain aspects of the built environment amidst the current challenging pressures. History-related curriculums in Egypt promote certain historical eras and their tangible remains, while others are just passed upon, thus endowing the former type with certain significance in both the conscious- and unconscious-forming minds of the young generations. The promoted periods include the Pharaonic and Islamic eras, in addition to the "nationalist events" of the modern era, whereas the modern period and its tangible manifestations, which represent the majority of Alexandria's built heritage, are rather marginalized.

Lastly, it is widely known that the conservation of *modern* heritage faces major challenges, both in Egypt and worldwide, because unlike other heritage resources, it is not very old or very rare so people are unaware of its value and have yet to become comfortable with the idea of its conservation (Macdonald, 2013). Consequently, it is quite understandable that, in Egypt, with the presence of much older and rarer heritage assets, the significance of modern heritage is yet to be comprehended and its conservation is proving to be much more challenging.

With all the different abovementioned factors in mind, the field survey displayed below was designed in a way which limits many variables so as to allow effective analysis of the notion of public perception. It is acknowledged that this is only a first step towards reaching a holistic view of public perception and that the interchange of these variables should be considered in the future.

Field Survey Methodology

The field survey covered three heritage buildings from three different listing categories—local, city, and national—in the same conservation area in Alexandria. This survey consisted of structured face-to-face interviews consisting of both closed- and open-ended questions. These interviews were conducted throughout May 2014 and targeted 40 random people. They were scheduled at different times of the day to guarantee the diversity of the participants, which included passersby, residents of the area, shop owners, and people who work in the area. While the small sample size cannot provide statistically conclusive results, it is interpreted here as a set of indicative findings alongside additional insight provided by the open-ended qualitative questions. As such, this pilot survey can be the basis for future research about public perception of the conservation of built heritage in Alexandria.

The conservation area chosen for the survey is located in an upper-middle class to high-class residential area called Zizinia, located towards the east of the city. This area was named after Count Stephan Zizinia, an Egyptian-Greek businessman who was the Consul General of Belgium as well as the head of the Greek community in Alexandria in the mid-nineteenth century (Carstens, 2014). He is known to have owned a large part of the area. Zizinia was listed as a conservation area in 2008 with 13 buildings listed on the local level (now down to 12 as one of these buildings was illegally demolished in March 2014), 9 on the city level, and 1 on the national level. This area was selected for survey because it is one of only two conservation areas in Alexandria with buildings from all three listing categories.

With the aim of limiting the variables in this survey, the three heritage buildings selected are on the same street, in use, in good condition and of the same building typology (villas). The building listed on the national level is the Royal Jewelry Museum (see Fig. 11.2). It was built in 1919 and was previously the home of Princess Fatima AlZahraa, a member of the royal family. A presidential decree in 1986 transformed it into a museum for the jewelry of the royal family (Alexandria Governorate, n.d.). The museum was closed for renovation for many years and then

Fig. 11.2 The Royal Jewelry Museum listed on the national level (*source*: Authors)

Fig. 11.3 Villa Sherif Sabry listed on the city level (*source*: Authors)

it opened briefly in 2010 only to be closed again following the events of the 2011 and remained closed throughout the duration of this field survey. In 2014, it was finally reopened. The city-level listed building is currently a private residence belonging to the heirs of Sherif Sabry Pasha, brother of the former queen consort of Egypt (see Fig. 11.3). As to the local-level listed building, it is an art deco villa also used currently as a private residence but, as observed during the field survey, has been divided into private flats with multiple tenants (Alexandria Governorate, 2007) (see Fig. 11.4).

Fig. 11.4 Villa listed on the local level (*source*: Authors)

The interview consisted of seven questions targeting three main issues. The first issue was the awareness of this area and these buildings and the awareness of their status as heritage protected by law and was targeted through the following two questions:

1. Do you know that the area is listed?
2. Do you know that the buildings are listed?

The second set of questions aimed at assessing how much the participants appreciated these buildings and the different values they attached to them:

3. Do you think they deserve to be listed and protected?
4. Would you care if these buildings were demolished?
5. What values do you attach to each building?

The third and last issue was each participant's personal opinion about what should replace these buildings in case they were demolished and what should be done with them in case they were to be reused:

6. What would you suggest replace these buildings?
7. What would you suggest for a reuse function of these buildings?

Results

The participants' responses were analyzed and compared to gain a better insight into the current situation and generate more understanding of the bigger picture of heritage perception in Alexandria (see Table 11.1).

Table 11.1 Results of the field survey—questions 1–4

		Yes			No			Not sure		
1.	Do you know that the area is listed?	37 %			58 %			5 %		
		National			City			Local		
		Yes	No	Not sure	Yes	No	Not sure	Yes	No	Not sure
2.	Do you know that the buildings are listed?	55 %	30 %	15 %	30 %	57 %	13 %	20 %	67 %	13 %
3.	Do you think they deserve to be listed and protected?	82 %	18 %		72 %	28 %		55 %	45 %	
4.	Would you care if this building was demolished?	85 %	15 %		80 %	20 %		75 %	25 %	

Source: Authors

Starting with awareness, when asked about whether or not they knew the area is listed, the respondents' awareness level was relatively low (37 %) and some were not sure about the area's listing. This could be due to the fact that a heritage building within the area was demolished just a few weeks before the survey was conducted, as some participants even specifically mentioned this incident to support their uncertainty of the fact that this area is protected by law. As to their knowledge of the heritage status of the three buildings, it was noted that the awareness level was directly proportionate with the listing level, registering only 20 % at the local level and reaching 55 % at the national level, and as expected, this trend continued throughout all the results of the survey.

As for the significance of these buildings to the participants, it was found that their appreciation of them was relatively high, which was clear throughout their responses to the questions addressing this issue. First, when asked about whether or not they think the buildings deserve to be listed, the positive responses significantly increased with the listing level with 55 % at the local level, 72 % at the city level, and 82 % at the national level. Secondly, to eliminate random and inaccurate responses, the same issue was addressed in a different manner by asking the participants whether or not they would care if the buildings were demolished; the same trend appears as 85 % said that they would be upset if the national-level listed building was demolished and this percentage decreased with the listing category reaching 75 % on the local level. While this confirms the high level of appreciation of these buildings and the directly proportionate relation between appreciation and listing levels, a gap was observed between the results of these questions in regard to the local-level listed building where 45 % of the respondents did not particularly believe that this building should be protected while 75 % still did not wish to see them demolished. Through qualitative analysis of the responses, this gap could be attributed to the participants' aversion to the replacement of this building with a high-rise apartment building, which is usually the case when historic buildings are demolished.

When it came to the different values the respondents attached to the three buildings, it was found that the aesthetics were the most appreciated value, followed by the building typology (see Fig. 11.5). This serves to show how rare this building

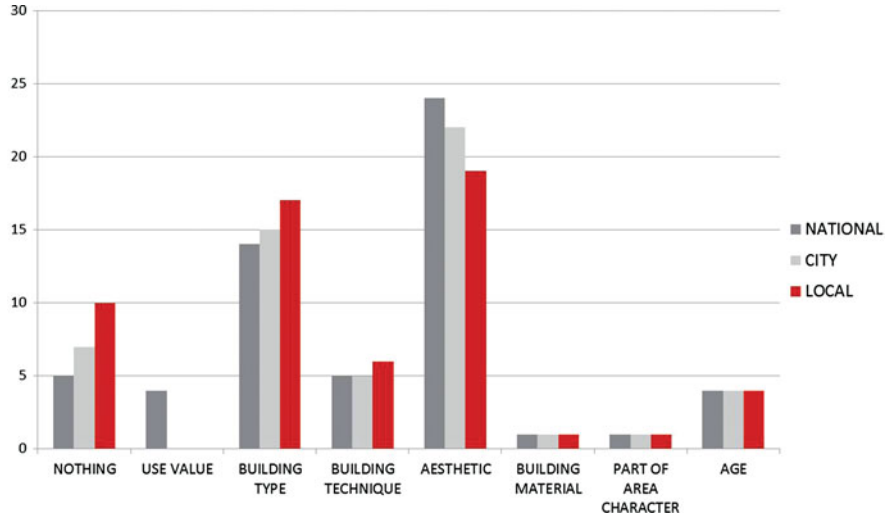

Fig. 11.5 Bar chart displaying the answers to question 5 (*source*: Authors)

typology is becoming in Alexandria in light of the recent demolition wave. Interestingly, even though building typology was the second highest appreciated value, the use value ranked relatively low with only 4 out of the 40 respondents choosing it and only for the national-level listed building, which is a museum open for the public. This was explained by the participants who clearly stated that they would prefer these buildings to accommodate uses more accessible to the public.

The comparison between the results of the questions addressing awareness and those addressing appreciation and value shows that even though a significant number of respondents were appreciative of these buildings, their unique architectural style, and their building typology, they are relatively unaware of the existing conservation practices and laws protecting them. This places them in a disadvantaged position whereby they are unable to contribute to the protection and conservation of built heritage.

Regarding the respondents' personal opinions about what should be done with these buildings, a significant number of people refused to consider their demolition due to their past experience which has dictated that if any villa was to be demolished, it would then be replaced by a high-rise apartment building, while others stated that that they would not mind apartment buildings, as long as they are well built and abiding by the building regulations (see Fig. 11.6). This is supported by the fact that when it came to suggesting a replacement for the surveyed buildings—in case they were demolished—the majority of the respondents did not specify an exact replacement, but they specifically stated that they did not want high-rise apartment buildings to be erected in their place. As to the suggested reuse function for the local-level and city-level listed buildings, the most suggested function was cultural. This can be attributed to the fact that the majority of the most well-known reuse projects in Alexandria in particular and Egypt in general are culturally oriented projects. However, it should be noted that many

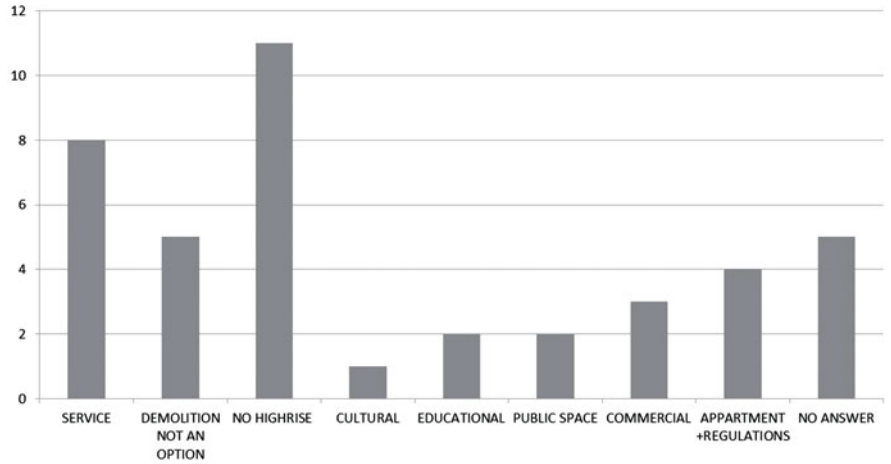

Fig. 11.6 Bar chart displaying the answers to question 6 (*source*: Authors)

respondents could not initially understand the concept of adaptive reuse and were only able to give answers after they were given a brief explanation and an example of a reused building (see Fig. 11.7).

Conclusion and Recommendations

It is the government as well as developers who are aggressively destroying Alexandria's built heritage. Local people—area residents—while not using the discourse of heritage nevertheless express their own concerns towards the management of the structures. Save Alex and other NGOs have stepped into the fray in an attempt to engage the local population and agitate for the preservation of these buildings.

Our field survey produced four main conclusions. The first is that as expected, public awareness of the laws and regulations protecting built heritage in Alexandria is relatively low. The second is that in contrast to this low level of awareness, the level of public appreciation of all three buildings across all listing categories was relatively high. Third, it was frequently mentioned—even by those who did not specifically appreciate heritage buildings—that the demolition of these historic structures was strongly opposed due to the common practice of their replacement with high-rise apartment buildings. Lastly, it could be said that respondents had a general wish that these types of buildings be open for public use instead of being completely inaccessible—and sometimes even not visible—to the public. Unfortunately, the public (or grassroots) is almost completely absent from the decision-making process in Egypt.

We recommend that Egyptian governmental entities seek to strengthen the link between public will and political will as not only would understanding the public perception of heritage help decision and policy makers in their task of sustainably

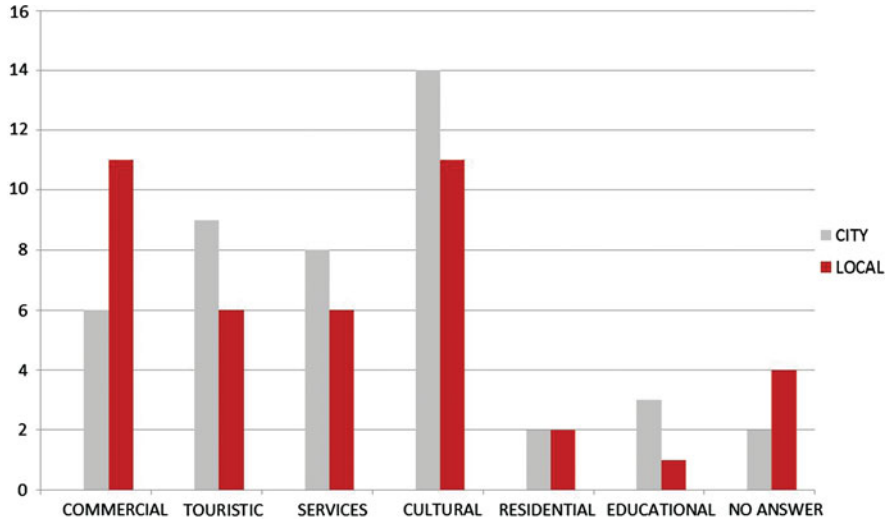

Fig. 11.7 Bar chart displaying the answers to question 7 (*source*: Authors)

managing this heritage but also it could help identify new/added values and aid in promoting heritage conservation in a more effective manner. As a first step, this could be done through the assessment of public perceptions towards heritage policies by addressing key concerns, and eventually moving on to a comprehensive participatory process for a more sustainable heritage conservation and management approach.

Additionally, the education system should teach the value, protection, and conservation of heritage as it has a powerful impact on how the young generations perceive their surroundings and in turn how they behave towards it. In addition to education, the media can be a very effective tool in promoting heritage and mobilizing societies as has been proven by the different campaigns led by civil society initiatives such as Save Alex to save threatened buildings. However, regardless of the success of these campaigns in several occasions, they mainly operate using social media platforms and as such, due to the high computer illiteracy rate as well as the poor telecommunication infrastructure, fail to address the grassroots.

Regarding recommendations for future research, it should be highlighted that the field survey targeted a limited number of participants, a small conservation area, three buildings in similar conditions, and only a single building typology. As such, it is recommended that similar field surveys be conducted on a much larger scale to get a more accurate picture of the current public perception of heritage. The scope of research also needs to be widened, regarding the number of participants, areas, and buildings surveyed and building typology, use, and condition.

In the midst of this strong wave of aggression against Alexandria's built heritage, public support and participation could be considered as the most effective and sustainable approach towards maintaining and managing what remains of the city's rich architectural environment. To successfully gain this much-needed public

support, their perception of this heritage should be thoroughly studied and fully understood to be able to capitalize on and channel support, eventually establishing a more customized context-based heritage management plan.

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Part VI
New Mobilities

Chapter 12
What of Heritage in a Mobile World? Negotiating Heritage/Tourism/Community in Luang Prabang, Laos

Russell Staiff and Robyn Bushell

Conceptual Transformations of Heritage in Luang Prabang

In 2002 William Logan published an extremely important edited collection, *The Disappearing 'Asian' City*. Understandably, given its title, much of the book is framed by the notion of threat: the threat of globalization, the threat of nationalist distortions of the past, the threat of Asian modernities, the threats posed by postcolonial independence and associated colonial legacies, and the threats of consumer capitalism and the ideology of progress that transform urban environments by replacing distinctive indigenous urban forms with an urban morphology that emphasizes new transportation routes and high-rise architecture including shopping malls, office blocks, and apartments. The twin themes of loss and threat pervade the whole collection of essays. The analytic of *The Disappearing 'Asian' City* is built upon a Janus-faced idea of heritage. As Harrison (2013) articulates, on the one hand heritage is associated with that which is desirable, valuable, and identity-forming; it is associated with roots, customs, traditions, memories, and cultural sustainability. But on the other hand, heritage is understood as being about the threat of time, decay, and forgetting; about demolition and destruction; about uncertainty, risk, and irreversible loss (Harrison, 2013, p. 7). The modernity/heritage doublet ensures this inseparable but paradoxical bonding between modernity and heritage-history whereby modernity informs our perceptions and conceptualization of both history and heritage and is, at the same time, the source of the threat which heritage attempts to remediate.

These tensions provide the context for this chapter, which interrogates material culture and the living environment in the city of Luang Prabang, Laos. The "world of things" in Laos, like so much of Southeast Asia, is animated by movement, dynamism, spiritual energy, and change. Our approach lies within the recently

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defined field of "critical heritage studies" (Harrison, 2013; Winter, 2013; see also Anheier & Isar, 2011; Waterton & Watson, 2010), which emphasizes the "work" that heritage does (Smith, 2006, p. 1), knowledge practices (Logan, 2002), situationality, negotiation, and bottom-up agents. In particular, critical heritage studies, in an Asian context, attend to "converging forces and conflicting values" (Winter & Daly, 2012) and to the immaterial multi-dimensions of social life and the built environment, in contrast to technical approaches to heritage conservation (Stubbs & Makas, 2011; Bellanca, 2011 inter alia).

In the first part of this chapter we conceptualize *moladok*, the recently invented Lao word for heritage that emerges historically and in practice from Western materialist assumptions about heritage and the material conservation of places for the future (Byrne, 2011; Peleggi, 2002). We contrast *moladok* with a different, but parallel/entwined (it is both) notion of "heritage," one that is nascent and indigenous and arises from cultural practices exemplified in a wealth of Lao festivals (Stuart-Fox & Mixay, 2010).

In the second part of the chapter we briefly engage with mobility theory in order to understand the sheer complexity of so many simultaneous forces that infuse heritage considerations—tourism, globalization, modernity, massive infrastructure transformations, and community development—and the heritage processes themselves. Increasingly it is, conceptually, a fiendish crucible to apprehend.

Moladok

In 1995 Luang Prabang became a World Heritage Site. Part of the process of inscription, and, subsequently the management of the site, was the drawing up of an inventory of all the buildings that constitute the cultural heritage of the town along with a zoning system, a classification system for the preservation and restoration of buildings and the categorization of buildings into styles. This was formalized in the Heritage Preservation and Development Master Plan for Luang Prabang in 2001. The focus is on the built environment, on materials and techniques of the original construction, and on materials and techniques of restoration work (Fig. 12.1). The whole enterprise rests on Western notions of originality and authenticity, on Western taxonomies of aesthetic style, on Western chronological time/history, and on detailed documentary evidence. Thus Luang Prabang has been absorbed into a European historical trajectory and is produced as a European space that is marked by the physical fabric of the built environment.

However, this is only part of the story of *moladok*. At the time of inscription onto the World Heritage list and in the time since, there have been considerable changes in cultural heritage discourse particularly related to the way the physical world of monuments and buildings should be considered, around questions of expertise, questions to do with who owns heritage places and the move towards a conception of heritage that erases the distinctions between culture and nature.

Fig. 12.1 Traditional Lao house on masonry base (*photo*: Russell Staiff)

This repositioning can be observed in the writings within the *World Heritage Papers* published by UNESCO from 2002 onwards. The subsequent work of *moladok* in Luang Prabang is constitutive of these shifts. For example, the ecological system of lagoons and wetlands has been incorporated into the plans and into management regimes; statements of significance have begun to give voice to attachments to place and to descriptions that articulate local values and local knowledge. Concern for intangible heritage has become more central to the thinking. However, these "adjustments" remain subservient to and in the service of the logic of the Master Plan and to material conservation. The primacy of "things" remains intact. And yet a space has opened up in Luang Prabang for ways of conceptualizing heritage that are profoundly local and indicate an emergent knowledge practice.

Moladok/heritage is a powerful term that has produced powerful politics, powerful economics, powerful national agendas, powerful global agendas, powerful social changes, and powerful effects in architecture, urban planning, and representational machinery of the state and corporate enterprises. *Moladok* has legitimized the nation-state and positioned the national imagination and has been used to foster community support for revisionist histories, engendering a sense of communal ownership, pride, and patriotism (Byrne, 2011; Long, 2012; Peleggi, 2002).

Epistemologies

Deep tensions arise when the modernist/modernism's obsession with originality, authenticity, and material fabric is made a practice within a Lao Buddhist culture (Karlstrom, 2009). The Lao live in a world saturated with spirits and the placation and pacification of these spirits is a central feature of everyday life (Holt, 2009). Often the spiritual and the material cannot be readily separated epistemologically (Byrne, 2012; Holt, 2009). The physical world is considered to have no beginning or end in a Western sense of time, but is a stage in the movement towards formlessness. The material world is, therefore, a mode of understanding that which is not material. Such a view of existence embraces the material work of humans as something along the way, not a destination (see Lopez, 2005). Therefore karma and rebirth are accepted without hesitation; they simply "are." And, significantly, material culture resonates with spiritual power in a complex hierarchy of associations and spatialities (Kinnard, 2004). Therefore, Western heritage notions of historical time, originality, fake, or fabrication, and of authenticity, are going to be powerfully transformed in the processes of translation in Luang Prabang (Peleggi, 2012).

The controversial Chang Heritage Hotel (now the Burasari Heritage) is an example of this translation/transformation (Fig. 12.2). The hotel is a development that responds to increasing tourism demand and represents the burgeoning incursion of

Fig. 12.2 Chang/Burasari Heritage Hotel (*photo*: Russell Staiff)

guesthouses into what is termed the "protected historic core of the city." It replaced the vernacular dwellings of poor inhabitants of Luang Prabang. What has particularly irked Western heritage commentators is the fact that it is a new building that is in the style of two historical exemplars and that the distinction between original buildings and imitations is not marked (Boccardi & Logan, 2007; Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2010).

Globally, World Heritage status is confirmed by "Outstanding Universal Value." This Western framework iterates the international or cosmopolitan perspective of modernism—the belief that styles are translatable and transportable to anywhere because the form, by itself, is total and enough (Lewis, 2007; Weston, 2001). The language and power of World Heritage therefore transcend, to a greater or lesser degree, the local urban context because meaning and significance are considered not to wholly reside there.

It is thus important to consider that the Chang Heritage Hotel's transformation of historical styles into a contemporary building produces a very different reaction among Laotian speakers who live, work, and study in Luang Prabang. For them "heritage" has come to mean an aesthetic harmony across the city (whether original or new is not the point). For locals, "heritage" has something to do with producing a clean environment free of rubbish and domestic farm animals. As well, and unsurprisingly in a town in a country that ranks 139th on the 2014 UN Human Development Index, "heritage" also means the visitor economy (see Staiff & Bushell, 2013). Viewed in this way the Chang Heritage Hotel is entirely appropriate: it is aesthetically harmonious in the streetscape and it brings visitors and prosperity.

The local heritage bureaucracy is part of Lao PDR's Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism in Luang Prabang. It is responsible for the conservation and management of the World Heritage Site. It is housed, appropriately, in Heritage House (Maison du Patrimoine). The Director of Heritage House embodies the two axes of different knowledge practices we are describing. On the one hand, he is answerable to both UNESCO and the Lao PDR national government. This is the domain of *moladok*, the Lao version of Western heritage discourse and practice. In the World Heritage nomination processes and listing the rhetorical power and influence of modernism are apparent. The very idea of "Outstanding Universal Value" is explicit about both exceptionalism and internationalism and the criteria used to determine World Heritage status is dense with the language of modernism: "outstanding," "masterpiece of human genius," "unique," and "exceptional" (UNESCO, 2008).

On the other hand, the Director of Heritage House is also acutely aware that heritage has to mean something within Luang Prabang itself, that it must be embedded in official government-sponsored culture, and that it exists in local cultural productions. In a 2011 interview we conducted he explained that people and culture are a part of nature—a cardinal Lao value—and an elemental Buddhist value, and a cardinal mode of knowing. Consequently, the inextricable intertwining of tangible and intangible heritage from a Lao perspective is critical: any understanding of tangible heritage is done so through intangible heritage. Thus, the primacy of material fabric is inverted. For the personnel at Heritage House government policy is not just about protecting and caring for the environment—and tellingly the environment is

regarded as indivisibly the natural and cultural environment—but that heritage must provide for the well-being of the inhabitants of the town. In this utilitarian calculus, heritage is a social phenomenon whereby the built fabric of the town can be used to produce social outcomes (cf. Byrne, 2008).

Heritage and Luang Prabang: Conundrums, Paradox, Entangled Complexity, and Mobilities

Heritage is profoundly etched within Western cultural and social value systems and knowledge practices. When considering a Southeast Asian World Heritage Site like Luang Prabang the obvious question becomes apparent: What happens to this deeply rooted Western thinking in a distinctly non-Western setting? The brief answer is that it adds to the strands of already existing complexity: it becomes infused with twenty-first-century social, cultural, economic, political, and religious dynamics of a postcolonial and relatively newly independent nation already juggling with its own versions of modernity and modernism, its own paths towards development, its own connectivity in a highly globalized world (finances, aid, telecommunications, trade, regional politics, and tourism), its own continually emergent belief and value systems, and its own sense of *communitas*. It would, therefore, be a serious mistake to view the arrival of World Heritage status in 1995 as a phenomenon in binary opposition to indigenous Lao ways of securing and safekeeping special places considered alive (literally) and powerful within the everyday present (Byrne, 2007, 2011), a mistake that would perpetuate the orientalist assumptions of the East/West divide (see Said, 1979). Nevertheless, without falling into this error, it is possible to identify degrees of unease and tension about the way heritage as a form of knowledge practice and a system of governance unfolds in Luang Prabang and the intricate ways this is negotiated within a highly dynamic social, economic, and religious environment that includes significant tourism, modernization, development agendas, and nationalism with its dynamic and selective appropriation of the past (Long & Sweet, 2006). It also enables us to identify, paradoxically, how orientalism (a Western ideology) has been consciously employed locally to construct an image of Luang Prabang. Such orientalist representations add to the layers of complexity and bear witness to globalized assimilations that defy both geography and history.

Strands of Entangled Complexity

Luang Prabang, the sacred Buddhist town of 24,000 people (including 1000 monks), was declared a World Heritage Site because of its unique mixture of French colonial and vernacular Lao architecture. Today, mainly as a result of World Heritage inscription, the town receives 343,000 international visitors with Thailand being the largest

national contributor (12 %) but, currently, Western visitors, the majority (42 %) with East Asia—China, Japan, and Korea—on the rise (15 %) (Lao PDR Tourism Development Department, 2014).

The town promotes itself to Western visitors as an "orientalist imaginary." Words and images present it as sublime, exotic, magical, unrushed, rich in tradition, set in a verdant tropical valley, and surrounded by mountains, a provincial town that exudes the historical atmosphere of French colonialism and contemporary Buddhist splendor spiced with a gourmet feast of French and Lao food. This promotion is undertaken by travel agencies, travel writers, travel guides (printed and online), airlines, accommodation websites, and the local government-run tourism bureau.

The use of orientalism is significant and is part of an active reworking of Lao PDR's past including the complex appropriation of the colonial and royal history, along with Buddhism, into a new national identity (Long & Sweet, 2006; Pholsena, 2006; Trankell, 1999). The tourist image of guidebooks and websites, however, is only one strand of the interweaving of intricate processes. Luang Prabang, its people and its institutions, respond on a daily basis to a number of conundrums, issues, and divergent forces (Rehbein, 2007). One of the greatest of these challenges is the care of special places.

Caring for special places has always been part of Buddhist culture, especially religious monuments like chedis and spiritual places associated with, for example, the *Nagas*, or water-serpent spirits (Ngaosrivathana & Ngaosrivathana, 2009). The idea of care, wrapped up with devotional practices, constitutes a heritage knowledge practice that is not fabric centric in the same way as those advocated by UNESCO and ICOMOS. It often involves rebuilding (and thus renewal) of temples and chedis according to cosmological considerations (Byrne, 2011; Karlstrom, 2009). How do we take account of this indigenous bottom-up conservation effort in a place where cultural heritage has been protected from the top down? Is this local process the antithesis of Western conservation practices or are they compatible, even when Buddhist conceptions of material culture and time are so differently configured? These questions have animated considerable debate in recent years (Byrne, 2011; Fong, Winter, Rii, Khanjanusthiti, & Tandon, 2012; Karlstrom, 2009; Logan, 2002; Winter, 2014), especially considering the number of charters and declarations (listed in Fong et al., 2012) aimed at accommodating a so-called Asian way of doing conservation. In Luang Prabang there is considerable evidence of a complex intermingling of various conservation knowledge practices, and a shift away from an exclusively material culture approach to conservation is discernible in one important sense—other modes of safekeeping have become increasingly legible and more strongly asserted.

Moladok now coexists with what has long been within the indigenous repertoire for cultural sustainability: destruction/creation of stupas and temples (documented in Vientiane by Karlstrom, 2009 but also see Peleggi, 2012); or adding a new "skin" to stupas to protect the relics, to beautify the structure, and as a communal merit-making activity (Byrne, 2011); or other ritual actions to preserve the *presence* of the Buddha and spiritual entities like the Naga (Swearer, 2010; Trainor, 1997). What is striking about these methods of safekeeping is their dynamic and ongoing nature,

where cyclical time becomes an ally and not, like linear time, a harbinger of decay and loss, something to be mediated against. Paradoxically, these two conceptions of time coexist in Luang Prabang: the modernities associated with international time are entwined with the rhythms of cyclical local time.

With the advent of *moladok*, already inextricably interwoven with modernity, the idea of threat was made visible. But such conceptual understandings exist within complex urban spaces and transforming processes (Rehbein, 2007). For example, what has traditionally animated Luang Prabang as a cultural center and a symbolic heart within Lao nationalism is the sacred nature of the town (Evans, 2008; Long & Sweet, 2006; Pholsena, 2006). With its 34 monasteries and associated 34 villages that construct the social, cultural, religious, political, and geographical morphology of the place, it is the nonmaterial that has produced the ambience so beloved by both locals and visitors. As a particularly significant center of Buddhism; as an education center with its numerous tertiary institutions; as a place of textile, metal work, and wood carving (bearing the imprint of former royal patronage); as a place of festivals; as a place with a community night market that runs every day all year; as a major food producer; and as a place noted for its cuisine (and so forth), *intangible heritage* is crucial to cultural sustainability but is now under duress from a variety of forces: global trade and consumerism, modernity, tourism, and economic development agendas.

What we think is important here is not the individuality of particular buildings or particular historical periods as defined in the conservation plan and well illustrated in the way that Luang Prabang has been defined as heritage (or *moladok*). Within this logic distinctiveness is emphasized in much the same way as the aesthetics of forms in (Western) modernism: forms, contextually pared back, are regarded as "speaking for themselves" (Lewis, 2007; Weston, 2001). Rather, what is important is the uses/function of material fabric, the power of places/buildings (see Byrne, 2014), what would be regarded as the intangible qualities of material culture. Nevertheless, despite the recognition that the material and the nonmaterial are in concert, *moladok* continues to be highly significant because of the way it dovetails with the legitimizing processes of the nation-state (Byrne, 2011; Long & Sweet, 2006). That said, what is crucial in Luang Prabang is the overall urban environment with its sinuous strands of the everyday life or what Michael Herzfeld calls the "spatial intimacy" of lived-in spaces, messy, complex, practical, communal, familial (in Byrne, 2011), in other words, material culture indistinguishable from, or enmeshed within, the social world of the *ban* or village.

Tourism is now part of this quotidian mixture and as a phenomenon is entangled with modernity and is vitalized by the search for and the articulation of distinctiveness and difference, often radically decontextualized and then recontextualized (Rojek & Urry, 1997; Salazar, 2010; Selwyn, 1996). Tourism numbers are on the increase but the characteristics of the tourism industry are also undergoing a radical shift from Western tourism towards Asian tourism and in particular Chinese tourism (Winter, 2008, 2009). How do we understand these dynamics? The historic core of Luang Prabang has been modified in the past 10 years by the effects of tourism and the urban environment increasingly transformed by the rise in tourism numbers (see

Fig. 12.3 Amataka, formerly French colonial hospital (*photo*: Russell Staiff)

Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2010). Villas, with their heritage classification, are being changed into guesthouses and restaurants and the owners are moving to the periphery of the town. There has been a largely positive response by local landowners to these developments because of the secure high rental incomes that arise from moving. Government-owned buildings, like the former hospital and the former prison, have been thoroughly transformed into chic five-star hotels (Fig. 12.3).

Tourism may be the trigger, but it is driven by the poverty of Laos. Substandard buildings have been removed from the core and new hotels are built that use a creative combination of historic styles. So while the buildings are new, they maintain the heritage ambience of the historic core. Heritage House has approved (or not opposed) these architectural transformations. Whether they will result in a delisting by UNESCO is another matter. The way Luang Prabang has been and is being positioned as a place of great Laotian national pride—a sentiment that has been widely adopted by locals—such an action would be, presumably, strongly resisted by the state even though Luang Prabang is now firmly entrenched on the tourism industry's map. Tellingly, many visitors cannot discern the difference between historic French buildings and these new buildings, an issue that raises thorny questions about the status of authenticity in a World Heritage historic town located in Southeast Asia (see Peleggi, 2012).

But tourism's influence is wider than this. Hotels being built outside the historic core, like the Luang Prabang View Hotel, exhibit Lao Modernism (Fig. 12.4) and in

Fig. 12.4 Luang Prabang View Hotel (*photo*: Russell Staiff)

this particular case is an example of what Clark (2010) may refer to as conservative modernity because it reappraises the past. Modernism in Southeast Asia has its own histories, stylistic genealogies, and regional trajectories and has always generated a scholarly dispute about whether the relationship between Asian modernism and Western modernism is endogenous or exogenous (see Clark, 2010). Suffice to say this is a debate without closure as the intricacies are too difficult to disentangle, but more to the point, the very presence of Lao Modernism adds another aesthetic and philosophical layer to an already ornate and fractal-like situation. In contrast to the Luang Prabang View Hotel, several new Chinese hotels/resorts (Chinese developers, finance, and architecture) are being built outside the historic core and their monumental style introduces yet another Asian version of modernism into the mix.

And there is more. Lao PDR is part of huge transforming changes within the Mekong subregion as the power of China and its thirst for energy, resources, and markets effectively seduces/overwhelms a small landlocked agrarian country with only six million people but with only 15 % arable land. For Luang Prabang it has meant facing unprecedented current and future changes: the reorientation and extension of the airport to carry jet planes; the building of a bridge across the Mekong north of the city and carrying a superhighway from China with a network throughout Southeast Asia; the proposal for a fast-train network that will connect Singapore with Shanghai and pass through Laos (construction has begun in Thailand); the building of hydro-dams across the Mekong, with six proposed within Laos' borders; and a new industrial town less than 10 km downstream from Luang Prabang. It is a juggernaut of transformative change and in the face of it cultural sustainability has become a critical issue (see Boccardi & Logan, 2007).

Heritage and Mobilities

How do we understand this level of complexity? How can the interrelationship of all these forces be mapped in order to better equip a fragile historic town in a very poor country to deal with the transformations occurring at an ever-increasing rate of acceleration? In the social sciences it has long been argued that theories and concepts shape *what* is known and *how* we know about heritage, community, and tourism in urban and globalized places/spaces. Therefore, it is critical to build conceptual frameworks that engage with the intersections, the processes, and the complexities of the everyday life where the ongoing and dynamic production of heritage, community, and tourism are a lived experience (Bushell & Staiff, 2012).

We have turned to mobility theory as expounded by Urry (2007) and notions of liquid modernity as expounded by Bauman (2000) as a means of providing the conceptual coordinates for describing and understanding this degree of complexity. It enables the co-consideration of multiple variables in the same analytical space. It also assists us to consider Luang Prabang differently: not solely through the prism of Western heritage or through the prism of Buddhist philosophy and practice or through the prism of development or through the prism of community action or through the prism of leisure and tourism and so on. Critically, we use mobility theory to encourage an operational understanding that all of the issues are interrelated and interdependent and that particular concerns (conserving a building, saving a freshwater pond, keeping the Buddhist rituals, protecting the textile designs, building a tourist resort, or increasing the number of tourists) cannot be divorced from the whole, and from the everyday practices and culture of the people of Luang Prabang. The risk, as we have argued elsewhere, is that defective *conceptual* architecture produces defective thinking and action (Staiff & Bushell, 2013).

For us, movement rather than stasis best expresses how things are. Such thinking has always imbued knowledge systems in Asia, especially those that have evolved within Daoist, Buddhist, and Hindu societies. Urry considers we are "dwelling in motion" (Urry, 2007, p. 11) and that the social is best understood as emergent rather than structural; that things are not dependent on boundaries and categories to have meaning; and that social relations are nonlinear, unpredictable, simultaneous, and complex. All the conundrums and issues facing Luang Prabang have a social dimension. The "heritage" of Luang Prabang is in motion as it has always been.

Conclusion

Heritage is best understood in the twenty-first century as a social and emergent phenomenon (Daly & Winter, 2012) and the practice of conservation must serve social and cultural needs and agendas while simultaneously providing the means, tools, and conceptual apparatus for protecting material culture and natural places. We therefore acknowledge the intricacies of heritage being entangled with other

social entities that are also emergent rather than structural, and are dynamic, liquid in form, and synchronous (tourism, community, spirituality/religion, politics, communication and performing arts, material culture, nature/ecology, and so forth). From this perspective, ontological distinctions characterized by borders and internal logics are no longer a credible way to think about or deal with the ever-expanding complexities brought about by constant change and the sheer intensity and density of interrelationships. Heritage, up until the (so-called) Asian Century, was about holding back the ravages of time by intervention and mediation (see chapter by Saul and Waterton, this volume). Tourism was conceptualized as an external visitor, enabled by infrastructure, to visit a place as though it preexisted as some sort of stage set awaiting the arrival of the tourist/actors. Our studies in Luang Prabang show this to be a problematic analysis. Our data reveal enormous differences between Western tourists and Asian tourists, and we see tourists cocreating and performing spaces within Luang Prabang (cf. Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen, & Urry, 2004). Simultaneity is a key characteristic of mobilities and intersections between tourism, heritage processes, religious ritual, commercial activities, food production, distribution and consumption, energy flows, financial flows, and global flows (and so on) form nodes and routes that open up our understanding of the urban transformations that are, forever, becoming, that are in a process and not governed by the logics of Western teleology. The supreme irony for Western heritage experts is that this way of thinking is already deeply embedded in Lao culture.

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Chapter 13
Heritage on the Go: Abbreviated Heritage in a Mobile World

Helaine Silverman

Introduction

This chapter explores airports as a paradigmatic manifestation of our liquid, modern world, characterized by Bauman (2000) as having rapid mobility, flexibility, quickly and continually changing social forms, and an efficient sociality that operates as network rather than structure. Part of this transformation of human experience, Bauman argues, is a "new irrelevance of space" (2000, p. 117), a deterritorialization as previously materially dedicated spaces in which to pursue particular activities become meaningless. Airports exemplify the intensity, frequency, and complexity of movements, flows, and networks of connections among people, objects, and information that Bauman recognized (also see Cwerner, Kesselring, & Urry, 2009). They are premier national, international, and transnational places that transport travelers and objects to geographical destinations as well as convey them into global relationships (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 219; Urry, 2007, pp. 135–156). They are gateways into the deterritorialized global ethnoscape (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2013) through which tourists—among others—move; yet they themselves are not deterritorialized.

I am interested in the internal micro-geography of the airport, which far from being placeless (Relph, 1976), "nowheresville" (Bauman, 2003, p. 210) or a non-place (Augé, 1995), is a "place … of material organisation and considerable social complexity" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 219; see also Bruegmann, 1996; Gottdiener, 2000; Jaworski & Thurlow, 2013, p. 190). Airports are "'vessels of conception' for the societies passing through them … their being seems to depend on cultural identification no less than architectural use, on their aesthetic properties no less than

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technological function" (Pascoe, 2004, pp. 10–11). In this sense an airport may instantiate Robertson's (1995) "glocalization"—the simultaneous interlinking of the universal and particular, the homogeneous and heterogeneous, and the construction of the local on a translocal basis—for airports are situated "not only within their local constituencies (cities, regions, nations) but also within broader global networks" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2013, p. 190).

Moreover, a global cultural economy is on display at many international airports. Their corridors are mini-World's Fairs with shops, restaurants, and exhibitions offering up for consumption transnational brands as well as a vast array of nation-specific and locale-specific commodities. This is the airport as "global spectacle" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2013, p. 164). Bauman's apt reference to "temple[s] of consumption," in which one is "transported to another world … a 'completely other' world" (2000, p. 98), expresses the *zeitgeist* of the international airport. The opportunities for these activities at an airport may actually become a deliberate touristic add-on, chosen as a culminating and/or initiating experience, within the context of the airport as an obligatory stop on the travel itinerary by virtue of its function.

In this context, the growth of organized exhibitions at principal airports around the world is especially interesting. Originating in the international traveling exhibitions (ITEs) sponsored by museums that began as a worldwide phenomenon in the 1960s (see Lai, 2004), today the creation of authorized museum branches in airports is a sign of civic status in the current competitive topography of global cities (Schwarzer, 2001). I argue that some airport exhibitions function as "cultural identification"—exhibitions that display and seek to inculcate *national* culture in the traveler (domestic and foreign) through an exceptionally mobile form of heritage construction and consumption that I call *heritage on the go*. By posing *heritage on the go* I am not arguing that there is a "heritage on the stay," i.e., that heritage is normatively fixed in place, for heritage is process, performance, and multi-sited. Rather, I see these airport exhibitions as expressive of the larger condition of mobility and liquidity in which we live.

Indeed, airports are ideal venues in which "heritage on the go" can be constructed, performed, and consumed for in the airport the tourist inhabits a world of fragmented, episodic, self-contained time (Bauman, 1996, p. 10). Travel time—*airtime* or "no time"—is a liminal time in which the bio-disorientation of the 24-h awake time of airports acts to suspend traditional time. The comparison with Foucault's (1986) heterotopic space is obvious. The peculiar airtime resonates with Pascoe's (2004) concept of airspace as a locale of anxiety and chance—"a transitional area stretching from terminal to terminal, across time zones or between the check-in desk and the baggage carousel." In the airport's heterotopic or liminal space there are proscribed rituals of behavior with which to perform the role of traveler as one separates from society until one is reintegrated at the destination (recall Turner, 1967). These airports are places of pause in travel itineraries, their activities and services encouraging a lengthening of the time spent in them. The airport enables a new transient dwelling time (Lloyd, 2003), enlivened with occa-

sioned activities such as shopping, eating, and visiting exhibits (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 213). Some countries take particular advantage of this temporary occupation so as to promote their dominant cultural heritage and national identity.

The Airport as a New Place of Heritage

Suvarnabhumi and Incheon airports, located in two of the most dynamic countries of Asia—Thailand and South Korea, respectively—offer examples of *heritage on the go*. Heritage in these airports has been produced as exhibition scripts for consumption by authoritative, authorized corporate entities that recognize and expressly accommodate the incidental, hurried mobility of people passing through these signature national built environments. Here national cultural heritage is constructed through condensed, iconic, direct, selective, diagnostic signs. This symbolic condensation is different from the more developed representations of cultural heritage presented in national museums or national theme parks, destinations typically chosen within the alternative context of planned leisure time and where contemplation is facilitated by a less frenetic pace. At Suvarnabhumi, the politically assertive national ideology of "Nation-Religion-King" (*Chat-Satsana-Phra Mahakasat*), predicated upon Central Thai cultural heritage, is presented by the airport administrative authority. At Incheon, a nostalgic retrospective on national cultural heritage is offered by a semiautonomous agency concerned with its "preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, and revitalization" (Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation, 2009). At both airports, and most especially at Incheon, the flip side of authorized heritage production is what tourists (foreign and domestic) do with it—their own performances in relation to the heritagized setting in which they find themselves by virtue of their need for the services of the airport in order to get to their next destination.

Airport architecture—the structural building—is not the issue here although there are some spectacular examples such as Osaka (designed by Renzo Piano) and Bilbao (designed by Santiago Calatrava). Rather, I am interested in the internal space of airports, where it has been designed to communicate national identity and national heritage. I do not refer to perfunctory ornamental details—such as the garden, armillary sculpture, and ancient imperial copper pot in Norman Foster's Beijing airport. Instead, I have observed that an actual heritage *program* with semiotic content, experiential possibilities, and multiple agents and voices is enacted at Suvarnabhumi and Incheon. These two international airports have created a new place of heritage in their respective nations through their presentation scripts, which were conceived and executed by their particular administrative authority: Airports of Thailand Public Company Limited and Incheon International Airport Corporation in association with the Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. These airports are a "cultural field" in Bourdieu's (1993) sense of symbolic goods that are produced and circulated. Here, heritage programs are generated by social, political, economic, and other agents. These programs operate within the broader structures of power of their nation-states.

Suvarnabhumi

Construction of Bangkok's new international airport was approved by the Thai Cabinet in 1998. On 29 September 2000 King Bhumibol Adulyadej/Rama IX bestowed its name, Suvarnabhumi, meaning "Golden Land." This was not a mere picturesque gesture.[1] The name chosen by the King is laden with meaning in Thailand and Southeast Asia. In Indian, Chinese, and Greco-Roman documents Suvarnabhumi referred to a landmass to the east of India. It was reported as fertile, rich in resources, and a place where a merchant might make his or her fortune (see Keyes, 1967, p. 1; Miksic, 2010, pp. 372–373). The King's choice of name for the airport invokes Thailand as a wealthy land of opportunity and the Thais as the descendants of the Suvarnabhumi ancestors. In a modern adaptation of ancient Suvarnabhumi, the project to construct Suvarnabhumi Airport was explicitly directed at making Bangkok the premier transport hub of Southeast Asia.[2]

The King is omnipresent in Thai society, notwithstanding the monarchy's constitutional ban from political governance in Thailand (see Peleggi, 2007, pp. 91–103; Streckfuss, 2011 inter alia). The mantra of Nation-Religion-King is recited every morning by every Thai school child; photographs of the King are ubiquitous throughout Thailand. Royal fealty, national devotion, and religious reverence are ideologically constructed at Suvarnabhumi Airport, producing and projecting an image of unity and stability in a country that has had 12 successful coups (as well as other coup attempts) and 18 constitutions since 1932, and in which a lése-majesté law severely inhibits political speech (Streckfuss, 2011, p. 204).

The sacralized, official Thai doctrine of Nation-Religion-King is physically inculcated at Suvarnabhumi in multiple locations. The script begins even before the airport is entered for the King appears in huge billboards along the entrance route into the airport. The script continues inside the airport. During one of my trips (17 November 2011) I observed a shrine to the King in the fourth-floor Departures Hall, in celebration of his seventh cycle birthday anniversary (84 years old on 5 December 2011) (Fig. 13.1). The explanatory text (in Thai and English panels) expressed the official national reverence for the King and linked him to his subjects through fictive kinship. The Thais are the family—his children—and the King is the securer of the nation:

[1] Even the color scheme of the official airport logo—gold and blue—was chosen in consideration of cultural ideas. Gold is the symbol of prosperity in Thailand, reiterating the "Golden Land" or Suvarnabhumi and the prosperity intended for its modern-day descendant, the airport. Blue is the symbol of prudence, carefulness, and friendship, representing the ethos of the airport organization itself. The official promotional video of the airport can be watched at this url: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W_vk-XohISU&feature=relmfu (last accessed 9 July 2014).

[2] Suvarnabhumi is outstanding but Singapore's Changi Airport was ranked first in 2014 and 2015 followed by Korea's Incheon Airport in the second position according to Skytrax's World Airport Awards, whose decision is based on the participation of airline customers in a survey. (http://www.worldairportawards.com/Awards/airport_award_winners_2014.html; http://www.worldairportawards.com/Awards/world_airport_rating.html).

Fig. 13.1 Temporary shrine to King Bhumibol Adulyadej. Suvarnabhumi Airport, Bangkok (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

> His Majesty is the King who devotes his efforts for the benefits and happiness of all Thais in all aspects throughout the nation. … With this marvelous recognition [the shrine] of his loving kindness to all of us, all Thais display their esteemed loyalty like a child to their father by putting our hearts and hands together [the wai gesture of respect] to pay our humblest homage to our most beloved king, the magnificent King of Thailand. Long live the King.

Nation and King are also referenced by towering, vividly painted Ramayana statues that are evenly interspersed along the length of the far side of the Hall (Fig. 13.2). They are replicas of the 12 originals that surround the Temple of the Emerald Buddha (Wat Phra Kaew) in the royal district (Rattanakosin Island) of Bangkok. The replica statues at the airport are intended to "exhibit the beauty of Thai crafts and to symbolize protection, acting as guardians to the gateway of Thailand," according to the airport's Facebook page. As the Temple of the Emerald Buddha is among the foremost tourist destinations in Bangkok, the Ramayana giants should be readily recognizable to virtually all travelers, foreign and Thai. They are evocative of both *satsana* and Thai cultural heritage.

The religious component of the Thai triad is manifested in several locations in Suvarnabhumi. For instance, in the front-center of the Departures Hall there is a *busabok thammat* that holds a reliquary urn of the Buddha (Fig. 13.3).

Once beyond the immigration and security areas tourists enter a vast, gleaming shopping and dining area, access to which obligatorily moves the traveler past the airport's other great historically replicative work, the "Churning of the Sea of Milk"

Fig. 13.2 One of the Ramayana Giant replicas in Suvarnabhumi Airport, Bangkok (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

(Fig. 13.4). The official promotional video of the airport[3] states that the King suggested the sculpture. The motif is from a Hindu myth in the Indian *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavata Purana*. It is best known as a lithic frieze extending for 49 m along the east gallery of the great, ancient Angkor Wat temple in Cambodia. The magnificent Suvarnabhumi version interprets that frieze in free-standing monumental form and simultaneously claims Khmer civilization as Thai ancestral culture (see Silverman, 2011).

The airport's promotional video (referred to above) describes the "Churning of the Sea of Milk" sculpture this way:

[3] The video can be watched at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YpZxaCdYq-w (last accessed 9 July 2015).

Fig. 13.3 Relics of the Buddha on display at Suvarnabhumi Airport, Bangkok. The structure is a *busabok thammat*: a throne set high on a tiered base, with columns in each corner and a canopy above which is mounted by a tall spire and finial. It can house relics (as here), scriptures, an image of the Buddha or a monk can sit in it to deliver sermons (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

Fig. 13.4 Churning of the Sea of Milk sculpture, Suvarnabhumi Airport, Bangkok (3 m wide, 21 m long, 5.6 m high) (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

> … truly a masterpiece that expresses grandeur of Thai arts and crafts. … [The myth] in conjunction with the Golden Land meaning, symbolizes the perpetual prosperity of Suvarnabhumi. … The sculpture reproduction took over eight months to complete, with over two hundred artists working together, making it the biggest sculpture work in Thailand.

> The result is a unique landmark that represents the long revered Thai craftsmanship that will give visitors a long-lasting impression…. Above all the display of Thai art will capture the hearts of all and deliver a unique experience for every visitor who visits.

I have often observed travelers, including Thais, pausing to examine this extraordinary work and to photograph it and be photographed alongside it. Picard and Robinson's (2012) phrase "emotion in motion" captures an important aspect of this tourism experience—its affective and sometimes even transformational power. The "Churning of the Sea of Milk" sculpture clearly affects the viewer. Moreover, it carries significant symbolic weight because the King was involved; because the myth reiterates Thailand as the mythical Golden Land; because Thailand asserts a direct relationship to Khmer civilization; and because Thailand is demonstrated to have an extraordinary heritage of arts and crafts.

Moving past the dramatic sculpture more expressions of Nation-Religion-King are interspersed among appealing restaurants, enticing souvenir stands and international brand stores:

- A temporary exhibit about the Queen's sponsored handicraft initiative for the making of woven wood-fiber handbags
- A temporary exhibit about the Loi Krathong Festival ("festival of light," one of the two most important festivals in Thailand, the other being the Songkran New Year festival)
- A huge photograph of the celebration of the King's 60th anniversary as monarch, showing the Royal Family surrounded by many foreign heads of state
- A large flower pavilion that appropriates architectural and decorative elements of royal and religious Thai architecture
- "One Tambon, One Product" (OTOP) stores selling typical, regionally specific souvenirs that are presented as part of Thailand's cultural heritage of skilled artisans (see http://www.thai-otop-city.com/about-thai-otop.asp)
- Another *busabok thammat*

Thus, heritage features and glittering shopping arcades mix together in the Departure Hall and in the Gates Corridors in an international narrative of globalization and Thai cultural heritage. *Heritage on the go* at Suvarnabhumi is consumed visually and commercially by the traveler. The heritage-bearing objects at Suvarnabhumi are displayed in such a way as to underline their importance, even if their intended meaning is not understood by all travelers.

Incheon

Almost one-quarter of South Korea's population lives in Seoul proper with another quarter in the greater metropolitan area. Intensive and rapid urbanization combined with the dramatic industrialization of the economy and a high level of techno-connectivity has pushed "traditional Korea" into the domain of staged heritage. The Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation (henceforth KCHF) is a semiautonomous

organization, set up 30 years ago as an NGO, that reports to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. Its mission is "to protect and preserve Korea's cultural properties, creatively enhancing, developing and utilizing its traditional lifestyle culture, and thereby promote the preservation and safeguarding of the national culture" (KCHF, 2009). KCHF sponsors cultural events and exhibits in Seoul and throughout the country in an attempt to prevent the loss of a traditional national culture that is fast disappearing. Pai (2000) emphasizes Korea's strong nationalist ideology that privileges cultural heritage in the process of identity formation.

Incheon Airport in Seoul is modern, efficient, airy, and pleasant. The environment inside Incheon's gates area is "any place" *except* for one important, noticeable feature: KCHF offers its Korean and foreign travelers a carefully scripted performance and exhibition of Korean heritage in the east and west wings of the third-floor departure level. Amid upscale brand name stores, fine duty-free shops, numerous dining choices, and other commercial venues KCHF has created "Korea Traditional Cultural Experience Centers" (Fig. 13.5) and "Traditional Korean Cultural Experience Zones" (Fig. 13.6). KCHF also offers trans-corridor performances of recreated, traditionally costumed royal processions and other events (Fig. 13.7). In addition, throughout the seating areas of various gates on the third floor there are large wall posters of masterpieces of ancient Korean art in the National Museum, which are interspersed with posters of the beautiful Korean countryside. For those travelers with more time and an interest in a historically deeper past, the fourth floor of the building houses a small Cultural Museum of Korea, operated in cooperation with the National Museum of Korea, as well as two Korean Traditional Craftworks Galleries. Incheon scripts Korea as history, tradition, culture, nature, and shopping.

The Centers and Zones were created in 2004. They are operated by the KCHF "to promote Korean traditional culture to a global audience of world travelers."[4] In addition to merchandise for sale, they are advertised as "offer[ing] visitors a rare opportunity in gaining a *comprehensive* understanding of the Korean culture and heritage" (emphasis added). That goal is achieved through the materiality of a chosen number of objects.

KCHF takes pride in the Centers, about which it says, "The[y] display and sell a range of cultural products encompassing the captivating beauty and excellent artistry achieved by master artisans including those officially honored by the Korean government." There are fine paper goods, exquisite ceramics, textiles, jewelry, traditionally costumed dolls, and musical instruments, among other items (Fig. 13.5). The female attendants in the Centers are dressed traditionally in *hanbok* (short jackets) worn over a high-waisted, billowing, floor-length skirt (Fig. 13.8). Their dress materializes and thus enhances the heritage discourse of the Center.

The Centers also offer travelers free lessons in how to make several traditional Korean crafts under the guidance of instructors who are called "resident faculty of the KCHF." The teacher (who is a store employee) is the heritage "expert" who

[4] For this and the other KCHF quotes which follow, see http://www.airport.kr/iiacms/pageWork.iia?_scode=C2605010200 (last accessed 15 May 2015).

Fig. 13.5 Korean Traditional Cultural Experience Center. Incheon Airport, Seoul. The store carries many high-quality craft and traditional items in addition to more standard souvenirs (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

Fig. 13.6 Traditional Korean Cultural Experience Zone. Incheon Airport, Seoul (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

provides the materials necessary for the "amateur's" performance (Fig. 13.9). Travelers can take home their creations as free souvenirs, thereby recontextualizing them into a new global circuit of commodification. The items made at the instruction table include decoratively painted fans, pencil cases, "lucky bags" (associated with Seolial, a 3-day celebration of the beginning of the Lunar New Year), jewelry boxes made of cut and pasted traditional *hanji* (Korean paper), and dolls. Travelers also can learn traditional sewing techniques with which to make individualized cell phone accessories.

Gaynor Bagnall reminds us that visitors to heritage sites are not passive, uncritical consumers of heritage: "the heritage consumption process is characterized by complexity and diversity in respect of visitors' faculties" (2003, p. 87). My language deficiency did not permit me to learn the symbolic content or meanings generated in the minds of the Korean women in Fig. 13.9. Nevertheless, I believe it is reasonable to assume that the "social reproduction" of the doll (in this case) is not the same for Koreans as for foreign tourists, and the Koreans themselves may ascribe different meanings to their efforts. Regardless, the social and material interactions undertaken by the Korean ladies sitting at the heavy wood table—and especially the technology, which is recognized by them—will recursively constitute, shape, and become shaped by each other. The replica is an experiential, emblematic souvenir for a foreigner; it has a larger, more nuanced register of significance for Koreans because of its opportunity to be deployed into a

Fig. 13.7 "Walk of the Royal Family" performed in a corridor of Incheon Airport, Seoul (*photo*: Courtesy of Robyn Bushell)

more complex and protracted network of meaning as it is resignified outside the country. Here Lury's (1997) "objects of travel" intersect with the mobilities paradigm (e.g., Sheller & Urry, 2004a, 2004b; Urry, 2007) and the inextricably linked social and material worlds.

KCHF intends the objects for sale in the Korea Traditional Cultural Experience Centers to be metonymic. The nation defines itself in this venue as craftsmanship. These are "places where airport visitors can learn and participate in Korean traditional culture and purchase art and crafts by Korea's top artists and craftsmen."[5] Existential and object authenticity is implicit in this script. The mechanism for obtaining the advertised heritage knowledge contained within the objects is through the rampant materialism and commercialism of the new Korea: shop, buy. Identity is affirmed through self-making commercial activity. Commodification and circulation of the Centers' objects through monetary exchange are embedded in a discourse of Korean culture and heritage as an educational and enriching experience.

[5] See http://english.seoul.go.kr/gtk/news/reports_view.php?idx=1275 (last accessed 1 May 2015).

Fig. 13.8 Salesgirl in a Korea Traditional Cultural Experience Center wears traditional costume. Incheon Airport, Seoul (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

Fig. 13.9 Korean ladies making Dak (mulberry tree) paper dolls at one of the Korea Traditional Cultural Experience Centers in Incheon Airport, Seoul. Although mulberry paper is traditional in Korea, the doll itself does not have a long history. A famous Korean artist, Kim Young-Hee, first started making the doll in the 1970s and they became widespread over South Korea. However, "many Korean people believe that this doll represents Korean traditional culture because the materials are traditional and this doll's facial and body expression shows Koreans' feelings and emotion" (Changsup Shim, personal communication). Tourists also enjoy craft lessons at the Centers (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

Fig. 13.10 The staff girl in *red* on the *left* has helped the women of this family into their costumes and they will pose against the painted screen backdrop for a photograph taken by a family member (not seen in this photo). Traditional Korean Cultural Experience Zone, Incheon Airport, Seoul (*photo*: Helaine Silverman)

Ultimately, the objects in the Centers are tourist souvenirs, but their greatest *value* resides in their heralded role as purveyors of Korean culture and heritage.

The Zones do not have attached shops. Rather, they are performance, game, and craft instructional facilities. The Zones have a raised wood stage on which performers play traditional music several times a day. The Zones also offer travelers the opportunity to dress up in traditional Korean costumes (Fig. 13.10) and take photographs of themselves, an ephemeral act of heritage embodiment. Travelers also can play traditional Korean folk games (*tuho*, *pogurak*) in the Zones.

In addition to the Centers and Zones, at regular intervals processions of costumed young actors walk through Incheon's dazzling mercantile corridors in a dignified, slow-paced recreation of a Joseon Dynasty (1392–1897 AD) royal family march, to the delight of Koreans and foreigners alike. KCHF prides itself on accurate reenactment of cultural traditions, but necessarily the airport show is incomplete, lasting only 5 min and abbreviated in terms of the number of actors. A media release states that the goal was "to promote the excellence of Korean culture to the passengers who use the Airport."[6]

Performers wave to the public watching them, obligingly answering questions and enabling photography. Travelers excitedly shoot video and photos with cell phones and cameras. I saw Koreans of all ages move into the scene when the procession halted in order to snap photographs of themselves amid the costumed perform-

[6] See http://english.seoul.go.kr/gtk/news/reports_view.php?idx=1275 (last accessed 1 May 2015).

ers. Parents took photos of their young children with the troupe. Everyone (especially Koreans) is cognizant that the performance is not "authentic." Rather, this performance is entertainment. But the deployment of a royal theme in one of the country's most prestigious national spaces instantiates the greatness of Korea's past (see Bale, 2008; Pai, 2000) and its heritage and traditions.

Conclusion: Traveling Heritage and Cultureports

Airports are a physically obtrusive venue of national presence and power. And, as we have seen, the nation also manifests itself in airports in a more subtle way as the airport is scripted as a new type of heritage environment and semiotic landscape: a "cultureport" (Clark, 2011). Culture, national identity, and commerce are not separated in these venues. Patricia Van Ulzen has recognized their amalgamation, noting that "the objects for sale *are* the culture" (2011, p. 107, emphasis in original). At Incheon and Suvarnabhumi, national culture and heritage are simplified and condensed into a limited number of displayable objects and readily consumed and achievable performances (see discussion in Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 306).

Van Ulzen argues that "in the present-day globalised world people only more intensely feel the need to know where on earth they are … The newest challenge for airports therefore is to offer a sense of place… airports let passengers know where they are by means … of displaying national features, by offering regional and national commodities" (2011, p. 110). My two case studies exemplify Van Ulzen's point and move beyond it by arguing that both airports attend to the larger sphere of cultural and economic competition and, in the case of Suvarnabhumi, an important domestic political context. Clearly airports have the "potential … to function as a stage for national heritage" (Van Ulzen, 2011, p. 111). The more interesting issue is *why* the airport is staged, *how* it is accomplished, and *what* the entanglements are of so doing.

By its very nature the airport is Foucault's (1986) *espace autre*, a heterotopic space, juxtaposing in a single space several incompatible spaces and breaking the real time of the outside world. This other space has been crafted at Suvarnabhumi and Incheon to tempt the liquid, mobile, transnational citizen into a time, place, and experience of heritage that does not exist outside these locales in the distilled manner represented within them.

Heritage in Suvarnabhumi is large (even monumental in scale), fixed in its place of erection, and offers only minimal interpretation to the traveler. Heritage in Incheon is embodied and active, taught and performed by "experts," enacted by "amateurs," and transported by them in small material form. But as Smith (2006, p. 68) has noted, actors of heritage consumption and production cannot be analytically separated for the roles of each are intermeshed.

As I have indicated above, there is nothing in the two airport buildings' architecture that is placeful. These stunning modernist works could be anywhere. Yet heritage work (sensu Smith, 2006) takes place here—following Smith's (1987) concept

of "to take place." The airport as place and, more specifically, the airport as a place of heritage is a performance, a construction that creates and appropriates a tangible locus. Applying Halbertsma (2011), these airports are "heritage theatre" in tangible and intangible form—their "presentation, public and performance [are] part of a world-wide dynamic in such domains as political relations, economics, communication, and transport" (Halbertsma, 2011, p. 2).

Heritage on the go at airports is emplaced and (re)territorialized. Both Suvarnabhumi and Incheon have been deliberately filled with the most salient referents to the cultural heritage of the two countries. But filled by whom? By state-sanctioned authorities, thereby generating a version of Smith's (2006) "authorized heritage discourse" (AHD). At Suvarnabhumi Airport in Bangkok, that AHD is the display of Nation-Religion-King, relevant in a country where, although highly politicized and widely contested, the mantra is part of everyday life. In contrast, Korean cultural heritage at Incheon Airport is tame and responds to the "contemporary authenticity" of the capital city, most especially through an emphasis on commoditization and the supplemental performance of heritage by "experts" and "amateurs."

As scholars focus on the "processes of producing and maintaining emotional cultures formed around specific tourists sites" (Picard, 2012, p. 4), attention to the emotion of heritage has increased (see Picard & Robinson, 2012; Smith, 2011; Watson, Waterton, & Smith, 2012). Indeed, a "feeling" heritage is demanded (Byrne, 2009). Suvarnabhumi and Incheon are filled with emotion and sensation if the traveler is open to or cognizant of what is being presented, for those travelers are embodied persons moving through heritage and, at Incheon, performing it. Although the emotion of heritage is dwarfed at Suvarnabhumi and Incheon by the emotion of commerce, the exhibition script of both airports is intended to leave a positive, impactful, final impression of each country—and that, potentially, has very tangible paybacks in return tourism or recommendation, investment, and political attitude.

Conceptually, *heritage on the go* opens a new space for critical inquiry into tourism and heritage. It is an aspect of "tourism mobilities"—composed of "people and objects, airplanes and suitcases, … images and brands … relational mobilizations of memories and performances, gendered and racialized bodies, emotions and atmospheres" (Sheller & Urry, 2004a, 2004b, p. 1). *Heritage on the go* recognizes the two interacting domains of tourism and heritage production—institutional actors and the tourists themselves—as makers, not just consumers of heritage. The concept can be applied to other officially sanctioned, elementally distilled, intended-to-be-rapidly-consumed performances or installations of heritage. Of particular interest is where these rapid and abbreviated distillations take place and who authorizes them. Acts of *heritage on the go* are a response to the hypermobility that is a condition of globalization.

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Chapter 14
Moveable Feasts: Food as Revitalizing Cultural Heritage

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Introduction and Theoretical Context

Of the multifarious cultural forms that can be considered to be markers of a peoples' cultural heritage, perhaps none are as universally moving as food. We humans all are moved to eat, but how we move to eat, and what we are moved to eat, and when we are moved to eat vary from group to group, place to place, and even individual to individual. Humans are universally endowed with a sense of taste—the biochemical way in which food differentially reacts to the chemicals in our body—but yet how humans distinguish them, enjoy or dislike them, and deploy them as status markers are equally variable (Bourdieu, 1984). Food necessarily takes on the chemical components of the environment in which it is cultivated—what is often considered *terroir*, or the "taste of a place" (Trubek, 2008)—but yet acquires other, very culturally specific qualities of its elaboration—which may occur far from its place (and time) of origin. Food also exudes opposing qualities of stability and variability through time; derived and elaborated from living things, it is destroyed as soon as it is consumed; yet humans through their recipes, traditions, cultural patterns, and manners of living strive to re-create its taste (or creatively play on such re-creations) at every meal. Food thus helps negotiate symbolic and political meanings (Appadurai, 1991; Avieli, 2005) that are integral to identity formation. It is for this complex interplay

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between universal needs and culturally specific preferences that food seems to move people through time and space, evoking seemingly naturalized sensations of pleasure and disgust; social divisions between classes, ethnicities, and nations; and memories of people, events, and places from times past and times present—all of which that factor into the mediatory—yet productive—nature of cultural heritage.

As both an idiom and a designatory practice, heritage creates, reconceptualizes, and elevates the sociocultural and economic significance of a group's tangible and intangible cultural forms, often valorizing the particular ideologies and identities of groups who claim them as their patrimony. It also binds disparate groups together under a shared notion of "unity in diversity" by cultivating highly emotional experiences with sites and landscapes understood to be of significant value (Di Giovine, 2009a; Labadi, 2013). These ideological movements are often accompanied by physical movements, as tourists—themselves affected by such valorizing discourses—are physically moved to engage sensorially with heritage (Harrison & Hitchcock, 2005; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Such human mobility is necessarily accompanied by fluid movements of goods, services, capital, and "imaginaries" (Salazar & Graburn, 2014).

It is little wonder, then, that not only do heritage tourism initiatives continue to be embraced by developing and developed countries alike, but an increasing number call upon and integrate their foodways. On the one hand, social scientists have argued that food constitutes one of the "three flags" of identity that accompany the formation of the nation-state (Avieli, 2005, pp. 169–170; Palmer, 1998, p. 183), bridging ideology with practice. On the other hand, new and intensified mobility has fostered a growth in culinary tourism, in which travelers increasingly seek out food-based experiences in their quest to experience a destination's essential "otherness" (Picard & Di Giovine, 2014). Indeed, the growth in culinary tourism also follows what Harrison (2013, pp. 84–88) sees as a postmodern transformation in the concept of heritage: from creating opportunities to interact with the "authenticity" of an object from the past to enjoying a (largely imagined) cultural "experience."

This transformation is illustrated most effectively by the changes in UNESCO's own heritage initiatives. First, it has developed the concept of "cultural landscapes," in which the notion of place shifted from a fixed, tangible, and largely "authentic" and unchanging place to a more expansive, spatialized understanding of living experiences (Rössler, 2010). Second is the successful ratification and implementation of its Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Convention in 2003 (UNESCO, 2003), which signaled a shift from valorizing a static, object-based notion of heritage (UNESCO, 1972) to that of cultural producers and their actions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Smith & Akegawa, 2009). Especially in the latter, food has become a touchstone for many countries, and soon after UNESCO began designating ICH, no less than four food-based inscriptions were listed, with others following. Today, in fact, one of UNESCO's newest heritage initiatives is the semiannual designation of "Cities of Gastronomy" as one of UNESCO's Creative Cities Network categories. This is a third initiative used by heritage practitioners as a means of increasing touristic awareness and sustainable development of cities like Chungdu, China; Zahle, Lebanon; and Popayán, Columbia, which traditionally have not factored into customarily art-and-architecture tourist itineraries.

Paradoxically, tourism can be conceived of as a means of empowering and "bettering" host communities when the "guests" (i.e., developers and tourists) actually reap most of the benefits. In this reality, locals are often excluded from touristic and managerial interactions, undermining the very premise of local empowerment embraced by local authorities. This is particularly the case in what Di Giovine (2009b, p. 213) has called the "development paradigm," "a historically and culturally situated category of processes that attempts to bring about positive changes in a society through the intervention of outsiders who are considered more [economically] 'advanced'." In this paradigm, development is "outside-in, top-down, and anti-organic" (Di Giovine, 2010, p. 274); outsider experts, practitioners, multinational corporations, and eventually tourists are the primary drivers of the initiative. Cultural heritage, furthermore, is often conceived of as a distinctive resource to be developed through processes of re-presentation, objectification, and commodification—leading to social imbalances between hosts and guests on the one hand, and tensions between preserving tradition and fostering transformation on the other. Many of these same issues often arise in developed world communities that are major tourist destinations, as well as in smaller communities that are economically dependent on tourism.

This chapter draws upon our research on urban and extraurban renewal initiatives linked to religious and secular tourism on three continents to posit a different, more sustainable model of development for which the valorization of food is paramount (Fig. 14.1). In case studies from Pietrelcina (Italy); Tucson, Arizona (USA); and Hội An (Vietnam), we demonstrate that food and food-based festivals are deployed within broader preservation initiatives to emotionally, socially, and even physically move diverse groups of stakeholders within societies suffering from socioeconomic stresses into favorable and productive engagements with each other that create more stable and holistic sensations of "betterment" that

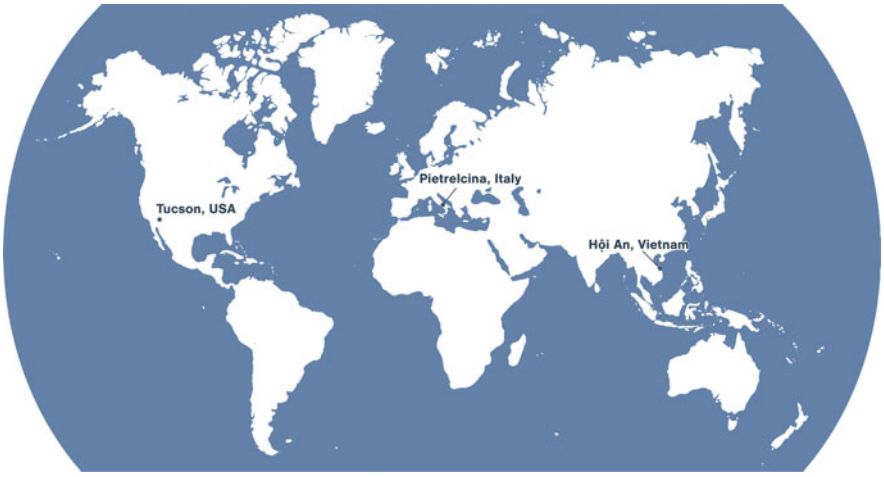

Fig. 14.1 World map showing locations of the case study communities

extend beyond mere economic progress. Building on the classic work by anthropologist Anthony Wallace (1956), we call this model the "revitalization paradigm" (Di Giovine, 2009b, 2010).

According to Wallace (1956, p. 265), a revitalization movement is a "deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture," brought about from significant shifts in the host society caused by new or intensified contact with an outside society. Wallace's model has traditionally focused on indigenous responses to colonial encounters, but in today's reality of intense globalization and mobility, such tension-laden contacts frequently transcend so-called native groups and are encountered through tourism—which itself is often considered to be neocolonial (Nash, 1977). In contrast to the development paradigm, the "revitalization paradigm" views society as a life cycle, wherein members organically look to past practices to resolve present problems. Often a product of acculturation stress in an increasingly multicultural milieu, a revitalization movement is frequently fueled by visionary local leaders who wish to restore their ideal cultural values by making recourse to the past to point out the proper path to future well-being (Wallace, 1956, pp. 265, 269). This act creates a new system that integrates new knowledge, symbols, and cosmological understandings that often stem from interactions with diverse outside forces. In the revitalization paradigm, a dialectic between old and new, tradition and innovation, and continuity and novelty not only links heritage initiatives and contemporary tourism practices, but also positively engages with multiple generations, integrating perceived past values with new, modern ones.

In general, heritage practices are closely aligned with those of a revitalization movement; heritage properties create a sense of unity that transcends time and space (Di Giovine, 2009a). Tangible and intangible cultural heritage embodies, valorizes, and mediates often disparate narrative claims between individuals and groups. And, of course, they move people, ideas, and resources in the form of preservation activities, cultural performances such as feasts and festivals, and tourism. In addition, such activities surrounding culinary heritage draw on the important element of commensality that is innate to the consumption of food. Collectively consuming the same dish or meal, people are brought together in an often structured or ritualized way that emphasizes in both discourse and practice of the aspect of togetherness, of social exchange, and often is made to elicit precise, shared memories of people, places, and events in the past (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014, p. 16).

Case Studies from Three Continents

The small, southern Italian town of Pietrelcina illustrates the dynamics of this revitalization paradigm. Located in one of the historically poorest areas of Italy (Davis, 1998), this 3000-person village is largely composed of self-sustaining farmers who either owned or rented small patches of arable land outside the town, or who worked seasonally for larger landowners in the surrounding countryside. While locals from the surrounding province recall Pietrelcina as an excellent producer of olive oil and

Fig. 14.2 Pietrelcina, Italy. Main piazza (*left side*). Poster announcing the 2010 Sagra del Carciofo (Artichoke Festival); conforming to imaginaries linking Padre Pio with the town's traditional foodways, the poster features a woman dressed as a nineteenth-century peasant holding artichokes, with Pio's parish church, Sant'Anna, in the background (*right side*). Photographs by Michael A. Di Giovine

artichokes in the last century, Pietrelcina is known throughout the Catholic world as the birthplace of the popular twentieth-century stigmatic and saint, Padre Pio (Fig. 14.2), although his entire ministry took place 165 km away in San Giovanni Rotondo—today the site of his tomb and shrine, which attracts between six and seven million visitors annually (Padre Pio, 2008). Pietrelcina draws fewer than 10 % of these pilgrims and very little tourism revenue.

While San Giovanni Rotondo grew in the period between Pio's death in 1968 and beatification in 1998, Pietrelcina saw increased sociocultural stress and stagnation. Few infrastructure improvements were made, and abandoned homes were left to decay. Educated Pietrelcinesi left for northern Italy and abroad in search of work. When Pio lived in Pietrelcina, the town's population was the highest recorded by census, while today, it is the lowest (ISTAT, 2013). Older Pietrelcinesi contend that this decline was the result of a change of agrarian values: they had stopped cultivating the "traditional" artichoke in favor of "dirty, get-rich-quick" tobacco (Di Giovine, 2014, p. 80)—which created a crisis in the 1990s when Benevento's tobacco-processing plant closed, its operations shifting to Eastern Europe.

However, Pio's sainthood movement in the late 1990s, which culminated in his canonization in 2002, increased pilgrims' desire to visit Pio's birthplace, and tourism began to increase significantly. The turning point occurred in 1999, when a crew

from Rai 1, the Italian national TV station, filmed a documentary that included extensive footage of the town itself (Damosso, 1999). Responding to imaginaries of Pietrelcina as an idyllic Italian hill town akin to those of picturesque Tuscany, it featured romanticized images of a verdant countryside surrounding the town (Di Giovine, 2010). Yet its images of the town itself revealed visible signs of decline: rickety buildings, gap-toothed stones peeking from patches of crumbling asphalt, and a central piazza used as a parking lot for old cars. Disturbed by this portrayal, visionary local leaders undertook a project of "urban transformation"—a synergy of conservation and reconstruction—that would restore life and utility to the town (De Feo, 1995, p. 9). Today, the entire *centro storico* has been re-created to evoke a typical nineteenth-century hill town.

One of the most organic developments in this period was the grassroots reinvention of Pietrelcina's traditional cuisine ("*cucina casareccia*") into "heritage foods" that connected them with their perceived Golden Age when Pio lived in the town (Di Giovine, 2014). One example is the indigenous *raffiuoli* cookie served on special occasions during Pio's time, but which had been largely forgotten. At once, townspeople began to serve these at their weddings and family feasts. Importantly, they linked the food to Pio himself as a way to insert themselves into Pio's narrative:

> on the occasion of Padre Pio's ordination, … [there was a] huge festival when he arrived in the town: joy, ebullience, and congratulations met the priest as he timidly entered the town, red-faced … and the people watched from their windows and balconies as others threw money, rice, and "raffiuoli," a typical local sweet, as they would do to wish a bridegroom good luck. (Comitato Festa, 2010, p. 95; translation by Michael A. Di Giovine)

Heritage food is also featured at Pietrelcina's most important festival, which honors its patroness, the Madonna della Libera—an effigy of the Virgin Mary that is believed to have saved the town from a devastating cholera outbreak only a few decades before Pio was born. Since the mid-1800s, this was a harvest feast, and local historians talk of locals donating a portion of their wheat and grain harvest in decorated, mule-drawn carriages, while members of the highest class would contribute money for the festival. But long gone are days of elaborately painted carriages filled with agrarian bounty. However, recently, during the "Mass of Thanksgiving," the leaders of the Festival Committee have taken to proceed to the altar with a big basket filled with homemade, and homegrown, food: salami and *capicola*, cheese, olive oil, Aglianico wine, honey, and pickled artichokes.

The "Pietrelcinese artichoke" (in actuality there are three varieties) has become viewed as the "lost symbol" of Pietrelcinesi identity (Di Giovine, 2014, pp. 82–83). Although the plant was introduced only decades before Pio's birth, and there are no data indicating that Pio's family cultivated artichokes (they were herders), locals link Pio with the artichoke in much the same way that they do with *raffiuoli*, indicating its symbolism of the town's sustained, moral values. One booklet contends: "The preparation of artichokes in Pietrelcina is one of the town's most ancient traditions, and the artichoke is present in every farmer's garden—as testified by the affirmation that 'stuffed artichokes' was one of St. Padre Pio's favourite dishes" (Circelli, 2007, pp. 10–11). In one of its first revitalization initiatives, the town

council and tourism board created the Sagra del Carciofo—a food-filled celebration of the artichoke (*carciofo*) that today draws visitors across the region for cooking lessons, concerts, and tastings (see Fig. 14.2). This, in turn, has informed other public festivals centered on food, such as the "white night" celebration, *S'adda fa mattina*, a food festival in which residents of Pio's neighborhood set up small food stalls, where they offer very inexpensive home-cooked meals: pasta, roast pork, local breads, and homemade wine. And in 2006, the town won grants from the European Union and the Italian national government to open a cooking school led by a master chef. Town leaders are now pushing for the creation of an artichoke-processing plant, and have already begun obtaining protective status for their product in much the same way towns such as Parma, Naples, and Montepulciano label their alimentary goods.

Outsiders have also responded to this culinary heritage discourse, and today one of the most popular "souvenirs" in the town are not the rosaries and other religious objects that pilgrims can easily obtain from Pio's shrine, but rather the town's "typical foods," such as the *cicatelli*, an elongated, shell-like pasta that is quite time consuming to make by hand. While the shops sell processed packages of *cicatelli*, they are made to appear homemade, and busloads of northern and southern Italians alike will be seen carrying between three and four shopping bags filled with the pasta.

While food was a notable component in Pietrelcina's broader revitalization movement, it serves as its central driver in Tucson, Arizona. Located just north of the US–Mexico border, Tucson is the oldest continuously inhabited metropolitan area in North America, with an archaeological record of habitation and crop cultivation extending back 4100 years, and a 300-year tradition of orchards, vineyards, and livestock ranching (Mabry, 2004). Tucson cuisine blends the influences of Native American, northern Mexican or Sonoran, Mission-era Mediterranean, and American Ranch-Style Cowboy food traditions, among others. Key ingredients of this blend of cuisines include dozens of native desert plants and animals listed on the Slow Food International Ark of Taste—more than for any other North American landscape—not found in other regional cuisines, and contributing to a distinctive "desert terroir" (Nabhan, 2012). Tucson's well-developed gastronomic traditions retain historically grounded food production and preparation practices specific to the Southwest as part of the community's intangible heritage.

Tucson's heritage foods include wild desert food products, historically cultivated crops, fermented foods, roasted and baked goods, meats, and cheeses distinctive to the region. Native Americans indigenous to the region have long harvested wild plant edibles, including pods of mesquite trees; wild greens; cactus fruits, buds, and pads, including those of the giant saguaro; the spinachlike greens of desert amaranths; and nonbitter acorns (Nabhan, 1982). Maize, beans, and squash are a tropical Mesoamerican crop complex known collectively as "the three sisters," and have generated immense varietal diversity through a coevolutionary history with their human caretakers. The first maize arrived in the Santa Cruz Valley (where Tucson is located) from Mexico 4100 years ago (Mabry, 2005). Historically, native peoples in the region surrounding Tucson cultivated and selected for a vast genetic diversity of these crops.

Beginning around 1700, the largely Catholic Spanish, but also including crypto-Muslims and crypto-Jews escaping the Spanish Inquisition, introduced other desert-adapted crops from arid regions in the Old World (Dunmire, 2004), including fruit tree stocks. Ranching was also established more than 300 years ago, and cattle production continues in the rural Santa Cruz Valley. While most ranches raise cattle to ship to feedlots in other states, many local ranches raise cattle on local forage and sell beef locally.

Tucson's cuisine has thus developed through the layering and blending of prehistoric native wild foods and preparation techniques; ancient crops and varieties arriving from Mesoamerica; introductions of plants and livestock from the Old World during the Spanish Colonial period; ingredients and dishes brought by a sequence of later-arriving cultural groups; and contemporary culinary innovations using local heritage ingredients. Even a food as commonplace as the tortilla has two variants in Tucson that are hardly found elsewhere in the world: the giant, wheat flour *tortilla de las aguas* or *sobaquera*, which is more like a Palestinian or Beduoin *saj* than like most Mexican tortillas, and the Sonoran-style *gordita* made of nixtamalized corn masa blended with *queso fresco*, deep-fried and smothered in *salsa roja* to make *enchiladas chatas Sonorenses* (Nabhan, de Grenade, Mabry, & Bechtol, 2014). The latter non-GMO corn tortilla, and the Sonoran enchiladas made from it, have recently been recommended for inclusion in the Slow Food International Ark of Taste (http://www.slowfoodusa.org/ark-of-taste).

Tucson's thriving contemporary culinary scene is led by award-winning chefs and independently owned restaurants creating traditional and contemporary dishes using local and heritage foods, and is celebrated by film and book festivals and popular media. The city's programs, policies, and regulations support food security and sustainability, and the fast-growing culinary economic sector. The University of Arizona conducts innovative research on agriculture, nutrition, biodiversity conservation, and cultural foodways, and engages the community with many food education programs. Higher-education institutions, vocational schools, nonprofit organizations, and private-sector associations and incubators support entrepreneurship and employment in the culinary industry. An extensive community garden network and numerous school and home gardens play important roles in food security and the informal food economy.

Awareness and appreciation of heritage crop varieties linked to community identity have motivated a decades-long movement to conserve them, and Tucson has emerged as an international leader in creative approaches to conservation and dissemination of heritage crop varieties and traditional knowledge about them. Nonprofit organizations and local agencies like Native Seeds/SEARCH (Southwestern Endangered Aridland Resources Clearing House) have created seed banks and free seed libraries with over 2000 varieties; reestablished historical fruit tree stocks; replanted historical orchards and forests of edible native trees; developed workshops teaching the public how to harvest and prepare native wild foods; hosted international exchanges on how to develop and manage free seed libraries; and provided seed grants to school projects and community gardens. Some heritage varieties have been replanted for commercial production. An example is white

Sonora wheat, an heirloom variety introduced during the late seventeenth century by Tucson's first missionary, the Spanish Jesuit Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino, which was almost extinct before commercial farmers began to grow it organically to supply local artisanal bakeries and beer breweries.

The Kino Heritage Fruit Trees Project is a collaborative project of several nonprofit organizations to identify, locate, collect, propagate, and replant the Old World fruit tree stocks introduced to the region during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries by missionaries and colonists. By historical accounts, these trees included peach, quince, pear, apple, pecan, walnut, fig, and pomegranate. Thus far, fruit tree stocks from the Spanish era and later historic periods have been identified in mission communities in Sonora, Mexico, at historic ranches and abandoned mining towns in southern Arizona, in backyards of historic house museums and barrio residences in Tucson, on the local university campus, and at nearby national parks. These cultivars were used to reestablish the historic orchards at a national park and at the Mission Garden at Tucson's Birthplace (Fig. 14.3). These rare heirloom tree stocks, some of which were nearing extinction prior to this project, are now available in area nurseries for sale to the public.

The symbolic importance of planting heritage trees in the downtown Mission Garden, an open-air botanical museum and heritage site managed by a local nonprofit group, should not be underestimated. As in Pietrelcina, exhibitionary complexes such as these museums serve to represent the city's heritage values to outsiders in an interactive manner. Mission Garden features a reconstruction of the original adobe wall surrounding 4 acres of educational and food-producing gardens with over 50 kinds of traditionally harvested native plants, rare heirloom varieties of fruit trees and grape vines, and other Native American, Spanish, Mexican, Chinese, and Anglo-American food crops that were historically grown in Tucson. This living museum interprets Tucson's 4100-year agricultural history and the local experience of the "Columbian exchange" of plants between the Old World and New World, and has become a popular destination for locals, school groups, and tourists.

Fig. 14.3 Tucson, Arizona. Numerous farmers' markets and two dozen annual food festivals occur year-round and offer tastes of local foods and living food traditions to residents and visitors (*left side*). Photograph by Jonathan B. Mabry. Mission Garden is a living agricultural museum where vegetable crops, culinary and medicinal herbs, fruit trees, and edible native plants have been locally grown for millennia (*right side*). Photograph by Katherine Roberts

Discourses valorizing Tucson's culinary heritage are further disseminated through a variety of media, such as *Edible Baja Arizona*—the media epicenter of the local foods movement. This free, locally produced magazine yearly reaches 600,000 readers, connecting them with the local food scene. It promotes producers, purveyors, innovative chefs, food and beverage artisans, nonprofit groups, community leaders, and food justice advocates.

As in Pietrelcina, Tucson's heritage food revival is celebrated at more than two dozen annual food festivals, fairs, and tastings that occur year-round. Tucson Meet Yourself is a 40-year-old music, dance, craft, and food festival that attracts 150,000 participants each year; local traditional dishes are among the most popular offerings by food vendors representing 60 different ethnic groups. Celebrations of native heritage foods include the Ha:san Bak Saguaro Harvest of cactus fruit, Chile Festival, and Agave Fest. At many of these festivals, volunteers lead workshops teaching local residents traditional knowledge of how to harvest, process, and cook wild foods. Spanish and Mexican heritage foods are celebrated at the Membrillo Festival and Tamale Festival. The Viva La Local Food Festival features heritage foods and other local flavors of southern Arizona through tastings and a farmers' market (see Fig. 14.3).

Finally, in an effort to leverage its food heritage and culinary assets on an international scale, and indicating the perceived success of this heritage food revitalization movement, the City of Tucson partnered with the University of Arizona in applying to become the first City of Gastronomy designated by UNESCO in the USA, and in December 2015 received designation. Motivations to join the UNESCO Creative Cities Network as a City of Gastronomy include bringing increased recognition to the region's rich agricultural heritage, thriving food traditions, and distinctive cuisine; highlighting Tucson's unique heritage and cultural products on a global platform; promoting Tucson as a culinary tourism destination in national and international markets by drawing attention to the heritage foods and culinary assets of the city and its region; and facilitating international exchanges of best practices for using food heritage and culinary distinctiveness as drivers for sustainable economic development and strengthening sense of place.

While the cases of Pietrelcina and Tucson illustrate how food fuels holistic revitalization movements, the central Vietnamese town of Hội An presents an interesting case of how food is used for re-revitalization, or "counter-revitalization" (Di Giovine, 2009b), in which discourses and practices surrounding local foodways have been integrated after, rather than concomitant with, a cultural heritage revitalization movement.

Unlike Tucson, Hội An was not a significant tourist attraction in the last century, even as nearby sites like Đà Nẵng and Mỹ Sơn—the sacred mountain of the ancient Champa civilization—factored into the French Indochina "Grand Tour" track, and, later, as Đà Nẵng's China Beach became one of the primary "R&R" (rest and relaxation) spots for US servicemen during the American-Vietnam War. Once a bustling seventeenth-century port city that welcomed Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and French traders, Hội An had entered a sustained period of economic and social stagnation when its river silted up. This changed in the mid-1980s, when preservation

Fig. 14.4 Hội An, Vietnam. Street scene (*left side*). Japanese covered bridge (*right side*). Photographs by Michael A. Di Giovine

ministers eager to rebuild the country after years of devastating warfare engaged a Polish preservationist, Kazimierz Kwiatkowski, to work on rebuilding Mỹ Sơn and the imperial capital of Huế. According to oral histories collected by Di Giovine (2009b), Kwiatkowski stumbled upon the sleepy village and was impressed by the quality and diversity of Hội An's tiny historic center, which boasted Chinese meeting houses, traditional mansions and temples, and a Japanese covered bridge (Fig. 14.4). Yet he also saw how the impoverished locals preferred to raze their dilapidated buildings and rebuild them using cheap and decidedly "inauthentic" materials. He engaged local and regional leaders to restore the city in line with Western preservation practices by offering grants and economic incentives—an initiative that paid off; the first *Lonely Planet* guidebook for Southeast Asia devoted the same amount of pages to Hội An as it did to larger, more established Vietnamese cities like Hanoi and Saigon. This created a surge in backpacker tourism, leading to the development of a robust tourism infrastructure built around imaginaries of Hoianese cultural heritage. In 1999, Hội An was successfully designated a World Heritage Site, and the following two years saw a 24 % and a further 82 % increase, respectively (Avieli, 2015, p. 46).

Locals and new migrants to the town diversified Hội An's industry, in particular its textile shops that would quickly and economically produce well-tailored clothing for tourists. They also began to produce Chinese lanterns—clearly an "invention of tradition" (Hobsbowm & Ranger, 2003) in that they were not historically diffuse here (Avieli, 2015, p. 52), but one that has since become a lucrative export. Officials also pedestrianized the streets, and, later, created a now-famous "Lantern Festival" in which, once a month, the town (and local homes) are lit exclusively by Chinese lanterns.

But Hội An's touristic popularity came at a price. By 2011, Hội An saw 1.5 million visitors—a 1000 % increase since its World Heritage listing, which seems unsustainable for such a small town (Avieli, 2015, p. 46). Development is now controlled by government officials rather than locals, many of whom have sold their homes to wealthy North Vietnamese entrepreneurs and moved to the periphery. Officials have also opened a number of all-inclusive luxury seaside resorts along the road between Đà Nẵng and Hội An, reducing the time and money tourists spend in

the historic center (Avieli, 2015, pp. 50–51). And tourists are drawn by guidebooks extolling not the town's heritage, but its cheap and efficient tailors, which number over 500 for this tiny 60-km^2 town (Millman, 2011). Today, cruise ship tourists flood large tailoring facilities, whose employees work throughout the night to produce these visitors' wares before embarkation the next day.

What began as a success story has become increasingly looked upon as a crisis, in which Hội An is losing its roots to unbridled development and commercialism. Yet perhaps in response to this, another revitalization movement is emerging, one that looks to the town's culinary roots to reconnect with the past in a more holistic, sustainable fashion. Whereas once tourist bars and cafes periodically punctuated the glut of clothing and souvenir shops, now many restaurants have opened up that specifically promote indigenous local foods as heritage cuisine, such as *cau lau*, a noodle cooked in amaranth ash and served in an aromatic broth that has become the icon for Hoianese identity, though its origins are uncertain (Avieli, 2012, pp. 66–78). As in Pietrelcina, the local alimentary fare has become elevated to heritage cuisine, and advertised to tourists. In the past decade, a number of cooking schools have also opened up inside several of the larger restaurants, and tour operators have begun to integrate cooking lessons in their itineraries; early on, one Australian newspaper listed a Hội An cooking school among the top five in the world (Mylne, 2005). Even Hoianese refugees have begun to return, such as one chef who was raised in Texas and now has opened a Vietnamese-American fusion restaurant in the town.

In conjunction with both the prosperity and the tensions that have accompanied the town's development, two contradictory food-based movements have also occurred. On the one hand, the practice of Buddhism is on the rise, and with it, an increased public consumption of traditional vegetarian fare—particularly during the 1st and 15th days of the lunar month (which coincides with the lantern festival) (Avieli, 2011, p. 67). But on the other hand, restaurants serving dog meat also have begun to emerge. This is a particularly interesting development, as this cuisine is somewhat diffuse in the North—whose traditional foodways are closer to those in China—but not typically in the center or south; unlike Confucian, East Asian countries, here it is associated with seedy, women-and-liquor bars catering to men. Prior to 2004, there were only two small locales in Hội An, and they used a euphemism to discretely advertise their fare. But now, with an expanded local middle class and an increase in North Vietnamese tourists, new garden restaurants featuring dog meat, many catering to families, have emerged. This has sparked vigorous debate among locals—some of whom frequent the establishments—that centers on cultural values, appropriate behavior, and changing statuses (Avieli, 2011). While this development is justifiably decried by observers and many locals for a variety of reasons, it is no less a component in this indigenous revitalization movement, as it reveals yet another way that a food product with deep-rooted cultural meaning has been reinvented and redeployed to negotiate new social changes within the town.

Although Westerners are not cognizant of these particular restaurants, the visible increase in culinary heritage practices seems to have made an impression. For example, *Lonely Planet Vietnam*'s 2001 edition does not mention cuisine in its description of Hội An; it dedicates two short paragraphs to the few restaurants

later on in the section (Florence & Storey, 2001, pp. 365, 374–375). But in its 2014 edition, Hội An's introductory description specifically calls the town a "culinary mecca" (Stewart, Atkinson, Harper, & Ray, 2014, p. 195), a term repeated in a subsequent section dedicated exclusively to discussing the many cooking schools in town (p. 203). Later, the guidebook begins its lengthy section on restaurants and eating by stating that "Hoi An is a premier-league dining destination," a "culinary hotbed" with "arguably the nation's most complex and flavoursome" cuisine, thanks to its "organic gardens" and "extraneous influence due to centuries of links with China, Japan and Europe" (p. 206).

One sees this shift in travel writing as well; while one of the earliest travel articles on Hội An lists both "expert tailors" and "some of the best restaurants in Vietnam" (Noble, 1999), by 2002 most travel articles concerning Hội An focused on the tailors, and feature pithy titles like "Tailor-Made in Vietnam? Suits You Sir" (McKinlay, 2002), "Made to Measure" (Long, 2009), and the inventive "Hoi couture is a match for Paris" (Matheson, 2009). But by 2011, this gave way to discussions about experiencing Hội An's culinary heritage—perhaps compelled by *Food & Wine* magazine listing Hội An that year as one of the world's top food destinations ("Vietnam: Hoi An," 2011). Indeed, the author of one article that bridges these two concepts, "Picturesque Hoi An, Vietnam features speedy tailors and delicious food," ends her piece with a telling quote that indicates this shift:

> We returned to town by boat, and the day's talk of food quickly turned to Hoi An's main industry—everyone, it seemed, was having clothing made, filling extra bags with tangible reminders of their travel. The summer dress I had made for just $18 is a unique souvenir. I suspect, however, that I'll remember the taste of wheat noodles and roast pork, and the smell of clams steamed in lemongrass long after I've stopped wearing the dress. (Millman, 2011, p. E-1)

Conclusion

Food has long been considered a primary marker of cultural heritage, and in many places around the world it helps foster cultural revitalization movements—bottom-up, community-based undertakings that stand in stark contrast to traditional economic development paradigms. In this chapter, remarkable comparisons among Vietnam (Hội An), Italy (Pietrelcina), and the USA (Tucson, Arizona) illustrate the success of food and food-based festivals deployed within broader preservation initiatives to emotionally, socially, and even physically move diverse groups of stakeholders within societies suffering from socioeconomic stresses into favorable and productive engagements with each other. These examples illustrate that food represents heritage in action in three ways. First, as an element of heritage, food moves through time as it is reinvented, reconceptualized, and, in certain places like Pietrelcina and Tucson, recultivated after years of falling out of favor. Second, food moves locals emotionally, tugging at their memories, conveying value-based moral

claims concerning their identity and society, and bringing them together in festivals, pilgrimages, and community gardening projects. Finally, the same foodstuffs move through space in their communities of origin and circulate abroad, creating equally moving tourist imaginaries and associations that serve to put these places on the map as destinations centered around food as well as other heritage attractions. All of these movements help to foster more sustainable and engaged cultural revitalization programs. These examples and the resulting comparative analysis show how heritage (and associated heritage tourism) can positively impact local communities in intangible yet sustainable ways that go beyond mere economic benefits to sustainably reorient and re-center the identity and values of communities struggling with ways to remain relevant and viable amid the upheavals of globalization and modernization.

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Chapter 15
Technologies, Technocracy, and the Promise of "Alternative" Heritage Values

Trinidad Rico

Introduction: Heritage as a Technological Playground

The advent of recognized digital technologies in heritage preservation is relatively recent, and has shown increasing popularity and interest over the years, with a proliferation of organizations, conferences, and publications on the subject of a self-defined digital age for heritage-related disciplines. This recognition was formalized in the UNESCO Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage (UNESCO, 2003), which acknowledges "resources of information and creative expression [that] are increasingly produced, distributed, accessed and maintained in digital form, creating a new legacy—the digital heritage" (UNESCO, 2003, preamble).

Technological approaches are part of an established trend that utilizes new technologies in the service of cultural heritage. These approaches are known as *digital heritage*, *virtual heritage*, and even *new heritage*, the latter a term that claims to broaden the definition of the field in order to address the complexity of tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Kalay, Kvan, & Affleck, 2008, p. 11). For the purposes of this discussion, these terms will be referred to as a collective *digital technology*, an analytical category under which I group technology-driven methods of heritage identification, analysis, management, and interpretation that claim to revolutionize access to the heritage resource and decision making towards more inclusivity. The ever-growing involvement and significance of technological precision that gives rise and strength to a digital age, and the creation of a heritage product that is able to be easily transported and transmitted in time and across space, have highlighted the possibility of a shift in authority in cultural heritage disciplines. A promise of

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increased access to heritage knowledge and knowledge production responds to calls for decolonization in heritage constructs and approaches that aim to challenge the hegemony of expert authority (Smith, 2006).

This turn towards more technologically advanced approaches to heritage preservation and management is global and undeniable, but not without drawbacks. An emerging field that relies increasingly on an array of technologies to communicate the aims and futures of heritage preservation puts an emphasis on the infinite possibilities of a paradigm change for heritage–stakeholder relationships. However, less attention is paid to the nature, needs, and limitations of their use in practice, and how they in fact shape particular forms of access. There is hardly a heritage organization today—local or global—that does not resort to or promote methods of digital technology for heritage preservation under the aims and discourses of a digital age, and under the banner of wider access to heritage resources. However, the beneficiaries of this newfound access are not always clearly identified. In part, this is because certain marginalized stakeholders, the nonexperts and local experts, are still poorly defined in heritage approaches in general. However, on the other hand, as digital technologies have increased in complexity, accessibility, and popularity, a new class of expertise has emerged to create and manage them–the technology expert–which can override the authority of local access and expertise.

In this chapter, I address claims that through the deployment and use of technologies access to heritage will be democratized, and that stakeholders will be engaged in innovative and inclusive ways. I aim to examine the channels of production and use of these resources, their effect on heritage value and its preservation, and the question of stewardship and authority that these methods enable. Within this aim, this chapter considers how methods shape and promote particular constructions of heritage and its voices, as they inevitably influence the direction that the discipline is taking.

I argue that digital expertise should be subjected to a more critical examination of the way technology contributes to the perpetuation of a culture of expertise that is embedded in the dominant heritage paradigm. Moreover, I argue that the deployment of specific technologies for the articulation of heritage as a subject of preservation creates a particular type of heritage subject, tied to the characterization and limitations inherent to each technological appraisal. As a result, relationships to heritage subjects can become strictly mediated through different technologies, obscuring processes of construction of heritage and the expertise that is involved in them. At heart, this discussion argues that the ability of technologically driven heritage management to articulate “alternative” heritage values through the incorporation of “alternative” voices needs to be assessed more critically.

Three Personal Vignettes

There are inherent problems in the untethered use of technologically driven preservation and management methods. While heritage is increasingly recognized as a concept that is used to construct, reconstruct, and negotiate values and meanings

(Smith, 2006, p. 3), it is not just the significance of a process-oriented approach that becomes evident, but also the significance of identifying the *user* of heritage products and processes—methodological approaches—that construct specific heritage forms, and their agendas. Technological approaches can create a type of heritage resource against which the user, a nonexpert stakeholder, has no options but to remain largely passive, sidelined, and second to the novelty of the method itself. Three personal vignettes exemplify the way that a technological emphasis eclipses structural problems with the articulation of access to heritage as a resource, which remains strictly controlled, marginalizing the articulation of heritage values in general. These vignettes are the conceptual framework for this chapter.

Turkey, Summer of 2004

A review of condition assessments begins for Building 5, a Neolithic mud brick structure on display in situ in the archaeological site of Çatalhöyük. This includes intensive digital photo documentation of all surfaces, as well as the collection of archival research data and reports from different specialists (Rico, 2004). Over 97 % of Çatalhöyük remains buried underground, a challenge for the interpretation of a tell site. In fact, the ideal preservation strategy for Building 5 is identified by the conservation team to be reburial, following the procedures observed for other structures on site. During the field season, the public witnesses the exciting phenomenon of "archaeology in action," as the documentation of the open site continues to take place during visiting hours, breaching the gap between "professional" and "public" access to the site. Eventually, the building will disappear from the public eye, leaving only the products of its documentation that construct an archival echo of the building, to be featured mostly in specialist reports. Once an active observer, soon the public will be able to access this segment of this site only through these reports and as a passive user, since the reports are products of a documentation that is expert driven, highlighting the limitations of a reflexive methodology and the archaeological process in general.

Portugal, Autumn of 2004

Thanks to a partnership between INETI (the National Institute of Industrial Technology and Engineering) and CNART (the Portuguese National Centre for Rock Art), the documentation portfolio for the outstanding rock art site of Vale do Côa includes stereophotogrammetry. Experienced site conservator, Antonio Batarda, explains that stereophotogrammetry tackles the limitations inherent to drawn records and conventional photography, providing the data needed to create exact replicas of rock art panels through three-dimensional models, if ever needed (Fernandes, Rico, & Huang, 2006). However, he is also wary of this approach,

arguing that a longer time spent in front of the rock surface is needed for the development of a "rapport" with the rock panels, as detailed and intricate knowledge of specific damage would lead to a better interpretation of their condition. Practicality, versatility, and speed of documentation are the keywords that define the mission to capture and portray the weathering and biological dynamics present in each engraved panel or outcrop. Intricate digital maps have been produced in the past but remained inaccessible: the files lie dormant, deep in expensive and resource-consuming specialized software with no clearly identified user, an expensive and time-consuming resource that marginalizes local expertise.

USA, Summer of 2005

A comprehensive monitoring system is launched at the Officer's Club of the historic Presidio of San Francisco. Traditional drawings and photography are complemented by quantitative information on the behavior of the adobe walls, as crack monitors are nailed to selected surfaces. Seeking a point of reference that is external to the structure itself and less invasive, the possibility to carry out 3D scanning of the interior of the building presents itself. Obvious advantages to this approach include a three-dimensional awareness of conservation issues and the possibility of combining long-range and close-range scanner resolutions at different stages (Monson & Rico, 2006). The particular uniqueness of this approach lies in our ability to compare two scans of the same section in such a way that excessive change over time would be flagged, depicting the extent and speed of surface movements over time. The possibility of combining this tool with the Presidio's own spatial coordinate system adds another level of possibilities in the realm of quantitative conservation approaches. Yet, a concern inherent to this method is the recognized gap between information users (conservators) and providers (software and tool developers) within different specialties, and an associated lack of standards for the development of software, suggesting that too much effort is put in the development of methods without using as a point of departure the needs and resources of potential users.

The Digital Age

The vignettes presented above should be placed in dialogue with digital heritage theorists who are hopeful that new technology "has the potential to move the state of the art of preservation beyond static displays, capturing in cinematic or interactive form the social, cultural, and human aspects of the sites and the societies who inhabited them" (Affleck & Kvan, 2008, p. 2). Others consider these techniques for preservation as cultural constructs that may be used to "transform institutional cultures, methods, and more importantly, relationships with audiences—into the future" (Cameron & Kenderline, 2007, pp. 3–4). Contributors to these debates argue

that digital technologies have a key role to play in this transformation, as they are able to activate, engage, and transform the "intellectual capital" of our information society that is held traditionally by museums and heritage organizations (Cameron & Kenderline, 2007). They propose to decentralize knowledge through the ability of these methods to "save" and "share" the heritage resource as it is conceptualized and brought to life. In fact, digital technologies thrive in a safeguarding mission that is self-defined as "sharing equals saving," reminiscent of a construction and preservation of collective memory whose existence relies on the circulation of an experience that transcends the individual (cf. Halbwachs, 1992). But as the objectives of a digital age are intimately tied to an established and powerful rhetoric of "heritage at risk" (Rico, 2015; 2016), how they put to practice naturalized aims to "safeguard" and "share" needs to be further scrutinized.

"Saving": Archiving as Heritage

The discourse used in the promotion of digital technologies shows overwhelming homogeneity across the globe in its aims and expectations for the suggested approaches that are espoused, produced, or consumed. By way of example, 3D scanning expert Cyark claims that "digital capture of the world's significant heritage sites *ensures these places will be available for the future*" (Cyark, 2014, my emphasis), a promise that does not distinguish the longevity and availability of the captured information about place and that of the place itself. The place, in this sense, is demoted to a true "desert of the real" (Baudrillard, 1994) whose characteristics may only survive in its interpreted archival form. A prolific practice of *virtual façadism* can be observed in many digital technologies where "safeguarding" relates exclusively to the surface characteristics of the heritage resource, a practice reminiscent of earlier and outdated conservation philosophies. Thus, as the shells of heritage places become archived in the full glory of their tangible forms, the contents, context, and fluidity beyond these tangible properties are neglected, lost, and inadvertently destroyed through this one-dimensional focus. The concept that heritage may be "saved" through any type of documentation also neglects the progress already made in critical heritage theory towards revealing heritage constructs as multivalent and contextual, particularly for understandings of endangerment (Harrison, 2012; Rico, 2016) that move away from the emphasis on tangible and aesthetic values.

A fixation with archiving information from heritage resources has also resulted in the recognition of the products of digital technologies as heritage entities in their own right, a source of considerable debate over recent years (Cameron & Kenderline, 2007, p. 3). The UNESCO Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage articulates this transformation and legitimizes the creation of a new legacy—the digital heritage, demonstrating how digital media is embedded in the global process of heritagization, a process that Cameron has called an uncritical induction (Cameron & Robinson, 2007, p. 171). As Kvan has pointed out, artifacts "born digital" (Kvan,

2008, p. 310) are offered protection status as heritage, but their significance and protection remain associated to what the object inherited from the past rather than the digital object created. Cameron adds that digital heritage joins heritage in a system of classification that stands as self-evident and natural. A rhetoric of loss defines digital heritage as a paradoxical resource "born disappearing" (Cameron, 2008, pp. 172, 175), but this could be said of all heritage constructs.

As the distinction between the survivability of heritage and the archival products of its documentation is blurred, the discussion falls back on seasoned debates on authenticity that address the relationship between material and digital objects, particularly the status of the digital copy vs. its non-digital original (Baudrillard, 1994; Benjamin, 1936). It could be said that these debates have for a long time dominated the relatively new discipline in its path to standardization, through the creation of thematic guidelines and best practices. It is a process that moves away from an interrogation of the technological production of knowledge and the object of heritage itself. Nevertheless, the incorporation of the products of digital technologies within the heritage category suggests a positive expansion of the definitions of heritage and a loss of hegemony of the monumental definition operationalized by the dominant discourse. Yet, recent discussion of the roles of a rightfully termed "new heritage" (Kalay et al., 2008) considers and recognizes a failure of most technological approaches to capture the complexity of intangible heritage, including the social, political, and economic issues surrounding sites and artifacts. In these debates, authors question whether media should be used for more than the re-creation and re-presentation of physical entities, suggesting that it has the capacity to become a tool to capture the intangible essence of cultural heritage and the society that creates and uses it. This hopeful claim relies on the availability of digital methods to a wide spectrum of stakeholders in different heritage scenarios, a claim not easily met.

"Sharing": The Democratization of Heritage

Like many others, the organization Cultural Heritage Imaging, based in California, promises to democratize technology through the dissemination of digital documentation methods as "new and easy-to-learn imaging techniques that *can be made available and accessible to people all over the world*" (CHI, 2012, my emphasis). This is a representative mission statement of the digital era that deserves a closer examination of what exactly is being shared through the practice of these methods. "Sharing" the production of heritage resources is a widely advertised feature of technological heritage management, as technological expert organizations claim to democratize technology through the dissemination of methods that reduce the barriers of cost and complexity (i.e., Mudge, Ashley, & Schroer, 2007). It has been argued that the digital landscape presents itself as a new frontier ready for settlement, and in this landscape digital media offers non-Western stakeholders the opportunity to challenge the supremacy of established dominant structures of authority and reinterpret the way in which heritage is managed and presented

(Brown, 2007, p. 78). In this sense, an alternative form of engagement would suggest the advent of alternative paths to representation (Munslow, 2003, quoted in Cameron & Robinson, 2007). As digital technologies are said to have a profound influence on content re-presentation, management, and communication, and especially enabling the coexistence of multiple different interpretations without a need to hierarchize different experts' interpretations (Kalay, 2008, p. 5), "sharing" the responsibility of interpreting heritage seems like an approachable goal.

Therefore, proponents of digital technologies for heritage management argue that the use of these technologies diminishes the power of official academic gatekeepers, authoritative entities that impose linear narratives (Kalay, 2008, p. 6). Hence, "sharing" refers to shifting authority towards "non-authorized" narratives and their stakeholders, through the capturing and storing of data in accessible and affordable ways (Kalay, 2008, p. 2). I would argue, instead, that the new frontier that is described here is far from a clean slate, as it is value laden with top-down approaches that invite, facilitate, and mediate new constructions of heritage in authoritative ways nonetheless. On the one hand, it has been observed that digital approaches have the potential to harm indigenous peoples through new forms of appropriation and commodification (Brown & Nicholas, 2012). On the other hand, as suggested by the three brief case studies I present at the beginning of this chapter, digital technology initiatives may not have clear methods designed for the inclusion of alternative uses for heritage in relation to these technologies. Despite inclusive mission statements, the practice suggests that digital technology is expert led. As an offshoot of conservation practices, accused of showing a persistent attachment to "older paradigms of cultural history" value systems (Meskell, 2002, p. 568), the challenge of inclusivity for digital technologies may be more insurmountable than initially acknowledged.

The execution of multivocality in the digital age as a way of empowering a democratic access to heritage resources has been discussed critically in archaeological and heritage debates. For example, discussing the advent of new information technologies at the turn of the 20th century, Ian Hodder considered the decentralization of the discipline through new roles for archaeology and heritage that deliver new relationships between the producer and consumer of the resource (Hodder, 1999, p. 135), questioning whether the application of digital technologies in archaeology has led to a wider involvement of previously marginalized stakeholders. He concluded at the time that the introduction of new technologies was insufficient for the aims of reflexivity, contextuality, interactivity, and multivocality, unless they were aligned with broader changes in approach and work practice (Hodder, 1999, p. 127). More recently, Neil Silberman has argued that the use of "slickly produced multimedia representations of alternative voices" (Silberman, 2008, p. 138) in heritage presentations should not be confused with multivocality. He highlights the distinction between the appearance of voices and the ability of these voices to contest dominant narratives, questioning whether spaces and structures are created to promote the coexistence of potentially conflicting approaches and perceptions (Silberman, 2008, pp. 139–141). Silberman's argument refers to the pressures placed on a resource that is increasingly commodified and tied to economic concerns that favor coherent, easy-to-follow, and attention-grabbing content, things that true multivocality cannot and should not provide (Silberman, 2008, p. 141).

These critiques acknowledge a heritage economy that shapes the promotion of increasingly technological methods of documentation. As Tim Winter has effectively argued, the deployment of specialized techniques needs to be considered in the context of capitalist forces, as forms of expertise are "privileged by capital *and* at the same time enable the production of capital, promoting certain forms of heritage, memory and identity" (Winter, 2011, p. 76). As technologies are located within transnational and global corporations (Hodder, 1999), the argument reveals the way that digital technologies reinforce the centralization of power through established center-periphery relations, where technologically advanced regions provide technologies to marginal areas (e.g., Gillespie & Robin, 1989). As Hodder explains, this view considers the World Wide Web not simply as a sharing arena of interactivity that offers an accessible platform (Meskell, 1995), but as a source for expanding a commercial market through new technologies (Kroker & Weinstein, 1994), where information is mediated by information providers—a homogeneous "utopian" community of experts (Hodder, 1999; Kester, 1994). This critique claims that as theorization of new technologies legitimizes these according to the dominance of an existing elite (Hodder, 1999), more critical work needs to be directed towards the idea of "sharing" outside of these theoretical avenues. Democratization in heritage technologies needs to be discussed with the mobilization of the stakeholder at the center of practice, in distinct stages of the heritagescape, as it takes different forms in the production and the consumption of heritage resources.

Users: Stakeholders of a Digital Age

A point in these discussions that consistently lacks clarity remains the essential distinction between the co-creation of a heritage and the co-creation of its interpretation, without which the nature of engagement remains obscured—who is the user of digital technologies, and how does it want to use or reshape them? As the expert claims the inevitable position of shaping stakeholder engagement and, therefore, also shaping the stakeholder through theoretical debates, guidelines, and best practices, the hegemony of heritage methods remains unbroken, and stakeholders' abilities to coproduce remain mediated. A way of conceptualizing this crisis is to acknowledge the idea of "the stakeholder" as a continually mystified and problematic entity. In principle, the stakeholder is a key element for the operation of value-based heritage approaches, a positive turn in heritage decision making that opened the possibilities for a dialogue with alternative cultural heritage constructs beyond expert views, with particular application to the Western/non-Western encounter (i.e., the Burra Charter, Australia ICOMOS, 1999).

But in practice, I would argue that the stakeholder is shorthand for the "nonexpert stakeholder," used in such a way as to represent underrepresented voices in heritage management: "alternative" heritage constructs, "indigenous" voices, and "marginalized" group interests. However, an often downplayed fact of the stakeholder model is that this category also includes experts, governments, and academics, the same elite groups that are accused of establishing, perpetuating, and even

imposing gatekeeping policies and practices that give rise to uneven access to heritage knowledge production (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). It could be said that the challenge of adequately addressing the stakeholder in a productive way is inherent to the field of heritage studies, which is plagued with dichotomies of "us" and "them," the tension reflected between knowledge producers and knowledge consumers. John Carman and Mary Louise Stig Sørensen discuss the emergence of this dichotomy in the early discipline as one that identified the public, in opposition to the guardian state who educated it, as a monolithic audience whose perception of the landscape shaped—and was shaped by—a collective voicing of concerns for the fate of relics of the past (Sørensen & Carman, 2012, p. 15). This duality gave rise in the nineteenth century to the development of two forms of engagement with the past—an audience and a professional practitioner.

An uneasy dichotomy is evident in the use of "the public" as an entity that fails to make a distinction between the concept of an audience and stakeholder, an acknowledgement that would require distinct approaches in heritage guidelines and methods. In heritage site management practices, this unproblematized distinction is reflected in the way that "stakeholders" are conceptualized differently in stakeholder consultation and capacity building, practices that propose different levels of involvement despite aiming to be inclusive of the same underrepresented voice. A significant challenge that has been recognized in the theorization of heritage work is the lack of methodologies in place to evaluate and involve different forms of "local" interest and adequate approaches to reach a thorough understanding of long-term effects of heritage work (Hodder, 2003). When it comes to a horizontal exchange between professionals, and considering in particular the awkward position of the indigenous professional in these frameworks, the Western/non-Western encounter and exchange of expertise remain unevenly conceptualized. A position of Western dominance is reflected in the way knowledge is used and created within education and in transnational cultural heritage management (Smith, 1994; Hamilakis, 2004, p. 293). Addressing how this knowledge is created and transmitted, Laurajane Smith has argued that the governmentality of literature over-privileges intellectuals and the power of knowledge, leaving little room for the contestation of knowledge from outside the academy (Smith, 2004; Watkins, 2003). Likewise, Nick Sheppard has observed that an excessive reliance on theory in post-processual archaeology symbolizes the same retreat from society as the "scientificity" of New Archaeology (Shepherd, 2002, p. 80). In the case of heritage studies, one could say that this retreat is perpetuated and thrives in the promises of a technological elite.

The question of engagement is a dimension identified as a key challenge to the conception of digital heritage (Kvan, 2008, p. 305). But searching for true engagement requires a process of continual interpretation and reinterpretation to be in place, to transform a sense of interactivity into functional interactivity. A recent volume explores the way that social media reframes our understanding and experience of heritage by offering more participatory ways of interacting with heritage objects and concerns (Giaccardi, 2012a). Considering the significance of socially produced meanings and values and their producers, authors in this volume draw inspiration from discussions of participatory culture, one in which "not every member must contribute, but all must believe they are free to contribute when ready and that what

they contribute will be appropriately valued" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 7). As Elisa Giaccardi explains, this is the realm of the amateur, through diverse forms of expression and collaboration that are able to interweave memories, material traces, and performative enactments that give meaning and significance in the present to the lived realities of our past (Giaccardi, 2012b). In this model, institutions and audiences are one and the same, and everybody is or can be a knowledge broker in the construction and transmission of heritage value. What can be learned from the framework of participatory culture is that to reach the aims of multivocality is to eliminate the forced distinction between the "audience" and the "expert," a distinction that is reinforced in the critical literature of the digital era by claiming that the relationship will be improved, modernized, and better mediated.

For example, Google Earth has emerged as a powerful tool to address the scale of looting damage to archaeological sites (Contreras & Brodie, 2010). Rather than relying on expensive and exclusive satellite imagery for remote sensing, this approach presents itself as a highly accessible platform that necessitates little specialized skills to be operated. As it has been demonstrated, this approach helps not only locate looted areas, but also estimate the extent of damage, assess patterns of looting, and cross-reference with archival imagery to determine the antiquity and growth of looting behavior (Contreras, 2010). The availability of this platform gives rise to a new "armchair archaeology" (Young, 2013) that does not require advanced degrees, and benefits as an approach from thousands of users who may in fact discover and share previously unknown data. More significantly perhaps, it allows access to regions that are not safe or practicably accessible in order to conduct a survey of resources. But at the same time, this remoteness has come under fire, involving an ethical query on the application of this method that questions whether those being viewed are given a voice (Myers, 2010). It has been acknowledged that digital technologies have the ability to eliminate "conditioning" and "contextualizing" preconditions from the experience, rendering the performance of heritage more sterile and detached (Kalay, Kvan & Affleck, 2008, p. 8), but also engage in a process of detachment in the relationship between creators and users of knowledges and their embedded power structures.

This critique would suggest that digital approaches to those being viewed, then, remain extractive, a "unilateral situation" (Hollowell & Nicholas, 2009, p. 142), that privileges Western value systems at the expense of alternative engagements with heritage construction. The concern remains, across all methodologies used in heritage studies, the relinquishing of control that is proposed by different participatory approaches (Hollowell & Nicholas, 2009; Sørensen, 2012).

Discussion: A Heritage Technocracy?

> On the other side of the screen, it all looks so easy.
> Kevin Flynn (Tron, 1982)

A literature review of hi-tech conservation methods in 2006 suggests that technological approaches are losing touch with the simple aims of conservation

(Eppich & Chabbi, 2006), targeting an already informed and highly specialized professional elite that remains for the most part European. The authors' conclusion strikes as particularly problematic in consideration of the stated concerns of a digital era with regard to inclusivity and gatekeeping. But, as it was suggested in the opening vignettes, and throughout this chapter, accessibility to heritage construction is often lacking specificity of objectives, in particular in the way in which the beneficiary, or user, is accounted for within these aims. This discussion also asks whether there has ever been a shift in authority in heritage-related disciplines, considering the intensification of technological methods, and the direction in which they take the practices associated with heritage studies—towards further complexity of data.

A global digital age proposes wider access to heritage across borders, languages, and perceptions, but I would like to suggest that the problematic deployment of digital technologies for the study and management of heritage constructs does not stem from these postcolonial aims, but rather relates to two types of crisis within the field of heritage studies. On the one hand, there is a crisis of identity, as a discipline that balances qualitative and quantitative approaches, in the way in which it considers perceptive and technological objects and objectives, respectively. The role of social and cultural contexts in the creation and use of digital technologies is often presented as a secondary question to the feasibility of a method once created, a way to retrofit approaches in line with postcolonial aims. On the other hand, but on a related note, there is a crisis of positionality in the field, as a set of practices and knowledges that lives on in experts but at the same time questions the existence of expertise. It could be said that the stress on standardization within digital technology embodies this type of crisis, as it requires or promotes fixity and codification, moving away from relationality and diversity (cf. Hodder, 1999, p. 117). The high significance that precision has in the advancement and promotion of the digital era suggests that the role of the technical expert is paramount for making this era operational, running contrary to the promotion of multi-vocal nonexpert engagements.

Research on the use and effect of digital technologies is ongoing and hopeful, but needs to dissociate itself analytically from the discourse that highlights potential applications, mission statement, and institutional claims, in favor of actual influence on accessibility. Any analysis of the discourse and rhetoric that is circulated in association with these methods needs to be measured against the feasibility and practical application of modes of engagement that are specific to these methods. Allowing the emphasis to remain on positive futures for a technological era only obscures the reality of the way these methods are being put to work, and, by association, obscures the direction of expert models in the establishment of a powerful new order, a technocracy in heritage construction and management. This review of the current trajectory of a digital era strongly suggests that the traditional channels of authority in the discipline will not be easily redefined.

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Index

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