



THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF CONTEMPORARY HERITAGE RESEARCH

Edited by Emma Waterton
and Steve Watson



The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research

This page intentionally left blank

The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research

Edited by

Emma Waterton

Associate Professor, University of Western Sydney, Australia

Steve Watson

Professor, York St John University, UK

palgrave
macmillan



Editorial matter, introduction and selection © Emma Waterton and Steve Watson 2015
Individual chapters © Respective authors 2015
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-29355-8

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-45123-4 ISBN 978-1-137-29356-5 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137293565

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xvi
Heritage as a Focus of Research: Past, Present and New Directions	1
<i>Emma Waterton and Steve Watson</i>	
Heritage in the past	3
Heritage now and in the future	9
The volume's structure	11
Conclusion	14
Part I Heritage Meanings	
1 The Ontological Politics of Heritage; or How Research Can Spoil a Good Story	21
<i>Emma Waterton and Steve Watson</i>	
Dark figures of heritage	23
Heritage researched	25
Future directions	29
2 Heritage and Discourse	37
<i>Zongjie Wu and Song Hou</i>	
The notion of discourse	37
Heritage as discourse and discursive practice	39
Discourse analysis and the critique of heritage	41
Cultural discourses of 'heritage': Some alternative endeavours	43
Future trends in discursive studies of heritage	45
Concluding remarks	48
3 Heritage as Performance	52
<i>Michael Haldrup and Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt</i>	
Introduction: The uses of heritage	52
The 'performance turn'	53
Performances of heritage	55

Performances <i>at</i> heritage sites	58
Performances <i>with</i> heritage	61
Conclusion: A moderate stand on performance	64
4 Heritage and Authenticity	69
<i>Helaine Silverman</i>	
Heritage and authenticity in the nineteenth century	70
Authenticity in architecture becomes an international heritage doctrine	72
UNESCO, authenticity and intangible cultural heritage	75
Authenticity, heritage and tourism	76
Current research on heritage and authenticity	80
Implications of authenticity for local, national and international heritage policy	82
Conclusion	84
Part II Heritage in Context	
5 From Heritage to Archaeology and Back Again	91
<i>Shatha Abu Khafajah and Arwa Badran</i>	
Inventing archaeology	92
Fitting people into prehistory using the culture-history approach	93
Reinventing archaeology in the new world	97
New archaeology: Scientific, abstract, general and universal	98
The socio-political context: Humanizing archaeology and recognizing the ordinary	102
Conclusion	107
Acknowledgements	109
6 Heritage and History	113
<i>Jessica Moody</i>	
Introduction	113
Defining heritage, studying heritage	113
Defining history, studying history	114
Public History	115
The development of Public History	115
Heritage debates in Britain	117
History at war	119
The Enola Gay	120
2007 and the bicentenary of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade Act	121

What can history do for heritage?	123
Conclusion	125
7 Thinking about Others through Museums and Heritage	130
<i>Andrea Witcomb</i>	
8 Heritage and Tourism	144
<i>Duncan Light</i>	
A brief history of heritage tourism	145
Touring heritage: Making identities	148
Understanding heritage tourists	150
Conclusions: A future research agenda	153
9 Heritage and Geography	159
<i>Nuala C. Johnson</i>	
Geography and the heritage debate	162
Theorizing memory spaces	164
Space, memory and heritage	166
Nature, heritage and identity	167
Conclusion	170
 Part III Heritage and Cultural Experience	
10 Affect, Heritage, Feeling	177
<i>David Crouch</i>	
Introduction	177
Heritage journeys	178
Phenomenology and performativity	179
Affect, emotion, feeling	181
Affect, feeling, knowing: Heritage and spacetimes of heritage	185
Conclusions and ongoing reflections	187
11 Heritage and Memory	191
<i>Joy Sather-Wagstaff</i>	
Selected foundations	192
Memory in heritage studies: Selected theoretical issues and current key themes	194
Issues – history versus memory, container models for memory	194
Themes – difficult heritage: History, place, body and memory	195
Case studies: Memory, landscapes, embodiment, difficult heritage	197
Precipitants of re-memory through domestic material and visual culture	198
Heritage wiped clean?	199

Embodied memory versus monumentalism at Angkor, Cambodia	200
Into the future: Continuing and emerging directions	201
Acknowledgements	202
12 Heritage and the Visual Arts	205
<i>Russell Staiff</i>	
The visual arts legacy	206
Formalism	207
Iconography	208
Aesthetics	210
Modernism	211
The visual arts within contemporary heritage	212
Quotations and copies	213
The co-option of the visual arts as national heritage	214
Conclusion	215
13 Industrial Heritage and Tourism: A Review of the Literature	219
<i>Alfonso Vargas-Sánchez</i>	
State of the art	220
Analysis of the literature survey	225
Future directions	226
14 Curating Sound for Future Communities	234
<i>Noel Lobley</i>	
Field recordings, sonic heritage and sound curation	234
The International Library of African Music	236
The archive of BaAka music recorded by Louis Sarno	237
Pro-active sound archiving	237
Sound elicitation and case studies	239
The Sound of Africa series, the International Library of African Music and urban Xhosa communities	239
Developing sound collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum	242
Future directions for collaborative sound curation	244
15 Heritage and Sport	248
<i>Gregory Ramshaw and Sean Gammon</i>	
Connecting sport and tourism	248
Sport museums and halls of fame	250
Sports stadia and sporting venues	251
Heritage-based sporting events	252
Sport fantasy camps	253
Personal sport heritage journeys	254

Future directions in sport heritage	255
Conclusion	257
Part IV Contested Heritage and Emerging Issues	
16 Heritage in Multicultural Times	263
<i>Cristóbal Gnecco</i>	
(Un)defining what cannot be defined	265
Humanism, the market and governmentality: The multicultural faces of heritage	270
The fall of the house of heritage (as we 'know' it)	273
Coda: Brief gloss on a long UNESCO text	276
17 Cultural Heritage and Armed Conflict: New Questions for an Old Relationship	281
<i>Dacia Viejo-Rose and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen</i>	
An old relationship with new questions and dynamics	282
A two-way street: From protection to reconstruction and recovery	287
The arming and disarming of cultural heritage	289
Looking to a future imperfect: Intention and impact	292
Acknowledgements	294
18 Heritage and Globalization	297
<i>Rodney Harrison</i>	
Heritage and globalization	297
'World' heritage	298
<i>The 1972 World Heritage Convention</i>	301
Critical studies of heritage and globalization	304
Material-semiotic approaches to heritage: Actor-network theory, assemblage theory and governmentality theory	304
Heritage as design process, material intervention and global transformation	308
Future research directions	309
19 Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage	313
<i>John Giblin</i>	
Setting the parameters	313
Summary	315
Theoretical underpinnings	315
The post-colonial critique	315
The heritage critique	316
Discussion	317
Event	317

Site	319
Nation	322
Reappropriation, recycling and renewal	324
Conclusion	325
Part V Heritage, Identity and Affiliation	
20 Heritage and Nationalism: An Unbreachable Couple?	331
<i>Tim Winter</i>	
Antiquity and the nation	332
Imperialism, nationalism and classical glory	334
Enduring narratives	339
Acknowledgements	343
21 Heritage and Participation	346
<i>Cath Neal</i>	
Historic review of heritage practice	347
Background	348
The broader context	352
Why engage?	353
Participation	356
Localism and governmentality	358
Conclusion	360
Acknowledgements	362
22 Heritage and Social Class	366
<i>Bella Dicks</i>	
Introduction: From the Rhondda to Alnwick Castle	366
What is 'heritage' and what is 'class'?	368
'National heritage', 'the people' and nostalgia	369
Class, collective memory, place and industrial ruination	372
Objects, bodies, affect and performance	374
Visitor studies of class and heritage	375
Issues for the future	378
23 Of Routes and Roots: Paths for Understanding	
Diasporic Heritage	382
<i>Ann Reed</i>	
Defining diaspora	383
Diasporic travel to heritage centres	385
Pilgrimage tourism as ritual	387
Global flows and transnational heritage	389
Conclusion	393

24 Making Feminist Heritage Work: Gender and Heritage	397
<i>Anna Reading</i>	
A critical history of gendered heritage studies	399
Gender, heritage and representation	401
Gender, heritage and consumption	402
Gender, heritage curation and management	403
Gender, heritage, policies and protocols	406
New challenges for feminist heritage studies	407
Concluding remarks	409
Acknowledgements	410
Part VI Heritage and Social Practice	
25 ‘Thinkers and Feelers’: A Psychological Perspective on Heritage and Society	417
<i>John Schofield</i>	
The right to heritage	417
Thinkers and feelers	420
Extraversion and introversion	420
Sensation and intuition	421
Feeling and thinking	421
Judging and perceiving	422
The language of heritage	422
Conclusion	423
Acknowledgements	424
26 Heritage and Policy	426
<i>John Pendlebury</i>	
Introduction	426
Policy and policy analysis	427
Heritage policy	429
Heritage and economic policy	431
Heritage as social policy	433
Heritage and localism policy	434
Conclusion	437
27 Heritage, Power and Ideology	442
<i>Katharina Schramm</i>	
Conceptual and methodological approaches	443
Critical heritage discourse	445
Ideology, power and relationality: Shifting perspectives	448
Conclusion	453

28	Heritage Economies: The Past Meets the Future in the Mall	458
	<i>Steve Watson and M. Rosario González-Rodríguez</i>	
	The value of the past	460
	Discourse and practice	466
	Heritage in Seville	468
	A new cultural heritage: The Metropol Parasol	469
	Conclusion	473
29	Heritage in Consumer Marketing	478
	<i>Georgios C. Papageorgiou</i>	
	Introduction	478
	Consumer marketing context	479
	The power of the past	481
	Nostalgia and retro-marketing: Yesterday was better	481
	Reliving the past: Classic, vintage, old's cool	483
	Longevity and tradition: Time as the secret ingredient	485
	Operationalizing brand heritage for marketing purposes	486
	Conclusion	488
30	Heritage and Sustainable Development: Transdisciplinary Imaginings of a Wicked Concept	492
	<i>Robyn Bushell</i>	
	Sustainable development: Tipping, turning or connecting?	494
	Safeguarding the past/future	497
Part VII Conclusions		
31	Contemporary Heritage and the Future	509
	<i>Cornelius Holtorf and Anders Högberg</i>	
	Cultural heritage, the future and thought styles	510
	The future of heritage – do we care?	513
	Heritage for the future?	514
	From historical consciousness to future consciousness	517
	Conclusions	519
	Acknowledgements	521
32	Themes, Thoughts, Reflections	524
	<i>Steve Watson and Emma Waterton</i>	
	Eclecticism unbound	524
	A critical urgency	526
	A contemplation (and a little frustration)	528
	A conclusion	528
	<i>Index</i>	530

Figures and Tables

Figures

- 5.1 Processes through which material of the past becomes heritage 108
- 31.1 This image was designed by Jon Lomberg and photographed by Simon Bell in order to be sent on board the NASA space orbiter Cassini into outer space. Cassini left Earth in 1997 and is destined eventually to remain on Saturn's moon Titan. The image was intended to communicate human life on Earth (Benford, 1999, part 2; Lomberg, 2007). As it turned out, Cassini eventually left without the disc containing the image. Disagreements concerning copyright and corporate sponsorship made NASA drop the project in the final hour. Furthermore, the original image contained two nude twin children to show the two human sexes. Out of concerns over possible NASA censorship due to conflicting views about the appropriateness of nude images, two bathing suits were later painted on. Indeed, the present publisher Palgrave Macmillan insisted on the painted version of the image. Personal, social, cultural and ethical conflicts may, in fact, reveal more about human life on Earth than the original image placed on Cassini could ever have done. In that sense, the project succeeded after all. The people in the photograph are Dara Hamilton and Terry Tokuda (couple in distance), Derek McGuin (man pushing canoe); group shot, left to right: Carlos Cisco (seated boy), Sara Maika Nakano (girl twin), Leandra Rouse (adolescent girl), Nikolas Shin Nakano (boy twin), Fanny Collins Au Hoy (Grandmother Earth), Tane and Amber Datta (father holding girl), Marcus Weems (adolescent boy), Nancy and Breanna Marie Bellatti (mother and baby), Miles Mulcahy (standing man). Photograph by Simon Bell, reproduced with permission (simonbellphotography.com) 517
- 31.2 In 2007, visitors to the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm were invited to select contemporary objects as 'future memories'. Together with attached labels containing stories about their perceived significance in the present, the objects were first formally recorded and registered in the museum's database and then permanently 'incavated' inside the museum

courtyard in holes that had previously been excavated by other visitors. The intention was to inspire reflections in the present on objects from the past and in the future, how we remember previous times and how future generations will remember us. But the project was also meant as a provocation for the museum and heritage sector to reflect on their current practices, not least concerning the benefits they will offer to people in the future (Wahlgren and Svanberg, 2008). Photograph: Christer Åhlin, The Swedish History Museum, Stockholm 520

Tables

8.1	Number of tourist attractions in England, by category (2010)	148
13.1	Source titles	221
13.2	Language	221
13.3	Country of authors' affiliated institutions	222
13.4	Year of publication	222
13.5	Main disciplinary areas	223
13.6	Focus of papers	223
13.7	Countries where research has been carried out	224
13.8	Methodological approaches	225
17.1	Applying research insights	290
31.1	Examples of typical ways of reasoning about the future within the heritage sector	512

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge the time and effort that all our contributors have expended in the preparation of this volume and in meeting the deadlines that are inevitably imposed in such a process. We extend a special thanks to Helaine Silverman for allowing us to use her photograph of the Belle Époque fountain to accompany Part III, as well as to Simon Bell and Christer Åhlin for granting us permission to reproduce their photographs in Chapter 31. We would also like to thank Jenny McCall and Holly Tyler, our editors at Palgrave, for their support and endless patience. Finally, we are, as ever, humbled by the help and support of our colleagues and family members who have witnessed and endured our distracted state during the preparation of this book. We can only hope that the final result justifies the faith that everyone involved has put in us in our role as editors.

Contributors

Shatha Abu Khafajah is Assistant Professor at the Hashemite University, Jordan. She received her BSc in architectural engineering and Master's in Archaeology from Jordan University. Her PhD was obtained from Newcastle University in cultural heritage management; her thesis was on the documentation and conservation of architectural heritage in Jordan. Her research focuses on the meanings and uses of cultural heritage, sustainable development and cultural heritage, and the intersection between anthropology, archaeology, architecture and urban landscape in different contexts.

Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt is Professor of Human Geography and Head of the Department of Environmental, Social and Spatial Change (ENSPAC), Roskilde University, Denmark. He was formerly Professor of Planning at the University of Tromsø, Norway. His interdisciplinary efforts include research into mobility, place, regional development, tourism experience, cultural heritage and spatial designs. Books in English include *The Reflexive North* (edited with Aarsæther, 2001), *Performing Tourist Places* (with Haldrup et al., 2004), *Space Odysseys* (edited with K. Simonsen, 2004), *Coping with Distances* (2007), *Mobility and Place* (edited with Granås, 2008) and *Design Research* (edited with J. Simonsen et al., 2010).

Arwa Badran became interested in public archaeology, particularly with regard to museums as educational institutions, after working in field archaeology for a few years. She pursued higher education in museum studies at Newcastle University, where she read for an MA on building connections between museums and the public, and later a PhD on the introduction of museums in school curricula. She worked as Lecturer in Museum Studies at the Hashemite University in Jordan, contributing to the establishment and development of the BA degree in cultural heritage and museology, the first of its kind in the Middle East. She has also worked as a consultant for UNESCO-Amman, on projects related to heritage education, museums and youth. She is currently an independent researcher living in the northeast of England.

Robyn Bushell is Associate Professor in the Institute for Culture and Society and School of Social Sciences and Psychology at the University of Western Sydney. She holds a PhD from the University of Sydney in regional planning. Her research expertise is aligned with the goals of sustainable development, examining values-based planning and the relationship between heritage,

well-being/quality of life, community development and tourism. She has a strong international network and a close working relationship with lead heritage agencies in Australia and the UN, including being actively involved on several national and international advisory committees involved in policy formulation for the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), UNESCO, the UN-World Tourism Organization, the World Health Organization and ASEAN Secretariat.

David Crouch is Professor of Cultural Geography, Humanities, University of Derby. His research concerns ways in which we discover the feeling of being alive, particularly through our relations with space. His latest book, *Flirting with Space: Journeys and Creativity* (2010), unravels this concern through discussions both ethnographically empirical and theoretically explanatory across art practice and diverse participations in art; everyday life and things like doing tourism; belonging, disorientation and becoming; and spacetimes and performativity. The subjects of his research papers and books, some edited, include visual culture, the media, tourism; leisure/tourism geographies; ways of refiguring geography; and everyday abstraction. He frequently contributes to television and radio, including being producer of *The Plot* on BBC2, and is a regular exhibitor of his own artwork.

Bella Dicks is Reader in Sociology at Cardiff School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University. Her research is in the field of heritage, museums and culture-led economic regeneration. She is particularly interested in how places deal with the cultural and social dislocations accompanying deindustrialization and how regeneration strategies connect (or otherwise) with community members on the ground. Her 2000 book *Heritage, Place and Community* traces the processes through which a south Wales coal-mine was transformed into a 'living history' museum, while her 2004 book *Culture on Display* critically appraises the contemporary regeneration focus on the production of place 'visitability'. She also conducts research on regeneration in connection with the Wales Institute for Social and Economic Research, Data and Methods (WISERD), investigating localities, place, citizen involvement and 'co-production'. She is also an expert in digital qualitative methods and is the editor of *Digital Qualitative Methods* (2012).

Sean Gammon is based at the University of Central Lancashire within the School of Sport, Tourism and the Outdoors. He is widely published in the area of sport-related tourism, primarily focusing on customer motivation, nostalgia and heritage. He continues to contribute to the field of leisure, recently co-editing *Contemporary Perspectives in Leisure*, and is currently editing a new title: *Landscapes of Leisure: Space, Place and Identities*. His latest book is *Heritage and the*

Olympics: People, Place and Performance (co-edited with Gregory Ramshaw and Emma Waterton, 2014).

John Giblin is Head of the Africa Section within the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the British Museum. Before taking up this post he was a lecturer in the Heritage and Tourism group at the School of Social Sciences and Psychology and a member of the Institute for Culture and Society, University of Western Sydney, Australia. He completed his PhD, 'Reconstructing the Past in Post-Genocide Rwanda: An Archaeological Contribution', at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, following which he undertook a post-doctoral fellowship concerning post-conflict heritage in Western Great Lakes Africa at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg. He is also a committee member of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies. His current research interests include the post-conflict use of heritage and practice of archaeology in post-colonial contexts.

Cristóbal Gnecco is Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Cauca (Colombia), where he works on the political economy of archaeology, the geopolitics of knowledge and the discourses on Otherness. He is co-editor of the journals *Arqueología Suramericana* and *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*. He is co-editor, with Patricia Ayala, of *Indigenous Peoples and Archaeology in Latin America* (2011).

Michael Haldrup is Associate Professor in Performance Design and lectures on technology studies, mobility, tourism and cultural heritage. He is the former Director of Studies at Roskilde University's bachelor programme in humanities, technology and design studies and has published extensively on tourism, mobility experiences and cultural heritage. Publications include *Performing Tourist Places* (with Bærenholdt et al., 2003), *Tourism, Performance and the Everyday* (with Larsen, 2009) and journal articles and book chapters on these topics. He is currently directing RUCMUS – Centre for Cultural Studies, a joint initiative of Roskilde University and six major museums in Zealand, Denmark, to enhance research cooperation between university and museums. He is also interested in studying experience design in relation to museum exhibitions and cultural heritage.

Rodney Harrison is Reader in Archaeology, Heritage and Museum Studies at the UCL Institute of Archaeology. He has experience teaching, researching and working across the fields of cultural and natural heritage management in the UK, Australia and North America. His books include *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2013), *Reassembling the Collection* (co-edited, 2013), *Unpacking the Collection*

(co-edited, 2011), *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (2010), *The Heritage Reader* (co-edited, 2008) and *Shared Landscapes* (2004).

Anders Högberg is Associate Professor of Archaeology at Linnaeus University, Kalmar, Sweden. Previously he worked for several years as an archaeologist within the heritage sector. He has published extensively on public archaeology, community archaeology and different aspects of heritage studies. He also has a keen interest in prehistoric lithic technology, and has published studies on this subject as well as on the rise of behavioural modernity in present-day South Africa. Currently he works (with C. Holtorf) on a project about long-term communication concerning final depositories of nuclear waste. He is co-editor of the journal *Current Swedish Archaeology*.

Cornelius Holtorf is Professor of Archaeology at Linnaeus University in Kalmar, Sweden. He specializes in the role archaeology and archaeological sites play in the contemporary world, the archaeology of the contemporary world and questions of contemporary heritage management. He is the author of many papers and of the books *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas* (2005) and *Archaeology Is a Brand!* (2007). He has also been a senior editor of *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology* (2nd edn, 3 vols, 2012). He is currently working on projects about the archaeology of time travel and (with A. Högberg) about long-term communication concerning final depositories of nuclear waste. He represents Sweden on the ICOMOS International Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites and sits on the Advisory Board of the New Horizons Space Message Initiative.

Song Hou received his PhD from Zhejiang University, China, in 2014 and is currently a lecturer at the College of Foreign Languages, Zhejiang Normal University. He was a visiting scholar at the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida. His research interests include discourse studies, heritage studies and cross-cultural studies, focusing specifically on Chinese local, historical heritage discourses and their transformation in confronting the global heritage movement. He is a key researcher in several heritage research projects and author of a number of articles on heritage and discourse in peer reviewed Chinese journals.

Nuala C. Johnson is Reader in Geography at Queen's University Belfast. Her research focuses on nationalism and the politics of identity; public memory and monuments; literary spaces; and the historical geographies of science, particularly in relation to botanical gardens and botanical illustration. She is the author of *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance* (2003) and *Nature Displayed, Nature Displaced: Order and Beauty in Botanical Gardens*

(2011). She is the editor of *Culture and Society* (2008), *Companion to Cultural Geography* (2003) and *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Cultural Geography* (2013).

Duncan Light is Lecturer in the School of Tourism, Bournemouth University, UK. He has research interests in the practices and performances of heritage and cultural tourists, and the role of imagination and play in the tourism experience. He is also interested in relationships between tourism and national identities, and has explored this issue with particular reference to 'Dracula tourism' in Romania (a country he has visited regularly for the past 17 years). He is the author of *The Dracula Dilemma: Tourism, Identity and the State in Romania* (2012).

Noel Lobley is an ethnomusicologist, musician, DJ and sound curator. His research interests include the nature, history and contemporary relevance of ethnographic and commercial recordings of African music. Combining approaches from applied ethnomusicology, practical sound studies, DJ-ing and performance, his particular focus is on the potential relationships between collections of recordings and local musicians and communities, explored through the experience of sound and music happenings. He has extensive fieldwork experience researching with, and developing practical engagements and outcomes for, major archival collections of music from Southern Africa and the Central African Republic. He currently works as Research Associate at the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, where he is developing the museum's sound and music collections. He also teaches and lectures in both the Faculty of Music and the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Oxford.

Jessica Moody is Lecturer in Modern History and Heritage at the University of Portsmouth, UK. Her research focuses on the various ways in which people engage with the past, through heritage, public history, collective memory and commemoration. She has particular research interests in the memory of transatlantic slavery in Britain and the Atlantic World and in the representation and public engagement with dissonant heritage and difficult/traumatic histories. Her PhD (University of York, 2014, supervised by Geoff Cubitt) looked at the memory of transatlantic slavery in public discourse in the city of Liverpool from the nineteenth century to the present day. She also has a Master's degree in Cultural Heritage Management (University of York, 2008, supervised by Laurajane Smith) and has previously worked for National Museums Liverpool. She is a member of the Port Towns and Urban Cultures Research Group at the University of Portsmouth, and of the Gateways to the First World War AHRC engagement centre in the UK.

Cath Neal is a Research Fellow in the Department of Archaeology, University of York, where she is currently working on a multi-period landscape project in the Vale of York. Primarily a landscape archaeologist, she is focused on the intersection of natural and human processes and on Iron Age–Roman landscape development. Drawing upon experience gathered during two decades of work within the National Health Service and latterly a community archaeology project, she is particularly interested in ethics in archaeological practice and in the relationship between heritage professionals and the wider public.

Georgios C. Papageorgiou is Head of the International Tourism and Hospitality Management Department at Deree – the American College of Greece. Having completed studies in tourism business administration, tourism policy and management, and academic practice, he was previously Lecturer in Tourism at the University of Surrey and the Academic Dean of Alpine Center in Greece. His experience focuses on academic quality assurance and programme design in the areas of tourism and hospitality, and his research interests include tourism marketing, tourism policy planning and development, qualitative research methodologies, and the relationship between tourism and popular culture – in particular music, film and literature.

John Pendlebury is Head of School, School of Architecture, Planning & Landscape, Newcastle University. His research mostly falls within two broad themes. First, he undertakes historically focused work, principally on how historic cities have been planned in the past, particularly in the mid-twentieth century, considering how the historic qualities of such cities were conceived and balanced with modernizing forces. Second, he undertakes empirical and conceptual work on the interface between contemporary cultural heritage policy and other policy processes. His book *Conservation in the Age of Consensus* (2009) draws some of these themes together.

Gregory Ramshaw is based in the Department of Parks, Recreation & Tourism Management at Clemson University. He explores the social construction and cultural production of heritage, with a particular interest in sport-based heritage. His research has been published in numerous academic texts and journals, including the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, *Current Issues in Tourism* and *Journal of Sport & Tourism*. He is also the editor of *Sport Heritage* and the co-editor of *Heritage, Sport and Tourism: Sporting Pasts – Tourist Futures* (with Sean Gammon) and *Heritage and the Olympics: People, Place and Performance* (with Sean Gammon and Emma Waterton).

Anna Reading is Head of the Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries at King's College, University of London. She has played a leading

role in the developing field of cultural and media memory studies, including work on heritage, especially on gender. She is the author and editor of several books, including *The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust: Gender, Culture and Memory* (2002), *Save As... Digital Memory* (2009), *Polish Women, Solidarity and Feminism* (1992), *The Media in Britain* (1999) and *Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media* (1998) with Colin Sparks. She is Chair of the Board and a joint editor of the journal *Media, Culture and Society*. She has worked at the University of Lodz, Poland (1988–1989); University of Westminster and Imperial College (1992–1994); London South Bank University (1995–2010); and the University of Western Sydney, Australia (2011–2012). She also writes for the theatre, with seven of her plays having been performed in the UK, Poland, the US and Ireland.

Ann Reed is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of North Dakota, where she regularly teaches courses on ethnographic methods, culture theory and tourism. As a cultural anthropologist, she has carried out long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Ghana. Her research interests focus on heritage tourism, diasporic identity through travel, transnationalism and globalization, and political economy. She has published in the areas of diaspora and tourism, slavery heritage, and heritage sites and memory. In *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana* (2014) she examines Ghana's slavery heritage sites and Pan-African festivals. Although she continues to conduct research in Ghana and maintains theoretical interests in heritage and tourism, she has recently shifted her attention to the sociocultural impacts of the oil boom in western North Dakota and is interested in the broader theoretical implications of the interplay between energy resource extraction and culture change.

M. Rosario González-Rodríguez is Associate Professor at the University of Seville. Her research focuses mainly on cultural tourism and authenticity, efficiency and competitiveness in the hotel and intermediation sector, customer satisfaction, market segmentation analysis in tourism and strategies of promotion and advertisement, and measurement and analysis of the impact of tourism on the economy and society, among other topics. Other fields of research are related to strategy, corporate social responsibility and human values, electronic markets and online consumer behaviour. She is currently on the editorial board of the *Electronic Journal of Applied Statistical Analysis*.

Joy Sather-Wagstaff is Associate Professor of Anthropology at North Dakota State University and the author of *Heritage that Hurts: Tourists in the Memoryscapes of September 11* (2011). Her research and teaching focuses on the anthropology and heritage of disaster, genocide, war and death – the darker

sides of human heritage – specifically through the lenses of memory, landscape, affect, and museum and tourism studies. Her ongoing research addresses the role of tourism and the experiences of tourists at various September 11 memorials and commemorative exhibits, the Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum, and various similar institutions for conscience worldwide. She is also engaged in a collaborative project at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on the interactive installation *From Memory to Action: Meeting the Challenge of Genocide Today* and has begun work on atomic tourism and heritage resources economic development in the Northern Plains area of the US.

John Schofield is Head of the Archaeology Department at the University of York and Director of Studies in Cultural Heritage Management. He was previously an archaeologist with English Heritage, where his roles included heritage protection and policy, military heritage and landscape characterization. John is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, a Member of the Institute for Archaeologists and a Docent in Cultural Heritage, Landscape and Contemporary Archaeology at the University of Turku (Finland). He has published extensively in the fields of cultural heritage, archaeology of the recent and contemporary pasts, and the archaeology of conflict.

Katharina Schramm is Assistant Professor at Martin-Luther-University in Halle. She has published widely on the politics of memory, race and heritage in Ghana and beyond, mainly with regard to the representation of the slave trade and the homecoming-movement of African Americans. She is the author of *African Homecoming: Pan-African Ideology and Contested Heritage* (2010). She is the co-editor of *Remembering Violence: Anthropological Perspectives on Intergenerational Transmission* (2010) and *Identity Politics and the New Genetic: Re/Creating Categories of Difference and Belonging* (2012). She is currently working on a new book, provisionally titled 'Race/Trouble: Classificatory Violence, Genealogies of Knowledge and the Sciences of Human Origins in Post-Apartheid South Africa'.

Helaine Silverman is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Illinois and Director of the Collaborative for Cultural Heritage Management and Policy (CHAMP). She is a member of Forum-UNESCO and ICOMOS' International Scientific Committees on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) and Cultural Tourism (ICTC). Her research addresses the cultural politics of heritage production and management, tourism, economic development, and local and national identities. In addition to her own authored works, she is the editor of *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America* (2006), *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights* (2007), *Intangible Heritage Embodied* (2009), *Contested Cultural Heritage* (2011) and *Cultural Heritage Politics in China* (2013). She also directs two book series: 'Heritage, Tourism and Community' (Left Coast Press)

and 'Multidisciplinary Perspectives in Archaeological Heritage Management' (Springer & ICAHM). She serves on the editorial boards of *American Anthropologist*, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Heritage & Society*, *World Art* and *Thema*.

Russell Staiff is Adjunct Fellow at the School of Social Sciences and Psychology, University of Western Sydney. He researches the interface between cultural heritage, tourism and communities, with a special focus on Southeast Asia. He is also researching heritage and the visual arts and heritage and cinema. He is the author of *Re-imagining Heritage Interpretation* (2014), editor of *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (2013) and co-editor of *Travel and Imagination* (2014). He is an adjunct in the Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, where he teaches in the international postgraduate programme on architectural heritage management and tourism.

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen is Reader in Archaeology at the University of Cambridge and Professor of Bronze Age Studies at Leiden University. She coordinates the postgraduate study in 'Archaeological Heritage and Museums' at the University of Cambridge and has supervised several heritage PhDs. She has published widely, including on heritage and identity, heritage and conflicts, and heritage methodologies (e.g. with John Carman (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, 2009). She has been a partner on several international research projects, including as the PI on the EU FP7-funded project 'Cultural Heritage and the Re-construction of Identities after Conflict' (<http://www.cric.arch.cam.ac.uk/index.php>). She has recently added research on the influence of tangible heritage on perception of places to her earlier interest in the link between heritage and identity claims. She is a co-editor of a forthcoming volume on the long-term impact of war on heritage.

Alfonso Vargas-Sánchez is Full Professor of Strategic Management at the University of Huelva, where he heads its research group on tourism, named GEIDETUR. He is also the author of a number of papers published in journals such as the *Journal of Travel Research*, *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, among others. He is on the boards of a number of journals and Editor-in-Chief of *Enlightening Tourism*. He is Visiting Professor in the UK at the York St John Business School and the School of Business and Entrepreneurship of the Royal Agricultural University (where, in addition, he is a member of its Advisory Board), and at the University of the Algarve (Portugal), where he is also a member of its General Council.

Dacia Viejo-Rose is Lecturer at the University of Cambridge where she co-organizes the Heritage Research Group. When writing her contribution to this

volume she was a British Academy Post-doctoral Fellow at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. Her current research focuses on the nexus between violence and cultural heritage, exploring how the latter is used as an instrument of cohesion and division. She first became interested in the topic in 1997 while interning at the UN, pursuing it further while working at UNESCO (2000–2002). Her PhD from Cambridge (2009) was published as *Reconstructing Spain: Cultural Heritage and Memory after Civil War* (2011). She continued to build on this work as a researcher on the EU-funded project ‘Cultural Heritage and the Reconstruction of Identities after Conflict’ (2008–2012). She co-founded the Cambridge Post-Conflict and Post-Crisis group and is co-editor of a forthcoming volume on the long-term impact of war on heritage.

Emma Waterton is Associate Professor and DECRA Fellow based at the University of Western Sydney in the Institute for Culture and Society. Her research explores the interface between heritage, identity, memory and affect. Her current project, ‘Photos of the Past’, is a three-year examination of all four concepts at a range of Australian heritage tourism sites, including Uluru Kata-Tjuta National Park, Sovereign Hill, the Blue Mountains National Park and Kakadu National Park. She is author of *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (2010) and co-author of *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology* (with Laurajane Smith, 2009) and *The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism* (with Steve Watson, 2014).

Steve Watson is Professor in the Business School at York St John University, where he teaches a range of subjects, including cultural and heritage tourism. His research is concerned primarily with the representation and experience of heritage, especially through tourism, and he is active in the development of theory that explores the relationship between representational practices and the performative encounters and engagement of tourists with heritage places. He has explored these issues in Greece, Spain and the UK, and he has a particular interest in Spanish travel writing. His most recent book is *The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism* (with Emma Waterton, 2014).

Tim Winter is Research Professor of Cultural Heritage at the Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific, Deakin University, Melbourne. Most of his working day is spent trying to figure out how cultural heritage features in issues like nationalism, post-conflict recovery, sustainability, post-colonial identities and urban development. He has published widely on these themes and conducted research projects in a number of countries in Asia, including Sri Lanka, Cambodia, India and China. His recent books include *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage in Asia* and *Shanghai Expo: An International Forum on the Future of Cities*.

Andrea Witcomb is Director of the Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University and Deputy Director of the Alfred Deakin Research Institute. Her research interests range across the museum and heritage fields and are informed by theoretical, historical and professional practice concerns. She brings an interdisciplinary approach to her research, locating her work at the intersection of history, museology and cultural studies. Her work is driven by a desire to understand the ways in which heritage practices can be used to foster cross-cultural understandings and dialogue. As part of this, she is exploring the uses of immersive interpretation strategies in museums and heritage sites, the role of memory and affect in people's encounters with objects and displays, and the nature of Australia's extra-territorial war heritage sites. She is the author of *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* (2003) and, with Chris Healy, the co-editor of *South Pacific Museums: An Experiment in Culture* (2006). Her most recent book, co-written with Kate Gregory, is *From the Barracks to the Burrup: The National Trust in Western Australia* (2010).

Zongjie Wu is Professor and Director of the Institute of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies and principal researcher at the Centre of Intangible Cultural Heritage Studies, both located in Zhejiang University, China. His research cuts across multiple disciplines, with a focus on cross-cultural discourses in cultural heritage, history and education. He is currently working as a consultant to the World Bank for Confucius and Mencius Cultural Heritage Conservation and Protection Project.

Heritage as a Focus of Research: Past, Present and New Directions

Emma Waterton and Steve Watson

Heritage is a version of the past received through objects and display, representations and engagements, spectacular locations and events, memories and commemorations, and the preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption. Collectively, these 'things' and practices have played a central role in structuring and defining the way heritage is understood within academic debate, public policy and, subsequently, how it has been formalized as a focus of research over the last 30 years or so. Across this timeframe, the emphasis has undoubtedly changed from a concern with objects themselves – their classification, conservation and interpretation – to the ways in which they are consumed and expressed as notions of culture, identity and politics. More recently, heritage scholars have also started to concern themselves with processes of engagement and the construction of meaning, so that a *post-post-structural*, or more-than-representational, labyrinth of individualized, affective, experiential and embodied themes has started to emerge. As a consequence of these theoretical developments, the relatively long period of conceptual stability surrounding even critical notions of heritage is now starting to slip and disintegrate, with debates that we might have thought were finished now being revived. 'Authenticity', 'memory', 'place', 'representation', 'dissonance' and 'identity', examples of the sorts of concepts that have been challenged or refreshed as new modes of thinking, drawn and applied from the wider social sciences, have started to stimulate new theoretical speculation. As Tunbridge et al. (2013, p. 368) have cogently suggested, there is, as a result, 'even more need now for a rigorously defined intellectual core to heritage agreed across the disciplines involved'. These revived debates have not just circled around particular issues or case studies; rather, they have introduced doubt and uncertainty into our very understanding of *how* heritage ought to be defined and addressed, and with which tradition of research methodology. With this level of intellectual upheaval in mind, heritage studies might seem to be a somewhat unsettled and unproductive field to be in at present.

On the contrary, it is, instead, flourishing in its incompleteness, relishing the chance to rake over the coals and construct its own perspicuous criticisms from *within* – by those who are immersed in its projects. One of the implications of this emergent critique, of course, is that it is difficult to identify a specific heritage discourse without also signalling the theoretical orientation that is being employed from one of a number of academic disciplines, each with its own, often distinctive and evolving, research methodologies. Capturing this, along with something of the nature of heritage itself, is the object of this book.

It is worth considering the various theoretical and research-orientated antecedents surrounding the field before we move on; and we may as well nail our own colours to the mast in the process, as our thoughts on matters of theory and method have obviously influenced the way the book is framed. We should state upfront, then, that our concern lies with the idea of heritage as a cultural process and how it works as such. While we have no doubt that such reflections will have operational significance, we are less interested in the conventional objects of heritage *as objects*, except where these present useful or revealing case studies that might be relevant to both practitioners and scholars. Thus, for those with an interest in the more technical side of interpreting medieval buildings, plotting visitor movement around historic sites or creating more effective museum marketing, for example – all worthy and important avenues of exploration – we offer a candid invitation to search elsewhere. Instead, our focus rests upon the ontological complexities that surround heritage, despite their apparent rehearsal within the literature. For example, we are still interested in questions that drift towards interrogating what heritage *is* and what issues form its content. A harsher critic might point out that these questions have framed the heritage debate since it emerged in the 1980s, arguing that they now ought to form a kind of conceptual backdrop to current debates about heritage and how to research it, rather than putting them ‘front and centre’. Indeed, such concerns might seem abstruse to those whose job it is to enact heritage as a legislative, commercial or public-cultural activity. But we would argue otherwise.

As a case in point, one of the editors of this volume was recently challenged by an academic immersed in the ‘clipboard survey’ approach to do some *real* research: the supporters of such methods still bring their structural equations, modelling and factor analysis to conferences and, indeed, to books and journals. But ours, we think, is a context within which older debates about qualitative versus quantitative research are subsumed by a methodological mayhem that extends from sample surveys to autoethnography. This does not eradicate the need to ask what kinds of methods best serve the new theoretical developments in the study of heritage. For example, where do sample surveys and observation fit with notions of affect, embodied engagement, emergent meaning and the full raft of more-than-representational theory that is finally making

its presence felt? What challenges do these new directions pose? What can we keep from the past? What should we do in the future? All of this is undoubtedly important for scholars researching in the field, but it is also equally significant for operators and practitioners. It was this very context that seemed to us to offer an excellent opportunity to begin to outline heritage as a dynamic field of study and to produce a *Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* to chart its development. Within it, we hope we have captured as much as possible of the theoretical and methodological movement that is going on within and around heritage studies, as well as the diverse interests, disciplines and perspectives that currently define it.

Heritage in the past

Academic talk of heritage is nothing new. Defining what is meant by 'early research' within the field can, thus, be a daunting task. For us, a clear way to navigate this history is to think about how closely linked 'research' has been to considerations of the way the concept itself has developed, both in practice and in the broader social sciences. Nonetheless, it is still difficult to pin down a moment, or even a *period*, when research on or in heritage began, a point eloquently made by David Harvey (2001). It is, however, possible to earmark particular time periods and events that seem to have had the greatest influence on the development of the concept, academically and within wider social life. Certainly it is possible to infer an interest in heritage and protecting the past as early as the ancient Greeks, for example. Likewise, the instinct to hoard and collect has been with us for some time, too, from which we have long since extrapolated modernist accounts that aspired to shore up a nation's future by seeking recourse to a glorified past. Similarly, the strong nod towards heritage protection, emerging as early as the fifteenth century in Europe, can be used as an illustration of our collective interest in heritage as a society, with the formal documentation of this materializing in the writing, rewriting and implementation of a suite of national and international heritage policies, treatises, recommendations, charters, legislation and conventions in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries (Cleere, 1989; Blake, 2000, p. 61). Such texts include the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882 in England, the Federal Antiquities law of 1906 in America, the Regolamentoo of 1909 in Italy, the Oldenburg Monuments Protection Law of 1911 in Germany, the Loi du 31 Décembre 1913 sur les Monuments Historiques of 1913 in France and the first Nature Conservation Act of 1937 in Denmark (see Cleere, 1989). It is no accident that these management strategies emerged in tandem with the rise of nationalism, for they seek to demonstrate – in no uncertain terms – the endurance of a nation.

In terms of explicit heritage research and resultant publications, we can look to the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s as timeframes that seemed to trigger a

proliferating interest in the past – academically, politically and publicly. Earlier books on heritage are certainly of interest, too. Freeman Tilden's (2007) famously defining text, first published in 1957, is a good case in point. Framed on the basis of a funded project to study the principles and philosophy of heritage interpretation, in this case in the US National Park Service (NPS), this piece of research refers to that which is carried out by the interpreter to provide source material for site interpretation. Given its focus, it is difficult to describe this research as a reflection on heritage and its nature as social practice. All of that is assumed, and it is taken as read that there is a 'heritage' to be interpreted. In other words, Tilden's research was about what makes interpretation good, or better.

Perhaps understandably, subsequent research in heritage tended to develop in the shadow of related subjects such as museum studies, archaeology and tourism. In tourism, this was almost inevitable as heritage objects came to represent an authorized version of the past in places and spaces that were prepared for visitors. Museums, of course, became more and more a part of this practice. The focus was on tourists as visitors to heritage attractions, imagined as a specific category of tourist that has since become known as 'the cultural tourist'. But this occurred largely in the wake of developments outside the academy, a kind of cultural moment in the 1980s when, in the UK at least, heritage seemed to amount to an 'industry' (Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987). While these developments prompted a critical response from commentators and academics, everyone else basked in a cultural cottage garden, a past sealed off from the present by its representation as an achieved state, a refuge, perhaps, from more contemporary travails (Walsh, 1992; Brett, 1996). This critique did not emerge from those professionally and academically concerned with the stuff of heritage (see Uzzell, 1989) but, rather, from a broad range of social commentary and analysis that vivified the heritage debate to which reference has already been made. This happened in the 1980s, and it mainly happened in Britain, where a number of books variously explored the nation's experience – or possibly its obsession – with the past, expressed in everything from interior decorating to visiting country houses (presumably to be inspired by the interior decorating) (see Lowenthal, 1985; Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987).

Three important texts from the 1980s set the scene for this critique. The first was Patrick Wright's *On Living in an Old Country* (1985), an incisive account of the cultural context of the growing interest in heritage. David Lowenthal's scholarly volume, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), was the second of these volumes, which explored the nature and manifestations of the past as it was/is received in the present. More influential in the debate that followed was Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987), with its particular position on heritage as debased history, biased in favour of the values of the dominant classes and ultimately entropic. Elsewhere, we have collectively described this work

using the rubric of ‘theories of heritage’, by which we are describing that body of work that first prompted a move away from thinking about heritage as its *objects* towards an interrogation of its social and cultural *context* (Waterton and Watson, 2013).

Added to these three volumes are two anthologies on museology from the end of the 1980s which have also been significant and formative: Vergo (1989) and Lumley (1988) did much to stimulate debate around the nature and essential purpose of museum collections and display, and early research on museum visitors by Merriman (1991) has been equally influential. These contributors variously examined the transformations of museums into attractions and the nature of the artefactual display and even began to question the status of interpretation as a *fully achieved* account of the past. Merriman’s (1991) detailed survey of museum visitors’ motivations, for example, revealed implicit social class-based values in museum presentations and the exclusionary nature of much interpretation. Against these critiques, however, is Wright’s assertion that the sheer popularity of heritage attractions and activities cannot be ignored, arguing that ‘we should instead be considering whether all those millions can be so entirely mistaken in their enthusiasms’ (1985, p. 80). Lowenthal (1998) eventually expressed the critical debate cogently and concisely as an *antiheritage animus*.

The historical shaping of our ideas about heritage has also been affected and inevitably informed by certain social and political debates ongoing in Australia, the US, New Zealand and Canada – settler/colonial states – between Indigenous people, archaeologists and heritage managers (see Swidler et al., 1997; Zimmerman, 1998; McNiven and Russell, 2005; Smith and Wobst, 2005). As with the heritage debates in the UK, Indigenous agitations for control over their heritage emerged most vociferously in the 1980s within the context of repatriation debates and demands for the return of ancestral remains from museums across the world (McNiven and Russell, 2005, p. 6). These debates, while bringing with them obvious implications for the broader issues of human rights and social justice, also triggered new understandings of heritage, in terms of not only power, ethics, ownership and control (Smith and Waterton, 2009) but who, in fact, could be in a position to define and name it. They ushered in a new phase of thinking. Since then, the boundaries between archaeologists and heritage managers, on the one hand, and descendant/Indigenous groups, on the other, have shifted considerably, prompting a radical rethinking of how heritage ought to be understood, practised and managed.

As Olick et al. (2011) point out in the introduction to their reader on collective memory, this was a timeframe also rife with a range of identity politics that extended far beyond the settler/colonial context. Post-war sensibilities (or lack thereof), unsettled by the decline of nationalism, were rapidly unravelling away from the boundaries of traditional nation-states, and opening in their wake

'repressed identities' and 'unfulfilled claims' (Olick et al., 2011, p. 3), which in turn unleashed 'a culture of trauma and regret' within which heritage and the past came to play a central role. While easily linked with the commodification of nostalgia so disparaged by the likes of Hewison and Wright, this context was also responsible for the proliferation of the idea of heritage as a source of identity, control and meaning-making, themes which are powerful antecedents to the more recently emerging intangible heritage debates.

Research projects that were undertaken during this timeframe seemed to go one of two ways, and there duly appeared a considerable gulf between those who would explore the idea of heritage from perspectives based in operational practice and its supporting discourses and those who would seek to understand heritage, and indeed its discourse, as a form of cultural practice. This dichotomy has, in turn, generated two distinctive literatures, one orientated towards operational issues and the other replete with social theory and critical analysis, in which these same activities are subjected to relentless deconstruction. Examples of the first include Swarbrooke (1995), Hall and McArthur (1998) and Leask and Yeoman (1999), with perhaps Harrison (1994) providing the most comprehensive account of heritage and heritage tourism from an almost purely managerial perspective. As we have argued elsewhere, the concept of heritage here is only briefly examined before the discussion moves on, with almost unseemly haste, to matters concerned with visitor management and marketing. Where practitioners did employ theory, this was often done so as to facilitate meaningful encounters between the material of heritage and its intended audience (see Uzzell, 1998). For those scholars engaging with this sort of output, the primary concern remained with the practices of interpretation and the modalities of effective operations management, including marketing, finance, human resources, hospitality, catering and retailing.

Against this were ranged the voices of critical analyses, which have been somewhat diverse in disciplinary terms. Sociological, cultural, social geographical and anthropological thought began to develop and move into the area of heritage research. Examples of this questioning approach can be seen in the work of John Tunbridge (1984), Denis Byrne (1991), Laurajane Smith (1993), Stuart Hall (1999) and Graham et al. (2000), all of whom began to problematize what Rodney Harrison (2008, borrowing from Arjun Appadurai) has since labelled a 'predatory' way of thinking about heritage (see also relevant reflections on this approach in a recent issue of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19[4], which revisits the volume *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* [Graham et al., 2000]). This marked the starting point of what has burgeoned into a substantial critique, in which heritage was revealed to be a selective process, thereby prompting a focus upon issues of power, identity and control. In areas such as interpretation and museums, where a rigorous and informative critical analysis placed theory firmly within the domain of

practice, there was some progress in challenging established professional perspectives' notions of 'neutral' science (Uzzell, 1989, 1998; Merriman, 1991; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, 1997, 2000). Yet, as Moscardo noted in 1996, it was still possible to attend conferences and peruse papers that were unself-consciously technical and professionally orientated, and essentially atheoretical in terms of social and cultural analysis.

The heritage debate has continued to flex and flow since the 1980s and has gained considerable momentum over the past three decades. Perhaps one of the most influential themes to have impacted upon the field is that of 'community', along with its attendant tropes of participation, dissonance and identity (see Harrison, 2008). In some ways, this turn to 'community' can be conceived of as a consequence of broader public policy, evidenced in Britain, for example, by the influence of Tony Blair's fixation with John Macmurray's communitarianism (see Smith and Waterton, 2009). But this does not adequately account for the rise in interest in community heritage projects more broadly, witnessed by the wide-scale involvement in public history/archaeology projects in, for example, the US, Egypt, Australia and Britain (see Leone et al., 1987; Leone, 1995; Moser et al., 2002; McDavid, 2004). The popularity of TV shows such as *Who Do You Think You Are*, which is aired in Britain, the US, Canada, Australia, Ireland, Israel, Germany, Sweden, South Africa, the Netherlands, Denmark and Russia, serves as an excellent example of the prominence of gestures towards 'heritage' in popular culture, as do films such as *Titanic*, *Braveheart*, *Amazing Grace*, *Remains of the Day* and *The King's Speech*. As a consequence, work on community continues unabated in the field of heritage studies, a point exemplified by the emergence of new issues dedicated to this theme within prominent journals (see the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2010, volume 16, issues 1 and 2, for example). This work continues to push for explorations of: the relationships between archaeology and heritage; the relationships between history and heritage; different notions of knowledge; national heritage versus local heritage; the role of memory and oral history; and the role played by heritage within contemporary public policies, particularly those concerned with multiculturalism and national cohesion.

In a similar vein, commodification, perhaps extended into notions of economic development and still opposed to authenticity, continues to exercise the minds of scholars and practitioners alike, especially in debates about where it 'resides'. And, in standing in opposition to authenticity, commodification is perceived to do bad things to heritage; yet the connections are too complex to write off in a good/bad dichotomy of aesthetic or connoisseurial judgement. David Lowenthal (1985) recognized this in the early years of the 'heritage debate'; so too did Graham et al. (2000) in later years. Lowenthal (1985) argued that authenticity was too slippery a concept to honour as a thing in itself, separate from its surroundings and contexts. Those surroundings, of course, include

the commodified/marketized worlds of popular culture, tourism, shopping in the mall and the cultural quarter, the tradition that seeps into everything in the culture of a place like Britain, from the protocols of its legal system to the jam in its sponge cakes.

And so the critique of commodification is as naïve as it is pointless, not because it opposes authenticity, but because it employs it. Authenticity itself, of course, has become commodified. It is a value that people seek, and, where it appears to have been trampled underfoot, it is dextrously staged, as Dean MacCannell (1976) reminded us some time ago. But authenticity commodified is authenticity essentialized, and as such its symbols can be limited; they need not be extensive to activate the necessary semiotics. Through them authenticity is easy to simulate, to the extent that commodification produces the very essence of authenticity in Baudrillard's (1994) third-stage simulacra, which are nothing if not commodities, bought and sold for the value they have in the eyes of the beholder, as a faithful copy of something that never existed. But perhaps commodification as a concept is as worn out as authenticity. Commodities are not the basis of exchange in the heritage economy. The coffee you sip in the Piazza San Marco in Venice is more than an infusion of the coffee bean; it is more than a complex product of the tourism industry; it is an experience writ large around you, keenly felt. And, if you have any doubts that it is more than a commodity, you will find the evidence in the bill.

We are all judges of authenticity, and where it resides is ultimately less important than where we find it. We are just as likely to feel it in the commodifications of an 'olde worlde' teashop or a theme park as in an unearthed object cleaned up, selected and displayed by an expert for our pleasure. Heritage commodified or, better still, objects and experiences that are valued in the heritage economy have no special claims to authenticity because they do not need them in order to qualify as such. The commodification of heritage is really no more than heritage revealed as a social practice.

However glibly we review them here, these terms, 'identity', 'community', 'authenticity' and 'commodification' among others, remain dominant themes within the literature. Contested heritage or heritages still generate dissonance and competing 'truths', and cultural heritage resources are still managed and made the subject of policies at various levels of government. Supra-national organizations still seek to preserve and protect, with intangible heritage now added to the list, and tourism has never been far from the centre of debate. Each of these topics has generated its own literatures and research agendas, as well as points of issue and debate. Occasional culminations have been achieved, some of which have lasted for some time as established wisdoms. Indeed, by the turn of the century some features of the heritage debate seemed axiomatic. There was a kind of Foucauldian impulse around analysing the power to define and represent, bolstered by established methodologies based on discourse analysis

that could be applied to a range of texts already available for scrutiny. Combining these features enabled an analysis of heritage itself as a discursive realm that ordered its representations around hegemonic sociocultural themes, including national identity, social cohesion and the power-relational values of dominant groups. For Tunbridge et al. (2013, p. 369), in a very open reappraisal of their influential text *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (2000), this is the 'master theme' that, while present in 2000, has developed in the years since the book's publication and has prompted an increasing focus on discursive formulations of heritage that have now become 'the compelling direction of progress in our field'. Heritage was brought into the present. Its objects – its *things* – gave substance to its ideals, and proved that they were real. They did secret work, beyond their material significance and beyond their aesthetic value, to create an illusion of one past, among a possible many (Watson and Waterton, 2010). Smith's (2006) *Uses of Heritage* has been pivotal to the development of this critique, creating a boundary moment after which any claims for the inherent value of objects became suspect; heritage itself became a dominant discourse, not so much about the past, but certainly about the present. What this history suggests, then, is that there are multiple understandings of heritage, the depth and breadth of which can be emphasized by even the briefest of historical tours. The core topics within the heritage debate are still, however, very much with us.

Heritage now and in the future

While it is not yet clear how the research agenda will change as a result of this movement, it has given expression to a more critical approach to the subject. To be sure, scholars engaging with the subject of heritage today are experiencing one of those periods when paradigms shift, when the kinds of issues outlined above are again examined (sometimes as if they had never been examined before) and placed on the table for dissection. We can point to at least two recent issues of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* to support this: 19(4) and 19(6), which examine the very notion of a 'critical' heritage studies. At the same time, there are other movements, shifts in theory and practice that change what constitutes research in the first place. The ubiquitous survey, for example, is challenged by more qualitative approaches and more imaginative encounters between the researcher and the researched. A bricolage, an autoethnography, listening to other voices, discourse analysis, the visual, each of these is used to create a more meaningful notion of heritage, developing a conceptualization that would not previously have 'counted'. We might, then, discern a number of themes that would be relevant for a book of this sort. For example, it is necessarily eclectic and touches on a great many things that perhaps we would not have thought about 30 years ago. Heritage forms in moments of engagement,

it emerges *in situ* and, as it does so, it raises questions about inter-subjectivity and shared meaning. Its politics may be milder, less structured and more personal, and this, in turn, raises questions about power and the power to define. Engagement engenders affect (not just emotion), and affect evokes feelings of something or other in those moments of engagement, cultural moments of being there, found and embodied.

As a survey of 'where heritage is now', this volume attempts to touch upon all of these things, but, for the sake of structure and coherence, it has been organized into seven parts, representing what we see as key themes that underwrite much that passes for contemporary heritage research: (I) Heritage Meanings; (II) Heritage in Context; (III) Heritage and Cultural Experience; (IV) Contested Heritage and Emerging Issues; (V) Heritage, Identity and Affiliation; (VI) Heritage and Social Practice; and (VII) Conclusions. Each of these parts contains a number of chapters that explore a variety of contributions salient to that theme, penned by a diverse and multidisciplinary collection of authors from around the world. Yet, though we canvassed a range of disciplines when planning and selecting contributions for the volume, there is an inevitable leaning towards the humanities and social sciences. Having said that, the volume does bring together an impressive array of perspectives from archaeology, anthropology, human and cultural geography, sport and tourism studies, heritage studies, museum studies, ethnomusicology, environmental management, history, hospitality management, cultural studies, media studies, economics, art history and business administration. These are contributions that are newly written – rather than previously published – by colleagues at various stages of their careers. We were fortunate to secure essays from authors who have already contributed a great deal to the field, as well as from those who are only just beginning to stake a claim upon its territories. This sort of mixing of established scholars and emerging voices has enabled us to collect together an erudite set of perspectives that will have much to offer, both now and in the future. We approached each contributor with the same request: to (1) critically reflect upon the current state of research and (2) point to some future directions in terms of theoretical and methodological approaches to heritage. What we received were contributions that did both, while at the same time establishing new spaces for dialogue across and between disciplinary barriers, as well as between academics and practitioners. Collectively, our contributors also encourage what we hope is a rigorous reflection upon the implications research findings can, and do, have for a range of policy developments. The volume is a beginning, then, or a starting point, rather than an ending.

During the course of compiling the volume, we made no attempt to provide our authors with a 'working definition' of heritage. Such a ploy, while editorially convenient, would have been difficult to implement and impossible to enforce. In any case, we made a virtue out of necessity and allowed them to

find their own way through that particular maze. The virtue lies in the richness and variety of the essays that resulted, and how this spectrum in itself reflects the diversity of the discourse that heritage studies, as an academic field, contains. We are aware, however, that in this diversity there are also inconsistencies – in terms of both concept and application. While this might be seen as a drawback, a weakness, a source of fault lines and theoretical schism, we are (perhaps surprisingly) rather relaxed about it. We did not set out to unify theories or stitch together the clashing colours of a vibrant debate. On the contrary, we are content in what this diversity reveals about the nature of contemporary heritage thinking and research. We are not, therefore, too alarmed when materialist approaches are found next to critical analyses rooted in novel theories. Such differences simply illustrate the state of things, which is precisely what this book was intended to do. That said, such differences in the style and focus of these essays frankly surprised us: we expected a plainer fabric, marked by variations in context rather than concept and method. But we are pleased by what this has revealed about contemporary heritage research. There are many loose ends and knotty problems, and students and researchers will find a great deal left to explore and challenge within them as a result.

The volume's structure

In order to gain some sort of editorial control over the 32 contributions that make up this volume, we have organized them into seven discrete parts. Part I sets the scene with chapters that explore and challenge the meanings of heritage. Although we have no single chapter that stakes out a definition of the term, what we do have are explorations that touch upon the *problem* of definition via solid explorations of some of the key concepts that have not only shaped heritage debates over the last 30 years but which have also come to challenge and supersede them. Discourse, authenticity, performance and method: all have constituted a bedrock of heritage meaning upon which much research has focused. Considerations of heritage as a discursive system, for example, are no longer hard to find, with numerous analyses emerging that are based not only on representations but on the performativity that defines engagement with it. For us, then, it was important that this opening part took account of *both* sides of representation, including the sense in which heritage meanings are constructed by those for whom representation is practised. Both 'discourse' and 'performance' are thus given due attention in this opening part, as is the recurring concept of authenticity. The part concludes with an account of heritage research methods, especially those that might be called upon to address these topics in a changed theoretical world where conventional meanings find themselves in flux.

Part II examines the various contexts from within which heritage emerges as an active cultural process. It begins from the premise that heritage is found in

a wide variety of contexts linked with the way the past is known, represented and received. Some of these, such as archaeology, are almost conflated with heritage, as can be seen in terms like 'archaeological heritage' and 'archaeological heritage management' (Waterton and Smith, 2009), but it is important here to define boundaries: when, for example, does archaeology become heritage, and why? Heritage also has an enduring and uneasy relationship with history, and, while authors such as Lowenthal (1998) and Brett (1996) have attempted to disentangle or even reconcile them, they are clearly related at many levels: does heritage respect history, or abuse it? And does history have any greater claim to the past? Linked here are the social and cultural spaces afforded by museums, which also have a place in providing a richly visual context for heritage to be constructed and encountered. Likewise, heritage as a built environment is often a key facet for understanding its role within the tourism industry, with the emphasis of the latter on visibility and its attendant rituals of sight-seeing and photography. Our contributors talk in terms of the visibility of heritage here not only in its obvious iconography, but as an essential component of the spatial transformations and place-making that provide foundations for cultural tourism, and the marketing and promotion of specific places and place identities. This visibility of landscapes has an obvious touristic context, but it goes beyond tourism into the realm of affective and embodied engagements: how heritage tourism sites are experienced and felt, what they mean and how they affect us are modes of address that are strongly intersected with heritage. These latter concerns with affective and embodied engagements have been informed in most pronounced ways by theorizations emerging from human and cultural geography. As such, the part closes with a close consideration of the ways heritage and geography commingle, paying particular attention to the conceptual frameworks developed within geography to interrogate the relationships between heritage and place-based identity politics.

Part III deals with heritage as a cultural experience and covers some of the more recent theoretical advances in accounting for the nature of heritage as an element of culture. Each chapter within this part introduces the idea that heritage experiences may be constructed outside the realm of representations and within moments of subjective, or inter-subjective, engagements. This is not so much to challenge wholesale the significance of representational practice, but to give further emphasis to the other side of representation: the response of the subject and the centrality of subjective responses in heritage engagements. Its chapters focus on the nature of heritage as both a received cultural experience and one which is subjectively constructed, reconstructed, emergent in situ, modulated by affect and bodily immersive. Our purpose in introducing a part that carries this sort of focus is to allow heritage to move into the realm of the 'everyday', conceptualized as something that is subjective and always in the process of 'making', and faces, head-on, many of the new challenges currently

animating the field. In more specific terms, this part contains chapters that deal with heritage in relation to other cultural constructs such as music, sport, the visual arts and memory. Collectively, this part attempts to draw into the mix a raft of experiences and encounters that are more often than not absent from conventional textbook approaches to heritage, and certainly from public policy documents.

Heritage has always been a locus of contested verities, and some of the earliest influential theoretical contributions dealt with the issue of dissonance (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Part IV explores these issues in the context of current theoretical and critical debates that extend an interest in politics, power and control, in particular with reference to accounts of assimilation and appropriation as mobilized in struggles for human rights and social justice, often taking place within a post-conflict and/or post-violent context. Of course, these conflicts patently do *not* only occur in places scarred by recent conflict. As such, a central focus within this part is on those political approaches that amount to either explicit or more implicit attempts to assimilate minority groups – particularly immigrants – into mainstream society by creating and affirming accessible public cultures. This part thus contains chapters which explore emerging policies as well as on-the-ground case studies, particularly those that bring to the fore the revelation that heritage in conflicts and *in conflict* remains a vital debate in accounts of contemporary culture. Indeed, the emblematic and symbolic value of heritage continues to place it at the forefront of conflict of all kinds. In wars, revolutions, civil tumult and religious conflict, heritage is defined, constructed and destroyed, usually by the winners. But at each turn its symbolic value is variously celebrated and challenged, a rallying call, a locus of resistance and opposition, a symbol of dominance and of subjugation, objects to be venerated or destroyed. If the social and cultural significance of heritage is ever doubted, its contested nature should be sufficient to underline its centrality in international relations, politics and social change.

Part V extends these debates with a series of chapters that examine heritage, identity and affiliation, constructs that mobilize heritage not only in terms of its visibility and representations, but also in relation to elective and emotional states of being. Identity is perhaps one of the longest-serving concepts within the field: this is the case whether we are thinking in terms of research, policy or popular engagements. Yet it is a concept that remains unsettled and yet to be tamed. For this reason, we have retained it as an overarching term, one which can be traced through the ways in which heritage is ‘used’ in the construction of identities at local, national and supra-national levels. Heritage and nationalism, for example, are associated through their essentialisms and their dependent reciprocities, as well as their capacities to incite and afford affiliation and feelings of belonging, but does the same apply to social class, ethnicity and gender? What aspects of heritage support such identities and affiliations, and

to what extent are they challenged in the realm of subjective experience? The chapters in this part explore the direct and more subtle relationships between heritage, identity and affiliation, and examine the role of representation and affect in realizing these.

The book's penultimate part (Part VI) explores the role of heritage as it is employed in a very direct way in social, political and economic contexts, or social practice. The important issue here is the way heritage articulates with society, with national and international policies, for example, in many ways crystallizing the social, cultural and economic significance of heritage. The fact that it underpins local and national identities, creates 'imagined communities' and expresses unified and cohesive narratives of national pasts is recognized in legislation and institutional structures that seek to use heritage to reproduce these narratives. At a micro-level, it is also seen as a basis for community development and an easy locus for the development of shared perceptions and values. There is much to be gained, therefore, in giving official sanction and support to notions of the past that create social cohesiveness and in protecting and displaying those objects that are emblematic of it. But, while the development of policy around heritage is functionally linked to the cultural value evinced in previous sections, the chapters in this part also explore the ways in which it is mobilized in a very direct way in the service of economic development and consumption. How and why do supra-national bodies, nation-states and the local state create heritage policy? How is it enacted, and what broader social and economic movements does it represent? These are the sorts of questions that are considered by the contributors whose essays are collected within Part VI, but are further pushed to their limits by our final two chapters captured within Part VII (Conclusions).

Conclusion

In these opening pages, we have endeavoured to make clear statements about the state of our thinking when coming to design and organize this book, with the ultimate aim of presenting a collection of essays that represent key historical and current debates within the field. This volume is, thus, our attempt to account for as broad an understanding of heritage as possible, encompassing advances in heritage theory, heritage tourism, forms of heritage from built to intangible, dark heritage, colonial heritage, working-class heritage, natural heritage, geographical heritage, historical heritage and so forth. Although the programmatic bracketing of heritage into the discrete thematic chapters that follow is in many ways prescriptive, this is, alas, an issue that comes with the territory of creating edited volumes.

One of our most important aims has been to demonstrate the shift currently afoot that is moving the field from heritage studies to *critical* heritage studies.

This is not, then, a book about where heritage has been or a simple reprise of the 'heritage debate', its theoretical concerns and foci over the last decades. It is, rather, a statement of how things stand now, and where they may be going in the future. There is much to engage us here, as students, theoreticians and practitioners. It is no longer sufficient to critique conventional heritage topics from within the canon of heritage literature. On the contrary, it is time to expose them to the light of theoretical debate from the wider social sciences and from wherever these insights emerged. Our job in this book is to present the work of the various contributors in ways that create new and refreshing thinking around both old and newly emerging issues. We hope, therefore, to establish benchmark theory that not only commands a critical survey of current thinking, but also lays the foundations for new theoretical directions and future development. We are convinced that this is necessary, and we intend that what follows should demonstrate not only that need, but also the possibilities that it brings forth.

References

- Baudrillard, J. (1994) *Simulacra and Simulation* (Trans. S. F. Glaser) (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press).
- Blake, J. (2000) 'On Defining the Cultural Heritage', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 49, 61–85.
- Brett, D. (1996) *The Construction of Heritage* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- Byrne, D. (1991) 'Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management', *History and Archaeology*, 5, 269–76.
- Cleere, H. (1989) 'Introduction: The Rationale of Archaeological Heritage Management' in H. Cleere (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World* (London: Routledge), pp. 1–19.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (London: Arnold Press).
- Hall, C. M. and McArthur, S. (1998) *Integrated Heritage Management* (London: The Stationery Office).
- Hall, S. (1999) 'Whose Heritage? Unsettling "The Heritage", Re-Imagining the Post-Nation', *Third Text*, 46, 3–13.
- Harrison, R. (ed.) (1994) *Manual of Heritage Management* (London: Butterworth Heinemann).
- Harrison, R. (2008) 'The Politics of the Past: Conflict in the Use of Heritage in the Modern World' in G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. H. Jameson and S. Schofield (eds) *The Heritage Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 177–90.
- Harvey, D. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7, 319–38.
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry* (London: Methuen).
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992) *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge).
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1997) *Cultural Diversity: Developing Museum Audiences in Britain* (London: Leicester University Press and Cassell).

- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000) *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge).
- Leask, A. and Yeoman, I. (1999) *Heritage Visitor Attractions: An Operations Management Perspective* (London: Cassell and Company).
- Leone, M. P. (1995) 'A Historical Archaeology of Capitalism', *American Anthropologist*, 97(2), 251–68.
- Leone, M. P., Potter, P. B. Jr and Shackel, P. A. (1987) 'Toward a Critical Archaeology', *Current Anthropology*, 28(3), 283–302.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lumley, R. (ed.) (1988) *The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* (London: Routledge).
- MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- McDavid, C. (2004) 'From "Traditional" Archaeology to Public Archaeology to Community Action' in P. A. Shackel and E. J. Chambers (eds) *Places in Mind: Public Archaeology as Applied Anthropology* (New York: Routledge), pp. 35–56.
- McNiven, I. and Russell, L. (eds) (2005) *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira).
- Merriman, N. (1991) *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public in Britain* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).
- Moscardo, G. (1996) 'Mindful Visitors: Heritage and Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2), 376–97.
- Moser, S., Glazier, D., Phillips, J. E., Nasser el Nemr, L., Mousa, M. S., Aiesh, R. N., Richardson, S., Connor, A. and Seymore, M. (2002) 'Transforming Archaeology through Practice: Strategies for Collaborative Archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt', *World Archaeology*, 34(2), 220–48.
- Olick, J. K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V. and Levy, D. (eds) (2011) *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Smith, C. and Wobst, H. M. (eds) (2005) *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonising Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (1993) 'Towards a Theoretical Framework for Archaeological Heritage Management', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 12(1), 55–75.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. and Waterton, E. (2009) *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology* (London: Duckworth).
- Swarbrooke, J. (1995) *The Development and Management of Visitor Attractions* (London: Butterworth-Heinemann).
- Swidler, N., Dongoske, K. E., Anyon, R. and Downer, A. S. (eds) (1997) *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira).
- Tilden, F. (2007) *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 4th edn (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press). <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/8034948?selectedversion=NBD42096205>
- Tunbridge, J. E. (1984) 'Whose Heritage to Conserve?: Cross-Cultural Reflections on Political Dominance and Urban Heritage Conservation', *Canadian Geographer*, 28(2), 171–80.
- Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage, The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (London: John Wiley & Sons).

- Tunbridge, J. E., Ashworth, C. J. and Graham, B. J. (2013) 'Decennial Reflections on A Geography of Heritage (2000)', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(4), 365–72.
- Uzzell, D. (ed.) (1989) *Heritage Interpretation*, Vols. 1 and 2 (London: Belhaven).
- Uzzell, D. (1998) 'Planning for Interpretive Experiences' in D. Uzzell and R. Ballantyne (eds) *Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretations* (London: The Stationery Office), pp. 232–52.
- Vergo, P. (ed.) (1989) *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books).
- Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past, Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London: Routledge).
- Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (2009) *Taking Archaeology out of Heritage* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press).
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2013) 'Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 546–61.
- Watson, S. and Waterton, E. (2010) 'Reading the Visual: Representation and Narrative in the Construction of Heritage', *Material Culture Review*, 71(Spring), 84–97.
- Wright, P. (1985) *On Living in an Old Country* (London: Verso).
- Zimmerman, L. (1998) 'When Data Becomes People: Archaeological Ethics, Reburial and the Past as Public Heritage', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 7(1), 69–88.

Part I

Heritage Meanings



1

The Ontological Politics of Heritage; or How Research Can Spoil a Good Story

Emma Waterton and Steve Watson

Criminologists, perhaps more than other social scientists, are much exercised by the extent of what they do not know. Theirs is a field dominated by the efforts of the controlling state and its law enforcement apparatus to record criminal behaviour in all its myriad forms, gleaning information that is then used as a basis for policy-making and the allocation of resources to further that end. Important stuff, of course; but it does mean that the study of crime has become more than usually obsessed with the dichotomy of ‘presence’ and ‘absence’ in its thought world. It is well known, for example, that recorded crime is the tip of an iceberg, the remainder of which is made up of a bulky and submerged ‘dark figure’ of unknown and unknowable criminal enterprise, as set out in the well-cited paper ‘On Exploring the Dark Figure of Crime’ by Biderman and Reiss (1967). And then there is the issue of what constitutes crime in the first place, a phenomenon that appears to be bounded more by legal codes than any deeper ontology, and which therefore begets attempts on the part of criminologists to find a better way of describing... what? Law-breaking? And how does that make us judge the law itself? Or is it about deviance, lawful or otherwise?

It might seem odd to commence a chapter about heritage research with a reference to criminology, but, as ever with heritage, there is much to be learned from its connections with other disciplines in the social sciences. What we borrow from criminology is the idea of a ‘dark figure’ of heritage – those practices and experiences that lie beyond its conventional, official, touristic, popular or commercial manifestations: in other words, its *good stories*. Our concern with this is informed by the idea of an ‘ontological politics’, or the recognition that in the definition of what constitutes heritage – and, by extension, heritage research – there are various expressions of definitional power. Sometimes these are ‘hard’, as in the form of ideological constructs that are exclusive of other understandings or meanings, and sometimes softer, in the form of received wisdoms, accepted practices, habits. While we have come to this concern with ontological politics via various detours through other fields (see, for

example, Mol, 1999), it is from this perspective that our interest in the presence/absence dichotomy that defines heritage – in both commonsense and academic research – emerges. John Law (2003, p. 3) perhaps best summed up this dichotomy when he argued:

In post-structuralism presence by itself is impossible: presence *necessitates* absence. In research practice this suggests that some things (for instance research findings and texts) are present but at the same time other things are being rendered absent. But what? The answer is: two *kinds* of things. One: whatever we are studying and describing, our object of research. And two, other absences that are hidden, indeed repressed. Othered.

(Emphasis in original)

Where, we might ask, is the ‘dark figure’ of heritage, and of what is it constituted? What defines what is present and what is absent in the heritage field? What, then, is Othered? And how can we flex our research into both capturing the latter and truly interrogating it? Here we part company with our criminology colleagues and occupy our own field with thoughts about how we can find a way of addressing these questions, in a way that does justice to the diversity and theoretical complexity that are so evident in the rest of this book.

In turning to our own field we borrow again from Mol (1999) in order to establish our theoretical ground, which is what we shall call *the ontological politics of heritage*. It is precisely this politics, we believe, that has framed much research into heritage over the last 30 years and, in doing so, has written stories for us about what heritage is, what it is not and, moreover, what constitutes ‘data’ and how it ought to be looked into and explored. While the ontological politics of heritage is not univocal and encompasses both conventional and critical accounts, our intention in this chapter is to suggest that it gives us not only the firm basis for a critique of much existing research in heritage but also the momentum to move it to a different level and provide additional perspectives. Our offering is not, then, a ‘how-to’ chapter; rather, it is something of a survey, or a collecting together of some of the key ways in which heritage has been approached and understood empirically. We cannot, of course, survey the full range of methods that might find synergy with heritage research here. Instead, we use the chapter to look at some of the methods that are given most attention within the field, as well as those that have been developing elsewhere and might have utility. In conducting this survey, we examine the way that current thinking about heritage – and the employment of a critical imagination in that process – asks new questions of empiricism and defines new strategies and methodologies. First, though, we have some ghosts to lay.

Dark figures of heritage

If we are to accept John Law and John Urry's (2004) claim that social science research methods are productive and carry the potential to help *make* the world, then methods, like many of the other themes in this volume, ought to be taken very seriously. They are invested with power. Indeed, as Law and Urry go on to argue, 'they do not simply describe the world as it is, but also enact it ... [They] are *performative* ... they have effects; they make differences; they enact realities; and they can help to bring into being what they also discover' (Law and Urry, 2004, p. 391–4). Yet it is not unusual for 'method' to remain implicit, perhaps even a little vague, in academic texts concerning heritage. We may carefully frame and write about methodological choices in our doctoral theses, research proposals and any associated ethics protocol, but an explicit articulation of the empirical means by which we have come to understand heritage often slips from view in those final 'output' stages of writing: book chapters, monographs, journal articles. We know what we mean by 'semi-structured interviews' or 'social surveys' and so they mostly surface without much by way of elaboration. It is perhaps because of this that the methods toolkit in the field of heritage studies has come to lack imagination. It is only infrequently, for example, that we find within the pages of heritage-themed journals articles dedicated to explorations of the proliferating methodological developments going on in the wider social sciences. Yet the potential for innovation surely inheres within our own field, too. More surprisingly, it is only rarely that we encounter thorough engagements with *visual* research methods (see Waterton and Watson, 2010), despite the fact that *visuality* – in some form or other – is undoubtedly a province of the heritage field.

What, then, are the conditions under which we have thus far come to 'know' heritage? There is no doubt that the field has been haunted by some odd methodological ghosts, largely from a canonical positivism that is residual in the social sciences and which seeks to abjure the messiness of the world in favour of identifying and locating categories of things and the laws that govern them. We are not alone in this observation, and can defer to the eloquence of Patricia Clough's (2009, p. 47) observation that '[today] sociologists are mainly positivists but under cover and the cover is a reclaimed social constructivism'. We see this lingering in attempts to categorize heritage, people doing heritage, practices of visiting, motivations for visiting and so forth. In this, it has been aided by a certain instrumentality and a need not so much for research *per se* as for information, which then defines not only the type of research carried out but what should be investigated in the first place: Who visits? How often? What are their characteristics? What do they do? What are their attitudes? The instrumentality of heritage research is thus intensified in the operational nexus and the need for data, for planning, for marketing and for

evaluation: an instrumentality still further intensified in the commodifications of tourism and the 'heritage attraction' (see Herbert et al., 1989; Prentice, 1989, 1993; Goulding, 1999; and others in the same vein).

The effects of this instrumentality have been rather startling. First, instead of developing appropriate and creative methods to address the diversity of phenomena in the heritage sphere, we seem to be stuck with the old ones, together with anxieties about whether we are doing them properly, or well enough, or whether the sample size is too large or too small. These anxieties are policed by a fierce cabal of methodologists who only seem to declare themselves at doctoral examinations, or in peer reviews, or if they happen to write a textbook, in which case they may become insufferable. Research methodology, in the field of heritage at least, has thus become the stuff of rulebooks used to dictate what should be done and how. And thus we dutifully genuflect to the relevant authorities, our first mistake having been to treat them as such. This methodological oppression has led to an equally undesirable reaction, wherein people declare themselves either for or against various methodological strategies, usually aligned around the quantitative and the qualitative, the presence or otherwise of a working knowledge of statistical methods being a key determinant of one's position.

But it goes deeper than this. Indeed, these are just the symptoms of an ossification of method and a profound lack of imagination in the way that we make knowledge. Sociologists such as Mike Savage and Roger Burrows have already indicated that empiricism in their own field has reached a point of crisis, not least because commercial market research seems more adept at most of it and also because of the proliferation of digital social data that challenges conventional methodologies (see Savage and Burrows, 2007, 2008, 2009). They have also argued, as we do here, for a shift in emphasis from faulty examinations of causality to a more textured concern with description and classification:

If we see the power of contemporary social knowledge as lying in its abilities to conduct minute description, we can better situate our concerns as exposing these descriptions, challenging them, and presenting our own descriptions. In such a process we need a radical mixture of methods coupled with renewed critical reflection. Such a call for a descriptive sociology does not involve sole reliance on narrative but seeks to link narrative, numbers, and images in ways that engage with, and critique, the kinds of routine transactional analyses that now proliferate.

(2007, p. 896)

A 'radical mixture of methods' and a 'renewed critical reflection'? Surely heritage studies could not be better placed to reflect on these and benefit from them. Heritage is already undoubtedly understood from a variety of theoretical

and methodological standpoints, having arrived at its present position from a number of different traditions and carried along numerous intellectual itineraries. Archaeology, history, sociology, anthropology, museum studies, cultural studies, tourism, architecture, geography and memory studies are all fields that have produced key contributors to our own field, as the biographies for the authors in this volume attest. Given, also, the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions of heritage, it is a field that greatly needs to add to the rather thin seam of methods it currently employs by bringing to the mix a style of research capable of attending to its complex, mobile, messy, creative, affective, emotional, personal and performative nature.

So what is our own dark figure? What is absent and what are we missing? Only by reconfiguring our research can we actually address those aspects of heritage that are currently not researched, and identify potential new methods that might assist in our conducting of such research. There are two significant ontological-political considerations attached to this: first, questioning what constitutes the proper objects of heritage research; and, second, questioning the motives for such research, especially in applying critical thought to the instrumentalities of conventional research as outlined above. These two dimensions intersect around individual experience of – and engagement with – heritage (loosely defined). Given that we have only just admitted the term ‘loosely defined’ into our discussion, we should start with the issue of what constitutes heritage. Or, put differently, what is missing from its present constituents?

The individual, configured as a sentient, prescient, thinking, emotional, feeling and embodied consciousness, we suggest, is central. This, we argue, is the dark figure of heritage and should be as much the starting point of heritage research as the representations of it that are found in the various discourses in which it is currently discovered and researched. We do not believe that we are presenting an alternative view of heritage, however. Rather, we are suggesting that heritage has effects that go beyond its representations and the ways these are understood. Our agenda, then, is to explore these effects and their contexts and to identify the means to do so. To get there, we first need to shed a little more light on some of the ontological shifts that have been occurring within the field, commencing with David Harvey’s work in 2001, solidifying with Laurajane Smith’s work in 2006, and then continuing to expand with the work of Divya Tolia-Kelly and Mike Crang (2010), David Crouch (2010, this volume) and Joy Sather-Wagstaff (2011) to gather in a sense of relating to the world, rather than just knowing it.

Heritage researched

In discussing heritage research we need to explore the ontological relationship between what is researched and how. This is because it is from this relationship

that specific research questions – with their attendant aims and objectives, together with strategies and methods that are considered appropriate to address them – emerge. Thus, the objects of heritage and the methods to research them are inseparable, locked together in a conceit of reciprocal meaning. ‘Heritage’ came to be known, therefore, through this ontological framework. This provided it with an objective reality, a ‘something out there’, given empirical proof in the materiality of its objects and a veracity of method underwritten by the science of its origins. Thus, a reified form of heritage research was put beyond ontological examination.

At the same time, a commonsense version of heritage, a repository of good stories told through interpretation in countless museums, theme parks, monuments and popular or ‘public’ histories, coincided neatly with its official definitions. These, in turn, spilled into the academy and into the way it was researched there. What we have previously described as *theory in heritage* (see Waterton and Watson, 2013) organized a research agenda around its material objects and the ways in which these were made available and accessible. Such an orientation exhibits its assumptions as much as its content, the first and foremost of which is that there is some inherent value in the objects that it presents. A heritage ‘gaze’, to borrow from Urry (1990), is thus configured around a nexus of value endowed by pastness, scarcity and aesthetics: a nexus that is moderated and invested with further value by the given status of experts: academics, art and architectural historians, archaeologists, specialists of one sort or another, and connoisseurs, and, closer to the operational level, curators, conservators, educators, managers, marketers, interpretation and design professionals, enthusiasts and re-enactors. All of these agencies *determine* the heritage that is then consequently *found* by the non-expert, the non-professional, the tourist with a passing interest, the child on a school trip, the viewer of television programmes.

Where the ontologies of this construction of heritage have been challenged, often on political grounds, a process of assimilation has taken place. All that was oppositional was simply admitted to the fold, given a label and represented in a non-threatening way as heritage – deracinated and depoliticized from class domination, gender inequalities and racial oppression. Indeed, any and all of these *could* be included if they were dealt with in the right way, assuaged by the balm of a sanitized and depoliticized heritage separated from the present (Walsh, 1992). Even colonialism and slavery could be ‘brought home’ by putting them in the right kind of museum, finding a place for the guilt and, in some instances at least, apologizing (see contributions to the volume *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements*, edited by Smith et al., 2011). Heritage, therefore, has never been monolithic. It will encompass more when the politics demands, if only to remove those very demands with a heritage of repressive tolerance.

Research within this frame, then, was research that never really challenged the assumptions of an overarching discourse; and that, of course, could never really be achieved until an overarching discourse was discovered. That challenge to conventional heritage theory came when elements of critical analysis were introduced from other disciplines and from social commentators who could draw on the relevant frameworks of analysis. The critique of heritage, the 'antiheritage animus' identified by Lowenthal (1998, p. 100), is now well rehearsed, at least in the UK and Australia, between the academics, of which the concepts have been relatively mobile. This critique raised questions about cultural ossification, historical abstraction and inaccuracy, authenticity, the domestication of conflicts and dissonant pasts, and their commodification. Heritage as a modern construction of the past that was based on selected narratives and a supporting material culture that was essentially conservative circumscribed its ontological politics at the turn of the millennium. Here was a politics at once evident in the way that heritage worked and revealed in the way it was deconstructed (see Graham et al. (2000) for a cogent analysis of the state of things at that time, and the special issue of *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 19 Number 4 (2013) for a debate on developments since).

The idea of heritage as a *good* thing, telling good stories and, by turns, educational, socially cohesive, affirmative and immutably defined by its own materialities, began to be disrupted. A new research agenda was called for that explored more critically the work that this accepted view of heritage did in representing and sustaining national and other identities, dominant stories about the past and commensurately viable heritage attractions. By the time Harvey's (2001) influential paper, 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents', emerged, the heritage debate had been in full swing for 15 years or more. Yet it was this paper that seemed to do most to crystallize the problems of conventional notions of heritage as a done deal, a way of looking back from now, whether in anger or with pride. For Harvey, the essential temporality of heritage – its place in history – endowed it with the qualities of a process rather than a static analysis, one that suggested a need to

situate the myriad of multiply-connected interdisciplinary research that makes up the terrain of heritage studies today ... and explore the history of heritage ... by producing a context-rich account of heritage as a process or a human condition rather than as a single movement or personal project.

(Harvey, 2001, p. 320)

While the limitations of the present-centred case study were one of Harvey's main concerns, the broadening of scope that is implied here is important in recognizing that heritage and heritage research could be significantly and critically developed.

As a field, the interdisciplinarity of heritage has been well acknowledged. This has allowed theory to be drawn from numerous new sources when such opportunities arise. Certainly, the period from 2000 onwards offered much to contemplate in terms of discourse analysis and visual theory from cultural studies, ethnographies from anthropology, mobilities and actor-network theory from sociology, and from cultural geography a growing concern with the performative and embodied aspects, encounters and engagements with heritage that have been expressed in the non-representational and more-than-representational perspectives that have emerged from a literature that challenges conventional textual, visual and semiotic analyses. The boundaries between the disciplines involved in these developments are less significant than their combined effects, particularly when it comes to the way they come together around specific concerns such as movement, embodiment, performativity, memory, emotion, feeling and affect. Some contributions, such as Sheller and Urry (2006) in exploring the new mobilities paradigm, and Waterton et al. (2006) in applying critical discourse analysis in heritage studies, have been quite explicit about the methodological implications of new theory. Others have been less driven by their concern for methodological intervention, yet they have nonetheless contributed richly varied accounts of our engagements with heritage. Work by Dicks (2000), Breglia (2006), Kersel (2009), Palmer (2009) and Macdonald (2013), for example, provides good examples of large-scale explorations underpinned by ethnographic research methods, often coupled with historical and/or archival approaches. A good place to start for a clear reflection of the methods traditionally favoured within the field is the edited volume *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, overseen by Marie-Louise Stig Sørensen and John Carman, and published by Routledge in 2009.

Kathleen Stewart's work *Ordinary Affects* (2007) offers a wonderful ethnography, one that provides a clear point of departure for thinking through the coupling of heritage with methods, in which she applies what she refers to as 'noticing', or attuning to, the world (see Waterton and Watson, 2014; see Crouch, this volume, for a closer engagement with a more-than-representational style of writing). It is in this sort of engagement with non-or more-than-representational styles of thinking and writing that we find the most explicit challenge to both conventional and critical heritage thinking, and, as such, opportunities to explore heritage in its other effects and contexts. Non-or more-than-representational theory, in providing new perspectives on heritage through practices, performance and the ways in which these register in individual and collective experiences, encompasses much of the influence of this new thinking. For Lorimer (2005, p. 84), this is about the way that life finds and makes meaning, often in mundane and ordinary ways:

This often means thinking through locally formative interventions in the world. At first, the phenomena in question may seem remarkable only by their apparent insignificance. The focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions. Attention to these kinds of expression, it is contended, offers an escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation. In short, so much ordinary action gives no advance notice of what it will become.

More than anything else, this provides opportunities for exploring beyond the conventional and the *conventionally critical* approaches that have become established in heritage thinking since the 1980s. There are challenges, of course, and Lorimer makes that point by remarking that there is scope for understanding the 'more-than-representational', the situational, the emergent and the performative in encounters of various kinds characterized by the near-at-hand and the busyness of daily life. The issues of representation in heritage remain, however, far too important to be casually replaced, as was evident in the work of Graham et al. (2000) and the exploration of heritage in its social, political and economic contexts. Furthermore, Smith's (2006) influential framing of an authorized heritage discourse (AHD), built on carefully conducted empirical work in a range of settings, has added another dimension to the way in which heritage is understood as a discursive realm in which important cultural meanings are constructed, understood and reproduced. Representations in discursive contexts and manifested in the essential visibility of much of heritage as it is experienced and consumed (Waterton and Watson, 2010) are key to understanding its cultural significance, and much research has focused on representational practices in a variety of contexts (Smith, 2006; Watson and Waterton, 2010). And so, in arguing for the exploration of new directions in heritage research, we are not in any way dispensing with that which has gone before; rather, we are adding another frame through which heritage might be investigated, one that respects previous theory and research but acknowledges the need to add others (Waterton and Watson, 2013).

Future directions

At this point, we want to turn to considering the development and application of new methods in heritage, with emphasis on those that are cognate with more-than-representational theories. This is because the dark figures of heritage

we alluded to at the start of this chapter might be revealed not only by understanding representational practices in their various contexts and the work they do in using the past to create meaning in the present, but also by understanding the way these representations interact with other forms of engagement, in the experience of heritage. This, of course, is heritage already problematized by the critical analysis of its representations, its uses – to paraphrase Smith (2006). We are not proposing that the clock be wound back to look at the experience of heritage before its discursive roles and contexts were explored and revealed. Instead, we wish to add to these analyses forms of research that look at the doing of heritage, the experience of it and the ways in which it registers in emotions, feelings and affect, and the capacities for these that are apparent in that experience. This more-than-representational domain, we feel, is worthy of exploration in our field, to complete an emerging picture of the way that heritage works and the complexities of those workings.

David Crouch (2010, this volume), in particular, has helped to open the door to the experiential practices of heritage, especially in terms of the way that it is constituted in moments of engagement, given meaning in situ, evanescently as individuals pass through the spacetimes that give it momentary substance. We have elsewhere explored the implications of this turn of thought in the contexts of cultural and heritage tourism (Smith et al., 2012; Waterton and Watson, 2014) and heritage in general (Waterton and Watson, 2013, 2014), as have a number of others. This list also includes recent work by Mike Crang and Divya Tolia-Kelly (2010), Britta Timm Knudsen and Anne Waade (2010), Joy Sather-Wagstaff (2011), Philipp Schorch (2012), Russell Staiff (2012), Duncan Grewcock (2013) and Emma Waterton and Jason Dittmer (2014), all of whom have started to think about how the theoretical frameworks to which we refer in this chapter have influenced research practice in our field. It is to this – research practice – that we now turn.

Some readers will already have discerned that there is a particular suite of difficulties associated with more-than-representational approaches to data and its collection. These, of course, are not restricted to more-than-representational theories alone, but can be grafted onto any number of theoretical offshoots simultaneously snaking their way out from what can – for the sake of chronological ease – be thought of as ‘post-’post-structuralist thinking. Included here are the familiar labels ‘actor-network theory’, ‘mobilities’, ‘post-phenomenology’ and ‘relational materialism’, which, alongside ‘non-representational theory’, are increasingly observed as having emerged out of the relational, performative, affective or practice ‘turn’. The thorniest of difficulties tangled up herein lies with the challenge of figuring out how to access that which is deemed precognitive, unspeakable, a ‘becoming’ that exists somewhere before, in between and after feeling and thinking: affect and sensuous experience. These, as the literature on more-than-representational theories

advises us, occur too fast, and are too complex, too excessive for us to adequately comprehend and theorize (Morton, 2005), a point made particularly apparent by the continuing import of terminology such as 'practice', 'relationality', 'onflow', 'interconnections', 'contingency' and 'presentism'. All of these, in some way or another, emerge from recent theoretical forays that attempt, to borrow from Kathleen Stewart (2007, p. 4), to

slow the quick jump to representational thinking and evaluative critique long enough to find ways of approaching the complex and uncertain objects that fascinate because they literally hit us or exert a pull on us... to find something to say about ordinary affects by performing some of the intensity and texture that makes them habitable and animate.

As Derek McCormack (2002, p. 470) points out, however, this is no easy feat: 'how, when such movement is often below the cognitive threshold of representational awareness that defines what is admitted into serious research, does one give a word to a movement without seeking to represent it'? Justin Spinney (2011, p. 162) perhaps put it best when he remarked:

A key central problem... is that while fleeting moments may be representational – that is to say they are fundamental to the creation and apprehension of meaning – their transient nature does not readily lend itself to apprehension through qualitative or verbal accounts. One reason for this is that even if we acknowledge the importance of such factors, we lack the technologies, skills and vocabularies necessary to elicit and evoke sensory experiences in registers other than the visual and aural precisely because they often reside in the realm of the habitual and unconscious.

Patricia Clough (2009, p. 49) goes one step further still, arguing that 'any method of attending to affect will profoundly unsettle any conception of method as being in the control of human agency or human consciousness inhering in the human subject'. This is no idle observation. Nor is it one confined to Spinney's or Clough's observations alone. Several new volumes from the wider social sciences have emerged that represent the experimental and invigorating ways in which this methodological challenge has been met. Key here have been the volumes *Video Vision: Changing the Culture of Social Science Research*, edited by Downing and Tenney (2008), *Mobile Methodologies*, edited by Fincham et al. (2010), *Mobile Methods*, edited by Büscher et al. (2011), *Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social*, edited by Lury and Wakefield (2012), and *Deleuze and Research Methodologies*, edited by Coleman and Ringrose (2013). Of these, we are particularly interested in those Deleuzian-inspired approaches that take the world to be processual, in a perpetual state of 'becoming' and

which prompt a particular style of empiricism. We have witnessed a recent swelling of papers and dedicated sessions at heritage-themed conferences, too, especially over the past two years, all of which have attempted to expand the social researcher's toolkit by means of methodological experimentation.

Key to this emerging style of thinking has been an understanding of the body as a 'space of visceral processing' (Papoulias and Callard, 2010, p. 34), which immediately extends our empirical horizons beyond the semi-structured interview, questionnaires and/or short spells of participant observation. Instead, we are faced with questioning how we might best attend to and capture – in research terms – the automatism of affect (MacPherson, 2010, p. 3). To answer this, those committed to this area of scholarly enquiry have turned to performance, the adaption of new technologies, the use of video, the use of qualitative GIS (Geographical Information Systems), online gaming, poetry, attention to mobile methods such as walking, cycling or driving, practices of writing research, the walking or walked interview, the use of participant travel diaries, autoethnographies and photoethnographies, to name just a few. Work by John Wylie, Kathryn Yusoff and Hayden Lorimer, all drawn from the cognate field of cultural geography, offer clear illustrations of attempts to entangle landscape – their particular focus of attention – with bodies: to meld landscapes and *selves* via the lenses of more-than-representational theories. Their examples include embodied accounts of coastal walking (Wylie, 2002, 2005), forays into the Antarctic in an attempt to understand that landscape's ability to inscribe itself onto the body (Yusoff, 2007), Cairngorm reindeer herding (Lorimer, 2006) and processes of inter-corporeality as a sighted guide in the Peak and Lake Districts (MacPherson, 2010). Frances Morton (2005) and Justin Spinney (2011), also geographers, have similarly explored the challenges of opening up – or reinvigorating, perhaps – the methodological spaces that surround them. In terms of method, John Wylie (2005) has collected together an assemblage of experimental writing with photography, whereas Hayden Lorimer (2006) has produced a melding of ethnographic reflection with detailed and expressive modes of writing. Frances Morton (2005) has advocated for what she calls 'performative ethnography', using live performances of Irish music at a number of Galway pubs as the basis of her research. Performative ethnography, as Morton (2005) defines it, combines the use of spoken diaries, audio recordings, participatory interviews, photography and video recordings in order to gather together a comprehensive understanding of the performances and practices of Irish music sessions in Galway City. Spinney's (2011) research adds to the mix a mobile video ethnographic approach, which he applies to cycling research and through which he advocates a move away from location-centred ethnography. For this, Spinney (2011) brings together audio biographical interviews with the use of cameras on three journeys made by participants, during which time cameras were mounted on helmets or heads and on handlebars,

in such a way that bodies and their movements could be captured throughout the journey. The footage from all three vantage points was combined and used during follow-up in-depth interviews.

In the field of heritage studies, recent publications such as those offered by Denis Byrne (2013), Russell Staiff (2012, 2014) and Andrea Witcomb (2013), all three of whom experiment with ficto-critical and expressive modes of writing in traditions reminiscent of Kathleen Stewart, point to the possibilities for unpacking a more plentiful range of sensory experiences with heritage. Their writing emerges from immersive engagements with places and space, as people moving through a city, museum, town, landscape or event attuned to the rhythms, textures and accretions of life that pool there – ‘weak theory’, as Kathleen Stewart (2008) would call it. Byrne’s (2013) work is driven by a need to rethink the value of old things through their charging of affect, and build up a sense of the way that objects and the built environment change, alter or impact upon people, even after the passage of time. He is, to borrow from Stewart (2008), following the objects of a between-wars apartment building in Hong Kong and the gateway of a house compound in Bali as they are encountered and absorbed into the lives of those who pass through them.

In a similar vein, Staiff (2012) uses reflections on the metaphorical capacities of two exhibits to add up to a rich and entangled story of how Luang Prabang’s heritage is experienced by Western travellers. He is probing at the embodied nature of our engagements with heritage and does so through his own body, his own recollections, without rendering either himself or ‘heritage’ an abstract object. Instead, he offers a series of moments and vignettes – *good stories* – that prise apart a small window that looks onto how he ‘passed through’ Luang Prabang, tracking, too, the countless ways in which his experiences pulled on different senses and compelled a response. Methodologically, both Byrne and Staiff present their work as literary, as creations, reliant in part on fiction and narrative, though not to the extent of Clough’s (2010) or Dowling’s (2012) fully experimental attempts to capture affect through verse, image and performance. Andrea Witcomb, in her 2013 article ‘Understanding the Role of Affect in Producing a Critical Pedagogy for History Museums’, uses a sort of weak theory or ficto-criticism similar to Byrne and Staiff’s to narrate the uses of affective strategies at two heritage sites in Australia: Greenough, in Western Australia, and Bunjilaka, the Aboriginal Centre at Melbourne Museum. As her method, Witcomb posits first ‘being alert’ and second ‘imagining’, two concepts that could easily have found their way into the edited volume *Inventive Methods* (2012). By using these terms and all that they invoke, Witcomb is pointing to an immersive and highly alert engagement with the exhibition spaces and narratives found at Greenough and Bunjilaka, but also to her need for her own body to labour viscerally and identify tension, shock, recognition, shame, sympathy, belonging, exclusion, blame, absence and so forth, however fleeting. All

three authors fall precisely within the spaces previously opened up by Kathleen Stewart (2013, p. 284), who argues that this is the style of writing and approach needed if we are to

move beyond the merely representational and the bad habits and bad politics of strong theory's tendency to beat its objects into submission to its dreamy arguments. It requires some dedramatization of academic thought and some writerly effort to approach its object slowly and enigmatically, looking for the nonobvious ways it registers and what it makes matter.

We are aware, of course, that our own contribution to this debate with this chapter is in many ways a submission to what Stewart is referring to as 'strong theory': we have adopted mostly a traditional writing style here and maintained much of the 'drama' of academic thought. But such is the remit of a book of this nature. Elsewhere, though, we hope to find the academic spaces within which to tell a different story.

References

- Biderman, A. D. and Reiss, A. J. Jr (1967) 'On Exploring the "Dark Figure" of Crime', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 374(1), 1–15.
- Breglia, L. (2006) *Monumental Ambivalence: The Politics of Heritage* (Austin: University of Texas Press).
- Büscher, M., Urry, J. and Witchger, K. (eds) (2011) *Mobile Methods* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Byrne, D. (2013) 'Love and Loss in the 1960s', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 596–609.
- Clough, P. (2009) 'The New Empiricism: Affect and Sociological Method', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 12(1), 43–61.
- Clough, P. (2010) 'Praying and Playing to the Beat of a Child's Metronome', *Subjectivity*, 3, 349–65.
- Coleman, R. and Ringrose, J. (eds) (2013) *Deleuze and Research Methodologies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Crang, M. and Tolia-Kelly, D. (2010) 'Nation, Race and Affect: Senses and Sensibilities at National Heritage Sites', *Environment and Planning A*, 42(10), 2315–31.
- Crouch, D. (2010) 'Flirting with Space: Thinking Landscape Relationally', *Cultural Geographies*, 17(1), 5–18.
- Dicks, B. (2000) *Heritage, Place and Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
- Dowling, E. (2012) 'The Waitress: On Affect, Method and (Re)presentation', *Cultural Studies – Critical Methodologies*, 12(2), 109–17.
- Downing, M. J. Jr. and Tenney, L. J. (eds) (2008) *Video Vision: Changing the Culture of Social Science Research* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press).
- Fincham, B., McGuinness, M. and Murray, L. (eds) (2010) *Mobile Methodologies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Goulding, C. (1999) 'Contemporary Museum Culture and Consumer Behaviour', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 15, 647–71.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (London: Arnold).

- Grewcock, D. (2013) 'Performing Heritage (Studies) and the Lord Mayor's Show', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, available on iFirst: DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2013.807434.
- Harvey, D. C. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope for Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319–38.
- Herbert, D. T., Prentice, R. C. and Thomas, C. J. (eds) (1989) *Heritage Sites: Strategies for Marketing and Development* (Aldershot: Avebury).
- Kersel, M. (2009) 'Walking a Fine Line: Obtaining Sensitive Information using a Valid Methodology' in M. L. Stig Sørensen and J. Carman (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 178–200.
- Knudsen, B. T. and Waade, A. M. (eds) (2010) *Re-Investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place and Emotions* (Leeds: Channel View Publications).
- Law, J. (2003) 'Making a Mess with Method', Published by the Centre for Science Studies, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YN, UK, at <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Making-a-Mess-with-Method.pdf>, accessed 12 November 2013.
- Law, J. and Urry, J. (2004) 'Enacting the Social', *Economy and Society*, 33(3), 390–410.
- Lorimer, H. (2005) 'Cultural Geography: The Busyness of Being "More Than Representational"', *Progress in Human Geography*, 29, 83–94.
- Lorimer, H. (2006) 'Herding Memories of Humans and Animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24(4), 497–518.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lury, C. and Wakefield, N. (2012) *Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social* (London: Routledge).
- Macdonald, S. (2013) *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London: Routledge).
- MacPherson, H. (2010) 'Non-Representational Approaches to Body-Landscape Relations', *Geography Compass*, 4(1), 1–13.
- McCormack, D. (2002) 'An Article with an Interest in Rhythm', *Geoforum*, 33(4), 469–85.
- Mol, A. (1999) 'Ontological Politics. A Word and Some Questions' in J. Law and J. Hassard (eds) *Actor Network Theory and After* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing and the *Sociological Review*), pp. 74–89.
- Morton, F. (2005) 'Performing Ethnography: Irish Traditional Music Sessions and New Methodological Spaces', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6(5), 661–76.
- Palmer, C. (2009) 'Reflections on the Practice of Ethnography within Heritage Tourism' in M. L. Stig Sørensen and J. Carman (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 123–39.
- Papoulias, C. and Callard, F. (2010) 'Biology's Gift: Interrogating the Turn to Affect', *Body and Society*, 16(1), 29–56.
- Prentice, R. (1989) 'Visitors to Heritage Sites: A Market Segmentation by Visitor Characteristics' in D. T. Herbert, R. C. Prentice and C. J. Thomas (eds) *Heritage Sites: Strategies for Marketing and Development* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 1–61.
- Prentice, R. (1993) *Tourism and Heritage Attractions* (London: Routledge).
- Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2011) *Heritage that Hurts: Tourists in the Memoryscapes of September 11* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press).
- Savage, M. and Burrows, R. (2007) 'The Coming Crisis of Empirical Sociology', *Sociology*, 41(5), 885–99.
- Savage, M. and Burrows, R. (2008) 'Wither the Survey?' *International Journal of Market Research*, 50(3), 305–7.

- Savage, M. and Burrows, R. (2009) 'Some Further Reflections on the Coming Crisis of Empirical Sociology', *Sociology*, 43(4), 765–75.
- Schorch, P. (2012) 'Cultural Feelings and the Making of Meaning', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, available on iFirst: DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2012.709194.
- Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2006) 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), 207–26.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Smith, L., Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2012) *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Smith, L., Cubitt, G., Wilson, R. and Fouseki, K. (eds) (2011) *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Spinney, J. (2011) 'A Chance to Catch a Breath: Using Mobile Video Ethnography in Cycling Research', *Mobilities*, 6(2), 161–82.
- Staiff, R. (2012) 'The Somatic and the Aesthetic: Embodied Heritage Tourism Experiences of Luang Prabang, Laos' in L. Smith, E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 38–55.
- Staiff, R. (2014) *Re-Imaging Heritage Interpretation, Enchanting the Past-Future* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Stewart, K. (2007) *Ordinary Affects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Stewart, K. (2008) 'Weak Theory in an Unfinished World', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 45(1), 71–82.
- Stewart, K. (2013) 'Regionality', *The Geographical Review*, 103(2), 275–84.
- Stig Sørensen, M. L. and Carman, J. (eds) (2009) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage).
- Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World* (London: Routledge).
- Waterton, E. and Dittmer, J. (2014) 'The Museum as Assemblage: Bringing Forth Affect at the Australian War Memorial', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 29(2).
- Waterton, E., Smith, L. and Campbell, G. (2006) 'The Utility of Critical Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(4), 339–55.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2010) 'Introduction: A Visual Heritage' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp 1–16.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2013) 'Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 546–61.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2014) *The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism* (Bristol: Channel View Publications).
- Watson, S. and Waterton, E. (2010) 'Reading the Visual: Representation and Narrative in the Construction of Heritage', *Material Culture Review*, (71), 84–97.
- Witcomb, A. (2013) 'Understanding the Role of Affect in Producing a Critical Pedagogy for Historical Museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28(3), 255–71.
- Wylie, J. (2002) 'An Essay on Ascending Glastonbury Tor', *Geoforum*, 33(4), 441–54.
- Wylie, J. (2005) *Landscape* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Yusoff, K. (2007) 'Antarctic Exposure: Archives of the Feeling Body', *Cultural Geographies*, 14(2), 211–33.

2

Heritage and Discourse

Zongjie Wu and Song Hou

Heritage has been increasingly recognized as being intertwined with discourse and discursive practices. To critically understand what heritage is and does in the present, how local contexts, historical moments and different cultural traditions shape and use it, it is tremendously helpful to probe into the discursive (re)production of heritage and consider how such (re)production is manifested on the global–local interface. This chapter is intended to review scholarship in what can be called ‘a discursive approach to heritage studies’ and discuss how it may develop in further intellectual endeavours. In what follows, we shall first account for the notion of discourse, since it is an ambiguous and loosely used term. Then we will outline current heritage scholarship that explicitly claims to see heritage as discursive representation and construction, as well as that which implicitly does so. Three sections are devoted to this:

1. heritage as discourse and discursive practices, which focuses on theoretical explorations of the discursive nature of heritage;
2. discourse analysis and the critique of heritage, which accounts for discourse analysis as a method or methodology in heritage research; and
3. cultural discourses of ‘heritage’, which examines some alternative efforts in understanding local, historical voices and ways of constructing the past.

Lastly, some research trends are suggested to further develop this approach to heritage studies.

The notion of discourse

As one of the most widely referenced notions in contemporary humanities and social sciences, discourse remains a loosely defined and usefully ambiguous concept. Researchers from different theoretical backgrounds and fields of study may use it with different meanings. Gee (2005) distinguishes two fundamental

layers of meaning the term has by using a capital letter 'D' and a small letter 'd'. By 'discourse' with a small letter 'd', he refers to language-in-use, or, in Blommaert's (2005) phrase, 'language-in-action'. That is to say, language use is not considered as picking up tools or resources from a closed system, but as an action taking place in, and influenced by, specific settings. Of particular importance to this meaning of the term is the issue of 'how to do things with words' (Austin, 1975), or how 'language is used "on site" to enact activities and identities' (Gee, 2005, p. 7). 'Discourse' with a capital 'D', by contrast, is about 'ways of being in the world' or 'ways of acting, interacting, feeling and believing, valuing, and using various sorts of objects, symbols, tools and technologies – to recognize yourself and others as meaningful and meaningful in certain ways' (Gee, 2005, p. 7). Fairclough defines this as discourse used as 'concrete noun' in the sense of ways of signifying areas of experience from a particular perspective, or 'particular ways of representing aspects of the world (e.g. different political discourses – Liberal, Social-Democratic, Marxist, etc.)' (Fairclough, 2006, p. 11).

At this more fundamental level, 'Discourse' is similar to, but not exactly identical with, the notion of discourse developed by Michel Foucault. It is through the original contributions of this French thinker that the study of discourse has become so popular and such a common issue in different disciplines. For Foucault (1972) discourse is 'constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence' (p. 107), and it is a set of 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak' (p. 49). When Foucault (p. 32) defines an object, for instance mental illness, race, state or heritage as such, he claims that

mental illness was constituted by all that was said in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own.

In Foucauldian theorizations of discourse, two processes are crucial, namely, a process of meaning-making, which is also seen in Gee's notion of Discourse, and a process of 'knowledge/power' interaction. For Foucault, nothing meaningful exists outside of discourse. But this is not to deny the existence of the material world. Indeed, as Hall (2011, p. 45) clarifies, what Foucault attempts to argue is that 'nothing has any meaning outside of discourse'. Discourse produces the world as we know it. We tend to equate such knowledge with reality itself. As such, it generates power. To be knowledgeable about something means that we are in the regime of the discourse that constructs that thing. Our ways of being and acting are then constrained or controlled by that knowledge and discourse. In other words, knowledge and the discourse that produces it exercise power upon us.

For proponents of critical discourse analysis (CDA) – a prominent approach to the study of language use in sociocultural contexts – discourse is seen as a combination of the above and concrete layers of meaning. Fairclough’s three-dimensional concept of discourse may be the best crystallization. For him, discourse is a complex of three elements: social practices, discursive practices (text production, distribution and consumption) and texts (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). Following Foucault and other thinkers, discourse, from the perspective of CDA, is viewed as a form of social practice that shapes our knowledge, ideology and identity, and manipulates the way we act in the world as well as interact with people. Discourse, at the same time, refers to systematic ways of talking about and understanding the world, and, through certain apparatus and institutions, regulates what can (and cannot) be said, thus influencing the ways in which meanings are circulated and consumed. These two senses of discourse are finally realized and concretized in texts, specific written or oral (or, more inclusively, visual) forms of communication, which is the third dimension of a discourse. For CDA researchers, the ways in which social, political, cultural, historical and situational contexts influence language choices, and the ways in which language use, in turn, contributes to the shaping and transformation of social, cultural and historical realities, are pivotal issues to consider. For the purposes of this chapter, the integrated concept of discourse outlined above has been adopted.

Heritage as discourse and discursive practice

Heritage is not an objective entity out there waiting to be discovered or identified; rather, it is more usefully seen as constituted and constructed (and at the same time, constitutive and constructing). As critics in archaeology and historiography have shown, there is no objective past or history after the moment it occurred, and the past is always represented and constructed in the present social and political context for some particular interests (White, 1973; Bond and Gilliam, 1994; Trouillot, 1995). In other words, heritage is always ‘the past in the present’ or, simply put, ‘the present past’ (Fowler, 1992; Stone and Molyneaux, 1994; Butler, 2006). As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, p. 6) state, ‘the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future’. However, such selections and other present efforts in dealing with the past may turn it into ‘a foreign country’:

Every act of recognition alters survivals from the past. Simply to appreciate or protect a relic, let alone to embellish or imitate it, affects its form or our impressions. Just as selective recall skews memory and subjectivity shapes historical insight, so manipulating antiquities refashions their appearance

and meaning. Interaction with a heritage continually alters its nature and context, whether by choice or by chance.

(Lowenthal, 1985, p. 263)

Of special import in this process are ideology, power and knowledge. As Stuart Hall stated in a keynote speech delivered at the national conference 'Whose Heritage? The Impact of Cultural Diversity on Britain's Living Heritage' in November 1999,

[w]e should think of The Heritage as a discursive practice. It is one of the ways in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory. Just as individuals and families construct their identities by 'storying' the various random incidents and contingent turning points of their lives into a single, coherent, narrative, so nations construct identities by selectively binding their chosen high points and memorable achievements into an unfolding 'national story'. This story is what is called 'Tradition'.

(Hall, 2005, p. 23)

Here Hall explicates heritage as a discursive construction through which the nation-state establishes collective identity, gains political legitimacy and educates the citizenry. Though this might be the first instance in which the phrase 'heritage as discursive practice' occurs, such an idea was not, strictly speaking, new. Many scholars, both prior to Hall and after him, have addressed heritage as constituted in and through discursive representations and constructions sanctioned by nation-states or other patrons. They probe into how different group interests and modern ideologies deploy narratives, tropes, knowledge, imaginations, technologies and so forth to make and remake heritage in ways that forge, maintain and perpetuate the relations of power (see, for example, Byrne, 1991; Fowler, 1992; Walsh, 1992; Ashworth and Larkham, 1994; Brett, 1996; Lowenthal, 1998; Cameron and Kenderdine, 2007; Waterton and Watson, 2010).

In more recent attempts to retheorize heritage as discourse or discursive construction, Laurajane Smith (2004) has utilized a Foucauldian approach, noting particularly how power/knowledge generates 'governmentality'. She also employs CDA theories to explore the ways archaeological knowledge and expertise shape cultural resource management practices and engender the politics of cultural heritage. As she argues, dominant archaeological discourse privileges disciplinary and expert subject-positions, 'emphasized by the logical positivism of processualism' (Smith, 2004, p. 9). This has ensured the prominence of certain versions of the past, particularly those that are 'often important to a range of groups for defining their identity, a sense of community and belonging, and a sense of place' (Smith, 2004, p. 10). Such archaeological discourse, which

appears as scientific and value-free, is often seen as a legitimating voice in those conflicts and contestations around identity that circulate heritage practices.

Archaeological knowledge thus ‘becomes included in the “political” arena’ (Smith, 2004, p. 10), where it is drawn upon to define and govern people ‘through both their “archaeological” past and the heritage objects and places that were defined as representing that past’ (Smith, 2004, p. 9). In her programmatic work *Uses of Heritage*, Smith (2006) further develops a discourse-orientated theory of heritage by drawing again upon CDA scholars. In this work, she makes her point more boldly, declaring that ‘there is no such thing as heritage’ (2006, p. 13). Heritage, she contends, is but a discursive construction, something that we come to know in and through language use. How we refer to, and talk about, heritage not only reflects but also constitutes what heritage is and what it is not. It is through the discursive practice of ‘what people tell each other about their past; about what they forget, remember, memorialise and/or fake’ (Harvey, 2001, p. 320), that ‘heritage’ is constructed as an object of knowing in cultural, leisure or tourism, and academic practice.

Heritage discourse generates not only conceptual but also material consequences: it shapes the way heritage is constructed, identified, interpreted, valued, conserved, managed and used. There might be a multitude of ways of talking about, seeing and thereby constructing heritage, or, in other words, we may have different heritage discourses. Dominating contemporary heritage conceptions and practices around the globe, Smith (2006) acutely points out, is the Western ‘authorized heritage discourse’ (AHD). This is a discourse that has been naturalized as a common-sense and universal truth. However, underlying it there is a modern historical consciousness originating from Romanticism and the Enlightenment, with a cultural logic, way of thinking and aestheticizing that are predominately Eurocentric, and which reflect the appetites and aspirations of upper- and middle-class white men (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010a). For instance, the discursive practice of the notions of ‘authenticity’ in many international heritage bodies tends to favour a Western fetishism of the ‘monument’ and stone construction, which could easily deny the value of vernacular heritage, in which we may discover a locally situated life of authenticity.

Discourse analysis and the critique of heritage

With heritage increasingly recognized as discursive practice, it is unsurprising that scholars have turned to discourse analysis as a means to facilitate critical understandings of heritage. Though it might also be labelled a research field, discourse analysis, as Potter (2008, p. 28) summarizes, ‘is best seen as a cluster of related methods for studying language use and its role in social life’. Among the many discourse analytical methods, those developed in CDA are

most utilized in interdisciplinary studies, and heritage studies is one such recent interdisciplinary field. Integrating Foucault's discourse theorization, the Frankfurt school's critical theory and some branches of linguistics (mostly functional and cognitive approaches), CDA aims to reveal the power and ideological work embedded in language use in specific sociocultural contexts. It is widely adopted to understand how language plays a role in shaping certain knowledge, stances, values and ideologies about a particular cultural construct or object. Smith (2006) critically analyses, with some CDA techniques, a number of authoritative and globally influential heritage texts, namely the *Venice Charter* issued by ICOMOS, the *Burra Charter* by ICOMOS Australia, UNESCO's *World Heritage Convention* and international programmes for safeguarding and protecting intangible heritage, demonstrating in detail how AHD works to construct a universalized idea of heritage and thereby produce a cultural politics to marginalize the Other. Smith, together with Emma Waterton and Gary Campbell, has attempted to explore the utility of discourse analysis (particularly CDA) to heritage studies (Waterton et al., 2006). With a case analysis of the issue of social inclusion as constructed within the *Burra Charter*, they demonstrate 'how a particular discourse acts to constitute and mould the various representations of heritage' (Waterton et al., 2006, p. 340). Hence, (critical) discourse analysis is promoted as 'an important methodology for identifying, problematizing and unpacking the constitutive discursive field of heritage' (Waterton et al., 2006, p. 351).

Also adopting CDA methods, Waterton's research focuses on heritage policy texts and visual representations of heritage in primarily British contexts, demonstrating how the AHD works to naturalize and legitimate Western conceptualizations. In doing so, Waterton is attempting to question the so-called universal, innate values of heritage, through which globalized heritage practices are shaped (Waterton, 2007, 2009, 2010a, 2010b). Here, we would like to foreground Waterton's monograph *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (2010a), the first book-length CDA study of heritage. With more sophisticated CDA techniques, she first analyses a number of international authoritative texts, including those covered by Smith (2006, Chapter 3), with the aim of contextualizing her study in a wider global context. The *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* issued by UNESCO in 2003, as her discourse analysis reveals, does not essentially change the basic assumptions of the AHD. She then examines British heritage policy discourse from the 1970s into the 2000s. Although, in different timeframes, heritage policy in Britain changes and increasingly claims to embrace social inclusion and multiculturalism, the AHD underpins these claims, and continues to limit the political work of these policy platforms. With Waterton's contributions, CDA is increasingly recognized as a viable and promising methodology in heritage scholarship.

Apart from CDA, other discourse analytical methods have been drawn upon to problematize the idea of heritage as objective, neutral and universal. In China, the first such attempt is found even a little earlier than Smith's and Waterton's applications of CDA methods for heritage studies. For example, J. Li (2005) employs Foucault's 'archaeology of knowledge' to scrutinize the birth and transformations of 'cultural heritage' as a universal concept, uncovering behind it the conflict of civilizations between the West and the rest. This shows how Foucauldian discourse analysis can be useful for attempts to rethink fundamental notions about the global 'heritage cult' (Lowenthal, 1998). Likewise, L. Li (2010) adopts some discourse analytical methods to explore the knowledge production of cultural heritage in the *Tunbao* villages in Southwest China. He examines carefully how heritage experts and village elites co-construct heritage through making historical narratives of village pasts, and how the heritagization of traditional practices transforms the way they have been spoken of and the meanings they have intended to convey. Though he mentions Foucault and other theorists, L. Li does not refer to any established discourse analytical framework in his study. However, this book-length study is firmly ethnographic. It can be seen as either a very well-presented 'discourse-oriented ethnography' (Smart, 2012) or an 'ethnographic-oriented discourse analysis' (Smart, 2008) of Chinese heritage.

Cultural discourses of 'heritage': Some alternative endeavours

Discourse is culturally situated and saturated. As Shi-xu (2005, p. 62) states

different cultures have different histories, conditions, problems, issues, aspirations and so on. Consequently, the different cultural discourses which constitute them will have not only different objects of construction or topics, but also different categorizations, understandings, perspectives, evaluations and so on. They make up different cultural worlds, so to speak.

This is also true in the case of heritage. Around the world there are different cultural discourses of heritage, embracing different topics, categorizations, understandings, perspectives, evaluations and so forth. To borrow from Shi-xu (2005, pp. 62–3), these 'different cultural discourses have not just different symbols and strategies of constructing meaning [about heritage], but also different norms for using them'. They also coerce 'relevant communities of speakers to think and act in particular ways [towards their heritage]'.

Though much neglected, the cultural discourses of heritage in non-Western settings, or the culturalness or localness of heritage discourse, have begun to be explored in recent scholarship. Butler (2006), for example, critically reviews the present constructions of heritage inside the academy, critiquing the process of 'what might be best termed as the "Westernization" of the origins and roots of

heritage discourse' (p. 465), discourses of progress and rationality, postmodern capitalism and commodification, and so on. More importantly, she further examines what she calls 'the memorial approach' to the past for the construction of 'alternative' and 'parallel' heritages. She argues that Derrida's notion of 'taking on tradition' should be mobilized in this globalized world so as to indigenize and provincialize heritages and ultimately to connect heritage to new humanism, addressing the question of 'what it is to be human'. Clifford (2004) examines the presence of Native people in recent heritage projects in Alaska, showing how collaborative work with genuine understanding and full respect between experts and Native people may help represent local tradition as fluid, dynamic and performative. He examines how multiple voices, meanings and aspirations are invested in these projects and how dialogical interpretations can be expected between heritage discourses that accentuate 'authenticity' and those that see it as part of ever-changing life. As Clifford (2004, p. 20) points out, '[i]f "authenticity" means anything here, it means "authentically remade"' Clifford goes on to warn us not to place Indigenous heritage (re)making under the narrowly politicized framework of 'the invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). He argues for a complex approach to the politics of tradition, taking into consideration Native people's struggle for self-determination and aspiration for the future. This explains why he foregrounds one of these collaborative heritage projects, namely, *Looking Both Ways*. He also reformulates the title of his own essay – 'Looking Several Ways'. With such a title, he is advocating multiple discourses and perspectives on heritage.

Non-Western scholars may have a more significant role to play in this respect. Due to language barriers, we cannot see or access all the studies in cultural discourses of heritage that may exist in various cultural contexts. In the following, we focus mainly on our research in Chinese heritage discourse. Hou and Wu (2012a) look at the traditional Chinese discourse of *guji* (literally ancient traces) as a cultural Other for rethinking the universalized notion of 'heritage' and its cultural politics in the contemporary Chinese context. To better explore the divergence between *guji* and 'heritage', they conducted a discourse analysis of a war site and an ancient tree as recorded in a local gazetteer composed in 1811, delineating how *guji* is conceptualized as living entities, and communicated for the present and future generations through preserving 'authentic language' and the use of poetic language. 'Language authenticity' or 'the authenticity of language fragments in their origin' (Wu and Yu, 2011 p. 71ff) means that when the past is talked about the language used is not invented or borrowed from experts, but retrieved from situated, reliable sources from the past. With such a form of authenticity, heritage is expressed as it was in the words from the past, and its meanings are negotiated in the intertextual chains that connect the present and the past. The use of poetry in heritage discourse helps to understand the meanings of the past beyond disciplinary constraints; it is oriented to holistic intelligibility and is always open to (re)interpretation.

Hou and Wu (2012b) advocate using discourse analysis to explore indigenous meanings of Chinese heritage. In contrast to existing heritage discourse studies that centre on analysing modern representations of heritage, they suggest that critical heritage scholars should turn their attentions to local historical texts. Through discourse analysis of the Wenchang Palace in Quzhou, Eastern China, as recorded in three traditional local gazetteers, they explore Chinese cultural understandings of materiality, cultural fabric and present values of their heritages in contrast to the AHD and other globalized discourses forwarded by contemporary international heritage scholarship. They argue that discourse analysis is a useful tool not only in deconstructing dominating heritage discourses, but also in making heard, and thereby promoting, cultural, historical understandings of 'heritage' that are largely marginalized, silenced and neglected in the global heritage movement. As such, it can facilitate true cultural diversity in heritage, in terms of both practice and research.

Based on two research projects conducted in recent years, Wu (2012) has attempted to promote Chinese heritage discourse and related values through developing an indigenous, non-Western approach to the meaning-making of heritage. The traditional Chinese constructions of the past, he explains, are intended to activate a sense of virtue instead of retaining the materiality of heritage. One cultural sense of virtue was explained by a Confucian scholar who lived in the sixteenth century, arguing that '[e]very inch of the place embodied in loyalty and filial piety is fragrant. It becomes a site of heritage as long as the later generations admire it.' With a case study of a family temple site where no material of the past is identifiable, he demonstrates how contemporary heritage might be renarrated with ancient Chinese historical wisdom, such as that from Confucius and Sima Qian, in (re)making the past. In his discursive remaking of this heritage site, the Confucian strategy of 'cut and paste' is adopted to weave together heterogeneous forms of fragmented texts, formulating a readable narrative that is morally concerned. While the narrative maintains rigidity and authenticity in textual composition, it meanwhile opens up multiplicity, fluidity and creativity in terms of meaning-making possibilities. The implication of this enquiry, Wu suggests, is to find cultural space not only to recognize competing heritage discourses, but also to engage in different ways of making 'heritage'; not only to critique the present, but to truly reuse the past through the reclaiming of lost heritage discourse.

Future trends in discursive studies of heritage

From the above, we can say that a discursive approach to heritage studies is vigorously emerging. In which directions may it head? This question needs some serious reflection. Below, we suggest a few research trends to promote its future development

First, it is clear that more diversified and sophisticated discourse analytical research to deconstruct the cultural politics of heritage is needed. Two lines of endeavour are considered to be of special importance. One is that discourse analysis, especially CDA, can be usefully adopted to investigate different forms of heritage representations in varied settings, other than tourism texts and national and international policy texts. This means that challenges to global heritage conceptualization should be advanced on a wide range of levels and spheres, for example in talk communicated outside the academy and in the cultural landscape in urban or rural areas. In anticipation of this, we may need critically edged discourse analysis of on-site heritage introductions, texts and talks for use in the education of children or young people about specific heritage, mass media texts and programmes about heritage, and so on and so forth. What is more crucial, we suggest, is a critical examination of what we would like to call the 'newly emerging globalized heritage discourse'. This may refer to recent scholarly constructions of the politics of heritage, heritage as identity work, heritage as social or cultural memory, heritage as place, so on and so forth. Here, we are not saying that these terms are inherently problematic. On the contrary, they are brilliant concepts which can be used to capture the dynamics of heritage in its local settings. The problem, however, is that we tend to employ these terms to explain heritage practices anywhere and everywhere. What is worse, when we are doing so, these scholar-invented languages are given too much weight, so as to gloss over the local voices we promise to explore. Indeed, as theoretical concepts, they are helpful, but would it be better for us to suspend these languages of academia and allow local voices, indigenous ways of seeing and thinking to speak for those heritage-pertinent local practices themselves? Discourse analysis would be instrumental in this, enabling us to rethink such a 'newly emerging globalized heritage discourse' that confronts the AHD yet is itself being gradually promoted to an authoritative position.

The other line of research we see as diversifying discourse analysis for heritage studies regards how to make use of different analytical strategies, frameworks, tools and techniques in discourse scholarship, since discourse analysis itself is diverse and heterogeneous, and culturally shaped. Apart from CDA, there are many other types of discourse analytical methods that are fruitfully used to critically understand society and culture (e.g. Blommaert, 2005; Gee, 2005; Shi-xu, 2005; Wu, 2012). And CDA itself is not just one single method or one set of analytical techniques (see Wodak and Meyer, 2009 for different CDA methods). In practice, discourse analysis is even more diversified. Researchers may choose to adopt analytical categories, tools and techniques within one analytical framework or approach, or cross different frameworks and approaches through meaningful integration. It should be mentioned that discourse analysis is also incorporated with other methods and methodologies to form new discourse

research, such as ethnographic-based discourse analysis, corpus-based discourse analysis, multimodal discourse analysis, mediated discourse analysis and so forth (see Bhatia et al., 2008 for introductions to these approaches). There are simply no accepted standard procedures or ways to do (critical) discourse analysis. Our suggestion is that researchers should adopt the most appropriate discourse analytical methods based on their specific research agenda and, more importantly, the data set they have gathered. The best method is the one that best interprets the data. Waterton (2009, 2010b) can be considered as providing examples of multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) of heritage representations. As aforementioned, L. Li's (2010) study is ethnographically based. Increasing this methodological diversity for discursive approaches to heritage studies should be pursued and applauded.

Second, a discursive approach to heritage studies can and should be more than critiquing global, authoritative heritage conceptualizations and constructions. More important, we argue, is to explore different cultural and historical discourses about 'heritage', delineating how the past is understood, conceptualized, managed and used in varied local (especially Indigenous) contexts and at different historical moments. For this purpose, we are attempting to search for alternatives to rethink present heritage discourses and practices. Research endeavours in this direction are, on the one hand, another and perhaps a better way to challenge the cultural politics of the heritage movement, and, on the other, a fundamental step to stimulate localization, Indigenization and pluralization of heritage and its underlying historical consciousness and cultural logic. Only in this way can heritage be an enterprise for safeguarding and promoting cultural diversity around the globe, as is so often assumed to be the case. In the above review of alternative endeavours devoted to cultural heritage discourses, we see Butler's proposal to mobilize the Derridean notion of 'taking on tradition' to embrace the Indigeneity of heritage discourses, Clifford's demonstration of the Native presence in remaking multi-vocal heritage in Alaska, and Wu's efforts in understanding and promoting cultural heritage discourses in Chinese contexts. Scholarship in alternative, non-Western heritage discourses is too limited at this moment, yet this is a direction that should be very much desired and welcomed. Ethnographic fieldwork and historical research methods, if integrated with a discursive perspective or discourse analytical methods, can be especially productive. If such research efforts are constantly made in various subaltern and Indigenous cultural settings, especially where the term '(cultural) heritage' does not exist, heritage studies and practices will be tremendously enriched and diversified.

Third, we also need more specific efforts to transform heritage through transforming the discourses of heritage. Discursive research to challenge authoritative heritage framings and uncover the local, Indigenous and/or historical understandings about 'heritage' is not enough. To go beyond the constraints of

the AHD (Smith and Waterton, 2012) and other globalized heritage conceptualizations, we should strive to discursively transform them or, in other words, remake heritage discourses. That is, we need research that changes the ways in which heritage is talked about and, in so doing, changes the historical consciousness, cultural logic and political aspiration embedded therein. As Billig (2008) remarks, adapting a famous phrase when critiquing the language used in CDA scholarship, '[t]he point is not to categorize language, but to change it' (p. 841). How to change and remake heritage discourses is, however, a big question. We suggest that the above-outlined cultural, historical discourse studies of heritage serve as the point of departure. We may borrow from textual fragments, discursive strategies, cultural ways of thinking and non-modern historicities to reconstruct heritage as unfamiliar or even unthinkable from the mainstream point of view. However, all the borrowings may need certain adjustments and re-creations to fit into the contemporaneity at hand and its aspiration for the future. As in the case study presented in Wu (2012), new discourses of heritage should bridge the present and the past, the local and the global. They serve as a meaning-making apparatus for us to engage with the past and rethink the present. They come from the local and the historical, but are intelligible to the present and to the globalized world.

Concluding remarks

From a discursive perspective, the world and things that occur in it are all constructed. Heritage is no exception. Discourse analysis offers, to use Foucault's words, a means to liberate ourselves from the history of the mind, to give the past a sort of freedom of speech, and to hear from it:

Has not the practice of revolutionary discourse and scientific discourse in Europe over the past two hundred years freed you from this idea that words are wind, an external whisper, a beating of wings that one has difficulty in hearing in the serious matter of history? Or must we conclude that in order to refuse this lesson, you are determined to misunderstand discursive practices, in their own existence, and that you wished to maintain, in spite of that lesson, a history of the mind, of rational knowledge, ideas, and opinions?

(1972, p. 209)

In this chapter we have reviewed a discursive approach to heritage studies, outlining theoretical explorations of the discursive nature of heritage and how discourse analysis is mobilized to critically understand the global heritage movement. We have also highlighted the research in (multi)culturally minded heritage discourses in different local and historical contexts. To promote the

development of this fascinating approach, we suggest future research endeavours in diversifying (critical) discourse analysis for heritage studies, in exploring historical and local discourses in different cultures, and in transforming heritage through transforming heritage discourses. The historicizing, culturalizing and localizing of heritage discourses, we argue, are key moves to make.

There may be other dimensions of heritage that are outside the regime of discourses. They, however, belong to the local people who live with and in those heritages, and they usually cannot be verbally articulated. As researchers, we come to heritage only through the mediation of discourse. We examine heritage discourses and we make discursive representations of heritage, too. If we agree with Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 14) that '[o]ne can, with limits, transform the world by transforming its representation' we should then strive to change not only how other researchers talk about heritage, but also how we ourselves do so. A discursive approach to heritage studies may be the most challenging and fascinating means towards this end.

References

- Ashworth, G. J. and Larkham, P. J. (eds) (1994) *Building a New Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Austin, J. L. (1975) *How to do Things with Words*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Bhatia, V. K., Flowerdew, J. and Jones, R. (eds) (2008) *Advances in Discourse Studies* (London: Routledge).
- Billig, M. (2008) 'Nominalizing and De-Nominalizing: A Reply', *Discourse and Society*, 19(6), 829–841.
- Blommaert, J. (2005) *Discourse: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Bond, G. C. and Gilliam, A. (eds) (1994) *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Brett, D. (1996) *The Construction of Heritage* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- Butler, B. (2006) 'Heritage and the Present Past' in C. Tilley, S. Keuchler and M. Rowlands (eds) *The Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage Publications), pp. 463–79.
- Byrne, D. (1991) 'Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management', *History and Anthropology*, 5(2), 269–76.
- Cameron, F. and Kenderdine, S. (2007) *Theorizing Digital Cultural Heritage: A Critical Discourse* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press)
- Clifford, J. (2004) 'Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska', *Current Anthropology*, 45(1), 5–23.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman).
- Fairclough, N. (2006) *Language and Globalization* (London: Routledge).

- Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Trans. A. M. Sheridan) (London: Tavistock Publications).
- Fowler, P. (1992) *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Gee, P. (2005) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge).
- Hall, S. (2005) 'Whose Heritage? Un-settling the Heritage, Re-imaging the Post-Nation' in J. Littler and R. Naidoo (eds) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'* (London: Routledge), pp. 21–31.
- Hall, S. (2011) 'The Work of Representation' in S. Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage in association with the Open University), pp. 13–74.
- Harvey, D. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319–38.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. and Ranger, T. (eds) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hou, S. and Wu, Z. (2012a) "'Guji'" and the Cross-Cultural Interpretation of the Politics of Heritage' [*'Guiji' yu yichan zhengzhi de kuawenhua jiedu*], *Studies in Art and Literature*, 5(1), 1–8.
- Hou, S. and Wu, Z. (2012b) 'Discourse Analysis and the Interpretation of Indigenous Meanings of Chinese Cultural Heritage: A Case Study of the *Wenchang Palace*' [*Huayufenxi yu wenhuayichan de bentu yiyi jiedu – yi quzhou fangzhi zhong de wenchangdian wei li*], *Southeast Culture*, 4, 21–7.
- Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2001) *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication* (London: Arnold).
- Li, J. (2005) 'An Archaeological Investigation of the Idea of "Cultural Heritage"' [*Shenme shi wenhuayichan? – Dui yige dangdai guannian de zhishi kaoku*], *Literature and Art Studies*, 4, 123–31.
- Li, L. (2010) *Cultural Heritage in between Scholars and Villagers* [*Zai Xuezhe yu Cunmin Zhijian de Wenhua Yichan*] (Beijing: Renmin Press).
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 2nd edn (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Potter, J. (2008) 'Discourse Analysis' in L. Given. (ed.) *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage), pp. 218–21
- Shi-xu (2005) *A Cultural Approach to Discourse* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Smart, G. (2008) 'Ethnographic-Based Discourse Analysis: Uses, Issues and Prospects' in V. K. Bhatia, J. Flowerdew and R. Jones (eds) *Advances in Discourse Studies* (London: Routledge), pp. 56–66.
- Smart, G. (2012) 'Discourse-Oriented Ethnography' in P. Gee and M. Handford (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (London: Routledge), pp. 147–59.
- Smith, L. (2004) *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. and Waterton, E. (2012) 'Constrained by Common Sense: The Authorised Heritage Discourse in Contemporary Debates' in J. Carman, R. Skeates and C. McDavid (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 153–71.

- Stone, P. G. and Molyneaux, B. L. (eds) (1994) *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Trouillot, M. R. (1995) *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press).
- Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: John Wiley).
- Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World* (London: Routledge).
- Waterton, E. (2007) 'Heritage as Discourse: An Institutionalised Construction of the Past in the UK' in D. Hull, S. Grabow and E. Waterton (eds) *Which Past, Whose Future? Treatments of the Past at the Start of the 21st Century* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), pp. 31–9.
- Waterton, E. (2009) 'Sights of Sites: Picturing Heritage, Power and Exclusion', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 4(1), 37–56.
- Waterton, E. (2010a) *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Waterton, E. (2010b) 'Branding the Past: The Visual Imagery of England's heritage' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representations: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers), pp. 155–72.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2010) *Culture, Heritage and Representations: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers).
- Waterton, E., Smith, L. and Campbell, G. (2006) 'The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies: The Burra Charter and Social Inclusion', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(4), 339–55.
- White, H. (1973) *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press).
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (2009) (ed.) *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Sage).
- Wu, Z. (2012) 'Recovering Indigenous Discourse of Cultural Heritage: A Chinese Challenge to Western Value of Heritage' [*Huayu yu wenhuayichang de bentu yiyi jiangou*], *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, 42(5), 28–40.
- Wu, Z. and Yu, H. (2011) 'Narrative Paradigm of Shiji and Indigenization of Ethnography' [*Shiji xushi fanshi yu minzuzhi shuxie de bentuhua*], *Journal of Guangxi University of Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)*, 33(1), 70–7.

3

Heritage as Performance

Michael Haldrup and Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt

Introduction: The uses of heritage

Studies of heritage have often emphasized the representational side of cultural heritage. Attention has been focused on the symbolic functions of heritage as a repository for the cultural memory of societies, thus emphasizing the role heritage plays, for example, in relation to national history and identity and the close relations between the development of national heritage and similar national developments within literature, history, art and architecture (Urry, 1996; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). In a European context, heritage has traditionally been bound up with the conservation of an (imagined) past, hence potentially excluding marginalized experiences and interests from the past it represents. Often the studies of such marginalized examples of heritage have drawn heavily on postcolonial and discursive approaches in order to contest and unpack the power structures at work in producing and performing the 'authorized heritage discourse' with its focus on heritage relics as aesthetically pleasing objects valued for their (national) symbolic significance (Smith, 2006, pp. 29–35, 212–29). In contrast, this chapter suggests another approach to heritage. Instead of focusing on the symbolic dimensions of objects and discourses, our approach argues that, as Smith herself makes clear, there is no such *thing* as heritage (2006, pp. 13–14, 2011, p. 69). In contrast to heritage-as-things, we approach heritage-as-performance, emerging out of the social practices and uses to which people put it. Building on the work of Crouch (2010) and others, this chapter emphasizes that heritage meanings are practised in processes involving people experiencing heritage. Thus, our point of departure is in accordance with Smith's finding 'that heritage had to be experienced for it to be heritage . . . ' (Smith, 2006, p. 47). Unlike the previous chapters, which interrogate heritage as a discursive and representational cultural process, this chapter will develop the notion of heritage as practised and performed, subjective and situational, and emergent in particular settings. Tracing the emergence of performativity in the

wider social sciences, particularly cultural geography, the chapter will examine its locus in non-representational theory and its utility for heritage studies. This will allow heritage to move into the realm of the 'everyday', conceptualized as something that is subjective and always in the process of 'making', which raises new challenges and potentials for the field.

In attempting to relocate analytical attention from the objects of heritage and their symbolic consumption towards the practices and performances through which material culture is appropriated and used in everyday life, such an approach to performance is part of a broader turn towards performance in studies of the material culture of leisure and tourism (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006). In short, focus has shifted from the visual/symbolic consumption of objects and sites towards the actual (co-)presence of living, breathing, sensing and doing bodies with the objects and material settings provided. In focusing on the various 'doings' of people, this 'performance turn' (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, p. 3) has sought to destabilize ideas of fixed and 'contained' spaces, instead allowing an understanding of practices/performances of tourism/heritage as emerging within relational, contingent and dynamic spaces (Coleman and Crang, 2002; Bærenholdt et al., 2004). Also in heritage studies, the turn towards theories of performance has had a significant influence (Edensor, 1998; Tivers, 2002; Bagnall, 2003; Bærenholdt and Haldrup, 2004; Chronis, 2005). Crouch (2010, p. 69) suggests the notion of 'heritagization' to capture these fluid and dynamic aspects of heritage as something that is produced, performed and emerging in the embodied and creative uses of heritage generated by people. In this chapter we will explore such dynamic aspects of heritage emerging in people's active performances *of*, *at* and *with* heritage sites by taking the discussion of performance/performativity into some of the current discussions of heritage as performance.

First, we look at how performance is used creatively by professionals in the heritage sector to revive the past through spectacular performances *of* heritage, especially in cases of re-enactment. Second, we take the turn towards theories of performance further, as argued above, by putting the visitors/consumers at the centre of the stage, looking at how their performances *at* heritage sites shape the stories and experiences produced at heritage sites. Third, and finally, we look at people's unpredictable performances *with* heritage when experiences of heritage are connected to broader aspects of everyday life and popular culture and made use of in contexts removed from the sites of heritage.

The 'performance turn'

The theoretical perspectives and concepts of the 'performance turn' have been more or less explicitly bound up with ideas of performance and performativity. Notably, the performance turn in tourist, leisure and museum studies has not

been strongly connected to post-structural/linguistic notions of performativity as advanced by Butler (1993). More often, the empirical studies that have fuelled the turn towards performance have drawn on Goffman's dramaturgical sociology (see Bærenholdt et al., 2008, pp. 179–81 for a discussion of this). In addition to this inspiration, a less precise source of inspiration for the performance turn has emerged within discussions of space, materiality and performance in cultural geography. We now briefly consider these notions before we return to heritage.

As mentioned above, the turn towards performance in tourism and leisure studies was primarily driven by an attempt to grasp the doings and acts of 'real' people consuming sights and landscapes of leisure. Of particular interest has been Edensor's study of how various groups of tourists consumed the Taj Mahal and, in touring this particular heritage site, wove connections between the embodied and tangible practices at the site and the cultural studies and scripts they enacted/drew upon in giving meaning to the Taj. This focus on the minutiae of practices and performances of groups of tourists at a particular site introduced a strong inspiration from Ervin Goffman's microsociology (1959) as key to understanding the concept of performance in relation to social interaction. For Goffman, social interaction is dramaturgically performed among actors, always conscious of the fact that they perform roles and are observed by others, and in constant negotiation. Moreover, people's performance is not only situated in (co-)present interactions, but reaches out to imagined and future audiences. Following this, Edensor (2001, p. 64) argued that

the nature of the stage is dependent on the kinds of performances enacted upon it. For carefully stage-managed spaces may be transformed by the presence of tourists who adhere to different norms. Thus stages can continually change, can expand and contract. For most stages are ambiguous, sites for different performances.

In departing from conceiving of time and space as an exterior container of performance, Edensor and other writers of the performance turn imply a more dynamic conception of space, which is now acknowledged in contemporary human geography (see, for example, Massey, 2005; Simonsen, 2008; Thrift, 2008). This is also supported by Urry and Larsen (2011, Chapter 8) in their listing of eight features of the performance turn in tourist studies, where the stress put on the dramaturgical staging of social interaction in tourism compels us to question whether people's experiences may not be pre-given and might, rather, depend more on how tourists themselves engage in experiencing, which is most often a question of social interaction with others.

The implication of this is to understand places as being performed in both time and space, so that places are not fixed entities but depend on how they

are visited, used, dealt with and so on. Thus, places, or sites, are made through their complex and multidimensional performance, and only last as long as these performances are effective. Moreover, the performance turn also introduced understandings of body and matter from phenomenology, even from authors for whom performance is not a central concept (such as Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Ingold, 2000). Most significantly, Nigel Thrift (2008) has argued for a 'non-representational' approach that acknowledges how the 'material' and the 'social' intertwine. He argues that students of social practice should depart from studies of 'representations' and instead focus on bodies, technologies and performances. In contrast to Butler's notion of performativity, Thrift (2004) argues – using the example of the social dance – that performances most often are pre-representational and pre-choreographed, at the same time potentially creative and non-predictable. Haldrup and Larsen (2010) further this argument by drawing inspiration from theories of materiality and affordance (Gibson, 1979) and performance studies (Schechner, 2006), suggesting that studies of tourist behaviour (and visitor behaviour more generally) should always acknowledge the interconnection between performance and performativity (see also Gregson and Rose, 2000, p. 434), and how both cultural and material

choreographies are guidelines, blueprints, and nothing more (or less), and . . . enable as much as they constrain creativity.

(Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, p. 13)

Performances are, thus, practices already inscribed in and inhabiting the world, and practices are bodily and material. Therefore, this approach guides studies to look solidly into the intersection of visitor bodies and the material environment of heritage places, as well as the tools and technologies involved.

Performances of heritage

In the museum and heritage sector, the reproduction of the past through the use of museum theatre, live performances and actors has been a widespread (yet often problematized) method for engaging with the imagination of audiences (Bruner, 1993; Crang, 1994; Jackson and Kid, 2011). This way of reviving 'what was' is often contested within professional conservationist groups. Making the past present to the (post)modern visitor through performance is, as Tivers (2002, p. 199) notes, a general feature of 'a dramatized, or "performative" society, where learning through experience is given more credence than learning through cognition'.

Looking more closely into heritage practices, we will argue that performance of heritage emerges through the combination of social interaction, relational

entanglements with material artefacts, and finally, but not least, the sharing of the heritage experiences performed. Research at the Viking Ship Museum (see next section) shows that the performance of heritage – through site-specific transactions – depends on staff and volunteers participating in a rewarding heritage experience (see Bærenholdt, 2007).

However, in this section, the key case is the Medieval Centre near Nykøbing F. in Denmark,¹ studied in 2007 as part of an EU Social Fund project (Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2008, 2009; Bærenholdt, 2012, pp. 118–23). It is a re-enactment centre, where life is performed as if the performing employees and visitors were living 610 years ago. The Medieval Centre was constructed and is being continuously developed as a stage for re-enactment, with replicas and reconstructions of houses and tools. It originally started in 1989 with an interest in medieval artillery, and still employs a collection of trebuchets, fired every day with the help of visitors, and likewise with canon firings. In addition, there is a performance of knights fighting on horses, engaging visitors as fans of one of the knights, every afternoon in the tourist season. During the summer, as well as the handful of seasonally employed re-enactors and visitors, there is also a third, hybrid category of volunteers from Denmark and abroad, staying overnight in the reconstructed houses.

The site of the Medieval Centre is carefully constructed with (Goffmanian) front-stage and back-stage areas, where soft transitions between the two are carefully performed in both space and time. In space, the transition zone includes an area with fast food and toilet facilities, not far from the entrance, and the gate used by performing employees and volunteers in order to reach the real, non-public back stage. In time, medieval life 610 years ago is performed during opening hours, while volunteers in the summer unpack their modern things in order to party and sleep overnight in the very same area. During opening hours, employees and volunteers are dressed in replica clothes and speak a language notable for its lack of modern vocabulary. The real front-stage area for these performances, locally called ‘the field’, has been built as a small medieval market town with a small harbour area and a site for knights’ tournaments. Many everyday activities are performed, inviting visitors to take part in making, displaying, talking about and buying rope, shoes, clothes, candles, jewellery, wooden goods, iron goods, food and herbs.

Employees and volunteers perform their roles with reference to a set of rules relating to clothing and behaviour, and they are truly committed to their performance, thereby signifying a sense of ownership, and identification, with the project. But these rules are not a script for actions; they are only the rules of the game. The game itself derives from people’s interactions and relations with each other and with tools, devices and houses. As heritage is not something that *is*, it is enacted. This is a relational achievement, totally dependent on its material supporters. But, in the end, the social interactions criss-crossing employees, volunteers and visitors are *sine qua non*.

The work of enactors at the Medieval Centre is a case of ‘performative work’, though most of the research discussion on work of this kind has been in other sectors than heritage, such as service and creative businesses (Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2009). But performative work in heritage, as described above, has much in common with other front-stage jobs. Work satisfaction, as well as volunteer and visitor satisfaction, depends largely on the response and recognition emerging in social interaction, performed with much self-control, thus leading to self-esteem if successful. It was a clear conclusion from the research that enactors often found their social interactions with visitors ‘so rewarding’ (Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2009, p. 358). Thus, experiences emerge in the meaningful, playful interactions between enactors and visitors. The implication of this is that much of the content of these interactions is purely social, in the Goffmanian sense of performance for each other, since the experience and meaning of heritage are performed in the interactions among employees, volunteers and visitors.

The research performed at the site in 2007 (Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2008, 2009) drew from qualitative in situ interviews with key performing employees, combined with participant observation as volunteers. Through these ethnographic methods, it was possible to see how experiences, and the tourist place itself, emerge through certain ways of managing and playing with several layers of reality, where actors always also manage the absent (Bærenholdt, 2012). A very good illustration of this playful and interactive management of multiple realities, becoming more or less absent through a negotiating performance, comes from this interview extract (from 2007) with one of the employed enactors:

Interviewee: ... And then I like – but it is not all who understands this – I like to do some ping-pong with the tourists. They do not really believe in this that we are in 1397. They try to drag you out of it. Eh, stop this, what now, what then and what do you do? Do you sleep here? All the things they ask about. It really becomes a sport to be convincing in responding that I do not at all know/understand what this is about, of course I am sleeping here and that kind of stuff. It is very funny. So I can have some fun with myself.

Interviewer: It must be this thing driving it all; that is the play in it, in reality...

Interviewee: To carry conviction and put up the poker face and like that.

(Translated from Danish; Bærenholdt and Jensen, 2008, p. 36)

The interviewed enactor clearly demonstrates how much this is a performance of heritage, going on and negotiated across here–other place, now–then, real–performed, know–not know, presence–absence and so on. It is a Goffmanian dramaturgical performance of roles, anticipations, expectations, imaginations and the like. Heritage, thus, is something performed only through social

interaction, inside the front stage of material relations, where everybody knows and enjoys the fact that there is more at stake than is being said. However, there is also the local rule that enactors *can* take a step to one side, to be in another world for a moment, and to step back into the performance of heritage again, thereby only proving its performed character. It is precisely this aspect of the interaction between live actors and visitors, and between the performed character and the actor, that shows there is more to the performance of heritage than the staged display. In a sense, visitors, and the 'performance' itself, become the spectacle that draws the imagination and experience of people (see Bagnall, 2003, p. 87). As such, the use of live actors and re-enactment at heritage/museum sites such as the Medieval Centre can be seen as working within a

tension between 'spectacular' postmodern forms of consumption and a more embedded form of consumption that is related to social relations, life-histories, and the lived experience of the visitors.

(Bagnall, 2003, p. 98)

The past is thus not only a show on display, but takes the form of dialogue and play.

Performances *at* heritage sites

Whereas the above discussion of the Medieval Centre focused on re-enactors' performances *of* heritage, we will now look more closely at visitor performances at a museum. As we pointed out in the previous section, the interaction with audiences can be an important element of re-enacting heritage through theatrical performance, but the theatrical element does not need to be as outspoken as is the case at the Medieval Centre. At the Viking Ship museum in Roskilde,² for example, staff and volunteers are explicitly instructed *not* to 'perform' but, instead, to demonstrate historical (Viking) skills primarily connected with shipbuilding and sailing. Nordic Viking heritage is presented through relict ships, a shipyard open to the public where shipbuilding can be examined and replica ships in the harbour can be viewed as reconstructions and sailed in to gain real-life Viking sailing experiences. All these elements are related to the museum's strong professional ethos and competencies in experimental archaeology.

The Viking Ship Museum is an international attraction. Originally built in order to contain Viking shipwrecks excavated from the bottom of Roskilde Fjord in the 1960s, the museum has developed and expanded its range of activities. In 1997 a 'Museum Island' was constructed in front of the exhibition hall, exhibiting a working shipyard and other Viking crafts as well as experimentation with replica ships (and sailing trips for visitors). This was followed by the

spectacular building of the replica Viking longship *Sea Stallion from Glendalough* and its highly mediatized journey to Ireland and back. Today, the Viking Ship Museum not only offers an exhibition of Viking wrecks but is also the preferred global place to film Viking ships and crafts, for example for *National Geographic*, *History Channel* etc. (Bærenholdt and Haldrup, 2004, 2006; Haldrup and Bærenholdt, 2010).

Since 2003, we have followed and worked along with the development of the Viking Ship Museum, starting with ethnographic participant observations and in situ interviews with tourists and also with staff. It is a deliberate policy of the museum not to perform stories, not to let staff perform in Viking cloth, not to make fake things – rather, it prefers to let the ships, the craftsmanship involved in their making and sailing them, together with the atmosphere of the place, affect tourists to register certain moods and ‘feel’ things. As such, the director reflects on the iterative design of the museum area as a search for making the site itself so attractive that people are compelled to enter and engage. In several interviews, she explained how ‘we understand the building of a boat, not only as a craft, but as a whole way of thinking’, stressing how the place has to respond to the question of ‘how one tunes the audience and makes people open for experiences’. She goes on to argue that, in constructing the Museum Island’s maritime environment, ‘it is important to think of it as a garden ...’ (interview with director of the Viking Ship Museum; for more detail see Haldrup and Bærenholdt, 2010, p. 192). The idea is that the site has to open people’s minds, so that people can experience the heritage of shipbuilding.

This way of thinking is embedded in the museum staff’s daily practices. Serious worries about authenticity are performed about how to build replica ships – but only here – otherwise stressing the museum’s modern framing. A shipbuilder said that ‘there is a separation. There are the ship and the parts, sitting on the ship. We relate to this as something original. But when it comes to clothing, then we do not want to mix things’ (see Danish text and further context; Bærenholdt, 2007, p. 178). So clothing, language and the behaviour of staff, for example of the shipbuilder situated near to visitors, have to be modern. This is a deliberate policy of the Viking Ship Museum, formulated to avoid becoming a site for ‘re-enactment’ of cultural traits that might redirect attention from the Viking arts and crafts the museum wants to demonstrate.

It is this line that facilitates performance *at* the heritage site, rather than the performance *of* heritage, as was the case with the Medieval Centre. Of course, both forms of heritage as performance can exist in both sites, but there is a principal difference between what kinds of performances are supported in each of these two cases. While the Medieval Centre primarily puts on a spectacle for the joy and amusement of visitors, performances at the Viking Ship Museum are much more related to preserving/reviving craftsmanship from the period. This brings it more closely in line with the kind of exhibitions known from

heritage centres related to early industrialism, for example, where heritage, genealogy and identity intersect when visitors follow the crafts at work in the museum. This is in line with Bagnall's study (2003), where she points to the emotions people can mobilize when they consume, challenge and maybe criticize the museum exhibition by engaging and comparing with personal and family memories (see also Smith, 2006).

The following examples are drawn from conversations that took place in summer 2003 (see Bærenholdt and Haldrup, 2004) and show how visitor experiences unfold in relational intersections between in-site exhibited objects and family memories.

A middle-aged couple from Hawaii visited the Viking Ship Museum as part of a conscious project of tracing their Scandinavian ancestors and heritage. They were impressed by the craftsmanship involved in building the ships: 'very creative and very clever at figuring out how to survive'. They therefore visited the Museum Island for the second time before opening hours in order to take photographs of the construction of the replica Viking ship (later named the *Sea Stallion from Glendalough*):

because we are trying to explain our grandchildren – their heritage, and this helps... And I'm so interested and amazed that long ago people had developed crafts; they were not literate, they had to make it originally.

(First quoted in Bærenholdt and Haldrup, 2004, p. 84)

Tourist visitors perform their own heritage *at* the heritage site. Their interpretation is one of their own making, but it is clearly facilitated from being *at* – and revisiting – the heritage site. These are tourist performances with a certain kind of ludic and fantastic engagement, where interpretations emerge from reflecting on their own histories along with objects and environments at the heritage site. Furthermore, these kinds of heritage performance typically emerge in social interrelations among visitors. The engagement with the craftsmanship of shipbuilding and with the sailing capability of this kind of ship that can be tried out in practice by visitors also emerges in the direct front-stage, personal dialogues with museum shipbuilders, sailors and student guides.

Two visiting young sisters, who grew up in Taiwan, knew little about the museum in advance, and came to visit more or less by coincidence. We talked about images of Vikings, and, in reaction to the interviewer talking about the Vikings' exploration of Newfoundland, one of the sisters responded:

Oh, actually, I watched a TV programme on the History Channel talking about that, and they were trying to figure out who actually discovered America first.....but at some time they mentioned Chinese sailors, I don't know how many years ago, and the whole programme struck me

very much, because of the Chinese, not because of the Vikings... we grew up in Taiwan ... so I hope the Chinese discovered America.

(First quoted in Bærenholdt and Haldrup, 2004, p. 83)

Clearly these reflections emerged in response to the interviewer's intervention, yet the history of Viking trade and conquest is also presented in posters. The point is that such reflections emerged *at* the heritage site, where no direct performance whatsoever directly addressed anybody sailing across the Atlantic or Pacific oceans. Instead, this exemplifies how visitors reflect on notions of identity and heritage in selective ways, connecting the stories that confront them in curious ways to their own preferences, tastes and knowledges drawn from a variety of (media) sources. By such an 'emotional and imaginatively mapping' (Bagnall, 2003, p. 91) of heritage sites, visitors construct their own heritage worlds, based as much on media representations and popular culture as on what can be derived from the site itself.

Simultaneously, the role of media and popular culture shows how the discursive aspects of performance often neglected by a purely Goffmanian take on performance can be important parts of the multiple interrelations at play at heritage sites. Visitors may more or less reflexively engage in citing discourses from elsewhere that come into their minds, when confronted with the heritage site. This is an example of the citational practices central to Butler's (1993) understanding of performativity. But it is worth stressing that, as the example with the Chinese discovery of America showed, discourses cited can be other than, and maybe even subversive of, the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006, 2011) of the site. There are, indeed, ironic and playful ways in which the dialogue between discourse and performance unfolds *at* heritage sites. The example shows how processes of 'heritagization' work through the active and creative uses *with* heritage performed by people, and how heritage experiences, objects and representations migrate into other spheres of social and everyday life. Importantly, it also demonstrates how social relations and everyday life frame embodied performance at heritage sites: in short, to follow the 'use logics' of heritage consumption.

Performances *with* heritage

In the previous sections we discussed two examples of heritage sites, both of which are based on reviving the past. These are also examples of heritage sites in which staff play important roles as mediators, giving voice to the past through theatrical performance (re-enactment) or through experimental archaeology (re-creation). In this section we will base the discussion on more 'mute' heritage sites to show how people in their performances with heritage draw on scripts and choreographies provided by media and popular culture, detailing

not only how these may restrict and ‘pollute’ (authentic) experiences of heritage but also enable visitors to take possession of them. We will, in particular, discuss the example of the Giza pyramids. As the ‘home of the last standing wonder’,³ the Giza plateau fulfils an important role as a must-see attraction in contemporary mass tourism to Egypt. It is perhaps *the* iconic tourist sight in the world, and perhaps the most omnipresent example of heritage in media, popular culture and everyday life.

The following draws on fieldwork carried out in Egypt in 2008. As part of mobile tourism ethnography, tourists were shadowed on their sight-seeing trips as well as in resorts. Additionally, after tourist travels had taken place, tourists were visited in their private homes in order to excavate the afterlife of tourist experiences (see Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, pp. 37–57). Visiting the pyramids, of course, was a significant example of heritage experiences among the tourists studied. On the trip to Egypt, the pyramids were a must-go for many otherwise sea-sun-and-sand-seeking tourists, and regularly showed up as souvenirs in the tourists’ homes, particularly in their collections of holiday snaps (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, pp. 154–95). What especially became clear during this phase of the fieldwork was that pyramids and other ‘collections’ of heritage in the form of photos, souvenirs and stories did not only assume the role of ‘things that bright up the place’ (Miller, 2006), like decoration of private homes, but were part of a more ambivalent play in which they were used as devices for routing/rooting a sense of cosmopolitan ‘lay geography’, in which the display (or not) of reflections of ‘heritage’ in private homes became attached to broader aspects of social roles and everyday life. The performances people made *with* part of a seemingly open-ended process of quotation, circulation and the rearrangement of things, photos and stories of heritage showed that one of the ways they had ‘taken possession’ of heritage was through objects, photos and stories brought home. It was evident that people often related to, and discussed, their collections of heritage with a great amount of self-consciousness and irony: the collections of heritage were purposeful, always with an audience in mind, and often with a clear consciousness of the shortcomings and fallacies of the particular arrangements made (Haldrup, 2009). One of those visited explained that

I think I brought them [miniatures, papyruses etc.] home to document the history of Egypt.... I did think they were fantastic from an aesthetic point of view, but also to show them at home, a kind of documentary....

(Interview quotation from Haldrup, 2009, p. 61)

This was also significant in the fieldwork performed at the Giza plateau. Here, one of the ‘shadowed’ families can be used as an illustrative example (see Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, pp. 103–6 for a fuller explanation). The family consisted of two children (ten and 12 years old) and their mother. The father

had not been able to get time off work, but the mother travelled with them to Egypt anyway, as it would be 'a pity for them if they [the children] would not be able to travel in the school holiday because of him'. During the two-day trip, the three members of the family were all equipped with mobile cameras, eagerly took part in photo-shooting every heritage relict in sight, and were intensely caught up in conversations and discussions when comparing their results. What interested us in the research was how photographing becomes a way of relating to the materiality of the site (see also Haldrup and Larsen, 2003). The Giza pyramids seemed to possess a power that pushed the trigger automatically. Actually, many of the angles from which the pyramids were 'shot' would not produce a very good view of the scenery (indeed, guides advise against photographing from these angles). So why do people literally shoot as an affective response to facing the pyramids? The mother from the family we 'shadowed' provided one answer:

'We came here for the sun and the sea', the mother explains, 'but this trip was a "must". The pyramids!!! Fantastic. Fantastic!!! I mean, you have seen them over and over again, everywhere, on pictures, TV, everywhere, and then being there, *touching* the stones, I think, that was why we took so many pictures, and you would not take a stone, would you? That would not be OK. I have never read a single line about them, but NOW when I get home, I will, it's amazing what they have built ...'

(Interview quotation from Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, p. 105)

It is more the production of a tangible and material 'token' that fuels her photographing than an ambition to imitate or reproduce images seen prior to the visit. Considering the (impossible) option of bringing (stealing) home a stone, photographing becomes the way in which the stones can be touched and brought home. Thus, her photographing may be read as a way of establishing the material reality of the Giza plateau by producing an object that *mediates* between the pyramids and their everyday life (including their absent father, who was an ever-present character in their discussions of photographs and experiences).

This also illustrates that, in order to emerge as an iconic place, the heritage site has to be framed and prefigured through a multiplicity of mobilities, networks and performances in order to translate these 'piles of stone' on the outskirts of Cairo into a tangible material *and* symbolic place. As Rose (2002) points out, there is an almost aggressively dominant ideological heritage-discourse surrounding the Giza pyramids. Rose reports an incident in which the (iconic) former Minister for Antiquities, Dr Zahi Hawass, almost violently rejected his questions on what makes these amazing but still, basically, 'just big stones' so important. Hawass responded:

Someone like you who says the pyramids are a pile of stones should go and educate himself more to understand what means heritage . . . This is the first time in my life I met someone educated who really asks a question like this. I cannot really accept a question like this at all. Because this is supposed to be a question from an intellectual and I do not think that any intellectual can say that the pyramids are just a pile of stones

(cited in Rose, 2002, p. 464)

The transformation of the pyramids from being simply big ‘piles of stone’ to a globally recognized heritage and tourist sight depends on the recognition of a strong cultural discourse. But this transformation also depends on the contingent networks of technologies (buses, the Internet), representations (pictures, films, homepages), materialities (stones, souvenirs, fences, parking lots), bodies (camels, tourists, traders and drivers) and stories (by experts and tourists, high culture or popular culture). At the plateau, there are ongoing tensions about the ‘framing’ and choreographing of tourist performances. In essence, these tensions revolve around whether the Giza pyramids are (should be) a place of sight-seeing or site-sensing. Site management has for years attempted to ‘musealize’ the plateau for conservational reasons and to preserve (or re-create) the plateau as a *visual* sight, providing parking lots, viewing stations and fences around the pyramids. Furthermore, intense energy has been put into policing the site by regulating local business around the plateau and avoiding urban planning and infrastructural projects around it. These local endeavours have drawn power from the global discourse on the site as a World Heritage Site – a discourse also circulating in the omnipresence of the pyramids in media coverage and popular culture. In this way, we see performance and discourse as important elements in ‘heritagization’ in both everyday life and heritage management. The materialities of heritage in the examples above are played up against an apparently self-explaining discourse marking out the pyramids as extraordinary beyond questioning. It is a discourse circulated and reinforced in media, popular culture and everyday life (see Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, pp. 87–93 on this). It is a discourse that depends upon being circulated through pictures, objects and stories by visitors, media, advertisers, tour operators and so on. It is through this discourse that the site gains its significance. It is this discourse that makes the materialities of the Egyptian past cause joy, awe, anger and embarrassment. In the end, it is this discourse that glues the stones of the Giza pyramids together. Without it, they would be just – piles of stone.

Conclusion: A moderate stand on performance

The chapter has discussed various ways in which heritage should be seen more as something performed than as a thing in itself. And there are several ways in

which heritage can be performed. We saw the very social Goffmanian aspects involved in enactors' 'poker face' play with visitors, negotiating their roles in the playful performance *of* heritage. Second, we saw how visitors *at* a heritage site can use its atmosphere and facilities to inspire connections with other, and their own, stories, emerging *at* a heritage site. In practice, these different modalities of heritage as performance intersect and mix. And this became possibly most evident in the last case of performance *with* heritage: collecting photos for future use for an audience (here, the father) in mind and 'taking possession' of heritage souvenirs, to use them creatively. While our approach and the ethnographic methods used take inspiration from Goffmann's dramaturgical approach to performance, we want to suggest a more modest and relaxed stance on the concept of performance, in order to highlight the interpretations and theoretical developments it is possible to gain from our fieldwork. In these findings, there are some indications of citational, performative practices, as in Butler (1993), where tourists perform well-known scripts of how to conceive of the lives of medieval people, Viking crafts and Egyptian monuments. While Butler's concept of performativity is based on studies of how sexual practices work through and in fights over the embodiment of hegemonic discourses, it is up for discussion how far this take on performance can be 'taken elsewhere' (Gregson and Rose, 2000). For sure, heritage *as* performance includes direct references to and citations of authorized heritage discourse, but, as explained by Smith (2006), this is only part of the story. And we have hinted at examples of how visitors draw on and cite alternative discourses. It is most significant, therefore, to point out the creative and active ways in which people make use of heritage. The uses of heritage happen in many places, some of which are far from heritage sites. And performances play with the 'presence of what is not' in museums (Hetherington, 2007, p. 174), thus enacting and mixing multiple levels of heritage, stories and experiences together.

Our findings are similar to those of Bagnall (2003, p. 95), when she stresses how important it was that the two heritage sites she studied were complex, contested and multi-vocal. Heritage sites designed for affording multiplicity in people's heritage experiences allow competing discourses to be consumed, challenged and changed in practice. Visitor experience seems to depend a lot on the meeting of multiple actors and their performance (Bærenholdt, 2012). Heritage is never only a particular thing; it is always performed in specific contexts, combinations and connections.

Goffman inspires our understanding of the important social, interactive and role-playing (for an imagining audience) aspects involved. Butler's notion of performativity hints at the citational practices involved in performing heritage, but it is an important point that heritage is always performed as more-than-citational. Heritage as performance is about the intersection of (hi)stories in play and their redesign, the social interactions performed and imagined in past,

present and future, as well as the material artefacts and environments affording and facilitating certain atmospheres for the creative use of heritage. The use of heritage relates to people's memories, where heritages are intermingled with practices that are about more than impression management, role-play and pre-set choreographies, stages and media. People do not only perform heritage in order to play the game of Goffmanian role-play with other people, or only to perform already existing Butlerian embodied discourses. Heritage experiences are performed in open-ended and flexible social interactions taking place in sites and with objects allowing for multiplicity. As such, the performance of heritage is also about the unpredictable, creative and non-stable, arriving out of the dramas, improvisations and remakings of heritage.

Notes

1. See: <http://www.middelaldercentret.dk/engelsk/welcome.html>, accessed 21 June 2014.
2. See: <http://www.vikingskibsmuseet.dk/en/>, accessed 21 June 2014.
3. See: <http://en.egypt.travel/attraction/index/giza-plateau>, accessed 21 June 2014.

References

- Bærenholdt, J. O. (2007) 'Transaktioner: Medarbejdere og Oplevelser i Kulturøkonomien' in J. O. Bærenholdt and J. Sundbo (eds) *Oplevelsesøkonomi: Produktion, Forbrug, Kultur* (Copenhagen: Samfundslitteratur), pp. 159–83.
- Bærenholdt, J. O. (2012) 'Enacting Destinations: The Politics of Absence and Presence' in R. van der Duim, C. Ren and G. T. Jóhannesson (eds) *Actor-Network Theory and Tourism: Ordering, Materiality and Multiplicity* (London: Routledge), pp. 111–27.
- Bærenholdt, J. O. and Haldrup, M. (2004) 'On the Track of the Vikings', in M. Sheller and J. Urry (eds) *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play* (London: Routledge), pp. 78–89.
- Bærenholdt, J. O. and Haldrup, M. (2006) 'Mobile Networks and Placemaking in Cultural Tourism', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 13(3), 209–24.
- Bærenholdt, J. O. and Jensen, H. L. (2008) *Oplevelsesarbejde på Lolland*, Research Papers from the MOSPUS Research Unit 1/08, Roskilde University, <http://rudar.ruc.dk:8080/handle/1800/3098>, accessed 4 December 2012.
- Bærenholdt, J. O. and Jensen, H. L. (2009) 'Performative Work in Tourism', *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 9, 349–65.
- Bærenholdt, J. O., Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. (2008) 'Performing Cultural Attractions' in J. Sundbo and P. Darmer (eds) *Creating Experiences in the Experience Economy* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publications), pp. 176–202.
- Bærenholdt, J. O., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J. and Urry, J. (2004) *Performing Tourist Places* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Bagnall, G. (2003) 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites', *Museum and Society*, 1(2), 87–103.
- Bruner, E. M. (1993) 'Lincoln's New Salem as a Contested Site', *Museum Anthropology*, 17, 14–25.
- Butler, J. (1993) *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London: Routledge).

- Chronis, A. (2005), 'Coconstructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(2), 386–406.
- Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (eds) (2002) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance* (Oxford: Berghahn).
- Crang, M. (1994) 'On the Heritage Trail: Maps of and Journeys to Olde Englande', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12, 341–55.
- Crouch, D. (2010) 'The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage', in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 57–71.
- Edensor, T. (1998) *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site* (London: Routledge).
- Edensor, T. (2001) 'Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism: (Re)producing Tourist Space and Practice', *Tourist Studies*, 1, 59–81.
- Gibson, J. J. (1979) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin).
- Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor Books).
- Gregson, N. and Rose, G. (2000) 'Taking Butler Elsewhere: Performativities, Spatialities and Subjectivities', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18, 433–52.
- Haldrup, M. (2009), 'Banal Tourism? Between Cosmopolitanism and Orientalism', in P. O. Pons, M. Crang and P. Travlou (eds) *Cultures of Mass Tourism* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 53–74.
- Haldrup, M. and Bærenholdt, J. O. (2010) 'Tourist Experience Design' in J. Simonsen, J. O. Bærenholdt, M. Büscher and J. D. Scheuer (eds) *Design Research: Synergies from Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London: Routledge), pp. 187–200.
- Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. (2003) 'The Family Gaze', *Tourist Studies*, 3, 23–43.
- Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. (2006) 'Material Cultures of Tourism', *Leisure Studies*, 25, 275–89.
- Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. (2010) *Tourism, Performance and the Everyday: Consuming the Orient* (London: Routledge).
- Hetherington, K. (2007) *Capitalism's Eye: Cultural Spaces of the Commodity* (New York: Routledge).
- Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge).
- Jackson, A. and Kidd, J. (eds) (2011) *Performing Heritage: Research, Practice and Innovation in Museum Theatre and Live Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Massey, D. (2005) *For Space* (London: Sage).
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962) *The Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
- Miller, D. (2006) 'Things That Bright up the Place', *Home Cultures*, 3(3), 235–49.
- Rose, T. (2002), 'Landscapes and Labyrinths', *Geoforum*, 33, 455–67.
- Schechner, R. (2006), *Performance Studies – An Introduction* (London: Routledge).
- Simonsen, K. (2008) 'Place as Encounters. Practice, Conjunction and Co-existence' in J. O. Bærenholdt and B. Granås (eds) *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern European Peripheries* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 13–25.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2011) 'The "Doing" of Heritage: Heritage as Performance' in A. Jackson and J. Kid (eds) *Performing Heritage: Research, Practice and Innovation in Museum Theatre and Live Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 69–81.

- Thrift, N. (2004) 'Performance and Performativity: A Geography of Unknown Lands' in J. S. Duncan, N. C. Johnson and R. H. Schein (eds) *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 121–36.
- Thrift, N. (2008) *Non-Representational Theory* (London: Routledge).
- Tivers, J. (2002) 'Performing Heritage: The Use of Live "Actors" in Heritage Presentations', *Leisure Studies*, 21(3–4), 187–200.
- Urry, J. (1996) 'How Societies Remember the Past' in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (eds) *Theorizing Museums* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 45–65.
- Urry, J. and Larsen, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage).

4

Heritage and Authenticity

Helaine Silverman

The heritage crusade, as Lowenthal (2003) called it, is inextricably linked to an authenticity craze. Authenticity in heritage has been sought, tested, praised, critiqued and denied from the perspectives of art, architecture, landscape, anthropology, archaeology, tourism, museums and other fields. In a popular book, *The Authenticity Hoax* (2010), Andrew Potter observed that ‘authenticity is a contrastive term’ and ‘is something people definitely want. That is, when something is described as “authentic”, what is invariably meant is that it is a Good Thing’ (2010, p. 6). Though some argue that profitable discussion of authenticity has reached its end, I believe that the concept remains vitally important, albeit changed from earlier understandings.

In this chapter I am not concerned with whether an object is or is not what it appears or is claimed to be or is worth the price paid or acclaim received (Trilling, 1972, p. 93) – for instance, whether a ceramic pot is or is not Inca. But, as soon as we ask *how* an object or place has functioned and *why* it is valued when deemed ‘genuine’, its materiality comes into play and its objective authenticity is transcended, opening up fertile new fields for critical enquiry. The key issue concerns the ‘work’ that heritage does in the particular circumstances in which it is enacted, thereby entailing larger entangled spheres of discourse, performance, negotiation, valuation and even sensory perception.

Unlike previous scholarship that has portrayed authenticity as a *stable* value/product, current research understands it as *dynamic, performative, culturally and historically contingent, relative* – a quality/tool that can be strategically configured and deployed according to the task at hand, be that social, cultural, economic, political, religious and so on. And claims about authenticity are and can be evaluated. The manipulability of authenticity carries a potential to legitimate/delegitimate, and this has tremendous significance for heritage, for instance, in issues of collective identity and social status.

Similarly, heritage is typically separated into intangible and tangible forms. Indeed, the distinction is still operative in UNESCO’s policy sphere of heritage certification, as seen in its place-based World Heritage List and in the

Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Current thinking expresses the linkage between the tangible and intangible, for heritage is a process that gives meaning to people, places and events (see Munjeri, 2004; Smith and Waterton, 2008). However, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006, p. 168) recognizes, that meaning can come with a catch: 'heritage is a mode of cultural production that gives the endangered or outmoded a second life as an exhibition of itself'. Ultimately, 'heritage is about the regulation and negotiation of the multiplicity of meaning of the past, and it is about the arbitration and mediation of the cultural and social politics of identity, belonging and exclusion' (Smith and Waterton, 2008, p. 295, emphasis removed).

Current research on heritage and authenticity is exceptionally varied. Although tourism remains a major focus, particularly in its performative aspect, political, social and economic rights, as well as more ethereal interests in critical voice and aesthetics, are all being explored. This chapter traces the development of ideas about authenticity's intersection with heritage, briefly reviews some of the better-known typologies of authenticity and then argues that these categorizations are worthwhile only insofar as they clarify our vision of what claims or rejections of authenticity – and by whom – actually do on the ground. Ranging from well-intentioned to nefarious, the invention, recovery, (re)insertion or denial of authenticity has social, economic and political contexts and consequences that should be the focus of retrospective and prospective heritage scholarship and part of the platform for best heritage practice among all levels of stakeholders, for the deployment of authenticity currently works hand-in-glove with the heritage process or heritagization, as this chapter illustrates.

Heritage and authenticity in the nineteenth century

Heritage is metacultural (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006, p. 179–83). In other words, as Urban (2001) explains, culture circulates and – in this era of capitalism – it accelerates, leading to the fusing of old cultural elements into new cultural expressions (compare Bhabha, 1994 on hybridity; compare Harvey, 1990 on time-space compression). As metaculture, heritage is culture speaking about culture and revealing the continuities and discontinuities in the social, political, economic and other processes and reconfigured space and time that create and represent it. In Urban's (2001) model, metacultural production is specialized and requires experts to take responsibility for judging cultural objects (compare to authorized heritage discourse [AHD] in Smith, 2006; heritage is constructed through discourse, and that discourse is typically authoritative and controlling). The cultural objects are produced by the fast-paced motion (acceleration) of modernity within which metaculture – and heritage – operate. Heritage as metaculture raises the issue of authenticity,

which gained prominence in nineteenth-century debates about the preservation of historic buildings and the relationship of those buildings to the construction of national memory and heritage as national identity:

the doctrine of nationalism required people to believe that every nation had existed for many centuries even when its existence was not socially and politically noticeable... historians had... to demonstrate that the ruins and documents of the past... were part of the cultural heritage of each nation, monuments to the existence of cultural continuity.

(Munz, 1977, p. 154 cited in Lowenthal, 1990, p. 393)

Indeed, in France the built environment *became* cultural heritage as the Revolutionary government began to restore and preserve its architecture under the ideology that France was the 'inheritor and embodiment of classical civilization' (Sherman, 1989, p. 4). Nor was France alone in recognizing the importance of preserving historic buildings. In Great Britain, the rapid destruction of the familiar built environment generated by the Industrial Revolution led antiquarians to advocate preservation so as to retain memory of the past and ensure its perpetuation for future generations. Their zeal for restoring churches and other old buildings was 'ineluctably tied up with the emergence of a discourse of national antiquities and a concept of national history or heritage, both of which went hand in hand with the expression of national identity' (Sweet, 2004, p. 277). However, the philosophy towards and technique employed by antiquarians for architectural restoration peeled away those architectural elements not pertaining to the original building and replaced them with conjectured aspects. This procedure was called 'scrape' (Barthel, 1996; Summerson, 1966).

John Ruskin became the greatest voice against restoration of the physical fabric. He argued that authenticity resided in all the changes in a building's development; indeed, the signs of time were the guarantee of authenticity. Heritage scholars are interested in Ruskin because of the embedding of notions of authenticity and cultural heritage in his work and his clear enunciation of a relationship of these to national identity, itself recursively related to the former. Ruskin writes that architecture is 'the most precious of inheritances, that of past ages' (1849, p. 225). Therefore, he is also concerned with heritage stewardship: 'We have no right whatever to touch... the buildings of past times... They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us' (Ruskin, 1849, p. 245; these sentiments were echoed by his disciple, William Morris, 1877, 1889).

Ruskin also is prescient in drawing a connection between place and memory, a topic of keen interest to heritage scholars today. He says that whether a building is monumental or vernacular, it is deserving of care because it is the

basis of memory and history (1849, p. 224). For Ruskin, architecture provides the placeful context with and within which memory is constructed: ‘we cannot remember without her’ (1849, p. 224). Place is authentic. Memory is emplaced.

Ruskin’s architecture is a soulful body with a long and complex life cycle culminating in death and then an afterlife, which may be grievously injured by restoration – especially for monumental buildings, since these are what survive longest. Far from being solely a canonized, inert physical object, Ruskin’s architecture is an environment alive with experience, historical contingency, agency and engagement with contemporary politics, radical economic shifts, religious persuasions and sociality. We see this life, for instance, in the deep phenomenological feeling of Ruskin’s advocacy of the vernacular – a sense of Heidegger’s (1997a, b) dwelling and of Bachelard’s (1994) intimacy. As such, there is an authenticity in the original residence because of its interlinked form and the embodied life constructed inside (see Ruskin, 1849, p. 229).

Authenticity in architecture becomes an international heritage doctrine

In 1877, William Morris founded the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), basing its philosophy on Ruskin. The SPAB became successful in England and influential on the continent. In addition to saving particular buildings and raising public consciousness about its issues, the SPAB also created a self-authorized group of *authenticators* – experts qualified to opine and act. As Smith (2006) might argue, they were part of the AHD (see also Smith and Waterton, 2008, pp. 290–1).

In 1931 the SPAB Secretary, A. R. Powys, was one of Britain’s two delegates at the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, held in Athens, Greece. The meeting produced one of the keystones in the history of heritage management, the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments*. Like the preceding decades of writing on historical preservation, the *Athens Charter* also does not mention authenticity by name. But, as with the work of Ruskin and Morris, we may read a concept of authenticity into the document, as when it expresses a concern ‘to prevent mistakes which will cause loss of [ancient] character and historical values to the structures’. Interestingly, in *Athens* we have our first clear statement of contrived authenticity as well. *Athens* wants the environment surrounding the monument to harmonize with it and advocates preservation of a ‘particularly picturesque perspective’ and the ‘suppression of all forms of publicity... telegraph poles... noisy factories...’ In effect, the authenticity of the monument is to be enhanced by creating inauthenticity in the living environment surrounding it (in the case of cities), if the recommendation of *Athens* is followed. This attitude will be developed in various subsequent heritage management instruments of global

purview and will result in occasional conflicts when it is enacted as policy by national agencies in the thrall of international standards.

With the notable exception of the 1954 *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (Hague), there was little action in the historic preservation field following *Athens*, making ICOMOS' 1964 *Venice Charter* (*International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments*) all the more significant. *Venice* is the first such document to explicitly use the word *authenticity*. In *Venice*, authenticity most especially means the original fabric of the building (Article 9), including – importantly – its subsequent evolution (Article 11: 'valid contributions of all periods'). All these building modifications were to be regarded as authentic because they possess artistic and historical value/evidence. As to who can evaluate the worth of the component elements when decisions about restoration must be made, that is a matter for experts (Article 11).

Authenticity is foregrounded in the earliest version of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee's *Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (*OG*): 'properties' to be inscribed on the World Heritage List must pass a 'test of *authenticity* in design, materials, workmanship and setting; authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values' (1977, Section I, Part B, Paragraph 9; emphasis in original). This wording did not undergo significant change until 2005, when, in belated recognition of the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity*, the *OG* expanded treatment of authenticity. In addition, a five-page appendix ('Annex 4 – Authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention') was added, reproducing the *Nara Document*, providing relevant bibliography and chronicling follow-up meetings. The same material is included in the most recent versions of the *OG*, produced in 2008, 2011 and 2013.

Although *Nara* was primarily concerned with authenticity in terms of conservation practice in the built environment, it was significantly informed by academic ideas about intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and cultural authenticity (see Graburn, 1976; MacCannell, 1976; Hobsbawm, 1983; Handler, 1988), which were impacting the rapidly coalescing field of heritage studies and modern heritage practice (e.g. first Burra Charter, 1979; UNESCO, 1989; NAGPRA, 1990; ICOMOS-New Zealand, 1992). We see the influence of these ideas in *Nara's* advocacy of the incorporation of diverse cultural values in conservation, an idea expressed in Paragraph 2 of the *Venice Charter*. And *Nara* went one significant step further by arguing that, notwithstanding the international doctrine of shared world heritage and the need to adhere to international standards for conservation of cultural heritage, ultimately global cultural governance should respect the fundamental cultural values of communities (*Nara*,

Paragraph 8). Moreover, *Nara* does not impose *Venice's* test of authenticity. Rather, when a site is being considered for inscription on the World Heritage List the evaluation of its authenticity will be 'judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong' (*Nara*, Paragraph 11) and the specific nature of its heritage values will be recognized (*Nara*, Paragraph 12). Underwriting these provisions is the acknowledged need for credible and truthful information, this being the basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity (*Nara*, Paragraphs 12 and 13).

Nara recognized that it was not going to be the last word on authenticity and called for further discussion. Its intent was acted upon in 1996 when ICOMOS national committees from the Americas met in San Antonio, Texas to discuss the application of *Nara's* concept of authenticity to preservation in their region. The resulting *Declaration of San Antonio* stated that 'authenticity of our cultural heritage is directly related to our cultural identity' (B.1.) and, among other principles, emphasized that authenticity could reside in 'the values assigned to [monuments] by those communities who have a stake in them' (B.7). But, as *San Antonio* recognized, 'separate identities may coexist in the same space and time and at times across space and time, sharing cultural manifestations, but often assigning different values to them' (B.1.). Importantly, *San Antonio* acknowledged tourists as one stakeholding group. *San Antonio* clearly interwove tangible and intangible heritage and specifically referred to the *Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance)* as a model for achieving its recommendations for heritage management.

Concerns with authenticity in the built environment of Latin America (see above) responded to contexts different from those elsewhere. Thus, when designated experts from Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine and Belarus met in 2000 to consider authenticity they did so in the shadow of the Holocaust and following the fall of the Soviet Union. The resulting *Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage* is, in part, a powerful ethical document that justifies the reconstruction of Vilnius' Jewish Ghetto in the historic centre as 'an act of atonement, an effort to compensate, at least in part, for the destruction of the Jewish community of Vilnius in the Second World War' (Stovel, 2001, p. 241). *Riga* concluded that an 'exceptional event, justifiable only within a very narrow set of circumstances' (Stovel, 2001, p. 241), in this case 'lost through disaster' (*Riga*), could make reconstruction – the antithesis of authenticity as defined in *Riga* (largely following Ruskin) – acceptable, as long as historical information demonstrates the outstanding significance of the property, the overall physical context is not falsified, and full, multi-party consultations have been accomplished.

UNESCO, authenticity and intangible cultural heritage

As difficult as discussions of authenticity have been in what is commonly called tangible heritage, they are arguably more fraught within UNESCO's category of ICH. Indeed, UNESCO's 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC)* carefully avoided use of the word 'authenticity'. Rather, the relevant criterion for inscription on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity is expressed in Article 2 of the *ICHC*, which recognizes a living, repeating yet evolving, intergenerational transfer of heritage with communities as the vehicle. As Smeets (2004, p. 44) says, '[e]lements of the intangible cultural heritage, by virtue of their very nature, have always been evolving, merging and, sometimes, disappearing; groups have always been in contact with other groups and processes of acculturation are not new'. An irony of UNESCO's interest in ICH is that under official attention ICH can never be the same as it was when these practices 'once left to their own fate, transformed or [were] left to disappear' (Skounti, 2008, p. 76). Indeed, survival of the ICH that attracts attention outside its community of origin necessarily requires 'sacrificing something of what contributes to their supposed "authenticity"' (Skounti, 2008, p. 77).

Skounti (2008), Smith (2006) and others are concerned with the official or dominant creation or recognition of heritage: 'Belief in the "authenticity" of the intangible cultural heritage element, its anchoring into a past beyond memory and its immutability justify and reinforce the engagement and the activity of heritage agents' (Skounti, 2008, p. 77). But what about when that process is intrinsically bottom-up, without powerful outside involvement (sponsorship, interference)? Here, we enter the realm of contemporary authenticity – Hobsbawm's (1983) 'invented tradition' and Cohen's (1988) 'emergent authenticity'. Take Kwanzaa in the US, for example. Invented in 1966, it is no less authentic for its African American community than the 1,000 year-old pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela is for millions of Catholics. Kwanzaa has been transmitted over three generations, fulfilling the *ICHC* criteria of being recreated in a community in response to their environment and in interaction with their history and providing them with a sense of identity and continuity. Kwanzaa ultimately is in dialogue with the UNESCO-recognized slave routes.¹ Should Kwanzaa be inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity? To do so would not harm that list's validity, in contrast to the situation with UNESCO's World Heritage List when inscribed properties do not really fulfil the necessary criteria of 'outstanding universal value' or when the archaeological or other facts about the property in the nomination dossier can be disputed by outside experts.

I believe that potential or actual harm is a critical issue in the inscription process for the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Real harm to communities can occur when the 'authenticity' of their intangible cultural heritage is exploited by others. For example (and space constraint leads me to simplify), the wearing of multiple heavy brass rings around the neck by Karen women of northern Thailand is a mutilation of their bodies. But the global tourism industry is encouraging perpetuation of this practice for voyeuristic indulgence. For another example, the magnificent rice terraces of Philippines are a World Heritage Site, but suppose the young people of the fertile cordillera no longer wish to carry on the 'authentic' tradition of farming and maintenance of this cultural landscape? Would a national government encourage or, in a less democratic country, compel perpetuation of a custom so that it remains on the Representative List?

I am also concerned with the potential abrogation of the intellectual property (IP) rights of an individual master or a community to the fruits of their 'authentic' (their 'own', their 'genuine') ICH. This is a growing issue. To assist with it, WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organization) – a United Nations agency created in 1967 – has sponsored a Symposium on the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Indigenous Cultures in the Pacific Islands in 1997; held consultations in Pretoria, Hanoi, Tunis and Quito for their regions in 1999; convened repeated meetings in 2001 and 2003 to 'Survey on Existing Forms of Intellectual Property Protection for Traditional Knowledge'; and, more recently, created a Creative Heritage Program to develop best practices and guidelines for managing IP issues when recording, digitizing and disseminating intangible cultural heritage. WIPO is committed to protection of traditional cultural expressions (TCEs) – some of which are 'tangible' and some 'intangible', but not all of which are amenable to IP protection; WIPO is also concerned with traditional knowledge (TK) (see Vézina, 2009).

Authenticity, heritage and tourism

Tourist transgression into the lives and cultures of other people is growing, especially among 'living curiosities' once visited only by the most intrepid anthropologists and explorers but now tourism destinations on the pages of popular magazines. Tourist destinations are not static, and sustainability is a dynamic, negotiated relationship between hosts and guests. But hosts may have little power as they and their areas are opened up to the market (Dearden and Harron, 1994). This issue was raised by Cohen (1995, p. 14) when he asked: 'should tourists, even alternative ones [not mass tourists], be encouraged, or even allowed, to roam freely around and invade any new area, or would they be contained within set confines, even if this might preclude their having "authentic experiences"?' Saudi Arabia does not permit non-Muslims

to enter Mecca. But Lao monks in Luang Prabang are at the mercy of camera-toting, 'authentic experience'-seeking tourists as they (the monks) engage in the daily *tak bat* (alms collection) that enables merit-making for the Buddhist community. With enough frequency and bodily mass, tourists have the ability to alter cultural practices in a manner that heritage stakeholders regard as detrimental (see, especially, Bruner, 1989, pp. 112–13; see also MacCannell, 2011; Urry and Larsen, 2011) or worse. Greenwood (1982, 1989) recounts that Spain's Ministry of Information and Tourism appropriated and destroyed the town of Fuenterrabía's ritual re-enactment of its victory in a long-ago siege by ordering the 'show' to be performed twice daily so that more tourists could witness it within the cramped historic centre, thereby converting into a spectacle a local celebration that had been an intrinsic part of community life. Nearly everyone in town experienced the change as a loss.

Various scholars – for instance, MacCannell (1976), Cohen (1988), Bruner (1989, 1993, 1994a, b, 1996a, b, 2001) and Wang (1999, 2000) – have identified different kinds of authenticity in tourism, not all of which are mutually exclusive: staged authenticity (MacCannell, Bruner); authenticity that is experienced by the tourist (Bruner, Wang: existential, intra- and interpersonal) and by the host (Bruner, Wang: existential, intra- and interpersonal); authenticity that is constructed or attributed externally to place/people/object (Bruner: social constructivist, Cohen: socially constructed, Wang: constructive); authenticity that is factually inherent in place/people/object (Wang: objective). In addition, we can consider tourism authenticity that is externally commodified in portable form, such as souvenirs, travel guides and postcards (see, for example, Waterton and Watson, 2010) or self-produced as representation (e.g. personal diaries, photos and so on; see Bruner, 1989; Robinson and Picard, 2009). I agree with these scholars that our concern with authenticity in tourism should be directed at understanding the nature of engagement and experience rather than a quest for authenticity in objects – themselves construed as heritage.

Wang (1999, p. 352, 2000, pp. 49–50) coins 'experiential authenticity' as the appropriate focus of attention in tourism studies, defining it as 'personal or inter-subjective feelings activated by the liminal process of tourist activities. In such a liminal experience, people feel they themselves are much more authentic and more freely self-expressed than in everyday life'. Picard and Robinson (2012) are also keenly interested in the emotion of tourism, advancing Wang's theoretical agenda and adding questions of significant real-world or policy importance. For instance: What are the consequences of the emotional cultures of tourists upon destinations? How are differences in emotional culture mobilized and played out in the transnational contact zones of international tourism? This perspective improves upon Wang because Picard and Robinson recognize that travel and intercultural contact do not only transform tourists; they transform destinations.

Similarly, although Watson et al. (2012, p. 6) are focused on the ‘embodied and multi-sensuous processes’ of tourism, they recognize that there are ‘concrete social and cultural consequences, not only for those experiencing the moment, but also for those who are represented and “understood” by this process...the politics of recognition...the cultural moment of tourism interplays with issues of power and equity’. In terms of the personal and collective performance of tourism, there is a linkage ‘not only to issues of affect, place and imagination...but also to issues of identity, citizenship and memory’ (Watson et al., 2012, p. 7). These are critical dimensions of authenticity, heritage and tourism requiring study, in addition to their contextualization within the political economy.

China is an especially rich field for the exploration of these important inter-linkages because of state intervention through its official heritage and tourism policies (Blumenfield and Silverman, 2013). Thus, for example, not only did China not seek to inscribe its *hutongs* (traditional alley settlements of Beijing) on the World Heritage List, but there was not so much as a whimper from UNESCO when large numbers of these traditional environments were razed preceding the 2008 Summer Olympics. Rather, the best located of these *hutongs* have been gentrified and are now zones of expensive housing, restaurants, bars and other tourism sector services, for both Chinese and foreigners. We can also consider the physical, social and economic stress on Chinese vernacular towns generated by tourism (Lijiang comes readily to mind: see Peters, 2013; Su, 2013). What are the limits of authenticity in these cases?

Tsing’s (2005) concept of ‘friction’ conveys the sense of diverse and conflicting social interactions that occur as multiple demands are made on, contested by and negotiated among those whom and that which state agencies and the global tourism industry have identified as interesting, as worthy of attention.

First, such projects grow from spatially far-flung collaborations and inter-connections. Second, cultural diversity is not banished from these interconnections; it is what makes them – and all their particularities – possible. Cultural diversity brings a creative friction to global connections (Tsing, 2005, p. ix–x) ... ‘friction’ [is] the grip of worldly encounter. [adapting Tsing: Various domains of thought and action] all depend on global connections. Each spreads through aspirations to fulfill *universal* dreams and schemes. Yet this is a particular kind of universality: it can only be charged and enacted in the sticky materiality of practical encounters.

(Tsing, 2005, p. 1, emphasis in original)

Friction highlights the lack of ease of the tourist encounter as peoples and their settlements are opened to inspection and exploitation, from both within and without. Tsing speaks of ‘global motion’ but with the recognition that

the pervasive flow of goods, money, ideas and people generates friction in interaction. Frictions of distance and frictions at local, national, international and global levels of interactions exist and must be 'greased' (in other words, negotiated, mitigated).

Cohen (1988) raises a conceptually and methodologically important issue in his discussion of authenticity and tourism and critique of MacCannell's (1976) *The Tourist*. Cohen (1988, p. 376) observes that '[i]ntellectuals, here exemplified by curators, ethnographers, and anthropologists, will be generally more alienated, and more aware of their alienation, than the rank-and-file middle-classes, and especially the lower middle class'. Put another way, as tourists visit other places inhabited by Other peoples they are not necessarily seeking authenticity in the academic sense, and the degree of authenticity they do seek in their touristic experience varies. But it is rights (human, cultural, economic, political, religious, gender, environmental, etc.) that should be the concern of heritage scholars. These rights are stressed by and occur within processes generated by tourism itself, such as migration when tourist locales become a magnet because of their employment potential and when resources are strained or inequitably redirected towards 'the cash cow'. Rights have a strong policy aspect.

Bruner (1994a) perceived this issue in the negotiated performances of the Maasai in the colonialist pastiche presented at Mayers Ranch, Kenya. The Maasai exercise their agency in this arrangement by using their earned income from the 'front stage' to support and maintain their culture 'back stage' through the purchase of more livestock. Cohen (1995, pp. 17–18) draws attention to other cases where MacCannell's (1976) staged authenticity may actually function to enable Fourth World peoples to maintain a viable culture. Another example is provided by Silverman (2000), who notes that Sepik River tribesmen refuse to sell male cult objects for the Papua New Guinea tourism souvenir trade, defending their cultural right to conceal these objects from women. They do engage economically with tourists, but on their own terms so as to protect cultural practice.

Obviously, then, a fundamental aspect of authenticity in heritage is its problematical relationship to the global tourism economy in which it is embedded. Nelson Graburn and other scholars have recognized tourist and ethnic arts as an important dimension of heritage tourism for almost 40 years. As Graburn (1976, pp. 1–2) wrote of the enclaved producers, 'their arts are rarely produced for their own consumption or according to their own unmodified tastes... the arts may be produced by one group for consumption by another'. The Australian Aboriginal art market is exemplary. Australian Aboriginals were taught to transfer their worldview to canvas by a white Australian in 1971, but do not use this new form of material culture for their own ritual or practical purposes (Myers, 1995, p. 56). Tourists are able to enter Aboriginal reservations in the outback, as I did in May 2009 at Amoonguna Community, near Alice Springs. Here community

members maintain an art centre and commercial gallery for tourists while carefully negotiating their heritage, rights and dignity with visitors. One can shop, watch artists at work and take photographs inside. But tourists are not permitted to wander around the community or to take photographs outside. Tourists interpret the experience of visiting Amoonguna as they wish.

Current research on heritage and authenticity

A major thrust in the study of heritage and authenticity is encompassed by AlSayyad's (2006, p. 10) notion of 'hyper-tradition':

globalization [has] destabilized the idea of tradition as a repository of authentic ideas and customs. . . . it has intensified the process of de-linking identity and place, and, by extension, intensified the de-territorialization of tradition. This process has challenged the idea of tradition as an authentic expression of a geographically specific, culturally homogeneous and coherent group of people. . . . perhaps as a response to the perceived 'end of tradition' or 'loss of heritage,' hyper-traditions emerge in part as references to histories that did not happen, or practices de-linked from the culture and locations from which they were assumed to have originated . . . they indicate a search for or reengagement with heritage conducted by those who perceive its loss . . .

AlSayyad's hyper-tradition resonates with Baudrillard's (1995) stage three simulacrum – it claims or pretends to be a faithful copy, but there is no original. Taken yet further, Baudrillard's stage four simulacrum is 'hyper-reality', whereby there is no relation to any reality; the notion of the original is meaningless. The concept of hyper-tradition works especially well when directed towards the built environment that once was 'authentic' and inscribed with 'heritage'. Examples include Adham's (2006) study of the postmodern architectural pastiche of the Kfar Al-Gourna resort along the Red Sea; Elshahed's (2006) analysis of the concealment of modernity and re-creation of the traditional at the monastic community of Mount Athos; and Tsui's (2006) discussion of the transplantation of Las Vegas' postmodern heritage modalities to Macau, where they are mixed with Macau's appropriation of its own heritage to produce a new hyper-tradition.

The performativity of tourism is another major intersection of authenticity and heritage, with festivals being, perhaps, the best example. The commercialization of festivals will attract tourism but may destroy the event's 'cultural authenticity, the very thing that contemporary travellers appear to be seeking' (Getz, 1994, p. 313). McElhinney (2006) provides the cautionary example of the nascent commodification of a world music festival on Borneo, which is on a collision course with the indigenous 'authenticity' that draws tourists to the

island. Other, more overtly political issues also may be involved in festivals as these relate to heritage and authenticity. For instance, Denes and Sirisrisak (2013) analyse the conflict between ethnic Khmer of northeast Thailand, who want to maintain ceremonial access to a major archaeological monument they regard as their heritage, and the state heritage bureaucracy that inhibits their festival through protective site management policy while simultaneously promoting folkloric performances at various ancient sanctuaries throughout the national territory, whose very definition is wrapped in a complex and conflictual history with Cambodia, source of the Khmer culture (see Denes, 2012).

Pilgrimage is a very particular kind of festival and also the oldest form of tourism. Regardless of the 'objective authenticity' of the relic attracting pilgrimage (in such cases), pilgrimage engenders other forms of authenticity. For instance, in a fascinating article about Santiago de Compostela, Ostergaard and Christensen (2010) conceive of pilgrimage as walking towards oneself, in the sense that it is self-authenticating. It is also place-authenticating. Moreover, when undertaken by the faithful, pilgrimage is, by its very nature, a mobile performance of heritage en route and at the final destination.

Nor is pilgrimage the only large-scale displacement of heritage and authenticity. Diaspora fulfils that definition, too. But, whereas pilgrimage is temporary (as is tourism), diaspora is permanent (or more permanent in cases of return migration or extended return visits). Diasporas embody the challenge of performing and negotiating heritage in a place that is not home. Chinatowns in the US are a visually arresting reaccommodation of the urban landscape by an immigrant group. Chuo Li (2012) engages the Chinese diaspora through the intricate relations between landscape, ethnicity, urban economy and politics to understand the significance of spatial specificity and local particularity in the construction of heritage, place identity and the cultural landscape. Interestingly, San Francisco's Chinatown, the oldest and most iconic such enclave, did not look architecturally 'Chinese' until after the 1906 earthquake. Prior to that time Chinatown was composed of Italianate Victorian buildings indistinguishable from those of surrounding downtown areas. It was the city government that desired to rebuild Chinatown 'as a stereotypical Oriental place fulfilling Western fantasies' (Chuo Li, 2012, p. 40). Ironically, as the urban fabric was being orientalized, residents were being Americanized by Chinese elites in the district who were keen to achieve middle-class respectability. The production of Chinatown as a major tourist attraction determined its sinicized architecture over the following decades. Within this area Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans have created a viable living community, yet one rent by competing heritage discourses and disputes over tangible space. These processes are still at work.

Many diasporas maintain relationships – real and/or imagined – with home. Diaspora tourism is, therefore, of interest. Home may be as close as the 'other

half' of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia for the descendant community of African Americans once enslaved there (Handler and Gable, 1997) or as far away as the 'slave castles' of Ghana (Bruner, 1996a) and the UNESCO-authorized 'Portal of No Return' in Bénin (Landry, 2011). But each of these experiences is fraught with problems. Winning the social history battle for representation of the subaltern, a staged slave auction was performed with so much 'authenticity' at Colonial Williamsburg that some African American tourists conducted a liberation action to free the actor-slaves; others regarded the staged performance of historic fact as such painful heritage that they protested by other means. The slave auction has since been abandoned. At Elmina Castle, African Americans object to the sanitized ('inauthentic') physical appearance of the slave dungeons while Ghanaians decry their physical exclusion from the site interior, which is part of their heritage as well (Bruner, 1996a). Orser (2007) recounts the conundrum of Irish Americans claiming rights of Irish heritage on lands in Ireland from which their ancestors had been evicted.

Some of the most fractious discussions of heritage and authenticity take place in the US through the lens of what Americans call 'identity politics' – the manifold and extremely complicated political and sometimes economic aspects of multiculturalism American-style that play out in definitional debates over – for instance – who is and is not Native American (is your tribe federally recognized, does the tribe recognize you as a member, do you live on a reservation, can your tribe demand repatriation of human and sacred remains, are you phenotypically 'Indian' – an obsession of White America). Critical theorists debate whether there is an 'authentic' Native American voice in literature (e.g. Pulitano, 2003) and authenticity is a major criterion at the renowned SWAIA-Santa Fé Indian Market® (Southwestern Association for Indian Arts), whose participating artists must be Native/Indigenous people from US federally recognized tribes or Canadian-recognized First Nations tribes. The official website states: 'The Indian Market is a direct reflection of the lives of Native people and the communities they represent; their artwork... there is no substitute for the real thing. SWAIA guarantees that its artists adhere to strict production and material guidelines.'² Here the authenticity of heritage is carried in the blood, so to speak. It is legally certified by national governments as well as by peers who, furthermore, guarantee its quality control. As Bendix (2008, p. 258) says, '[s]egments of culture acquire cultural heritage status once particular value is assigned to them'.

Implications of authenticity for local, national and international heritage policy

Authenticity has been repeatedly signposted in instruments of built heritage management and policy. Today, after inscription on the World Heritage List,

UNESCO has limited ability to enforce adherence to the criterion of 'authenticity' in a particular property (ultimately it can delist a World Heritage Site). The Instituto Nacional de Cultura (now called Ministerio de Cultura) in Cuzco, Peru abrogated Article 9 of the cherished *Venice Charter* by restoring the Inca Kusikancha palace with metal tools to create neo-Inca blocks of stone erected to a height for which there is no in situ evidence and with scant demarcation of the restoration from the original. To the best of my knowledge, UNESCO has not commented on this restoration in the heart of the World Heritage Listed historic district of Cuzco. Instead, it has been much easier for UNESCO, in consort with the local office of Ministerio de Cultura, to criticize the Municipality's installation of a new statue of an Inca atop the Belle Époque fountain in the main plaza (as illustrated in the photograph accompanying Part III. Source: Helaine Silverman). The golden Inca replaces the statue of an 'Apache' that was sent to Cuzco by mistake at the time of the fountain's erection (more than a century ago) and that was pulled down by two political activists in 1969 (Silverman, n.d.). Purveyors of the official heritage discourse on authenticity say the Inca is an inauthentic intrusion in the plaza that must be removed. The mayor retorts that he has simply reinstalled the missing statue, now in its correct form. And the vast majority of the local population are delighted with the statue's materialization of their heritage.

Continuing in this vein, it will be interesting to see how UNESCO handles the spectacular, World Heritage List-worthy site of Bagan, in Myanmar, many of whose stupas have been extensively remodelled in recent years by the military government and by the Buddhist faithful as a merit-making act. UNESCO is concerned about the utilization of new materials (including indiscriminate use of concrete) in the restorations, which have falsified existing monuments to a considerable extent. Bob Hudson, a leading expert in Burmese archaeology, reports that Culture Minister Win Sein had said in 2001 that restoration retained the original workmanship and design and made the buildings last longer, and, furthermore, 'These are living religious monuments highly venerated and worshipped by Myanmar people . . . it is our national duty to preserve, strengthen and restore all the cultural heritage monuments of Bagan to last and exist forever' (Hudson, n.d.). The recent political opening of Myanmar is paving the way for Myanmar to advance its stalled Tentative List. Already tourism has seen a surge, as evidenced by the abundance of new cultural tours to Myanmar being offered by well-established travel companies. Regardless of concrete and fabrication, Bagan exudes ancient wonder and material authenticity to all but the expert enforcers of UNESCO criteria. Given the marriage of UNESCO to tourism promotion (the recent partnership with Trip Advisor) and the zeal with which countries are seeking both inscription on the World Heritage List and economic development through tourism, where will the line be drawn between acceptable and unacceptable (in)authenticity, and

why? Clearly, national heritage practices and development goals may not be in agreement with international standards.

Conclusion

National and international heritage management agencies, the global tourism industry and local stakeholder communities increasingly come into conflict with each other over authenticity: who defines it, who owns it, who has access to it, who enables the performance of it. The future direction of research into heritage and authenticity must show greater concern with their political and economic contexts and outcomes. For instance, heritage scripting produces or inhibits certain outcomes in stakeholder communities, and this makes study imperative. Heritage scholars must inform and, ideally, influence policy among the powers that be. Theory without real-world responsibility is irresponsible, given the huge problems faced by those who inhabit the heritagescape.

Authenticity remains one of the most important multi-sectoral domains of concern in heritage studies and heritage practice. Its key venue is tourism, whether that is directed at inert monuments on the landscape or moving bodies of 'other' appeal. As Greenwood (1982) pp. 27–28 observes,

On the socio-economic side, tourism raises thorny but familiar questions of international political economy (class relations, appropriation, expropriation, and exploitation). The issue of authenticity, however, cannot be addressed until it is made clear that all cultural activities involve complex processes of both destruction and innovation.

What is thus demanded in the study of tourism is the examination of a range of international economic, social and political activities in concert with the study of cultural change. Sufficient historical perspective is required to avoid erroneous assumptions about the pre-tourism period. The question of tourism and authenticity will not yield to our efforts until we have met these larger requirements. Until then development policy recommendations regarding tourism seem unjustifiable guesswork.

Contemporary authenticity is the new authenticity. Old debates about whether tourists were being duped need to be replaced with incisive analyses of authenticity as this is expressed through discourse, debate, economic and political policy, performance, resistance, negotiation and assertions about heritage. For instance, the Inti Raymi celebration in Cuzco, Peru is an invented tradition based on an ancient Inca festival, and it has had a series of scripts since 1944. That 'inauthenticity' is irrelevant. What is important is the role Inti Raymi plays today among various sectors of the local population, among tourists, and in national tourism policy – and with what repercussions for all of these.

Contemporary authenticity refers to the dynamism of social life, in contrast to the fixity of behaviour implied by terms such as 'authentic experience'. Contemporary authenticity recognizes that forces such as globalization, commercialization, mass communication and tourism are generating new cultural manifestations in tangible and intangible form, which may be brand new or revisions but are embedded in active situations. Contemporary authenticity works from the premise that society generates new contexts in which human beings produce meaningful acts and objects without necessarily bringing the past 'faithfully' into the present. In this social constructivist view, current performances and consumptions of identity and place are as valid as those historically legitimated. Contemporary authenticity generates and enables new spaces and forms of human interaction and creativity. Thus, far from being kitsch, inappropriately labelled postmodern, or demeaned as a simulacrum, contemporary authenticity is a vital force driving much national and local culture and cultural entrepreneurship today.

Notes

1. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/712/>, accessed 01 June 2013.
2. http://swaia.org/Indian_Market/Indian_Market_2012_Dates_and_FAQs/index.html#faq1, accessed 01 June 2013.

References

- Adham, K. N. (2006) 'Tourism, Authenticity, and Hyper-Traditions: The Case of Kfar Al-Gourna, Egypt', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 18(1), 61.
- AlSayyad, N. (2006) 'Editor's Note', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 18(1), 10–11.
- Bachelard, G. (1994) *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon).
- Barthel, D. (1996) *Historic Preservation. Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press).
- Baudrillard, J. (1995) *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Bendix, R. (2008) 'Heritage between Economy and Politics' in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge), pp. 253–69.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994) *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge).
- Blumenfeld, T. and Silverman, H. (eds) (2013) *Cultural Heritage Politics in China* (New York: Springer).
- Bruner, E. M. (1989) 'Tourism, Creativity and Authenticity', *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 10, 109–14.
- Bruner, E. M. (1993) 'Lincoln's New Salem as a Contested Site', *Museum Anthropology*, 17(3), 14–25.
- Bruner, E. M. (1994a) 'Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa', *Current Anthropology*, 9(2), 435–70.
- Bruner, E. M. (1994b) 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, 96(2), 397–415.
- Bruner, E. M. (1996a) 'Tourism in Ghana: The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora', *American Anthropologist*, 98(2), 290–304.

- Bruner, E. M. (1996b) 'Tourism in the Balinese Borderzone' in S. Lavie and T. Swedenberg (eds) *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press), pp. 157–79.
- Bruner, E. M. (2001) 'The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism and Globalization in African Tourism', *American Ethnologist*, 28(4), 881–908.
- Burra Charter (1979) *Australia ICOMOS Guidelines for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*.
- Chuo Li (2012) 'The Politics and Heritage of Race and Space in San Francisco's Chinatown' in D. F. Ruggles (ed.) *On Location. Heritage Cities and Sites* (New York: Springer), pp. 37–59.
- Cohen, E. (1988) 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 371–86.
- Cohen, E. (1995) 'Contemporary Tourism – Trends and Challenges. Sustainable Authenticity or Contrived Post-Modernity?' in R. Butler and D. Pearce (eds) *Change in Tourism. People, Places, Processes* (London: Routledge), pp. 12–29.
- Dearden, P. and Harron, S. (1994) 'Alternative Tourism and Adaptive Change', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21(1), 81–102.
- Denes, A. (2012) 'The Revitalisation of Khmer Ethnic Identity in Thailand: Empowerment or Confinement' in P. Daly and T. Winter (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Heritage in Asia* (Milton Park: Routledge), pp. 168–81.
- Denes, A. and Sirisrisak, T. (2013) 'A Rights-Based Approach to Cultural Heritage Management at the Phnom Rung Historical Park in Northeast Thailand' in C. Barry (ed.) *Rights to Culture? Language, Heritage and Community in Thailand* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm), pp. 27–57.
- Elshahed, M. (2006) 'Mount Athos: Notes on the Authenticity of "Fake"', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 18(1), 61.
- Getz, D. (1994) 'Event Tourism and the Authenticity Dilemma' in W. F. Theobald (ed.) *Global Tourism. The Next Decade* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann), pp. 314–29.
- Graburn, N. H. H. (1976) *Ethnic and Tourist Arts. Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Greenwood, D. (1982) 'Cultural Authenticity', *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 6(3), 27–8. <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/cultural-authenticity>, accessed 7 July 2012.
- Greenwood, D. (1989) 'Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization' in V. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 171–85.
- Handler, R. (1988) *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Handler, R. and Gable, E. (1997) *The New History in an Old Museum Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press).
- Harvey, D. (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Malden: Blackwell).
- Heidegger, M. (1997a) 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking' in N. Leach (ed.) *Rethinking Architecture. A Reader in Culture Theory* (London: Routledge), pp. 100–9.
- Heidegger, M. (1997b) 'Poetically Man Dwells' in N. Leach (ed.) *Rethinking Architecture. A Reader in Culture Theory* (London: Routledge), pp. 109–19.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1983) 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1–14.
- Hudson, B. (n.d.) 'The Archaeological Heritage of Myanmar (Burma) and Its Management', forthcoming in C. Smith (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Global Archaeology* (New York: Springer).

- ICOMOS-New Zealand (1992) *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value*.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2006) 'World Heritage and Cultural Economics' in I. Karp, C. A. Kratz and L. Szwaja (eds) *Museum Frictions. Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press), pp. 161–202.
- Landry, T. R. (2011) 'Touring the Slave Route: Inaccurate Authenticities' in H. Silverman (ed.) *Contested Cultural Heritage. Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Globalized World* (New York: Springer), pp. 205–31.
- Lowenthal, D. (1990) *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lowenthal, D. (2003) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- MacCannell, D. (2011) *The Ethics of Sight-seeing* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- McElhinney, S. (2006) 'More than Paradise: Dilemmas of Authenticity in a World Music Festival', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 18(1), 66.
- Morris, W. (1877) *Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1877/spabman.htm>, accessed 7 July 2012.
- Morris, W. (1889) *Address at the Twelfth Meeting of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1889/spab16.htm>, accessed 7 July 2012.
- Munjeri, D. (2004) 'Tangible and Intangible Heritage: From Difference to Convergence', *Museum International*, 56(1–2), 12–20.
- Munz, P. (1977) *The Shapes of Time: A New Look at the Philosophy of History* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press).
- Myers, F. R. (1995) 'Representing Culture: The Production of Discourse(s) for Aboriginal Acrylic Paintings' in G. E. Marcus and F. R. Myers (eds) *The Traffic in Culture. Refiguring Art and Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 55–95.
- NAGPRA (1990) *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act*. US Congress 25 U.S.C. 3001 et seq. (16 November 1990)
- Orser, C. E., Jr. (2007) 'Transnational Diaspora and Rights of Heritage' in H. Silverman and D. F. Ruggles (eds) *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights* (New York: Springer), pp. 92–105.
- Ostergaard, J. and Christensen, D. R. (2010) 'Walking towards Oneself: The Authentication of Place and Self' in B. T. Knudsen and A. M. Waade (eds) *Re-Investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place and Emotions* (Bristol: Channel View), pp. 241–53.
- Peters, H. (2013) 'Dancing in the Market: Reconfiguring Commerce and Heritage in Lijiang' in T. Blumenfeld and H. Silverman (eds) *Cultural Heritage Politics in China* (New York: Springer), pp. 115–40.
- Picard, D. and Robinson, M. (2012) *Emotion in Motion. Tourism, Affect and Transformation* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Potter, A. (2010) *The Authenticity Hoax. How We Get Lost Finding Ourselves* (New York: HarperCollins).
- Pulitano, E. (2003) *A Native American Critical Theory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press).
- Robinson, M. and Picard, D. (2009) 'Moments, Magic and Memory: Photographing Tourists, Tourist Photographs and Making Worlds' in M. Robinson and D. Picard (eds) *The Framed World. Tourism, Tourists and Photography* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 1–37.
- Ruskin, J. (1849) *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/ruskin/7lamps/6.html#30>, accessed 7 July 2012.

- Sherman, D. J. (1989) *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
- Silverman, E. K. (2000) 'Tourism in the Sepik River of Papua New Guinea: Favoring Local over the Global', *Pacific Tourism Review*, 4, 105–19.
- Silverman, H. (n.d.) 'The Inca in the Plaza', Paper in preparation.
- Skounti, A. (2008) 'The Authentic Illusion. Humanity's Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Moroccan Experience' in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge), pp. 74–92.
- Smeets, R. (2004) 'Globalization and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' in L. Wong (ed.) *International Conference. Globalization and Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris: UNESCO), pp. 43–7.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. and Waterton, E. (2008) '"The Envy of the World"? Intangible Heritage in England' in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge), pp. 289–302.
- Stovel, H. (2001) 'Conference Report. The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage. Riga, Latvia, October 2000', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 4, 241–4.
- Su, X. (2013) 'Tourism, Migration and the Politics of Built Heritage in Lijiang, China' in T. Blumenfield and H. Silverman (eds) *Cultural Heritage Politics in China* (New York: Springer), pp. 101–14.
- Summerson, J. (1966) 'Ruskin, Morris and the "Anti-Scrape" Philosophy' in *Historic Preservation Today*. National Trust for Historic Preservation and Colonial Williamsburg (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia), pp. 23–32.
- Sweet, R. (2004) *Antiquaries. The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London).
- Trilling, L. (1972) *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
- Tsing, A. L. (2005) *Friction. An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Tsui, C. M. C. (2006) 'Learning from Las Vegas! The Recent Development of Macau's Mega-Casino/Resorts', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 18(1), 62.
- UNESCO (1989) *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*.
- Urban, G. (2001) *Metaculture: How Cultures Move through the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Urry, J. and Larsen J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage).
- Vézina, B. (2009) 'Documentation and Digitization of Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Experience on WIPO'. International Conference on Intellectual Property and Cultural Heritage in the Digital World, Madrid.
- Wang, N. (1999) 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 349–70.
- Wang, N. (2000) *Tourism and Modernity. A Sociological Analysis* (Amsterdam: Pergamon).
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2010) *Culture, Heritage and Representation. Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Watson, S., Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (2012) 'Moments, Instances and Experiences' in L. Smith, E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (London: Routledge), pp. 1–16.

Part II

Heritage in Context



5

From Heritage to Archaeology and Back Again

Shatha Abu Khafajah and Arwa Badran

Archaeology is often seen as a scientific discipline that explores the material of the past. Likewise, heritage is conventionally understood as material from the past to which people develop a sense of attachment and pride. Although heritage studies, as an academic endeavour, is relatively new compared with the science of archaeology, we argue that ancient cultures conserved material of the past because they considered it their heritage. For example, the prominent Roman architect in the first century CE, Vitruvius, regarded the architectural heritage of Rome as a reflection of his people's achievements at all levels: a heritage that expressed Roman culture and shaped its present and future. In Vitruvius' (1995, I, p. 5) words to Caesar: 'with respect to the future, you have such regard to public and private buildings, that they will correspond to the grandeur of our history, and will be a memorial to future ages'. *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitution* documented the law of Rome in the time between 313 CE and 438 CE. The Code, edited and translated by Clyde Pharr in 1952, demonstrated different measures to protect the Classical material of the past. For example, penalties against those who stole or vandalized monuments or tombs were declared (Pharr, 1952, p. 239). Furthermore, officers were designated to inspect monuments regularly and to report the necessary levels of interventions needed to preserve the Classical material of the past (Pharr, 1952, p. 242).

Interest in the Classical past and its material reminders flourished during the Renaissance period (1450–1600), as strong feelings of attachment and belonging to it appeared among European scholars. According to Cleere (1989, p. 7), the Renaissance approach to the Classical past is the 'basic philosophical tenet [that] is now widely accepted in many countries of the world, and it underlies much modern heritage management'. It can be concluded that the Renaissance scholars were the first to start systematic conservation operations of material from the past (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 27). This approach can be labelled the art history approach. It is based on emphasizing intrinsic values of material culture,

in particular aesthetic value, monumentality and authenticity, which were considered the basic sources of significance for the material remains of the past (Mason, 2002, p. 19). Therefore, practices concerned with material remains during the Renaissance period were inspired by, and based on, a sense of cultural and emotional attachment.

Inventing archaeology

Governments in Europe have for quite some time acknowledged archaeological monuments as national heritage. Organizations concerned with national heritage protection were established, for example in England, at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Dobby, 1978, p. 61; Feilden, 1982, p. 5; Cleere, 1984b, p. 54). It is worth mentioning that as early as 1572 there were attempts among English scholars to establish a society to protect ancient monuments (Daniel, 1981, p. 46), with the first archaeological society in the world, the Society of Antiquaries of London, constituted in 1718 (Willems, 2002). Such societies reflect the obsession of the elite at the time with acquiring antiquities and visiting ancient sites, including not only the Classical world, but also the Holy Land, Egypt and Mesopotamia.

The modern perception of material remains from the past in terms of their value and significance was influenced by canonical ideas emerging from art history, particularly those concerned with aesthetic value, monumentality and authenticity. The application of the notion of authenticity to the perception of archaeological sites, developed by the German archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann in his book *History of Ancient Art* (1764), was fundamentally inspired by ideas of originality and age. Similarly, in England during the nineteenth century, John Ruskin, an architect and art critic, developed his approach to historic buildings and monuments in a context dominated by a high appreciation of the picturesque nature of ruins (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 156). Ruskin, in his books *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Bible of Amiens* (1908), followed a Romantic approach to the past that valued a minimum level of intervention in conservation. His work argued that any intervention towards historical buildings and archaeological monuments should be minimized in order to avoid jeopardizing 'the soul of the building' (Ruskin, 1996, pp. 322–23). Ruskin's approach contradicted the Restoration approach that was established by the French architect Viollet le Duc, who instead called for an intervention in historic buildings that aimed 'neither to maintain it, nor to repair it, nor to rebuild it; it means to re-establish it in a *finished state*, which may in fact *never have actually existed at any time*' (le Duc, 1996, p. 314, emphasis added).

However, most practices concerned with historical sites were designed to conserve the original state of the 'non-renewable' material of the past. Such

a presumption became the universal ethic of conservation in the West and in many other contexts around the world. It was consolidated by documents produced by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), along with early charters associated with ICOMOS. This emphasis on intrinsic value left little room for the influence of contexts, cultures and human perception (Tainter and Lucas, 1983, p. 712). Accordingly, archaeological sites in different contexts were perceived and evaluated in the same way. This perception of significance as being dependent on intrinsic value underlies the notion of universality, and, thus, the generality of conventional approaches to material remains developed in the twentieth century.

Fitting people into prehistory using the culture-history approach

Europe has witnessed accelerated development in science and technology as well as philosophy and history since the eighteenth century. This dynamic context has had a fundamental influence on the way material remains from the past were perceived and approached (Jokilehto, 1999, p. 47–65). On a practical level, archaeological excavations and interventions with regard to monuments and sites grew more systematic and scientific, as they relied on accurate survey, recording, classification and description (Daniel, 1981, p. 15–24; Jokilehto, 1999, p. 53). On a cognitive level, significant shifts in terms of age, time and longevity took place, which influenced the way material remains from the past were approached. For example, the period of time associated with human existence on earth was suddenly expanded far beyond the Biblical frame, as the French customs inspector Jacques Boucher de Perthes found evidence that suggested human existence on earth extended into a far more distant past than Biblical studies had suggested. De Perthes' evidence was based on flint tools found near fossilized animal bones in 1841, which prompted him to suggest that the tools were made by humans who were hunting the now fossilized animals (Daniel, 1981, p. 52; Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 24; Greene, 2002, p. 27). This new perception of time among scholars allowed a more flexible approach to the past, which was reflected in archaeological theories and practices developing at the time. Accordingly, scholars started to speculate about the age of humanity, questioning the possibility of humankind extending into distant prehistory. These new parameters for human existence on earth were organized into three ages: Stone, Bronze and Iron, known as the Three Age System, which was introduced into archaeology by the Danish scholar C. J. Thompson (Daniel, 1981, pp. 58–9; Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 25; Greene, 2002, pp. 21–3).

Archaeology and the evolution theory: Inventing the other

Cultural changes and development in prehistoric Europe were explained relying on two interpretations: the first was biological and cultural superiority of the European 'race', and the second was invasion, immigration and diffusion

between people at that time. The first interpretation was introduced by the German prehistorian and philologist Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931), who identified different ethnic groups of prehistoric Europe using ancient artefacts such as pottery shards and flint tools. Every group of artefacts that shared similar characteristics and were consistently found together was identified as an archaeological ‘culture’ that represented a certain people. Kossinna linked these archaeological cultures with the people who had lived in Europe during prehistory. Any changes in artefacts were attributed to differences in people’s intrinsic characteristics and ethnicity (Daniel, 1981, p. 151; Trigger, 1989, pp. 163–5; Greene, 2002, pp. 239–40), so that different artefacts indicated different people. This method of organizing artefacts into groups that reflected evolution in different cultures and different people is known as the culture-history approach, and it relied intensively on describing cultures and establishing chronologies on the basis of material remains (Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 30; Greene, 2002, p. 23).

Evolution of cultures on the basis of biological and cultural superiority resonated with the theory of organic evolution presented by the English naturalist Charles Darwin during the middle of the nineteenth century. Darwin’s theory of species evolution inspired archaeologists to establish typologies of material culture of the past, mainly using pottery (Daniel, 1981, p. 113; Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 2). This evolutionary approach was highly influential to archaeological practice in Britain, particularly under the guidance of Sir John Lubbock (1834–1913), a banker, politician and antiquary, and his book *Prehistoric Times* (1865). In Lubbock’s argument, the evolution of material culture in Europe implied biological and cultural superiority over nations in other parts of the world who maintained what he saw as their prehistoric primitivism (Trigger, 1989, p. 115–16). Lubbock’s observation of the ‘self’ as being superior to the ‘other’ found deep resonance in the growing industrial society of Britain in the period between 1865 and 1913, at which time British society was witnessing economic and political power that made Lubbock’s image of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ popular among lay people in Britain (Carman, 1993, p. 43). In this context of economic prosperity, and certainly by the 1870s, an interest in Britain’s past as part of the discourses concerned with national identity was established among the general public as well as scholars (Hudson, 1981, p. 53). This use of material culture from the past to sustain a sense of belonging for a certain people or identity is identified by Trigger (1984, p. 356) as ‘nationalist archaeology’. National pride is enhanced by material development, which has been used in anthropological and archaeological studies to identify culture since the middle of the nineteenth century.

Anthropologists such as Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) in Britain, and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881) in the US, argued that human societies went through three stages of cultural development: savagery, barbarism and

civilization (Trigger, 1989, p. 100). Trigger (1981, p. 142) observes the influence that the evolutionary approach had on shaping the concept of colonialism, as it provided 'proof of the inexorable tendency for European culture to advance on its own initiative and for cultures elsewhere either to develop more slowly or to remain static. Cultural evolution therefore had the potential to become a doctrine of European pre-dominance.'

Archaeology as a *national heritage* was first recognized in British law in the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, which, unsurprisingly, was initiated by John Lubbock. By this Act, archaeology was managed under the authority of the state, with the aim of conserving it as a national heritage (Cleere, 1984b, p. 54) in a context that was characterized by science and industrial development. In order to justify archaeology in such a context, it had to be acknowledged, together with the practices associated with it (especially conservation), as an objective science. This status of archaeology was sustained by the appointment of General Augustus Pitt Rivers as the first inspector of ancient monuments in Britain (Hodder, 1993, p. 12). Pitt Rivers' interest in systematic excavation and specialized reports (Daniel, 1981, p. 77) reflected the scientific context that underpinned archaeology during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In Europe, by the end of the nineteenth century, most governments increasingly considered material remains from the past to be sources of national pride (Infranco, 1998, pp. 9–10; Killebrew and Lehmann, 1999, p. 4). The past was established as public property, and Antiquities Acts, as seen in Britain above, were formulated to protect heritage. This national interest in the past was believed to rectify the gap between past and present (Philippot, 1976, p. 367) and to anchor nations to a rich past. However, because of the dominance of art history canons in approaches to material of the past, as mentioned above, only buildings with specific characteristics were selected as being worthy of protection. This selectivity implied excluding 'unimportant' pasts and acknowledging others as being national heritage.

Archaeology and migration theory: Justifying colonialism

Interpreting cultural evolution on the basis of invasion, immigration and diffusion between people contradicted the concept of biological and cultural superiority. Some scholars in Britain had accepted the fact that their land had been invaded by other nations since early times. Thus, changes in artefacts were interpreted on the basis of migration and diffusion with other people (Trigger, 1989, pp. 163–5; Greene, 2002, pp. 239–40). Among the scholars who contributed to this shift in the culture-history approach was the British (Australian-born) archaeologist Vere Gordon Childe (1892–1957). Childe (1954, p. 29) argued that interaction with the 'cradle of civilization', the ancient cultures that were established in Mesopotamia and the Near East, was the main

source of cultural development in prehistoric Europe. A visual demonstration of this link that the West established between the ancient civilizations of the Near East and its modern civilization is illustrated by a relief sculpture that has been in place over the main entrance of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago since 1931. This relief sculpture depicts the transition of civilization, represented through a hieroglyphic inscription, from an ancient Egyptian directly to a man with Western features (Larsen, 1989, pp. 229–30). The absence of representations of the current civilization in the Near East from the sculpture is a clear example of the marginalization of the present people and their culture.

Similarly, theories of migration and diffusion were adopted to answer questions as to who had built the ancient advanced cultures in North America. According to the culture-history approach, such cultures in North America were developed by people who came from outside the continent, such as Vikings, the Irish and the Israelites (King et al., 1977, p. 12; Trigger, 1981, pp. 148–9; Trigger and Glover, 1981, p. 136). Therefore, Western scholars saw that it was ‘outsiders’ rather than Native Americans who established the ancient advanced cultures in North America. This explanation resonated with the European invasion of the continent (King et al., 1977, p. 12). It justified the invasion as something that had occurred before, something that had previously brought culture and prosperity to the people and land of America. Native Americans, through this explanation, were viewed as being passive receivers of other cultures, and also as being responsible for the destruction of those cultures (Trigger, 1984, pp. 360–62). The same interpretation was offered at the beginning of the twentieth century when Europeans invaded North Africa and the Arab nation. For example, in 1851, in a prize-winning poem about ‘Nineveh’ (an Assyrian city in Iraq), the English poet Alfred William Hunt (quoted in Wengrow, 2006, p. 192) described the Arab who lived in Iraq as follows:

The Arab knows not, though round him rise
The sepulchres of earth’s first monarchies

Similarly, the Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli legitimized the modern colonization of Libya after the First World War by emphasizing its Classical Roman past. Moreover, Pascoli found in the Roman existence in Libya a suitable context to emphasize the superiority of the colonizer in the past and the present, and the inferiority of local people. Pascoli’s words read as follows: ‘we were there already, we left signs that not even the Berbers, the Bedouins and the Turks could erase’ (quoted in Mattingly, 1996, p. 50).

The same notion of superiority is evident in an account presented by the prominent English archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler (1890–1976). Admiring the Classical remains of Balbeck in Lebanon, Wheeler stated that Balbeck is ‘one of

the very great monuments of European architecture... [but, to Wheeler's disappointment] beyond the hills of Anti-Lebanon which rise above it to the east begins the sand of Asia and an essentially alien mind' (quoted in Seeden, 1994, p. 102). Not only was Balbeck perceived as being directly connected to the modern Western civilization, the local people, the Arabs, were perceived as being alien from the past that existed in and on their land.

Reinventing archaeology in the new world

The absence of Classical remains in the US resulted in that nation creating its own heritage after its independence from Great Britain in 1776. While most of Europe boasted the Classical past as its heritage and associated this with its national identity, the US developed a growing interest in natural resources and those historic events that were closely associated with the European invasion of the New World as a national heritage (Tainter and Lucas, 1983, pp. 707–08). Heritage protection movements started in the US as a public effort to preserve places and commemorate events closely related to American history. The campaign carried out by Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, to protect the house of George Washington in 1858, is one of the first examples of modern and organized cultural heritage protection in North America (King et al., 1977, p. 13; McGimsey and Davis, 1984, p. 116).

The first US governmental Act relevant to the protection of material remains from the past was the 1906 Federal Antiquities Act, which identified the government as the only agent responsible for the protection of cultural and natural resources. More active public control over, and involvement in, cultural and natural resources was enabled with the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 (McGimsey and Davis, 1984, p. 118). However, public involvement in cultural heritage was not recognized until the late 1970s, when, capitalizing on his experience in the National Park Service, Tilden (1977) developed a set of tenets for the interpretation of cultural heritage based on active engagement by the public with the material of the past.

The culture-history approach depended on artefacts to explain changes and developments in ancient cultures in the US. The environment was not thought to be relevant to these explanations; it was considered to be merely operating as a passive background against which changes occurred (Hodder, 1982, p. 4). However, the culture-history approach was directly influenced by changes in all contexts of life after the Second World War. In a context of growing economic recovery and scientific advancement, changes and development in ancient cultures began to be explained on the basis of technology and environment, rather than solely by changes in types of artefacts (Trigger, 1989, pp. 293–4). These developments allowed scholars to recognize the dynamic interaction between

people and their environment as an influential factor for development. This interaction was employed to describe changes in ancient cultures.

New archaeology: Scientific, abstract, general and universal

Instead of identifying culture in terms of archaeological artefacts, the environmental approach to archaeology recognized culture as an adaptive mechanism to the surrounding environment. Culture, in this sense, was emphasized as a process and as a system and subsystems (e.g. White, 1975). Equipped with science and inspired by the intellectual movements of modernity in the 1960s, the new approach to archaeology was called the New Archaeology or processual archaeology (King et al., 1977, p. 27; Greene, 2002, p. 258). Using systematic analysis and a hypothetic deductive approach to investigate material of the past (King et al., 1977, p. 27), the New Archaeology aimed at formulating hypotheses and constructing models about the past and its material (Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 37; Greene, 2002, p. 183).

New Archaeology was epitomized and encapsulated in the writings of Lewis Binford, for example in his volumes *Archaeology as Anthropology* (1962) and *New Perspectives in Archaeology* (1968). Binford's (1962, p. 224) arguments considered the culture-history approach as 'naïve' because of its lack of reliance on science, and therefore called for more serious theories to explain the material of the past. His main suggestion was to establish 'a systematic framework of reference' (Binford, 1962, p. 217) that would enable archaeological data to produce a 'reliable', objective and general answer to the issues raised by the past and its material (Binford, 1965, pp. 218–19). To achieve this, Binford (1983, p. 194) proposed an approach called Middle Range Theory, in order to look for regularities in the socio-cultural contexts of the past. Ethnographic and historical observations were to be continuously tested in order to 'get answers to questions such as "What does it mean? ... [and] What was it like?"' (Binford, 1983, p. 194). This systematic and scientific approach was assumed to 'situate human individuals and societies within the material world' (Binford, 1983, p. 4). From there, it was assumed that only scientific and objective archaeology could be used to explain human development and cultures. Any alternatives were rejected as being unreliable and subjective.

Science and legislations in archaeology

The context in which New Archaeology developed was characterized by prosperity in almost all material aspects of life among the white, middle and upper classes in the US (King et al., 1977, pp. 22–3). There, archaeology was directly affected by urban expansion. Thus, archaeologists were compelled, under the heavy pressure of construction projects, to practice so-called salvage excavations (or 'rescue archaeology', as it was known in other contexts). In these excavations, sites where urban development was to take place were excavated,

with the findings removed and relocated for their protection, or preserved in situ (King et al., 1977, p. 23; Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 37). Archaeologists were so fully occupied with salvage excavations that very little attention was paid to conservation or any other issues concerned with the material remains of the past. Archaeologists who adopted New Archaeology considered salvage excavations as unscientific, and refused to participate in them. They focused instead on 'pure' research, without practical engagement with the jeopardized archaeological record (King et al., 1977, pp. 24–8).

The context of rapid urban expansion and development in the US resulted in an explicit concern with the 'cultural environments, both built and natural' (Lipe, 1984, p. 1; see also Murtagh, 1988, p. 62), and debates developed not only among archaeologists but also in the government and among the general public about natural and built environment as national cultural heritage. Relevant governmental legislation and policies were developed (Adovasio and Carlisle, 1988, p. 75; Smith, 1994, p. 302), such as the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966. This Act resulted in the establishment of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Given that it was drafted primarily by architects and art historians, it should come as no surprise that those assumptions central to the art history approach, explained above, dominated the Act. The artistic and architectural outlook persisted despite the passing, in 1980, of an amended Act (McGimsey and Davis, 1984, p. 120). Thus, concepts of 'value' and 'significance' were deeply influenced by notions of monumentality, authenticity and aestheticism, which, in turn, influenced decisions regarding what was identifiable as cultural heritage. In this regard, cultural heritage sites were identified, on the basis of the art history approach, as being beautiful, monumental and authentic.

Despite the interest in aestheticism, monumentality and authenticity that is demonstrated in the 1966 Act, an explicit concern about the environment was demonstrated in the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969. The Act suggested an environmental approach to perceiving material of the past (Adovasio and Carlisle, 1988, p. 75), which took into account the influence of urban expansion projects on cultural aspects of social life. It called for the formulation of the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), which was concerned with the impact of urban expansion and development projects on the social and built environment (King et al., 1977, p. 8). As a mechanism for the assessment of the impact of the urban projects on the environment, the EIS suggested conducting archaeological surveys before the launch of any urban development project.

However, because of the lack of concern regarding archaeological sites among those in charge of urban development projects, the EIS did not succeed, and there was a need to formulate an Act that ensured archaeological survey took place before the implementation of any development projects (King et al., 1977,

p. 34). Consequently, the Executive Order 11,593 was introduced, which carried a particular focus on the preparation of inventories of archaeological and historic sites, and the suggestion of suitable protection policies for these sites (King et al., 1977, p. 37; McGimsey and Davis, 1984, p. 119; Murtagh, 1988, pp. 167–77).

The interest in data that can be obtained from material of the past was demonstrated in the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act (AHPA) of 1974. This Act enabled the agencies involved in development projects to have access to archaeological material and to recover data from it (Tainter and Lucas, 1983, p. 709). Data, rather than the physical remains, were the main focus of this Act (King et al., 1977, p. 48). Therefore, in accordance with the principles of New Archaeology, the above Act consolidated the notion of archaeology as an objective science in which subjective aspects are marginalized. Gradually, through these various Acts and policies, archaeology was increasingly recognized as public property that needed management. The notion of management was incorporated into archaeology, and the concept of cultural resources management (CRM) evolved.

New archaeology and cultural resources management

Under the influence of New Archaeology, material culture was perceived as a resource. The word ‘resource’ reflected a passive image, according to Hodder (1993, p. 13), and a utilitarian approach in which such material was perceived ‘as a resource to be quantified, assessed and exploited’ (Emerick, 2003, p. 237). Influenced by New Archaeology’s generalized and utilitarian approach, scholars (e.g. Lipe, 1984, p. 1ff; de la Torre and MacLean, 1997, p. 8; Sullivan, 1997, p. 16) defined and evaluated material of the past as a resource that had the potential to be used and consumed. This perception resulted in the definition and evaluation of material of the past on the basis of scholars’ understanding and interpretation, and the marginalization of ordinary people’s approach towards, and involvement with, this material.

Archaeology, in the context of New Archaeology, was perceived as a universal science, which brought with it the authority and power that are confined to those who have access to this science: mainly archaeologists (Smith, 1993, pp. 64–5). Any other approach to material culture was rejected. For example, the ways in which local communities and Indigenous people perceived and approached the past were considered, in the context of New Archaeology, non-scientific and subjective, lacking the rigour and objectivity of archaeological science (Smith, 1993, pp. 64–5). A member of a local community in North America observed that archaeologists approached the past in his village with one concern in mind: to develop a common approach to intervene in all archaeological sites and the artefacts found in them (Anawak, 1996, p. 650), and

remarked that archaeologists rarely paid any attention to local communities' perceptions of these sites.

The principles of New Archaeology, such as generalization and universality, were sustained through the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, generally known as the *World Heritage Convention* (WHC), which was adopted at the General Conference of UNESCO held in Paris in 1972. In this Convention, 'outstanding universal value' is emphasized in the definition of monuments, group of buildings and sites that are considered to be World Heritage Sites (UNESCO 1972). This draws from the assumption, inherent in New Archaeology, that material culture is a scientific property that needs to be managed. The debates among archaeologists and governmental agencies over heritage preservation and salvage excavations resulted in developing processes and strategies that aimed to monitor archaeological sites. Different terms were used to describe these processes: 'Sometimes [they are] ... identified by the term "archaeological heritage management" (or "cultural resources management", or simply "heritage management")' (Smith, 1993, p. 55). As explained above, this scientific approach did not acknowledge local perceptions and knowledge of the past and its material. Consequently, 'there developed two heritage management titles (with slight variations) that represented two ways of perceiving the past: Cultural Resources Management and Cultural Heritage Management, the latter coined to reflect the belief that heritage included the tangible and intangible' (Emerick, 2003, p. 237).

CRM is initially a process of identification, evaluation and intervention to preserve material remains from the past (Cleere, 1984a, p. 126; Smith, 1993, p. 56, 1994, p. 302). Although the context in which CRM was initiated was governed by New Archaeology theory with its scientific approach, the development of CRM was influenced by a specific emphasis on archaeology as a public resource. Its development was thus based on establishing conceptual and practical frameworks to identify, evaluate and intervene with material of the past that could be acknowledged as a cultural resource. However, as CRM became increasingly identified as a practical field, 'little intellectual space ... for conceiving of heritage as a process which is influenced by, and which in turn influences, archaeological theory and practice' (Smith, 1993, p. 59) was allowed. While the recent past was sensitively approached as cultural heritage, ancient pasts were mainly considered as archaeology, and 'rigidly' interpreted on the basis of a 'pure' scientific approach.

Despite the adverse effects of the generalized and utilitarian approach to material of the past, New Archaeology continues to be understood as having had a major influence, derived from the scientific authority it bestowed on from the 1960s onwards (Smith, 1994, p. 303). This power of science helped to institutionalize the concept of CRM, to interweave practical approaches to material of the past with governmental legislation and policies (Smith, 1993, p. 58), and

to engage archaeology in cultural and political debates (Smith, 1994, p. 69). Most importantly, the dynamic social and political contexts in which CRM evolved are believed to have expanded the perception of material of the past (Clark, 2002, p. 38). This socio-political context is explained in the following section.

The socio-political context: Humanizing archaeology and recognizing the ordinary

Equally important to the scientific context and legislations that influenced the development of New Archaeology was the socio-political context. In 1950s and 1960s, the notion of public welfare started to shape a valid legal base for legislation in the US (King et al., 1977, p. 28; Tainter and Lucas, 1983, p. 711; McGimsey and Davis, 1984, pp. 119–20). Instead of defining cultural heritage on the basis of its relevance to historic events and people, new values of heritage based on its role in defining the present and influencing the future were recognized. The role that local communities and the environment played in the creation and enhancement of values of cultural heritage was acknowledged. Therefore, anything that added to a community's character and the visual quality of a neighbourhood, regardless of its beauty, monumentality or authenticity, was increasingly recognized as value of heritage (King et al., 1977, p. 34). The influence of the art history approach started to decline.

Of particular importance to this socio-political context were human rights movements that changed power relations and highlighted issues of power and control in terms of managing and 'owning' material of the past. These movements heavily influenced the way African American and Native people perceived themselves and their cultural heritage, and changed the way they were perceived and presented, challenging the conventional values of heritage as being based on monumentality and its materiality. Marginalized peoples, such as African Americans and Native Americans, were increasingly agitating for their cultural and political rights, and in this context evoked their sense of identity through narratives of heritage and their past.

The Civil Rights Movement in the US, for example, was launched to secure the social equality of African Americans and other suppressed groups (Weyeneth, 1995, p. 2). At the same time, and for the same reasons, the Aboriginal Land Rights Movement was established in Australia (Smith, 1993, pp. 57–8) and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies was established in 1961 (Smith, 2004, p. 94). In these dynamic social and political contexts, the past was increasingly recognized as a source of pride and identity among the marginalized. It also became a significant factor in terms of power and control. Governments were forced to recognize Native people's interest in material culture that represented them, and debates were raised about who had the right to define that heritage and implement practices and procedures for

its management (e.g. Anyon and Ferguson, 1995, p. 913; Weyeneth, 1995, pp. 4–5).

Contemporary context of material of the past

Equipped with the notion that '[a]rchaeology is inappropriate for a rigid positivism' (Hodder, 1984, p. 67), some archaeologists (e.g. Trigger, 1978; Ucko, 1989; Hodder, 1991a, b, c, 1989, 1984) reacted against the scientific approach that New Archaeology offered to the past. Indeed, New Archaeology has been under criticism since the late 1970s because of its focus on the 'materialist position' (Trigger, 1978, p. 12; Hodder, 1989, p. 253) and its purely scientific and experimental approach (Hodder, 1984, p. 67) that aimed to formulate hypotheses and to generalize their results. Binford's Middle Range Theory, mentioned earlier, which was designed to produce general archaeological information, was criticized for reducing material culture to 'mundane statements about the material constraints of human action' (Hodder, 1984, p. 67). Arguments about the meanings and the diversity of interpretations, rather than the scientific, testable nature of material culture, were initiated. In this sense, material culture was approached as being 'highly chunked and contextualized' (Hodder and Hutson, 2003, p. 172).

Thus, material culture was viewed as being inextricably linked to the contexts in which it evolved, and to the people who established this culture. The Western perception of cultural heritage, and practices relevant to it, up to that point were weighed against those of Indigenous people. A prominent example of acknowledging the link between Indigenous people and their cultural heritage comes from the World Heritage Site of Kimberley, in the northwest of Australia, where the Indigenous local community have been keeping rock paintings created by their ancestors through repainting, or retouching, them periodically since ancient times. This act has been carried out for generations as part of the local community's approach to conserving their cultural heritage (Bowdler, 1988, pp. 518–20). Using the claim that these paintings are 'part of the cultural heritage of all mankind' (Bowdler, 1988, p. 520), a descendant of an Australian settler complained about the local community's practice of repainting as being destructive of that heritage, a complaint that was subsequently directed to government authorities. In light of the claim, the local community's practice of conservation was suspected as destructive and an investigation was conducted regarding this practice. After detailed enquiries, the government concluded that there was no clear evidence of the claimed destruction and the local community's practice of repainting was explained as a 'traditional manner' (Bowdler, 1988, p. 521) that does not affect the World Heritage Site of Kimberley. Despite this acknowledgement of the local community's approach to conserving the rock paintings in Kimberley, the incident presented Western perceptions of cultural heritage as against those of the local Indigenous people.

Bringing context and a human dimension to archaeology implied incorporating a wide range of philosophical approaches into the discipline of archaeology. These approaches, such as neo-Marxism, post-structuralism, post-positivism, hermeneutics or the interpretive approach, and critical theory, are considered as currents of thought that echo postmodernity (Renfrew, 1994, p. 3; Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 42; Greene, 2002, p. 253). They are mainly concerned with exploring meanings, symbols and cognitive aspects of life. The approach that employs these currents of thought in studies of the archaeological past is called post-processual archaeology or interpretive archaeology. On the one hand, as the first name indicates, post-processual archaeology is a reaction against the functional and processual approach of New Archaeology; on the other hand, it is an embrace of postmodernity and the diverse currents of thought it offered (Renfrew, 1994, p. 3; Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 42; Greene, 2002, p. 253). Despite the different arguments that post-processual archaeology raises, the general aim of this approach is to incorporate symbolic and cognitive aspects of life in the past and the present into archaeological studies in order to produce more diverse and inclusive interpretations of material of the past.

Transferring archaeology into 'a more democratic structure'

With post-processual archaeology, the human factor was brought to the fore. Exploring technologies as well as organizations, which people of the past were believed to have developed in order to establish their cultures, was an inextricable part of the new approach to material of the past that developed after the Second World War. Archaeology in this sense was established as a multidisciplinary subject. The pioneering scholars of this approach were Julian Steward (1902–1972) in the US and Grahame Clark (1907–1995) in Britain (Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, p. 35; Greene, 2002, p. 184). Clark, in his book *The Identity of Man* (1983), expands his interest in the environment to investigate development in humanity as a result of difference and diversity in the environment.

The post-processual approach is also characterized by stressing the past as being multiple, diverse and contingent (Hodder, 1989, p. 262, 1991b, p. 16). Therefore, arguments developed in post-processual archaeology are believed to '[release] the past into public debates' (Hodder, 1991b, p. 15) by transferring 'archaeological knowledge into a more democratic structure' (Hodder, 1991b, p. 9). Furthermore, by encouraging 'self-reflexivity and dialogue' in archaeological discourse (Hodder, 1991b, p. 16), post-processual archaeology brings the individual, whether prehistoric or modern, into archaeological research (Renfrew, 2001, p. 126). It offers an opportunity to explore the past in a way that can contribute to contemporary issues and debate. Indeed, the dynamism and inclusiveness that post-processual archaeology provides offer a more sophisticated theory in archaeology (Trigger, 1989, p. 380). This new dynamism and inclusiveness that archaeology acquired as a discipline were

reflected in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, which was first issued in 1994, and where increasing calls for 'a more critical practice of community engagement' (Waterton and Smith, 2010, p. 4ff) continue to appear.

By the time the limitations of New Archaeology were recognized and post-processual archaeology developed, the intangible aspect of culture had been recognized by UNESCO as well as scholars. UNESCO (1986) identified culture as 'the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs.' This definition recognizes both tangibility and intangibility, with 'culture' emerging as more humane and relevant to lay people and ordinary aspects of life, in both the past and the present, than had previously been assumed in terms of monuments and distinguished achievements.

In its turn, post-processual archaeology came under criticism for several reasons. The arbitrary relationship between material culture and symbolic meanings made it easy to consider any interpretation as being valid. In addition, the relativist outlook on material culture offered a reason for refusing the post-processual approach (Renfrew, 1994, pp. 3–4). Mixing archaeology with fiction as 'anything goes' in interpretation rendered archaeology far from objective and, therefore, scarcely acceptable among New Archaeologists (Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, pp. 43–6; Renfrew, 2001, p. 123). Furthermore, Smith (1993, pp. 69–70) observes that, as the post-processual approach views archaeology as a self-referential discipline, it declines to identify the institutional power of archaeology, and consequently it fails to establish a relationship with cultural and political bodies, and therefore to have an active role in daily life.

Despite these criticisms, post-processual archaeology offers an approach that 'humanizes' material of the past as it brings the human factor into the foreground. It accepts the diverse interpretations and the different meanings that can be derived from material culture. Therefore, it makes archaeology a more dynamic and inclusive field. The recognition of diversity on which post-processual archaeology is based encouraged New Archaeologists to recognize the cognitive aspects of the past in their studies. In these studies, material culture is integrated with social, economic and cognitive processes of culture in order to provide better interpretations (Renfrew and Bahn, 2000, pp. 43–6; Renfrew, 2001, pp. 123–4). This approach is identified as cognitive-processual archaeology (Renfrew, 1994, p. 3), as it combines the processual traditions of New Archaeology with the cognitive and symbolic aspects of culture that the post-processual approach provides. Importantly, Renfrew (1994, p. 3) believed that this cognitive-processual approach was a 'new phase' of development in New Archaeology that took into consideration the cognitive aspects of culture that early stages of the New Archaeology tended to marginalize.

Nonetheless, post-processual archaeology marks an inclusive, dynamic and 'human' approach that encourages mental and emotional engagement with the past and its material. It is this engagement that transforms archaeology into heritage. It activates material remains from the past and facilitates its integration into contemporary contexts.

Public archaeology

The term 'public archaeology' was first mentioned by Charles McGimsey in his book *Public Archaeology*, published in New York in 1972, when public archaeology first emerged as an organized field of study (Okamura and Matsuda, 2011). Public archaeology was perceived as part of CRM in the US in particular, given the significance of public involvement and support for the protection of heritage (Jameson, 2004).

Public archaeology was seen as a way of engaging the public in understanding their past. But in many instances archaeology persisted as a 'profession', and the archaeologists continued to act on behalf of the public to preserve and interpret heritage (Merriman, 2004). Public archaeology has been often defined in relation to the state regulating archaeology and spurring a generalized public interest, rather than an archaeology of the public that considers multiple interpretations of the past (Merriman, 2004). This definition is reflected in the purpose of *Public Archaeology* journal, which was first published in 2000. More recently, discussions in specialized literature redefined public archaeology to better reflect the relationship between archaeology and the public (see for elaborate discussions Okamura and Matsuda, 2011; Skeates et al., 2012). Many archaeologists are beginning to consider public interest in the past, and seek better approaches to public participation in archaeology. A number of factors have led to these developments, mainly the influence of post-processual archaeology, which sought to embrace the public's multi-vocality in interpreting the past. In addition, archaeology was beginning to feel the pressure of competing against commercial leisure facilities for public support, as well as the need to prove accountability for public funding purposes (Merriman, 2004; Okamura and Matsuda, 2011).

Once archaeology was brought into public sphere, it was confronted with the complexity of the socio-political nature of public life. Issues of cultural identities, understandings of the past and ownership are now at the heart of heritage debates on a global scale. By and large, these debates came into sharper relief following the World Archaeological Congresses held in 1986, highlighting, in particular, the uses of the past to serve political agendas (e.g. Layton, 1989; Gathercole and Lowenthal, 1990; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995). Archaeologists, unable to detach their personal and social viewpoints from the politics of archaeology, became more aware of the ethical dilemmas that face the profession. With whatever authority they have over the interpretation of the past,

archaeologists' engagement with conflicted interests of the various publics is constantly questioned and reconsidered (Skeates et al., 2012). While the 'rules of engagement' continue to be debated, many archaeologists are taking the responsibility, out of a concern for the protection of heritage, of supporting multiple interpretations of the past and working with the non-professional public (e.g. local communities, looters, metal detectors, the military) (Thomas and Stone, 2009; Rush, 2010; Stone, 2011; Kersel, 2012; Moshenska and Dhanjal, 2012).

Public archaeology has now become a primary field in which the principles and processes by which the past is being managed, interpreted and communicated within public realm are investigated (see Waterton and Watson, 2011). As such, it addresses the forms of public engagement in archaeology, and the associated conflicts in meanings, values and ownership between the various stakeholders of archaeology (Merriman, 2004). It also seeks to find better means of communication in archaeology, whereby the public, together with the professionals, can engage more effectively with the past and its multiple interpretations through heritage sites, museums, formal and informal education, and the media (e.g. Stone and MacKenzie, 1990; Henson et al., 2004; Hodder and Doughty, 2007; Corbishley, 2011). These means are to be explored by an upcoming journal, to be launched in 2014 by the publisher of the *Public Archaeology* journal mentioned above, entitled *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage*.

Conclusion

We have argued that an interest in the material remains of the past began when people of ancient civilizations expressed attachment to, and pride in, this material as their heritage. Archaeology as a discipline evolved in specific contexts in the West that heavily influenced its development. Theories and practices related to material of the past developed in Europe in the Renaissance period as material of the past was systematically explored, documented and conserved on the basis of its intrinsic values, such as aesthetic value, monumentality and authenticity. This approach was defined as art history, and it continues today to inspire perceptions of, and approaches towards, material remains. Developments in science, technology, philosophy and history from the eighteenth century onwards influenced the approach to material of the past. Cultures of the past were defined depending on artefacts, and the development of these artefacts was explained on the basis of biological and cultural superiority in some places, and immigration and diffusion of cultures in others. This approach is known as the culture-history approach. It transferred material of the past from abstract archaeological sites and artefacts to a process through which the 'self' and the 'other' were defined.

Approaching material of the past as abstract, general and universal sites and artefacts was initiated through the New Archaeology approach, which evolved and developed in the US in the 1960s and 1970s. This approach shifted towards a more dynamic one when local communities and contexts were recognized and appreciated. Although this recognition ‘is often more a politics of gesture than serious recognition’ (Smith, 2004, p. 200), it partially brings material of the past back to people, after it had been monopolized as a ‘pure’ science, deprived of the human dimension.

In contexts where issues such as identity and local rights were stimulated and disputed, the significance of the past shifted from domination by inherent values (e.g. aesthetic values and authenticity) towards interest in assigned ones (e.g. religious, social and cultural values). This allowed the individual, whether ancient or modern, to be brought into the foreground, and the marginalized pasts to acquire importance. Scholars started to appreciate local people’s knowledge of, and feelings and attitudes towards, the past and its material. This shift, represented in post-processual archaeology, revives material of the past as part of people’s heritage.

Figure 5.1 summarizes the processes which the material of the past went through in its journey as heritage and as archaeology. Although it indicates linear development in which the processes do not intersect, the reality is more complex and interlaced than that, as the chapter attempts to explain. The diagram aims at highlighting the different factors that were involved in inventing material of the past as heritage and as archaeology.

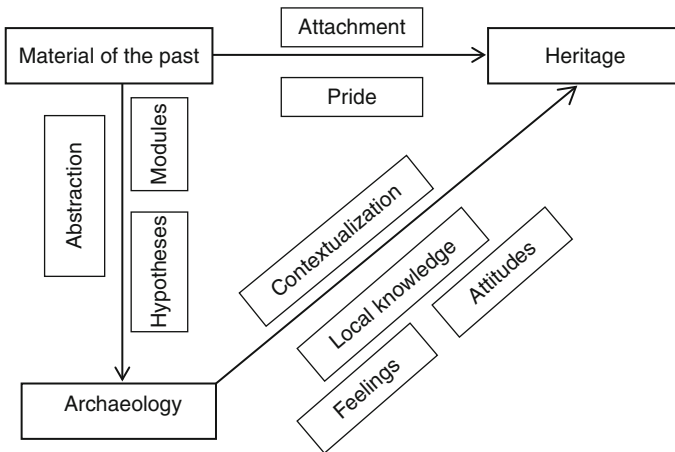


Figure 5.1 Processes through which material of the past becomes heritage

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to acknowledge that major parts of this chapter were prepared during their time at Newcastle University in England as part of their PhD research. The support they received from the staff there has genuinely contributed to their academic career.

References

- Adovasio, J. M. and Carlisle, R. C. (1988) 'Some Thoughts on Cultural Resources Management Archaeology in the United States', *Antiquity*, 62, 72–87.
- Anawak, J. (1996) 'Inuit Perceptions of the Past' in R. W. Preucel and I. Hodder (eds) *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 646–52.
- Anyon, R. and Ferguson, T. J. (1995) 'Cultural Resources Management at the Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico, USA', *Antiquity* 69(266), 913–30.
- Binford, L. R. (1962) 'Archaeology as Anthropology', *American Antiquity*, 28(2), 217–25.
- Binford, L. R. (1965) 'Systematic and Cultural Process', *American Antiquity*, 31(2), 203–09.
- Binford, L. R. (1983) *In Pursuit of the Past: Decoding the Archaeological Record* (New York: Thames and Hudson).
- Bowdler, S. (1988) 'Repainting Australian Rock Art', *Antiquity*, 62(236), 517–23.
- Carman, J. (1993) 'The P Is Silent – as in Archaeology', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 12(1), 39–53.
- Childe, V. G. (1954) *What Happened in History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Clark, G. (1983) *The Identity of Man* (London: Methuen).
- Clark, K. (2002) 'Hard Times', *Conservation Bulletin*, 37, 37–8.
- Cleere, H. F. (1984a) 'World Cultural Resources Management: Problems and Perspectives' in H. F. Cleere (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 125–31.
- Cleere, H. F. (1984b) 'Great Britain' in H. F. Cleere (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 54–62.
- Cleere, H. F. (1989) 'Introduction: the Rationale of Archaeological Heritage Management' in H. F. Cleere (ed.) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World* (London: Unwin Hyman), pp. 1–19.
- Corbishley, M. (2011) *Pinning Down the Past: Archaeology, Heritage and Education Today* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Daniel, G. (1981) *A Short History of Archaeology* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- De la Torre, M. and MacLean, M. (1997) 'The Archaeological Heritage in the Mediterranean Region' in M. de la Torre (ed.) *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute), pp. 5–14.
- Dobby, A. (1978) *Conservation and Planning* (London: Hutchinson).
- Emerick, K. (2003) *From Frozen Monuments to Fluid Landscapes: The Conservation and Preservation of Ancient Monuments from 1882 to the Present*, Unpublished PhD thesis (University of York).
- Feilden, B. (1982) *Conservation of Historic Buildings* (London: Butterworths).
- Gathercole, P. and Lowenthal, D. (1990) *The Politics of the Past* (London: Unwin Hyman).
- Greene, K. (2002) *Archaeology: An Introduction; The History, Principles and Methods of Modern Archaeology* (London: Routledge).

- Henson, D., Stone, P. and Corbishley, M. (2004) *Education and the Historic Environment* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Hodder, I. (1982) *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hodder, I. (1984) 'History vs. Science: No Contest. Review of L.R. Binford 1983 *In Pursuit of the Past* (Thames and Hudson) and J. G. D. Clark 1983 *The Identity of Man* (Methuen)', *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 3, 66–8.
- Hodder, I. (1989) 'This Is Not an Article About Material Culture as Text', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 8, 250–69.
- Hodder, I. (1991a) 'To Interpret Is to Act: The Need for an Interpretive Archaeology', *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 8, 8–13.
- Hodder, I. (1991b) 'Interpretive Archaeology and Its Role', *American Antiquity*, 56(1), 7–18.
- Hodder, I. (1991c) 'Postprocessual Archaeology and the Current Debate' in R. W. Preucel (ed.) *Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press), pp. 30–41.
- Hodder, I. (1993) 'Changing Configurations: the Relationships between Theory and Practice' in J. Hunter and I. Ralston (eds) *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: An Introduction* (Washington: Alan Sutton), pp. 11–18.
- Hodder, I. and Doughty, L. (2007) *Mediterranean Prehistoric Heritage: Training, Education and Management* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research).
- Hodder, I. and Hutson, S. (2003) *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hudson, K. (1981) *A Social History of Archaeology: The British Experience* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd).
- Infranco, G. (1998) *Archaeological Conservation* (Amman: Al-Dustur Commercial Printing Press).
- Jameson, J. H. (2004) 'Public Archaeology in the United States' in N. Merriman (ed.) *Public Archaeology* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 21–58.
- Jokilehto, J. (1999) *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann).
- Kersel, M. (2012) 'The Value of a Looted Object: Stakeholder Perceptions in the Antiquities Trade' in R. Skeates, C. McDavid and J. Carman (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 253–72.
- Killebrew, A. and Lehmann, G. (1999) 'Interpreting the Past', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 3(1&2), 3–7.
- King, T. F., Hickman, P. P. and Berg, G. (1977) *Anthropology in Historic Preservation: Caring for Culture's Clutter* (London: Academic Press).
- Kohl, C. and Fawcett, P. (1995) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Larsen, M. T. (1989) 'Orientalism and Near Eastern Archaeology' in D. Miller, M. Rowlands and C. Tilly (eds) *Domination and Resistance* (London: Unwin Hyman), pp. 229–39.
- Layton, R. (1989) *Who Needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman).
- Le Duc, V. (1996) 'Restoration' in N. S. Price, M. K. Talley Jr and A. M. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute), pp. 314–18.
- Lipe, W. D. (1984) 'Value and Meaning in Cultural Resources' in H. F. Cleere (ed.) *Approaches to Archaeological Heritage: A Comparative Study of World Cultural Resources Management Systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1–11.

- Mason, R. (2002) 'Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices' in de la Torre, M. and R. Mason (eds) *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute), pp. 5–30.
- Mattingly, D. J. (1996) 'From One Colonialism to Another: Imperialism and the Maghreb' in J. Webster and N. Cooper (eds) *Roman Imperialism: Post-colonial Perspectives* (Leicester: Leicester University Press), pp. 49–69.
- McGimsey, C. R. (1972) *Public Archaeology* (New York: Seminar Books).
- McGimsey, C. R. and Davis, H. A. (1984) 'United States of America' in H. F. Cleere (ed.) *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 116–24.
- Merriman, N. (2004) *Public Archaeology* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Moshenska, G. and Dhanjal, S. (2012) *Community Archaeology: Themes, Methods and Practice* (Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books).
- Murtagh, W. (1988) *Keeping Time: the History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: Main Street Press).
- Okamura, K. and Matsuda, A. (2011) *New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology* (London: Springer).
- Pharr, C. (1952) *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions, a Translation with a Commentary, Glossary and Bibliography* (in collaboration with Theresa S. Davidson and Mary B. Pharr) (New York: Green Press).
- Philippot, P. (1976) *Historic Preservation: Philosophy, Criteria, Guidelines*, in Preservation and Conservation: Principles and Practices. Proceedings of the North American International Regional Conference, Williamsburg: Philadelphia. 10–12 September 1972 (Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States), pp. 367–82.
- Renfrew, C. (1994) 'Towards a Cognitive Archaeology' in C. Renfrew and E. B. W. Zubrow (eds) *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 3–12.
- Renfrew, C. (2001) 'Symbol before Concept: Material Engagement and the Early Development of Society' in I. Hodder (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press), pp. 122–40.
- Renfrew, C. and Bahn, P. (2000) *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, 3rd edn (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Rush, L. (2010) *Archaeology, Cultural Property, and the Military* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Ruskin, J. (1849) *Seven Lamps in Architecture* (London: Smith Elder).
- Ruskin, J. (1908) *Our Fathers Told Us: The Bible of Amiens* (London: Longmans, Green and Co.).
- Ruskin, J. (1996) 'The Lamp of Memory II' in N. Price, M. Talley and A. Vaccaro (eds) *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute), pp. 322–23.
- Seeden, H. (1994) 'Archaeology and the Public in Lebanon: Development since 1986' in P. G. Stone and B. L. Molyneux (eds) *The Presented Past* (London: Routledge), pp. 95–108.
- Skeates, R., McDavid, C. and Carman, J. (2012) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Smith, L. (1993) 'Towards a Theoretical Framework for Archaeological Heritage Management', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 12(1), 55–75.
- Smith, L. (1994) 'Heritage Management as Postprocessual Archaeology?' *Antiquity*, 68, 300–09.

- Smith, L. (2004) *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Stone, P. G. (2011) *Cultural Heritage, Ethics, and the Military* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Stone, P. G. and MacKenzie, R. (1990) *The Excluded Past: Archaeology in Education* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd).
- Sullivan, S. (1997) 'A Planning Model for the Management of Archaeological Sites' in M. de la Torre (ed.) *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute), pp. 15–26.
- Tainter, J. A. and Lucas, J. (1983) 'Epistemology of the Significance Concept', *Antiquity*, 48(4), 707–19.
- Thomas, S. and Stone, P. (2009) *Metal Detecting and Archaeology* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).
- Tilden, F. (1977) *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).
- Trigger, B. G. (1978) *Time and Traditions: Essays in Archaeological Interpretation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Trigger, B. G. (1981) 'Anglo-American Archaeology', *World Archaeology*, 13(2), 138–55.
- Trigger, B. G. (1984) 'Alternative Archaeology: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist', *Man*, 19(3), 355–70.
- Trigger, B. G. (1989) *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Trigger, B. G. and Glover, I. (1981) 'Editorial', *World Archaeology*, 13(2), 133–7.
- Ucko, P. J. (1989) 'Foreword' in S. Shennan (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* (London: Unwin Hyman), pp. ix–xx.
- UNESCO (1972) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>, accessed 20 January 2006.
- UNESCO (1986) *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*, adopted by the World Conference on Cultural Policies, 26 July–6 August 1982, Mexico City, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=12762&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed 10th October 2014.
- Vitruvius, V. (1995) *On Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (2010) 'The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1–2), 4–15.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2011) *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation* (London: Routledge).
- Wengrow, D. (2006) 'The Idea of Prehistory in the Middle East' in R. Layton, S. Shennan and P. G. Stone (eds) *A Future for Archaeology: The Past in the Present* (London: UCL press), pp. 187–97.
- Weyeneth, R. (1995) *Historic Preservation and Civil Rights Movement: Identifying, Preserving, and Interpreting the Architecture of Liberation* (Columbia: University of South California).
- White, L. A. (1975) *The Concept of Cultural Systems: A Key to Understanding Tribes and Nations* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Willems, W. J. H. (2002) 'The Role of Archaeological Societies in Preserving Cultural Memorials', *Archaeology*, II, http://www.google.jo/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&ccd=1&ved=0CCAQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.eolss.net%2FSample-Chapters%2FC04%2FE6-21-04-01.pdf&ei=bNw3VNvCLYrMOMWggfI&usq=AfQjCNFEVgZDw-jtO2kW3vJu50cquTA8CQ&sig2=H_T8XDLIFSyUC2thBq1dCQ&bvm=bv.77161500,d.ZWU.

6

Heritage and History

Jessica Moody

Introduction

The relationship between History and Heritage may initially seem a natural one. If scholars of Heritage Studies (hereafter identified with a capital 'H') identify and understand their object of study, 'heritage', as a process of what is *done* with the past (Harvey, 2001; Howard, 2002), then historians, as people primarily engaged in the study of the past (doing History, with a capital 'H'), should be a useful constitutive part of this field of research, offering insightful understandings of that past: of how 'history' has been interpreted. Historians are also social actors within the process of heritage, as interpreters themselves, 'doing things' with the past in writing, museum and site consultation, television and film, and so on. In these cases, historians and heritage professionals work together, creating 'heritage' and thereby becoming part of the area of research which Heritage Studies considers. These can be productive, successful relationships and difficult, contentious processes, often simultaneously. Some of the reasons for this stem from debate over how the past is represented and whose voices are heard. Ultimately, the question of 'whose history?' is one in which historians are key players, a point which will be revisited later in this chapter. It seems important, first, to outline some working definitions of history and heritage, with and without capitalization.

Defining heritage, studying heritage

Earlier chapters in this book have explored the ways in which heritage can be understood and theorized. There are as many potential definitions of heritage as there are examples of it. This chapter works from the position that heritage is a present-day process which is used in the creation of identity in a variety of forms (Hall, 1999; Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2006). In this sense, heritage is not a physical thing left over from the past, but an actively constructed understanding, a discourse about the past which is ever in fluctuation. The argumentative

quality of discourse makes heritage an inherently dissonant process (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996); ideas and standpoints over what should be done with the past, and by whom, conflict within a battle raging in the cause of identity. Within this process there are heritage professionals, those who work in areas concerned with the interpretation and presentation of, for example, the objects of the past, whose own professional identities and reputations are bound up in this process. There are many more people, however, who engage with heritage without having jobs in the field, who visit sites, read books and watch films, write newspaper articles or blog posts; who are involved in the process of heritage as a public discourse.

Heritage as an academic discipline looks critically at this process, its manifestation, impact and influence, at what heritage 'does', and with what consequences. While the process of heritage can be driven by ideology, a way of reinforcing power structures or a way of challenging them (Hardy, 1988), the study of heritage can also be undertaken from a variety of ideological standpoints, such as from a Pan-Africanist point of view (see Schramm, 2010, and Chapter 28 on Heritage, Power and Ideology, this volume), or with the intention of highlighting issues surrounding heritage and restorative social justice through working-class history (Smith et al., 2011) or an acknowledgement of painful and traumatic heritage, such as Apartheid in South Africa (Nieves, 2009).

Defining history, studying history

The word 'history' carries a number of connotations and can be used in different contexts of meaning. History can mean significance or status ('having history') or irrelevance ('being history') (Jordanova, 2000, p. 1), though more generally it can mean simply 'the past'. However, this understanding of 'history' does not in any meaningful way exist without the process of History, that is, its study, research and interpretive reconstruction – a process which some have viewed as a means of objectively uncovering the facts of 'what happened' (Elton, 1967), though, typically, a more critical approach is adopted towards the study of the past which acknowledges the subjectivities, contexts and complexities of this process and its methodology (Carr, 1961; Tosh, 2009).

History 'the process' is in some ways doing similar things to heritage, particularly when thought about in terms of reconstruction: heritage and History both reconstruct the past. Fundamental to discerning the difference is defining what History is, where History happens and, crucially, who historians are; however, these are questions which carry multiple answers. Are historians defined by job roles, or can anyone be a historian (see Becker, 1932)? History can be done by academics in universities, curators in museums, researchers in the media, family historians, freelance local historians working for themselves or local authorities, or people who are interested in a particular area and set about

finding out more by their own means. Perhaps, if we accept Jordanova's (2000, pp. 2–3) assessment that history is more accurately defined by 'a set of practices' than by content or ideology, then History, like heritage, is also a process. What form these processes take varies depending on any number of factors: the training undertaken by the historian, their context of work and the influence of institutional structure, with much further variation within these contexts.

It has also been suggested that heritage can be understood as 'popular history' (Brett, 1996, p. 4) or 'applied history' (Ditchfield, 1998, p. ix), the action which is then taken with these processes and practices. Applied history can also be understood as Public History (Howe and Kemp, 1986), a movement which concerned itself with taking the process of History outside the walls of academia (see also Lowenthal, 1998).

Public History

Public History follows similar difficulties in definition to those presented by History, being an evolving, 'elastic' term (Ashton, 2005) which has developed differently in different places. The National Council of Public History (n.d.) suggests that the term denotes the 'work' that history can do, or is made to do, in the world, but that it is also a practice which is firmly situated within 'History' as a discipline, based on the historical method.¹ Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier and Roy Rosenzweig (1986a, p. xvii) identify three strands of Public History. The first concerns 'everyday' confrontations with history, in newspapers, advertising material, public places and so forth, all of which largely act to reinforce dominant discourses. The second addresses the Public History movement in a professional sense and the reaction against traditional academic history (see, for example, Scardaville, 1987). The third type, 'people's history', generally views knowledge and understanding of the past (in particular for people previously ignored by academic historians) as empowering.

If Public History is based on the historical method, how does it differ from understandings of History in its traditional state? Leslie Fishel (1986) has suggested that Public History and more traditional history (that done in the academy) diverge on matters of delivery – how the production of history is expressed and in what forms. It is this aspect of Public History which has attracted most criticism from 'traditional' historians. Further to this, Public History does not have the same emphasis on the peer-review system, suggesting to some academic historians that its research methodology is less rigorous (Mooney-Melvin, 1999).

The development of Public History

Public History as a definable 'movement' emerged at different points globally, but is considered to have developed first in the US from the 1970s onwards,

finding formal expression in the efforts of Professor Robert Kelly of the University of California, Santa Barbara (discussed below), although its own roots have been contextualized back into the nineteenth century.

Patricia Mooney-Melvin (1999) has suggested that the professionalization of history coincided with the development of institutions such as the American Historical Association (1884), which had a succession of 'amateurs' holding the presidency up until 1928, when the role was reserved for academics. The tendency for commentators to lay the foundations of public history in the mid- to late nineteenth century mirrors suggestions from those commenting on the development of 'heritage' (Walsh, 1992; Bennett, 1995; Graham et al., 2005), ideas around which are popularly aligned with European conceptions of modernity and subsequent reactions to urbanization and industrial change (Smith, 2006). However, developments in 'public history' are more commonly associated with nineteenth-century national identity projects, US imperial endeavour and the arrival of new immigrant populations in the country, whereby initiatives sought ways of 'Americanizing' new groups through history (DeRuyver, 2000).

The rapid expansion of universities and of students studying history in the US quickly subsided in the 1950s and 1960s, leaving qualified historians without academic positions (Fishel, 1986). This, in turn, was matched by the emergence of a number of posts taken up by graduates trained in history, in museums and archives, central government, national parks and publishing, as well as public and private societies. This, however, was not an unproblematic transition. Resentment was expressed by some of those who had long been in such roles against the new 'public historians' coming into their professional arena from traditional history degree courses and, increasingly, out of academic Public History courses offered by universities (Green, 1981, p. 166). The first academic programme in Public History was set up by the University of California, Santa Barbara, in the mid-1970s, and the phrase is said to have been popularized by the programme's founder, Professor Robert Kelley (Fishel, 1986; Schulz, 1999, p. 31). The subsequent publication of *The Public Historian* journal, alongside the establishment of the National Council on Public History, equally solidified the status of Public History within the US academy (DeRuyver, 2000). The movement emerged out of a context of vast social change in the 1960s; civil rights, feminism and anti-war movements shaped the developing work of a generation of historians. These new historical foci sought to give voice to previously marginalized groups through women's history, black history and working-class history – challenging existing power relationships and extending the traditional remit of historians (Benson et al., 1986b).

How people outside the academy understood and engaged with history was an area in which, it was proposed, academic historians had very little understanding or interest (Green, 1981; Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998). This, and

further criticisms emerging from the Public History movement concerning the lack of interaction between historians and the public, was the standpoint from which Roy Rosenzweig, David Thelen and their team embarked on a large, highly ambitious study of public engagement with the past titled *How Do Americans Understand Their Pasts?* (published in Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998). In contrast to accusations from academic historians circulating at the time, which lamented that the American public were suffering from 'historical amnesia', Rosenzweig and Thelen set out to study how people *were* engaging with the past. Their research involved a nine-month survey, conducted in 1994, which included 1,000 hours of telephone interviews with 1,500 US participants (Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998, p. 11). Their findings showed that most respondents talked excitedly about the past, primarily from personal and family history perspectives initially, and from there branching out to talk about other areas which spoke to their identity, sometimes down religious or ethnic lines and then onto particular historical movements or moments. What was conspicuously absent from their testimonies was 'history' in its textbook state, as a subject of scholarly activity. Perhaps it was this that led academic historians at the time to criticize and dismiss the research as not having looked at how people were engaging with 'history' at all, or rather, of their understanding of what that meant. The criticisms against Rosenzweig and Thelen bear similarities to those made against a so-called growing 'heritage industry' in Britain in the 1980s: that there were right ways and wrong ways to articulate 'history'. Disagreement over how the past should be engaged with played a central role within these 'heritage debates', which were themselves historically situated, reflecting and reacting to contemporary political context.

Heritage debates in Britain

In Britain in the 1980s a debate over heritage took place. At its core was disagreement over how the past should or should not be engaged with, ultimately drawing into critical re-examination what 'History', the process, the discipline and its delivery were, or should be. Spearheaded in particular by the works of Robert Hewison (*The Heritage Industry: Britain in an Age of Decline*, 1987), David Lowenthal (*The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 1985) and Patrick Wright (*On Living in an Old Country*, 1985), the debate concerned the growth of what Hewison termed a 'Heritage Industry' in Britain. By this, Hewison was referring to the proliferation of new heritage sites across the country, from open air museums such as Beamish in the northeast of England and Blists Hill Victorian Town in Ironbridge, Shropshire, to those sites that drew on the use of live interpretation, such as Wigan Pier, as well as those places which mixed education and entertainment, such as the Jorvik Viking Centre in York. These sites and the burgeoning presence of 'heritage', it was asserted, were the symptom of a

stagnant psychology in the country, a 'backward glance' (Wright, 1985) and nostalgic yearning for times gone by in lieu of contemporary cultural production or commercial and industrial production, of 'real industry' (Hewison, 1987 p. 9). This was, in part, also seen as a product of the contemporary Conservative government's often contradictory promotion of both 'enterprise' and 'tradition', a Thatcherite rhetoric which foregrounded free market economics and entrepreneurial capitalism in a language of 'regressive modernization' which simultaneously promoted a 'return to Victorian values' (Hall, 1988, p. 85). Out of this conflict, it was suggested, emerged a commercialized, economically driven 'heritage industry'.

Robert Hewison alleged that he wrote his book in reaction to the claim that a new museum was opening in the country roughly every week. After checking these statistics, and apparently without hyperbole, he found this 'appalling' statement to be 'more or less' the case. 'How long', Hewison lamented, 'would it be before the United Kingdom became one vast museum' (Hewison, 1987, p. 9)? Two years earlier, Patrick Wright (1985), whom Hewison cites as an influence, criticized what he saw as an elitist articulation of the past through various expressions of 'national heritage', though he referred to a broader sweep of Acts and legislation, television and media, and the built environment, as well as the conservation and presentation of historic houses. In part, this was a criticism of the Thatcher government's efforts to popularize elitism in reaction to the previous Labour government's proposed 'wealth tax' on capital assets, the financing of which, its critics suggested, would see the breakup of country house estates (Mandler, 1997, p. 402). Lobbyists such as Conservative MP Patrick Cormack, who set up 'Heritage in Danger', an all-party ensemble, voiced concern over the tax, utilizing notions of saving 'national heritage', which belonged to 'the nation', thereby shifting focus away from private and individual aristocratic financial concerns (Mandler, 1997, p. 403; Littler, 2005, pp. 3–4).

Hewison claimed that he was not against the existence of particular cultural organizations as such, describing museums as 'fine institutions, dedicated to the high values of preservation, education and truth' (Hewison, 1987, p. 9). Rather, he was concerned by the way in which the past was being represented; that there were right ways and wrong ways of engaging with the past, and that, moreover, 'heritage is not history' (Hewison, 1987, p. 10). Earlier, Wright (1985) articulated a similar chasm between heritage and history, suggesting that 'national heritage', as he saw it, relied upon the extraction of history, the sanitization of the past, which became mere 'spectacle' without any political tension. These sentiments, in turn, drew critical calls of elitism from Raphael Samuel, radical Marxist historian and founder of the History Workshop movement and journal (see History Workshop Online, 2012), who, at a debate on the matter in Lancaster in 1996, called Hewison a 'metropolitan literary snob' and blamed Patrick Wright for New Labour's opposition to History (Wright,

2008, p. xvi), though Wright had acknowledged the popularity of 'heritage' in his book, suggesting that this and the enthusiasm of those involved could not be ignored (Wright, 1985, p. 80). Samuel suggested that much of the basis for historians' revulsion over heritage emerged from training in the historical method, the privilege given to the written word alongside the 'fetishization' of archives, and the nature of the discipline as fundamentally detached from the material world. He also suggested that envy and competition might be playing a part, that history and heritage have similar ambitions to re-create the past, and that, perhaps, history was acting out of jealousy towards heritage's broader popularity, public appeal and funding potential (Samuel, 1994, p. 271).

In addition to criticisms, counter-criticisms and debate over the ways in which history was being presented by the 'heritage industry', denigration and subsequent reaction also concentrated on the way history was being engaged with by visitors, though Hewison's suggestion that 'tourists' were being passively seduced by mindless nostalgia has subsequently attracted much criticism (Samuel, 1994; Lumley, 2005; Smith, 2006), and some contemporary commentators did not see 'nostalgia' as necessarily negative (Lowenthal, 1985; Walsh, 1992). Raphael Samuel (1994, p. 264) suggested that there was no reason to assume passivity on the behalf of visitors, and that this was simply a different way of engaging with the past. This suggestion has been supported by more recent research by Richard Prentice, for example, into 'experiential tourism' and ongoing processes of interaction following site visitation through recollection (Prentice, 1998; Prentice, 2001), site visiting as a form of interactive performance (Bagnall, 2003; Longhurst et al., 2004) and site visiting as a process of creating memories (Cameron and Gatewood, 2000).

Although very much embedded within their historical and geographical context, the heritage debates of the 1980s have come to serve as a useful introduction to the dissonance of representing the past. Within this, some historians (Hewison, Wright, Lowenthal) were suspicious of the interpretation of the past through means that focused more on reconstruction and live interpretation than they did on scholarly research and the written word. While this may, as Samuel suggested, be indicative of the way historians are trained in the academy, it is further complicated by identity claims. This significant and often emotional investment in history leads to tension and debate over how that past is represented, by whom, and whose voices are heard within that process.

History at war

Historians have found themselves and their discipline in the midst of bitter and contentious debates over the representation of the past. Known as 'History Wars' or 'Culture Wars', these conflicts have been battle grounds which serve as much as insights into contemporary context as they do into the historical

moments they profess to be about. Some notable instances of these very public debates have come to serve as useful examples into the conflicts between professional and academic historians, heritage professionals and the many other people who want their voices to be heard.

The Enola Gay

On 6 August 1945, the US military dropped the world's first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, and another three days later on Nagasaki (Harwit, 1996, p. vii). Fifty years later, public reaction to a proposed exhibition, *The Crossroads: The End of World War II, the Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold War*, which would have accompanied the display of the plane that dropped the first bomb, a B-29 Superfortress known as the *Enola Gay*, erupted on a massive scale. The *Enola Gay* was a contested symbol. To some it was 'a weapon that brought peace and victory', bringing the war to an end, while for others it was seen as 'a weapon that brought destruction and fear to the world' (Linenthal and Engelhardt, 1996, p. 2). The Smithsonian Institute had planned to bring these diverging narratives together within the National Air and Space Museum (NASM), in a critical reflection which would explore some of the academic scholarship questioning the motivations behind the decision. But opposition from military groups and the media, and political criticism surrounding the plans, led the Institute to cancel the exhibition, the decision being announced on 30 January 1995, leaving the *Enola Gay* displayed with little context, away from the main space of the NASM, as a mere aircraft in a hanger (Boyer, 1996, p. 116; Linenthal, 1996, p. 58; Dubin, 1999). The Smithsonian was at the centre of a debate about what museum exhibitions should be: a representation of academic scholarship, a reflection of public memory, or an embodiment of national identity narratives. This also brought into question how much historical research should be incorporated into exhibitions, and what should be done with multiple narratives.

Unsurprisingly, the drive to put together a critical exhibition script did not come from older members of the Smithsonian team or those of the World War Two generation. Rather, it came from a post-war generation, in particular curators influenced by the new museology movement (see Vergo, 1989) who were keen to exhibit a diversity of narratives and combat criticisms of 'glass case mentality' or, in the case of the National Air and Space Museum, 'aircraft showcase' mentality (Linenthal, 1996, p. 20). The first script for the exhibition was completed in January 1994 and involved consultation with veteran groups, crews of the *Enola Gay* and the Department of Defence's 50th Anniversary Committee (Linenthal, 1996, p. 28). Military and veteran groups did not think the script held true to a 'commemorative voice' and was thereby disrespectful to those involved, leading to numerous script revisions in reaction to mounting political pressure, including a critical letter from 24 members of

the House of Representatives to Secretary Robert McAdams in August 1994 and constant criticism within the media (Linenthal, 1996, p. 38; Dubin, 1999).

The Smithsonian and historians involved in the project had severely misjudged the public response, and at the beginning of 1995 it was announced that the controversial exhibition would not go ahead. Many scholars felt that the museum had 'caved' too quickly and easily to pressure and had ignored 50 years of historical research in the name of being '*patriotically correct*' (Organization of American Historians, quoted in Dubin, 1999, p. 223). Linenthal (1996) suggests that this was an illustration of how little public and political sway historians held. However, Paul Boyer (1996, p. 116) has suggested that, through the controversy surrounding the display of the *Enola Gay*, awareness of the scholarly debate was raised publicly. The multifarious history the Smithsonian wanted to present, the academic debates historians wanted included, the political and national identity narratives, and the memories (collective, national, personal) of veteran and military groups collided over the *Enola Gay*. Whose voices are heard, and whose history is told in such episodes, constitutes much of the dissonance of heritage (for further discussion see Zolberg, 1998).

2007 and the bicentenary of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade Act

Britain has remained conspicuously absent from the literature on History and Culture Wars, with no discernible case studies that rival the level of the public debate seen, for example, with the *Enola Gay* in America or in Australian History Wars over the magnitude of colonial massacres, stolen generations and the misrepresentation of Aboriginal history (see Davison, 2000; Macintyre and Clark, 2003). However, this all changed in the run-up to 2007, when the country was forced to confront a dissonant past and rethink previously engrained national identity narratives.

2007 marked the 200th anniversary of the passing of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act by Britain in 1807. Events and activities were planned around the country, including at local and regional heritage sites, museums and galleries. What took place in the midst of these locations was a national debate about not only Britain's involvement in transatlantic slavery, but also, crucially, whose voices were ultimately heard, and whose history this was (Kaplan and Oldfield, 2010; Walvin, 2010; Cubitt et al., 2011). The marking of this commemorative date gave 'permission, as if it were needed' (Mack, 2009 p. 248) to look at a history which had been previously obscured (Dresser, 2007). This was a history which, when it had been told, was articulated through the celebratory prism of abolitionism, at the expense of a more critical look at the history of transatlantic slavery and its aftermath (Oldfield, 2007b). It was embedded within national identity narratives which celebrated typically white male 'heroes' such as the abolitionist William Wilberforce, about whom a film was released that year (*Amazing Grace*, 2007). This background led to

criticisms from some African descendant groups that stories of the enslaved were not being told, with the commemorations constituting a 'Wilberfest' (Oldfield, 2007a; Waterton and Wilson, 2009, p. 382; Wood, 2010; Cubitt et al., 2011, p. 5).

2007 brought together a range of people, all with their own 'voices' on the subject and its representation. With a history as contentious as the slave trade and its related issues of race and racism, many museums sought community consultation, reaching out to groups and people they might not have had contact with previously. Although consultation with 'communities' has become more or less standard in museum practice (Watson, 2007), it has been criticized for being a box-ticking exercise, fulfilling the requirements of representing cultural diversity, which can be naïvely assumed to be wholly positive but which in practice are often contentious (Smith and Fouseki, 2011). This is a large area within the field of heritage; see Neal, this volume, for further reading.

Academic historians, for whom slavery and the slave trade had long been a part of their research (Hamilton, 2010, p. 127), were drafted in to assist with public exhibitions and projects in 2007, yet many found themselves in the midst of difficult issues and bitter debates. Historian James Walvin (2010) suggests that many were surprised by the level of public response and the arguments around representing abolition, a historic moment some perceived as largely positive, and that their influence was further diluted by being one voice in a committee of many (Prior, 2007; Walvin, 2010, p. 64). Diana Paton (2009, p. 282), a historian working in 2007, has suggested that, in response to changes in racial politics from the 1970s onwards, many museums sought to include more previously unheard voices, yet the more complex historical debates surrounding Britain's decision to abolish its slave trade (such as Robin Blackburn's thesis that it was a political distraction, being the least controversial reform act available) were absent. Paton (2009, p. 285) highlights the extent to which even the previously 'unheard voices', especially those of black abolitionism and resistance, fitted neatly into narratives of 'liberal humanitarianism' which suited contemporary political endeavours and wars which claimed to be about liberation.

The above examples illustrate some of the dissonance of representing difficult histories, which, as Smith and Waterton (2009, p. 69) have shown in their evaluation of these cases, arises from the process of heritage itself, the 'negotiation of cultural meaning' in which heritage managers (and historians) are involved. This negotiation, always necessarily involving conflict, acts to support, foreground and validate the sense of identity, morality and conceptualizations of place held by some people at the expense of others, through the support of particular versions of history. Historians, working with their own versions of history (which, therefore, validate their own identities as 'historians'), are central and active participants within such processes.

What can history do for heritage?

In Britain in 2007, it was suggested that much of the significance of the commemorative period came out of the experience of engaging with a dissonant history (Tibbles, 2008; Hamilton, 2010, p. 127; Smith et al., 2010). Parts of these lessons concern the roles of both historians and heritage professionals in relation to the incorporation of different voices and ideas about the past. While this will always be a contested process, historians can perform useful roles, working with communities, groups and heritage professionals in the drive to democratize history.

Much of Heritage Studies concerns itself with the question of 'whose heritage?' (Hall, 1999). Similarly, for Oral History, suggests Paul Thompson (1988), one of the area's biggest advocates, the question of 'whose voice' is being heard within the process of history is paramount. Interviews allow a multiplicity of standpoints; their flexible methodology, as well as their basis in an understanding of 'life stories' narrative construction, is also useful (Tonkin, 1992). One point Thompson (1988) stresses is the interactivity of the interview itself, the influence of both interviewer and interviewee, and the need for an awareness of this process. He also acknowledges some of the criticisms of the field, in particular the tendency for oral historians to take voice away, to record interviews which are never heard again by participants and not to give anything back. This is an issue relevant to 'community' heritage and archaeology, and has come under recent scrutiny by scholars questioning research methodology, particularly in relation to Indigenous populations and postcolonial contexts (Potts and Brown, 2005; Ronayne, 2008; Nicholls, 2009; Koster et al., 2012).

Engaging with a multiplicity of voices and different narratives about the past, which are often in conflict or contradiction, is something historians deal with as part of their 'craft' (Bloch, 1954). However, as museums professionals involved in the *Enola Gay* pointed out to historians, there is a great deal of difference between producing a public exhibition and writing a book: the political stakes are often higher for exhibitions (especially in government-funded institutions), and audiences less integrated in the nuances of historical debate (Linenthal, 1996, p. 60). Douglas Hamilton, a historian and former curator at the National Maritime Museum, has also drawn attention to the practical constraints of representing difficult histories in panels of often only 200 words in length, and in museum spaces which are expected to reflect ever more varied needs (Hamilton, 2010, p. 139). Furthermore, exhibitions around anniversaries carry expectations, as Smithsonian Secretary Michael Heyman reflected after the *Enola Gay* episode; an emotionally involved public expected honour and commemoration, not analysis (Boyer, 1996, p. 139). Nonetheless, historians' experience of debate, historical and

contemporary, can be a useful constitutive part of the process of heritage, not forgetting that heritage, like Public History, is a team effort. In her suggestions for good Public History practice, Liddington (2002, pp. 90–1) advises that audiences should be placed centre stage, historians, professionals and other people involved should work collaboratively, and a high standard of scholarship should be maintained. These points are also relevant to heritage professionals.

Historians can also complicate dominant narratives and challenge assumptions based largely on discourses of national identity and contemporary politics. While, as Diana Paton (2009) has illustrated, this can come from in-depth historical research, much also comes from knowledge of the historical process itself and the ways in which History is made, the ‘set of practices’ this involves and the context in which the people behind the stories of the past operate. In addition, as historians have been involved in heritage sites, projects and museums, and as some of the people behind the past’s ‘re-creation’ through written histories, essays, columns, radio and television programmes, podcasts and blogs, they are involved in the shaping of historical discourse. To understand historians as key players within the representation of the past, in official re-creations and reproductions, but also within less tangible ‘discourses’, is also to acknowledge the importance of the historical process within it. This is an area in which historians can offer insight and contribute to a fuller understanding of the ways in which representations and engagements may have come together.

For Heritage Studies, one of the greatest contributions History can make is towards a greater understanding of historical context. Despite ‘being there’, Edward Linenthal’s (1996) account of the *Enola Gay* was based on historical research. Drawing on newspaper material, diaries and letters, he contextualized the debates and controversy politically, socially and culturally not only to the contemporary historical moment, but across time, mapping the development of the debate over a 50-year period. This contextualization creates a fuller understanding of the dynamics of the ‘present’ on which the process of heritage stands, and allows an insight into the ways in which this has been shaped historically. A number of historians working in memory studies have taken to looking at longer historical processes and mapping their development. Rudy Koshar (2000, pp. 6–7) addresses Germany’s engagement with its past from 1870 to 1900, suggesting that much context is lost by focusing on the memory of Nazism without relating this to previous reoccurrences of particular narratives and national symbols. What such studies illustrate is that engagement with the past has a history of its own, and that mapping the ways in which this develops and contextualizing it at points can add to a fuller, more nuanced understanding of the process of heritage today. Or, as Jeffrey Olick (1999, p. 382) suggests,

images of the past depend not only on the relationship between past and present but also on the accumulation of previous such relationships and their on-going constitution and reconstruction.

A longer contextual view of the 'history of heritage' can help provide a greater sense of perspective to the contemporary case study. Actions, traditions or engagements which might seem either out of place or irrelevant might be in part explained by what has gone before: previous museum exhibitions on the same subjects, repetitive commemorative events and historical moments which may seem unrelated but have held firm in collective memory.

Conclusion

Part of the difficulty in writing about 'History' and 'Heritage' is that the space between them is not as pronounced as perhaps it once was. While the heritage debates of the 1980s, and the involvement of historians in museum exhibitions decades ago, may have required a view of 'History' as a distinct discipline separate from others, the context, as ever, has shifted. PhDs undertaken in History, particularly those looking at the way the past is represented, could just as reasonably be conducted in Archaeology, Heritage, English, Sociology, Geography and so forth. However, this does not mean that there are no unique contributions that historians, as 're-creators' of the past, can make.

Historians, as a part of the process of heritage, can form a useful part of its study. They contribute to ongoing discourses about the past, sometimes reinforcing previous narratives but more often challenging things said before, bringing new insights and perspectives into their representation. Through an experience of History as a process, an awareness of how this comes together and an understanding of how the historical method itself shapes the discourse of heritage, mapping changes over time, weighing arguments and contextualizing 'moments', History can contribute to Heritage Studies by developing a more 'historically situated' and therefore contextualized form of study which views its present-day process with a sense of perspective.

Note

1. What the historical method is, or how history is 'done', is defined variously, often along ideological lines. There are as many ways of 'doing history' as there are historians, though dominant philosophies and general underlying theories will still conceptualize History as 'a kind of research or inquiry' (Collingwood, 1946, p. 9) which sets about answering questions concerning the past, drawing primarily on the interpretation of 'evidence' about that past, evidence which is documentary, textual and visual in nature, or also, increasingly, material, oral, digital and so on. This is a process which has itself historically been set the task of interrogating the interrelationship between past and present (see Carr, 1961, p. 62). Elsewhere, History is articulated

as a discourse, a way historians make meaning of the past by the 'work' they do, in which they nonetheless carry out 'routines and procedures' with their work materials, with 'traces' of the past (Jenkins, 1991, pp. 5–22). For more recent discussion on history, historiography and 'doing history' see Evans (1997), Jordanova (2000) and Tosh (2009).

References

- Apted, M. (2007) *Amazing Grace* (London: Momentum Pictures UK). 117 minutes.
- Ashton, P. (2005) 'Vox Pops: Paul Ashton', *Oral History*, 33(1), 37.
- Bagnall, G. (2003) 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites', *Museum and Society*, 1(2), 87–103.
- Becker, C. (1932) 'Everyman His Own Historian', *The American Historical Review*, 37(2), 221–36.
- Bennett, T. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge).
- Benson, S. P., Brier, S. and Rosenzweig, R. (1986a) 'Introduction' in S. P. Benson, S. Brier and R. Rosenzweig (eds) *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), pp. xv–xxii.
- Benson, S. P., Brier, S. and Rosenzweig, R. (1986b) 'Preface' in S. P. Benson, S. Brier and R. Rosenzweig (eds) *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), pp. xi–xiv.
- Bloch, M. (1954) *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Boyer, P. (1996) 'Whose History Is It Anyway?' in E. T. Linenthal and T. Engelhardt (eds) *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Metropolitan Books), pp. 115–39.
- Brett, D. (1996) *The Construction of Heritage* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- Cameron, C. M. and Gatewood, J. B. (2000) 'Excursions into the Un-Remembered Past: What People Want from Visits to Historical Sites', *The Public Historian* 22(3), 107–27.
- Carr, E. H. (1961) *What Is History?* (London: Macmillan).
- Collingwood, R. G. (1946) *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Cubitt, G., Smith, L. and Wilson, R. (2011) 'Introduction: Anxiety and Ambiguity in the Representation of Dissonant History' in L. Smith, G. Cubitt, R. Wilson and K. Fouseki (eds) *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements* (New York: Routledge), pp. 1–21.
- Davison, G. (2000) *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (Crow's Nest NSW: Allen & Unwin).
- DeRuyver, D. (2000) *The History of Public History*, http://www.publichistory.org/what_is/history_of.html, accessed 7 November 2012.
- Ditchfield, S. (1998) 'Foreword' in J. Arnold, K. Davies and S. Ditchfield (eds) *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture* (Shaftesbury: Donhead).
- Dresser, M. (2007) *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in Bristol* (Bristol: Redcliffe).
- Dubin, S. (1999) *Displays of Power: Memory and Amnesia in the American Museum* (New York: New York University Press).
- Elton, G. R. (1967) *The Practice of History* (Sydney: Sydney University Press).
- Evans, R. J. (1997) *In Defence of History* (London: Granta).
- Fishel, L. H. (1986) 'Public History and The Academy' in B. J. Howe and E. L. Kemp (eds) *Public History: An Introduction* (Malabar: Robert E Krieger).

- Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2005) 'The Uses and Abuses of Heritage' in G. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 28–40.
- Green, H. (1981) 'A Critique of the Public History Movement', *Radical History Review*, 25, 164–71.
- Hall, S. (1988) *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left* (London: Verso).
- Hall, S. (1999) 'Whose Heritage? Un-settling "The Heritage", Re-imagining the Post-Nation', *Third Text*, 49, 3–13.
- Hamilton, D. (2010) 'Representing Slavery in British Museums: The Challenges of 2007' in C. Kaplan and J. Oldfield (eds) *Imagining Transatlantic Slavery* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Hardy, D. (1988) 'Historical Geography and Heritage Studies', *Area*, 20(4), 333–38.
- Harvey, D. C. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319–38.
- Harwit, M. (1996) *An Exhibit Denied: Lobbying the History of Enola Gay* (New York: Copernicus).
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen).
- History Workshop Online (2012) *History of History Workshop*, <http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-history-of-history-workshop/>, accessed 1 April 2013.
- Howard, P. (2002) 'Resonance and Dissonance: When the Local and the Global Meet' in J. Fladmark (ed.) *Heritage and Identity: Shaping the Nations of the North* (Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing), pp. 239–49.
- Howe, B. J. and Kemp, E. L. (1986) 'Introduction' in B. J. Howe and E. L. Kemp (eds) *Public History: An Introduction* (Malabar: Robert E Krieger), pp. 7–19.
- Jenkins, K. (1991) *Re-thinking History* (London: Routledge).
- Jordanova, L. (2000) *History in Practice*, 2nd edn (London: Hodder Arnold).
- Kaplan, C. and Oldfield, J. (2010) 'Introduction' in C. Kaplan and J. Oldfield (eds) *Imagining Transatlantic Slavery* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 1–14.
- Koshar, R. (2000) *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Koster, R., Bacchar, K. and Lemelin, R. H. (2012) 'Moving from Research ON, to Research WITH and FOR Indigenous Communities: A Critical Reflection on Community-Based Participatory Research', *The Canadian Geographer*, 56(2), 195–210.
- Liddington, J. (2002) 'What Is Public History? Publics and Their Pasts, Meanings and Practices', *Oral History*, 30(1), 83–93.
- Linenthal, E. T. (1996) 'Anatomy of a Controversy' in E. T. Linenthal and T. Engelhardt (eds) *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Metropolitan Books).
- Littler, J. (2005) 'Introduction' in J. Littler and R. Naidoo (eds) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'* (London: Routledge), pp. 1–20.
- Longhurst, B., Bagnall, G. and Savage, M. (2004) 'Audiences, Museums and the English Middle Class', *Museum and Society*, 2(2), 104–24.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Lumley, R. (2005) 'The Debate on Heritage Reviewed' in G. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 15–27.
- Macintyre, S. and Clark, A. (2003) *The History Wars* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press).
- Mack, S. (2009) 'Black Voices and Absences in the Commemorations of Abolition in North East England', *Slavery & Abolition*, 30(2), 247–57.
- Mandler, P. (1997) *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Mooney-Melvin, P. (1999) 'Professional Historians and the Challenge of Redefinition' in J. B. Gardner and P. S. LaPaglia (eds) *Public History: Essays from the Field* (Malabar: Krieger Publishing), pp. 5–21.
- National Council of Public History. (n.d.) *What Is Public History?* <http://ncph.org/cms/what-is-public-history/>, accessed 7 November 2012.
- Nicholls, R. (2009) 'Research and Indigenous Participation: Critical Reflexive Methods', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12(2), 117–26.
- Nieves, A. D. (2009) 'Places of Pain as Tools for Social Justice in the "New" South Africa' in W. S. Logan and K. Reeves (eds) *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing With 'Difficult Heritage'* (London: Routledge), pp. 198–214.
- Oldfield, J. R. (2007a). 'Introduction: Imagining Transatlantic Slavery and Abolition', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 41(3–4), 239–43.
- Oldfield, J. R. (2007b) *'Chords of Freedom': Commemoration, Ritual and British Transatlantic Slavery* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Olick, J. (1999) 'Genre Memories and Memory Genres: A Dialogical Analysis of May 8, 1945 Commemorations in the Federal Republic of Germany', *American Sociological Review*, 64, 381–402.
- Paton, D. (2009) 'Interpreting the Bicentenary in Britain', *Slavery & Abolition*, 30(2), 277–89.
- Potts, K. and Brown, L. (2005) 'Becoming an Anti-Oppressive Researcher', in L. Brown and S. Strega (eds) *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press), pp. 255–86.
- Prentice, R. (1998) 'Recollections of Museum Visits: a Case Study of Remembered Cultural Attraction Visiting on the Isle of Man', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17(1), 41–64.
- Prentice, R. (2001) 'Experiential Cultural Tourism: Museums & the Marketing of the New Romanticism of Evoked Authenticity', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 19(1), 5–26.
- Prior, K. (2007) 'Commemorating Slavery 2007: A Personal View from Inside the Museums', *History Workshop Journal*, (64), 200–10.
- Ronayne, M. (2008) 'Commitment, Objectivity and Accountability to Communities: Priorities for 21st-Century Archaeology', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 10(4), 367–81.
- Rosenzweig, R. and Thelen, D. (1998) *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Samuel, Raphael. (1994) *Theatres of Memory*. Vol 1 (London: Verso).
- Scardaville, M. C. (1987) 'Looking Backward to the Future: An Assessment of the Public History Movement', *The Public Historian*, 9(4), 35–43.
- Schramm, K. (2010). *African Homecoming: Pan-African Ideology and Contested Heritage* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press).
- Schulz, C. B. (1999) 'Becoming a Public Historian' in J. B. Gardner and P. S. LaPaglia (eds) *Public History: Essays from the Field* (Malabar: Krieger Publishing), pp. 23–40.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).

- Smith, L. and Fouseki, K. (2011) 'The Role of Museums as "Places of Social Justice" Community Consultation and the 1807 Bicentenary' in L. Smith, G. Cubitt, R. Wilson and K. Fouseki (eds) *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements* (New York: Routledge), pp. 97–115.
- Smith, L. and Waterton, E. (2009) *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology* (London: Duckworth).
- Smith, L., Cubitt, G. and Waterton, E. (2010) 'Guest Editorial: Museums and the Bicentenary of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade', *Museum and Society*, 8(3), 122–27.
- Smith, L., Shackel, P. A. and Campbell, G. (2011) *Heritage, Labour, and the Working Classes* (London: Routledge).
- Thompson, P. R. (1988) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Tibbles, A. (2008) 'Facing Slavery's Past: The Bicentenary of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade', *Slavery & Abolition*, 29(2), 293–303.
- Tonkin, E. (1992) *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Tosh, J. (2009) *The Pursuit of History*, 5th edn (Harlow: Longman).
- Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley).
- Vergo, P. (1989) *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion).
- Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London: Routledge).
- Walvin, J. (2010) 'What Should We Do about Slavery? Slavery, Abolition and Public History' in I. McCalman and P. A. Pickering (eds) *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 63–78.
- Waterton, E. and Wilson, R. (2009) 'Talking the Talk: Policy, Popular and Media Responses to the Bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Using The "Abolition Discourse"', *Discourse & Society*, 20(3), 381–99.
- Watson, S. (2007) *Museums and their Communities* (London: Routledge).
- Wood, M. (2010) 'Significant Silence: Where Was Slave Agency in the Popular Imagery of 2007?' in C. Kaplan and J. Oldfield (eds) *Imagining Transatlantic Slavery* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 162–90.
- Wright, P. (1985) *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso).
- Wright, P. (2008) *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, revised edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Zolberg, V. L. (1998) 'Museums as Contested Sites of Remembrance: The Enola Gay Affair' in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (eds) *Theorising Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (Oxford: Blackwell and the Sociological Review).

7

Thinking about Others through Museums and Heritage

Andrea Witcomb

As one of the first civic, public spaces to represent heritage through the display of collections that were meant to encapsulate at the same time the world and the nation, museums have always been involved in the business of constructing and representing relations between ourselves in relation to others. It is thus not surprising that the emergence of the 'critical turn' in the new humanities during the 1980s under the influence of cultural theory – in anthropology, sociology and art history, in history and in archaeology – included museums within its field of critical vision, given the ways in which these, too, were involved in the production of knowledge using the very same disciplinary bases as the 'old humanities'. Like the old humanities, museums were critiqued for their associations with colonialism, for their hegemonic functions, for their practices of 'othering' minority groups, for their maintenance of elite cultural values and for the creation of a canon. As Rhiannon Mason (2011, pp. 74–5) reflects in an essay dealing with the influence of cultural theory on museum studies, '[i]t should come as little surprise, then, that the museum – an institution that actively seeks to display multiple cultures and mark out differences – should have become a site of prime interest for those interested in cultural theory'.

However, this critique emerged at precisely the same time as the practitioners of these new humanities, particularly social history, were themselves weaving their own magic in museums, transforming the ways in which knowledge was produced and, by extension, how museums engaged with visitors and with source communities. My own academic practice emerged out of my curatorial work in Australian museums at this point in time – the early 1990s. It was a time in which many curators had similar agendas to those transforming the knowledge practices that informed much of the work of museums – in anthropology and in history in particular. The new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s had transformed traditional power relations, allowing a space in which it was possible to question received ideas about race, class, gender and ethnicity. In Australia, the development of multicultural policies in the 1970s

and 1980s informed a social history practice that paid attention to ethnically diverse histories and heritage and, eventually, to providing a critique of our migration policies (see Witcomb, 2009; Hutchison and Witcomb, 2014); feminism brought forth a generation of curators concerned to represent the histories and experiences of women in collections and exhibitions (Kylie Winkworth, Louise Douglas and Margaret Anderson being key examples). The Powerhouse Museum, where Winkworth worked for a while, put up the first exhibition looking at domestic labour, for example, as part of women's work in 1988; the celebration of Australian identity prioritized the 'ordinary', everyday person (Witcomb, 2006a), doing away with a historiography and museology that focused on the history of great men. Instead, there was a privileging of working men, largely in the manufacturing industries, though also in large nation-building projects such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro Scheme. The latter, for example, was an opportunity for exhibitions that dealt with the creation of a modern, multicultural nation through the post-war migration scheme which eventually led to the end of Australia's so-called 'White' immigration policy. The Powerhouse Museum in Sydney dealt with working-class history through an exhibition on the Carlton Brewery as a working site in the early 1990s as part of its permanent social history exhibitions, followed by a temporary exhibition on the architecture of pubs and the culture of drinking beer. It also had an exhibition called *Australian Communities*, in which, for the first time, Indigenous communities were celebrated alongside 'multicultural' Australia. Popular culture also emerged as an area of collecting and exhibition interest, with exhibitions on Australian rock music (*Real Wild Child*) also at the Powerhouse Museum, which travelled Australia in the first half of the 1990s. In the area of relations with Indigenous people, this period also saw the beginnings of a change in public discourse; land rights emerged as an issue and won recognition in the High Court of Australia through the Mabo Case in 1992. Land rights was the founding perspective in, for example, a new permanent exhibition on Australia's Indigenous people at the Australian Museum, a colonial institution whose history was embedded within the process of colonization and the collecting of Indigenous material culture and human remains with the view that Indigenous people would inevitably disappear (Rigg, 1994). This museum was also a world leader in developing repatriation policies, particularly of skeletal material. This was the time in which the process of colonization began to be acknowledged for what it was – a process of invasion rather than settlement; and the legacies of that process in the present began to be recognized, particularly as the experiences of the 'Stolen Generations' came to light in damning reports of the policies of the Australian government. The Western Australian Museum, for example, in its new permanent exhibition *Katta Djimoong: First Peoples of Western Australia*, installed in 1999, had a section dealing with the Stolen Generations, a history that was particularly dark in a state like Western

Australia. Museums were often at the forefront of calling for recognition of these issues, taking on the role of educating the Australian public on their own complicity in these histories.

In such a climate, I found it hard to accept many of the scholarly critiques then coming out of the academic world, mainly from Europe and North America, in which museums were depicted as hegemonic institutions, deeply embedded in colonial relations, trampling on the rights of minorities and protecting the status quo. I realized, of course, that historically this was exactly how they had worked, and that many continued to do so. But, as a practising curator, I resented the way in which many of these critics positioned museums as defined by the moment of their birth, in ways which resisted any recognition of the complexity of the then current museum practice I myself was experiencing and participating in. My response was in part a reaction to the way in which many of these critiques were more interested in the position of the museum as institution, in its social function, than in understanding museums themselves in all their complexity. I found many of the then available critical frameworks totalizing and unsympathetic to nuance and the possibility that museums could engage in critical forms of public pedagogy. To me, this seemed particularly the case with those critiques that aligned museums, and by extension the heritage field, with the onset of modernity, interpreting the latter as an exclusively exploitative experience (Witcomb, 2003). At the time, largely in response to these critiques and my own curatorial experiences, I was much more interested in a vision of modernity as the collapse of established fixities (Benjamin, 1973; Berman, 1988), a space in which the movements of peoples, ideas and objects (Appadurai, 1990) carried moments of possibility, of radical transformation, rather than simply expressions of fixed power relations.

Much of the early critical work on museums, published in the 1980s and early 1990s, was informed by the intellectual legacy of structuralist theoreticians. It presumed a binary system of power relations through ideological forms of control. Whether coming from an earlier form of Marxism, such as that of Antonio Gramsci, or from semiotic textual analysis informed by Saussurean¹ linguistics, or the work of Althusser, the basic idea was that museums were an ideological state apparatus that worked to maintain existing power interests. Tony Bennett (1988a), for example, in an early piece influenced by Antonio Gramsci's work on hegemony, viewed museums as reproducing the interests of the elite by producing romanticized versions of lives of the British working classes, eliding capitalist forces. In this particular piece, it was Beamish, an English industrial heritage site, that was criticized. While Bennett was no doubt correct in his critique, there was nevertheless not much sense in this piece that visitors to this site might experience the place differently from the curatorial intention he outlines or use their own individual memories and family histories to produce their own critiques of the interpretation on offer. Museums with

origins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were particular targets, as a considerable part of their collections were formed through conquest and the exploitation of colonial relations and during a time in which social Darwinism emerged as the dominant frame within which to understand the diversity of human civilizations. Thus, for example, Mieke Bal (1992, p. 560) wrote a now famous critique of the Museum of American Natural History, the conclusion of which was that this museum was 'monumental not only in its architecture and design but also in size, scope, and content. This monumental quality suggests in and of itself the primary meaning of the museum inherited from its history: comprehensive collecting as a form of domination.' In another example in the same vein, Carol Duncan (1995), following an earlier piece co-written with Alan Wallach (Duncan and Wallach, 1980), showed how universal museums structured the visitor experience as a ritual that supported dominant hegemonic interests – including, in the case of modern art museums, those of patriarchy.

A different form of analysis, less structured by binary oppositions, emerged under the influence of Michel Foucault and post-structuralism more generally. There have been essentially two ways in which Foucauldian thought has been applied to museums. One, following the early Foucault, particularly his book *The Order of Things* (1970), in which he argued that the production of knowledge was governed by specific conceptual frameworks, which he named *épistemes*, and which changed over time, is mainly represented in the work of Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1989, 1992). In a direct application of Foucault's arguments, Hooper-Greenhill saw museums as institutions through which the discursive construction of knowledge produced specific representations of social order and relations of power at specific times – namely, the Renaissance and the Classical and Modern periods. She also hypothesized, towards the end of her book *Museums and the Construction of Knowledge*, that museums were entering another phase in which many of the precepts that guided the modern episteme were falling away, to be supplanted by what she called the 'post-museum'. The other, represented through the work of Tony Bennett and informed by Foucault's later work, particularly his work on the disciplinary society (Foucault, 1977), understood museums as part of a governmental complex and, as such, as instruments of civic reform, working upon the working classes to turn them into citizens whom one could trust enough to allow them the vote (Bennett, 1988b, 1995, 1998). For Bennett, the ways in which museums regulated the citizen by encouraging a form of self-discipline that aligned them with a concept of modernity associated with the modern liberal state made them part of a disciplinary complex, along with schools, prisons and department stores.

In all of this work, however, the museum was the object of analysis and the theories the tools with which to achieve this. The move was a top-down approach in which the object was assumed to be stable and almost static. Even

in Hooper-Greenhill's model, which did recognize change over time, change was entirely defined by the theoretical model being imposed on the institution of the museum itself. My own curatorial experiences and observations of what was going on, however, at least in the Australian context, pushed me in a different direction, though, like Hooper-Greenhill, I, too, was interested in how museums were changing. Rather than explaining this change through one specific theoretical lens, however, I was interested in following the instability of meanings inside museums, the ways they changed over time and context, and even the ways in which such changes were used in museums. In doing that, I was also interested in how museums were actively changing what was included in heritage and how heritage was understood. For example, in a piece on the Bunjilaka Gallery at the Museum of Melbourne (Witcomb, 2007a), I was interested in exploring how a display that functioned as a memorial piece for Indigenous people massacred by the advancing colonizers in Victoria worked by creating a space in which white collective memories were challenged by reworking our dominant narrative of landscape as seen through the eyes of a romanticized image of it. If used in a critical, reflexive curatorial practice, I argued, the power of collective memories could be used to force open a space in which dominant narratives could be challenged rather than reinforcing romantic and nostalgic versions of the past. My own work, therefore, began from the opposite perspective – that museum practices were not stable and could not be reduced to a single meaning; that they were, in fact, in a moment of change, were messy, sometimes unpredictable and connected to current developments in politics and popular culture, particularly contemporary media culture, as well as the increasing flow of people, ideas and objects that we have come to call globalization (Appadurai, 1996). What was defined as being of heritage interest, and how it was used, was up for negotiation. I was interested, then, in how museums were increasingly mediating and reflecting the kinds of changes and political debates going on in contemporary society itself. In theorizing and analysing what museums were doing, I began to look out from the museum itself, to theories that might help me explain what was going on, rather than arriving at the museum with a particular theoretical frame about how the world functioned already in place.

I was not alone in my sense that these totalizing perspectives were not sufficiently attentive, either to the ways in which visitors experienced museums and heritage sites or to the complexity of the institutions that were being read in this way. Colin Trodd (2003), for example, was an early critic of Tony Bennett's work, pointing out that even the nineteenth-century art museum, a quintessential type for these kinds of analysis, was more complex in its relations to the state than the governmentality approach allowed, while Clive Barnett (1999) argued that even Foucault had a more complex idea of the agency of those who were the subject of power. My own inspiration for taking this path, however,

was twofold. The first was the work of Michel de Certeau (1988), particularly his chapter called 'Walking in the City' from his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, and the second the work of James Clifford, particularly his essay on 'Museums as Contact Zones' in his book *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (1997).

In his famous analysis of the view from the World Trade Center in New York, now, of course, no longer in existence due to the 9/11 terrorist attacks on America, de Certeau made a distinction between what the world looked like for those looking from above and those actually experiencing the street below. For those looking from above, the world was organized rationally. It was planned, organized, aimful. It had a purpose. It could also be manipulated using 'strategy'. This was, however, to a certain extent a fantasy, a 'theoretical (that is visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices' (de Certeau, 1988, p. 153). For those walking the streets below, however, the experience was different. It could be aimless, even irrational. Paths criss-crossed over each other rather than being purposeful in their intent and direction. Serendipitous connections between things and people were possible. The plans worked out by those above did not always materialize. Indeed, sometimes, their 'strategies' could be derailed by little moves de Certeau called 'tactics' – not always performed in resistance to strategies, but in parallel. For me, this piece was a significant discovery, not only because it pointed to the value of focusing on experience, on the everyday, on the experience of place rather than simply the operation of space from the point of view of power; it was also significant because de Certeau was not interested in reading these experiences simply as a form of resistance to those above. For him, these experiences were much richer than that. They were poetic rather than political, performative rather than representational. In other words, he was getting away from a binary understanding of the world and creating a space for complexity and messiness to do their work. For him rationality, or modernity as a process of governmentality, was not all-encompassing, and it was possible to have spaces that simply were outside it.

My second influence was, as mentioned above, the work of James Clifford. In his essay 'Museums as Contact Zones' (1997), Clifford used the work of Mary Louise Pratt, who argued that the colonial frontier was a contact zone in which various forces both pushed and pulled against each other. The point here was to open up a space in which power relations were understood as not simply operating in one way – from the colonizer to the colonized – but in which the colonized were also understood as possessing agency and using it. While inequality was still recognized, there was, nevertheless, a willingness to engage with complexity. This focus on agency is, of course, in common with de Certeau, although his work is not a direct influence on Clifford. Taking Pratt's insight to the context of museums, Clifford argued that contemporary

museum practices increasingly displayed this contact zone, as curators learned to recognize the limits of their own knowledge and became more aware of the ethics surrounding the exchange of knowledge and more sensitive to the demands of Indigenous people. Museums were spaces where both sides exhibited agency and negotiated actively with it. More recently, scholars have begun to explore how this contact zone operated, even at the height of the colonial moment, challenging our understandings of the colonial museum as well as of the colonial encounter itself (see, for example, McCarthy, 2007).

My own work on museums, then, became interested in following through the ways in which museums opened up rather than closed down meaning-making processes. This involved understanding the ways in which museums were connected rather than disconnected from contemporary mediascapes and the flow of ideas, objects and people (Appadurai, 1990). I took this interest in two ways. The first was to become interested in the actual messy processes taking place inside museums and the ways in which they were engaging with communities outside their walls. My focus here was to understand the ways in which curatorial powers were challenged, but also the ways in which curators themselves sought to collaborate and support revisionist agendas. My main interest in this regard was in how museums were engaged in the social inclusion agenda and supporting dialogues across difference. The second was to become interested in the nature of the experience of engaging with exhibitions, and how that process was supported by specific forms of interpretation strategies that worked with the subjectivity and agency of visitors. In a sense, my interests melded de Certeau's and Clifford's work together, as I sought to explore not only how museums mediated and constructed visions of the world but also how they were themselves affected by social, cultural and technological currents, particularly those associated with the onset of digital technologies.

In relation to my first interest, how museums engaged with the social inclusion agenda, I was informed in the first instance by my own experiences as a curator. My biggest insight was the realization that curatorial practices were not simply the representation of the identities of a wide variety of communities but the actual production of such identities (Witcomb, 1998, 2003), often in collaboration, or at least some form of dialogue. What I tried to do was to avoid a reading that simply saw curators as neutral facilitators, providing access to formerly dispossessed minority groups. Instead, I was concerned with analysing both the power of curators, their agency in producing particular forms of narrative, and, at the same time, how they responded to the agency of community groups. Clifford's work was useful to me because I was able to focus on the ways in which these various types of agency were negotiated through the curatorial process and could be read into the exhibition itself. In doing so, I explicitly set out to avoid a reductionist reading that understood all this as purely an effect of governmentality. I wanted to engage with the work

of Tony Bennett (1995, 1998), who argued that museums were sites for civic reform because of their imbrication within the governmental effects of the liberal state. For Bennett, there was no outside to this form of governmentality. Throughout his work, he insisted that any such claims, including those of Clifford, were simply symptoms of a romantic idea of resistance to power. In contrast to this, I sought to identify how this role of civic reform should be understood not simply as the result of the function of governmentality, but as a result of the push and pull of the contact zone. For me, at least, this 'contact zone' had a number of players or 'communities' at work – the governmental complex, mainly understood through the relationship between museums and cultural policy; the museum with its own traditions and practices was another, as were the communities being engaged with; finally, the wider society and its values could also be considered a player. Understanding museums and the work they did, then, was a matter of understanding the relationships between all these players. To undertake these kinds of analyses, I combined textual readings of actual exhibitions with attention to a wide variety of contexts – policy, institutional practices, community demands and the circulation of social values in society more generally (Witcomb, 1998, 2003). Over time, I also became interested in the history of these practices. My Australian location led me to think about these issues with particular attention to the representation of migration, as policies of social inclusion and their association with multiculturalism, in this country at least, are closely entwined with both the history of, and the policies concerning, immigration (Witcomb, 2009; Hutchison and Witcomb, 2014). What a museum is, then, became much more fluid and open to the possibilities posed by changing contexts, and the productive force of tensions in their relations with the state, with citizens and, indeed, with a wide variety of communities and cultural practices.

Taking my cue from de Certeau, I also began to take an interest in what the experience of visiting an exhibition might be like and how the spatial and aesthetic qualities of the exhibition design might play a role in this experience, particularly as this concerned relations between different groups and attempts at revisionist histories. Here, I was interested not so much in doing a formal textual analysis of the exhibition for how it revealed power relations but in using textual approaches to deal with what might be called the poetics of display. Rhiannon Mason (2011) explains the distinction between poetics and politics rather nicely, when she quotes Henrietta Lidchi's description of the two terms. Poetics, Lidchi says, 'is the practice of producing meaning through the internal ordering and conjugation of the separate but related components of an exhibition' (Lidchi, 1997, p. 168, cited in Mason, 2011, p. 20). Politics, on the other hand, refers to the 'role of exhibitions/museums in the production of social knowledge' (Lidchi, 1997, p. 185, cited in Mason, 2011, p. 20).

In exploring the poetics of display I became particularly interested in the ways in which museums could be understood as dialogic spaces (Witcomb, 2003), through the different ways in which exhibitions spaces became immersive, interactive experiences. In arguing this line, I was concerned to make a couple of moves. The first was to get away from the idea that interactivity, in the museum context, only referred to the use of interactives (Witcomb, 2003, 2006b). Instead, I argued that exhibition spaces were interactive when they allowed poetic forms of immersion on the part of visitors in ways that enabled a degree of transformation in their sense of self. The poetics of display, for me, involved more than Lidchi's understanding of the interrelations between the various components of the display in the production of meaning. It also involved the subjectivity of the visitor and their interaction with these components. In a sense, I was interested in exploring how the materiality of the exhibition itself functioned as an object with which the visitor engaged, in a way that has its parallels in the new turn to materiality (Bennett, 2005; Dudley, 2010). This is a turn that is focused on the ways in which sensorial experiences people have with the material world are part of what Sandra Dudley calls the subject-object interaction (Dudley, 2010, p. 5). I was, therefore, interested in bringing to the analysis of displays an understanding that meanings were performed and embodied by the visitor in the act of visiting the exhibition, through their emotional and sensorial responses to the materiality of the exhibition itself.

I did not carry out this form of analysis through visitor studies but through an attention to the relations between the aesthetic and spatial characteristics of the display, the presentation of objects, images and verbal narratives (in written or spoken form), and the positioning of the visitor who worked that space, using their own individual and collective forms of identity and memory. I used my own body/subjectivity to think this through, so in a sense my writing was a form of autoethnography at times. I became interested, for example, in the ways in which narrative gaps were left for visitors to interpolate themselves into the exhibition using a process I called 'self-inscription', after anthropologist Eric Michael's work with central Australian Indigenous people (Witcomb, 1994). In undertaking this work I was also wanting to call attention to the ways in which these particular immersive forms of interpretation were in parallel with many of the narrative strategies also being developed at the time by film and television (Witcomb, 1994, 2003). These were narrative strategies which were not based on conventional linear forms but which, following the postmodern aesthetic of the time, involved pastiche and quotation, and left gaps which audiences could use to imaginatively position themselves within the narrative and thus affect its production. Later (Witcomb, 2007b, 2010), I used Steve Johnson's (2005) work on video games, television and film, particularly his argument that the form of these products was just as important

in allowing users/viewers to produce meaning as the explicit narrative content. He was interested in arguing against conservative critics who railed against the immorality of contemporary culture by suggesting that a good proportion of these products actually involved a serious 'cognitive workout' that, in turn, involved the practising of new forms of digital literacy. I was interested in how his ideas could be used to explain the new kinds of 'work' visitors were being asked to do when they visited exhibition sites and exhibitions that required them to engage with the poetics of the display rather than simply take in information, however attractively presented. Rather than being received, then, meanings in my analyses were produced in the process of engaging with the exhibition. I was, therefore, much more interested in the nature of the experience of the visitor. I did not, however, assume that there is no curatorial role in the production of these experiences. On the contrary, such strategies often took place within a reflexive curatorial practice aimed at questioning received narratives about the past. That, for example, was the aim of the first incarnation of the Museum of Sydney, which enraged many more conventional history curators by not following a linear narrative and by wearing its progressive politics on its sleeve (see Witcomb, 2003 for a discussion of the debates that surrounded this museum). In particular, the Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, under whose aegis this museum was developed, chose to use the site of the First Government House in Sydney, which is now mostly underground, for a museum that interpreted the 'birth' of the nation as a moment of cross-cultural encounter rich with possibility. This museum explored this moment of encounter in terms of agency for both colonizer and colonized in ways that poetically reimagined those moments as if their result were not yet known. Of course, the visitor did know the result, and so the tension allowed new possibilities to emerge at a moment when the reconciliation movement was gathering pace. The museum also experimented with working with artists whose interventions used these tensions to engage visitors, getting them involved in the act of reimagining what that moment of encounter held within it as well as exploring the lives and hopes of the early colonists. For those who continued to be attached to the notion that museums were neutral spaces, such strategies were confrontational and questioned the very foundations on which curatorial practices had been able to claim objectivity.

In another piece of work, Kate Gregory and I (Gregory and Witcomb, 2007) took this work further, showing how such strategies could be used to challenge nostalgic ideas about the past that involved deeply anchored collective memories. We looked at the work of the National Trust of Australia's (Western Australia) interpretation work at Grenouh, a colonial settlement they acquired in the 1970s and which had always been interpreted through a standard pioneer narrative in which the moment of colonization was not mentioned and which involved romantic notions of community. In most people's imaginations,

among the scholarly community looking at heritage practices, National Trusts would probably be high on the list of agencies peddling an authorized heritage discourse (AHD) (Smith, 2006), acting precisely as one of those hegemonic institutions protecting received narratives about the past and those whose interests such narratives served. In this piece, however, Gregory and I showed how a particular aesthetic treatment of the site, using a minimalist aesthetic rather than the more traditional practices of reconstruction through dioramas, was used to challenge pioneer narratives and call attention to the moment of invasion. We showed how they did this using the bodies of the visitors themselves to call to attention their own presence in the space and their relationship to past inhabitants – Indigenous and ‘settler’ – and thus call into question traditional pioneering narratives.

My readings of spaces like these (see also Gregory and Witcomb, 2007; Witcomb, 2007b, 2010, 2013a) were also made possible by taking up a – broadly speaking – post-structuralist position, in that I was interested not only in how the meanings of objects and, indeed, interpretations could change over time, but also in how these changes in meaning could be actively used to construct a critical curatorial practice. Unlike traditional structuralist semiotic forms of analysis which relied on an understanding of signs as having fixed meanings, post-structuralists, influenced by Derrida’s critique of Saussurean linguistics, argued instead that the meaning of signs (themselves composed out of a relationship between signifier and signified) was always dependent on discursive contexts and could be multiple. I became interested in exhibitions and heritage sites that actively worked with revisionist histories, trying to work out not only how they told these new histories but also how they got the visitor engaged and feeling a connection to these new ways of understanding the past and its relevance in the present. I was, and continue to be, interested in how these new forms of interpretation develop a new way for thinking about the political role of heritage. Unlike many critics of heritage, who focus on the ways in which heritage continues to be used to support dominant interests, I am more interested in studying how, sometimes, heritage is actually used to address contested memories, shake up received narratives, and build bridges and cross-cultural understanding. In recent work, for example, I have used a combination of affect and memory theory to understand cross-cultural encounters in Vietnam, at the memorial site for the battle of Long Tan (Witcomb, 2012). In this work, I have attempted to explore how Australian veterans of the Vietnam War use the site to atone for their involvement in the Vietnam War and build cross-cultural relations with local communities in an active attempt at reconciliation that cannot be reduced to a narrow expression of patriotism. Likewise, I am beginning to look at various grassroots efforts to memorialize the Thai–Burma railway in Kanchanaburi in Thailand, particularly from the Thai side, as an attempt to build cross-cultural engagements, often through performative means. Thus, a

local Buddhist temple, which manages a small museum depicting the history of this event in which thousands of Allied prisoners of war and indentured Asian labourers died building a railway for the Japanese, became a site for ex-POWs, particularly from Australia, to demonstrate goodwill through sending the abbot of the temple photographs of themselves as well as objects they had had in their possession during their imprisonment. Likewise, local people donated objects they had received as payment for food and the like from the POWs. The museum, then, is made possible through a process of gift-giving whose aim is to focus on a message of peace between peoples. It is, of course, possible to describe this work as utopian, but, if the aim is to change how heritage is used in society, I would rather use my voice to explore moments of positive potential, encouraging those practitioners who are taking risks, than add my voice to a considerable chorus intent on pointing out the problems we all know so well.

In my most recent work, I am attempting to combine both of my previous interests into a single focus, exploring new forms of interpretation, theorized with the help of a body of theoretical perspectives that call attention to the ways in which knowledge is produced not only through rational content (information mostly communicated through linear forms of narrative-telling) but also through affect and emotion. In using insights derived from these bodies of theory, I am also using the idea that subjectivity is performed through actions, often involving a sensory landscape of feelings, emotions and physical responses in ways that go beyond normative understandings of how the subject is shaped in modern society. As part of this, my current work is beginning to look at the ways in which these affective experiences constitute new approaches to thinking about how museums might be engaged in the formation of new citizens. But, unlike liberal understandings which saw museums as equipping visitors for citizenship through the provision of certain normative understandings provided through information, I understand the kind of civic reform museums are currently engaged in as enabling citizens to develop a new form of knowledge – one based on a cosmopolitan ethics that is open to difference and which allows and, indeed, encourages a process of self-questioning (Witcomb, 2013b). In this way, I think the material turn allows us to see how museums continue to enable the formation of subjectivities, but with a much more complex understanding of the agency of visitors in doing so, as well as the critical possibilities inherent in the production of heritage itself.

Note

1. For a history of cultural theory's influence on Museum Studies, see Rhiannon Mason's excellent discussion in Sharon Macdonald (ed.) (2011, 2nd ed.) *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Blackwell: London).

References

- Appadurai, A. (1990) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Economy', *Public Culture*, 2(2), 1–24.
- Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Public Worlds, Vol. 1) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Bal, M. (1992) 'Telling, Showing, Showing off', *Critical Inquiry*, 18 (Spring), 556–94.
- Barnett, C. (1999) 'Culture, Government and Spatiality: Reassessing the "Foucault Effect" in Cultural Policy Studies', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2(3), 369–97.
- Benjamin, W. (1973) 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in *Illuminations* (London: Fontana), pp. 211–44.
- Bennett, J. (2005) *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).
- Bennett, T. (1988a) 'Museums and "the People"' in R. Lumley (ed.) *The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* (London: Routledge), pp. 63–86.
- Bennett, T. (1988b) 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations*, 4, 73–102.
- Bennett, T. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge).
- Bennett, T. (1998) *Culture: A Reformer's Science* (London: Routledge).
- Berman, M. (1988) *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books).
- Certeau, M. de (1988) *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Clifford, J. (1997) 'Museums as Contact Zones' in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 188–219.
- Dudley, S. (2010) 'Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense, Feeling' in S. Dudley (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (London: Routledge), pp. 1–17.
- Duncan, C. (1995) *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge).
- Duncan, C. and Wallach, A. (1980) 'The Universal Survey Museum', *Art History*, 3, 447–69.
- Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Foucault, M. (1970) *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock).
- Gregory, K. and Witcomb, A. (2007) 'Beyond Nostalgia: The Role of Affect in Generating Historical Understanding at Heritage Sites' in S. McLeod, S. Knell and S. Watson (eds) *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed* (London: Routledge), pp. 263–75.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1989) 'The Museum in a Disciplinary Society' in S. Pearce (ed.) *Museum Studies in Material Culture* (Leicester: Leicester University Press), pp. 61–72.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992) *Museums and the Construction of Knowledge* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).
- Hutchison, M. and Witcomb, A. (2014) 'Migration Exhibitions and the Question of Identity: Reflections on the History of the Representation of Migration in Australian Museums 1986–2011' in Laurence Gourievdis (ed.) *Museums and Migration: History, Memory and Politics* (London: Routledge), pp. 228–43.
- Johnson, S. (2005) *Everything Bad Is Good for You* (London: Allen Lane).
- Mason, R. (2011) 'Cultural Theory and Museum Studies' in S. Macdonald (ed.) *A Companion to Museum Studies*, 2nd edn (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell), pp. 17–32.
- McCarthy, C. (2007) *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press).

- Rigg, V. (1994) 'Curators of the Colonial Idea: The Museum and the Exhibition as Agents of Bourgeois Ideology in Nineteenth-Century New South Wales', *Public History Review*, 3, 188–203.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London/New York: Routledge).
- Trodd, C. (2003) 'The Discipline of Pleasure; or How Art History Looks at the Art Museum', *Museum and Society*, 1, 17–29.
- Witcomb, A. (1994) 'Postmodern Space and the Museum: The Displacement of "Public" Narratives', *Social Semiotics*, 4(1/2), 239–62.
- Witcomb, A. (1998) 'On the Side of the Object: An Alternative Approach to Debates about Ideas, Objects and Museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 16(4), 383–99.
- Witcomb, A. (2003) *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* (London, New York: Routledge).
- Witcomb, A. (2006a) 'How Style Came to Matter: Do We Need to Move beyond the Politics of Representation?' in Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb (eds) *South Pacific Museums: Experiments in Culture* (Melbourne: Monash University Press), pp. 21.1–21.16. DOI:10.2104/spm06021.
- Witcomb, A. (2006b) 'Interactivity: Thinking Beyond' in S. Macdonald (ed.) *A Companion to Museum Studies* (London: Blackwell), pp. 353–61.
- Witcomb, A. (2007a) 'The Materiality of Virtual Technologies: A New Approach to Thinking about the Impact of Multimedia in Museums' in F. Cameron and S. Kenderdine (eds) *Digital Cultural Heritage* (Massachusetts: MIT Press), pp. 35–48.
- Witcomb, A. (2007b) "'An Architecture of Rewards": A New Poetics to Exhibition Design?', *Museology e-journal*, Vol. 4, *Performativity, Interactivity, Virtuality and the Museum*, pp. 19–33, October. At <http://museology.ct.aegean.gr/>, accessed 1 June 2012.
- Witcomb, A. (2009) 'Migration, Social Cohesion and Cultural Diversity: Can Museums Move beyond Pluralism?' in *Humanities Research*, Vol. XV (2) *Compelling Cultures: Representing Cultural Diversity and Cohesion in Multicultural Australia*, pp. 49–66.
- Witcomb, A. (2010) 'The Politics and Poetics of Contemporary Exhibition Making: Towards an Ethical Engagement with the Past' in F. Cameron and L. Kelly (eds) *Hot Topics, Public Culture, Museums* (Newcastle on Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), pp. 245–64.
- Witcomb, A. (2012) 'On Memory, Affect and Atonement: The Long Tan Memorial Cross (es)', *Historic Environment*, 24(3), 35–42.
- Witcomb, A. (2013a) 'Using Immersive and Interactive Approaches to Interpreting Traumatic Experiences for Tourists: Potentials and Limitations' in R. Staiff, R. Bushell and S. Watson (eds) *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (London: Routledge), pp. 152–70.
- Witcomb, A. (2013b) 'Understanding the Role of Affect in Producing a Critical Pedagogy for History Museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28(3), 255–71.

8

Heritage and Tourism

Duncan Light

If we consider heritage as the contemporary process through which human societies engage with, and make use of, their pasts (Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2006), then tourism is a well-established part of this process. People have long been intrigued and fascinated by the past and have been drawn to make their own visits to places of historic resonance. History-based tourism was well established by the nineteenth century, but increased dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century, so that it is now one of the most popular and globally widespread forms of special interest tourism. Moreover, tourism now represents the most conspicuous way in which history and the past are appropriated and commodified for economic gain in contemporary societies (see Chapter 29 on Heritage in Consumer Marketing, this volume) and heritage tourism is a major economic activity in almost all countries of the world. For this reason it is not inappropriate to talk of a heritage tourism industry (cf. Hewison, 1987), which comprises a diverse range of actors from the public, private and voluntary sectors along with authorizing institutions operating at a range of levels from the local to the supra-national. The management of heritage tourism is an increasingly professionalized activity, supported by numerous specialist training courses, and this has given rise to a new generation of professional heritage managers. As a discrete form of tourist demand and practice, heritage tourism has also been the focus of academic scrutiny for more than four decades, and there is now an academic journal (*The Journal of Heritage Tourism*) dedicated to this activity.

However, defining heritage tourism (like 'heritage' itself) is problematic, since the term means different things in different parts of the world (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). In the UK and northern Europe, heritage tourism is defined as visiting historic buildings, towns and monuments. However, in other parts of the world (such as America), the term also embraces visits to natural landscapes and protected areas. In Australia and New Zealand, heritage tourism also includes Indigenous culture and traditions. In addition, clearly distinguishing heritage tourism from other forms of special interest tourism can be problematic. It is,

for example, difficult to differentiate heritage tourism from dark tourism or literary tourism. In particular, there is considerable overlap between heritage tourism and cultural tourism (Timothy, 2011), so that some authors treat them as essentially the same thing, while others (e.g. Smith, 2009) treat heritage tourism as a subset of cultural tourism. Overall, it is important to recognize that heritage tourism is a fluid concept that has a range of different meanings in different contexts.

In this chapter I look at some of the key issues relating to heritage tourism. It is impossible in the space available to cover every aspect of the topic, and so I have chosen to focus on a number of key themes. In particular, I adopt a 'cultural' perspective on heritage tourism. I follow Smith (2006, p. 123) in seeing the activity as 'not simply the convergence of heritage with tourism ... but rather part of the wider cultural process of heritage meaning making and identity work'. The chapter begins with a brief overview of heritage tourism in its historical context. I then go on to look at emerging academic issues, namely, the relationship between heritage tourism and identity formation at a variety of scales. I then turn to heritage tourists and consider some aspects of the experience of visiting historic places. Finally, I examine some directions for future research. Given my positionality (I live and work in the UK), this chapter, perhaps inevitably, has a British flavour to it, and I adopt a broadly 'British' definition of heritage tourism as the practice of visiting historic buildings and landscapes.

A brief history of heritage tourism

There has been a tendency to treat heritage as a recent phenomenon – a product of the last quarter of the twentieth century – but the relationships between peoples and their pasts are much older than is sometimes recognized (Harvey, 2001). This is certainly the case for heritage tourism, since human societies have long sought otherness and difference in the foreign country of the past (Edensor, 1997). The earliest examples of this activity can be identified in the visits made by affluent Romans to the ruins of ancient Greece (Lowenthal, 1985). Likewise, although the pilgrimages of the medieval period were ostensibly to holy sites, many of these – such as the chapel in Wales where St David was reputedly born, or the site of Thomas a Becket's martyrdom at Canterbury Cathedral – were significant because of what had happened there in the past. The emergence in the seventeenth century of the 'Grand Tour' – a form of secular travel whereby young European aristocrats travelled to southern Europe to visit the remains of Classical antiquity – did much to construct historic places as the focus of the tourist gaze. A century later, the Romantic movement turned attention to remote natural landscapes, but also saw the emergence of ruins as places to be celebrated, venerated and consumed.

In its early days heritage tourism was confined to a social elite, but there was increasing democratization of the activity during the nineteenth century. The expanding middle classes were able to follow in the footsteps of the Grand and Romantic tourists, through the tours developed by, among others, Thomas Cook. The dramatic growth of museums – the first museums boom – also allowed increasing numbers access to the past, albeit one that was framed in terms of nation, class and empire. Moreover, from the nineteenth century onwards the public has been actively encouraged to visit heritage sites within nation-building projects aimed at promoting knowledge of places and landscapes of significance for national history (Franklin, 2003). The emergence at this time of what Smith (2006) has termed the authorized heritage discourse – the elite and expert judgments that construct particular objects, buildings and landscapes as ‘heritage’ – also stimulated the public to visit and engage with heritage places.

Heritage tourism continued to grow in steady, if unspectacular, fashion during the early twentieth century. However, from the 1970s onwards there was a significant increase in popular interest in the past, and heritage tourism expanded dramatically – although to varying degrees – in almost all Western societies. The reasons for this growth are complex and multifaceted, and almost certainly include factors that are specific to particular countries. At a more general level, it can certainly be argued that the growth of heritage tourism was one element of the global expansion of the tourism industry after the Second World War, itself linked to the broader leisure explosion of the post-war decades. Other explanations situate heritage tourism specifically within the context of late modernity. One such argument, for example, suggests that the alienation, uncertainty and upheaval that characterize contemporary life generate a reaction against the modern (Franklin, 2003), which, in turn, generates nostalgia for an idealized and imagined past and a search for order and stability in that past (Lowenthal, 1985; MacCannell, 1989). Consumer culture responded to this changing form of demand by adopting a distinctly anti-modern phase in the 1980s (Hewison, 1987; Franklin, 2003), which saw the development of a wide range of products with traditional or nostalgic themes. The tourism industry responded by opening heritage attractions to cater for this growing interest in the past.

At the same time, the nature of tourism itself was changing. In particular, the global shift in the nature of capitalism from Fordism (characterized by mass production and mass consumption) to post-Fordism (characterized by flexible production for increasingly differentiated markets) was mirrored in the tourism industry by a shift from mass tourism (characterized by relatively homogeneous demand) towards more flexible and differentiated forms of tourist consumption (Urry, 1990; Meethan, 2001). The outcome was an explosion of ‘new’ forms of tourism (sometimes termed niche tourism or post-mass tourism) catering for

the needs of the 'new middle class' (Urry, 1990; Munt, 1994). Considered in this context, heritage tourism can be identified as one of the earliest forms of post-mass tourism.

Some countries embraced heritage tourism with especial enthusiasm, with the UK being perhaps the best example. Between 1971 and 1987, the number of museums in England alone doubled (Urry and Larsen, 2011), and by the 1980s a new museum was reportedly opening every fortnight (Hewison, 1987). There have been various explanations for what became known as the 'heritage boom'. For some, such as Hewison (1987), heritage was the response to a collective identity crisis in the face of post-war national decline which generated a national mood of pessimism and nostalgia, as argued above. Other explanations situate the heritage boom in the context of Thatcherism in the 1980s, arguing that the Thatcher government's restructuring of nationalized industries directly resulted in industrial closures and rising unemployment. Local governments responded by attempting to exploit their industrial past for heritage tourism, so much so that the 1980s witnessed a palpable increase in the number of industrial museums that underpinned the second museums boom. At the same time, Thatcher's enterprise culture enabled the country to respond swiftly to the increasing popular interest in the past (Corner and Harvey, 1991). As such, the heritage boom can be interpreted as a sign of vigour and innovation rather than national decline (Lumley, 1994).

Ultimately, the explosion of heritage tourism in the 1980s proved to be unsustainable. Rapid growth led to an over-supply of heritage attractions (many offering broadly similar experiences) so that contraction was inevitable (Middleton, 1990; Hewison, 1991). Consequently, increasing numbers of heritage attractions closed during the 1990s. At around the same time, heritage tourism started to slip out of fashion, particularly as other forms of niche tourism emerged. Significantly, the election of Tony Blair's New Labour government in 1997 marked a symbolic end to the 1980s heritage boom, since there was no place for heritage in Blair's agenda to rebrand Britain as a young country. Consequently, the term 'heritage' was swiftly replaced by 'culture' or 'the historic environment' (although there has been a slight revival of the term since the election of a Conservative-led coalition government in 2010).

Although Britain's heritage industry may be past its peak, heritage remains a core part of the country's tourism product. As Table 8.1 shows, almost half (46.2 per cent) of the 7,217 tourist attractions in England are historic buildings or museums. If steam railways, places of worship (mostly old buildings) and visitor/heritage centres are added, then the total increases to 58.2 per cent. Moreover, heritage tourism remains a significant economic activity, generating £12.4 billion annually for the UK economy and supporting 195,000 jobs (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010).

Table 8.1 Number of tourist attractions in England, by category (2010)

'Heritage' attractions		Other attractions	
Historic properties	1,308 (18.1%)	Country parks	272 (3.4%)
Museums/art galleries	2,026 (28.1%)	Farms	219 (3.0%)
Places of worship	502 (7.0%)	Gardens	543 (7.5%)
Steam/heritage railways	115 (1.6%)	Leisure/theme parks	232 (3.2%)
Visitor/heritage centres	251 (3.5%)	Wildlife attractions/zoos	546 (3.5%)
		Workplaces	192 (2.7%)
		Other	1,011 (14.0%)
Total:	4,202 (58.2%)		3,015 (41.8%)

Source: VisitEngland (2010).

On a global scale, heritage tourism continues to expand. The 'demand' for this form of tourism is increasing (and is likely to increase further) as new, affluent consumers – particularly those from the 'BRIC' countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) – seek out established heritage places beyond their borders. The 'supply' side of the industry is also expanding. What societies choose to value and define as heritage is always fluid, so that new heritages are being constructed and embraced by the tourist industry. New forms of heritage tourism have emerged based on the legacy of communism in Central and Eastern Europe (Light, 2000); the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa; and, throughout the developing world, the heritage of colonialism and the creation of new, post-colonial interpretations of national history (see Harrison and Hughes, 2010). Within the UK, new forms of heritage tourism based on the Cold War (Hermann, 2011) and the traditional seaside holiday (Chapman and Light, 2011) have appeared in recent years. While the exact composition of the heritage tourism industry may not be immutable, it is clear that tourism based on historic resources will continue to be a major component of the global tourist industry.

Touring heritage: Making identities

The relationship between heritage and identity is long established, but until recently the main focus had been on the symbolic role of material heritage in grounding and legitimating national identities. However, over the past decade increasing attention has been given to the ways in which the activity of heritage *tourism* is also implicated in the making and remaking of both individual and collective identities. This reflects a broader 'cultural turn' within tourism studies that has put matters of identity centre stage (Wearing et al., 2010). Indeed, travel and holiday-taking, it is now argued, can be conceptualized as occasions for self-making and opportunities to define, express and, in some cases, experiment with identities (Franklin, 2003).

Heritage tourism and identity formation are related on various scales. On one level, heritage tourism has long played an important (if overlooked) role in nation-building and the making of national identities. Part of the process of constructing a national history involves identifying and venerating places, sites and landscapes of national significance. There is, then, a need to make the wider populace aware of such places. This can be achieved through a national education system and through the mass media. But it is not enough that the public are simply aware that such 'national' places exist; they also need to see them for themselves. Indeed, a key part of the authorized discourse of heritage is that the 'public' should engage with their national heritage, albeit as passive spectators (Smith, 2006). Hence, nation-states have long endorsed and promoted domestic travel and tourism to places of national significance (Franklin, 2003; Urry and Larsen, 2011). Visits to such places are an opportunity for the individual to make a connection between self and the wider social formation of the nation (Palmer, 1999; Park, 2011). In this context, domestic heritage tourism can be identified as a form of 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995). Such is the importance of this activity that many countries have taken places of national significance into state ownership (or guardianship).

Recent research has explored the relationship between heritage tourism and national identity in a range of contexts. For example, Palmer (2003) explored domestic tourism at Chartwell, Winston Churchill's former country home. There, the site is carefully managed and presented to stress Churchill's historic significance and heroic status, and to assert wider narratives of Englishness. As Palmer points out, visiting was an occasion when many visitors felt a sense of connection and kinship with Churchill and thence a sense of belonging to a broader social community which Churchill embodied. The visit was more than just an intellectual experience, but operated in the realms of imagination, memory and emotion, while embracing iconic material artefacts associated with Churchill himself (e.g. his cigars). The visit was an occasion for the affirmation of nationhood and the remaking of collective identities. Similarly, Park (2010, 2011) examined experiences of nationhood at Changdeok Palace in South Korea. This building, dating from the fifteenth century, was the home of the former monarchy and was designated a World Heritage Site in 1997. Visitors to the palace spoke of feeling an affirmation of national identity and a strong sense of belonging to a larger unity. Crucially, this was an experience that was intuitive and emotional (rather than cognitive). The sense of being Korean sometimes transcended the modern nation-state of South Korea, since Changdeok Palace could represent a common symbolic heritage for both South and North Koreans, and a visit to the site gave South Korean visitors the opportunity to imagine and negotiate the unity of all Koreans.

On an entirely different scale, heritage tourism is also associated with identity formation at the individual or personal level. In contemporary societies,

identities are less and less derived from work and, instead, are increasingly defined through practices of consumption (Bauman, 2007; Wearing et al., 2010). Goods have a symbolic value as much as a use value and can be used in order to make a statement about the purchaser. In this context, travel is one form of consumption that can be used as a means of self-expression and self-definition. The choice of holiday type and destination is a means to demonstrate what sort of person we are. Thus, participation in heritage tourism is a means of demonstrating and affirming a purposeful use of leisure time; an interest in history and the past; a desire to participate in leisure activities that embrace learning and understanding; and a commitment to the social values associated with heritage.

A closely related issue is the role of heritage tourism in the definition of class identities. Heritage tourism is traditionally a middle-class pursuit, and there is research evidence which suggests that many who visit heritage places do so in order to demonstrate and (re)affirm a middle-class identity. For example, Merriman (1991) examined practices of museum visiting. His research demonstrated that many museums traditionally have high cultural associations and are associated with appreciation of the aesthetic values of the objects on display. Visiting museums is, therefore, a way of accumulating cultural capital – in the form of knowledge, appreciation and understanding – appropriate for affirming social status and position. In this context, those who are upwardly mobile may take up museum visiting as a way of acquiring the cultural capital appropriate to a middle-class lifestyle. Similarly, Smith (2006) argued that visiting country houses was an enactment of a middle-class identity and a way of affirming membership of a particular social grouping. Such visits were a way of identifying with the social values represented by the country house – such as order, tradition and refined taste – as well as demonstrating the ability to read and understand the historical and aesthetic qualities of such buildings. Similarly, visitors indicated that being in a country house was an occasion to be with like-minded people in an environment that makes them feel socially secure (Smith, 2006). Studies such as these, which illustrate how participation in heritage tourism ‘does’ particular forms of cultural work, raises the issue of the performativity of heritage, a theme that is examined in the following section.

Understanding heritage tourists

As Timothy and Boyd (2006) argue, while heritage tourism has been extensively researched, most attention to date has focused on the ‘supply’ side of the industry, particularly issues of management, presentation, conservation and interpretation. As yet, there has been much less attention to the nature of ‘demand’ for heritage tourism (Poria et al., 2003), and, indeed, the motives,

expectations and behaviour of heritage tourists are poorly understood. That said, it is apparent that tourists visit heritage places for a wide variety of reasons, with Poria et al. (2003) in particular cautioning against the assumption that heritage tourists are the same group as tourists at historic places. Many clearly visit because of a prior interest in history and heritage places (Thomas, 1989), and informal learning and understanding may be important for this group (Light, 1995; Poria et al., 2004). However, this by no means applies to all visitors, and many of those at heritage sites appear to visit from general sightseeing and recreational motives rather than any declared interest in historic sites. Thomas (1989) identifies this as perhaps the second most common set of reasons for visiting heritage places. For others, authenticity may be important, whether it be the 'objective' authenticity of the buildings viewed or an authentic experience of self which can be most effectively realized at historic places (Breathnach, 2006). Still others may be motivated by a search for personal genealogies and a desire to connect with ancestors and personal roots (McCain and Ray, 2003; Higgenbotham, 2012). And others may arrive at heritage sites simply out of 'curiosity, idleness or boredom' (Franklin, 2003, p. 177). In short, there seems to be no such thing as the typical heritage tourist (which frustrates attempts to segment visitors to heritage attractions). Moreover, motives for visiting are likely to vary by individual site and will often include components that are specific to a particular site.

Similarly, there has been limited research into what tourists 'do' when they visit heritage attractions (Smith, 2006). Much of the early discussion of heritage tourism (at least in the UK) adopted a model of 'the tourist' as essentially passive and unquestioning (and, in some cases, almost an unthinking responder to stimuli). Certainly this accords with the authorized heritage discourse, with its expectation that visitors will be disciplined, orderly and respectful and will accept the presentation and interpretation of heritage places on the terms defined by heritage 'experts' (Smith, 2006). This way of thinking about heritage tourists emerges from the strong critique of heritage tourism that emerged during the 1980s, discussed earlier, which was most closely associated with Robert Hewison (1987). Heritage attractions were accused of presenting a sanitized version of history that whitewashed the harsh realities of the past and, instead, presented a bland and uncontroversial story in which the potential educational role of heritage tourism had been sacrificed in favour of escapist entertainment (see also Wright, 1985). This 'bogus history' was, in turn, unquestioningly consumed by a credulous public who were regarded as unable to recognize what they were presented with and were incapable of differentiating between 'real' and false history.

This conception of the heritage tourist as essentially a 'cultural dupe' has been subject to a vigorous critique (see, for example, Urry, 1990; Lumley, 1994; Franklin, 2003; Smith, 2006), much of which questions the assumptions made

about tourists themselves. In consequence, the model of the 'discerning few and the ignorant many' (Lumley, 1994, p. 67) has been abandoned in favour of a far more refined and differentiated understanding of the heritage visitor. There is increasing recognition that heritage tourists are purposeful, questioning agents who are actively engaged in acts of meaning-making and self-making when they visit heritage places. This way of understanding the heritage visitor has its roots in the performative turn within tourism studies over the past decade and a half (see, for example, Edensor, 2001; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Franklin, 2003; Bærenholdt et al., 2004; Crouch, 2010). Conceptualizing tourism in terms of performance and performativity focuses on what people 'do' as tourists, how this doing informs their experiences as tourists, and the diverse meanings they create through these actions (Crouch, 2004). There is also increasing attention to the ways in which tourists themselves make and remake the meanings of tourist places through what they do at those places (Bærenholdt et al., 2004; Sheller and Urry, 2004). Conceptualized in this way, the tourist experience is a complex interaction between the providers of tourist sites and the background and biographies of visitors themselves (Franklin, 2003). In the context of heritage tourism, this perspective 'helps to challenge the idea of the passivity of heritage audiences and allows a theorization of those audiences as active agents in the mediation of the meanings of heritage' (Smith, 2006, p. 74).

Conceptualizing heritage audiences as performers who actively engage with – rather than simply react to – heritage presentations opens up all sorts of ways for understanding the experience of visiting a heritage place. Since visitors will bring with them a diverse range of background knowledge about the past and prior experiences of other heritage places, each visitor will experience a site in a different way. Their positionality and individual biography will influence how they make sense of what they encounter and the meanings they will make during their visit. There is, therefore, no single reading of a site, meaning that there is no single or uniform visitor experience (Bagnall, 2003; Urry and Larsen, 2011). Instead, visitors can use, appropriate and perform a heritage attraction in myriad ways to suit their own needs and aspirations (Crang, 1994). As such, the experience of being at a heritage site is more open, emergent and full of possibilities (cf. Crouch, 2010) than has been previously recognized.

A number of recent empirical studies have explored the performances of visitors to heritage attractions. For example, both Bagnall (2003) and Smith (2006) report in-depth studies of visitors to industrial heritage attractions in England. Both studies found that visitors used the displays that they encountered as the starting point for a wide range of personal reminiscences and memory-work. The visit was an occasion to reflect upon individual and collective pasts and to discuss and narrate personal experiences of industrial pasts. Moreover, visitors did not uncritically accept what they were presented with, but instead

were able to negotiate and challenge the version of the past that they experienced. Indeed, in some cases visitors actively rejected the message about the site that they were offered. Studies such as these illustrate that visitors to heritage places are far from being passive consumers; instead, they are 'skilful and reflexive performers' (Bagnall, 2003, p. 95). It is apparent that many visitors to heritage attractions actively engage with the messages and displays that they encounter and incorporate them into their own acts of meaning-making. Moreover, while a site's managers and interpreters may intend to present a single coherent message, visitors can consume and appropriate a heritage place in a wide variety of ways. Indeed, they may (intentionally or unintentionally) 'mis-read' a heritage attraction (Hannam and Knox, 2010) and construct meanings and understandings that are entirely different from what the managers and heritage professionals intended.

Conclusions: A future research agenda

Heritage tourism is today one of the most significant forms of special interest tourism around the globe, and almost all countries use their past in some way for domestic and/or international tourism. The exploitation of the past in this way is a significant economic activity in many countries, and the presentation, interpretation and management of heritage places for visitors is a highly professionalized activity. Although there has been a tendency to treat heritage tourism as a uniform activity, it is important to recognize (and engage with) the heterogeneity of the heritage industry (Prentice, 1993). Heritage tourism comprises a huge diversity of historic sites, which differ in form, appearance, significance and ownership. Moreover, the resources that underpin heritage tourism are constantly changing, reflecting changing evaluations of what is (and is not) significant from the past. Thus, new heritages are constantly appearing and are embraced by the heritage tourism industry. At the same time, as tastes change, particular forms of heritage may come into, and go out of, fashion. For example, in the UK, industrial heritage enjoyed a boom during the 1980s but now seems to be slipping out of fashion, while sporting heritage and seaside heritage are increasingly in vogue. This demonstrates how the appropriation of the past for the purposes of tourism is a fluid and dynamic activity. The heritage industry of today is significantly different from that of 30 years ago.

Heritage tourism has attracted considerable academic interest, but this has been very unbalanced. Some aspects have been extensively studied (indeed, some issues, such as authenticity, have been exhaustively debated, without, however, greatly contributing to our understanding of heritage tourism). On the other hand, other aspects have attracted surprisingly little attention. Without question, the major agenda for future research concerns heritage

tourists themselves. As Timothy and Boyd (2006, p. 2) argue, 'the research on demand for heritage has only begun to scratch the surface'. Here, I would identify three broad directions for future research into heritage tourism: (1) a focus on why people visit – and, just as importantly, do not visit – heritage sites; (2) a focus on the experience of visiting heritage places; and (3) an exploration of the various forms of meaning-making that take place through heritage tourism.

First, there is a need for a better understanding of why people visit heritage sites, if for no other reason than to enable heritage managers to better cater for the needs of their visitors. It is clear that people visit heritage attractions for many reasons, not all of which are well understood. Some people undertake purposeful visits, underpinned by an intent to understand the historical significance of that site and a desire for learning and appreciation from their visit. But this does not apply to all visitors. For some, a visit to a heritage place may be just one component of a broad-based holiday, and the reasons for visiting may include sightseeing, relaxation and enjoyment. This also raises the issue of why people do not visit heritage sites. Numerous visitor surveys have established that heritage visitors tend to be white, middle-class and middle-aged. Why, then, do other groups – of non-white ethnicity, manual workers and the young – seemingly avoid participation in heritage tourism? Some interesting studies have suggested that there is a need to look at how heritage attractions are perceived by their visitors and non-visitors in order to understand why some people do not choose to go to them. However, there is a need to move beyond this perspective to consider the multitude of ways in which people interact with the past. There are many ways of experiencing the past, engaging with history and constructing individual and collective memories – and visiting an organized heritage attraction is just one of these. For example, young people who might have no need or desire to visit a designated heritage attraction might enthusiastically download 1980s music, or watch vintage sitcoms on 'nostalgia' television channels (such as Gold), or drink in a 1970s-themed bar. Therefore, heritage tourism needs to be understood in the context of the myriad other ways of consuming the past that are embedded within everyday life and leisure practices.

Second, the subjective experiences of visitors to heritage attractions merits fuller consideration, since many aspects of what visitors 'do', think or feel at heritage places remain poorly understood and under-theorized (Smith, 2006, 2012). Having visited a number of attractions in recent months, I found myself paying attention to the activities of the visitors around me. And it is clear that they do many things, of which searching for information and learning is just one. Other activities included wandering around, enjoying socializing with friends and family, relaxing in the sun, picnicking, drinking tea, playing with their smartphones and reading the paper. One aspect of the visit experience

that has been almost completely overlooked is that of play. Many heritage sites – particularly ruins – lend themselves to various forms of play, and yet these sorts of ways of appropriating (or performing) heritage sites have been largely overlooked. For example, at one ruin a group of children were enthusiastically dashing around enacting a scene from *Dr Who* while their parents sat chatting on the grass nearby. At another site, two children were having a competition for who could climb highest on a part of the ruin. But it is not just children who play. At another castle, I found myself enjoying exploring the narrow corridors and enjoying wondering what was round the next corner. This was followed by the thrill of negotiating uneven and slippery steps to reach the top of a tower and enjoying being one of the few visitors who made it this far. These sorts of behaviour illustrate that there is much more going on during a visit to a heritage place than has been previously identified, and some recent work has started to explore this. In particular, both Bagnall (2003) and Poria et al. (2003) argue that a visit to a heritage site is as much an emotional and imaginative experience as it is a cognitive or intellectual one. There is a need to engage more fully with the embodied, emotional experience of being a heritage tourist (Hannam and Knox, 2010) and, more generally, to explore how being at a heritage attraction is a far more multifaceted and improvisational experience than has been recognized until now.

Finally (and continuing the point above), future research needs to engage with the cultural work and acts of meaning-making that take place during visits to heritage sites. The authorized heritage discourse has tended to marginalize tourists, treating them as Others whose presence is tolerated because of the income that they generate for upkeep and conservation. However, there has been a long tendency to see heritage tourists as shallow and destructive and to dismiss their cultural experience and engagement with heritage places (Smith, 2006, 2012). As such, heritage managers often overlook the ways in which heritage tourists (as has been argued above) are active agents who are busily involved in creating (and reproducing) meanings when they visit heritage attractions. Recent approaches have turned the spotlight on the cultural work that takes place within heritage tourism and, in particular, explores what people 'do' (in cultural terms) when they visit a heritage site. This includes negotiating a personal (and collective) relationship with the past, (re)constructing individual and collective memories, and engaging with issues of authenticity (both of object and of experience). As the earlier discussion noted, visiting a heritage attraction is also an occasion to redefine individual and group identities through reflecting on the nature of self and Other.

Moreover, the performative turn within heritage studies is increasingly exploring how heritage is created as much by the visitors who perform it (Crang, 1994; Franklin, 2003) as by the managers and professionals who

define and regulate it. As Smith (2012, p. 213) argues, ‘the act of visitation is itself part of the process of making... heritage places... Each visit is constitutive of the meaning of a heritage site’. Conceptualized in this way, visitors are central to heritage tourism, since, through their practices of visiting (and what they do during their visits), they are participating in the construction of collective meanings of heritage places (see Smith et al. [2012] for a broader survey of this issue). A challenge for future research is, then, to interrogate this sort of cultural work and explore the ways in which heritage tourists are active creators of meaning. These are not merely dry, academic issues, since a fuller and more nuanced understanding of heritage tourists can potentially renew the practice of heritage management. In particular, there is an opportunity to edge away from traditional approaches (circumscribed by the authorized heritage discourse) that treat visitors as passive vessels and require that they behave in an orderly and respectful way, to putting heritage tourists – their desires, aspirations, feelings and emotions – at the centre of things.

References

- Bærenholdt, J., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J. and Urry, J. (2004) *Performing Tourist Places* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Bagnall, G. (2003) ‘Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites’, *Museums and Society*, 1(2), 87–103.
- Bauman, Z. (2007) *Consuming Life* (London: Polity).
- Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage).
- Breathnach, T. (2006) ‘Looking for the Real Me: Locating the Self in Heritage Tourism’, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1(2), 100–20.
- Chapman, A. and Light, D. (2011) ‘The “Heritagisation” of the British Seaside Resort: The Rise of the “Old Penny Arcade”’, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 6(3), 209–26.
- Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (eds) (2002) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance* (Oxford: Berghahn).
- Corner, J. and Harvey, S. (eds) (1991) *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture* (London: Routledge).
- Crang, M. (1994) ‘On the Heritage Trail: Maps of and Journeys to Olde Englande’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12(3), 341–55.
- Crouch, D. (2004) ‘Tourist Practices and Performances’ in A. A. Lew, C. M. Hall and A. M. Williams (eds) *A Companion to Tourism* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 85–96.
- Crouch, D. (2010) ‘The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage’ in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives of Visuality and the Past* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 57–71.
- Edensor, T. (1997) ‘National Identity and the Politics of Memory: Remembering Bruce and Wallace in Symbolic Space’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 15(2), 175–94.
- Edensor, T. (2001) ‘Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism: (Re)producing Tourist Space and Practice’, *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 59–81.
- Franklin, A. (2003) *Tourism: An Introduction* (London: Sage).

- Hannam, K. and Knox, D. (2010) *Understanding Tourism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Sage).
- Harrison, R. and Hughes, L. (2010) 'Heritage, Colonialism and Postcolonialism' in R. Harrison (ed.) *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 234–69.
- Harvey, D. C. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319–38.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2010) *Investing in Success: Heritage and the UK Tourism Economy* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund).
- Hermann, I. (2011) 'Battleless Battlefields: A Discussion of Cold War Tourism in Britain' in M. Kozak and N. Kozak (eds) *Sustainability of Tourism: Cultural and Environmental Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), pp. 314–29.
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen).
- Hewison, R. (1991) 'The Heritage Industry Revisited', *Museums Journal*, 90(2), 31–4.
- Higginbotham, G. (2012) 'Seeking Roots and Tracing Lineages: Constructing a Framework of Reference for Roots and Genealogical Tourism', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 7(3), 189–203.
- Light, D. (1995) 'Heritage as Informal Education' in D. T. Herbert (ed.) *Heritage, Tourism and Society* (London: Mansell), pp. 117–45.
- Light, D. (2000) 'Gazing on Communism: Heritage Tourism and Post-communist Identities in Germany, Hungary and Romania', *Tourism Geographies*, 2(2), 157–76.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lumley, R. (1994) 'The Debate on Heritage Reviewed' in R. Miles and L. Zavala (eds) *Towards the Museum of the Future* (London: Routledge), pp. 57–69.
- MacCannell, D. (1989) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 2nd edn (New York: Schocken Books).
- McCain, G. and Ray, N. M. (2003) 'Legacy Tourism: The Search for Personal Meaning in Heritage Travel', *Tourism Management*, 24(6), 713–17.
- Meethan, K. (2001) *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Merriman, N. (1991) *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public in Britain* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).
- Middleton, V. (1990) 'Irresistible Demand Forces', *Museums Journal*, 90(2), 31–4.
- Munt, I. (1994) 'The "Other" Postmodern Tourism: Culture, Travel and the New Middle Classes', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 11(3), 101–23.
- Palmer, C. (1999) 'Tourism and the Symbols of Identity', *Tourism Management*, 20(3), 313–21.
- Palmer, C. (2003) 'Touring Churchill's England: Rituals of Kinship and Belonging', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(2), 426–45.
- Park, Hyung-yu (2010) 'Heritage Tourism: Emotional Journeys into Nationhood', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(1), 116–35.
- Park, Hyung-yu (2011) 'Shared National Memory as Intangible Heritage: Re-imagining Two Koreas as One Nation', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(2), 520–39.
- Poria, Y., Butler, R. and Airey, D. (2003) 'The Core of Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(1), 238–54.
- Poria, Y., Butler, R. and Airey, D. (2004) 'Links between Tourists, Heritage, and Reasons for Visiting Heritage Sites', *Journal of Travel Research*, 43(1), 19–28.
- Prentice, R. (1993) *Tourism and Heritage Attractions* (London: Routledge).

- Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2004) *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2012) 'The Cultural "Work" of Tourism' in L. Smith, E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (London: Routledge), pp. 210–34.
- Smith, L., Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2012) *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, M. K. (2009) *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge).
- Thomas, C. J. (1989) 'The Roles of Historic Sites and Reasons for Visiting' in D. T. Herbert, R. C. Prentice and C. J. Thomas (eds) *Heritage Sites: Strategies for Marketing and Development* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 62–93.
- Timothy, D. (2011) *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction* (Clevedon: Channel View).
- Timothy, D. J. and Boyd, S. W. (2003) *Heritage Tourism* (Harlow: Prentice Hall).
- Timothy, D. J. and Boyd, S. W. (2006) 'Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1(1), 1–16.
- Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Society* (London: Sage).
- Urry, J. and Larsen, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage).
- VisitEngland (2011) *Visitor Attractions Trends in England 2010, Annual Report* (London: VisitEngland). http://www.visitengland.org/insight-statistics/major-tourism-surveys/attractions/Annual_Survey/index.aspx, accessed 11 July 2012.
- Wearing, S., Stevenson, D. and Young, T. (2010) *Tourist Cultures: Identity, Place and the Traveller* (London: Sage).
- Wright, P. (1985) *On Living in an Old Country* (London: Verso).

9

Heritage and Geography

Nuala C. Johnson

One hundred years after the sinking of *RMS Titanic*, the tragedy continues to captivate the imagination of millions of people around the globe. Since the loss of over 1,500 lives on the ill-fated night of 15 April 1912, when the ship sank on its maiden voyage about 350 miles from the Newfoundland coast, the *Titanic's* stories have almost continually been rehearsed through books, films, documentaries and museums. Five weeks after the ship went down, Universal Pictures released the first movie about the tragedy, starring the real-life survivor Dorothy Gibson, whose affair with the film studio's founder, Jules Brulatour, brought her on the voyage across the Atlantic in the first place. During the Second World War, in 1943, Goebbels commissioned a propaganda film using the sinking of the *Titanic* as a metaphor for Britain's ill-judged sense of its superior seafaring skills and its arrogant pursuit of profit at the expense of safety. Its sole purpose was to portray Britain in a negative light, and hence it made no pretence to accuracy. It was the film adaptation of Walter Lord's 1955 classic book *A Night to Remember* that set the foundation stone for all future movie representations of the ship's destiny. Released in 1958, this British film proved a huge commercial success and was followed by several other movie versions, including *The Unsinkable Molly Brown*, starring Debbie Reynolds in the lead as one of the ship's best-known first-class survivors, to James Cameron's 1997 direction of the multiple Academy Award-winning epic *Titanic*, grossing over \$2 billion worldwide. Moreover, the ship's sinking has generated a huge number of academic as well as popular texts, many published in 2012 to mark its centenary (Davenport-Hines, 2012; Robertson, 2012; Wilson, 2012). Its demise on the eve of the First World War may in part explain its longevity in the collective memory of generations after the war, as a cruel foreboding of the slaughter that was to take place in the trenches two years after its sinking, and as a salutary symbol of the seeming end of a century of human progress (Laqueur, 2013).

Today it is through exhibitions and museums that the story of the *Titanic* has become part of an ever-burgeoning heritage industry. *RMS Titanic Inc.*, a

subsidiary of Premier Exhibitions Inc., obtained exclusive rights to the artefacts salvaged from the wreck when it was located and excavated in 1985. Visitors can view the spoils of the wreckage at *'Titanic': The Experience*, beside Disney World in Orlando, Florida, and through the multi-venue *'Titanic': The Artefact Exhibition*, one of whose locations is the Luxor Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas. The 25 million people who have paid to see it, and who have additionally purchased the myriad of replica artefacts sold at the exhibition, confirm the popularity and profitability of this exhibition. Florida and Las Vegas may seem geographically remote from the origin, route or destination of this ship and its passengers, which suggests that heritage production and reception are sometimes only loosely connected to the spatial settings in which the past takes place. But those places more closely connected to the ship's history have also incorporated its story into their material and heritage landscape. While Southampton, the port from where the ship began its voyage westward, has a modest display of artefacts in its maritime museum, it is Belfast, Northern Ireland – the city in which the ship was built – that has invested most heavily in preserving the memory of the city's role in the ship's construction, through the opening of the Titanic Belfast Museum in April 2012 to mark the centenary of its demise. In a ceremony of remembrance held at the City Hall, to unveil a memorial to those killed, and as part of wider efforts to demonstrate the shared history of the people of Northern Ireland, the Sinn Féin Lord Mayor claimed that it took so long to erect a memorial because the 'memory [was] too painful, the loss too personal' (Dalby, 2012). Others have queried such an interpretation, arguing that the collective amnesia surrounding the ship arose from a sense of failure and shame about the city's Harland and Woolf shipyard that built the vessel and the sectarian geography of employment at the shipyard in the early twentieth century. But, in Northern Ireland's post-conflict context, RMS *Titanic's* history and the role of Belfast in that narrative has become part of a wider effort to economically regenerate the city and to positively capitalize on the commercial possibilities of heritage and cultural tourism in achieving that end.

The Titanic Belfast Museum forms part of a larger regeneration of the docklands area of the city where the shipyard is located, named the Titanic Quarter, and includes hotels, apartments and a new building that houses the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. It is part of the wider global effort of selling cities as cultural capital (Kearns and Philo, 1993; Graham et al., 2000). The rejuvenation of former docklands areas into retail, housing and leisure spaces, begun initially in projects in Boston, San Francisco and Baltimore, has diffused much more widely across the globe to historic waterfronts, in what Atkinson (2007) refers to as 'maritime kitsch'. At the cornerstone of this development in Belfast has been the building of the Titanic Belfast Museum, located on Queen's Island, an area of land beside Belfast Lough where Harland

and Woolf constructed slipways and graving docks to build *RMS Titanic*. On this space lies the new museum, whose angular construction appears as a glittering shard of innovative architecture, clad with several thousand three-dimensional silver anodized aluminium plates, and shaped at the four corners of the building to represent *Titanic's* bow, jutting towards the sky at the same height (126 ft) as the original ship.

The exterior of the building, designed to reflect the past that is displayed inside, simultaneously represents a future aspiration that the city can be reinvigorated as a centre of commercial success and that the £100 million spent on it will do for Belfast what the Guggenheim did for Bilbao (Addley and McDonald, 2012). Inside the building, the exhibition, designed over nine interpretive galleries, charts the history of the city from the late nineteenth century – as a hub of industrial activity in which shipbuilding formed a significant part – to the ship's design, construction, fit-out, launch and ultimate sinking. The use of high-tech techniques to convey the story mirrors the narrative, which projects Belfast as a hub of innovative engineering and manufacture 100 years earlier. As one of the most expensive buildings in Europe, the museum would have to attract 290,000 visitors per year to break even, and, while sceptics have doubted the possibility of achieving this, 650,000 people visited in the first nine months, making it the most visited heritage attraction in Northern Ireland, outstripping the top tourist attractions, the Giant's Causeway and the Ulster Museum.

The story of *RMS Titanic* indicates how a particular moment in the past can enter collective consciousness and become part of shared heritage through a wide array of different spaces. From the city in which the ship was built to the myriad of places from where its passengers/staff originated, this maritime disaster has achieved iconic status, and it connects to three areas of enquiry that have particularly animated geographers' approaches to investigating heritage. First, it alerts us to the relationship between heritage sites and history, and why some episodes from the past are mobilized for popular consumption. Second, the story of the *Titanic* foregrounds the relationship between space, place and identity. Geographers have been particularly interested in the connections between heritage preservation and place-based identity politics. Finally, for geographers, understanding the symbolic as well as the material effects of heritage landscapes is of significant import in their interpretation of these places. The remainder of this chapter will address these issues, beginning in the following section with a brief analysis of the key issues animating the heritage debate. I will then go on to consider how heritage sites connected directly to memory spaces are conjugated around questions of personal and collective identities. The final section will address how 'nature' is entangled in the processes of heritage development in both rural and urban settings.

Geography and the heritage debate

There has been a huge expansion in the number of heritage sites over the past 30 years, coinciding with the expansion of tourist activity worldwide. Tourism has become one of the largest employers in the twenty-first century, growing at around 5 per cent per annum. According to the UN's World Tourism Organization, there were 940 million international tourism arrivals in 2010, representing a 6.6 per cent increase over the previous year. McCannell (1992, p. 1) reminds us that tourism does not only involve commercial activities but is 'an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs'. Stately homes, heritage centres, folk parks, museums, nature reserves, memorials and a myriad of other sites designed to convey historical and geographical knowledge emphasize the ways in which our efforts to represent and remember the past are mediated through complex and sometimes contradictory lenses. The term 'heritage' usually denotes two sets of related meanings. On the one hand, it refers to sites with a historical theme that have often been preserved for 'the good' of the nation-state (e.g. the Tower of London). On the other hand, heritage is used to refer to a suite of shared cultural values and memories, inherited over time and expressed through a variety of cultural performances, for example, song and dance (Peckham, 2003). The relationships between heritage and history, and between tradition and modernity, continue to inform debates about what material landscapes should be preserved in contemporary society. The heritage site itself frequently forms the epicentre upon which these issues are scrutinized. If histories are constructed and memories are mapped on to the past, the manner in which these stories and recollections of the past are related is constantly open to contestation, to alternative renderings of history, and to the spaces and places in which histories are mediated and interpreted (Johnson, 1999).

The relationship between heritage and history has been subject to much debate among geographers, historians, cultural critics and others (Lowenthal, 1998; Graham and Howard, 2008). Conventionally, a rigid line of demarcation ran between the past as narrated by professional historians on the one hand, and by the heritage industry on the other. While heritage, as a concept, often begins with a highly individualized notion of what we either personally inherit or bequeath (e.g. through family wills and legacies), in this context we are more concerned with collective notions of heritage that link us as a group to a shared inheritance. The basis of that group identification varies in time and in space. It can, for instance, be based on allegiance derived from a communal ethnic or religious affiliation, or a class formation or a sense of national identity. Indeed, it is with respect to cultivating the 'imagined community' of nationhood that heritage is often most frequently linked (Anderson, 1983).

Three different, albeit interrelated, approaches to understanding heritage have gained currency in recent years. These comprise the view that: (a) heritage is a form of inauthentic history displayed in space; (b) heritage is primarily part of a process of tourism expansion and postmodern patterns of consumption; and, finally, (c) heritage is a contemporary manifestation of a longer historical process whereby human societies actively cultivate a social memory. The next few paragraphs will deal with each approach in turn.

While the origins of the nation-state may be relatively recent, the national state is predicated on the assumption that the group identity upon which it is based derives from a collective cultural inheritance that spans centuries. As Anderson (1983, p. 15) has put it, nations are collectively imagined because 'members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members...yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'. And that communion is traditionally conceived as historical. National states, therefore, attempt to maintain this identity by highlighting the historical trajectory of the cultural group through the preservation of elements of the built environment, through spectacle and parade, through art and craft, through museum and monument. As Peckham notes (2003, p. 2), '[m]any of the institutions through which heritage is promoted, including museums, folklore societies and other educational establishments, played a formative role in the nation-building project'. The production of heritage, then, is viewed as a mechanism for inscribing nationalist narratives in the popular imagination through, for instance, the preservation of iconic landscapes (Wright, 1985). Lowenthal (1994, p. 43) claims that 'heritage distils the past into icons of identity, bonding us with precursors and progenitors, with our own earlier selves, and with promised successors'. Heritage signifies, then, the politicization of culture, whereby cultural forms are mobilized for ideological purposes. This contrasts, according to Lowenthal, with the work of professional historians, in which 'testable truth is [the] chief hallmark' and 'historians' credibility depends on their sources being open to general scrutiny' (1998, p. 120). Many of the conventional assumptions about the nation-state, however, have been called into question in the twenty-first century as globalization, multiculturalism and border change have all challenged the easy demarcation of 'us' and 'them', and the role of heritage may also be in transition.

The proliferation in the number of heritage sites over recent years has also been examined as being emblematic of the late modern or postmodern cultural forms associated with advanced capitalism and contemporary tourism. According to Urry (1990, p. 82), 'postmodernism involves a dissolving of boundaries, not only between high and low cultures, but also between different cultural forms, such as tourism, art, music, sport, shopping and architecture'. Consequently, the distinction between representations and reality, between genuine history and false heritage, is rendered more problematic. Baudrillard (1988)

suggests that meaning has been replaced with spectacle, in which historical and futuristic images coalesce (Voase, 2010). For instance, the Lascaux caves in France are now closed to the public, but a replica of them can be visited 500 metres from the original. The original has become redundant, as its replacement by a simulacrum provides a hyper-real representation of the caves. Consequently, heritage tourism is seen as 'prefiguratively' postmodern because it has long privileged the visual, the performative and the spectacular for popular consumption. In this portrait, therefore, the past that is mediated through heritage is just one element, albeit an increasingly important one, in a whole suite of historical representations. Consequently, rather than viewing heritage as a false, distorted history imposed on the masses, we can view heritage sites as forming one link in a chain of popular memory.

While some critics have queried this 'museumification' of the past (Hewison, 1987), the historian Samuel (1996) has celebrated such democratization, claiming that industrial museums and interiors of domestic life have been progressive developments in heritage preservation and have diminished the tendency for heritage to purvey a white, elite, European and male perspective on the past. The Wolfson Gallery of Trade and Empire at the Maritime Museum in London, for instance, challenged conventional popular representations of the British Empire by mediating the story through perspectives that captured both colonizer and colonized experiences of empire and foregrounded the geographically embedded connections between the colonies and the metropole. Moreover, it placed contemporary patterns of migration to Britain within this historical context and consequently focused on the continued reciprocal geographical relationships between Europe and the non-European world (Duncan, 2003). In so doing, geographers have highlighted how this approach to Britain's imperial past focused on interconnections and overlapping identities that were mutually constitutive in making Britain and its colonies. Opening these questions up to popular audiences through a museum exhibition, therefore, potentially widens the scope of understanding about this period in the British past and its continued relevance to present-day debates about 'race' and migration. The connections between heritage and memory spaces have been a fertile ground for recent geographical enquiry, and it is to this theme that I now wish to turn.

Theorizing memory spaces

In a highly influential essay on 'Memory and Forgetting', the philosopher Paul Ricoeur has advanced a framework for understanding what he refers to as the ethics of memory (Ricoeur, 1999). While memory is a form of knowledge about the past, it is equally, for Ricoeur, an activity in which we engage. It is the actions, or the 'uses and abuses' to which memory is put, rather than the

cognitive content of individual memories, that is the focus. '[T]he exercise of memory', asserts Ricoeur, 'is its use; yet its use includes the possibility of abuse. Between use and abuse slips the specter of the bad "mimetics"' (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 57). Ricoeur identified three levels of memory practice: the pathological-therapeutic, the pragmatic and the ethical-political. In the first instance – the pathological-therapeutic – he drew on Freud's famous psychoanalytical treatise about the distinction between mourning and melancholia and posited that mourning involves reconciliation with objects of love, either embodied humans or abstract concepts such as nationhood, whereas melancholia is characterized by despair. He claims: 'it is the wounds and scars of history which are repeated in this state of melancholia' (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 7), while mourning draws forth acceptable memories and ultimately reconciliation. Although this characterization of memory is more usually associated with individual memories and the 'working through' of them to a point of resolution, they can also be mobilized at the collective, political level, both in parts of the world where there is an excess of scarred memories and in places where there is a surfeit of forgetting (e.g. Truth Commissions in South Africa and South America).

The second level – the 'pragmatic' layer of remembering – Ricoeur linked with the construction of both personal and broader collective identities. It is particularly along this horizon that the abuses of memory take place, as people search for answers to the question of who they are. It is here that memory can be most visibly steered through political ideology as societies, or groups within them, strive for some coherent identity and expressed through their heritage. Thus, '[a] trained memory is, in fact, on the institutional plane an instructed memory; forced memorization is thus enlisted in the service of the remembrance of those events belonging to a common history that are held to be remarkable, even founding, with respect to the common identity' (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 85). Here we might have in mind the many cases of the ritualized remembrance of the 'origin' moments of the modern state as performed in public space, for instance, the celebrations associated with 4 July in the US or 14 July in France. But, of course, victories for one can be remembered as defeats for others. The declaration of independence in 1916 in Ireland may be recalled as a triumphal moment for the eventual establishment of the Irish Republic and embedded in the fabric of Dublin at the Garden of Remembrance, but for Northern Ireland's nationalist population it may represent an unfulfilled aspiration. For Ricoeur, however, pragmatic memory does not have to be manipulated in negative ways. He sees in it opportunities for the lessons of the past to be directed towards the provision of a just future. For 'it is always possible to tell in another way' (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 9) and to allow others to tell their own story. He suggests that, in dealing with painful or humiliating memories, we can try to extract 'exemplarity' from them so that they can inform the future and prevent the same things from happening again and again. In other words, memories can

play didactic roles with moral outcomes that are potentially favourable to the memory group at large.

This element of 'exemplarity' interconnects with Ricoeur's final level of memory, the 'ethical-political'. Here there is a social duty to remember that is predicated on the need to fight against the erosion of traces, to harness the promotion of forgiveness and to make good on the promise 'to keep alive the memory of suffering over against the general tendency of history to celebrate the victors' (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 10). This duty is embedded in the goal of prosecuting justice, recognizing that justice is expedited through our memory of others, not ourselves. The preservation of Auschwitz as a space for commemorating the Holocaust and currently a public museum may point in this direction (Charlesworth, 1994). So, our moral response is one that affirms the memories of others, acknowledges our debt to others and gives priority to victims other than ourselves. Ricoeur suggests, moreover, that there is also space for forgetting. This is not amnesia but amnesty, where there is an end to punishment and 'there is no symmetry between the duty to remember, and the duty to forget, because the duty to remember is a duty to teach, whereas the duty to forget is a duty to go beyond anger and hatred' (Ricoeur, 1999, p. 11). What Ricoeur's analysis of memory provides us with is a typology for understanding the role of heritage spaces in the calibration of individual and collective identities at a variety of different memory scales. Moreover, he suggests ways in which the preservation of the past through these sites connects with wider societal and ethical questions about the role of history in contemporary society.

Space, memory and heritage

There is now a vast geographical literature on the role of space in the expression and performance of remembrance over a diverse range of historical episodes (for an overview see Johnson, 2004). From studies of public memorials, sculpture, museums and street-naming (Withers, 1996; Till, 1999; Alderman, 2000) to the more domesticated environment of the home (Tolia-Kelly, 2004), these enquiries have stressed the role of place, material objects and their environment as *aides-memoire* to memory retrieval and as 'actors' in the public performance of commemoration. While social elites may attempt to galvanize power through the control of the public choreography of memory, geographers have demonstrated how subaltern groups, of various sorts, have challenged dominant renditions of the past and contested the interpretation presented through museums, memorials, heritage sites, commemorative rituals and naming practices (Leib, 2002). In the case of street-naming to commemorate the assassination of Martin Luther King, Junior, for instance, Alderman (2003) charted how African Americans struggled to control and determine the scale of streets in which King would be remembered and thus the scale at which

King's memory would find public expression. He noted that scale was 'open to redefinition not only by opponents to his political/social philosophy but also people who unquestionably embraced and benefited from this philosophy' (2003, p. 171).

The processes involved in marking memory in the public domain are often vigorously contested, not only with respect to the form and architecture of communal sites but also in the archaeology of meaning practised at such arenas. As the playwright Brian Friel (1981, p. 18) has reminded us, 'to remember everything is a form of madness', and active forgetting itself plays an important role in the forging of a changed future. Whelan (2001) has demonstrated how wilful acts of erasure took place in post-independence Dublin as street names were altered and monuments removed from public view. Legg (2005, p. 195), too, has identified how the Gurdwara site in Delhi 'functioned as a site of counter-memory not just in terms of discourse and the archive, but in terms of a local and distinctly spatial construction of memory against forgetting'. Alderman's analysis of efforts to establish sites of counter-memory to the enslaved in Savannah, Georgia in the US highlights how finding appropriate wording to encapsulate the trauma of slavery for African Americans lay at the heart of the struggle to remember (or forget) this painful episode (Alderman, 2010). Words, too, lay at the epicentre of disputes over Omagh's endeavours to publicly mark the trauma of the bombing, and, while the use of particular words provided healing for some, they became a source of dissent for others (Johnson, 2012). Central to all this literature on the connections between heritage sites and their representations of memory has been the role of the absolute and relative geographical location of the site, the circulation of meaning among consumers, and the iconography of the objects and landscapes in providing an interpretive lens to understand the past.

Nature, heritage and identity

While an analysis of the built landscape has been pivotal to critical discussions of heritage among geographers, nature has also been an important component in debates about the historical representation of the past. The natural landscape and ideas about nature have, both historically and today, acted as significant components in the cultural practices of political identity formation (Olwig, 2008). Cronon (1995) has reminded us how the coalescence of the ideas of the sublime, the frontier and a national polity informed debates about the preservation of 'wilderness' in the development of the American national park system. Providing a cultural reading of the historiography of this process, Cronon has highlighted how political identities, such as individualism, were forged around landscapes that were seen to be the least contaminated by modernity and urbanism. As he presents it, it was the people of America

who had most benefited from urban-industrial capitalism who were also some of the most vocal proponents of both preserving and experiencing wilderness. Thus, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, tourist visits to sublime landscapes became part and parcel of the cultural and political experience of the wealthy and the urbane. Enormous estates built in the Adirondack Mountains, for instance, became sites of recreation. They encapsulated the rejuvenating potential of the wild to reinvigorate these rich urban dwellers. They embodied the national frontier myth that the core of American political values was historically forged in the open wilderness. The national parks system, set up in the later decades of the nineteenth century, enabled these urban dwellers to emotionally and physically experience what they regarded as the antithesis to the superficial and ugly artificiality embodied in the modern city, and became central to natural heritage conservation. The parks achieved this 'idyllic' quality by employing landscape architects who designed the spaces to preserve the scenery by deploying various forms of concealment and screening of undesirable views, yet maintaining an infrastructure that was necessary for the comfort and convenience of the visitor. Thus, for instance, sanitary facilities and other utilities were hidden from public view by sequestering them through planting native species of tree or using large boulders to conceal them, thus offering the illusion that human intrusion on these landscapes was negligible (Colten and Dilsaver, 2005). A vision of wilderness, therefore, could be preserved for visitors to the national parks, and the visceral responses to these seemingly natural landscapes could be protected for the American public.

It is not only in the public landscapes of national parks, however, that nature has been politicized as heritage; it is also in the more domestic landscapes of the suburbs that place-based identities can be mobilized, expressed and experienced. In their study of the suburban settlement of Bedford, 44 miles north of New York City, Duncan and Duncan (2004) have explored how place-based identities deploy ideas of natural heritage to create settings in which desirable social identities are protected, projected and sometimes challenged. They claim that '[a] seemingly innocent appreciation of landscapes and desire to protect local history and nature can act as subtle but highly effective mechanisms of exclusion and reaffirmation of class identity' (2004, p. 4). Tracing the development of zoning laws and the evolution of this highly maintained pastoral landscape, Duncan and Duncan (2004, p. 5) have stressed how sustaining a historicized landscape of rolling hills, open meadowland, nature reserves and dirt roads required immense labour and 'highly sophisticated political organization' on the part of the residents. In this elite suburb, residents have invested both immense financial and human capital in protecting the quality of the landscape. They achieve high social status through their aesthetic consumption practices, not least in their efforts to enhance and retain the beauty of the town. Underpinned by a romantic ideology, anti-urbanism, anti-modernism

and an intense localism, the residents affirm their individual and collective identities through their practices of protecting both nature and the historic fabric of this built environment. The people of Bedford regard their local landscape as communicative of community identities and they see it as inculcating their political and moral values. Consequently, the residents are prepared to invest a lot of time and energy in its protection (Duncan and Duncan, 2004).

Landscape preservation and heritage protection are primarily achieved through the vehicle of zoning laws, and Duncan and Duncan (2001) claim that they are ultimately highly exclusionary in Bedford. Over 80 per cent of all land in the area is zoned for single-family houses on a minimum of four acre lots, 95 per cent for houses on one or more acres and less than 1 per cent for two-family dwellings or apartments. Alongside the valorization of the pastoral landscape, locals have also sought to preserve a small bit of 'wilderness' in Bedford. The Mianus River Gorge Wildlife Refuge and Botanical Preserve was established in 1953 by five wealthy locals and became in 1964 the first Natural Historic Landmark in the US, but, as Duncan and Duncan (2001, p. 400) point out, 'Wilderness in Bedford is produced out of a class-based aesthetic that values both the pastoral and the picturesque.' Although the residents' lives are intimately bound up with the global economic system – many have gained their wealth through urban-industrial and financial-market-generated means in New York City – their retreat to Bedford masks the interconnectedness between their income generation and their desire to reside in a picture-perfect colonial New England village. Nature and historical buildings are preserved here within a wider heritage framework and act as positional goods for the residents, whose identity is intimately bound up with their class position. Although Bedford may represent an extreme case of the aestheticization of political life in an American suburb, it is certainly not unique.

While 'natural' landscapes are mobilized to engender social status and positional wealth through cultural capital as revealed in prosperous American suburbs, the display of 'nature' can also be part of the heritage vocabulary of cities. Take, for example, botanic gardens. These institutions date back to the sixteenth century, originally established as physic gardens attached to medical faculties in university towns (for instance, Padua in Italy in 1545). They served to enhance trainee doctors' knowledge of the medicinal qualities of plants. They fundamentally catered to a very specialized audience; however, by the eighteenth century botanic gardens had begun to shift their focus away from being repositories of medicinal herbs and plants to being spaces to serve the interests of the science of botany. Moreover, by the nineteenth century they were firmly established as scientific spaces, designed to display plant taxonomy, exotic species and arboretums, and to serve a wider desire to encourage rational recreation among the general public and to educate the wider population on the workings of nature, which would enhance civic and national prowess.

The Royal Botanic Gardens Belfast, for instance, operated as a private limited company from its foundation in 1829. Access was initially restricted to shareholders, annual subscribers and those who paid an entrance fee at the gate. This fee structure restricted access primarily to the city's middle classes, despite the founders' objectives for the gardens to act as an educative and recreational space for the working classes in this expanding industrial city. The gardens' proprietors acknowledged that wider public access was desirable, 'whereby public peace, loyalty and government are generally promoted' (quoted in Johnson, 2011, p. 173), ultimately improving the moral status of the citizenry, and thus in 1865 free admission was introduced on Saturdays. The role of the gardens in Belfast was not just to provide a leisure space for the city's labouring classes; they were also to serve as a moral arena for the cultivation of civic pride and popular allegiance to local and national governance.

In Dublin, too, the botanical gardens in Glasnevin, founded by the Royal Dublin Society in 1795, served political as well as scientific ends. The Royal Dublin Society, a learned society comprised mainly of a Protestant elite, obtained an annual government grant to subsidize the gardens. Dublin sought to have a garden of equal prestige to that at Kew in London. Improving Irish agricultural practices as well as developing systematic botany underpinned its foundation (Johnson, 2007). As a publicly subsidized garden, it was, from the outset, open to the public, but that public's behaviour was, as in Belfast, to be strictly controlled. While botanic gardens such as those mentioned here were part of the place-promotion and civic pride of individual cities, they were also vehicles for educating the public about the wider world of nature, particularly the tropical regions of the globe. Elegant palm houses, fashioned of iron and glass, were important for the viewing public as they could illustrate the rich flora of an overseas world, much of which was under the formal or informal control of Europe's empires in the nineteenth century. Having a well-stocked and beautifully built hothouse could demonstrate the prestige of the host institution as well as the prowess of an individual 'nation' in cultivating its overseas empire. Building plant houses and putting tropical flora on display illustrated how the political and cultural was interspersed with the scientific in discussions about how these semi-public spaces would be accessed and used in the everyday lives of city-dwellers (Johnson, 2011). These spaces today continue to play significant roles in the historic landscapes of cities. The restoration of glasshouses, the maintenance of arboretums and their popularity with locals and tourists alike ensure their future as part of the scientific and cultural heritage of cities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study of heritage has been an important element of enquiry, particularly in historical, cultural and urban geography. Investigating how the

past shapes the contemporary built and natural environment, as well as its role in the performance of identity, has been central to these studies. At least three avenues of exploration have animated debates within geography. First, there has been a concern with unravelling how particular episodes in the past are selected for contemporary purposes and how these are connected to identity politics, such as nationalism, ethnicity and gender. Second, geographers have been at the forefront in highlighting the role of space and place in the construction and preservation of specific public sites of heritage and memory. From individual museums and monuments to whole-landscape assemblages such as urban maritime quarters, geographers have focused on the spatiality of such sites in the projection of meaning. Third, geographers have critically examined debates underpinning the representational and performative practices, both material and symbolic, found in heritage spaces, with a view to grappling with the role of the past in the present. As Nathaniel Hawthorne's character Holgrave, in *The House of the Seven Gables* (1850), exclaims: 'Shall we never, never get rid of this Past? ... It lies upon the present like a giant's dead body!'

References

- Addley, E. and McDonald, H. (2012) 'Will Titanic Belfast Do for the City What the Guggenheim Did for Bilbao', *Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/mar/23/titanic-belfast-guggenheim-bilbao>, accessed 15 February 2012.
- Alderman, D. H. (2000) 'A Street Fit for a King: Naming Places and Commemoration in the American South', *Professional Geographer*, 52, 672–84.
- Alderman, D. H. (2003) 'Street Names and the Scaling of Memory: The Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr. within the African American Community', *Area*, 35, 163–73.
- Alderman, D. H. (2010) 'Surrogation and the Politics of Remembering Slavery in Savannah, Georgia (USA)', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 36, 90–101.
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: The Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso).
- Atkinson, D. (2007) 'Kitsch Geographies and the Everyday Spaces of Social Memory', *Environment and Planning A*, 39, 521–40.
- Baudrillard, J. (1988) *America* (London: Verso).
- Charlesworth, A. (1994) 'Contesting Places of Memory: The Case of Auschwitz', *Environment and Planning D*, 12, 579–93.
- Colten, C. E. and Dilsaver, L. M. (2005) 'The Hidden Landscape of Yosemite National Park', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 22, 27–50.
- Cronon, W. (ed.) (1995) *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: Norton & Co).
- Dalby, D. (2012) 'Raising the Memory of the Titanic, and a City's Role in its Creation', *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/16/world/europe/belfast-embraces-the-titanic.html?_r=0, accessed 15 February 2012.
- Davenport-Hines, R. (2012) *'Titanic' Lives: Migrants and Millionaires, Common and Crew* (London: Harper).

- Duncan, J. (2003) 'Representing Empire at the National Maritime Museum' in R. S. Peckham (ed.) *Rethinking Heritage: Culture and Politics in Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris), pp. 17–28.
- Duncan, J. S. and Duncan, N. G. (2001) 'The Aestheticization of the Politics of Landscape Preservation', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 91, 387–409.
- Duncan, J. S. and Duncan, N. G. (2004) *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb* (London: Routledge).
- Friel, B. (1981) *Translations* (Faber and Faber).
- Graham, B. and Howard, P. (2008) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (London: Ashgate).
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge J. E. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy* (London: Arnold).
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen).
- Johnson, N. C. (1999) 'Framing the Past: Time, Space and the Politics of Heritage Tourism in Ireland', *Political Geography*, 18, 187–207.
- Johnson, N. C. (2004) 'Social Memory' in J. S. Duncan, N. C. Johnson and R. Schein (eds) *Companion to Cultural Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 616–28.
- Johnson, N. C. (2007) 'Grand Design(er)s: David Moore, Natural Theology and the Royal Botanic Gardens in Glasnevin, Dublin: 1838–1879', *Cultural Geographies*, 14(1), 29–55.
- Johnson, N. C. (2011) *Nature Displaced, Nature Displayed: Order and Beauty in Botanical Gardens* (London: I. B. Tauris).
- Johnson, N. C. (2012) 'The Contours of Memory in Post-Conflict Societies: Enacting Public Remembrance of the Bomb in Omagh, Northern Ireland', *Cultural Geographies*, 19(2), 237–58.
- Kearns, G. and Philo, C. (1993) *Selling Places: City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (London: Pergamon).
- Laqueur, T. (2013) 'Why Name a Ship after a Defeated Race', *London Review of Books*, 35(2), 3–10.
- Legg, S. (2005) 'Sites of Counter-Memory: The Refusal to Forget and the Nationalist Struggle in Colonial Delhi', *Historical Geography*, 33, 192–203.
- Leib, J. I. (2002) 'Separate Times, Shared Spaces: Arthur Ashe, Monument Avenue and the Politics of Richmond, Virginia's Symbolic Landscape', *Cultural Geographies*, 9(3), 286–312.
- Lowenthal, D. (1994) 'Identity, Heritage and History' in J. R. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press), pp. 41–57.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (London: Viking).
- MacCannell, D. (1992) *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London: Routledge).
- Olwig, K. R. (2008) '"Natural" Landscapes in the Representation of National Identity' in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (London: Ashgate), pp. 73–88.
- Peckham, R. S. (2003) 'Introduction' in R. S. Peckham (ed.) *Rethinking Heritage: Culture and Politics in Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris), pp. 1–13.
- Ricoeur, P. (1999) 'Memory and Forgetting' in R. Kearney and M. Dooley (eds) *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy* (London: Routledge), pp. 5–14.
- Ricoeur, P. (2004) *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Robertson, M. (2012) *The Wreck of the Titan* (London: Hesperus).
- Samuel, R. (1996) *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso).

- Till, K. (1999) 'Staging the Past: Landscape Design, Cultural Identity and *Erinnerungspolitik* at Berlin's Neue Wache', *Ecumene*, 6, 251–83.
- Tolia-Kelly, D. (2004) 'Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19, 314–29.
- Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage).
- Voase, R. (2010) 'Visualizing the Past: Baudrillard, Intensities of the Hyper-real and the Erosion of Historicity' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Surrey: Ashgate), pp. 105–23.
- Whelan, Y. (2001) 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space – The Iconography of Sackville Street (O'Connell Street) before Independence (1922)', *Irish Geography*, 34, 11–33.
- Wilson, A. (2012) *Shadow of the 'Titanic'* (London: Simon Schuster).
- Withers, C. (1996) 'Place, Memory, Monument: Memorializing the Past in Contemporary Highland Scotland', *Ecumene*, 3, 325–44.
- Wright, P. (1985) *On Living in an Old Country* (London: Verso).

Part III

Heritage and Cultural Experience



10

Affect, Heritage, Feeling

David Crouch

Introduction

A core concern of this chapter is the ways through which heritage is given meaning. Of course, heritage in terms of institutionalized sites, for example, is rendered with particular meaning or character, significance or importance, embedded in a particular narrative, through inscription, illustration, and increasingly also with staged performance, sound and orderly accompaniment. Yet, arguably, these forms of heritage are merely fragments in a wider and deeper mixture of prompts, memories, other sites, relations and feelings in our own lives, as 'ordinary' individuals going about our living. As Crang and Tolia-Kelly (2010) have carefully argued and evidenced, there is a significant influence across cultures of iconographies of heritage: matters of colonialism, post-colonialism, race, gender and, I would add, class. Through this piece, the emphasis is less on the iconographic or culturally overarching and more on the energies, feelings, affects and emotions wrapped up or available in our encounters with heritage.

The chapter is influenced by Kathleen Stewart's finely reflexive register, where she argues for an approach that works to

deflect attention away from the obsessive desire to characterize things once and for all long enough to register the myriad strands of shifting influence that remain uncaptured by representational thinking. It presumes 'we' – the impacted subjects of a wild assemblage of influences – but it takes difference to be both far more fundamental and far more fluid than models of positioned subjects have been able to suggest. . . . it is drawn to the place where meaning per se collapses and we are left with acts and gestures and immanent possibilities . . . it tracks the pulses of things as they cross each other, come together, fragment and recombine in some new surge. It tries to call attention to the affects that arise in the course of the perfectly ordinary life

as the promise, or threat, that something is happening – something capable of impact. . . . they take us to the surge of immanence itself.

(Stewart, 2005, p. 1029)

Several related threads of debate concerning a more open, fluid, contingent and complex character of *participation* with heritage sites are engaged in this chapter. Aspects include the phenomenological and performative character of living, in which encounters with heritage sites and events happen, and the notion of affect and how 'it' works in relation to heritage in experience. The interactions of multiple affects, structured, incidental, endured or enjoyed, are pursued in relation to emotions. The commingling of these forces is considered through the notion of *feeling* and its connectedness with meanings, values and attitudes.

These threads are pursued more closely towards an articulation of how heritage occurs, or happens, exemplified in terms of the spaces of heritage sites and their events. Beyond the embedded character of heritage in terms of iconography, the chapter considers a gentle politics emergent through the participation in heritage of numerous individuals. The very notion of the occurrence of heritage is problematized and unsettled. The gathering of these threads points towards a further critical kind of heritage studies.

Heritage journeys

Attending heritage is like a journey: more than individual and private, journeys are frequently inter-subjective in absence and presence. Journeys occur in and among instants and moments, but act relationally with time. Our pasts are mutually enveloped, unevenly and awkwardly enfolded in this mass of convolutions: challenged, affirmed, questioned. Moments in journeys are not isolated, but prompt and are prompted by other loops and re-loops, temporary suspensions, threads of that commingling of space and time as the spacetime of life. Memory is not simply 'placed' in time in a linear 'ordering' of being but tumbles among the memories of others, or exists in a net with others, open to being regrasped anew in other moments. Memory can be reasserted by its action and contexts, and institutionally prefigured repertoires can inflect, affirm or flow by. In and out of these flows are inflected feelings across a range of being, dwelling and becoming. In journeys, our feelings about ourselves and our relationships in the world are negotiated but also happen to us. Identity, belonging and creativity emerge in this complexity.

The ways in which these flows and becomings work and affect is enlightened by Stewart's discussions of atmospheric attunements, where feelings and their informing senses are very much involved and participating. Thinking through the response in terms of sensing change, I encounter Massumi's (2002) critical

discussion of affect. In terms of coping, responding and enjoying, the last of these is a matter of feeling inside whether and how we may cope, or not, with particular things, materiality and feelings around us that affect our senses and that may in turn become affected by them. It may be useful to consider, then, how our responses 'arrive', and how considered actions, perhaps expressed in gesture, also affect the changes around us.

The occurrence of feeling/s is complex and provides a framework through which to position and consider senses, and thus our response to changing materialities. Senses and their emergent sensations and gestures are one way of recognizing feeling, most particularly, perhaps, in the sense of touch, how a material is 'felt'. In visiting sites of heritage, museums in particular, touch may still be possible. Yet, of course, feeling has a broader, wider, perhaps initially rather vague meaning: it also includes reflection, which, reflecting Stewart, is caught in webs of affects and other cultural frames and occurrences, in atmospheres, to which, perhaps, we can become attuned: feeling uncomfortable, delighted, pained and so on. It is another step to engage with how a shifting of those atmospheres or their components may affect our feeling and attuning, in our qualitative response.

Phenomenology and performativity

Phenomenology and performativity have become key slices of the broader notion of what is non-representational, compared with, for example, heritage's productivity of representations, or simply presentations (Thrift, 2008). In many ways, this term is a distraction from thought, as our lives are inextricably involved with representations that commingle and which are important to unpick (Crouch, 2010). Moreover, everyday feelings and sensations are continually productive of the social and cultural.

The phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty sought to articulate the liveliness of living, and of space in interaction. As Thrift (2007, p. 54) points out, '[he] was attempting to produce a more robustly intuitive account of knowledge, one not predicated on the prior existence of the subject, but rather productive of it'. What this offers is a way in which to flesh out life. It is still fairly routine to think that heritage is prefigured and conveyed in ways that privilege vision (Waterton and Watson, 2010), so that heritage visiting reflects the gazing that reputedly dominates experiences of tourism (Urry, 2011). While Merleau-Ponty worked on vision, much of his classic text concerned the full range of our senses: the multi-sensual means through which our surroundings are engaged: touch, auditory, olfactory and taste. While constructivist practices focus upon the psychological and the cultural-political, Burkitt (1999) has developed this approach through attention to the body in its sensory, as well as social, work. Inflected in a multi-sensual process of subjectivity, sight

no longer holds a privileged position, and, as Ann Game's (1991) sociology argues, everyday semiotics as visual sign-reading is engaged within a wider practice and process of material semiotics, or embodied semiotics (see also Crouch, 2001, 2010). Despite its perceptual sophistication, the eye alone cannot necessarily go beyond a description of surface: 'sight says too many things at the same time. Being does not see itself. Perhaps it listens to itself' (Bachelard, 1994, p. 215).

This multi-sensuality offers a kind of working with meaning. Taussig (1992) writes that the eye makes its feeling way around space, profoundly tactile in its commingling of the senses. Sight is felt, but in a mingling of senses, feeling and thought. Carrie Noland observes that gesture 'cannot be reduced to a purely semiotic (meaning-making) activity but realizes instead – both temporally and spatially – a cathexis deprived of semantic content... gesture can... simultaneously convey an energy charge' (2008, p. xiv). For Casey (2005), meaning is framed in a kind of expectation. Places, sites and artefacts can be understood as experimental living within a changing culture (Casey, 1993). In his earlier attention to a phenomenological notion of 'dwelling', social anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000) articulated a continuity of practice. More recently, he has sought to amend, or update, 'dwelling' with 'inhabitation', but only as a footnote (Ingold, 2008). In his other more recent work, on creativity and on lines, the direction of his thinking is clearer. Far from understanding dwelling as continuity, his work points to the everyday potential actuality of 'the new', the emergent (Hallam and Ingold, 2007). He uses the notion of 'lines' to express his thinking; they are made non-linear in human living as they circle, scan and trace, and thus speak of performance and uncertainty, discontinuity, breaks and reformulation (Ingold, 2007). This idea emerges in the theories of performativity that are more openly engaging with our relations in the world.

The notion of performativity opens up our thinking concerning the way things may occur: in particular, feelings of being and of becoming; of holding on and going further (Crouch, 2003, 2010). Performativity and embodied practice each provides valuable resources to interpret the ways in which individuals may adjust the significance of things; they also assist in focusing attention on the mechanisms, and their potentiality, through which our participations and feelings may work, and may be affected. Performativity provides a particular focus to the possibility of opening up, in a Deleuzian sense, to the unexpected and the divergent in the 'excess' of multiple possibilities of what people do (Dewsbury, 2000; Crouch, 2010).

There is fluidity between being and becoming, between as we are and how we may become. 'Holding on' is a realization of a state of being that can be found in repeated performance, a return to a feeling of continuity, and occurs in relation to reaching forward, 'going further', in sensation and desire. Thus,

too, performativities relate to performance yet are the unscripted, the slight adjustments in the ways individuals do and may feel about things, for example, through which potential, change and variety may occur: the potentialities of living. Performativity is distinctly precognitive, and can change anticipations and the ways in which things in the world are felt, the emotional character of experience. This, as will emerge, becomes a central complexity surrounding heritage. Performativity, occurring in the gaps of energies, contributes to our understanding of affect, emotions and feeling.

Affect, emotion, feeling

Ideas surrounding what is termed 'affect' and emotion have emerged over recent years across the humanities and social sciences (Gregg and Siegworth, 2010). Geographer Divya Tolia-Kelly (2006, p. 3) aptly summarizes a perspective that engages affect and emotion, pointing towards a relation between the two with an ongoing awareness of contexts transmitted and embedded through wider cultural forms, here in the example of race:

What emerges in the difference between 'emotional' and 'affective' is the sense that the affective represents the ways in which flows of emotion coalesce to form a social phenomenon that is beyond the individual subjective responses, feelings, and sensibilities. Affect also moves us on to a terrain where race as felt identity is immanent to interactions and in that sense, it materializes the felt world.

In a way, affect is an everyday term, as a verb: cold may make us uncomfortable, for example. More recent interest in theorizing affect is in the noun 'affect', a phenomenon or sensation that can effect how we feel, our wellbeing and so on. The affective can occur in things, in other than human life, within ourselves, and between us. We can affect other things, moments of our experience, being and becoming. Crucially, to affect can occur unintentionally, emergent from the energies between and among things. Hence, repetition and ritual, or performance, can bring affects that, in the way of performativity, can effect.

The philosopher Brian Massumi (2002, p. 213) argues in a way that speaks of the uncertainty and non-biddability of performativity's potential affects:

Affect as a whole, then, is the virtual co-presence of potentials, our living bearing numerous possibilities in however modest ways that can merge, co-relate, affect. These potentialities, as unexpected and unimagined possibilities, occur not only in our own self but in our relations with others, including the other than human and materialities

The whole sensing–thinking body of phenomenology is drawn here, with the virtual character of performativity, towards affect. He continues:

The thinking-perceiving body moves out to its outer most edge where it meets another body (materiality, force, energy) and draws it into an interaction into the course of which it locks onto that body's affects (capacities for acting and being acted upon) and translates them into a form that is functional for it (qualities it can recall). A set of affects, a portion of the object's essential dynamism, is drawn in, transferred into the substance of the thinking-perceiving body. From there it enters new circuits of causality.

(Massumi, 2002, p. 213)

Affect has to do with the intensity of what is possible.

Massumi presents an alternative to Tolia-Kelly in the way that he relates affect and emotion. He writes of affect as more all-embracing than emotions. For him, emotion is only a partial expression of affect, as emotion draws only upon some components of memory and only energizes certain tendencies, though it can encompass the fullness of our experience, as, among these, impulses can remain dormant until another moment, in his meaning of the virtual. In contrast, Tolia-Kelly asks how we can address how emotion and affective character are distinct yet also related: affect as pre-cognate, emotions reflexive. Yet, beyond this, she is particularly concerned to embed emotion in bodily being and argue for attention to the flows, ridges and energies in the way affect happens (Tolia-Kelly, 2006).

With further attention to personal and shared heritage, Davidson et al. (2005, p. 1) draw emotion into histories, deploying a more general notion of emotion:

Clearly, our emotions matter. They affect the way we sense the substance of our past, present and future; all can seem bright, dull or darkened by our emotional outlook... the emotional geographies of our lives are dynamic, transformed by our procession through childhood, adolescence and middle and old age, and by more destabilising events... Whether joyful, heartbreaking or numbing, emotion has the power to transform the shape of our lives, expanding or contracting our horizons, creating new fissures or fixtures we never expected to find.

With what seems a step closer to the feeling of lived reality, Kathleen Stewart (2007) grasps together the complex swirl of experience, its affective character and emotional pulls and renderings, pointing to the key roles of potential in acts and gestures. Gestures are acts of expression rather than merely formulaic, and are thus potentially an expressive poetics: the act of affect. Gesture works

as an active component of feeling and affect. Emotions can have a constitutive character, and here Elizabeth Grosz (1994) adds another twist to how we may possibly make sense of the relations among affect, emotions and feeling:

Having emotions, thinking and feeling, implies a subject; not a coherent subject, but a subject capable of relating feelings, thoughts, living relationally with things, objects and events. We can say 'I know this' in a feeling of knowing. The body, feeling, thinking and being aware of subjectivity are mutually embedded: 'the body the...very "stuff" of subjectivity'.

(1994, p. ix)

In summarizing these rather diverse contributions, my attention is drawn to understanding how these events happen, may become significant, changing or refiguring significances that are felt about things, relations, spaces of life, and in relation to a wider, more popular abstract character that we express in terms such as global adjustments, mediated popular culture, directed ritualistic practices and institutional prescription, including their own broader politics.

With regard to different registers of politics, Brian Massumi (2002) is particularly concerned with affect in terms of the emergence of potentialities in politics in ways that may offer moments of affect that can make modest adjustments rather than necessarily major changes, but which are nonetheless cumulatively significant. This politics is related later in this chapter in terms of a gentler politics through everyday living. Similarly, our meaning of things, experiences, materialities can adjust through our encountering them. This potentiality would seem to concur with Shotter's (1993) notion of practical ontology, as the numerous minutiae of encounter shift and modify our grasp and handling, making sense of things.

Anne Volvey (2012) speaks of how individuals *feel* about the world in order to acknowledge the tactile character of experience. That feeling about the world has an important character, too, of making expression, often in gesture, about being active, live, in the world. This living includes the embodied performativities that occur, are affected and can affect: can influence change as well as respond to it. Meanings, values and attitudes become involved in an ontological reasoning and *feeling* about meaning, valuing, attitudes, mattering. Feelings nudge into moments or ongoing reflections of a thick and relational character, sometimes consciously, sometimes not. The notion of feelings appeals as a means to translate the commingling of moments of encounter as well as encountering absence into a gathered, if uneven, and contingent grasp and reflection of our relationality with and in the world, that speaks of Stewart's (2007) notion of worlding. Her narration of everyday-life situations

explores webs in mutual and multiple relation to the prompts of materialities, matters of race and poverty, others and other than humans, coping and so on.

The energies and affects of the ideas on affect and emotion become mobilized in heritage, particularly as considered in terms of the material and imagined sites of institutionalized, mediated heritage. What we feel to be heritage ranges across the numerous threads of living. Our encounters with heritage in its sites and events are woven into that web of things, that worlding. In previous discussions, I have examined the ways in which earlier utterances, for example in posters and their accompanying texts, are used to voice claims concerning endangered futures, in a way of deploying heritage in new ways, and in considerations of how heritage can be gathered through our contemporary performativities (Crouch and Parker, 2003; Crouch 2010a). In these ways, heritage emerges as something in the contemporary, both in our practices and in recovering heritage into the present. In both cases one focus of attention was community gardening, cultivating small plots of rented land. Heritage in this way may be considered components of identity and belonging.

Tolia-Kelly (2006) summarizes the relation between affect and emotion as being ultimately together and located within a geometrics of power. However, it is suggested that the everyday affects of the geometries of race and so on, considered as the overwhelming social and cultural contexts, can turn attention away from everyday feelings and worlding, performative imagination and creativity. Instead, such wider political contexts, along with representations and other institutional and widely mediated frameworks, may be considered to flicker and inflect rather than control and constrain (Crouch, 2010). In terms of getting on with everyday life, intimate human relations, cultivating a piece of land, playing sport and having a drink may largely do without such coarsely grained enframing. Crang and Tolia-Kelly (2010) do, however, acknowledge as important the multiple and varied affectivities surrounding the matter of race, such as experiencing and feeling our relations with heritage, as in sites, events, in terms of different personal heritages. Yet, in acknowledging ethnicity, backgrounds and experiences such as these, there is an accommodation with the potential variability of participation and affect, and their effect upon meaning, values and attitudes towards things and events, in a gentler everyday politics.

In this sense, our capacity, through affect, emotion and feeling, to affect our surrounding materiality, such as heritage sites, becomes constrained. In making more room for human creativity and affectivity, the potentialities become enlarged in emotions, in feeling, in ways that go beyond the political. Values, attitudes and meanings remain, however, often affected by visits to heritage sites, in a kind of gentle politics of stirred concern and in the realization of unexpected combinations of oppression and beauty, in however subtle a way. However, Raymond Williams (1973), the cultural theorist, narrated his own very direct experience of visiting the so-called grand houses and gardens of the

English aristocracy in terms of unavoidably being reminded of slavery, exploitation of the poor and so on, in a coarser grain of politics. Heritage officialese can, then, be resisted and subverted. However, the notion of gentle politics suggests that there are a myriad of other potentialities through which heritage, in sites or events, can be produced through our own experience or participation. This plots a more subtle path that complements a bigger, more strident politics. Some of these possibilities and the character of their process are considered in the following section through an attention to the spacetimes of heritage. A more variable, open, explorative, uncertain and tentative way in which we are part of a world of things, movements, materials and life is addressed; its openings and closures, part openings in mixtures engaged in living, suggest something in the nature of flirting.

Affect, feeling, knowing: Heritage and spacetimes of heritage

In terms of space, spaces of possibility open. This can be exemplified in the way in which we can come across very familiar sites and find new juxtapositions of materials, materialities and feelings, as it were, 'unawares', without prior prescription. The emergence of such significance in feeling and feelings occurs in a process of performativity that can, in terms of space, be considered as flirting. We 'flirt with space', or place, though the latter is often over-laden with notions of fixity and a culturally infringed notion of 'genus loci'. I have suggested a character of flirting in terms of energies of and between things, and the apparent human need to hold on to some value or meaning of space. Lives, energies in the widest sense, and time are, however, not fixed. We flirt with space in journeys of our lives, in varying trajectories of time and in the movement or vitality of things; our feeling and intensity. Journeys are coloured by their commingling relationality with space, and vice versa. Space and journeys commingle as felt, imagined and projected. Journeying in this sense is material and metaphorical; journeys are in the liveliness of energies that we may discover happening. We discover also a desire for openness, becoming: of 'going further', forward or elsewhere. This going may be realized for some with the help of a material journey of objective distance, or can happen within ourselves.

Thinking through how, in terms of space-making in everyday ('mundane') activity and moments of this and that, of habituality and variety, these become fragments or planes of context in our futures inevitably raises the question of how the familiar or the prefigured, for example, can become displaced, adjusted or unsettled. Following Stewart's articulation of worlding, through our participations with heritage we cope, resolve, suffer, celebrate the way things feel (Stewart, 2007; 2010). In thinking around space, the 'things' are the complexity of memories and sites, thus spacetimes, and a much wider world of

events, interactions and relations, and so on. There is in this experience a kind of texture of things and their affect and affects, which occur in ways that are variable at any moment and in any time trajectory. Stewart refers to these as atmospheres, and our attunement to these does not necessarily suggest resolution.

Heritage participates, as we participate, in cultural and geographical feeling and meaning. What a particular site 'is', and how it *feels*, can become highly variable. What space 'is' and how it occurs are crucially rendered unstable and shifting, with matter and relations in constant process. It may be *felt* to be constant, consistent and uninterrupted, but that feeling is subjective and contingent. The energy and vitality of space that is articulated in the work of Deleuze and Guattari has helped unravel and unwind familiar philosophies of the vitality of things, the multiplicities of influences and the way they work, and in a world of something much more than the result of human construction. In this way they offer a means to rethink the dynamics of space. Subjectivity is not erased but displaced, unsettled, and works within the intensive capacity to affect and to be affected (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004). Their term *spacing* introduces a fresh way of conceptualizing the process-dynamics of the unstable relationality of space/life. Spacing occurs in the gaps of energies among and between things – in their commingling – and thus emerges 'in the middle', the in-between, where as subjects we *participate* in the making of our own recognition of space, with our feelings and senses at work.

Space becomes highly contingent, emergent in the cracks of everyday life, affected by and affecting energies both human and beyond human limits. Any privileging of human subjectivity in relation to anything else is disrupted. Spacing has the potential, or in their language *potentiality*, to be constantly open to change; always *becoming*, rather than settled. Such occurrence of change creates the affect, or its potential. In these respects there is resonance with Massey's (2005) conceptualization of space as always in construction and relational. New encounters, however seemingly familiar, have the potential to open up new relations.

Space can feel 'belonged' through how we express and feel: the combination of relations and practices through which we contribute to the constitution of spaces. Multi-sensual experiences and their immanence and possibility draw the practice and performativity of spacetimes into remembering, presence, absence and loss (Radley, 1990; Wylie, 2009). Belonging and identity are not fixed in a particular spacetime, but draw upon it. Memory of visits to the same site can inflect a human sensibility to the experience in the present. Similarly, encounters with other sites in our lived spacetimes have the capacity to affect the encounter of the present. Affect happening during such a participation can also stir, unsettle and open potentialities of feeling.

Perhaps surprisingly, space turns out to be more useful than the notion of 'place' in explaining the feeling of heritage. Place tends to suggest lasting, secure depth, fixity: the character attributed to particular tourism or heritage sites. Space, in this sense of flirting, offers an openness to the ways in which 'sites' are encountered, participated in, and given value and meaning in relation to our wider lives. The merging, commingling character of sites suggests something never quite complete: ever open to variation. Similarly, landscape is not prefigured: a heritage 'landscape', like any landscape, emerges, occurs, in the expressive poetics of our spacing (Crouch, 2010c).

Considering the complexity and nuance, the complexity beyond subculture, gender, class, ethnicity or other frameworks, marking out intellectual territory as to what constitutes and may be constituted by heritage remains full of potential.

I have written elsewhere that we participate in making our own heritage in acts and feelings of everyday living (Crouch, 2010). The character of heritage occurs relationally, multiply, fluidly and so on; its spaces likewise. Buildings and, for example, particular forms of ritual may lend relative permanency to heritage, but perhaps only within the limits of their formalities. Heritage is surely something much more fluid, diverse, partially participated in and so on. During recent decades, heritage has been opened up considerably, by way of offering different interpretations of things and entertainment, alongside increasing income: animations, performances, more diverse narratives. These, in their presentation and participations, may open, inadvertently, potentialities of affect that in turn may combine, spark and produce the experience of affect. Heritage is part of belonging and identity, but can invoke disorientation as well as offering a feeling of having become. Our participative performativities thus have the potential to be affected by their affect. There is, perhaps, no closure in heritage: no full script, no controlled tour.

Moreover, in this opening and potential shifting of feeling and meaning, values and attitudes can be adjusted towards a re-evaluation of things, a gentle rather than powered politics: a change of atmosphere affecting our regard of and for heritage, both particular and general.

Conclusions and ongoing reflections

To a degree, and in some ways, heritage and our understanding of it has been democratized, perhaps in an effort to reach wider audiences in people's heritage, for example. Few conceptual contributions, other than those by Divya Tolia-Kelly, have as yet acknowledged the affective and its effect on heritage in terms of participation, meaning and values, in complex and nuanced ways. It is no longer possible to make a checklist of pre-identified criteria through which to tick off the characteristics of heritage we thought we knew.

Heritage emerges from these considerations as something much more vital, vibrant, nuanced, contingent and variable than formally and formerly understood. I do not know what a popular meaning of heritage is among Western and Western-influenced individuals, let alone among those cultures influenced less, or not at all, by the West. Yet I caution here on the distinction just made: do we understand only a mainstream-mediated cultural context of experience, value and meaning? In order to get closer to how we may understand that meaning, heritage has been considered in a broader context, *relationally*. Our lives occur relationally with many things: our grasp of self, our relationalities with others and other than human lives, materialities and associated events of numerous kinds and registers. To a degree, this multiplicity is encountered, engaged through what we may call 'space': the complex occurrences of materialities that occur around us, and the affects that we participate in relationally with them. This multiplicity of affects and affective can effect our meanings, attitudes – and feelings, and be, in turn, influenced by those feelings. I eschew a linear reasoning of our coming to heritage with a particular kind of baggage. Heritage is subtle, nuanced, complex and fluid; a relational part of life.

Matters of emotion and affect work towards a grasp of feeling in the ways in which we encounter, receive, make and constitute heritage relationally with wider encounters of space and spacetimes. The complexity of our experience of spacing contributes to the feeling of heritage and our practical ontologies, if such a relation happens. Our personal and collective heritage components are worked, and maybe worked out, through our relationality with the material world, each other and so on: those parts of our individual and shared histories of which we may be aware, for example, flirting with space, with feelings foregrounded.

Matters of culture, of individual and shared relational participations in heritage, have the potential of affect upon, and being affected by, heritage, and heritage emerges from this as diverse, multiple, and open to mutual, complex and contradicting affects in the complexity of our feelings. We bring to our participation in heritage a multiplicity of things, because heritage is not detached from the rest of our living, but bound up with it, so that 'bringing' is related to our affective experience, our emotion and feeling. Our consideration of emotions and affect(s) has worked through a notion of the character of feeling: how feeling arises, through the encounter with that which affects, and so on, realizing, however, that affect cannot be tied down in conventional linearities. Representations of heritage, its sites and events, stories and performances continue to have purchase. They have affects that can adjust how we feel, and their power and their significance can be affected by us, individually and collectively, at the moment of our participation and beyond. Therefore, we can bring something to what the heritage *is* and can actually mean and become.

References

- Bachelard, G. (1994) *The Poetics of Space* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press).
- Burkitt, I. (1999) *Bodies of Thought: Embodiment, Identity and Modernity* (London: Sage).
- Casey, E. (1993) *Getting Back into Place: Towards a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- Casey, E. (2005) *Earth-Mapping: Artists Reshaping Landscape* (Wisconsin: University of Minnesota Press).
- Crang, M. A. and Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2010) 'Nation, Race and Affect: Senses and Sensibilities at National Heritage Sites', *Environment and Planning A*, 42, 2315–31.
- Crouch, D. (2001) 'Spatialities and the Feeling of Doing', *Social and Cultural Geographies*, 2(1), 61–75.
- Crouch, D. (2003) 'Spacing, Performance and Becoming: The Tangle of the Mundane', *Environment and Planning A*, 35, 1945–60.
- Crouch, D. (2010a) 'The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 57–74.
- Crouch, D. (2010b) *Flirting with Space: Journeys and Creativity* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Crouch, D. (2010c) 'Flirting with Space: Thinking Landscape Relationally', *Cultural Geographies*, 17(1), 5–18.
- Crouch, D. and Parker, M. (2003) 'Digging-Up Utopia? Space, Memory and Land Use Heritage', *Geoforum*, 34(3), 395–408.
- Davidson, J., Bondi, L. and Smith, M. (eds) (2005) *Emotional Geographies* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (2004) *A Thousand Plateaus* (London: Continuum).
- Dewsbury, J.-D. (2000) 'Performativity and the Event: Enacting a Philosophy of Difference', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18, 473–96.
- Game, A. (1991) *Undoing the Social: Towards a Deconstructive Sociology* (Buckingham: Open University Press).
- Gregg, M. and Seigworth, G. (eds) (2010) *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press).
- Grosz, E. (1994) *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington Indiana University Press).
- Hallam, E. and Ingold, T. (2007) 'Creativity and Cultural Improvisation: An Introduction' in E. Hallam and T. Ingold (eds) *Creativity and Cultural Improvisation* (Oxford: Berg), pp. 1–24.
- Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge).
- Ingold, T. (2007) *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge).
- Ingold, T. (2008) 'Bindings against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World', *Environment and Planning A*, 40(8), 1796–810.
- Massey, D. (2005) *For Space* (London: Sage).
- Massumi, B. in conversation with Zournazi, M. (2002) 'Navigating Movements' in Mary Zournazi (ed.) *Hope: New Philosophies for Change* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press), pp. 210–42.
- Noland, C. (2008) 'Introduction' in C. Noland and S. Ness (eds) *Migrations of Gesture* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press), pp. ix–xxviii.
- Radley, A. (1990) 'Artefacts, Memory and a Sense of the Past' in D. Middleton and D. Edwards (eds) *Collective Remembering* (London: Sage), pp. 46–59.

- Shotter, J. (1993) *The Politics of Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Stewart, K. (2005) 'Cultural Poesis: The Generativity of Emergent', in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: Sage), pp. 1015–30.
- Stewart, K. (2007) *Ordinary Affects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Stewart, K. (2010) 'Atmospheric Attunements', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29, 445–53.
- Taussig, M. (1992) *The Nervous System* (London: Routledge).
- Thrift, N. (2007) 'Overcome by Space: Reworking Foucault' in J. Crampton and Elden (eds) *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 53–8.
- Thrift, N. (2008) *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect* (London: Routledge).
- Tolia-Kelly, D. (2006) 'Affect: An Ethnocentric Encounter?' *Area*, 38(2), 213–17.
- Urry, J. (2011) *The Tourist Gaze*, 3rd edn (London: Sage).
- Volvey, A. (2012) 'Fieldwork: How to Get in(to) Touch. Towards a Haptic Regime of Knowledge in Geography' in M. Paterson and M. Dodge (eds) *Touching Space, Placing Touch* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 103–30.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2010) *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Williams, R. (1973) *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus).
- Wylie, J. (2009) 'Landscape, Absence and the Geographies of Love', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(3), 275–89.

11

Heritage and Memory

Joy Sather-Wagstaff

'Memory' eludes any neat definition. It is as difficult to define as it is for any one of us to stop and consciously note its use as we engage, as part of our human being-ness, in our everyday memorywork of collecting, recollecting and employing knowledge gained through experiences in and of the past. In human practice, memory, perhaps at its most basic, may be defined as acts of recounting or remembering experienced events, a conceptualization of memory as something intangible but performed in some manner over space and time. Yet memory is also simultaneously agentic in that it is an aspect of the social construction, production and performance of everyday, lived social life which, by extension, includes heritage and identity. This is memory manifested through forms of memorywork, ranging from individual reverie and oral narratives to physical individual or collective performances such as dance or the enactment of daily routines, secular and religious rituals, or festival celebrations.

Heritage and memory share many characteristics, and it is these similarities, along with their symbiotic and dynamic relationships to one another in social life, that ground the overarching framework for this chapter. Heritage and memory are similar in that they are productively synergistic by way of myriad forms of communication; we simultaneously share and produce memories with others through various narrative and activity modes, while heritage is also shared and produced through narratives, engagement with landscapes, performance and other endeavours. As such, they are also individually and collectively experiential and require sustained social, interpersonal interaction in order to endure. Memory and heritage in practice are both partial, subjective, contested, political, subject to particular historical contexts and conditions, and thus dynamically changing – never fixed and static. Perhaps most importantly, heritage, understood as a social and discursive construction, simply cannot exist without individual and collective memory and memorywork-in-action in the everyday world. If heritage

is that from the past which groups consider important to remember and re-remember as part of crafting and articulating various identities in the present, then memory and memorywork are intrinsic, constitutive properties of heritage.

The study of memory has been and continues to be centred in the disciplines of, and subdisciplines within, anthropology, cognitive neuroscience, cultural geography, history, philosophy, psychology, semiotics and sociology, with 'memory studies' currently recognized as a largely interdisciplinary field of research. Historically, philosophy has grounded enquiry into the metaphysical nature of memory, psychology the developmental aspects, and neuroscience the biological underpinnings and actual physiological mechanisms that make memorywork possible. For the sake of brevity, this chapter focuses on approaches to and theories on memory and memorywork primarily from disciplines in the social sciences and humanities.¹ To begin with, scholarly work in heritage studies today on the relationships between memory and heritage is implicitly or explicitly informed by foundational approaches to memory and memorywork. Selected historical foundations are discussed first, followed by a presentation of selected key issues and themes and case study synopses, concluding with observations on a few future directions for interrogating the relationships between memory and heritage.

Selected foundations

Given that heritage is shared by groups of people, the foundational frameworks for understanding its iterations as well as the role that memory plays in heritage largely come from scholarly work on collective memory. I briefly address here the work of Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Connerton and James Wertsch, all memory scholars, and Raphael Samuel, a key early heritage studies scholar addressing memory.² The contributions from these scholars discussed here inform the selected current issues, themes and case studies presented in the following sections on memory and heritage, including the nature of memory, history versus memory, embodiment and difficult heritage. A singular contribution that crosses all of these scholars' work is that enduring memory, for the most part, is that which is shared collectively in some manner with others through lived social contexts, be it with friends, family, local community or nation.

Halbwachs, one of the earliest scholars to formulate entire works on collective memory in the early twentieth century, first and foremost argued that a 'collective', group formation is necessary to the existence of memory:

What makes memories hang together is not that they are contiguous in time: it is rather that they are part of a totality of thoughts common to a group

of people with whom we have a relation at this moment, or with whom we have had a relation on the preceding day or days.

(1994, p. 52)

While this has been criticized for presuming complete group homogeneity, it does support an understanding of memory as an integrated system of people, places, things and actions rather than solely an individual endeavour. Memory in practice, like heritage, thus 'confines and binds our most intimate remembrances to each other' (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 53) in a systemic and integrated fashion. Halbwachs also draws our attention to the role of landscapes in memory, in terms of both experienced places and how they persist in memory as 'those who leave these places without seeing them again, who are not involved in the [ongoing] process of their transformation... soon create a symbolic representation of these places' (1994, p. 205).

Connerton's (1989) theorization of embodied social memory is influential on how we think about the relationship of memory to heritage and the body. For Connerton (1989), a social anthropologist, embodied memory is that which is constructed and reproduced behaviourally through the body as performed in specific social contexts. Likewise, since 'we experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects', the ability to recall such bodily experiences as memories in turn affects our experiences in the present, a form of incorporated memory (Connerton, 1989, p. 2). This is related to his notion of inscribed memory as material objects, such as texts or architectural structures, that are considered to be literally inscribed with memory, a container model for memory that, as discussed in the next section, is challenged by other scholars.

Wertsch (2004) brings together key ideas from Connerton and Halbwachs and other memory scholars with theories, analytical methods and perspectives from semiotics to critically evaluate distinctions between collective memory and history, collective and individual memory, and the consumption of memory and historical narratives. A major contribution that he makes to heritage studies is the idea of both collective and individual memory being mediated by narratives (in a broad sense, both textual and performed) constructed by others rather than just 'being grounded in the direct, immediate experience of events' (Wertsch, 2004, p. 5). This notion of memory mediation is implicit in the work of Samuel, who critically interrogates perceptions that heritage itself is overly constructed, if not controlled, by historical narratives, reconstructions and other forms of official 'retrofitting' (2012 [1994], p. 51). These contributions from Wertsch and Samuel inform current debates over the production and representation of heritage and memory as well as the importance of embodied action as key to memorywork for heritage.

Memory in heritage studies: Selected theoretical issues and current key themes

A number of critical debates over the nature of memory and multiple roles that memory and memorywork play in the production and performance of heritage have emerged over the last few decades. While representing only a small selection from a wide array of issues and themes regarding memory and heritage, this section provides a brief overview of two critical theoretical issues that inform approaches to memory and two related key themes from contemporary work. The issues and themes briefly discussed here centre on the ontology of memory and the relationships of memory and memorywork to history, space/place, embodiment and difficult heritage. At the end of this chapter, some of these issues are revisited as they relate to emergent and further future directions for research on memory in heritage studies and practice.

Issues – history versus memory, container models for memory

Tensions between history and memory, both as theoretical concepts and as performed social constructs, persist, both explicitly and implicitly, in scholarly works on memory (Wertsch 2004). There has existed a tendency for some, but not all, historians to view memory as untrustworthy or, at a minimum, undependable due to its subjective, dynamic and partial nature versus ‘history’ as a presumably objective, fully documented and complete accounting of the past. In this perspective, memory is that which ‘stands between the present and the past’, and it is thus the role of historians to ‘destroy or at least transcend memory by creating history’ (Gable and Handler, 2007, p. 52). Nora’s critique of a conflict-laden, oppositional structuring of history versus memory, where ‘history is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to destroy it’ (1989, p. 9), brings into sharp focus the promises of memory as an enduring human characteristic. Memory here is not a more ‘base’ form of knowledge compared with the analytical and ‘professional’ production of historical narratives that are presumably based upon tangible evidence.

There is a similarity between history and performed historical consciousness as memory, given that both these forms of knowledge about the past arise from selective social processes. For Trouillot, history is the always incomplete ‘facts of the matter... “what happened”’ and memory derives from a socially sanctioned, likewise selective ‘narrative of those facts ... “that which is said to have happened”’ (1995, p. 2). The ‘facts of the matter’ refer to the actual events of the past, which can only be known through partial, primarily material traces, whereas ‘narrative’ is formed through the heavily mediated social knowledge of events. Trouillot also cogently draws our attention to the silencing of subjugated knowledge in the power-laden creation of ‘official’ representations of the past – that which we think of as ‘History’. Bodnar complicates this

matter further, arguing that public (collective) memory is constructed at the intersection of 'official' (dogmatic, homogeneous and authorized) histories or 'History' and 'vernacular cultural expressions' (1992, p. 13) that are often multiple and highly local and whose characteristics embody the performed aspects of memory and heritage in the everyday.

Memory, heritage and history are also too often conceptualized, and even reified, as 'things' encoded or contained in material culture forms, be they in the built or natural environment, such as monuments, houses, mountains, ruins and even vegetation (Küchler, 1993), or other tangible artefacts such as artworks or clothing. For example, Linenthal (1995) describes traces of ghetto walls in Eastern Europe as 'places of memory' for the Holocaust and of pre-Holocaust Jewish life, both key aspects to the heritage of the Second World War. In contrast, Gillis (1994) criticizes such reification of memory and history and, by extension, heritage and identity as material objects and urges us to look instead at how engagement with material objects in space and over time plays a role in the active social mediation and performance of memory. Nora (1989) likewise notes that memory relies heavily on material traces as triggers, yet memory itself is not a 'thing' imbedded in or on material objects.

Trouillot provides another critique of storage models of memory (and history for that matter), noting that research in neuroscience and psychology disrupts theories that consider memories to be 'discrete [and complete sets of] representations stored in a cabinet... generally accurate and accessible at will', and that, instead, humans have both implicit and explicit memory systems (1995, p. 14). He proceeds to argue that, if memories, as key components of individuals' histories and identities, are partial, changing and constructed, then there cannot exist any fixed and fully retrievable past – the past 'is only past because there is a present' (Trouillot, 1995, p. 15). Understanding the highly complex social and political machinery of memory and heritage-making requires a turn away from positioning either as inherently auto-encoded on the landscape or in objects (Küchler, 1993) and towards attending to the social processes of memory and remembering that involve both the tangible and the intangible. One arena in which this is possible is through attention to embodied engagement with artefacts and places as modes for memorywork, a means of viewing places and objects as triggers or precipitants *for* memory and heritage-making rather than *of* memory and heritage as objects themselves.

Themes – difficult heritage: History, place, body and memory

While heritage in general is most often associated with the positive achievements of humankind, since the late 1990s attention has increasingly turned to the role of memory regarding the dark side of human heritage – the negative, brutal, violent and destructive side of humanity – from international and civil wars, colonial violence, slavery and genocide to human-made disasters

and terrorist acts. This phenomenon has been called by many names, including 'difficult heritage' (Logan and Reeves, 2009; Macdonald, 2009), 'dissonant heritage' (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996), a 'heritage that hurts' (Schofield et al., 2002; Sather-Wagstaff, 2011) and 'negative heritage' (Meskell, 2002).³ Such dark heritage is grounded in 'difficult knowledge' (Lehrer et al., 2011), represented by landscapes, artefacts, memories and histories – individual and collective, official, public and vernacular – whose meanings are often highly contested. In addition to such human-made phenomena, natural disasters such as the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, Hurricane Katrina in 2005 or the China and Haiti earthquakes of 2008 and 2010, respectively, may also be considered a part of dark heritage. The aftermaths of such disasters engender dark heritage not only through ritualistic public memorialization of lost lives and landscapes, but the multiplied loss of such due to pre-existing structural violence in the forms of post-colonial or post-regime impoverishment and social, economic or political disenfranchisement, often based on race, gender or ethnicity.

Concern over difficult heritage arises from a number of themes centred on memory and memorywork's relationships to official, public and vernacular histories as well as representation at difficult heritage sites. Issues include concerns with the formal establishment and management of memorial sites, from 'memory distortion' and a politicized manipulation of 'official' history by authorities (Logan and Reeves, 2009) to problems with the establishment and management of sites, given understandings of memory as heterogeneous, unstable and contestable (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Other critical issues include the commodification and 'touristification' of memorialization, the politics of interpretation and tensions over representations that rely heavily upon bodily, experiential encounter in shaping memories produced through memorial heritage sites (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011). Forms of representation that align more closely with traditional cognitively centred notions of historical texts are often considered to be more 'authentic' than 'edutainment' multimedia content that derives from more contemporary technologies of representation. Landsberg (2004) challenges such notions, arguing for a powerful concept of 'prosthetic memory' as a form of memory that emerges from fully embodied engagement with experiential media at difficult sites as a form of second-hand witnessing. Such embodied engagement has the potential to transform visitors by generating empathic understandings of others' historical experiences and thus productively working towards meeting the mission of many difficult heritage sites: that, to the best of our faculties, we work to never forget what happened, nor do we allow it to occur again.

All of these themes are highly salient for existing and future research, given that a small number of 'difficult sites' have already been designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites, including Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial and West African slave route sites, all of which are now

established tourist destinations. Others are currently proposed for UNESCO listing, such as the Bethel Baptist Church and 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, key settings for the US Civil Rights Movement, both of which were violently bombed and then restored. And, beyond concern over interpretation at sites of difficult heritage, there are pressing issues surrounding the precariousness of living memory over time as witnesses and survivors of the dark events in human history pass on.

Case studies: Memory, landscapes, embodiment, difficult heritage

The case study synopses presented here from Tolia-Kelly (2004), Smith (2006) and Winter (2004) were chosen because all of these scholars engage in some manner with each of the themes discussed above. They also do so as part of a larger body of diverse works that represent a 'critical heritage studies' perspective. A critical heritage studies approach foundationally questions the primacy of dominant, 'authorized heritage discourses' (Smith, 2006) and heritage identification and preservation in both heritage studies and practice, shifting our focus to research that

addresses the ways in which existing [heritage] practices underwrite structures of power, injustice and inequality... pays close attention to the intersections of power, identity and knowledge under conditions of globalization, transnationalism, colonialism and postcolonialism... addresses class, gender, race, the disempowered, citizenship and other current issues through methodologies such as ethnography and critical discourse analysis.

(Silverman, 2012, p. 4)

Each of these case studies is similar in that they all demonstrate that memory, as a part of heritage, is 'as much as anything, a political act and we need to ask serious questions about the power relations that "heritage" has all too often been invoked to sustain' (Association of Critical Heritage Studies, 2011).

While each of these case studies may seem quite different from the others, they all share three additional similarities in terms of themes within a critical heritage approach. Each addresses the roles of memory and memorywork for heritage-making related to places in the context of multiple landscapes over time and/or space and in understanding political, racial and economic power injustices or inequalities rooted in historical specificities of post-colonialism and/or violence (direct conflict, such as war, or structural violence, such as that resulting from economic disaster). Each also employs field-based qualitative research methods that are grounded in actual personal interaction and engagement with individuals in their lived social contexts. All three case studies also centre on the importance of bodily engagement with tangible material

culture as memory triggers, be it in the form of the built environment (even once eradicated) or artefacts, the intangibles of memorywork or the relationships between tangible landscapes and intangible heritage. These works also all address what could be considered 'difficult heritage'.

Precipitants of re-memory through domestic material and visual culture

Tolia-Kelly addresses the role that visual and material culture play as prompts for memory and 're-memory' generated by British South Asian women in their domestic spaces, arguing for the role of such in South Asian 'discourses of heritage, race and cultural identity' in the post-colonial diaspora (2004, p. 314–16). She builds her argument upon three key concepts, the first of which is Samuel's (2012, [1994]) notion that home-spaces are key sites for the construction of histories and memories in the present, both individual and collective, while also expanding notions of 'home' in the diaspora by complicating distinctions between home as a structure of current residence and that of place of origin. Second, she fleshes out the concept of 're-memory' (as found in Toni Morrison's 1987 novel *Beloved*) as that which is 'about a sense of self beyond a linear narrative of events', is facilitated by the bodily senses, is socially generated by kin and friends and is experienced in everyday life, thus sustaining a 'sense of self that temporally connects to social heritage, genealogy, and acts as a resource for identification with place' (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, p. 316). Third, she takes as foundational Gilroy's (1993) theory that memorywork can act as a form of counter-history, disrupting, complicating and contesting dominant racialized (and gendered) cultural politics and thus exclusionary British discourses on nation, heritage and landscapes.

Methodologically, Tolia-Kelly engaged with two groups of South Asian women in North London over the course of ten weeks, implementing group interviews, meetings where the women brought items from their homes, and individual tours of the women's homes. Focal visual and material culture in the home included Hindu *mandirs* (home shrines), collections of religious relics and colourful iconography, family photographs and objects representing special moments and events, that accrued 'layers of meaning' through the constant addition of items over time, becoming dynamic 'collages of social and spiritual life' (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, pp. 319–20). Curios (such as engraved metal plates or sculptures) bought while migrating through East Africa formed another category of domestic visual and material culture. These curios were considered by the women to be common tourist commodities when they lived in East Africa, but within their London households they became transformed into highly valued objects, 'refracting memories of other lived landscapes' and thus forming a component part in the making of dynamic, multi-sited post-colonial identities (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, p. 324). These precipitates of re-memory grounded in the

domestic sphere engender senses of both loss and belonging; re-memory itself as daily practice is 'critical in the politics of identification', which is, in turn, critical in the 'contemporary global politics of migration, race, and heritage' (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, p. 323).

Heritage wiped clean?

Smith's (2006) case study explores how residents of a town in Northern England employ memory to articulate a cultural heritage in order to redefine local identities and community cohesion that contests dominant definitions of 'heritage' itself. Once a primarily coal-mining town until a major strike in the mid-1980s, by the 1990s Castleford, West Yorkshire, had lost not only the coal industry but also many of its other industries that had constituted the economic infrastructure of the town since the eighteenth century but whose decline had begun with post-war changes in industrialization. The built environment of these industries (housing, factories, pits, machinery, etc.) was razed and redeveloped, leaving a landscape quite literally 'wiped clean' (Smith, 2006, p. 237) of any evidence of the town's mining past or other industries. The erasure of these 'traditional', most recognizable forms of industrial heritage leaves Castleford, to some, as a place of 'no heritage', yet residents are continually making and remaking place and community through memories of the intangibles of the past as well as the physical activities that once took place in the spaces of the town (Smith, 2006).

In 2000, the Castleford Heritage Trust (CHT) was created as a part of an economic redevelopment agenda for the town, organizing a number of projects centred on heritage. Smith's work (2006) involved participation with the CHT and Castleford residents as well as interviews and surveys with residents and visitors at the Castleford Festival. As a result of her work with residents and visitors, Smith argues that the hardships of the industrialized past are not romanticized in the process of creating and articulating a Castleford heritage in the present; rather, the focus is on values derived from memories of the 'community camaraderie associated with mining communities' and crafting a similar, yet new, cohesive community identity in the present as key to the town's social and economic success (Smith, 2006, p. 245). 'Friendliness', as a core aspect of a sense of community, was indeed one of the most common memories for residents, as were the days of shopping and social networking with one another at the old market hall that is now used as a local heritage exhibition space (Smith, 2006).

Even though most of the material traces of the industrial past have been eradicated, some do endure, including trade union banners once hung at the coal pits, which are displayed during events and festivals (Smith, 2006, p. 257). While residents value the pit banners as triggers for memories of the past,

memorywork also occurs ‘without the object that may give that process an anchor in the physical world’, such as a factory now demolished (Smith, 2006, pp. 262–4). Likewise, some material traces remain but have been repurposed, such as the old market hall, engendering remembrances of lively public activities of the past. Ultimately, heritage in Castleford is the present, active and ongoing ‘performance of remembering’ in everyday landscapes and at special events, (re-)creating and situating the community within a much deeper ‘context of the traumas and dislocations’ resulting from deindustrialization, the loss of the coal mines and economic deprivation (Smith, 2006, p. 272).

Embodied memory versus monumentalism at Angkor, Cambodia

Winter (2004) addresses the tensions between positions on the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Angkor as monumental culture of the past and those on the site as a living, productive space that, for Khmer tourists, evokes memories of the dark times of the latter half of the twentieth century. He focuses on memories of the physical and metaphorical landscapes of Angkor and the political and economic hardships of the past in order to demonstrate how ‘traumatic historical events of a nation are simultaneously re-appropriated, remembered and forgotten’ through the experiences of being a tourist at the site (Winter, 2004, p. 343). The landscapes of Angkor have long been a key part of imagining Cambodian national heritage for political purposes, a heritage based primarily upon the rise and fall of the wealthy and powerful Angkorean Empire of roughly the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. Since independence from France in 1953, Cambodian political history has been one of instability, with civil war, authoritarian rule, US interventions, Vietnamese occupation, and the Khmer Rouge regime characterizing the political landscape until the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in the 1990s. During the period of the Khmer Rouge alone, Maoist-influenced programs of forced migration and the implementation of labour camps, torture, imprisonments and failed agrarian projects led to the deaths of millions and an impoverished, immobilized population (Winter, 2004, pp. 338–9).

It is this horrific past that the tourists at Angkor remember most lucidly; this is a very real, lived history rather than something external to themselves to be erased through monumentalism. This past is a part of their being/experiences in the world and at the site it is re-experienced through ‘emotion . . . the immanence of ancestors’ and an insistence on remembering violent pasts (Byrne, 2009, p. 249). The notion of ‘being’ is critical to Winter’s work as he draws on Heidegger’s notion of *Dasein*, in which the ‘temporalities of history’ are not abstract but made real through being-ness in the world and in this case, performed through visitors’ embodied experiences and memorywork at the Angkor site (2004, pp. 331–43). During the four-day New Year festival period in 2001, Winter collected narratives of tourists’ experiences at Angkor and memories of

the past through conversations with Khmer visitors at the site and interviews with monks at monasteries in the Angkor Thom temple complex (2004, p. 336). The visitors to Angkor engaged in multiple activities at the site, blending visits to temples and monasteries for prayer and to donate money or food with typical holiday leisure pursuits such as swimming, sightseeing and picnicking (Winter, 2004, p. 337–42).

The memorywork these tourists engaged in involved reflecting on their embodied experiences at Angkor during the Khmer New Year festival. This reflection led to salient comparisons of the past with the present that ‘symbolize a recovery from the social, political and economic forms of oppression’, specifically that of the brutal Khmer Rouge regime (Winter, 2004, pp. 336–7). A number of the tourists explicitly utilized the words ‘dark years’ in specific reference to the restrictive and brutal years of the Khmer Rouge and additional multiple generations of violence, contrasting those periods with the ability in the present to travel to Angkor and engage in once-forbidden leisure and religious activities with friends and family (Winter, 2004, pp. 338–40). Winter argues that these tourists’ narratives demonstrate how, through their experiences during the festival period of a recently reclaimed sociality in the context of their memories of a devastating and restrictive history, a ‘sense of a nation in socioeconomic and cultural recovery is collectively articulated’ (2004, p. 340). As such, Angkor must be understood as a living site for living heritage contributing to the dynamic constitution of multiple identities, not simply a monumental landscape representing a glorious, fixed past for which the only concern is preservation (Winter, 2004, p. 344).

Into the future: Continuing and emerging directions

A focus on actual memories, active remembering and the dissemination of memories as a part of lived, everyday human experiences is fundamental to a truly critical heritage studies. The richest and most complex works on the relationships between memory, memorywork and heritage are grounded, like those in the case studies presented above, in methodologies that engage with lived human experience rather than just observational methods or object, landscape or textual analysis. However, many of the current and future methodological challenges to interrogating the embodied relationships between memory and heritage centre on the use of current and future digital technologies. Wertsch (2004) aptly noted that the internet, from its emergence into the present and future, has already changed some of our modes for memory-making and will continue to do so. Regarding the internet as a new mediating tool, he asks: ‘who did [does] the remembering?’ (Wertsch, 2004, p. 11). Digital media and virtual worlds have also transformed the ways in which we disseminate heritage, memories and memory precipitants.

These technological changes generate many challenges and questions for scholars who focus on the embodied aspects of memorywork and heritage construction and performance as addressed in this chapter. Further attending to the roles of the sensory, affective and emotional in embodied memory and memorywork and the performative aspects of memory-making requires thinking critically about alternative mobilities beyond or integrated with those of diasporic immigrants, village locals or domestic tourists, as discussed in the previous section. It also requires us to interrogate the relationships between lived memory and heritage as mediated by virtual representations of heritage (Ferguson et al., 2010), understanding that, while virtual worlds 'create always expanding possibilities for disembodied sociality, embodiment remains crucial' (Whitehead and Wesch, 2012, p. 3).

In closing, let us imagine a scenario. A teenaged Indian American girl lives in a mid-western town in the US where no one teaches classical Indian dance. She thus takes weekly Kuchipudi lessons from a master teacher in Texas via online, streaming two-way video. She is alone in her performance space, while the teacher is with several students at an Indian dance academy studio in suburban Houston. Questions that may arise are: Does this student have the same physical experience as the Houston students do in terms of the experience of dancing communally as a group? Does she engage in the spiritual aspects of the dance in the same ways that they do? While she trains her body memory for the moves and gestures as they do, does learning and practising these via video enable the same body memory of group participation and learning? What may be missing (or not) in term of the sensory aspects of learning to embody and perform heritage through dance? What about a possible lack of appreciation in her home community for learning and performing Indian dance as a form of aesthetic and religious heritage? We must meet the challenge of such questions by continuing to interrogate how the digital world mediates and transforms the everyday production of heritage through similar, different or even novel forms of memorywork, particularly that which is grounded in the sensory and embodied.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported in part by National Science Foundation Grant # HRD-0811239 to the NDSU Advance FORWARD program.

Notes

1. For an exceptional overview of memory studies from neurobiology, neuroscience, psychology and psychobiology, see the four chapters by Kennedy, Rose, Sutton, Harris and Barnier, and Caygill in 'Section 2: How Memory Works' in Radstone and Schwarz (2010).

2. Halbwachs (1877–1945) was a French sociologist, Connerton is a British social anthropologist, Samuel (1934–1996) was a British historian and Wertsch is a North American cultural anthropologist.
3. It is important to note here that all heritage is contested and thus can be dissonant, but heritage grounded in human tragedy and atrocities is particularly so because it ‘renders more serious what otherwise would be dismissed as [possibly] marginal or trivial’ (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005, p. 254).

References

- Ashworth, G. and Hartmann, R. (2005) ‘The Management of Horror and Human Tragedy’ in G. Ashworth and R. Hartmann (eds) *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocity for Tourism* (New York: Cognizant Communications), pp. 253–62.
- Association of Critical Heritage Studies (2011) *Association of Critical Heritage Studies Manifesto*. Available from: <http://archanth.anu.edu.au/heritage-museum-studies/association-critical-heritage-studies>, accessed 10 November 2012.
- Bodnar, J. (1992) *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Byrne, D. (2009) ‘A Critique of Unfeeling Heritage’ in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage* (New York: Routledge), pp. 229–52.
- Connerton, P. (1989) *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Ferguson, R., Harrison, R. and Weinbren, D. (2010) ‘Heritage and the Recent and Contemporary Past’ in T. Benton (ed.) *Understanding Heritage and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 277–315.
- Gable, E. and Handler, R. (2007) ‘Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, USA’ in A. K. Levin (ed.) *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America’s Changing Communities* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira), pp. 47–62.
- Gillis, J. (ed.) (1994) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
- Halbwachs, M. (1992) *On Collective Memory*, L. A. Coser (ed./trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Küchler, S. (1993) ‘Landscape as Memory: The Mapping of Process and its Representation in Melanesian Society’ in B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape, Politics, and Perspectives* (Providence: Berg), pp. 85–106.
- Landsberg, A. (2004) *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Lehrer, E., Milton, C. E. and Patterson, M. E. (eds) (2011) *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Linenthal, E. (1995) *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America’s Holocaust Museum* (New York: Penguin).
- Logan, W. and Reeves, K. (eds) (2009) *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with ‘Difficult Heritage’* (London/New York: Routledge).
- Macdonald, S. (2009) *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (London/New York: Routledge).

- Meskell, L. (2002) 'Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 75(3), 557–74.
- Morrison, T. (1987) *Beloved* (New York: Knopf).
- Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26, 7–25.
- Radstone, S. and Schwarz, B. (eds) (2010) *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York: Fordham University Press).
- Samuel, R. (2012 [1994]) *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present Contemporary Culture* (London/New York: Verso).
- Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2011) *Heritage That Hurts: Tourists in the Memoriscapes of 11 September* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press).
- Schofield, J., Johnson, W. G. and Beck, C. M. (eds) (2002) *Matériel Culture: The Archaeology of Twentieth-Century Conflict* (London: Routledge).
- Silverman, H. (2012) 'What's in a Name? A Geography of Heritage Revisited', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, iFirst Article (online only), 1–7.
- Smith, L. (2006) *The Uses of Heritage* (London/New York: Routledge).
- Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2004) 'Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-Memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 29(3), 314–29.
- Trouillot, R. (1995) *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press).
- Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley and Sons).
- Wertsch, J. (2004) *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Whitehead, N. L. and Wesch, M. (eds) (2012) *Human No More: Digital Subjectivities, Unhuman Subjects, and the End of Anthropology* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press).
- Winter, T. (2004) 'Landscape, Memory and Heritage: New Year Celebrations at Angkor, Cambodia', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7, 330–45.

12

Heritage and the Visual Arts

Russell Staiff

It is not often one can make universal generalizations, but it is axiomatic that cultural heritage places and the visual arts are inseparable. Whether it is the rock art in Kakadu World Heritage Site in northern Australia, the multiple art works that suffuse the urban fabric of Florence, the bas-relief sculptures of the temples of Angkor in Cambodia, the frescoes in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, the giant sculptures at the temples at Karnak in Egypt, 'heritage' collections of paintings like those of the nineteenth-century painter J. M. W. Turner at the Tate Britain, the frescoes and sculptures at Sigiriya World Heritage Site in central Sri Lanka, or the stained glass and the sculptural programmes of Chartres Cathedral, this virtually inexhaustible list denotes heritage, however conceived, as twinned inextricably with the visual arts.

But the relationship between the two knowledge domains is not a straightforward one. Art history and theory has long enjoyed a disciplinary status that is separate in the Western and Eastern academies from allied disciplines, particularly history, archaeology and architecture, and more recently cinema studies (Cheetham et al., 1998). But this very separation has always been problematic, and since the 1980s there have been a variety of attempts to bring them under the same multidisciplinary umbrella, with terms like 'the visual arts' or 'visual cultures' often being employed (e.g. Aumont, 1997; Mirzoeff, 2002). However, what is interesting about these manoeuvres is that heritage is not, on the whole, part of this disciplinary deckchair-changing. So, while heritage includes the visual arts – here widely defined as images (paintings, drawings, prints, photography, mosaics, stained glass etc.) and sculptural forms (whether two-dimensional or three-dimensional) – the visual arts, at best, perceive heritage as a discourse that draws upon art historical perspectives but is not germane to them. Indeed, the term 'heritage' is rarely found in the index of visual arts texts even when conservation and restoration figure in the discussions (see, for example, Carrier, 1991; Adams, 1996; Nelson and Shiff, 1996; Shone and Stonard, 2013).

Surprisingly, perhaps, the feeling appears to be mutual. Despite this ‘inextricable interweaving’ of heritage places and the visual arts, heritage studies does not address the visual arts in any major way either. However, such a statement immediately invites a number of qualifications. My working definition of the visual arts in this chapter excludes architecture, which is, of course, a major dimension of the material culture to which cultural heritage refers (see, for example, Stubbs, 2009). This omission reflects a dominant strand of the ontological distinctions made within Western visual arts theorization (Minor, 2001; Preziosi, 2009). This definition also, more controversially, excludes cinema, but for no other reason than that I want to concentrate on still images and sculpture as they are embedded in cultural heritage sites and monuments in the manner of the examples I listed at the beginning of this chapter. So it is places like Chartres Cathedral, Assisi and Sukhothai to which I refer, where the visual arts are integral to the identification, classification, nomination, protection, presentation and experience of these sites and places.

Unlike many chapters in this book, there is no major research agenda that brings together heritage and the visual arts; there has been no systematic attempt to draw the two ‘worlds’ together, and there has certainly been no attempt to look at the visual arts from a critical heritage perspective. And yet heritage, however conceived, draws upon art history and theory in numerous ways, so what could have been and could still be a fruitful investigation has been ‘missing in action’. Therefore, my undertaking is quite modest: an attempt to describe, in outline, possible research agendas for a heritage-centric investigation of the visual arts: in other words, to delineate the intersections between the two knowledge practices. What I am *not* intending to do is review art history and theory as a discipline and the research directions *within* the visual arts per se. That is a long way beyond the scope of this book. My attention is focused on heritage discourse and research as the prism for enquiring into the ‘inextricable interweaving’ of heritage places and the visual arts. The description I am rehearsing here is thematic in nature, and the rest of the chapter is organized as a compendium of discrete possible research areas divided into two main parts: (1) the visual arts legacy and (2) the visual arts within contemporary heritage.

The visual arts legacy

The relationship between heritage and history has been oft scrutinized and long debated, and the critics, like David Lowenthal (1998), have regarded heritage as a type of undoing of the history project by fixing the past instead of making it plural, as history claims for itself, something of an open-ended question about contested pasts, plural. Whatever the nature of these debates, one thing is understood: heritage is hinged to history, even if highly problematically. There

is no equivalent scrutiny of the heritage–visual arts relationship, and yet the legacy of the visual arts within heritage discourse and practice is considerable.

Formalism

The language of formal analysis has come to heritage both directly and via architectural history and archaeology, but exactly what the dimensions are of this indebtedness and how they have been translated into heritage discourse, charters, conservation policies and practices, notions of integrity and authenticity, statements of significance and so forth is only generally understood, or is hardly acknowledged at all. There is work to be done here.

Art historians trace the advent of stylistic analysis to the work of Johan Joachim Winckelmann in the eighteenth century and his attempt to distinguish between Greek, Greco-Roman and Roman art. Although he was concerned with establishing Greek Classicism as a superior artistic form and later art productions as decadence, his focus on the formal qualities of Greek Classicism as a mode of argumentation introduced the idea of empirical observation as a descriptive tool that could distinguish art works, artists and periods of time as a manner of enquiry (see an extract in Preziosi, 1998 and 2009). But, as Preziosi (1998) and many others have made clear, Winckelmann was the heir to a very long Western concern for understanding ‘forms’ that not only stretched back to Plato but infused Christian theology from its earliest formulations. By the mid-nineteenth century, art history had become a separate academic discipline, first in Germany and then, by the turn of the century, spreading throughout Europe, the Americas and Asia. Three trends were noticeable: concern with aesthetics, biographical approaches to individual artists (after Giorgio Vasari’s study of the lives of artists in the sixteenth century) and, increasingly, visual analysis being used to devise genres or typologies of art based on materials, regions, artists, historical periods and so on. Formal analysis reached its most meticulous formulation in the writings of Heinrich Wölfflin in the early twentieth century, especially his *Principles of Art History*, published in 1915 (see an extract in Preziosi, 1998 and 2009). Wölfflin made stylistic analysis a foundational and systematic method. The language of style was born; the idea of documenting the visual arts through painstaking visual observations became orthodox; a ‘scientific’ and empirical approach to material culture colonized the art history project, not only in the West but in the East as well. And, despite the critics of the notion of style throughout the twentieth century (see Summers, 2013), and further developments by theorists like Ernst Gombrich (see an extract in Preziosi, 1998 and 2009), the idea of stylistic classifications and narratives of explanation emanating from a visual analysis of the formal properties of an artwork spread from art history into heritage.

The relationship between formal analysis and heritage is not a straightforward one, and the genealogy needs more research. It is obvious that

architectural theory and history (along with archaeology) have also been crucial, but the language of style in architectural studies is synchronous with the visual arts (an example of an architectural study based on formalism is Sthapitanonda and Mertens, 2005). In fact, architecture history has remained, from its inception as a discipline, a constitutive part of art history, so the discursive formations are quite entangled. The art historian Alois Riegl, Wölfflin's contemporary, attempted, for example, a classification of heritage buildings and monuments. The periodization of both artworks and architecture into Western categories like Classical, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Neo-Classical, Romantic, Picturesque, Sublime and Modern are style-dependent ways of perception and analysis (see Stubbs, 2009, for a discussion of this). Codifications based on style continue in other ways. Criteria (iv) of the *World Heritage Convention*, for example, calls to attention building types, and assessing the cultural significance of heritage buildings and monuments often employs style as a mode of comparison and for identifying 'representative exemplars' (see Pearson and Sullivan, 1995). The architectural firm that prepared the World Heritage nomination for Luang Prabang in Laos published a book about the architecture of the city based on stylistic analysis (Artleiers de la Péninsule, 2004). The language of style is writ large in guidebooks to heritage sites. The *Paris Lonely Planet* guidebook (Fallon, 2004) does not only describe the visual arts in terms like Neo-Classical, Impressionism, Cubism and so on; the architecture section is also divided up by style, with sections like Romanesque, Rococo, Art Nouveau and so on. I think the amnesia in heritage studies relates, partly, to unexamined notions of 'form', perception and representation in cultural heritage studies; the visual arts, however, have a long history of interrogating the form/representation relationship (Gombrich, 1960; Summers, 1996, 1998; Aumont, 1997; Wood, 2013).

Iconography

Perhaps the most enduring and significant relationship between the visual arts and heritage is that denoted by the term 'iconography': at its most general, the subject matter or the meaning of works in the visual arts (often viewed, contentiously, in opposition to its style or form). There exist a bundle of words that relate to what Preziosi (1998) calls 'mechanisms of meaning' and that resonate across the two fields of knowledge production: symbolism, signs, interpretation, signification and significance, context, value and representation. In its earliest formulations iconography referred to the relationship between texts (religious, mythological, literary) and renditions in images and sculpture as a means of both explaining the meaning of images/sculptures and problematizing the relationship between different forms of representation. The text/material culture interface was not peculiar to art history – there were

correspondences in archaeology and history – but it received its most complex methodological theorization in the visual arts.

Erwin Panofsky's formulation in the 1930s of a tripartite but interrelated approach to the study of meaning (see an extract in Preziosi, 1998 and 2009) held sway until the impact of semiotics in the 1960s changed the terms of the debate and the application of methods to understanding meaning in the visual arts. Panofsky believed that meaning was deduced (1) by identifying the common-sense understanding of the subject matter, (2) from the texts upon which the artist drew, possibly known to viewers, and (3) from the sociocultural milieu of the object and the symbolism it carried. Today, iconography in the visual arts has a much more general meaning, simply related to the way the subject matter is used, communicated and understood, and is often pitted against the formal characteristics of the work, its design, composition, materials, colour and so forth (Bann, 1996). The effect of semiotics has been profound; it has in many ways taken the analysis of art's meaning to a completely different level that, in turn, has provided the apparatus for connecting the visual arts to visual culture more generally, and to other social and cultural domains where signification has been deemed a powerful process. It has also broken down the boundaries between the visual arts and other knowledge productions, including heritage studies (for semiotics and the visual arts see Bryson, 1991; Potts, 1996; Bal, 1998). The study of semiotics in heritage, however, has been very recent (see Waterton and Watson, 2014) and has not paralleled the developments in the visual arts.

Just what the debt is between iconography in the visual arts and heritage is completely unexplored. One suspects there are deep connections, given the importance of determining significance, meaning and context in the processes of justifying the protection of heritage places and the role of 'protecting the meaning' of sites in conservation praxis. So much of heritage is about visual processes, especially the documentation of heritage places, sites, objects, cultural practices, monuments and landscapes. It is true that vision and visibility apply equally to a host of allied social sciences – geography, architecture, tourism, museum studies – but even in these diverse disciplines the legacy of the thinking that evolved in the visual arts is discernible (see, for example, Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Cosgrove, 1998; Whitley, 2001). One area of heritage research that has more consciously drawn on iconography is interpretation of sites for visitors. In my original attempt to model content selection for heritage visitors, I drew on both iconography and the way semiotics had been applied within museums studies (see Staiff and Bushell, 2003), and in my more recent work on the heritage–tourism dialogic relationship I have again returned explicitly to the work the term 'iconography' can do in our understanding of this dialogism (Staiff, 2013; 2014).

Aesthetics

The visual arts and aesthetics are two conceptual worlds so enmeshed it is difficult to think of one without the other. It is not my purpose to give a history of aesthetics and the way the sociocultural construction, from the ancient Greeks until contemporary times, has provided a language and a discourse for heritage (for a discussion of the various constructions of aesthetics in Western history, see Eco, 2004). I have outlined such a project elsewhere (see Staiff, 2014). What I want to highlight here is the legacy of aesthetics from within an art historical context and the adoption and adaption of this legacy, mostly uncritically, within heritage theory and practice.

Aesthetics almost disappeared in the visual arts in the 1980s and 1990s. For a while it was considered too closely aligned with connoisseurship and the art market. A collection of essays, *Visual Theory* (Bryson et al., 1991), has no reference to aesthetics in the index, and a book of essays by luminaries in the field on critical terms for art history has no chapter on aesthetics (Nelson and Shiff, 1996). Indeed, one of the early texts on postmodernism was originally published under the title *The Anti-Aesthetic* (Foster, 1985). This repression of aesthetics was, to varying degrees, a result of its being deemed inescapably connected with the disembodied, but discerning, eye of the cognoscenti, with the de-historicizing of images and objects and a belief in the transcendence of art: that 'masterpieces' transcended time, place and culture (hence their market value). In contrast to such ideas, the visual arts during the 1980s and 1990s were considered the creatures of specific social, cultural, economic and political environments, whether at the moment of their creation or in their reception (maybe centuries later).

Aesthetics has made a cautious but heavily critiqued come-back for a variety of reasons: the continual (re)construction and circulation of ideas about beauty in contemporary culture; the conscious employment of aesthetics in a number of spheres of representation (art, media, cinema, literature, design, architecture, spectacle etc.) (e.g. see Ndalianis, 2004); and the emergence of theories of affect and embodiment (see, for example, Pallasmaa, 2005; Gregg and Seigworth, 2010). However, in heritage studies, aesthetics never went away, nor has it been the subject of the critical attention it received in the visual and literary arts (see, for example, Carroll, 1987).

The use of aesthetics in heritage praxis is crucial and is often expressed as the 'aesthetic values' of a place, site, monument or landscape. Sometimes this is regarded as 'scenic values', sometimes in relation to the 'integrity' of monuments and urban landscapes, and sometimes the aesthetic attachment of communities to places. Art historical terms like 'picturesque' and 'sublime' are used (and these ideas have complex histories and do not arrive within heritage discourse 'baggage free', despite the illusion that such appellations are somehow neutral). Equally, aesthetics is never far from the mobilization of terms

like 'spirituality' and 'sense of place' (see, for example, the ICOMOS *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place*, 2008), where the experiential dimension of aesthetics is activated.

What is rarely considered in heritage studies is the way Kant and neo-Kantian aesthetics continues to underpin a host of heritage ideas and practices despite the considerable early critique of such ideas in the visual arts (see above) and in sociology (see, for example, Wolff, 1983; Bourdieu, 1984). I will examine just one example of what is potentially a substantial investigation. One legacy of Kant, drawn from his *Critique of Judgment* ([1790] 2007), was the notion of critical distance, of the dis-interested 'eye', of a division between art works themselves, *ergon* (inside the art work) and *parergon* (outside the frame or borders). For Kant, judgment depended on the application of rationality unfettered by emotions, hence the disinterest necessary for critical assessment. But Kant was also interested in that which lay beyond reason, because concepts like beauty and the sublime, for example, lay at, or beyond, the limits of reason (Cheetham, 1998). The residue of Kant's thinking remains powerful and pervasive in heritage praxis: critical distance, aesthetic distinction, *ergon/parergon* and subjectivity.

Modernism

While modernity and heritage have received considerable attention (e.g. Harrison, 2013), the influence of modernism within the visual arts and architecture and, in turn, upon heritage has been relatively mute. Recently, a colleague and I began to explore the various ways heritage and the modernist movement in the visual arts and architecture could be described, but noting how under-researched the interrelationship has been in heritage studies.

It can be argued that by the 1930s within Western visual arts and architecture certain trends and ideas had congealed around what became known as Modernism (see Hughes, 1991; Weston, 2001; Gay, 2007; Lewis, 2007). It is difficult to summarize these without over-generalizing, because Modernism was never a homogeneous 'movement' across the decades or across geographical and political boundaries, and so the trends and ideas I refer to varied in their intensities. In relation to cultural heritage, as it emerged by the middle of the twentieth century, the following is worthy of consideration. There was a rejection of 'traditional' forms and techniques in the visual arts and architecture, accompanied by the advocacy of a radical and revolutionary rupture with the past (and thus the obsolescence of 'tradition', especially in architecture). These tenets went hand in hand with a simultaneous challenge to mimesis and realism (especially in the visual arts) and the espousal of 'freedom of expression' and the creative power of the individual: hence the advent of so-called 'signature styles' as witnessed in the work and lives of Pablo Picasso, Jackson Pollock, Francis Bacon, Frank Lloyd Wright, Frank Gehry and so on. The *avant-garde*,

the description adopted before the coining of the word 'modernism', promoted newness, invention, reinvention, the experimental and explored dissonance, abstraction, primitivism, the 'purity of form' for form's sake, the 'truth' of materiality, technological innovation, and ideas like 'form follows function' to achieve what Robert Hughes (1991) memorably called 'the shock of the new'.

Within Western Modernism there was a focus on the object standing alone, marked out by its singularity and with an aesthetic appeal that was dependent not on a relationship to history and tradition but on the power of its own form. Masterpieces of modern architecture make this point: Jørn Utzon's Sydney Opera House, Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum in New York, Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao and Norman Foster's 'The Gherkin' in London. All of them refer to very little more than themselves – they are celebrated for their singularity of idea and form and their relationship with their individual creators/architects. Another characteristic of Modernism was its international or cosmopolitan perspective, the belief that styles were translatable and transportable to anywhere because the form, by itself, was total and enough. The language and power of Modernism therefore consciously aimed to transcend, to a greater or lesser degree, local urban contexts because its meaning and significance were not deemed to wholly reside there.

All this requires much further research, but it seems to me that the ideology of Western Modernism continues to have a deep influence on the way heritage conservation is conceived and practised, especially by architects who have been mostly schooled within the idiom and aesthetics of Modernism. This can be seen most starkly in the adulation of individual monuments within Western heritage representation and discourse. When Stubbs (2009) imagines a world where monuments like the Taj Mahal, the Parthenon or Hagia Sophia have been lost, he epitomizes this idea. This imagining is hinged to Modernism's notion of the standout object with its own singularity. The criteria for valuing and listing Western heritage take this logic and ideology further. Exceptionalism is a crucial measure of cultural and historical value even when couched in an expression like 'representative example'. In 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 are dense with the language of Modernism: 'outstanding'; 'masterpiece of human genius'; 'unique'; 'exceptional' (UNESCO, 2008).

The visual arts within contemporary heritage

With regard to the ways cultural heritage is perceived, produced, represented, presented and circulated within global flows of information and tourism, the very identity of many heritage monuments and sites depends on the visual

arts component. The Palazzo Pubblico in Siena or the Basilica of San Francesco in Assisi, stripped of their fourteenth-century frescoes, are a rendering unthinkable to those who know these monuments. The visual arts, fused into the fabric of these places, make them an integral part of the buildings' 'standout' qualities, part of the reason why they are deemed worthy of World Heritage status, protection and so forth. But, other than this added weight to the described and documented significance of such places, to the obvious role the visual arts play in what heritage specialists call 'authenticity' (original art works in situ), in what other ways do the visual arts intersect with contemporary heritage? I want to briefly touch on two areas that have received little research attention: quotations and copies, and the conscious manipulation of the visual arts as 'national heritage'. There are other significant intersections, especially between heritage, visual cultures, representation and tourism, and three recent volumes of essays have already opened up both the issues and the research possibilities of these dynamic investigations: Waterton and Watson's *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (2010); Smith et al., *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (2012); and Staiff et al., *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter and Engagement* (2013).

Quotations and copies

The display and the performance potential of the visual arts in heritage places is a well-known experience of place (see the examples above) and there has been some research analysing the various dimensions of this phenomenon. Dicks' study of the production of 'visitability' lays an important foundation for unravelling the cultural forces at work in the production of places for visitors (Dicks, 2003). I have touched on it in a study of intertextuality in Florence, but here the focus was more on history and place experience rather than the visual arts per se (Staiff, 2010). A recent study of the transformation of the major churches in Florence into museums documents the important role the visual arts play within these buildings and within the processes of museumification (Ryde, 2013). And all these studies are indebted, to some degree, to the important work undertaken by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in the 1990s (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998) and to the many studies that have, within the visual arts and within museology, attempted to understand and deconstruct this urge to organize the world as an exhibition, as a view (see Mitchell, 1989; Preziosi, 1989; Bennett, 1995).

What is of interest here? The replication of art works in a variety of contexts within a heritage site constitutes part of the way heritage places are 'produced' by and for visitor engagement. Travelling to the Angkor sites clustered around Siem Reap in Cambodia is a powerful reminder of the role visual arts quotations and copies have in underscoring narrative themes and reinforcing the 'authorized heritage discourse' of Angkor (Smith, 2006), something

that displaces and marginalizes other heritage meanings (Winter, 2007). The bust portrait of Jayavarmin VII, the Buddhist builder-king of Angkor who ruled between 1181 and 1218 CE, is reproduced often and has become an iconic symbol of Angkor. Within the present-day city of Siem Reap it is used in shrines, as monumental public sculpture and in hotel decorations. Just as the statue of Michelangelo's *David* (1504 CE) has become the symbol of (tourist) Florence, the portrait bust of Jayavarmin stands in for the whole of Angkor's history and its material culture. But this is a singular example. In the Golden Temple Hotel, Angkorean monumental art is used as a design feature and is an integral part of the aesthetic ambience of the architectural space. The swimming pool, a central feature of the hotel, has along one wall a reproduction of part of the bas-relief sculpture from Angkor Wat showing the god Shiva and his mount the bull Nandi. The water feature of the pool consists of a sculptural ensemble telling the story of the lotus flower birth of Brahma, the lotus growing from the navel of a reclining Vishnu. This narrative is copied from an Angkorean rock sculpture in the bed of a river in Phnom Kulen National Park. The sculptures are often viewed beneath the flowing waters of the river, hence the selection of this particular scene for the water feature of the swimming pool. Wooden and stone sculptures are used extensively throughout the hotel: Jayavarmin VII, the Buddha, Vishnu and Shiva, along with other decorative details from the Angkor temples, incorporated into what is a very contemporary hotel design. I find this blending of hotel and heritage place intriguing, the extension of heritage spaces into, ostensibly, non-heritage spaces through the visual arts.

What are the effects of this semiotic density and over-exposure of certain images and sculptural works on the way heritage places are experienced? What does the replication of art works, as decorative features, do to the discourses about originality, authenticity and integrity within heritage praxis? How do the critiques of the 'exhibitionary complex' affect the demand for 'presenting' (or staging of) heritage places for communities and visitors? The issue of copies and replications has had a long history of critique in the visual arts (see Preziosi, 2009) but little of this, other than at the margins, has impacted at the centre of heritage knowledge practices.

The co-option of the visual arts as national heritage

The story of J. M. W. Turner's bequeathing his art to the British nation is well known (Wilton, 1979) and is the standout example of where the visual arts become mobilized as 'national heritage'. Putting aside the controversies that surround the Turner bequest and whether or not Tate Britain has honoured the terms of the will, it is the example that is of interest here and the questions that emerge from it. The confluence of nationalism, museums, architecture and the visual arts has been well documented and well critiqued (e.g. Boswell and Evans, 1999; Lasansky and McLaren, 2004; Lake, 2006). The confluence

of heritage and nation has also been well documented and critiqued (see, for example, Lowenthal, 1998; Winter, 2007; Anheier and Isar, 2011; Watson, 2013). The confluence of the visual arts, nation and heritage has been particularly acute when artists or art movements have risen to prominence as 'national treasures'. This can be seen not only in the positioning of such art in tourism and museum promotions but in the debates excited by the media when a particular work of art is in 'danger' of being sold to another country, and when arguments about the export of national patrimony (and thus what constitutes this national heritage) become particularly visible.

This nation–visual arts–heritage intricacy raises many largely unanswered questions. When are the visual arts 'heritage' and when are they not? Do they have to be attached to buildings? Is contemporary art in Siena or Florence or Luang Prabang part of 'heritage' or is it only the visual arts of the past that count, and, if so, why? Is there a hierarchy at work? Do the visual arts deemed 'masterpieces' matter (to use the term from criteria (i) of the World Heritage Convention) but other works not (and how is this assessed and by whom)? Does 'heritage and the visual arts' only relate to works in public museums and galleries, or does it extend to private collectors and private museums, and do these delineations only work in the context of the global art market?

Conclusion

Despite the disciplinary distances between heritage and the visual arts, there is much the two knowledge practices share. They exist within a shared visual culture; they share a material culture approach to history and the idea that objects bear the imprint of something else (history, aesthetics, the nation, social relationships, identity etc.); they share the object/language/representation conundrums; they are both shaped by discourse and share elements of those discourses; they share particular constructions of historical time/place (Baroque Rome, Renaissance Florence, Islamic Granada, Colonial Melbourne); both share a problematic relationship with history and archaeology as discrete disciplines; and both can be viewed as performative. The list can be extended. Nevertheless, despite the inextricable interweaving noted at the outset of this chapter, as a research agenda within heritage studies, the visual arts has an uneasy existence, ever present and yet ever lurking in a type of research twilight zone with only partial visibility and substance.

References

- Adams, L. S. (1996) *The Methodologies of Art* (New York: IconEditions).
 Anheier, H. and Isar, Y. R. (eds) (2011) *Heritage, Memory and Identity* (London: Sage Publications).

- Artleiers de la Péninsule (2004) *Luang Prabang: An Architectural Journey* (Vientiane: Peninsulas Group).
- Aumont, J. (1997) *The Image*, C. Pajackowska (trans.) (London: BFI Publishing).
- Bal, M. (1998) 'Seeing Signs: The Use of Semiotics for the Understanding of Visual Art' in M. A. Cheetham, M. A. Holly and K. Moxey (eds) *The Subjects of Art History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 74–93.
- Bann, S. (1996) 'Meaning/Interpretation' in R. S. Nelson and R. Shiff (eds) *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press), pp. 87–100.
- Bennett, T. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Boswell, D. and Evans, J. (eds) (1999) *Representing the Nation: A Reader: Histories, Heritage, Museums* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, R. Nice (trans.) (Cambridge, MA: University of Harvard Press).
- Bryson, N. (1991) 'Semiology and Visual Interpretation' in N. Bryson, M. A. Holly and K. Moxey (eds) *Visual Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press), pp. 61–73.
- Bryson, N., Holly, M. A. and Moxey, K. (eds) (1991) *Visual Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Carrier, D. (1991) *Principles of Art History Writing* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press).
- Carroll, D. (1987) *Paraesthetics: Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida* (New York and London: Methuen).
- Cheetham, M. A. (1998) 'Immanuel Kant and the Bo(a)rders of Art History' in M. A. Cheetham, M. A. Holly and K. Moxey (eds) *The Subjects of Art History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 6–24.
- Cheetham, M. A., Holly, M. A. and Moxey, K. (eds) (1998) *The Subjects of Art History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Cosgrove, D. (1998) *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (eds) (1998) *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Dicks, B. (2003) *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability* (Maidenhead: Open University Press).
- Eco, U. (ed.) (2004) *On Beauty: A History of a Western Idea* (London: Secker and Warburg).
- Fallon, S. (2004) *Paris*, 5th edn (Footscray: Lonely Planet Publications).
- Foster, H. (ed.) (1985) *Postmodern Culture* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press).
- Gay, P. (2007) *Modernism: The Lure of Heresy* (London: William Heinemann).
- Gombrich, E. H. (1960) *Art and Illusion: A Study of the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon).
- Gregg, M. and Seigworth, G. J. (eds) (2010) *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham and London: Duke University Press).
- Harrison, R. (2013) *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Hughes, R. (1991) *The Shock of the New* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Kant, I. ([1790]2007) *Critique of Judgement*, rev. edn, J. Meredith (trans.) (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press).
- Lake, M. (ed.) (2006) *Memory, Monuments and Museums* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press).
- Lasansky, D. M. and McLaren, B. (eds) (2004) *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place* (Oxford: Berg).

- Lewis, P. (2007) *The Cambridge Introduction to Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Minor, V. H. (2001) *Art History's History*, 2nd edn (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall).
- Mirzoeff, N. (ed.) (2002) *The Visual Culture Reader* (London and New York, Routledge).
- Mitchell, T. (1989) 'The World as Exhibition', *Comparative Studies in Society and Literature*, 13, 217–36.
- Ndalianis, A. (2004) *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press).
- Nelson, R. S. and Shiff, R. (eds) (1996) *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press).
- Pallasmaa, J. (2005) *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and Senses* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons).
- Pearson, M. and Sullivan, S. (1995) *Looking after Heritage Places* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press).
- Potts, A. (1996) 'Sign' in R. S. Nelson and R. Shiff (eds) *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press), pp. 17–30.
- Preziosi, D. (1989) *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Preziosi, D. (ed.) (1998) *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Preziosi, D. (ed.) (2009) *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Ryde, J. (2013) *Church or Museum? Tourists, Tickets and Transformation* (PhD Thesis: University of Western Sydney).
- Shone, R. and Stonard, J. P. (eds) (2013) *The Books That Shaped Art History* (London: Thames & Hudson).
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Smith, L. Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2012) *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Staiff, R. (2010) 'History and Tourism: Intertextual Representations of Florence' *Tourism Analysis*, 15(5), 601–11.
- Staiff, R. (2013) 'Swords, Sandals and Togas: The Cinematic Imaginary and the Tourist Experiences of Roman Heritage Sites' in R. Staiff, R. Bushell and S. Watson (eds) *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 85–102.
- Staiff, R. (2014) *Re-imagining Heritage Interpretation: Enchanting the Past/Future* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate).
- Staiff, R. and Bushell, R. (2003) 'Travel Knowledgeably: The Question of Content in Heritage Interpretation' in R. Black and B. Welier (eds) *Interpreting the Land Down Under* (Golden Col: Fulcrum Publishing), pp. 92–108.
- Staiff, R., Bushell, R. and Watson, S. (eds) (2013) *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Sthapitanonda, N. and Mertens, B. (2005) *Architecture of Thailand* (Bangkok: Asia Books).
- Stubbs, J. H. (2009) *Time Honored: A Global View of Architectural Conservation* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons).
- Summers, D. (1996) 'Representation' in R. S. Nelson and R. Shiff (eds) *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press), pp. 3–16.

- Summers, D. (1998) 'Form, Nineteenth-Century Metaphysics and the Problem of Art Historical Description' in D Preziosi (ed.) *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 127–42.
- Summers, D. (2013) 'Heinrich Wölfflin' in R. Shone and J. P. Stonard (eds) *The Books That Shaped Art History* (London: Thames & Hudson), pp. 42–53.
- UNESCO (2008) *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (Paris: World Heritage Centre/UNESCO).
- Watson, S. (2013) 'Country Matters. The Rural-Historic as an Authorized Heritage Discourse in England' in R. Staiff, R. Bushell and S. Watson (eds) *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 103–26.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2010) *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate).
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2014) *The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism* (Bristol: Channel View Publications).
- Weston, R. (2001) *Modernism* (London: Phaidon Press).
- Whitley, J. (2001) *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Wilton, A. (1979) *Life and Work of J.M.W. Turner* (London: Academy Editions).
- Winter, T. (2007) *Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism: Culture, Politics and Development at Angkor* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Wolff, J. (1983) *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art* (London: Allen and Unwin).
- Wood, C. S. (2013) 'EH Gombrich' in R. Shone and J. P. Stonard (eds) *The Books That Shaped Art History* (London: Thames & Hudson), pp. 116–27.

13

Industrial Heritage and Tourism: A Review of the Literature

Alfonso Vargas-Sánchez

Although industrial heritage tourism (or industrial tourism) is not a new phenomenon, it has acquired increasing importance as part of the cultural offering presented by a growing number of destinations. In fact, it can be a source of profitable differentiation for them, taking advantage of particular past and present industrial resources to generate potentially distinctive and memorable experiences. These resources are part of a destination's culture, a feature of what the particular locality was, is and, perhaps, will be. A number of successful cases around the globe demonstrate the benefits of exploiting this potential, and, where people are poorly informed about the industrial past and the processes involved, there is a great opportunity to arouse their curiosity and encourage them to visit such places.

Industrial heritage tourism broadly involves making visits to industrial centres (places of past or, indeed, current industry that has a past in that place) to extend the cultural experiences of tourists in learning about the economic activity of other peoples, past and present. This segment is closely related to a type of consumers (tourists) who seek new types of experiences or emotions, and have a particular interest in the technology on display and the social and economic history of the places being visited (Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2007).

Industrial heritage tourism can be considered widely or narrowly, depending on the definition adopted, and visitor statistics are not always easy to obtain and are therefore difficult to compare and aggregate. The same applies to its economic impact in terms of overnight stays and money spent. More specifically, it can be understood as visits to industrial operations, to sites where productive activity is actually happening, to witness processes that are at work, in motion, in real time, as an experience that generates the special excitement of an authentic encounter. Alternatively, it can take the form of industrial archaeology, which is most often (though not always) founded on a long-dead and

subsequently re-created heritage (such as mining parks). This issue will be revisited in subsequent sections when the scope of industrial heritage, as manifest in this review of the literature, will be delimited.

Heritage is, for many destinations, a key element and a major factor in attracting tourists, and heritage-based tourism has been enthusiastically embraced all over the world as a way of creating idiosyncratic experiences for visitors. Within this framework, the chapter will focus on a particular kind of heritage, industrial heritage, which is viewed as having a substantial weight in the construction and maintenance of a national or local identity, as with other types of heritage (Palmer, 1999).

The close relationship shared between tourism and industrial heritage will be presented in order to demonstrate how researchers have addressed the connection between them, over time. This relationship has a complex nature, with a number of studies (Prideaux and Kininmont, 1999; Du Cros, 2001; Prideaux, 2002; Aas et al., 2005; McKercher et al., 2005) shifting the focus away from merely conserving heritage resources towards interpreting, presenting and actively exploiting them as tourist attractions (Cossons, 1989; Moscardo, 1996).

State of the art

Industrial tourism is being promoted with ever greater intensity in a number of destinations. It involves a broad spectrum of types, including industrial centres of activity (factories, workshops, industrial operations, etc.), still in operation or not, and it extends the cultural experience available to the tourist as a way of learning about the economic activity, technology and working conditions, past and present. Not surprisingly, therefore, due to the nature of tourism as an academic discipline (or 'indiscipline', as it has been described by Tribe, 1997 and 2000), industrial heritage tourism, as a segment of it, is not a homogeneous object of study. It has been fragmented by approaches from diverse academic and methodological standpoints, with research efforts focusing on particular aspects and manifestations.

In order to survey the current state of research in this field, and to construct a unique contribution to its development, various complementary searches were done on relevant academic journals, covering the articles published in a time span up to 2011. Where these articles are cited in the following text, they are included in the reference list. Two scientific databases were selected for this purpose. First was the *ISI Web of Knowledge* (Thomson Reuters), searching under the topics 'industrial heritage' and 'tourism'. This search produced 18 articles and was supplemented with additional items that came up after the following searches: 'mining heritage' and 'tourism' and 'industrial tourism'. Second, *Scopus* (Elsevier) was used in order to complement the previous list with articles not included in the *ISI Web of Knowledge*. The results were under the topics

'industrial archaeology' and 'tourism', and yielded five more articles. Other searches with no output are omitted.

Concerning the sources where articles on this specific field have been published (Table 13.1), the two highly ranked titles on tourism are at the top of the list, together with a specialized journal on heritage studies and another on geographical studies.

Unsurprisingly, English is the dominant language, as is usual in the academic community, but Spanish is still important, as observed in Table 13.2, where the language breakdown of the published articles is presented. Here, Spanish authors are more numerous, although the UK, aggregating England, Wales and Scotland, heads the list of countries to which the authors belong (Table 13.3). The massive process of deindustrialization suffered by both countries in recent decades has a clear connection with this fact; for example, the closing of mines, and their reconceptualization as potential tourist resources, has a very significant presence.

Two Spanish academics, Hernández-Ramírez and Ruiz-Ballesteros, have jointly authored two articles, the same number as Landorf (2009 and 2011) and Prentice (Prentice et al., 1998; McIntosh and Prentice, 1999), based in Australia and Scotland, respectively. These are the most prolific authors in the category.

The increase over time in the number of articles published is irregular, although it seems to show a growing trend. After the pioneering paper by Oglethorpe (1987), a long gap of eight years follows, but the output gained

Table 13.1 Source titles

	Total (%)
Tourism Management	5 (13.51)
Annals of Tourism Research	4 (10.81)
International Journal of Heritage Studies	4 (10.81)
Canadian Geographer	3 (8.11)
Others	21 (56.76)
Total	37 (100)

Table 13.2 Language

	Total (%)
English	28 (75.68)
Spanish	5 (13.51)
German	3 (8.11)
Catalan	1 (2.70)
Total	37 (100)

Table 13.3 Country of authors' affiliated institutions

	Total (%)
UK (England, Scotland and Wales)	10 (23.26)
Spain	9 (20.93)
Australia	6 (13.95)
Canada	5 (11.63)
US	3 (6.98)
Others	10 (23.26)
Total	43 (100)

Table 13.4 Year of publication

Year	Total
2006–2011	22
2001–2005	6
1996–2000	8
Before 2000	1
Total	37

momentum in the last few years, achieving its peak in 2011 (Table 13.4). The work of McIntosh and Prentice (1999) has gathered the highest number of citations, followed by Prentice et al. (1998), Edwards and Llundré i Coit (1998), Caffyn and Lutz (1999) and Vargas-Sánchez et al. (2009). Three of them are devoted to mining heritage tourism.

Concerning the main research areas into which this set of articles can be categorized, the results obtained reflect the multidisciplinary character of this field of study and, at the same time, the inability to identify a single body of consolidated knowledge. This suggests, perhaps, that this field is still in a very early stage, with few and scattered research efforts in a kind of disciplinary guerrilla warfare. It could be argued that this reflects the general situation of tourism, as not being understood yet as a discipline in itself, but as an area of application for more established and consolidated disciplines such as geography, economics, business administration and so on. I would argue, however, that the situation is more acute in this particular segment: it has caught the attention of researchers later than the general field of tourism, even heritage tourism, and the literature is therefore still diverse and lacking in disciplinary coherence.

The situation described by Tribe (1997), in which tourism is conceptualized as being constituted of both business and the non-business aspects, is applicable in this case, but this would be simplistic. According to the findings in Table 13.5, it is true that the economics and business axis is present, but

Table 13.5 Main disciplinary areas

	Total (%)
Geography	13 (28.89)
Economics–business–management	9 (20.00)
Environmental and urban studies	9 (20.00)
Humanities	6 (13.33)
Sociology	4 (8.89)
Others	4 (8.89)
Total	45 (100)

Table 13.6 Focus of papers

	Total (%)
Generic on industrial heritage	16 (43.24)
Specific on mining tourism	13 (35.14)
Other specific segments	8 (21.62)*
Total	37 (100)

* Two of them on agricultural/rural heritage.

they are not predominant at this moment, the field being clearly dominated by geography. The situation is even more complex when other research areas and disciplines are added to the mix, such as environmental and urban studies, humanities and sociology.

Moving into the topics on which the articles are focused (Table 13.6), a specific niche appears with a very significant role: mining tourism. From different perspectives, this kind of industrial heritage has attracted a larger portion of the research interests and energies, in a number of countries with a strong mining tradition. For centuries, it has been a key industrial activity with a tremendous impact on the economic and social life of many communities, with mining not only a part of the landscape but also a shaper of identity and cultural characteristics.

Following this, it can be argued that a limitation of this survey, resulting from the search criteria used, is the absence of certain very popular industrial attractions that could be considered as part of the industrial tourism offer, for example those related to agricultural production such as wine-making and brewing, which are evident in many countries and have an increasing capacity for attracting visitors. Mining and wine tourism are likely the most popular manifestations of industrial tourism in the world, with heritage in the form of museums, parks and other facilities built around both. Nevertheless, wine tourism has not been specifically discussed here because of its particular cultural

nature (and connection with food and gastronomy, as a clear example), which would justify a more individual and specific focus and treatment (see Hall et al., 2002; Carlsen and Charters, 2006).

There can be no doubt that both the past and the present of some places are bound up with the industrial exploitation of their natural resources and the way this has developed their sense of place and place image. One of the most striking manifestations of this exploitation is mining activity. That legacy is still often a strong part of local culture, and tourism can be effective in representing this heritage, especially where it is marginalized, under threat and in progressive deterioration. In this sense, the importance given by researchers to this kind of industrial heritage is understandable and explains why research efforts have been mainly concentrated on what is generally known as ‘industrial archaeology’, that is, on tourism based on moribund industrial activity as a source of heritage. By contrast, very few articles have been devoted to tourism in operating industrial facilities, such as farms or distilleries.

Generally, these papers are supported by case studies and particular experiences located in well-determined locations: Table 13.7 summarizes the countries on which the research is focused. As illustrated, the UK and Spain are, by far, the most frequent places where this kind of research has been carried out. Canada and the US follow.

In terms of research methodologies, as displayed in Table 13.8, most of them have a qualitative nature, having used techniques such as a review of documents or content analysis, as well as various types of interviews and observations (see Chapter 1, this volume, for a fuller exploration of methods). This corresponds with an early stage of research development in this field, and the predominant disciplines for most of the studies that have been carried out; there is undoubtedly a descriptive and exploratory character.

Table 13.7 Countries where research has been carried out

	Total (%)
UK (England, Scotland and Wales)	12 (30.00)
Spain	10 (25.00)
Canada	4 (10.00)
US	3 (7.50)
Europe	3 (7.50)
Australia	2 (5.00)
Germany	1 (2.50)
Hong Kong	1 (2.50)
Italy	1 (2.50)
Japan	1 (2.50)
New Zealand	1 (2.50)
Sweden	1 (2.50)
Total	40 (100)

Table 13.8 Methodological approaches

	Total (%)
Quantitative*	6 (16.22)
Qualitative	25 (67.57)
Mix**	3 (8.11)
Theoretical paper	3 (8.11)
Total	37 (100)

* Surveys of visitors (3), residents (1), museums (1); another is based on pictures.

** The quantitative side is based on surveys of residents (2) and both visitors and residents (1).

Analysis of the literature survey

As a result of the number of articles published, the first conclusion seems quite obvious: this is clearly an under-researched field, with great potential for growth.

Traditionally, the UK and Spain have been the countries in which this field of study has attracted interest. Most of the authors work for higher education institutions in these countries, and most of the places on which the articles are focused (mostly related to closed mines) are also located in both countries. Moreover, while this is a very young field of study, with quite a limited number of papers published in journals, there has been a discernible increase, with a peak in the last couple of years. Additionally, the relatively low number of citations might lead to the conclusion that this narrow academic community needs to be strengthened, especially in terms of interactions among its members.

The diversity of disciplines or research areas informing the studies in this field (geography, economics, environmental studies, etc.) is another relevant feature to be emphasized, which represents an enormous challenge in terms of scholarly interaction while providing, at the same time, an additional source of interest in terms of theory development. The researchers' ability to integrate this variety of perspectives will be essential for a much richer understanding of the complexities of the interaction between industrial heritage and tourism.

Following this trend, factories and industrial facilities that are still in operation also have the potential to receive visitors regularly and, therefore, to become tourist attractions. This operational context provides another fruitful future research direction. This is a more recent dimension of industrial heritage tourism, with different implications for the diverse perspectives of the phenomenon: visitors' motivations and expectations, visitors' safety, potential costs and benefits, social impacts, complementarity with other resources in particular destinations and so forth. The additional complexities in this context suggest different dimensions of study, not least the relationship, or tension,

between the gaze of the tourist and the experience of those working; further study is surely required, a challenge that academics are called to address much more extensively. In short, more research in the field of operating industrial tourism, in the sense of experiential tourism based on visiting companies carrying out industrial processes, both soft and hard, is clearly needed. This new aspect, within the area of cultural tourism, would complement the traditional research focus on long-dead industrial heritage (such as mines) and its recreation for tourism, as has been shown in the previous section of this chapter.

With regard to the methodologies of research, without glossing over qualitative approaches in particular cases, a more balanced position would be desirable in an attempt to generalize conclusions with greater confidence. An increase in the application of quantitative methods could, therefore, be encouraged to some advantage for this emerging field. This would imply, at the same time, a step forward, moving from descriptive research efforts into explanatory (and even predictive) ones. Inductive efforts should be followed by deductive ones: proposing hypotheses, creating theoretical frameworks and testing them in real situations. These research paths (induction–deduction; description–explanation) could help to consolidate this corpus of knowledge in its currently emergent state.

The analysis of the authors' keywords in the set of articles identified leads us to additional conclusions and proposals. A myriad of aspects related to tourism management have already been considered (consumption, impacts and so forth), but much more emphasis is needed on them and others. For instance, key theoretical constructs such as 'authenticity' and 'experiences' have been studied very rarely in the context of industrial heritage, as have stakeholder collaboration and partnerships. Furthermore, although issues related to sustainability (sustainable development, sustainable tourism) have already been researched, this topic is by no means exhausted; on the contrary, it is not hard to assume that it will gain further momentum in the years to come (see Chapter 30, this volume, for a fuller discussion of sustainable development). Other topics poorly researched until now, but with potential for guiding future research efforts, are the conservation of industrial heritage versus its selective reinvention for tourism (see Dicks, 2000); the role of industrial heritage in the identity of local communities and residents' perceptions; and industrial landscapes in their different dimensions (natural, sociocultural, etc.).

Future directions

On the basis of the review provided above, I now offer the following perspective on what this canon of literature has achieved, how it is developing and how I see it going forward. Industrial heritage tourism, as a form of cultural tourism, is of interest not simply because of its potential for future growth, but

also because it diversifies the range of what constitutes heritage and provides opportunities for heritage tourism that are more immediately reflective of the culture and characteristics of host communities. At sites that are operational, it provides a direct link with the economic culture of the location, whereas even in historic sites it represents work and working conditions that are often within living memory and which materialize the most characteristic aspects of a community's image, history and culture.

From a life-cycle point of view, this niche of tourism is still in its infancy, and its potential for growth seems obvious because of the increasing interest in this topic and because it is now an accepted part of what constitutes cultural and heritage tourism. The reasons for this are diverse: cultural tourism is now widely considered to be well established and one of the more economically promising market segments in contemporary tourism and destination management, regardless of whether the destination is located in an urban or a rural context. There is also a sense in which this kind of tourism represents a shift from simple sight-seeing tourism to something more experiential and immersive, based on a more active engagement with the daily life or recent history of the destination.

While industrial heritage tourism (or industrial tourism) is gaining momentum in the developed world (where former industrial facilities are being reused, and therefore preserved, for leisure and tourism purposes), its presence is now also apparent in the developing world. In Taiwan, for example, the Ministry of Economic Affairs has announced that tourist visits to factories should rise to 11.5 million in 2013, from about 10 million in 2012 (*The China Post*, 30 June 2013, p. 11). According to this report, this niche of the tourism sector has been actively promoted in that country in order to provide a new source of income to manufacturers of traditional products (cakes, pastries or rice, as examples) that have been losing their competitive edge, largely due to higher labour costs.

With regard to Asia more generally, the *Taipei Declaration for Asian Industrial Heritage*, launched in 2012 by the International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCIH, 2012), has made a very clear attempt to produce a broad definition of industrial heritage that accommodates the differences between the development of industry in the West and in Asia, and which focuses on the contribution it makes to local identity as an expression of the close involvement of local people:

We recognize that industrial heritage in Asia, witnessing the process of the modernization, contributes to the identity of regions and countries, and forms an integral part of the history. Furthermore, the achievement of industrialization in Asia is always achieved with the help of hard-working local people. Industrial heritage is closely associated with the life history, memories, and stories of local people and social changes.

(TICCIH, 2012, p. 5)

The closeness of local communities to this kind of heritage puts an emphasis on its more experiential dimension from a tourism perspective. The challenge, then, for both researchers and practitioners, is to understand the nature of this experience, not just in terms of the marketing aspects but as a genuine encounter and an engagement with the experiences of others, to which visitors might wish to relate their own experience of work and of earning a living. This labour history dimension is matched by the need to understand, 'design' and evaluate the quality of the experience offered, and how to raise standards of visitor experience and management. The role of the new technologies (especially information and communications technologies) can be easily anticipated to be critical in this sense, offering another promising avenue for future research and development efforts in this field.

An area with significant potential growth within industrial tourism, especially where there is a clear heritage connection, is concerned with visits to factories that are still operational. The 'Kojo Moe' movement in Japan is at the extreme of this idea of factory tourism, where large-scale industrial plants become the object of tourist interest, usually as visits to factories that recognize tourism as a valuable source of additional revenue, again where heritage or the long-established nature of the operation and its links with the locality are recognized.

Although industrial tourism (understood as a visit to an operational plant) is not a new phenomenon within the tourism sector, it is acquiring increasing importance as part of the cultural heritage offer presented by many tourist destinations. As Otgaar et al. (2010) state, the first requirement is the creation of an alliance between industries with a potential for receiving visitors and tourist agents, bearing in mind that in some places manufacturing activities and tourism are still seen as incompatible activities. Finding ways to make them mutually compatible is, therefore, the challenge, although the potential economic benefits are clear. The first issue is to understand that an industrial centre, such as a factory, processing plant or a farm, is often closely connected with people's perception of their local past, their memories and their sense of community. The second issue is that such places may find a wider audience and, as an integral part of the locality, may become part of the tourism economy. The difficulty here is in understanding the dynamics behind the transformation of such places and spaces from being exclusively associated with production to being concerned also with consumption, in a leisure and service-based context.

This phenomenon stimulates some basic questions. Why are more and more companies opening their minds (and doors) to industrial tourism and promoting visits to their installations? To what kinds of visitor are they catering? Why and how would these visits be attractive to different target groups? What explains the increasing interest in this kind of experience in factories and similar facilities? From an economic point of view, one obvious answer is because

companies derive certain benefits from this policy, in spite of the inevitable extra costs and investments for the adaptations required; a factory may be a destination resource, but it is not yet a product, and has to be part of a comprehensive offer in the destination, diverse and consistent at the same time.

Depending on the nature of the economic activity carried out and the visitor group targeted, there may be financial benefits in the short term (extra income as a consequence of tickets issued and products sold during the visits) or in the medium to long term (enhanced reputation, public relations, closer ties with external stakeholders, etc.). However, sometimes a more powerful motivation can be found in the pressures faced by companies to demonstrate their corporate social responsibility and links with local communities and the past in those communities. For large firms, in particular, this institutional pressure is seen as fundamental. I would suggest, therefore, the application of the institutional theory framework for a better understanding of this phenomenon, as a future research direction.

Concerning the motivation and approach of the companies' allies or partners, primarily public authorities, a long-term view is essential, as demonstrated by Otgaar et al. (2010). The public authorities must support companies in this venture, and incorporate company visits as part of a model of sustainable tourism. In particular, industrial tourism can become part of packages that are effective in encouraging more people to come, and to make more overnight stays. This should ultimately contribute to local development and community satisfaction on the part of residents.

It is also relevant to distinguish between big and small/medium-sized companies. In the latter case, due to their fewer resources, it seems evident that they need extra assistance to initiate and develop this process, together with more comprehensive organizational capacities, to ensure the required standards of quality of service to match visitors' expectations. Industrial tourism can be a source of profitable differentiation for a tourism destination, taking advantage of its particular industrial resources and industrial heritage to generate potentially distinctive and memorable experiences. These resources are part of its culture, a feature of what the particular locality was, is and, perhaps, will be. A number of successful cases around the globe demonstrate that there are no *prima facie* reasons for not exploiting this potential, especially when more and more people are poorly informed about these industrial processes and how they have made our lives more comfortable. In other words, there is a great opportunity to arouse people's curiosity, and curiosity mobilizes people to visit places.

However, once again, successful industrial heritage tourism needs to be carefully planned and agreed among the various agents (private and public) with critical roles to play. The stakeholder theory approach is also necessary when dealing with these projects. It would seem reasonable to expect, then, that the

spread of this type of heritage, both in itself and in connection with tourism in various parts of the world (including the developing world), will have consequences for the canon of research and literature that is developing around it and which has been surveyed here. Case studies, for example, might be expected from a broader span of countries and reflecting a broader range of labour histories and experiences. It is now time, therefore, for researchers to take the lead in shedding new light on industrial heritage, not only in terms of its variety and typologies, but also to produce new insights into its meaning and interpretation as engagement and experience. This implies the need for a balanced and appropriate set of methodologies, which relates to the issue of multidisciplinary, which is also relevant to this field and is necessary for consolidating this field of study, especially since its knowledge base is so broad, in economics, technology, sociology, geography, anthropology and labour history, and when the experiences it offers are potentially so diverse and globally relevant. Until now these perspectives have usually worked in isolation, but this diversity must be addressed in a creative and critical way in order to create real understandings of the field and its complex dynamics.

Bibliographical Appendix

In order to do justice to the very broad range of literature that can be subsumed within the category of industrial heritage tourism, the following extended bibliography is included. It cannot hope to be encyclopaedic and, of course, the passage of time will erode its currency, but it will at least provide the reader with a range of literature to complement the works cited above and demonstrate the multidisciplinary breadth of this topic.

- Cañizares Ruiz, M. C. (2011) 'Protection and Defence of the Mining Heritage in Spain', *Scripta Nova-Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 15(361), 1–17.
- Cassel, S. H. and Morner, C. (2011) 'The Legacy of Mining: Visual Representations and Narrative Constructions of a Swedish Heritage Tourist Destination', *Tourism, Culture and Communication*, 11(1), 1–15.
- Conesa, H. M., Schulin, R. and Nowack, B. (2008) 'Mining Landscape: A Cultural Tourist Opportunity or an Environmental Problem? The Case of the Cartagena-La Union Mining District (SE Spain)', *Ecological Economics*, 64(4), 690–700.
- De Montis, A. and De Montis, V. (2008) 'Planners in the Face of Mining Cultural Heritage: Tourism Development at L'Argentiera, Italy', *International Journal of Services, Technology and Management*, 10(1), 128–46.
- Gelhar, M. (2010) 'Old Industrial Regions between Structural Decline and Rise', *Geographische Rundschau*, 62(2), 4–9.
- Hall, C. M., Sharples, L., Cambourn, B. and Macionis, N. (2002) *Wine Tourism around the World, Development, Management and Markets* (Abingdon: Butterworth Heinemann).
- Halpern, C. and Mitchell, C. J. A. (2011) 'Can a Preservationist Ideology Halt the Process of Creative Destruction? Evidence from Salt Spring Island, British Columbia', *Canadian Geographer-Geographe Canadien*, 55(2), 208–25.

- Hernandez Ramírez, M. and Ruiz Ballesteros, E. (2005) 'Patrimonial Appropriation in Mining Contexts in Andalucía', *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 60(2), 103–27.
- Hernández Ramirez, M. and Ruiz Ballesteros, E. (2007) 'Identity and Community – Reflections on the Development of Mining Tourism in Southern Spain', *Tourism Management*, 28, 677–87.
- Hospers, G. J. (2002) 'Industrial Heritage Tourism and Regional Restructuring in the European Union', *European Planning Studies*, 10(3), 397–404.
- Joly, N. (2003) 'Creating a New Image for an Old Industrial Region. An Analysis of Touristic Iconography in the Ruhr Area', *Erde*, 134(1), 23–41.
- Jones, C. and Munday, M. (2001) 'Blaenavon and United Nations World Heritage Site Status: Is Conservation of Industrial Heritage a Road to Local Economic Development?' *Regional Studies*, 35(6), 585–90.
- Kennedy, N. and Kingcome, N. (1998) 'Disneyfication of Cornwall – Developing a Poldark Heritage Complex', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 4(1), 45–59.
- Leung, M. W. H. and Soyeze, D. (2009) 'Industrial Heritage: Valorising the Spatial-Temporal Dynamics of Another Hong Kong Story', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 15(1), 57–75.
- London, M. (1998) 'Tourism and the Lachine Canal', *Plan Canada*, 38(1), 14–18.
- McBoyle, G. (1996) 'Green Tourism and Scottish Distilleries', *Tourism Management*, 17(4), 255–63.
- McMorran, C. (2008) 'Understanding the "Heritage" in Heritage Tourism: Ideological Tool or Economic Tool for a Japanese Hot Springs Resort?' *Tourism Geographies*, 10(3), 334–54.
- Moreno, J. M. and Ortiz, M. I. L. (2008) 'From Industrial Activity to Cultural and Environmental Heritage: The Torrevieja and La Mata Lagoons (Alicante)', *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 47, 311–31.
- Pardo Abad, C. J. (2010) 'The Industrial Heritage in Spain: Analysis from a Tourism Perspective and the Territorial Significance of Some Renovation Projects', *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 53, 239–66.
- Powell, L., Thomas, S. and Thomas, B. (2010) 'Regeneration Schemes in the South Wales valleys: A Stimulus for Innovative Heritage Enterprise Development', *International Business Management*, 4(3), 177–88.
- Prideaux, B. (2002) 'Creating Rural Heritage Visitor Attractions. The Queensland Heritage Trails Project', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 4(4), 313–23.
- Reeves, K. and McConville, C. (2011) 'Cultural Landscape and Goldfield Heritage: Towards a Land Management Framework for the Historic South-West Pacific Gold Mining Landscapes', *Landscape Research*, 36(2), 191–207.
- Rudd, M. A. and Davis, J. A. (1998) 'Industrial Heritage Tourism at the Bingham Canyon Copper Mine', *Journal of Travel Research*, 36(3), 85–9.
- Serrano, A. V. (2010) 'Industrial Heritage as a Resource for Sustainable Tourism: The Basin Guadalfeo (Granada)', *Cuadernos Geográficos*, 46, 65–91.
- Stern, P. and Hall, P. V. (2010) 'Historical Limits: Narrowing Possibilities in "Ontario's most Historic Town"', *Canadian Geographer-Geographe Canadien*, 54(2), 209–27.
- Summerby-Murray, R. (2002) 'Interpreting De-Industrialised Landscapes of Atlantic Canada: Memory and Industrial Heritage in Sackville, New Brunswick', *Canadian Geographer-Geographe Canadien*, 46(1), 48–62.
- Vall Casas, P. (2001) 'Property, Industry and Tourism. A Reflexion about Current State of the Textile Colonies of Baix Berguedà', *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 38, 109–19.

- Waterton, E. (2011) 'In the Spirit of Self-Mockery? Labour Heritage and Identity in the Potteries', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(4), 344–63.
- Weaver, D. B. (2011) 'Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism, Evidence from Las Vegas and Gold Coast', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(1), 249–67.
- Xie, P. F. (2006) 'Developing Industrial Heritage Tourism: A Case Study of the Proposed Jeep Museum in Toledo, Ohio', *Tourism Management*, 27(6), 1321–30.

References

- Aas, C., Ladkin, A. and Fletcher, J. (2005) 'Stakeholder Collaboration and Heritage Management', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(1), 28–48.
- Caffyn, A. and Lutz, J. (1999) 'Developing the Heritage Tourism Product in Multi-Ethnic Cities', *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 213–21.
- Carlsen, J. and Charters, S. (eds) (2006) *Global Wine Tourism* (Wallingford: Cabi Publishing).
- Cossons, N. (1989) 'Heritage Tourism: Trends and Tribulations', *Tourism Management*, 10(3), 192–4.
- Dicks, B. (2000) *Heritage Place and Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
- Du Cros, H. (2001) 'A New Model to Assist in Planning for Sustainable Cultural Heritage Tourism', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 3(2), 165–70.
- Edwards, J. A. and Llundés, C. J. C. (1996) 'Mines and Quarries – Industrial Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 23(2), 341–63.
- The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) (2012) *Taipei Declaration for Asian Industrial Heritage*, <http://ticcih.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/TaipeiDeclarationForAsianIndustrialHeritageT.pdf>, accessed 30 September 2013.
- Landorf, C. (2009) 'A Framework for Sustainable Heritage Management: A Study of UK Industrial Heritage Sites', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 15(6), 494–510.
- Landorf, C. (2011) 'A Future for the Past: A New Theoretical Model for Sustainable Historic Urban Environments', *Planning Practice and Research*, 26(2), 147–65.
- McIntosh, A. J. and Prentice, R. C. (1999) 'Affirming Authenticity – Consuming Cultural Heritage', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(3), 589–612.
- McKercher, B., Ho, P. and Du Cross, H. (2005) 'Relationship between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management: Evidence from Hong Kong', *Tourism Management*, 26(4), 539–48.
- Moscardo, G. (1996) 'Mindful Visitors: Heritage and Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2), 376–97.
- Oglethorpe, M. K. (1987) 'Tourism and Industrial Scotland', *Tourism Management* 8(3), 268–71.
- Otgaard, A. H. J., Van den Berg, L., Berger, C. and Xiang Feng, R. (2010) *Industrial Tourism: Opportunities for City and Enterprise* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing).
- Palmer, C. (1999) 'Tourism and the Symbols of Identity', *Tourism Management*, 20(3), 313–21.
- Prentice, R. C., Witt, S. F. and Hamer, C. (1998) 'Tourism as Experience – The Case of Heritage Parks', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25(1), 1–24.
- Prideaux, B. and Kininmont, L. (1999) 'Tourism and Heritage Are Not Strangers: A Study of Opportunities for Rural Heritage Museums to Maximize Tourism Visitation', *Journal of Travel Research*, 37(3), 299–303.

- Tribe, J. (1997) 'The Indiscipline of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), 638–57.
- Tribe, J. (2000) 'Indisciplined and Unsubstantiated', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(3), 809–13.
- Vargas-Sánchez, A., Plaza-Mejía, M. A. and Porras-Bueno, N. (2007) 'Industrial Tourism Development and Local Community Perceptions: The Case of Minas de Rio Tinto (Spain)' in *Advances in Tourism Economics' Conference* (Vila Nova de Santo André, Portugal: Instituto Piaget), pp. 1–25.
- Vargas-Sánchez, A., Plaza-Mejía, M. A. and Porras-Bueno, N. (2009) 'Understanding Residents' Attitudes toward the Development of Industrial Tourism in a Former Mining Community', *Journal of Travel Research*, 47(3), 373–87.

14

Curating Sound for Future Communities

Noel Lobley

What type of heritage is sound and music, and how should it be conceived, curated and shared? In a world of constantly overlapping soundscapes and audio streams, sound and noise are perceived as both a positive and negative (or constructive and destructive) presence. What is the relationship between curated sound, sound archives and local community expression, identity and culture?

In this chapter, I expand the familiar themes of materiality and cultural meaning in music to consider the notion of 'sonic heritage' and its contemporary relevance to local communities. Drawing on two case studies from my research working with the International Library of African Music (ILAM) in Grahamstown in South Africa and, more recently, with the sound collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) in Oxford, I introduce the idea of 'sound elicitation': using sound objects to inspire and collect contemporary responses to archival audio heritage. Developing interdisciplinary models within the fields of applied ethnomusicology, sound studies, and material and museum anthropology, I explain and explore methodologies that place sound objects among people to elicit verbal, physical and affective and emotional responses, generating collaborative ideas for future sound curation. I trace the evolution of my methods from DJ-ing ethnographic field recordings at events, through more focused engagement with local social mechanisms, to developing international listening engagements designed to mobilize and benefit communities. I conclude with some suggestions for the future ethical and reciprocal collaborative curating of sonic heritage.

Field recordings, sonic heritage and sound curation

My research examines the history, nature and contemporary relevance of ethnographic recordings of music and sound, more commonly known as field recordings. Operating somewhere in the shared intersections between ethnomusicology, material anthropology, sound studies and sound curation,

I approach recorded sound as an inherently social object, as something that can be provenanced, curated and circulated to elicit knowledge that expands shared understanding of the content of sonic heritage. Taking field recordings out of sound archives and circulating them among people, ideally by placing them within the local social mechanisms through which people actually experience and transmit their music, is the method and practice that I term 'sound elicitation'. Much work has been done on elicitation using objects and photographs, but this practice is still in its infancy in relation to sound.

Recording technologies for sound and music have existed for more than a hundred years. Sound archives and private collections now contain almost every conceivable sound and combination of sounds, as ethnomusicologists map changing musical traditions, record labels curate and release commercial and non-commercial sounds, and phonographers work to create documents of landscapes, soundscapes and everyday sounds. In today's age of recording and circulation – an age of mass MP3 circulation where 'a single file on a single network may be available simultaneously in dozens of countries, without regard for local laws, policies or licensing agreements' (Sterne, 2012, p. 1) – sound curators and archivists notice more and more demand for access to their collections from an increasingly diverse range of audiences. The proliferation of disembodied and decontextualized circulation of many types of sound files is undoubtedly driving this increased turn towards curated music and sound heritage.

As an ethnomusicologist and sound studies scholar, and as a professional DJ, I have a long-standing interest in the recorded artefact. Discovering professionally curated collections of field recordings such as the Alan Lomax Collection, the Hugh Tracey Collections, and the work of labels such as Ocora, I began researching the histories of such collectors and collections, with a particular focus on their content and potential uses. I began including many of these and similar published field recordings in radio programmes and DJ sets in venues such as clubs and galleries to inspire and gauge responses through a visceral experience of the sound alone. However, the responses that were obviously entirely absent were the voices of the people whose recorded heritage the recordings contained: the local communities. There are at present still very few analytical frameworks for the study of field recordings as objects that can elicit and include local responses.

I began to develop my research methodology of sound elicitation by first studying the content of sound collections through close listening and analysis, considered in particular relation to the intention of the field recordist. My two main case studies presented here are Hugh Tracey's *The Sound of Africa* series, housed at ILAM, and the Louis Sarno archive of BaAka music from the Central African Republic and Republic of Congo, curated at the PRM. These are two of the most significant collections of ethnographic recordings in the world, documenting the music and soundscapes of different communities

across sub-Saharan Africa. Significantly, both collections were made with the explicit purpose of providing benefit to the communities whose heritage has been recorded. In the following section I explore why such collections commonly become detached from their source communities, one of their primary intended audiences, and, I argue, their most significant audience. I then consider ways to build reciprocal relationships between sound collections, institutions and local communities.

The International Library of African Music

I was based as a fieldworker at the International Library of African Music for a year from 2007 to 2008, researching the history and contemporary relevance of Hugh Tracey's *The Sound of Africa* series, which consists of 210 published LPs containing more than 3,100 field recordings made throughout sub-Saharan Africa, mostly between 1948 and 1963. Extensive archival analysis showed that, in rhetoric at least, Tracey thought that his mapping and codifying project – one that took him to 15 different countries, during which he documented music-making among 179 different language groups – was intended to benefit the hundreds of different communities he recorded.

Tracey recognized both the limitations of field recording and the importance of circulating his collections among local communities. In 1954, having just founded ILAM, he acknowledged that, although there was a certain value in collecting musical examples as widely as possible, 'the social value of so doing will not be found upon the library shelves which house our collections' (Tracey, 1968, unpaginated) but, rather, depended on recognition of the talent of the musicians. Five years later, in 1959, and somewhat representative of his motivations at the time, Tracey explained in a letter to H. C. Finkel, Director of African Education in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, that it was

of the greatest consequence to our work that intelligent African men and women shall have access to these recordings and, having absorbed with keen attention the complexities which they represent from the social, linguistic, poetic, physical and musical points of view, that they express their opinions of the value of distributing such a collection.

(1959, p. 12)

Setting aside the patriarchal and colonial language, it soon became clear to me, sitting in the archives at ILAM in 2008, that there was very little current connection between the recordings and the source communities whose heritage had been recorded. ILAM is part of Rhodes University, situated in Grahamstown in a Xhosa-speaking and somewhat remote region of the Eastern Cape of South Africa. Tracey collected and published 185 Xhosa recordings from 1957, and some of his recordings were even made in Grahamstown and in nearby rural

regions, but there is very little awareness among local Xhosa musicians that this recorded heritage even exists. Put simply, Xhosa musicians rarely visit ILAM to listen to and access Xhosa or any other recordings. Given that ILAM is close to the townships in which many Xhosa communities live, the likelihood of direct requests being made from more remote rural communities in, for example, the Fort Victoria region of Zimbabwe, or the mountainous kingdom of Basotho, is even further reduced.

In order to address the potential for archival Xhosa recordings to connect with contemporary urban Xhosa communities, an example of the very audience for whom Tracey claimed he was making his recordings, I worked closely with two local musicians, artists and social activists, Nyakonzima Tsana and Xolile Madinda. Together, we devised a specific method of 'sound elicitation', designed to circulate this recorded Xhosa heritage back on the streets and in people's houses, yards and lives by inserting field recordings into the local spaces and mechanisms through which people actually make, circulate and enjoy their music-making. It then remained to find ways to observe and collect the responses that enhanced understanding of relatively short field recordings, which were often archived alongside only brief documentation and single-line catalogue entries.

This particular model was designed to deliver archival recordings using tape copies, MP3s and iPods, reaching beyond the sound archive to places where internet access is almost non-existent. I have since been developing this delivery model through exploring the repatriation of sonic heritage to local and, in most cases, offline communities, represented in the sound collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, UK.

The archive of BaAka music recorded by Louis Sarno

My second case study focuses on the Louis Sarno archive of BaAka music, consisting of more than 1,500 hours of music and soundscapes recorded between 1985 and the present day in and around the rainforests of the Central African Republic (CAR). The collection attempts to map the relationship between BaAka music and the wider social and acoustic environment, and is another example of a major collection of field recordings intended to benefit the community whose music it represents. By using recorded musical heritage within a series of curated events that raise awareness of the wider social issues facing an increasingly marginalized community, I have been exploring ways to connect the Pitt Rivers Museum with a remote hunter-gatherer community.

Pro-active sound archiving

My sound elicitation, curation and repatriation research is informed by a range of theoretical approaches derived from applied ethnomusicology, pro-active

sound archiving and museum studies. In principle, I have been responding to Steve Feld's challenge, offered back in 2004, that the anthropology of sound is still mostly writing about sound. He argued that, until we embrace a more creative engagement with sound recording as an analytic mediation, 'little will happen of an interesting sort in the anthropology of sound', which would 'continue to be mostly about words' (Feld and Brenneis, 2004, p. 471). In search of solutions, I have developed more experiential and immersive models for sound curation, designing events for the real-time experience of sound as an active mode of listening and response.

Applied ethnomusicology is an emerging field and encompasses a growing number of projects and practitioners committed to the practical, ethical and reciprocal sharing of musical knowledge and resources, leading to research outcomes beyond the printed page. The field has been defined as

the approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding towards solving concrete problems and towards working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts.

(cited in Harrison et al., 2010, p. 1)

A wide range of projects guided by these principles includes Steve Feld's work with Kaluli communities in the Bosavi Highlands of Papua New Guinea, which has established a Kaluli People's Trust Fund and helped edit a Bosavi to English to Tok Pisin dictionary; and Gregory Barz's (2006) research into music and HIV in Uganda, which uses stories and examples to trace some of the ways in which music can empower local communities and promote health care programmes. Applied ethnomusicologists, heavily influenced by post-colonial theories urging the ethical sharing of resources and ideas, often see themselves as advocates and become engaged in policy development.

Pro-active sound archiving is also a developing field that attempts to create models beyond the preservation and custodianship of musical heritage. Influenced by the recent expansion in sound studies, and the developing fields of the anthropology of sound and the anthropology of the senses, some sound archivists and curators are responding to an increasing range of requests for access to their holdings, and are also developing creative ways to take their recordings outside the archive. The development of curated online portals, such as Alan Lomax's YouTube channel, and the expanding catalogues of record labels such as Ocora, Sublime Frequencies and Rounder Records, all of which release high-quality ethnographic recordings, create important precedents for the circulation of ethnographic recordings. In a recent volume dedicated to pro-active sound archiving, Landau and Topp Fargion (2012, p. 136) stress that

It is clear that radical judgment has been required by some sound archives in order that their access policies may meet the needs of all potential users of their material and, in so doing, fulfill their potential taking seriously their responsibilities.

Archives are increasingly using creative ways to engage different audiences, for example, by developing pop-up cafes among Somali communities around King's Cross (Brinkhurst, 2012), or reviving traditions among the Bunyoro-Kitara of Uganda, where musicians have been persecuted and killed (Kahunde, 2012). Central to such pro-active archiving is sensitivity towards the conditions of local musical transmission, and the empowerment of locals to take ownership over material previously inaccessible to them.

Situating this more generally within the anthropology of sound – the cross-cultural study of what sound means in its social contexts – also makes it possible to conceive of sound as an object, especially with the development of the idea of *hearing* culture. Erlmann argues that this very act suggests that 'it is possible to conceptualize new ways of knowing a culture and of gaining a deepened understanding of how the members of a society know each other' (2004, p. 3). This, Erlmann argues, becomes possible by moving beyond looking at interrelated texts and symbols to also analyse 'the ways in which people relate to each other through the sense of hearing' (Erlmann, 2004, p. 3).

The practical applications of engaging with sonic heritage are ripe for development. In a volume looking at the different cultural practices of remembering, Bijsterveld and Van Dijck note that 'the connection between memory and sound has been under-theorized in studies focusing on music and audio technologies' (2009, p. 14). My research seeks to analyze these very practices, understanding the triggering roles that sound objects and sound elicitation can play within these experiences.

Sound elicitation and case studies

In order to consider how to build more sustainable and meaningful relationships between sound collections and communities, I try to find the most productive (and locally meaningful) ways to circulate recordings and then, in effect, to ask people how they might use such recorded heritage, and why.

The Sound of Africa series, the International Library of African Music and urban Xhosa communities

Having spent time in the local townships around Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, the places where local musicians usually live, it suddenly struck me that these were some of the key places in which Tracey intended his recordings to circulate – the cluttered overflows from town, the disenfranchised

and under-resourced urbanizing places where Tracey assumed that local senses of identity and culture would erode. As I had the pleasure of getting to know local artists Nyakonzima ('Nyaki') Tsana, Xolile 'X-Nasty' Madinda and others, I asked whether Xhosa people locally would be interested in hearing the recordings collected by Tracey. I was assured that people would demand to hear them if they knew about them, but that most people would not seek them out in an archive. Consequently, I spent several days with Nyaki in the archive, listening to the entirety of Tracey's Xhosa recordings, while Nyaki applied his knowledge of contemporary music and ceremonies and identified songs and lyrics that were still sung and seemed relevant today. When we heard 'Somagwaza', a song recorded by Tracey in 1956 at Qaukeni in the Lusikisiki District among a group of Mpondo men, Nyaki responded with delight that this song was 'our Xhosa anthem', and that 'everybody knows this song'. Tracey had described 'Somagwaza' as a song 'sung in thanks to the Chief when he has killed a beast for them' (1973, p. 58), but Nyaki explained that for local Xhosa the song was usually sung at specific points of an *umgidi* initiation ceremony. He was delighted to hear such a recording that was over 50 years old and was convinced that people would be amazed to hear the historical recording, and to know that it even existed.

Following this path, we identified six key Xhosa recordings to take to local community members for sound elicitation, standardizing these choices as the core of all listening sessions so that everybody heard all of these songs, which therefore enabled us to compare responses. We also included other ceremonial songs, and an example of both the *uhadi* and *umrhubhe* mouth bows, distinctive Xhosa instruments that were now played only very rarely. The central method and objective was to plug the recordings into local social mechanisms for musical transmission, thus enabling local artists, elders and other community members to take more ownership over their own recorded heritage, contributing to ideas for future sound curation.

Having identified these specific songs, we tested the method of elicitation among different audiences, including Xhosa and non-Xhosa students at Rhodes University, and other Xhosa and non-Xhosa community members in a variety of venues, including bars, houses and offices, to assess how people responded to recordings. Generally speaking, non-Xhosa people had little to say of direct substance in response to Xhosa recordings, affirming my contention that we needed the recordings to circulate among those very people whose culture provided the context for the recordings.

Nyaki and I drew up a list of hundreds of musicians, artists, elders and youths with whom we wanted to share the recordings, and we began to programme a series of informal meetings, designed to establish listening sessions throughout the townships. We began by taking the recordings into the homes of Nyaki's family and immediately noticed the strength of the physical, verbal,

and emotional and affective responses to the recordings. Nomtwasana, Nyaki's aunt, repeatedly demonstrated various dances that accompanied some of the songs, displaying her virtuosic upper-body strength. During one of these listening sessions in Nomtwasana's house, Colleen Cira appeared in the front room and proclaimed that 'children don't listen to these songs anymore!' Colleen then proceeded to sit down and tell stories about the recordings for several hours, later insisting that we take them to his house the following week so that he could round up elders and youths from the nearby streets to come and listen. Whenever possible, we followed such momentum wherever it took us, always looking for effective ways to insert the recordings into local social mechanisms.

Nyaki recommended that, if I wanted the recordings to be shared more widely, an effective method would be to hire a donkey cart equipped with speakers to serve as a mobile listening post. He also suggested mobilizing a number of young, local musicians and artists to travel around the townships singing the songs, and to set up a PA system on the street to DJ the ethnographic recordings alongside house, hip hop and kwaito. These methods proved strikingly productive, with the walking-cart spectacle announcing a public event to which large numbers of people responded. DJ-ing and presenting news and community messages at such street forums is, indeed, a common way of engaging people locally. Plugging recorded archival heritage inside this practice was thus unusual, yet appropriate, given the performative and public nature of the forums. The PA system enabled the recordings to be broadcast over a wider public area, reaching an old people's home where elders would sit outside in the yard in the afternoon sun. This led to a later visit to the home and an invitation to conduct a listening session there, which involved an audience of over 40 elders, who responded enthusiastically and emphatically to the recordings with their own stories, memories and observations.

As we followed the momentum, we were regularly asked to bring the recordings to people's houses, ceremonies, yards and schools. After each day of listening sessions, Nyaki and I would adjourn to a bar to evaluate the day and plan the next listening sessions, before heading to my flat to translate the interviews, which had been conducted in a mixture of Xhosa and English. Over time I began to spot patterns in the content of responses, and these inevitably shaped our next listening sessions. 'Somagwaza', more than any other song, prompted vibrant and vigorous debate on Xhosa music, performance and heritage. There were as many different responses as listening sessions, and many people debated who and what Somagwaza was, who had the right to sing this song, where it had come from and how it had changed over time. Accordingly, as we built up a bank of replies, these were fed into future listening sessions, testing whether people agreed, thus building up deep layers of response to a single recording with a limited single-line descriptive catalogue entry. Notably,

not one person agreed with Tracey that the song was a praise song for a chief after he had slaughtered a cow.

Among listeners, there was a great demand to access the material on their own terms, and to use it in locally meaningful ways. For example, a group of young artists listened closely to the moral messages in some of Tracey's recordings, especially one song – 'Dlalani' – which presents the correct conduct for courting. The group then wrote and performed a play designed to make these messages resonate today, in a township world where statistics of violence and rape are shockingly high. The contemporary circulation and interpretation of recorded heritage thus directly touched upon issues of urgent and ongoing concern.

Developing sound collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum

In order to expand this model of sound elicitation and practical sound curation, I decided to adapt its application to other communities, paying attention to local conditions and social mechanisms. For the past nine years, I have been developing the sound and music collections at the PRM, including the world's largest archive of BaAka music, recorded by Louis Sarno. Sarno, originally from New Jersey, was captivated by BaAka music and first travelled to the Central African Republic in 1985 to record the music. Almost 30 years later, he still lives with a BaAka community in and around Yandoumbé, a settlement he helped found. Over this period, Sarno has created an unprecedented collection, recording the entire range of music-making and soundscapes of a single community across more than a generation. BaAka polyphony and polyrhythm is studied and is well known internationally, but Sarno has also managed to record ceremonies that last for days or weeks, as well as the full range of instrumentation, including water-drumming, earth bows, pot bows and tree-drumming. He has recorded the music in its social and environmental context. The recordings thus provide a means to map the relationship between music-making, the rainforest and BaAka ways of life. BaAka net-hunting, for example, is always preceded by a *boyobi* ceremony designed to ensure group co-ordination by enticing *bobé* forest spirits to dance and bless the forthcoming hunt with their symbolic spitting. The hunting itself is accompanied by a system of songs, sounds and symbols, designed to enable hunters to communicate animal sightings and hunting positions, then to startle them into nets, and finally to celebrate their capture.

Sarno donated the main bulk of his archive to the PRM in 1997 with the explicit stipulation that any commercial proceeds from the recordings must benefit the BaAka communities whose music they represent. Having catalogued and digitized his entire archive, it was clear to me that there was a double requirement for sound elicitation to enhance the recorded content. First, in April 2012 I arranged for Sarno to come to Oxford for a month, and together we went through as many of the recordings and images as possible, thus

identifying his priorities as well as my own. This process of elicitation with the collector helped clarify his editing and recording frame. For example, it became clear that his bias was towards the women's polyphonic singing. Louis identified various recordings he wanted to take back to the CAR now that his tape recordings were no longer available there, and these included some *ejengi* recordings he had made in The Republic of Congo in 2003, where the ceremonial music often tends to be observed more traditionally. Six months later, after Louis' return to the CAR, I received an email in which he reported that

those *ejengi* recordings from Congo, by the way, which I brought here on 4 CDs, were very popular with the BaAka [sic]. They listened to them over and over, and when we had our own *ejengi* dance a few months ago, I was proud at how well the whole ceremony went, with all the stages included. I'm sure the recordings inspired them.

(9 October 2012)

Louis later added that people came from outlying villages to visit Yandoumbé to learn and participate in the revived *ejengi* ceremony, which now included all of the previously forgotten stages.

Because of the enormous preliminary task of digitizing this collection, my work on the BaAka recordings has thus far been largely Oxford-based, with, unfortunately, limited contact with the community itself. Yet these circumstances have also forced me to think about ways in which institutions and museums such as the PRM can activate and use their sound collections in more creative, collaborative and ethical ways, both for listeners and for local communities of origin.

On 23 November 2012, for example, I co-curated, together with Nathaniel Mann, embedded composer in residence at the PRM, 'Sound Galleries': a late-night event of musical torchlit trails. For this evening we plunged the galleries into darkness, immersed the entire museum inside a four-hour BaAka soundscape, and invited visitors to explore and interact with the sound-enriched museum by torchlight. We streamed the whole event online and informed Louis and the BaAka in advance, and together they walked for an hour through the rainforest to get to the nearest satellite phone connection at the WWF office in Bayanga in order to watch footage from the live webcam high up in the PRM galleries. A few days later I received another email from Louis, informing me:

I watched some of the BaAka evening here at the WWF office. Others here crowded around to watch too. Really cool. They all loved it. Good to hear those *Ejengi* recordings... A couple of BaAka were here and so got to watch

it. They thoroughly enjoyed it, felt proud to hear their music used that way. Also they loved the music.

(27 November 2012)

Building on this growing link with the BaAka community whose music is represented and curated at the PRM, I established a 'Designs for the Delivery of Ethnographic Sound' network, intended to think through how such a resource can be shared with the BaAka community in a more sustainable way. For this purpose I assembled a small team of anthropologists, sound archivists, sound artists, audio analysts and digital humanities experts. Although it is clearly possible to stream sounds from an archive back in the rainforest via satellite phone, it was established that lo-tech solutions were likely to be the most viable and sustainable options, for example by loading the recordings into cheap iPods that can circulate in the rainforests. The potential connections between institutions and local communities in this case are likely to follow a joint model using the technology that already exists within rainforests, using the few Playstations, as per Sony website mobile phones, radio programmes and CD players that are intermittently available. These can all be used in combination with more hi-tech solutions that can deliver an interactive website hosting contemporary video, recordings and updates, presenting direct BaAka voices that, much like local Xhosa voices, are currently missing from a curated music heritage project.

Future directions for collaborative sound curation

What are some of the possible futures for the collaborative curation of music and sound? It seems right that sound curators should explore ways to raise awareness of the contemporary cultural, social and political realities of the local communities whose music sound archives contain. Without these ongoing developments, an archive might seem to be the mere preservation of an abstract and even idealized example of the way things used to sound.

Louis Sarno has collected dozens of hours of BaAka *mbyo* flute music, beautifully recorded within its environmental rainforest context. Lilted sweet melodies and overtones blown from a four-hole flute dance within the cathedral-like canopy, often creating the sonic illusion of two women singing perfectly interlocking *yeyi* or yodeling. *Mbyo* players often used to walk around the camp at night as people slept, playing music to offer protection and enter people's dreams. During the period in which Louis has been recording, the three master flute players – Mindumi, Mobila and Momboli (or 'Contreboeuf') – have all died, and the flute is no longer played or heard within this community. It seems that the next generation of children did not pick it up, and the knowledge of how to make the flute from a very particular palm has also gone. Mobila bequeathed the last flute to Louis, who had shown an interest in learning to

play. Louis was, until recently, carefully looking after the flute in his home in Yandoumbé with the intention of eventually donating it to the PRM for preservation. Musical instruments at the PRM are curated as records of how objects have been made, rather than as playing instruments, and this would be a wonderful complement to the dozens of hours of recordings of *mbyo*-playing which can be used to study scales, tones and playing styles. It would also then become possible to make more *mbyos*.

In March 2013, Sarno posted on Facebook a picture of BaAka children swimming in the river in the rainforest, captioned 'our refugee camp'. Seleka rebels had just overthrown the government in the capital Bangui and were steadily targeting towns and villages for loot and wealth. NGO workers fled the country while the BaAka community fled into the forest. Louis stayed for a while but then was forced to evacuate to the US. Before he left the country, he returned to his house to find that rebels had senselessly destroyed everything, tearing up his journals, stealing his hard drive containing years of photographs and images, and had stamped with their boots over the last remaining flute.

What role can a sound archive play given such political, social and economic instability? A first step is for pro-active sound archiving to consult and collaborate with the very people whose heritage has been archived, in order to explore grassroots and practical ways that their contemporary realities can be reflected through, and linked with, archival resources. This might involve a sharing of skills, knowledge and resources, or the mobilization of an international community committed to working towards solutions. In some cases this may lead to cultural revival – as in the case of Aaron Fox's Iñupiat repatriation project using Laura Boulton's recordings, and some of the sound repatriation using Alan Lomax recordings conducted through the Association for Cultural Equity working in the Caribbean and elsewhere. In some communities there exist the infrastructure and expertise to enable the circulation and use of repatriated sound, through cultural centres, websites and other social mechanisms. However, in many cases, as with the BaAka communities, one solution might be to use recorded heritage to mobilize other forms of awareness and resources, such as health care, trust funds and political representation.

The collaborative curation models I am developing through ILAM, the PRM and elsewhere explore ways to enable local artists and experts to claim ownership over recorded heritage, and in some cases this is probably the only way to ensure continued circulation and relevance, bringing local voices together with heritage resources that are often collected and made by people outside the community. Anthropologist Johannes Fabian (1983) would call this 'co-evalness', the refusal to relegate communities to a timeless 'ethnographic present', and instead creating a shared collaborative space that may be enabled by sound and music.

Some of the other sound collections at the PRM are in the process of being shared and repatriated. Many of Patti Langton's recordings, images and manuscripts collected in the South Sudan in 1979–1980 have just been repatriated via Peter Longole, Patti's research collaborator and now an MP. Peter intends to use these resources in schools to teach about pre-civil war history. Similarly, all of the recently digitized wax cylinders recorded in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands in 1912 by Diamond Jenness have now been repatriated to the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, where it is anticipated that they will begin to be used and circulated more widely.

However, in these case studies using sound collections from ILAM and the collection of BaAka music, it is vital to explore the non-institutional aspects of sonic repatriation, developing infrastructures for the circulation of sound by understanding local social mechanisms for musical transmission. Proactive sound curation requires creative outreach to raise awareness of archival resources, and a ready willingness to embrace non-institutional requests for access and use. By encouraging local artists and other community members to conceive and explore new methods of circulation, sound archives and the field recordings they contain can be refreshed and reinvented, drawing contemporary and performed responses alongside preserved heritage. Aditi Deo, in her analysis of archives of vernacular music in India, argues that the production of community archives is 'less about material aspects of archives management – collection, preservation, and dissemination as it is about the generative roles that archiving may play in communities' (2013, p. 19). I predict that future sound curation is likely to be most effective when sound and music heritage is embedded in locally meaningful events, collaboratively designed to immerse people in recorded heritage. Whether these events involve donkey carts or audiences from different continents, they will increasingly take place beyond the confines of institutional walls.

References

- Barz, G. (2006) *Singing for Life: HIV/AIDS and Music in Uganda* (New York: Routledge).
- Bijsterveld, K. and van Dijck, J. (2009) *Sound Memories: Audio Technologies – Memory and Cultural Practices* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press).
- Brinkhurst, E. (2012) 'Archives and Access: Reaching Out to the Somali Community of London's King's Cross' in C. Landau and J. Topp-Fargion (eds) *Ethnomusicology, Archives and Communities: Methodologies for an Equitable Discipline*, Special Issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 21(2), 243–58.
- Deo, A. (2013) 'Digital Community Archives for Vernacular Musics: Cases from India', *International Association of Sound Archives*, 41, 15–20.
- Erlmann, V. (2004) *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity* (Oxford and New York: Berg).
- Fabian, J. (1983) *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press).

- Feld, S. and Brenneis, D. (2004) 'Doing Anthropology in Sound', *American Ethnologist*, 31(4), 461–74.
- Harrison, K., Mackinlay, E. and Pettan, S. (2010) *Applied Ethnomusicology: Historical and Contemporary Approaches* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing).
- Kahunde, S. (2012) 'Repatriating Sound Recordings to Revive Traditions: The Role of the Klaus Wachsmann Recordings in the Revival of the Royal Music of Bunyoro-Kitara, Uganda' in C. Landau and J. Topp Fargion (eds) *Ethnomusicology, Archives and Communities: Methodologies for an Equitable Discipline*, Special Issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 21(2), 197–219.
- Landau, C. and Topp Fargion, J. (2012) 'We Are All Archivists Now: Towards a More Equitable Ethnomusicology' in C. Landau and J. Topp Fargion (eds) *Ethnomusicology, Archives and Communities: Methodologies for an Equitable Discipline*, Special Issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 21(2), 124–40.
- Sterne, J. (2012) *MP3: The Meaning of a Format* (Durham and New York: Duke University Press).
- Tracey, H. (1959) Letter from HT to H. C. Finkel, Esq., Director of African Education, Salisbury, 11 December 1959. Available in the ILAM archives.
- Tracey, H. (1968) Untitled and unpublished typescript dated 3 September 1968. Available in the ILAM archives.
- Tracey, H. (1973) *Catalogue – The Sound of Africa Series: 210 Long Playing Records of Music and Songs from Central, Eastern and Southern Africa*. Volume II. (Roodeport, South Africa: International Library of African Music).

15

Heritage and Sport

Gregory Ramshaw and Sean Gammon

Heritage and sport have a long history, though it is only recently that this relationship has been examined in any great detail. Timothy (2011) argues that sport has played a central role in various cultures and societies for millennia, while the relics, events and locations of the sporting past are celebrated, venerated and protected like any other type of heritage. Bale (2000) further notes that sports teams and athletes hold a special place in the community in which they play, while sport sites, such as stadia and sporting venues, are imbued with special cultural meanings by supporters. However, the relationship between sport and heritage has only come into focus within the past generation. This chapter explores the connections between sport and heritage, noting that the primary focus of sport heritage has been touristic consumption. We then examine sport heritage through recognizable attractions, namely sports museums and halls of fame, sports stadia and sporting venues, heritage-based sporting events, and sport-based fantasy camps, as well as through personal sport heritage journeys. Finally, we consider the future directions for the heritage/sport relationship, both inside and outside of touristic use.

Connecting sport and tourism

Sport can be heritage, and is often used as an expression of culture, identity and nationalism, and the heritage of sport is called upon for a variety of contemporary purposes, from the design of stadia (Friedman et al., 2004) to legitimizing and enshrining contemporary sporting practices (Starn, 2006). Although aspects of sport-related heritage have been explored in leisure studies (Redmond, 1973), sociology (Mosher, 1991; Snyder, 1991), history (Kidd, 1996; Vamplew, 1998) and geography (Springwood, 1996), it was with sport tourism – specifically Gibson’s (1998) categorization of visiting sites of the sporting past as ‘nostalgia’ sport tourism – that the relationship between sport and heritage began to take shape. Citing Gibson’s work, Ramshaw and Gammon (2005)

added a heritage lens to this area of research, arguing that nostalgia was too limited a view and that only through heritage as a distinct concept could the complexity of the sporting past be revealed.

Although sport heritage is becoming more widely represented, it has not always been embraced as part of the heritage canon. Moore (2008) and Gammon (2007) maintain that the popularity of sport, along with the fact that sport heritage is relatively recent and perhaps perceived as trivial, has meant that sport heritage was often dismissed. However, texts such as Murray's (2011) exploration of sport heritage representations at museums, heritage publications such as the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and the *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, both of which have recently published sport heritage special issues (in 2013 and 2014 respectively), and more locations protecting and representing the sporting past alongside 'traditional' forms of heritage, means that there appears to be a growing acceptance of sport-based heritage. Furthermore, the fact that sport heritage is ubiquitous, has been widely disseminated through mass media, and lies within recent memory could also be considered assets. Few cultural practices emit as many touchstone moments as sport. For supporters, a particular match, athlete or event is often interwoven within a personal heritage narrative. Perhaps it is little surprise that sport even forms a backdrop for the most essential heritage, that of the family. For those with a nominal interest in sport, or no interest at all, one need not obsess over box scores to see the connection between sport and broader forms of heritage. In the US, for example, the legacy of Jackie Robinson far outstrips his baseball accomplishments. By breaking baseball's colour barrier in 1947, Robinson's act of bravery, defiance and courage changed the country, and one need not be a baseball fanatic to understand and appreciate this heritage.

Despite the presence of sport heritage in a variety of academic fields, the relationship between heritage and sport is most fully developed and explored in tourism. This comes as little surprise. Many sport heritages exist within living memory, are often both emotive and popular, and can draw from a broad, international audience. Given the tourism networks that now exist, particularly the spatial and financial accessibility of global travel, the dedicated fan – or nominal observer – can now connect with a variety of sporting pasts with relative ease (Ramshaw, 2006). Similarly, heritage is a process that transcends national boundaries, both through formal institutional agreements like UNESCO's World Heritage programme and through conflict, climate change and human rights, to name but a few (Labadi and Long, 2010). However, the active and explicit use of heritage in place-making strategies, particularly to attract global capital (Morley and Robins, 1995), is perhaps where heritage connects most closely with sport and tourism. One need only look at urban redevelopment initiatives in the US in cities like Baltimore (Judd, 1999), St Louis and Cleveland (Mason et al., 2008) that explicitly employ sport heritage –

particularly through 'retro' stadia, sport-based museums and sport-themed retail services – as a central feature both in creating a distinct sense of place for tourism, and also as a means of attracting and retaining economic and intellectual capital. Therefore, we consider four different types of sport heritage attractions in our discussion, as well as exploring the role of personal touristic journeys in sport heritage.

Sport museums and halls of fame

Perhaps the most visible and obvious manifestations of sport heritage are sport museums and sport halls of fame. In general, sport museums are meant to enshrine and celebrate sports teams, athletes, managers and owners, as well as commemorating famous matches, records and achievements (Gammon and Ramshaw, 2013). Beyond celebration, many sport museums and halls of fame also have specific corporate aims, be they championing the mission and future directions of host organizations or increasing organizational revenue through hospitality events (such as weddings, meetings, birthday parties and the like) (Ramshaw, 2010; Murray, 2011). As Fairley and Gammon (2005) explain, sport museums and halls of fame are meant to be different – the former being more about sport history while the latter is decidedly more nostalgic and celebratory – though, in practice, the terms are interchangeable.

Many sport museums and halls of fame are directly tied to tourism. The global nature of contemporary fandom means that many supporters come from outside the local area, and that particular sports and athletes have worldwide appeal. The sport museum or hall of fame can provide a year-round venue for fans to experience something of their favourite sport, team or athlete – even outside the regular competition season (Ramshaw, 2006). Many museums are also conduits for retail opportunities for the tourist, selling souvenirs, tickets and experiences (such as fantasy camps). Tourism has also changed the kinds and types of sport heritage exhibits and narratives at museums and halls of fame. O'Neill and Osmond's (2011) exploration of how the Australian racehorse Phar Lap has been exhibited and interpreted at different periods of time is a case in point, as the interpretation of the artefact has changed from strictly a biological specimen to a symbol of nationhood and a focus for increasing museum admissions and souvenir receipts. Ramshaw's (2010) examination of the Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum at Canada Olympic Park in Calgary, Canada, also demonstrates the tourism–narrative connection, noting that particular exhibits at the site – such those connected with bobsled – were often highlighted in order to attract and retain the German market. Beyond the museum itself, sport museums and halls of fame have been used in wider development strategies. Moore (2008) contends that sport museums are integral in urban regeneration and reimagining strategies, as sporting cultures

can be a unique selling feature for destinations, and cites the role of the National Football Museum in Preston as, in part, playing a role in the city's makeover. Interestingly, the National Football Museum has since moved from Preston to Manchester in order to better capture the tourist market while also acknowledging Manchester's place in global football culture.

Sports stadia and sporting venues

Sports stadia and sporting venues are also one of the more ubiquitous manifestations of sport heritage. Although sports venues could be viewed strictly as utilitarian structures, many have become iconic and important symbols of communities, teams, players and events (Bale, 2000; Gammon, 2010). Given the global nature of sports fandom, many sporting venues have become sites of pilgrimage for the dedicated fan, as well as locations of local cultural meanings for casual supporters and non-fans.

Although John (2002) refers to stadia and sporting venues as the 'sleeping giants of tourism', their potential for attracting a specific and dedicated form of sport/heritage tourists cannot be denied. Boston's Fenway Park baseball stadium and Barcelona's Camp Nou are core tourism destinations in their respective cities, attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors annually, even on non-game days and during the off-season (Gammon, 2002; Friedman, 2007). According to Gammon (2010), sports venues have become 'more than just places in which events take place; they are now places to visit, to stand near to, to touch, to record an image of or, perhaps, to experience more intimately through a tour' (p. 116). As such, the meanings and importance of sporting venues – which inevitably includes heritage – have been commodified for touristic consumption, primarily through the backstage stadium tour.

Stadium tours, which normally include areas of the venue closed to the general public, such as private suites, locker rooms, media centres and the chance to be near (but never on) the playing surface, offer

those that visit [stadia] the prospect to cross the symbolic boundaries that distinguish the worlds of the audience and the worlds of the performer or privileged. They encourage deeper interactions with place; propagating more embodied experiences of stadia – and in doing so, more meaningful experiences of the heritage that potentially resides within.

(Ramshaw et al., 2013, p. 19)

Stadia and sports venue tours reflect, quite literally, MacCannell's (1973) backstage authenticity, although venue tours still largely reflect something of the front stage, too (Gammon and Fear, 2007). Heritage is one of the central attractions of the backstage tour. Many venue tours are at historic venues with either

a particular age or infamy: some venues hosted famous games and/or players, and some stadia have been ascribed significant cultural meanings by supporters or communities. Stadia are also repositories for famous artefacts, such as trophies, artwork and memorabilia, many of which are 'stops' during the tour.

However, sports venues are quite often different from other heritage attractions, in that they are in a constant state of upgrade, renewal and – in some cases – rebuilding. At times, this fissure between past and present/future can be a challenge, particularly when a new stadium replaces a beloved, historic venue (Titterington and Done, 2012). Therefore, tours will often feature narratives that explicitly link the 'old' venue with the contemporary stadium. Belanger (2000), for example, describes the transfer of heritage from the 'old' Montreal Forum to the 'new' Molson Centre in Montreal, noting that the new venue seamlessly inherited many of the heritage meanings of its historic predecessor. Venue tours of the Molson (né Bell) Centre re-enforce the venue's inherited heritage values through the explicit inclusion of artefacts, plaques, museum displays and narratives about former players and games – many of which occurred at the old venue (Personal tour, 2012). Gammon and Fear (2007) also describe how tours of the new Millennium Stadium in Cardiff feature narratives about Cardiff Arms Park, the former Welsh national stadium, while Ramshaw and Gammon (2010) explain how tours of Twickenham Stadium emphasize the history and heritage of the stadium despite the venue being, for all intents and purposes, a contemporary stadium after numerous renovations and upgrades. Even sports venues with little history and few notable events will, in effect, borrow heritage narratives from other, better-established stadia for use during tours (Ramshaw et al., 2013).

Heritage-based sporting events

Sport and heritage frequently intersect at events. Many annual or regular sporting events have a heritage component, which is often part of their appeal. The popularity of annual sporting events like the Masters golf tournament, the football FA Cup, the Wimbledon tennis tournament and the baseball World Series, to name but a few, likely stems in part from their traditions, legacy and history. Each Olympic Games pays homage to its heritage, whether the ancient Games, the modern Games created by de Coubertin, or the records and heroes of Games past (Gammon et al., 2013). However, though heritage is part of their appeal, these types of events are centrally about competition and crowning champions. Other sporting events, conversely, have heritage as a primary focus, while the competition is secondary or, indeed, incidental. The Heritage Classic ice hockey event, for example, espoused the heritage and nostalgia of outdoor ice hockey, particularly in comparison to the hyper-competitive contemporary

game (Ramshaw and Hinch, 2006). Although the event – and subsequent outdoor matches – had a ‘winner’ and a ‘loser’, the central focus was a celebration of the sport and of northern recreational heritage. Similarly, the Arctic Winter Games includes many traditional Aboriginal sports, and, despite being competitive, is primarily about maintaining and celebrating identity (Hinch and de la Barre, 2005). Even infamous events like the Running of the Bulls in Pamplona, and the many ‘mass’ or ‘mob’ football matches on Shrove Tuesday, are perhaps more cultural events than sporting competitions. Such events have become tourist attractions in their own right, and are often included as a key feature in many destinations’ tourist portfolios.

But it is not just special events that generate such outside interest; regular everyday sports events are increasingly being seen as an opportunity for visitors to both experience and potentially tap into a country’s or community’s heritage. The idea that sports events offer a more authentic insight into a destination’s culture is not new (Crawford, 2004; Higham and Hinch, 2009), but the notion that they specifically offer a more intimate and personalized interaction with a host’s heritage has received scant attention. As intimated earlier in the chapter, sports events represent a country’s heritage on a number of levels: not only through the action taking place on the field of play but also through the behaviours and traditions performed by the fans. Indeed, it is these intangible heritage performances that act as a validation and celebration of the more recognizable heritage components that take place within the sport itself.

Beyond sport heritage being the focus of events, sporting events can have a tremendous impact on non-sport heritage, particularly built structures. Strohmayr’s (2013) discussion of failed Parisian Olympic bids highlights the tension between having built, non-sport heritage structures as part of the background ‘set’ for international sporting event television audiences, while also realizing that the demands of contemporary sports venues are not always compatible with a built heritage environment in terms of aesthetics and size. Anton et al. (2013) further argue that sporting events often irrevocably change the built heritage environment, often changing the meanings of these environments in the pursuit of tourism and other post-event legacies. Finally, Boukas et al. (2013) contend that sporting events can have the potential for generating post-event heritage tourism, citing the 2004 Athens Olympic Games as a sporting event that had implications for the city’s post-Games heritage tourism.

Sport fantasy camps

Sport fantasy camps offer a more intimate and tangible interaction with sport heritage. Attendees of such camps have an opportunity to play and practise their chosen sport alongside the sporting heroes of their past. Such experiences will often take place in venues and/or training grounds currently used by

the professionals (Gammon, 2002; Fairley and Gammon, 2005; Gammon and Ramshaw, 2013) Unsurprisingly, much of the literature referring to sport fantasy camps has been framed within the nostalgia literature – however, fantasy camps also illustrate a further example of how individuals and groups choose to celebrate and protect a number of sport heritage components. First, they offer the prospect of the individual validating their own personal heritage, for these camps help endorse the significance of past sporting achievements and eras to those who attend. For example, some camps will encourage attendees to re-enact famous plays or events from the past, and in doing so will ritually celebrate and, in many ways, protect important personal and collective sporting moments. Second, camps also incorporate a built heritage factor into the event – by promoting a more intimate, embodied experience of place. Much as in the experience of stadium tours, the boundaries between consumer and performer will be broken. Yet the salient draw to such events is the chance for ‘campees’ to directly interact with living heritage, in the shape of the players and coaches from a bygone era.

Ramshaw’s (2010) exploration of ‘living’ sport heritage at Calgary’s Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum uses the analogy of a ‘zoo’, in that athletes – particularly during their training sessions – are often exhibits too. Through these live displays, we are meant to admire the athletes from one side of the glass – but also to understand and empathize with them as we come to realize their dedication, perseverance and sacrifice. In a sense, then, fantasy camps strengthen this empathy and understanding. We are meant to live the life of an athlete for a short period of time, learn what makes them tick, and understand the immense skill and talent it takes to compete at the top. Certainly, the fantasy camp is meant to be fun – and, as most are in luxury locations, the many hardships of the elite athlete, such as training, rejection and injury, are muted in favour of a momentary glimpse into a life of privilege. However, in a sense, the fantasy camp allows an intimacy with the sports object: they become real, human, and not just something to admire at a distance.

Personal sport heritage journeys

For many heritage journeys, the goal is not necessarily to tour the ancient and wondrous monuments of the past but, rather, to find something of the self (Timothy, 1997). Often these journeys are for genealogical purposes, such as piecing together a family tree or to ‘walk in the footsteps’ of a family member (Higginbotham, 2012); however, journeys can also have more existential goals, such as the search for the authentic self or for a sense of *communitas* (Wang, 1999). Byrne (2012) suggests that the heritages that are often most intense, meaningful and intimate are those that are intertwined with our life histories (or perceptions thereof). Of course, personal heritages are often more

mundane than monumental (though perhaps not to the person living them), which may be why heritages of the self have largely been overlooked in heritage studies. Similarly, sport heritage is often filtered through our interpersonal connections or our understanding of our place within our lived landscape. Sport literature, in particular, is rife with examples of personal heritages. For example, Stanton's (2001) text about watching the Detroit Tigers during their final season at Tiger Stadium – a beloved historic baseball stadium that has since been demolished – is much more about sharing and recalling his experiences at the stadium with his father, as well as creating new memories with his own children, than about the tangible heritage properties of the facility. In this, the heritage comes from understanding the self, the connections with others and a sense of mortality, and the tangible and more institutionalized heritage structures (in Stanton's case, a baseball stadium) become the witnesses, conduits and warehouses for these personal heritages. Similarly, Ramshaw (2014) further describes a personal journey to a cricket match in Kent, where sport heritage was viewed as an intersection of a more cherished and intimate heritage (e.g. a family member's abiding connection to a particular cricket ground) and a more collective and traditional form of heritage (gazing on the cricket match as an authentic representation of English sport and leisure). However, tangible and institutionalized heritage structures often do not need to be present in personal heritage journeys. As both Bagnall (2003) and Smith (2006) contend, experiencing and performing heritage can, in and of itself, be a heritage. Indeed, as Fairley's (2003, 2009) exploration of nostalgia sport tourists suggests, some journeys are more about maintaining identity (both individual and collective) than nostalgizing the toured location. Naturally, a lack of research does not necessarily suggest a shortage of material, as it seems logical that much of sport heritage is or could be of a personal and existential nature. Some journeys may include the search for roots, particularly if a family member was an ex-athlete. Other journeys may include the playing and performing of former sporting roles, such as when a team reunites later in life to play 'one last game'. Hinch and Higham (2005) suggest that some sport tourism journeys can be existential in nature, and are both a display of personal identities and a deep engagement with the sensory perceptions of self. In this, it is not a stretch to view some aspects of sport heritage as personal performances of heritage identities as well as a *feeling* of heritage through the performance.

Future directions in sport heritage

Despite recent interest, sport heritage remains a relatively underexplored topic in heritage studies. Thankfully, it appears that there is a greater appreciation of sport heritage in heritage studies and related fields; however, sport heritage remains somewhat untapped in terms of what it might reveal about heritage,

particularly those heritages that are recent and popular and that exist primarily for commercial reasons. Certainly, the touristic applications of sport heritage have received the greatest attention, yet even here there are many avenues for exploration. The role of sport heritage in destination image, and how locations might use sport heritage as a catalyst or lure for tourism development, has not been widely explored. On the surface, sport heritage appears to have a much smaller appeal than more traditional forms of either sport or heritage tourism. However, there is some evidence to suggest that sport heritage can play a significant role in tourism development. The tour and museum at Camp Nou, home of FC Barcelona, attracts over one million visitors per year. This makes it one of the most popular attractions in a city renowned for its cultural heritage attractions (Gammon, 2002). Similarly, Boston's Fenway Park, the historic baseball stadium and home of the Boston Red Sox, is one of the most visited tourist attractions in Massachusetts (Friedman and Silk, 2005). Like Barcelona, Boston does not lack for heritage tourism experiences. Further, there are numerous sport heritage sites that act as key urban attractions, including the Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto, the NASCAR Hall of Fame in Charlotte, the National Football Museum in Manchester, and the College Football Hall of Fame in Atlanta (which, coincidentally, overlaps with more sport heritage at the Olympic Plaza). Ramshaw and Bottelberghe (2014) explored the potential for sport heritage to be a catalyst for regional tourism development initiatives, though at present few hard data exist connecting touristic interest in sport heritage with new or increased levels of visitation. Nevertheless, the role of tourism in sport heritage still requires exploration.

Beyond its touristic use, there appear to be other applications of sport heritage. The role of sport heritage in memorials and other forms of public art requires some exploration, although recent studies have specifically considered the role of sport statues in the sporting landscape (Stride et al., 2012; Stride et al., 2013). Marlins Park in Miami, for example, incorporated the signage from the Orange Bowl football stadium – which was torn down to make way for Marlins Park – in a public plaza outside the ballpark (Miami Marlins, 2013). This example not only points to the utilization of sport heritage and sporting artefacts in stadium construction, but also suggests a role for sport heritage in broader forms of community recognition, urban design and public memorialization.

Sport heritage also has some intriguing connections to public health. This is most acutely demonstrated through the Sporting Memories Network, a project in Leeds that uses sport heritage and nostalgia in reminiscence therapy for patients with dementia (Sporting Memories Network, 2013). The collective elements of sport heritage – of being able to frame personal history through past sporting events and athletes – are thus not just theoretical fodder for researchers, but could also be tools for health care professionals. Sport heritage,

again, may have a health role if we consider its more personal or existential functions. Often, participating in a sport – particularly later in life – can have connections to nostalgia and identity maintenance. Perhaps examining sport participation as a heritage practice may have some health implications, such as encouraging active living throughout the lifespan. Continued participation in a sport – perhaps through individual pursuits like running or cycling, as well as team activities like ‘old-timers’ ice hockey or over-50 soccer/football – may have not only health benefits, but heritage benefits as well.

Finally, it goes without saying that most sport heritage is laudatory and celebrates mostly positive legacies. However, as Ramshaw and Gammon (2005) argue, sport has inherited both positive and negative legacies. Sport heritage sites have, by and large, chosen to overshadow or omit negative legacies, except in cases where acknowledgement of these legacies serves a contemporary purpose. Springwood (1996) argues, for example, that the National Baseball Hall of Fame’s decision to include narratives about the sport’s racially segregated past is a way of simultaneously addressing this past in a self-congratulatory manner and also positioning racism in baseball as a past issue. The continued inclusion of this narrative at the Hall of Fame may also be linked to the sharp decrease in African American youth playing baseball and the lack of black American players currently playing in Major League Baseball (Toner, 2008). However, it may be the case that including those broader heritage narratives that reside ‘beyond the boundary’, as it were, would serve a dual purpose: a more accurate and inclusive representation of sport heritage, as well as appealing to a more broadly based audience – be it nominal or non-sport watchers, girls and women, racial minorities or sexual minorities. Thus, broader narratives may be good for both authenticity and accounting. Furthermore, broader narratives may also inspire the creation of subaltern sport heritages. Indeed, the idea that sport heritage could be a form of resistance is almost entirely absent from the literature and certainly requires further consideration.

Conclusion

Sport has long been a part of the heritage landscape, although it is only in recent years that it has been both recognized and researched. Largely because of its broad and popular appeal, it is most closely associated with tourism and, as such, most of the scholarship about sport heritage has considered it primarily as a tourism resource. Certainly, sport museums, sport halls of fame, and sports stadia can be unique attractions for destinations and, in many cases, are the primary draw for tourism audiences. Sport fantasy camps and personal sport heritage journeys demonstrate a more sensual way in which tourists might engage with sport heritage. Still, sport heritage appears to have many applications and manifestations beyond its tourism uses. Indeed, because sport

heritage is a relatively undeveloped topic, it offers heritage studies scholars a unique vehicle for exploring the creation and consumption of narratives and locations.

References

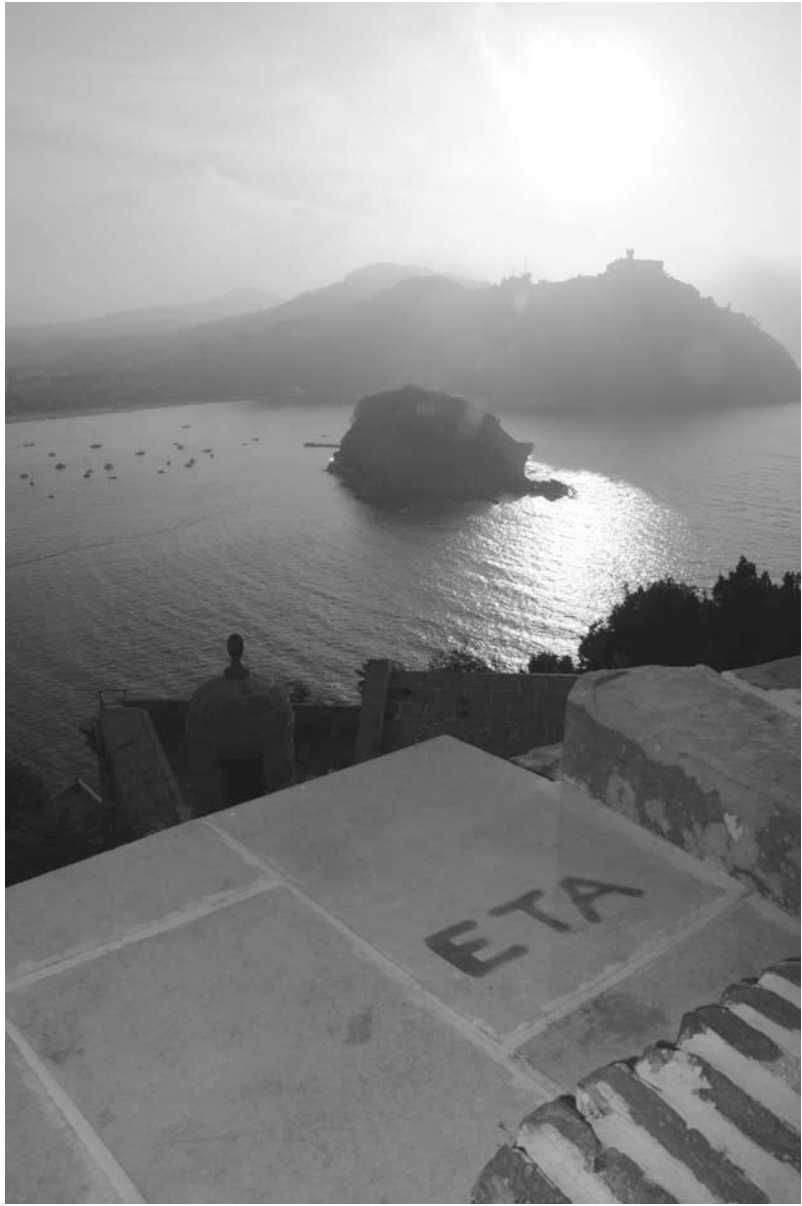
- Anton, M., Garrett, B. L., Hess, A., Miles, E. and Moreau, T. (2013) 'London's Olympic Waterscape: Capturing Transition', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(2), 125–38.
- Bagnall, G. (2003) 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites', *Museum and Society*, 1(2), 87–103.
- Bale, J. (2000) 'The Changing Face of Football: Stadiums and Community', *Soccer & Society*, 1(1), 91–101.
- Belanger, A. (2000) 'Sport Venues and the Spectacularization of Urban Spaces in North America: The Case of the Molson Centre in Montreal', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 35(3), 378–97.
- Boukas, N., Ziakas, V. and Boustras, G. (2013) 'Olympic Legacy and Cultural Tourism: Exploring the Facets of Athens' Olympic Heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(2), 203–28.
- Byrne, D. (2013) 'Love & Loss in the 1960s', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 596–609.
- Crawford, G. (2004) *Consuming Sport* (London: Routledge).
- Fairley, S. (2003) 'In Search of Relived Social Experience: Group-Based Nostalgia Sport Tourism', *Journal of Sport Management*, 17(3), 284–304.
- Fairley, S. (2009) 'The Role of the Mode of Transport in the Identity Maintenance of Sport Fan Travel Groups', *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 14(2–3), 205–22.
- Fairley, S. and Gammon, S. (2005) 'Something Lived, Something Learned: Nostalgia's Expanding Role in Sport Tourism', *Sport in Society*, 2(8), 182–97.
- Friedman, M. (2007) 'The Spectacle of the Past: Leveraging History in Fenway Park and Camden Yards' in S. Gammon and G. Ramshaw (eds) *Heritage, Sport and Tourism: Sporting Pasts – Tourist Futures* (London: Routledge), pp. 103–22.
- Friedman, M. T. and Silk, M. L. (2005) 'Expressing Fenway: Managing and Marketing Heritage within the Global Sports Marketplace', *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, 1(1–2), 37–54.
- Friedman, M. T., Andrews, D. and Silk, M. L. (2004) 'Sport and the Façade of Redevelopment in the Post-Industrial City', *Sociology of Sport*, 21(2) 119–39.
- Gammon, S. (2002) 'Fantasy, Nostalgia and the Pursuit of What Never Was' in S. Gammon and J. Kurtzman (eds) *Sport Tourism: Principles and Practice* (Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association), pp. 61–72.
- Gammon, S. (2007) 'Introduction: Sport, Heritage and the English. An Opportunity Missed?' in S. Gammon and G. Ramshaw (eds) *Heritage, Sport and Tourism: Sporting Pasts – Tourist Futures* (London: Routledge), pp. 1–8.
- Gammon, S. (2010) '"Sporting" New Attractions? The Commodification of the Sleeping Stadium' in R. Sharpley and P. Stone (eds) *Tourism Experiences: Contemporary Perspectives* (London: Routledge), pp. 115–26.
- Gammon, S. and Fear, V. (2007) 'Stadia Tours and the Power of Backstage' in S. Gammon and G. Ramshaw (eds) *Heritage, Sport and Tourism: Sporting Pasts – Tourist Futures* (London: Routledge), pp. 23–32.

- Gammon, S. and Ramshaw, G. (2013) 'Nostalgia and Sport' in A. Fyall and B. Garrod (eds) *Contemporary Cases in Sport* (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers), pp. 201–19.
- Gammon, S., Ramshaw, G. and Waterton, E. (2013) 'Examining the Olympics: Heritage, Identity and Performance', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(2), 119–24.
- Gibson, H. J. (1998) 'Sport Tourism: A Critical Analysis of Research', *Sport Management Review*, 1(1), 45–76.
- Higginbotham, G. (2012) 'Seeking Roots and Tracing Lineages: Constructing a Framework of Reference for Roots and Genealogical Tourism', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 7(3), 189–203.
- Higham, J. and Hinch, T. (2009) *Sport and Tourism: Globalization, Mobility and Identity* (New York: Elsevier).
- Hinch, T. and de la Barre, S. (2005) 'Culture, Sport and Tourism: The Case of the Arctic Winter Games' in J. Higham (ed.) *Sport Tourism Destinations: Issues, Opportunities and Analysis* (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann), pp. 260–73.
- Hinch, T. and Higham, J. (2005) *Sport Tourism Development* (Bristol: Channel View Publications).
- John, G. (2002) 'Stadia and Tourism' in S. Gammon and J. Kurtzman (eds) *Sport Tourism: Principles and Practice* (Eastbourne: LSA Publications), pp. 53–61.
- Judd, D. R. (1999) 'Constructing the Tourist Bubble' in D. R. Judd and S. S. Fainstein (eds) *The Tourist City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), pp. 35–53.
- Kidd, B. (1996) 'The Making of a Hockey Artifact: A Review of the Hockey Hall of Fame', *Journal of Sport History*, 23(3), 328–34.
- Labadi, S. and Long, C. (eds) (2010) *Heritage and Globalisation* (New York: Routledge).
- MacCannell, D. (1973) 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, 79(3), 589–603.
- Mason, D., Ramshaw, G. and Hinch, T. (2008) 'Sports Facilities and Transnational Corporations: Anchors of Urban Tourism Development' in C. M. Hall and T. Coles (eds) *Tourism and International Business: Global Issues, Contemporary Interactions* (New York: Routledge), pp. 220–37.
- Miami Marlins (2013) *Orange Bowl Site*, http://miami.marlins.mlb.com/mia/ballpark/orange_bowl.jsp, accessed 24 May 2013.
- Moore, K. (2008) 'Sports Heritage and the Re-Imagined City: The National Football Museum, Preston', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 14(4), 445–61.
- Morley, D. and Robins, K. (1995) *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London: Routledge).
- Mosher, S. D. (1991) 'Fielding our Dreams: Rounding Third in Dyersville', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 8(3), 272–80.
- Murray, M. G. (ed.) (2011) *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame* (London: Routledge).
- O'Neill, M. and Osmond, G. (2011) 'A Racehorse in the Museum: Phar Lap and the New Museology' in M. G. Murray (ed.) *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame* (London: Routledge), pp. 29–48.
- Ramshaw, G. (2006) 'Heritage Sport Tourism: Development and Perspectives' in P. Bouchet and C. Pigeassou (eds) *Sport Management: Issues and Perspectives* (Montpellier: AFRAPS).
- Ramshaw, G. (2010) 'Living Heritage and the Sports Museum: Athletes, Legacy and the Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum, Canada Olympic Park', *Journal of Sport and Tourism*, 15(1), 45–70.
- Ramshaw, G. (2014) 'A Canterbury Tale: Imaginative Genealogies and Existential Heritage Tourism at the St. Lawrence Ground', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 9(3), 257–69.

- Ramshaw, G. and Bottelberghe, T. (2014) 'Pedaling through the Past: Sport Heritage, Tourism Development, and the Tour of Flanders', *Tourism Review International*, 18(1–2), 23–36.
- Ramshaw, G. and Gammon, S. (2005) 'More Than Just Nostalgia? Exploring the Heritage/Sport Tourism Nexus', *Journal of Sport Tourism*, 10(4), 229–41.
- Ramshaw, G. and Gammon, S. (2010) 'On Home Ground? Twickenham Stadium Tours and the Construction of Sport Heritage', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 5(2), 87–102.
- Ramshaw, G. and Hinch, T. (2006) 'Place Identity and Sport Tourism: The Case of the Heritage Classic Ice Hockey Event', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 9(4–5), 399–418.
- Ramshaw, G., Gammon, S. and Huang, W. (2013) 'Acquired Pasts and the Commodification of Borrowed Heritage: The Case of the Bank of America Stadium Tour', *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 19(1), 17–31.
- Redmond, G. (1973) 'A Plethora of Shrines: Sport in the Museum and Hall of Fame', *Quest*, 19, 41–8.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Snyder, E. (1991) 'Sociology of Nostalgia: Sport Halls of Fame and Museums in America', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 8, 228–38.
- Sporting Memories Network (2013) *Wellbeing through Reminiscence*, <http://www.sportingmemoriesnetwork.com/>, accessed 24 May 2013.
- Springwood, C. F. (1996) *Cooperstown to Dyersville: A Geography of Baseball Nostalgia* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).
- Stanton, T. (2001) *The Final Season* (New York: St Martin's Press).
- Starn, O. (2006) 'Caddying for the Dalai Lama: Golf, Heritage Tourism, and the Pinehurst Resort', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 105(2), 447–63.
- Stride, C., Wilson, J. P. and Thomas, F. (2013) 'Honouring Heroes by Branding in Bronze: Theorizing the UK's Football Statuary', *Sport in Society*, 16(6), 749–71.
- Stride, C., Thomas, F. E., Wilson, J. P. and Pahigan, J. (2012) 'Modeling Stadium Subject Choice in U.S. Baseball and English Soccer', *Journal of Quantitative Analysis in Sport*, 8(1), 1–36. DOI: 10.1515/1559-0410.1399.
- Strohmayer, U. (2013) 'Non-Events and Their Legacies: Parisian Heritage and the Olympics That Never Were', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(2), 186–202.
- Timothy, D. J. (1997) 'Tourism and the Personal Heritage Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), 751–54.
- Timothy, D. J. (2011) *Cultural Heritage Tourism: An Introduction* (Bristol: Channel View).
- Titterton, A. and Done, S. (2012) 'Anfield: Relocating Liverpool's Spiritual Home' in J. Hill, K. Moore and J. Wood (eds) *Sport, History, and Heritage* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press), pp. 195–210.
- Toner, E. (2008) Efforts to Get Black Kids Back to Baseball. *WUWM News: Milwaukee Public Radio*, http://www.wuwm.com/programs/news/view_news.php?articleid=3582, 11 September, accessed 23 September 2008.
- Vamplew, W. (1998) 'Facts and Artefacts: Sport Historians and Sport Museums', *Journal of Sport History*, 25(2), 268–82.
- Wang, N. (1999) 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 349–70.

Part IV

Contested Heritage and Emerging Issues



16

Heritage in Multicultural Times

Cristóbal Gnecco

Heritage seems to be concrete and precise; at least, that is the lesson we learned from decades of relating the inherited past with the nation. Yet, the rhetoric of the homogeneous nation-state was replaced some while ago by that of the heterogeneous multicultural state. In multicultural times the meaning of 'heritage' is not that clear, although a sense of plurality is pervasive. Yet, in this chapter I will not try to fix and stabilize its meaning; rather, by interpolating the contexts in which heritage unfolds and where it intervenes, I will highlight its relationship with governmentality, humanism and the market. Further, I will explore the gains of destabilizing the dominant, multicultural conception of heritage, especially by positioning alternative conceptions of time, past, ancestors and life.

Heritage is a complex entity: ungraspable yet apparently concrete. It is indeed vague, not because of its materiality, which defies any vagueness, but because institutional discourses – those of the state, of academia, of multinational agencies – surround it with a mysterious aura, so powerful that its very understanding, its fixation in meaning, seems to be a doomed mission. But is that not what those discourses want, to elevate heritage to a quasi-mystical condition, to a symbolic centrality that everyone has to recognize and revere, no matter that its true meaning eludes us all? Heritage is supposed to be 'something' we share in the profoundest depths of our sociality, there where the most essential meanings lie, those that cement and even create collective life. But where are those depths, where do they reach to? Moreover, who are we, anyway? What is the condition that binds us together, what is the nature of such a binding that compels us to share? What is the nature of *us*?

The definition of a precise *us* (clear-cut, rounded, discrete) was the unfinished task of national projects. Although deliberately unfinished – modernity was a project and, as such, its very nature precluded its termination – the *national us* was relatively clear: a society of believers composed of unified, homogeneous individuals who shared a history and a future. The control of a precise, identifiable heritage to be shared by national citizens was an important part of

the governmentality of the nation-state (Hall, 2000). But the nation was shattered some three decades ago. Current times – variously called postmodern, trans-modern or post-industrial, but in any case multicultural¹ – show the coexistence, in the peaceful (but proven explosive) pacifism of multicultural relaxation, of identities formerly antagonistic and exclusive. A variety of genres and ethnicities is already part of the current landscape of the world, where heterosexual and national citizens once reigned. What can now be expected in terms of heritage, when the nation has been abandoned as an idea-goal only to be replaced by that amorphous thing, multicultural society? If the *national us* shared a heritage because there was only one to be shared, inherited from/by the national society and demarcated by the concerted working of historical disciplines, what kind of heritage does the *multicultural us* share? A sort of *umbrella heritage*, recognized and accepted as a common asset by everyone, no matter how diverse, and under which more specific, circumscribed and exclusive heritages thrive? If so, what does a plurality of heritages do to an idea that owed its very existence to its discreteness and exclusivity? Does it explode, enlarge or collapse it? In sum, what does ‘heritage’ now mean, now that it seems fuzzier than ever?

Heritage is bathed in a mysterious aura, a deliberate fuzziness that serves its mystification well. This is especially true nowadays, when most countries have adopted a global multicultural rhetoric, which carries on the pluralization of a heritage that was formerly relatively homogeneous. A counter-cultural reading of heritage could, then, entail the strenuous task of pinning down its meaning – or their meanings, if we think plurally. However, in this chapter I will attempt the more modest task of destabilizing its apparent stability – sturdily built by universal discourses. Two issues come to the fore in this purpose: first, the historicization of heritage; and, second, the disentanglement of the perverse union of heritage with the law. Historicization is well known to anthropology, where it has taken the form of introspection. Rabinow (1986) called it to ‘anthropologize the West’; Chakrabarty (2007), ‘provincializing Europe’. The purpose is the same: to situate a practice, a relationship, a meaning geohistorically and geopolitically; to show how they come to be, their happening. That we can do with heritage: to bring it back to its place of origin; to pluralize it; to take it away from the experts and from the possessive embrace of the state; to unveil the fetishist operation, its naturalizing intention.² Historicizing heritage means bringing home what appears to be removed, afar; pointing to its familiarity; locating and questioning the apparatus that fetishized it and reified it. To be sure, heritage does not fetishize or reify itself. Someone does it: museum officials; archaeologists; historians; legislators and their decrees; tourism and the market; transnational promoters of humanism.

And then there is the issue of the entanglement of heritage with the law, its utter complicity. Indeed, a fetishized and reified heritage (our heritage, the

heritage of all, national heritage, and the like) easily surrenders to the tight grip of the law. The legal apparatus is a naturalizing device that requires forgetting that the law is a historical artefact, just the codification of collective moral desires in specific times and places (but not in others). Law and heritage, however, are not conterminous. What forces them to occupy the same conceptual space? Why is heritage subjected to the rule of law? We are not just subjected to a wide and all-encompassing fetishism of the law; fetishism, as a law, is brought to heritage. Heritage is not discussed; it is regulated. Its regulation becomes a purely technical matter: it defines who can find it (the archaeologist on the excavation, the historian in the archive), who can embellish it (the restorer), who can display it (the museographer), who must watch over it (the police, officials of state agencies), who must protect humanist rights (transnational actors). This technical reductionism is not operational but ideological. Indeed, it helps to accomplish what Mauricio Pardo (2013) has called the 'regime of culturization', that is, the way semiotic dimensions are uprooted from social totalities – not only rhetorically but as lived experiences as well. In this case, culturization uproots heritage from origins, destinies, differences and power struggles; its historicity is thus veiled by its reification.

These two purposes – to historicize heritage and to disentangle its relationship with the law – will guide me through this chapter. I will start by (un)defining the indefinable. Then, I sketch the twofold role of heritage in multicultural times: as a commodity and as a device in governmentality. Both roles are supported, indeed legitimized, by a humanistic global discourse. I continue with contestations of heritage, coming from many fronts and aiming in different directions, only to close the arguments with a gloss on a UNESCO text.

(Un)defining what cannot be defined

Heritage is what we inherit and what we must hold dear, we are told. In legal terms, an inheritance is handed down from identifiable individuals, usually established by consanguinity. Yet, in the case of the abstract notion of heritage linked to national and post-national discourses, those individuals are ill-defined, if at all. Instead of precise individuals, we inherit heritage from abstract, ancestral entities, some of which were even foes of national pretensions – such as Indigenous societies in most Latin American countries, albeit in their pre-Hispanic outfit. Those entities had different stories, however.

In Europe, heritage was handed down from ethnic ancestors: the Gauls, the Germans, the Romans. In all other parts of the world, where archaeology and history were given to those poor peoples who lacked them, heritage was a more complex matter. While heritage discourses in Europe presented their own, ancestral 'savages' as proto-selves – in evolutionary terms, the primitive that eventually evolved into the civilized Westerner – in the Americas and

elsewhere, 'savages' were written about as the 'Other' external to modernity. In European countries, the denegation of coevalness to their own pre-civilized savages was a function of teleology: they were not part of modernity because they truly belonged to past times; their rhetorical existence (their presence in heritage narratives built upon *true* relics) and their eventuating into modern selves (their presence in national histories) were proof of the elapsing of progressive time. Heritage was there to witness that time had passed, but carrying along a continuous historical connection. In the Americas, the savages as Other (the paradigmatic Indians) were not part of that story: they did not evolve into the civilized self. In Latin America, national story-tellers, all members of elites that despised the Indians and considered themselves white, appropriated some Indigenous achievements as national heritage – carefully selected so as to mimic European civilization (gold work, domestication of crops, monumental architecture, religious life, centralized governments, even writing-like systems). This brutal paradox legitimized the disappearance of the Indians (something of the past) and paved the road to *mestizo* national ideologies – for which pre-Hispanic heritage was paramount.

Yet, although the entities from which we inherited heritage are vaporous at best, states and multinational agencies, such as UNESCO, have long embarked on defining it³ – and such definition has varied through the years, from monument-centred to more encompassing totalities, including intangible cultural manifestations. The very act of definition (and its historical changes) should unveil its historicity, surely? Well, it does not. Heritage is routinely reified, brutally taken out of history. This is a curious paradox: something that is historical by definition (after all, it points to origins and continuities, to temporal processes) is de-historicized in its elevation to national (and post-national) symbol. Yet, reification did not prevent discursive coherence. Indeed, national discourses on heritage were relatively coherent – they had it clear what heritage was, what it served for, how to arouse the believers. But this may be changing, in spite of the apparently unbeatable grasp of the national rhetoric over heritage matters. Historical discourses related to the creation and functioning of national societies have lost momentum and significance given the emergence of multiculturalism, which has the main tenets of modern societies crumbling, especially the construction of unified collectivities (national societies) in terms of culture, language and history. In the last two or three decades, multiculturalism has set in motion profound changes, especially regarding the organization of society, which is now premised upon the coexistence of diverse constituencies – conventionally referred to as 'cultural diversity'.

If former national sovereignties were intentionally shattered by the global rhetoric of multiculturalism a while ago, their replacement is unstable, precarious. The fragmented sovereignties now taking over the scene of multicultural states are ill-defined. For instance, the all-encompassing dominance of

individual rights, a cornerstone of modernity, nowadays shares constitutional and legal provisions with collective rights, formerly ignored. The primacy accorded to the latter or the former, or their strained coexistence, is marred by hybrid pluralisms, usually rhetoric but hardly developed in practical issues.⁴ How these fragmented sovereignties shape historical narratives is quite mysterious. Multicultural (i.e. post-national) heritage has apparently become a precise entity (especially because it is accessible in the commodity form) yet it remains strange: no one really has a clue about it. It looms over all, and yet it really is nowhere in spite of being everywhere, thanks to its overarching association with the market. But if contemporary heritage eludes definition – and in this elusiveness lies most of its appeal and symbolic power – the meaning of multiculturalism can indeed be pinned down.

The key words linking multicultural reforms are ‘recognition’, ‘autonomy’ and ‘limits’, especially with respect to ethnic groups. Recognition has been heralded, since the early 1980s, as the most important imprint of the new society. Indeed, as Charles Taylor (1994, p. 38) pointed out, there was a drastic shift from the politics of equal dignity to the politics of recognition:

With the politics of equal dignity, what is established is meant to be universally the same, an identical basket of rights and immunities; with the politics of difference, what we are asked to recognize is the unique identity of this individual or group, their distinctness from everyone else. The idea is that it is precisely this distinctness that has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to a dominant or majority identity.

Such recognition was not to be a mere statement, though: ‘But the further demand we are looking at here is that we all *recognize* the equal value of different cultures; that we not only let them survive, but acknowledge their *worth*’ (Taylor 1994, p. 64: emphasis in the original). However, what has become clear after almost three decades of multicultural policies worldwide is that Taylor’s caveat was all but ignored: the multicultural conviviality of cultural diversity has not meant recognizing the worth of the different but merely its existence, which has thus been organized and, to a large extent, isolated. Real and lived inequalities have been masked by a phantasmatic diversity. The result is perversely violent: unbearable inequalities appear as desirable diversities.

Varying in intensity and scope, multicultural reforms tend to secure or to consecrate the territorial, legal, educational, administrative, fiscal and linguistic autonomy of culturally diverse groups. But, provided that autonomies of any kind within national borders were always the conundrum of modern political theory, multiculturalism made it sure that the autonomy it predicated was not meant to be the demise of the (relatively) cohesive societies that modernity had built with great difficulty. As a result, autonomy was consecrated, but

within limits. Charles Taylor (1994, p. 62) put it this way: 'Liberalism can't and shouldn't claim complete cultural neutrality. Liberalism is also a fighting creed. The hospitable variant I espouse, as well as the most rigid forms, has to draw the line.'⁵ Recognition, autonomy and limits all work together, in a tense yet productive entanglement, to build the new post-national societies.

But one prominent symbolic field has been spared multicultural reorganization: history. Multicultural concessions establish a limit set forth by state policies. There are borders that autonomy (ethnic or otherwise) cannot cross: a claim to full national autonomy within the nation is one; history is another. History and heritage are still arenas – controlled by the state, by academic disciplines and by a deep and overarching sense of the nation – for the deployment of a collective 'us', which nevertheless becomes an increasingly blurred category in multicultural times. If modern history/heritage once had more or less clear relationships with nationalism, now its home is in utter disarray. If it used to administer discourses for dealing with an Other external to modernity, it now ignores what kind of discourses it administers, given that such an Other is no longer an exteriority but a constitutive interiority. Is it to keep telling the story of a homogeneous, static and disciplined 'us' even when constitutive Otherness strives to build itself in difference and disjunction and the cultural diversity widely espoused by multiculturalism thrives? Or, rather, is it to write a new (multiple, plural) story in which those Others formerly banished are also represented, those very Others currently struggling to find a place and a time, no matter that they do it claiming agendas that are utterly anachronistic for the West? In either case, the situation is quite complex for history/heritage. If it embraces the former, it would be asserting that multiculturalism may have arrived but nothing has really changed in historical matters.⁶ If it champions the latter, that is, a multiple and plural story, whatever that may be, it would be sailing uncharted waters. That would not be a problem in and of itself, if it were not for the unwanted surprises, there in the deep unknown, lying in wait. For one thing, multiplicity would have two meanings: either different histories and heritages living side by side – which is a naïve utopia, anyway, given the operation of hegemony – or an encompassing history/heritage, somehow modelled in national discourses, under which several particularities would bloom. For the other, a radical Otherness may wish to explode whatever is left of national histories; in such a case, reconstituting the shattered whole would be a tremendous task, and most likely useless.

Whatever the outcome is (if there is an outcome, that is, because the stalemate can be dealt an eternal deferral in which the sense of the nation can linger and linger and linger), it cannot ignore that multiculturalism is not an innocent realignment of society. It has been widely criticized by those who think that it promotes cultural diversity but ignores the needs and expectations of the different (e.g. Žižek, 1998; Hale, 2002). Cultural diversity is channelled

to suit multicultural needs, mostly in a political vacuum. The multicultural celebration of diversity, which encourages the proliferation of local and specific identities, quite effectively serves to weaken more inclusive, binding and stronger identities. In a world of fragmented identities, no matter how strong they are individually, the system reigns.

Multiculturalism organizes cultural diversity, nominating and creating it from the state, multilateral agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the academy while the 'real' Otherness is repressed by its virtual reflection. It neutralizes the activism of 'the different' by imposing limits, legal and otherwise, and by delivering it to the market – which treats it as just diversity, controlled and promoted as authentic and pure. The distance between *diversity* and *difference* is thus the main multicultural limitation, both a characteristic and a symptom. In fact, the decades that followed the last world war, especially the last three decades, have witnessed the general abandonment of pejorative and stigmatizing categories (inferior, primitive and underdeveloped races) and the enlivening of cultural relativism (diverse cultures) that deactivates grassroots organizations, deracializes racism (but keeps it intact) and reifies/functionalizes differences (as diversity) to downplay inequalities. As Claudia Briones (2005, p. 22) pointed out, 'cultural difference emerges as a quasi-ontological property because social relations that recreate processes of alterization are presented and explained unlinked from the organization of capital and from international and national power'. The multicultural idea of diversity wants heterogeneity to be understood as 'a mosaic of monochrome identities' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, p. 33), eliminating historical specificities, processes of alterization, asymmetries and power relations.

As if this were not an almost insurmountable problem, multiculturalism is fraught with constitutive tensions, the most prominent of which are the contradictions between individual and collective rights, and the autonomy accorded to different symbolizations of society and life. Although the latter has been curtailed by the establishment of limits, it nevertheless remains potentially explosive. The 'solution' multicultural societies have adopted to solve these problems is deferral and, when circumstances are pressing, casuistry. Besides, it has been long posited that postmodernity – of which multiculturalism partakes as the current form of organizing society – has done away with historical consciousness. From Fredric Jameson to Zygmunt Bauman, from David Harvey to Beatriz Sarlo, most contemporary theoreticians of cultural logics signal that tradition and teleology are old narratives devalued by presentism. The past has disappeared as a continuation of experience, and history only survives as a façade, not as a meaningful attachment of people to times past.

Heritage in multicultural times is thus not linked to national identities as explicitly as it was before.⁷ In their absence, a multicultural identity has still to come forward, if that ever happens – unless, of course, we accept that the

identity a multicultural society can exhibit is a sum of its parts. It cannot be linked to a historical consciousness, at least not in the way the nation conceived it. However, no matter how slippery heritage is nowadays in terms of identity and how removed it is from the historical, it seems to bloom everywhere. Jesús Martín (2000) highlighted a non-random coincidence: what he called a *memory boom* (tantamount to a *heritage boom*) began to occur just as the ethos of modernity languished. Appeals to past senses and meanings abound in advertising and the media; heritage parks are well-attended touristic attractions; and agents of patrimonialization are busy worldwide identifying possible targets. Nostalgia sells well. Heritage-related narratives, mementos and loci (landscapes, sites, even intangibles) are ubiquitous in a world that has dispensed with any temporal referent different from the present. Thus, if identity and the historical are not behind the heritage boom, what can be found instead? The answer, it seems, is the market and governmentality, backed by humanism, to which I now turn my attention.

Humanism, the market and governmentality: The multicultural faces of heritage

Humanism has been around for over five centuries. From its vernacular origin in southern Europe, it managed to spread its basic ideas all over the world: an optimism about the capacities of human beings, especially in reason, that brought humans to the centre of the stage (anthropocentrism displaced other beings, ever since confined to a natural world that was to be tamed by culture); a blind faith in the pacific resolution of conflicts; political unity and consensus; civilized debate and democracy; the search for an encompassing spirituality (as expressed in the arts, but also in an intimate and inner communication with the supernatural); the limits to religious power. Even though those ideas were put to the test, mostly in the twentieth century, humanism has survived the disaster. So much so, indeed, that it has become the unpolluted source to which the world should go back in order to restore harmony, peace and welfare. If modernity turned out to be an unfinished (and violent) promise, resorting to humanism would heal all wounds. This pervasive call, uttered by such ardent and influent supporters as Jean-Paul Sartre and Jürgen Habermas, has impregnated most philosophical debates in the last six decades and has received an almost universal adherence in the West. Yet, in 1966, shortly after the publication of *The Order of Things*, Michel Foucault (1991[1966], pp. 35–6) stated:

My job is to free us from humanism, once and for all; my commitment is a political work to the extent that all regimes, from the East and the West, have smuggled their bad goods under the banner of humanism ... What irritates

me of humanism is that it is also the parapet behind which most reactionary thought hides, the space in which monstrous and unthinkable alliances find support.

This statement seems surprising: who would dare raise a political project against an ideology touted as the only decent product of Western civilization, its true nature: libertarian, creative, democratic? Was Foucault referring to Marxist humanism, which sought to abolish the class society and, therefore, declared circumstantial the dictatorship of the proletariat? Maybe he was referring to the inter-subjective and situational humanism espoused by Sartre (1964), who called *négritude* a weak moment in a dialectical progression because it should not defy the ultimate goal of achieving a non-racial, non-sectorial society? In the second half of the twentieth century, before the advance of radical nationalisms (in Africa and elsewhere in the colonial world), humanism was the basic weapon of the apologists of transcendental ecumenism. However, such an ecumenism failed to answer basic questions: Where was it stated? By whom? By a democratic altruism that sought to circumvent the avatars of multinational order? Ecumenism was built on Western principles that sacrificed differences on the altar of consensus (or, more much frequently, in the violence of ideological imposition). It was precisely that ecumenical humanism to which Foucault was referring. Yet, the impact of his critique has been marginal – not to mention the impact of non-Western stands, articulated by anti-colonial intellectuals such as Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon.

Humanism still reigns, and it does so firmly in the heritage realm. Indeed, if national heritage was a symbol of the nation and if multicultural heritage cannot be a symbol of post-national societies, what is contemporary heritage a symbol of? This is when humanism enters the picture: heritage (especially if monumental, dotted with exoticism and nested in nice landscapes) belongs to humanity at large. A humanistic, universal identity comes to the fore to transcend the insurmountable contradictions that multiculturalism posed over national identities. A humanistic conception of heritage, handed down from multinational agencies, is operationalized at local levels by state institutions. Patrimonialization ensures that the rights of a few (all too often destitute local communities, who own landscapes, sites, rituals, etc., soon-to-be heritage) are extended to all from a concept of humanity that can only be logocentric; it ensures that resources (biodiversity, exoticism) are accessible to those who can access them (the privileged inhabitants of the First World, especially); it ensures the (mercantile) access of humankind to what were previously local resources.

This rapid sketch of humanism would not be complete without discussing the market. In the commoditized world in which we live, heritage is another commodity. For one thing, it has become an object of desire for the

multi-million-dollar tourism industry, which intervenes in shaping heritage policies worldwide. Heritage has become a market necessity. For another, its promotion and protection (two sides of the same coin) are routinely shown as functions of economic development, which, in due turn, is a fundamental part of the teleology of growth.⁸ If countries ought to grow, they have to identify areas in which to do so. Tourism (and its attendant heritages) is an area that has received much attention because it is ripe for growing; in fact, the circumstantial coalescence of wealthy tourists, swift displacement and the expanding appeals of the exotic/the authentic (adequate holiday surrogates of the boredom and consumerism of day-to-day life in industrialized democracies) has not gone unnoticed by capitalist entrepreneurs. The assault of the market/humanism on heritage thrives on both exoticism and authenticity. The authentic, that which tourism seeks avidly, is not just required of material heritage; it is also required of the (human/natural) landscape that gives it meaning and enhances its enjoyment. The demand for authenticity and exoticism is an 'imperialist nostalgia', as was advanced by Renato Rosaldo. According to him, the agents of colonialism

often display nostalgia for the colonized culture as it was 'traditionally' (that is, when they first encountered it). The peculiarity of their yearning, of course, is that agents of colonialism long for the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed... a particular kind of nostalgia, often found under imperialism, where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed.

(Rosaldo, 1993, p. 69)

A marketable heritage surrounded by the appealing aura of humanism is also a powerful device in governmentality.⁹ The heritage controlled and promoted by multicultural states (with the support and legitimacy granted by global discourses) seizes the symbolic realms where cultural differences express themselves and from where they draw social and political strength. By turning them into marketable and reified heritages, multiculturalism accomplishes the deactivation of *differences* and the promotion of *diversities*, thus fragmenting and depoliticizing those symbolic realms. As Pardo (2013) has noted, this move was more clearly articulated in the last two decades with the attention given to so-called 'immaterial heritage'; by appropriating their heritage, the 'newly arrived from the margins' are subjected to regimes of governmentality and are 'drawn, one way or the other, to the orbit of the state and the market'. Local expressions 'supposedly undergo cultural revival by processes of democratization... but the people directly involved in the generation of such expressions are often marginalized, removed from the control of institutional processes despite their alleged main role' (Pardo, 2013, p. 17).

The joint venture of governmentality and the market has transformed the heritage realm: it has accelerated the pace of institutional processes aiming to turn sites, landscapes, foods and rituals into heritage loci of universal appeal, ready for the tourism industry and for symbolic control; and it has solidified the estrangement of heritage from identity, however defined. It is naïve, when not politically intentioned, to ignore this scenario of market and government interventions in historical heritage issues backed by a humanistic rationale. For instance, it seems naïve to point out that its more ardent disciplinary custodian, archaeology, helps ‘people to appreciate diversity in the past and present and thereby to practice living more tolerantly in a multicultural society’ (Little, 2012, p. 396). This overstatement is a deliberate hiding of non-disciplinary events affecting disciplinary practice. Stating that acquaintance with a market-besieged heritage helps people ‘to appreciate diversity in the past and present’ and to live ‘more tolerantly in a multicultural society’ is self-serving to the abstract interests of archaeology and heritage-related disciplines, but ignores lived experience. It may express disciplinary good intentions, but it unveils the arrogance of the self-designated custodians of heritage and, more importantly, portrays people (not to say heritage) as isolated from the events that impinge on their lives. It gives credence and support to the purported legitimacy of (post-) national discourses on heritage, routinely taken for granted. Indeed, it is widely accepted – institutionally, academically and even among society at large – that states and multinational agencies have the right (indeed, the obligation) to protect, promote and even define heritage; this right is accompanied by a thorough naturalization of institutional operations over heritage matters. Yet, what happens when such a right is challenged, when it is confronted by alternative conceptions of history, the past, the ancestors that undermine global heritage discourses from local practices?

The fall of the house of heritage (as we ‘know’ it)

What Smith (2006) calls the ‘authorized heritage discourse’, undergirded by dynamics of inclusion and exclusion policed by institutional heritage discourses, has been contested at the grassroots level. Such a contestation reveals that the national and post-national conceptions of heritage can only be imposed with a high dose of violence – symbolic and otherwise. Different conceptions of heritage – different conceptions of the past, of time, of life – now unfold in highly politicized arenas characterized by competing narratives and institutions. An increasing body of literature documents the struggle for key sites and narratives and the different positioning of the actors involved, in which local communities confront the establishment (museums, archaeologists, multilateral agencies). Cojti (2006), for instance, has shown how contemporary Indigenous communities in Guatemala are challenging the

state's appropriation of Mayan heritage, which benefits the political elite's form of nationalism as well as the international tourism market.

Yet, it is undeniable that a marketable heritage is alluring, especially (as happens so often) when the peoples living near or at heritage site(s) or landscapes are destitute. In situations in which deprived peoples eagerly engage heritage and the market,¹⁰ the relationship is fairly uneven, an iteration of colonial times. At least those peoples should know, beforehand, what the consequences of such an engagement could be. They should know that community solidarity, no matter how fragile, can be endangered, as well as traditional ways of living and relating. The creation of locally based networks of information and activism for counteracting global heritage policies, mostly oblivious of the needs, expectations and worldviews of the local communities impacted, could be an important step in this direction, the final aim of which would be the positioning of alternative conceptions of heritage and the past. Counter-hegemonic activism that reads global heritage discourses from their local impacts also asks in what kind of ethics heritage experts are engaging. More often than not, they are aligned with multicultural ethics (global, politically correct, humanistic, logocentric, mercantile), which they help to promote while ignoring the known adverse consequences of patrimonial policies for local populations.

There is much to be learned from the way people outside the well-guarded gates of disciplinary knowledge engage time, materiality and life. The growing opposition to the humanistic/capitalist conception of heritage – espoused by mainstream archaeology, UNESCO, NGOs and state-run heritage agencies worldwide – cannot be ignored and ought to be accounted for. Such an opposition has been more clearly articulated by grassroots organizations concerned not only with the wrongdoings that an unchecked heritage wave can cause in local communities,¹¹ but also with the formulation of alternatives to mass tourism, top-down heritage policies and the related breaking of social bonds. A story I heard in southern Costa Rica, where the government and UNESCO want to bring the world-famous stone spheres of the Diquís Delta into the World Heritage List, is illustrative in this regard. It is a story about a lost sphere that goes, more or less, like this: there is a sphere in a lagoon that few have seen but whose existence has been known for quite some time. It is also known that, when it is found, great transformations will occur. Years ago the sphere started to surface. The chiefs consulted the spirits and the latter told them to cover it up, to hide it from the daylight. Interpretations differ as to what will happen thereafter: some still expect to find it as a sign of prosperous times. Others, in a millennial mood, believe that when the sphere is found all will be over. This story is a powerful metaphor for thinking and feeling, for accepting that heritage is not a matter of distanced experts but of real lives and social bonds. It is a good metaphor to think over top-down conceptions of heritage, to confront

their institutional solidity – born of rhetorical violence. In *Through the Looking Glass*, Lewis Carroll (1932, p. 114) had Humpty Dumpty stating:

‘When I use a word’, Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, ‘it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less’. ‘The question is’, said Alice, ‘whether you can make words mean so many different things’. ‘The question is’, said Humpty Dumpty, ‘which is to be master – that’s all’.

That’s all? But let us suppose that a multicultural heritage is indeed a plural heritage. Ashworth et al. (2007) put forth five models of plural heritages: assimilatory, integrationist or single-core; melting pot; core+; pillar; and salad bowl – rainbow – mosaic. Although they have in common the existence of more than one heritage, the first three manage to make irrelevant all but the dominant version. The last two give leeway for non-dominant heritages to express and even expand. The latter, especially, offers promising possibilities. It is besieged by inherent ambiguities, however, neatly embodied in the iconic Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which attempts ‘to balance two, probably irreconcilable, ideas ... an infinitely extendable salad bowl of mutually accessible diverse cultural groups and, simultaneously, a central core of “Canadianness” based upon the concept of the biculturalism of the two “founding peoples”’ (Ashworth et al., 2007, p. 184). For that reason, if a plural, horizontal and open heritage is to mean something beyond the harmless relativistic pluralism promoted by the politics of diversity, it can be found in the struggle for a radical Otherness. Rita Laura Segato (2007, p. 18) wrote on this, arguing that

the fight of those social movements inspired by the project of a ‘politics of identity’ will not achieve the radical nature of the pluralism it intends to assert unless insurgent groups depart from a clear consciousness of the depth of their ‘difference’, that is, the proposal of an alternative world that guides their insurgency. I hereby understand such a difference not as with regards to substantive contents in terms of supposedly traditional, crystallized, still and impassive ‘customs’ but as difference on goal and perspective by a community or a people.

The radicalization of Otherness means the liberation of its force, restrained by the nets of cultural diversity. It means thinking of Otherness in its becoming, not as a subaltern category fixed, marked and subdued, but as an agentive category engaged in destabilizing what had become stable and normal. Because we dwell in naturalized worlds – created by the cultural, social, political and economic hegemony of a system, a class, a cosmology – trying to dwell in denaturalized worlds is not easy, but surely not impossible. We first have to make those worlds – liberating the discursive field from the omnipresence of Humpty

Dumpty. Thus, an oppositional strategy to the capitalist takeover of heritage is really at hand, after all. It does imply historicizing the concept and implementing what Gustavo Esteva called ‘post-economic forms’ based on networks of knowledge and action, ‘coalitions of citizens for implementing political controls in the economy in order to reinsert economic activities into the social fabric’ (Esteva, 1996, p. 73). Such a networking needs to understand how current (multicultural) global heritage policies are locally realized; it can do so by describing how different actors (communities, archaeologists, historians, heritage institutions at the national and transnational level) and narratives collide or articulate around various heritage meanings, some of which are decisively counter-hegemonic.

If a multicultural heritage were ever to emerge, it would have various colours and would invite various readings. As Stuart Hall (2000, p. 10) once put it regarding Britain, ‘[h]eritage should revise their own self-conceptions and rewrite the margins into the centre, the outside into the inside. This is not so much a matter of representing “us” as of representing more adequately the degree to which “their” history entails and has always implicated “us”, across the centuries, and vice versa.’ The first and foremost task is, thus, redefining the post-nation from differences upwards and not from diversities downwards.

Coda: Brief gloss on a long UNESCO text

A UNESCO (2004) report on the impact of tourism in Luang Prabang, a World Heritage Site in Laos, has an amazing opening statement (naïve, contradictory, brutally honest), which I want to quote at length and comment upon thoroughly because it is a perfect summation of the issues I have dealt with in this paper. I will indulge in splashing italics all over the text:

The heritage of Asia and the Pacific is under threat. The passage of time and the effects of harsh climates render already-fragile places of culture and tradition ever more vulnerable.

When coupled with neglect, poor maintenance, inadequate financial support, unregulated urban development, and the exponential growth of tourism, *the very survival of the region’s most special places is at risk.*

Archaeological sites, historic monuments, traditional towns and villages, cultural landscapes, handicrafts, rituals, traditional music and performing arts are all endangered.

How has this happened? And what can be done to rescue *the disappearing cultural heritage* of the Asia-Pacific region?

Both the physical heritage and intangible expressions of the region’s history and culture are widely acknowledged to be of immeasurable value to its citizens. The heritage of Asia and the Pacific is also of immense interest and

appeal to visitors. It is on the basis of this appeal that the region's *tourism industry is founded and flourishes*. While the value of the heritage resources of the cultures of the Asia-Pacific region is unquestioned, this recognition is not always, or even frequently, translated into action to safeguard the heritage from decay, degradation or over-use. All too frequently, tourism has been the unwitting agent responsible for accelerating the demise of the region's heritage.

At its best, *tourism can generate the financial resources needed to invest in the rehabilitation of historic buildings and conservation areas. Tourism can help to revive dying or lost traditions, arts and cultural practices and can provide the impetus for artisans to continue their traditional crafts. Tourism can also provide new livelihood opportunities for large numbers of people in local communities.* Unfortunately *these positive impacts* are often negated by the unintentional destructive impacts of *tourism that rob a community of its ancestral heirlooms, undermine traditional cultural values* and alter the physical character of a tourism destination through inappropriate development and infrastructure.

In order to ensure that future generations are able to access their *authentic heritage* and, at the same time, to provide reason and motivation for visitors to continue to want to visit the Asia-Pacific region, all stakeholders must work together effectively to safeguard the wide range of heritage resources that exist across the region. Tourism can – indeed, tourism must – become a partner and a driving force for *the conservation of the tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage* of Asia and the Pacific. If tourism does not contribute to the preservation of the region's environments, cultures and traditions, then there will be no place for tourism in the future development of the region.

What strikes me most in this text is the explicit recognition of tourism as a guiding force behind heritage. Its enthusiasm is so overpowering that it misses the tautology it unfolds: tourism can generate the revenues necessary for protecting heritage which, in the end, is there to serve tourism. Tourism can also 'help to revive dying or lost traditions, arts and cultural practices' and can 'provide the impetus for artisans to continue their traditional crafts... and new livelihood opportunities for large numbers of people in local communities'. This naïvety treats traditions, arts, crafts and cultural practices as mere marketable epiphenomena that can be re-enacted (for tourists, of course) in a social and political vacuum; it says nothing about the negative, destructive impingement of tourism on social bonds and non-Western cosmologies.

The text also recognizes that tourism can 'rob a community of its ancestral heirlooms' and 'undermine traditional cultural values'. The impacts of tourism on people can be so devastating that UNESCO now demands consultation with

local inhabitants in the process of nomination to the World Heritage List, a step that complies with Article 6 of the International Labour Organization (ILO)'s *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention*: 'governments shall . . . consult the peoples concerned, through appropriate procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, whenever consideration is being given to legislative or administrative measures which may affect them directly'. Although this may be considered a step in the right direction (the direction of social justice), consultation is not a panacea in and of itself. When implemented in development projects in which great amounts of money are at stake (and, not surprisingly, transnational corporations are involved), consultation can be a simulation of respect and democracy while only being a formality besieged by corruption and threats. All in all, however, what matters to the text is heritage, not people. What matters most is the destructive impact of tourism on sites and monuments. It is this kind of reasoning, precisely, that can be countered in a militant opposition to the dominant conception of heritage.

Notes

1. Multiculturalism, the cultural logic from which the term 'multicultural' arises, is a contested term. It is premised upon the idea that societies are heterogeneous compositions of various cultures and thus dispenses with the modern conception of society as an integrated and homogeneous totality. Multiculturalism promotes, protects and even creates cultural diversity and establishes public policies to organize and channel its energy. Yet, it treats with contempt and condemns the cultural differences from which subaltern politics are predicated. As a result, the 'real other' is repressed by its virtual reflection. Slavoj Žižek (1998, p. 172) noted in this regard:

In multiculturalism there is a euro-centered and/or respectful distance with local cultures, taking roots in no particular culture . . . multiculturalism is a negated, inverted, and self-referential form of racism, a 'racism with a distance': it 'respects' the identity of the Other, conceiving it as an 'authentic' closed community to which him, the multiculturalist, preserves a distance, made possible thanks to his privileged universal position.

- In the same vein, in this chapter I approach critically what multiculturalism has accomplished in the heritage realm.
2. Ethnographies of heritage have done a great deal in this regard since the groundbreaking works of Castañeda (1996) and Bender (1998).
 3. UNESCO's *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage*, enacted in 1972, lists three types of cultural heritage (monuments, groups of buildings, and sites) defined by their 'outstanding universal value' from the points of view of history, art science, aesthetic, ethnology or anthropology. At least the criterion of 'outstanding universal value', whatever that is, defines heritage as appealing to a global worth. That is not the case when particular states come to the task of definition. The Colombian Act in charge of the matter (*Ley General de Cultural* 1997) is amazingly tautological: 'The cultural heritage of the nation is comprised by all goods and values that are expression of Colombian nationality . . . which possess a special

- interest'. What for a multinational agency is 'outstanding universal value' for this country is just 'a special interest'.
4. Such is the case, for instance, with legal pluralism, consecrated in the constitutions of those countries that boast cultural diversity. In Colombia, the Constitution enacted in 1991 only mentioned it, but demanded its realization through a juridical co-ordination between the legal system of the state and those of cultural minorities. Two decades later, however, such co-ordination is non-existent and legal disputes between different systems are routinely dealt with case by case, normally resorting to territorial and cultural limits.
 5. Legal autonomy, for instance, is granted to minorities with differential conceptions and practices of justice, at times quite apart from modern law; yet, such an autonomy can only be enacted within cultural and territorial limits; that is, it can only apply to certain individuals/groups and in certain places.
 6. That assertion would be backed by the state, incoherently exhibiting its modern mnemonic apparatus intact, a strategy that would be utterly anachronistic were it not overtly calculated (central museums, for instance, are still national). The state continues to endow its material referents and build its narratives with universalized meaning; yet, it simultaneously condemns an inclusive identity. Legal jurisdictions establish the political legality of the state in the enactment of laws about heritage, which, in the end, regulate the enunciation of historical narratives. The latter endow expert knowledge (such as that of museums and archaeologists) with the right to establish and legitimate the apparatus of censorship that regulates the production and reproduction of heritage discourses.
 7. There are notable exceptions to this statement, however. They are linked to extant national claims – mostly in particular cases of violent territorial and cultural confrontation arising from neo-colonial domination, such as the case between Palestine and Israel or between the Kurds and Turkey. They are also linked to diasporic communities seeking attachment to their original nationalities while living among peoples with other historical referents. In those cases, heritage can indeed be important for the forging of national identities struggling to find their ways through multicultural forests.
 8. An extraordinary postmodern paradox is the existence of an overarching teleology (that of economic growth, modelled in biology) amid a non-teleological temporality that proudly brandishes presentism and the end of history.
 9. I thank Mauricio Pardo for calling my attention to this issue.
 10. A paradigmatic case in Bolivia can be seen in Gil (2011). This case and many others show that local communities engage this process by sharing what they consider their own heritage with an expanded public. Yet, such a humanistic sharing in the presence of the market is suspicious at best.
 11. Cusco (Silverman 2006), in Peru, and the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Bergesio and Montial 2008), in Argentina, both on the World Heritage List, are good examples: while real estate speculation corners local inhabitants, tourism functionalizes them as craft vendors and as a part of an authentic landscape that tourists seek avidly in order to exoticize their experience of the unknown.

References

- Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. and Tunbridge, J. (2007) *Pluralising Pasts. Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press).

- Bender, B. (1998) *Stonehenge: Making Space* (Oxford: Berg).
- Bergesio, L. and Montial, J. (2008) Patrimonialización de la Quebrada de Humahuaca: identidad, turismo y después... Paper presented at the Meetings Pre-Alas, Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, Corrientes.
- Briones, C. (2005) *(Meta) Cultura del Estado-nación y Estado de la (meta) Cultura* (Popayán: Universidad del Cauca).
- Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. (2000) 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society*, 29, 1–47.
- Carroll, L. (1932) *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and through the Looking Glass* (London: Macmillan).
- Castañeda, Q. (1996) *In the Museum of Maya Culture: Touring Chichen Itza* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Chakrabarty, D. (2007) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Cojti, A. (2006) 'Maya Archaeology and the Political and Cultural Identity of Contemporary Maya in Guatemala', *Archaeologies*, 2, 8–19.
- Esteva, G. (1996) 'Desarrollo' in W. Sachs (ed.) *Diccionario del desarrollo. Una guía del Conocimiento Como Poder* (Lima: Pratec).
- Foucault, M. (1991[1966]) 'A Propósito de "Las Palabras y las Cosas"' in M. Foucault (ed.) *Saber y Verdad* (Madrid: La Piqueta), pp. 31–8.
- Hale, C. (2002) 'Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34, 485–524.
- Hall, S. (2000) 'Whose Heritage? Un-Settling "The Heritage"'. Re-Imagining the Post-Nation', *Third Text*, 49, 3–13.
- Little, B. (2012) 'Public Benefits of Public Archaeology' in R. Skeates, C. McDavid and J. Carman (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 395–413.
- Martín-Barbero, J. (2000) 'El Futuro que Habita la Memoria' in G. Sánchez and M. E. Wills (eds) *Museo, Memoria y Nación* (Bogotá: Museo Nacional), pp. 57–78.
- Pardo, M. (2013) El Patrimonio como una Forma de Culturización. Unpublished.
- Rabinow, P. (1986) 'Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology' in J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 234–61.
- Rosaldo, R. (1993) *Culture and Truth. The Remaking of Social Analysis* (London: Routledge).
- Sartre, J.-P. (1964) 'Black Orpheus', *The Massachusetts Review*, 6, 38–60.
- Segato, R. L. (2007) *La Nación y sus Otros. Raza, Etnicidad y Diversidad Religiosa en Tiempos de Políticas de la Identidad* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo).
- Silverman, H. (2006) 'The Historic District of Cusco as an Open-Air Site Museum' in H. Silverman (ed.) *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida), pp. 159–83.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Taylor, C. (1994) *Multiculturalism. Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- UNESCO (2004) *Impact. The Effects of Tourism on Culture and the Environment in Asia and the Pacific: Tourism and Heritage Site Management in Luang Prabang, Lao PDR* (Bangkok: UNESCO).
- Žižek, S. (1998) *Multiculturalismo o la Lógica Cultural del Capitalismo Multinacional* (Buenos Aires: Paidós).

17

Cultural Heritage and Armed Conflict: New Questions for an Old Relationship

Dacia Viejo-Rose and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen

It has become increasingly clear that cultural heritage is an important agent in the interfacing between culture generally and the specificities of politics. This has particular significant repercussions regarding the roles that heritage plays in armed conflict. Analyses of this intersection have therefore become an important field within heritage studies. Such studies have begun to reveal the multifaceted and profound ways that cultural heritage is affected by armed conflicts: it is looted, damaged and destroyed either as a result of deliberate targeting or as part of the general violence. Responding to this, the traditional focus of research and practice has been on finding ways to mitigate the destructive impact through the development of legal instruments, preventive policies and protective measures. In such approaches heritage has primarily been seen as constituted by movable objects and important historic buildings, and it has essentially been treated as a passive victim of the atrocities. The relational dynamic, however, is not just one-way: heritage can also profoundly inform and shape armed conflicts and is an important factor to take account of during post-conflict recovery activities. It is, therefore, of great importance that we analyse this dynamic and reveal some of the underlying reasons for why and how such links are formed. Prime among these are how heritage may be used to argue for and construct difference – the ‘other’. Closely linked to this is the ability of heritage to be used in rhetorical strategies to justify violence, legitimize rights claims and notions of entitlements, or call on a collective memory of past injustices to rally support and motivate action.

Meanwhile, heritage does not only infuse the instigation of aggression; it is also in various ways involved in the conflict and its aftermath. This includes how heritage can become a deliberate target as a means of inflicting psychological damage, destroying trust in the future or harming social relations; but it also extends to conflicts creating their own heritage sites. Furthermore, the effects of conflict on cultural heritage are deeply transformative, altering not

only the physical integrity of sites but also the very matrix of their meaning as society re-emerges after conflict.

This chapter will first look at the cultural heritage and armed conflict dyad – as an old relationship, but also one that is giving rise to new questions. In particular, we are concerned with showing the historical dimension of this relationship and how it has changed over time. The section ends by pointing to how recent changes in our conceptualization of heritage challenge previous approaches to how it is affected by war. The novelty of these questions does not, therefore, lie in the relationship per se but in the considerable changes that have been undergone in our understanding of what cultural heritage is over the past 20 years. The second section of this chapter will, therefore, begin from these challenges, arguing that recent expansion of research has been twofold. On the one hand, we are now working with a an understanding of heritage that sees it as process rather than product, and, on the other hand, there has been a substantial shift in research, as it has recently expanded from a focus on destruction and protection to encompass the processes of reconstruction and recovery. Understanding heritage as process means that in order to understand what happens to cultural heritage during conflicts it is essential to look at the lead-up to the outbreak of hostilities, especially propaganda campaigns, as well as the long aftermaths of conflicts. Building on this, the third section, the central and most demanding contribution of this chapter, discusses how we may become involved with a ‘disarming’ of heritage.

An old relationship with new questions and dynamics

Remote as well as recent history provides us with multiple examples of the intricate relationship between heritage and armed conflict, as well as how attitudes to this have changed. Wilhelm Treue’s now classic book *Art Plunder: The Fate of Works of Art in War, Revolution and Peace* (1960) traces the history of wartime looting in Europe from antiquity through the Second World War. Among other accounts, Treue relates the looting of Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the various sackings of Rome, including by the Visigoths (410), the Vandals (455), the Normans (1084) and the troops of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1527). The broad span that he paints shows how different periods are influenced by a combination of military technologies and social values that together affected changes in attitudes towards this dimension of war.¹

Such overviews show how profoundly cultural heritage is affected by conflict; but this deceptively straightforward axiom conceals an enormously complex web of interpretations, interrelations, dynamics, contexts and questions. For instance, the development of nation-states throughout the nineteenth century, which saw the explicit use of cultural heritage to define boundaries of belonging

(Anderson, 1983; Diaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996), can be seen as a particularly important watershed in terms of usage of heritage in conflict. Constructing cultural heritage as a signifier of national identities marked it out as a potential target for destruction when groups fought. No longer only war loot and treasure, the symbolic significance of cultural heritage became almost as important as its material value.

Since wartime destruction and looting of sites and objects of cultural heritage has a long history, it is not surprising to find that attempts to control and protect against this sort of violence also have a long track record. In order to understand this history, it is important to keep two things in mind. First, it is above all a history of war and of setting down the rules of war. These rules have evolved through time, reflecting developments in the tactics and instruments of war. Second, as will be discussed, for the most part these responses, framed as they were in a context of wartime looting and destruction, were concerned with cultural property, not the broader concept of cultural heritage.

Different wars have sparked corresponding responses to the destruction of cultural heritage. Modern protection measures, those that initiated the process that has led to our current instruments, began with the Peace of Westphalia treaties at the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648). An important contribution of this group of peace treaties was that they made a distinction between civilian and military material. The former was to be protected while the latter made for legitimate war booty or destruction. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, and as a reaction to the explicitly targeted cultural plundering often directed by art dealers who accompanied the troops, there was a specific concern with the return of looted objects. The Congress of Vienna (1814) included provisions for the return of war loot and, crucially, introduced for the first time the idea of a 'common heritage of mankind [sic]' (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015).

In the century that passed between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War, several attempts at codifying war were made, producing articles that related to cultural objects and sites in various ways. The first of these was the Lieber Code produced by the US Army in 1863, which was followed by the Brussels Declaration (1874), the Oxford Code (1880) and the Hague Conventions (1899 and 1907). The nineteenth-century interest in cultural heritage was much influenced by dismay at the destruction wrought by war and foreign occupation. This interest in turn furthered the development of institutions with the aim of preserving and promoting 'national treasures'. The Lieber Code was prepared during the American Civil War and its Article 35 sets out that 'classical works of art, libraries, scientific collections, or precious instruments, such as astronomical telescopes, as well as hospitals, must be secured against all avoidable injury, even when they are contained in fortified places while besieged

or bombarded'² (Lieber Code, 1863). The Code was instrumental in the later formulation of the Hague Conventions on land warfare of 1899 and 1907 and further attempts to use international treaty law to regulate behaviour during armed conflict with regard to cultural property (Schindler and Toman, 2004). A subsequent development came with the Versailles Treaty (1919–1920) in the aftermath of the First World War; here the idea of reparations was extended to include cultural property. The destruction of the library of Louvain is the best-known instance of this, Part VIII, Section II, Article 247 of the agreement indicates that

Germany undertakes to furnish to the University of Louvain, within three months after a request made by it and transmitted through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, maps and objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed in the burning by Germany of the Library of Louvain.

(Versailles Treaty, 1919)

The next big step forward in formulating protection measures came in the aftermath of the Second World War with the 1954 Hague *Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*. Together with its subsequent protocols of 1999, it is the principal instrument today, and many of the basic principles concerning respect for cultural property present in that convention have become part of customary international law (Toman, 1996). States party to the 1954 Hague Convention are, for example, expected to conduct risk assessments and emergency plans to respond to threats to all categories of protected cultural property, including archive repositories, important libraries, museums, monuments and sites, and their collections – similar principles to those that apply to protected monuments under the 1972 *World Heritage Convention* (Boylan, 1993). Peacetime preparations that countries commit to in signing the Convention include making inventories of important cultural property that should be protected in the event of conflict, clearly identifying such sites, possibly by marking them with the Hague Convention's blue shield symbol, and undertaking necessary training of personnel. Partly in response to the intentional destruction of culture in Afghanistan, UNESCO issued a *Declaration concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage* in 2003; this explicitly recognizes that heritage may become a deliberate target of aggression and not just a casualty of collateral damage.

The legal instruments outlined above have for the most part approached the complex relationship between culture and conflict in terms of 'cultural property' rather than heritage (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015). Broadening of the defining parameters of what counts as cultural heritage, as seen in recent conventions on other aspects of heritage, such as the UNESCO 2003 *Convention*

for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, has not been incorporated in these legal instruments. These conventions are about war rather than heritage, and as such they fix the relationship between heritage and armed conflict as well as what constitutes heritage. These shortcomings indicate that the dynamics of the relationship remain poorly understood.

The history of cultural heritage destruction and protection is one of responses to events, and of creating preventive measures. It reveals national and international attempts at legally defining what destruction is and in turn regulating it, creating prohibitions as well as allowances. But these are formalistic attempts at policing very complex processes, and there are obvious gaps where parts of the process have been overlooked.

Recently, we have seen responses from the international community that attempt to prevent destruction in parallel to the development of a crisis. Such attempts illustrate the challenges of preventive action and also how the international community continues to focus on the monumental dimension of heritage. While this chapter was being written, for example, many waited with bated breath to discover the extent of the damage suffered to the built heritage and manuscript collections of Timbuktu in Mali. The series of events as they were unfolding shows just how difficult it is to prevent the destruction of heritage sites during an emergency situation:

- In April 2012 UNESCO Director General Irina Bokova expressed concerns about the safety of cultural heritage sites in Mali.
- In the first week of May, a Muslim shrine, which formed part of a World Heritage Site in Timbuktu, was attacked and burned.
- UNESCO and the government of Mali agreed to move to protect Timbuktu and other sites in the country in the wake of this destruction.
- Nonetheless, on 28 June various sites in northern Mali were placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger.
- In late June and early July, further shrines were destroyed at the fourteenth-century Djingareyber mosque in Timbuktu.
- On 30 June, a UNESCO press release expressed 'distress and dismay over the destruction of three sacred tombs that are part of a World Heritage Site in Timbuktu' (UNESCO, 30 June 2012).

The see-saw of action–reaction that played out during this three-month period in the summer of 2012 in Mali echoes those that preceded the March 2001 destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan. Both highlight the difficulties of protecting sites during hostilities and the importance of taking preventive measures before violence escalates and heritage sites become bargaining chips in the larger context of the conflict. There have nonetheless been two important developments with Mali. First, in July 2012, the International Criminal Court's

Chief Prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, warned that the destruction of shrines was a war crime that could be prosecuted by the Court (Daniel, 2012), and a few days later the Malian government requested that the Court look into the situation in Mali, including the destruction of religious and historical sites in Timbuktu (ICC, 2013). Second, the Security Council Resolution of 25 April 2013, which approved a UN stabilization mission for Mali (MINUSMA), includes a provision in Article 16, which outlines the mandate of the mission, a point (f) 'Support for cultural preservation' and in Article 32 'to operate mindfully in the vicinity of cultural and historical sites' (UN S/RES/2100, 2013).

Until the 1990s, cultural property was the focus of concern: it was about material heritage in the form of museum collections and monumental architecture, and this heritage was seen to belong to a country, institution or individual. Legal instruments, political and diplomatic agreements, military practices, and institutions were thus focused on managing threats to this 'property'. While much work still remains to be done in this field, in particular in terms of how to translate policies and agreements into appropriate and effective behaviour on the ground, there exists a sound foundation to build on (O'Keefe, 2006, pp. 1–3). What challenges this old relationship today is our appreciation of cultural heritage as a part of continuous process of meaning-making and interpretation, for it raises a series of urgent questions as to its uses and abuses. As the notion of cultural heritage has evolved, the questions and understandings of what is involved in armed conflict scenarios have become more nuanced.

The idea of cultural heritage as a treasure of sorts, a rare, fragile, valuable and non-renewable resource, has been rejected. Today, our understanding is that 'heritage is neither static nor dwindling' (Lowenthal, 2011, p. 30) but, rather, 'a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, p. 7). How, then, does this understanding affect our study of the dynamics between war and heritage?

The highly mediatized instances of destruction, together with the wave of explicit reinterpretation of history accompanied by new repertoires of heritage sites and memorials sparked by the collapse of the Soviet bloc (Bevan, 2006; Pakier and Stråth, 2010), have given impetus to what has become a sustained field of research on the relationship between cultural heritage and war. Researchers have tackled the destruction of art (Gamboni, 2007), libraries (Raven, 2004), architecture (Bevan, 2006), cities (Coward, 2009) and archaeology (Meskell, 1998; Stone and Farchakh Bajjal, 2008). Most of the existing literature focuses on destruction, protection and, more recently, reconstruction (CRIC, 2008–2012) measures for cultural heritage, and there are still only a few studies specifically analysing the uses to which heritage is put during conflicts. In addition, while there is an important volume of work on the relationship between heritage and issues of power, authority, ownership and post-colonial reappropriations, little work has been done on the crucial linkages between

cultural heritage and violence.³ Another area that requires more research is how armed conflict actually generates cultural heritage. In part it produces new stories, but it also generates material that ends up being used as support for new narratives in memorial sites and museums. Researchers have begun to work on this subject, looking at the archaeology of conflict (Schofield et al., 2002; Schofield, 2009), the construction of new heritage sites (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015), war-torn cities (Susser and Schneider, 2003; Coward, 2009; Pullan and Baillie, 2013) and the contested or dissonant nature of cultural heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Silverman, 2011). Far more research is still needed.

A two-way street: From protection to reconstruction and recovery

After the Second World War, any previous concerns with the destruction of cultural property were compounded by the massive task of reconstruction. Post-conflict reconstruction of cultural heritage thus came to the fore, together with a series of questions about what approaches to adopt. These included whether to restore sites to their pre-war state integrally or only to the level of façade; to use the destruction to modernize and build anew or try to recover what had been lost; and to restore sites to the immediate pre-war state or to an earlier or idealized version (for discussions of the dilemmas of this period and how they were faced see Gebler, 1956; Diefendorf, 1993).

The difficult task of reconstruction is shaped by many factors, including the destruction experienced during the conflict and the propaganda battles surrounding these acts. Reconstruction takes place on these distorted spaces. As old symbols are reinterpreted, familiar landscapes change, new ideological connotations are added and new heritagescapes emerge. Apart from the obvious reconstruction of the built environment, other examples of this transformation are changes in street names and the building of memorials related to the war.

However, it happens in more subtle ways as well. During reconstruction phases, the mythology of conflict becomes engrained – heroes and martyrs celebrated, guilty perpetrators and innocent victims designated, victories and defeats commemorated. In this process, interpretations of the destruction wrought by conflict are cemented, and often follow the same essentialist accounts of events and relationships promulgated during the war. Both victory and victimhood have their advantages, and so both groups and individual political entrepreneurs compete for the most advantageous positions within the conflict narrative – of which the trope of ‘glorious martyr’ becomes especially sought after and comes to mark the emergent memorial landscape (Sahovic and Zulumovic, forthcoming). The post-conflict periods add further facets to how cultural heritage is perceived and talked about. For instance, competitions

over suffering have given rise to rhetorical turns that frequently anthropomorphize heritage sites with references to 'wounded' buildings and cities (Susser and Schneider, 2003). And, increasingly, we also see a trend of associating affective abilities with heritage in discussions about its power to heal or hurt (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 2008). While legislation has clear limitations in terms of reflecting the meanings and emotions associated with cultural heritage, an over-reliance on anthropomorphizing analogies can be misleading, further confusing the issue. For, while the materiality of heritage, its physical presence and characteristics, affect and has agency in the sense that it influences attitudes and behaviour (for a discussion of the agency of heritage sites arising out of conflict see Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015), the responsibility for its divisive or inclusive effects lies with those who design, build, situate, interpret and use that heritage.

Recent research on the policies, practices and long-term impacts of the post-war reconstruction of cultural heritage (CRIC, 2008–2012; Viejo-Rose, 2011) has shown that, among other effects, reconstructions can reinforce the violence of war, continuing the aggression by demarcating territory, planting symbolic markers along new lines of inclusion, and exclusion. As an example of this, many heritage reconstruction projects in Bosnia reproduced the divisions that had been created by the war, thus reinforcing rather than overcoming them. The case of Sarajevo illustrates how a reconstruction discourse that claimed to seek to restore the city's pre-war multiculturalism actually reinforced the wartime essentialist divisions between the groups on the basis of religion. So, while the international community focused on rebuilding the sites of the main religious groups, the National Museum, which told the story of the region rather than a specific group, was neglected by international and national institutions that could not agree on who was responsible for it – who would foot the bill for heating in the winter, for instance. As a result, this museum's collection, which had the potential to be used to recover a sense of the shared history of the region, was neglected in favour of brand new museums which focused on contemporary art, seen as 'safe', or the history and wartime suffering of one or the other group.

One of the most significant challenges for the post-conflict reconstruction of cultural heritage is, therefore, how reconstruction can be carried out without further cementing the divisions created by war, for reconstruction is about more than the rebuilding and restoring of monuments and artefacts (Viejo-Rose, 2011). Indeed, the word 'reconstruction' seems to indicate a recovery of what was there before; yet, that is only possible in the narrowest sense, as contested uses of heritage, memory and identity made during conflicts continue to affect places in their aftermath. Moreover, reconstructions grounded on the fault lines created by conflicts – scenarios in which the politics of space and the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion have shifted – do not facilitate

reconciliation. Instead, they can cause the violence and fear engendered by the conflict to continue by 'reconstructing' aggressive signposts and propelling a negative cycle of violence rather than a reconciliatory one.

Thus, we are beginning to learn that, throughout the phases of conflict, cultural heritage can reinforce, prolong and emphasize divisions by essentializing differences (Viejo-Rose, 2007). Not only does the new post-conflict heritagescape look different; it also feels different, as the sense of ownership, claims, rights and entitlement towards heritage narratives, values and meanings shifts. When culture and politics come together in the form of cultural heritage and armed conflict, it becomes evident that cultural heritage is an element of 'hard power' and not only 'soft power' (following the terms developed by Nye, 1990). Joseph S. Nye cites a conversation in which then US Secretary of State Colin Powell refers to the US exercising 'hard power' during the Second World War and 'soft power' through the Marshall Plan (Nye, 2006, p. ix). Treating cultural heritage as an element of 'soft power' to be used as the friendly face of reconstruction fails to understand how it is an integral part of society, and therefore central to its rebuilding. It also ignores the harmful effects it may have when used to fuel conflict or even make conflict seem more acceptable. The two uses of power often go hand in hand, as was clearly illustrated by George W. Bush in his address to the United Nations General Assembly on 12 September 2002 when he justified the invasion of Iraq and announced that the US would rejoin UNESCO, both done in the name of a 'commitment to human dignity' (Bush, 2002).

Acts of cultural destruction – like those witnessed in Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq – have placed the destruction and subsequent reconstruction of cultural heritage explicitly in the arena of sociopolitics, including such core concerns as socioeconomic regeneration and identity formation. It is essential to understand that reconstruction can influence what traces of history are preserved or are allowed to disappear. As such, it has equal potential to become an instrument of punishment and intimidation, or one of hope and possibly even of reconciliation. Working towards the latter requires a greater understanding of the violent uses to which cultural heritage is put and mechanisms for preparation, response and recovery that reflect this understanding. Table 17.1 sets out the observations made by recent research on the ways in which cultural heritage is destroyed and reconstructed. It then suggests how these insights might inform practices and policies in reparation, response and recovery work.

The arming and disarming of cultural heritage

As we have seen, cultural heritage can be both destroyed and used as an instrument of war during armed conflicts and in their aftermaths. The 1954 Hague Convention indicates that heritage sites cannot be used for military purposes,

Table 17.1 Applying research insights

Dynamics of the relationship between cultural heritage and armed conflict identified by recent research:

Destruction

- Propagandistic uses of destruction: accusations and denials
- Destruction used to elicit particular responses
- Construction of the enemy other
- Division of cultural heritage into 'ours' and 'theirs'
- New sites of war heritage created

Reconstruction

- Propagandistic uses of reconstruction
- The selective editing of history
- Constructing a 'legitimate' and 'authentic' vision of heritage deeply affected by the divisions of war
- Alienation and exclusion of part of the population from the new heritage narrative

Ways in which the above might inform approaches on the ground:

Preparation, response, recovery

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attention to rhetoric (especially moral and moralizing qualifiers) • Sensitization, awareness and training • Reflective reconstruction projects (conciliation between 'project' and funding timeframes and recovery timeframes) • Attention to memorial policies | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with the media (media training) • Work with the military • Combination of local consultation and external expertise with regular monitoring and evaluation • Work with funding bodies to avoid labelling entire communities as victims or perpetrators, innocent or guilty |
|---|--|
-

either to shoot from or to store weapons, thus outlawing this explicit militaristic use. And yet, when one understands cultural heritage as a part of continual process of meaning-making and interpretation of the past, it becomes clear that there are many ways in which it can become an instrument of war. Ways in which heritage can be 'armed' include the following examples. First, it can be used as a weapon to aggressively foster divisions, exclude and intimidate, thus becoming 'armed'. For example, in the run-up to war, propagandistic discourses will often construct heavily edited historical narratives that use heritage sites as 'evidence' of how one group has greater legitimacy to power or claims to a territory. In recent years we have seen examples of this in conflicts throughout the world, from Rwanda and Kosovo to Sri Lanka and Kashmir. Second, heritage can become armed in the sense of a time bomb, accumulating tension by reminding people of past injustices, to which current grievances are gradually added. This can then manifest itself in more or less explicitly violent terms, as in the armed conflicts in the former Yugoslavia or the 'memory war' in Spain. It is only by addressing the potential violent uses to which heritage can be put that we will be able to begin to consider how it can be 'disarmed'

and thus become a genuine resource in generating recovery, dialogue and even reconciliation.

Every war has a historical context and baggage of cultural reference points and past grievances. While these vary from one conflict to the next, the ways in which they are used can be compared. Cultural inheritance and memes are to a large extent selected and, as has already been argued, cultural heritage is continuously being assembled. In the name of political leverage, 'identity entrepreneurs'⁴ use this process of assemblage in order to impose constructed narratives of belonging and otherness, redrawing boundaries of difference and making them more rigid in order to mobilize groups. Competition in the push to mobilize groups via the politics of identity also politicizes the past, memory and their crystallization in heritage sites. This instrumentalization of cultural heritage has consequences in the distribution of access to resources, in how divisions are perceived and in how notions of the enemy are constructed: the recognition that '[t]he conflicts that occur around the rights to control the expression of cultural identity have important material consequences for struggles over economic resources and struggles for equity and human rights' (Smith, 2006, p. 159) may thus be especially relevant to armed conflict. Excluding any individual or group from access to heritage is, therefore, an element of 'hard power' and relates directly to issues of access to resources, as well as respect for human dignity.

The motivations for safeguarding cultural heritage are often expressed in terms of universal values. Yet, when it is deliberately targeted it is because of its significance and representative meaning for one particular group, not because of its universality. It is therefore important to realize that cultural heritage can be managed in such a way as to divide and exclude as much as to unite and include. Not only is this true in the context of armed conflict, but such 'extreme' periods make the divisive uses of heritage more explicit and dangerous. The divisive potential of cultural heritage raises questions about its universality, an issue that has come under scrutiny by scholars and which Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett pinpoints as 'the difference between cultural diversity and cultural relativity, between celebrating diversity and tolerating difference' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006, p. 162).

Meanings that exclude and intimidate construct a dichotomy, an 'us' and 'them', that disowns those outside the newly essentialized group of a common heritage. This understanding gives rise to two central questions: What measures can be put in place to prevent the 'arming' of cultural heritage in the run-up to and during war? How can post-conflict reconstruction be approached in a way that is sensitive to the fact that cultural heritage might have been 'armed' during the war?

Preventing the arming of cultural heritage would be very difficult. Attempts to do so have been made, for example, by criminalizing certain forms of

hate-speech and the denial of past atrocities, and by attempting to regulate the content of children's textbooks (see initiatives by UNESCO and the Council of Europe, for example). Propagandistic strategies for fuelling fear and justifying violent means in the run-up to armed conflict are still widespread, however, as are less explicit rhetorical stereotyping, dehumanizing, and generally sapping legitimacy and dignity from other groups. In response, we need to find ways of consistently focusing on the plural nature of heritage, resisting the temptation of interpretative singularity, and revealing the abusive ways in which heritage is used; in this way it might be possible to make people less vulnerable to its bellicose manipulation. Only by recognition of the multifocal dimensions of heritage can it be a constructive resource of post-conflict recovery. Rather than closing down options by fatalistically suggesting an inevitable cyclical dimension to conflict, fully acknowledging the interrelation between cultural heritage and violence can suggest methods for mitigating the potential time-bomb effect.

Looking to a future imperfect: Intention and impact

As this chapter was being written, it looked as though fighting in Syria might spread within the country to affect Damascus and to neighbouring countries, sparking fears that scenes of the destruction suffered by Aleppo's heritage sites, its market and old town having been destroyed earlier in 2012, might soon be repeated elsewhere. And reports from journalists on the ground indicated that, while museums have made efforts to protect their collections, Syrian antiquities were disappearing from archaeological sites in order to be traded for weapons (Baker and Anjar, 2012). In addition to possibly contributing to prolonging the war in this way, the loss of Syria's cultural heritage can sever people's sense of place and belonging. Furthermore, it delivers a serious blow to the tourist industry, which, until the conflict began, constituted 12 per cent of the national income (Baker and Anjar, 2012). Armed conflict thus directly contributes to the fighting, damages a resource that could be instrumental in the country's eventual recovery and, by removing objects from their original contexts, thwarts the potential for future study and people's access to the record of their past.

How we approach the interrelation between cultural heritage and armed conflict – the protection, destruction and deliberate targeting of the former, including considerations of its potential as a peace-building resource – is necessarily determined by how we understand cultural heritage in the first place. Over the past 15 years, institutional definitions of cultural heritage have posited two principal understandings of it: material/tangible heritage, as represented by sites and objects, and immaterial/intangible heritage, often defined through a list of examples such as crafts, traditional know-how, rituals and folklore. The distinction between the two was concretized formally through the

development of an international convention to recognize, celebrate and protect the intangible heritage with the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Recently, attempts have been made to redress the false dichotomy that arose out of this differentiation (see the *Yamato Declaration* made in Nara, Japan, 2004, which takes into account the interdependence of both forms of heritage). Nevertheless, as argued throughout this chapter, failing to fully acknowledge the intangible dimensions of physical heritage sites and the material manifestations of intangible heritage has resulted in creating some unfortunate blind-sides when it comes to understanding the cultural heritage and conflict dyad.

Taking the material approach to the protection of cultural heritage leads to tasks such as inventorying, evacuation and emergency planning at the expense of the intangible. Yet, by corollary, focusing on the intangible alone likewise raises a significant obstacle: how is it to be protected in wartime and the value of its physical manifestations appreciated? Often, similar responses are elicited by the international community whether it is tangible or intangible, and take the form of creating inventories and developing emergency plans. These are valuable exercises, but none address the question of why cultural heritage is being targeted in the first place. Cultural heritage only rarely becomes a target for deliberate destruction in times of armed conflict because of its materiality alone – instances when heritage is ‘in the way’ of military operations or is used for military purposes (outlawed by the Hague Convention of 1954). Far more frequently, cultural heritage is targeted because of the values attached to it, the emotional evocations, meanings, symbols and interpretations, all of which are intangible. But it is through the tangible form that the targeting is possible, and images of destroyed tangible heritage circulate widely, illustrating the intractable relationship between the two (e.g. the destruction in Mali targeting a particular branch of Islam by attacking its monuments).

Once we understand cultural heritage as an assemblage of material and immaterial, of intellectual, emotional and moral values that together result in what we recognize as cultural heritage, our gaze broadens out enormously. The picture that emerges is one of multiplicity of meanings, fluidity, change and complexity, and it is infinitely intriguing. Emphasizing the interconnection allows us to appreciate cultural heritage as far more than a collection of static ‘dead’ things, to be cherished for their fragility, dusted off occasionally, and safeguarded for future generations because they are seen as ‘good’, and, as goods, to be protected. Rather, we can now appreciate it as a partner to process, a continuous construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of meaning, having a protean nature of malleability. All cultural heritage is living heritage. Furthermore, heritage is assembled from a continuous process of selection; at any given moment the narrative of the past, what is or is not heritage, is selected according to the needs of that moment as well as projections of the future.

Several lines for future research stand out as being particularly important given recent developments in how cultural heritage is faring in armed conflicts. In particular, the motivations underpinning the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage and the long-term impacts of this type of violence remain poorly understood. Research has thus far mainly focused on the acts of destruction themselves, and on subsequent reconstruction or memorial projects. The focus on these actions is understandable because there is data and methodology to apply to them: documentation exists on destructive, reconstructive and memorial actions, and so it is possible to comb through military, media and administrative archives, interview key players and piece together an image of what happened as well as the official policy and explicit intent driving such actions. Far more difficult to gauge have been the more implicit intentions motivating the destruction and, even more so, the medium-term and long-term impact of this form of violence. In-depth analyses of these relationships are essential for a critical understanding of the role of cultural heritage in these processes. This is a necessary basis from which scholars can make informed recommendations to policymakers, practitioners and various regional actors to guide their crucial decisions on why and how parts of the cultural heritage should be reconstructed: guidance that is currently lacking. This matters, because heritage reconstruction is not merely a question of design and resources – at stake is the re-visioning of society and the reclaiming of identity.

The first line of the preamble of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* recognizes the ‘inherent dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family’; it then identifies ‘peace in the world’ and ‘freedom from fear’ as aspirations. Cultural heritage is intimately linked to human dignity, and, as shown above, understanding it, and disarming it, will contribute to some of our most fundamental joint aspirations.

Acknowledgements

The research underwriting this paper was funded by an EU FP7-SSH grant (project 217411 – CRIC) and a British Academy Fellowship (DVR).

Notes

1. For instance, the French Revolution raised concerns about the destructive tide of revolutionary iconoclasm on built heritage, and the Napoleonic Wars caused outcries at the rampant looting of collections.
2. Articles 34, 35, 36 and 118 all deal with the treatment of works of art, museums, libraries, universities, scientific collections, charitable establishments, hospitals and astronomical telescopes (Lieber Code, 1863).
3. Viejo-Rose’s current research is precisely designed to explore the relationship between cultural heritage and violence.

4. Brubaker (2004) writes about cultural and political entrepreneurs, ethno-national entrepreneurs, and memory entrepreneurs, all of which rely on heritage rhetoric.

References

- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso).
- Baker, A. and Anjar, M. (2012) 'Syria's Looted Past: How Ancient Artifacts Are Being Traded for Guns' in *Time*, <http://world.time.com/2012/09/12/syrias-looted-past-how-ancient-artifacts-are-being-traded-for-guns/>, accessed 12 September 2012.
- Bevan, R. (2006) *The Destruction of Memory. Architecture at War* (London: Reaktion Books).
- Boylan, P. (1993) *Review of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (The Hague Convention of 1954)* (Paris: UNESCO).
- Brubaker, R. (2004) *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Bush, G. W. (2002) Statement by President Bush, 57th session of the United Nations General Assembly, UN Headquarters, New York, 12 September 2002, <http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/57/statements/020912usaE.htm>, accessed 12 July 2013.
- Coward, M. (2009) *Urbicide: The Politics of Urban Destruction* (New York: Routledge).
- CRIC (2008–2012) *Research Project: Cultural Heritage and the Reconstruction of Identities after Conflict*, www.cric.arch.cam.ac.uk, accessed 1 June 2012.
- Daniel, S. (2012) 'Timbuktu Shrine Destruction a "War Crime": ICC', Agence France Press, 1 July 2012.
- Diaz-Andreu, M. and Champion, T. C. (1996) *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London: UCL Press).
- Diefendorf, J. M. (1993) *In the Wake of War. The Reconstruction of Cities after World War II* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Gamboni, D. (2007) *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books).
- Gebler, L. (1956) 'Continuity in the Rebuilding of Bombed Cities in Western Europe', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 61(5), 463–9.
- International Criminal Court (2013) *Situation in Mali*. Article 53 (1) Report. 16 January 2013.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press).
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2006) 'World Heritage and Cultural Economics' in I. Karp and C. Kratz (eds) *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press), pp. 35–45.
- Lieber Code (1863) 'Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field. 26 April 1863.' International Committee of the Red Cross: www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/FULL/110?OpenDocument.
- Lowenthal, D. (2011) 'Dilemmas of Heritage Protection' in B. Klein Goldewijk, G. Frerks and E. van der Plas (eds), *Cultural Emergency in Conflict and Disaster* (Amsterdam: NAI Publishers, Prince Claus Fund), pp. 30–47.
- Meskel, L. (1998) *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London: Routledge).
- Nye, J. S. Jr (1990) 'Soft Power' in *Foreign Policy*, 80, Twentieth Anniversary Issue, 153–71.
- Nye, J. S. Jr (2006) *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs).
- O'Keefe, R. (2006) *The Protection of Cultural Property in Armed Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Pakier, M. and Str ath, B. (eds) (2010) *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books).
- Peace Treaty of Versailles (1919) Part VIII, Section II, Article 247, <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/versa/versa7.html>.
- Pullan, W. and Baillie, B. (eds) (2013) *Locating Urban Conflicts: Nationalism, Ethnicity, and the Everyday* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Raven, J. (2004) *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity* (London: Macmillan/Palgrave).
- Sahovic, D. and Zulumovic, D. (2015) 'Changing Meaning of Second World War Monuments in Post-Dayton Bosnia Herzegovina: A Case Study of the Kozara Monument and Memorial Complex' in M. L. S. S orensen and D. Viejo-Rose (eds) *Biographies of Place: Post-Conflict Heritage and the Reconstruction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Schindler, D. and Toman, J. (eds) (2004) *The Laws of Armed Conflicts: A Collection of Conventions, Resolutions and Other Documents* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff).
- Schofield, J. (2009) *Aftermath: Readings in the Archaeology of Recent Conflict* (New York: Springer).
- Schofield, J., Gray Johnson, W. and Beck, C. M. (2002) *Mat riel Culture: The Archaeology of Twentieth-Century Conflict* (London: Routledge).
- Silverman, H. (2011) *Contested Cultural Heritage. Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World* (New York: Springer).
- Smith, Laurajane (2006) *The Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- S orensen, M. L. S. and Viejo-Rose, D. (eds) (2015) *War and Cultural Heritage: Biographies of Places* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Stone, P. G. and Farchakh Bajjalay, J. (eds) (2008) *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
- Susser, I. and Schneider, J. (eds) (2003) *Wounded Cities: The Destruction and Reconstruction in a Globalized World* (Oxford: Berg).
- Toman, J. (1996) *The protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict: Commentary on the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its Protocol, signed on 14 May 1954 in The Hague, and on other instruments of international law concerning such protection* (Aldershot: Dartmouth).
- Treue, W. (1960) *Art Plunder: The Fate of Works of Art in War, Revolution and Peace* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.).
- Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: Wiley).
- United Nations (2013) Security Council Resolution 2100 (2013) Adopted by the Security Council at its 6952nd meeting on 25 April 2013.
- United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (2012) 'UNESCO Director-General of UNESCO Calls for a Halt to Destruction of Cultural Heritage Site in Timbuktu', <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/901/>.
- Uzzel, D. and Ballantyne, R. (2008) 'Heritage that Hurts: Interpretation in a Postmodern World' in G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. Schofield and J. H. Jameson (eds) *The Heritage Reader* (New York: Routledge), pp. 502–13.
- Viejo-Rose, D. (2007) 'Conflict and the Deliberate Destruction of Cultural Heritage' in Y. R. Isar and H. Anheier (eds) *Cultures and Globalization Series, vol. 1, Conflicts and Tensions* (London: Sage), pp. 102–16.
- Viejo-Rose, D. (2011) 'Destruction and Reconstruction of Heritage: Impacts on Memory and Identity' in Y. R. Isar, H. Anheier and D. Viejo-Rose (eds) *Cultures and Globalization Series, vol. 4, Heritage, Memory and Identity* (London: Sage), pp. 53–69.

18

Heritage and Globalization

Rodney Harrison

This chapter considers the relationship between heritage and globalization and provides a critical summary of existing work within heritage studies on this theme. Rather than seeing the global spread of specific ideas about heritage and the appropriate procedures for its management simply as a consequence of the adoption of international treaties and conventions, the chapter argues that heritage in general, and 'World Heritage' in particular, is itself a globalizing process – a series of material and discursive interventions which actively remake the world in particular ways. Eschewing a focus on discourse alone, the chapter argues the need for a 'material-semiotic' approach to understand these phenomena, drawing on concepts from actor-network, assemblage and governmentality theory. Finally, it makes some concluding comments regarding future research directions which are implicit in such an approach, drawing on new ways of understanding heritage and its 'dialogical' or relational qualities to make more effective connections with other broad issues of contemporary concern.

Heritage and globalization

While it could be argued that globalization is not a phenomenon that is peculiar to the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (e.g. Frank and Gills, 1993; Osterhammel and Petersson, 2005), most would agree that this period has been distinctive in the ways in which international flows – of people, capital, technology, labour, corporations, language and culture – have accelerated, and in doing so have eroded the contours of modern nation-states. The interconnected nature of contemporary politics, culture, economics and religion, facilitated by global transport networks and electronic communication systems, has had important implications in the resonances and frictions (cf. Tsing, 2005) generated by the interplay of concepts, images and ideologies across and between local, regional, national and international communities (e.g. Collier and Ong,

2005). Arjun Appadurai (1996; see also 2001) writes of a sense of unprecedented ‘rupture’ of the present from the past that characterizes late modernity, which has produced a series of conditions under which the idea of ‘heritage’, as a way of making tangible connections between past and present, has come to assume increased importance. He relates this experience of rupture to the fundamental ways in which the electronic mediation of new media and communicative technologies has transformed existing forms of communication and social relations. He argues that the electronic mediation of communication, coupled with mass migration and transnationalism, works on the imagination in innovative ways, as viewers and images circulate *simultaneously*. The work of the imagination takes on a new role in a post-electronic society, in which the individual imagination can be linked with what Appadurai terms a ‘community of sentiment’, which allows the individual imagination to become operationalized in a way which was not previously possible. It is in the frictions generated by the flows of culture, ideology and religion, as much as by the flows of capital, labour, commodities and people themselves, that the importance of globalization for contemporary societies lies.

Heritage is, of course, an integral part of these globalizing processes. Heritage has traditionally played a key role in the ‘invented traditions’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) by which the ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1991) of nations have been constructed. Appeals to preserve heritage constitute the cultural boundary claims by which power and authority are unequally distributed and through which individuals and communities find themselves included and excluded from the benefits associated with citizenship and/or membership of particular social groups (Smith, 2006). Threats to heritage are perceived simultaneously as physical threats to the item of heritage itself and as threats to the social body that holds that tradition, object, place or practice to be a part of its inheritance. These claims of threatened heritage – cultural and natural – have accelerated throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (see Harrison, 2013a, b), not only in response to a broader ‘endangerment sensibility’ (Vidal and Dias, 2015; Harrison, 2015) which pervades the late modern ‘risk society’ (Beck, 1992), but also as a result of the erosion of the traditional connection between heritage and the nation-state (see Ashworth et al., 2007).

‘World’ heritage

The *World Heritage Convention* represents one particularly important example of the relationship between heritage and globalization, which has itself formed a focus for the development of a ‘field’ of interdisciplinary critical heritage studies by way of widespread academic criticism of its role and underpinning philosophies (e.g. Byrne, 1991; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, 2006; Cleere, 2001; Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005; Smith, 2006; see further discussion in

Harrison, 2013a and Meskell 2013).¹ The development of the 1972 *World Heritage Convention* and the establishment of its various advisory bodies needs to be set within a broader context of the idea of an international system of cooperation and regulation that emerged at the end of the Second World War. This was realized, for example, through the 1944 Bretton Woods United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, which established a series of organizations to regulate international financial security and aid post-war reconstruction and political stability, and the establishment of the United Nations (UN) to maintain peace and promote international cooperation in addressing economic, social and humanitarian issues. The idea of promoting and upholding a set of universal human rights was central to the establishment of the UN, following the various humanitarian atrocities and genocide that had characterized the Second World War. The *UN Charter*, which was signed on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco at the conclusion of the UN Conference on International Organization and came into force on 24 October 1945, obliged all member nations to promote 'universal respect for, and observance of, human rights' and to take 'joint and separate action' (United Nations, 1945) to that end.

Although its roots lie in the work of the League of Nations between the wars, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in the months immediately following the San Francisco UN Conference on International Organization, at a UN Conference for the establishment of an educational and cultural organization held in London in November 1945. The Constitution of UNESCO came into force on 4 November 1946 after ratification by 20 countries. It immediately placed the question of collective rights at the heart of its mission, suggesting that it is a misunderstanding of difference, and an ignorance of common humanity, that lies at the root of war, violence and mistrust between different groups of people:

ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind [sic], of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war... In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established.

(UNESCO, 2013a)

The first session of the General Conference of UNESCO was held in Paris from 19 November to 10 December 1946, with the participation of representatives from 30 governments entitled to vote. One of the most pressing issues

on UNESCO's agenda revolved around the use of racial science by the Nazis to justify genocide; accordingly, a *Statement by Experts on Race Problems* was prepared on UNESCO's behalf, and signed by a series of anthropologists, including Claude Levi-Strauss, in July 1950. The statement confirmed 'the unity of mankind [sic] from both the biological and social viewpoints... to recognize this and to act accordingly is the first requirement of modern man' (UNESCO, 1950, p. 4), and ultimately led to the 1978 *Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice*.

In the immediate aftermath of the war, concerns about the impact of armed conflict on cultural heritage led to the development of the *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (or 'The Hague Convention'), adopted at The Hague (Netherlands) on 14 May 1954. The Hague Convention specified that signatories must refrain from damaging cultural properties in their own or other countries' territories during times of armed conflict, and made any act directed by way of reprisals against cultural property a violation of the Convention. The Hague Convention is significant in that it recognized an explicit connection between cultural heritage and national identity, and the use of heritage in nation-building. It also put the destruction of 'cultural property' in some ways on a par with the killing of civilians, as something that was outlawed in the context of armed conflict. But, most significantly, it began to put into practice the idea that cultural heritage might somehow have significance that set it apart and made its management an issue of international concern.

This idea of international collaboration on the safeguarding of cultural heritage was first discussed at the Athens Conference on the restoration of historic buildings in 1931, which was organized by the International Museums Office and led to the drafting of the *Athens Charter*; however, its recommendations were not realized until well after the end of the Second World War. This new sense of global responsibility for cultural monuments found its most important expression after 1954, when the Egyptian Government announced its plans to construct the Aswan High Dam, which would require the flooding of a valley containing ancient Egyptian monuments, including the Abu Simbel temples. This would ultimately lead to the launch of an appeal by UNESCO Director General Vittorino Veronese, on 8 March 1960, to undertake 'a task without parallel in history' (cited in Hassan, 2007, p. 80), a global campaign to save the antiquities of Egypt and Sudan (Säve-Söderberg, 1987). The worldwide safeguarding campaign, which would run for 20 years (the construction of the dam itself was completed by 1970), involved a large-scale archaeological excavation and recording programme and a number of major works, including the relocation and reconstruction of the Abu Simbel and Philae temples and other monuments from the valley. Over half of the estimated US\$80 million cost of the project was raised from 47 donor countries. A series of influential

and wealthy individuals formed an ‘Honorary Committee of Patrons’ to lobby governments on UNESCO’s behalf, while an exhibition of Tutankhamen’s treasures toured the UK, Europe and North America between 1972 and 1979 to help enlist private support. The bulk of the financial support came from the US, France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany, while private contributions in excess of US\$7 million were received. A tourist tax levied on visitors to Egypt raised almost US\$2 million (Hassan, 2007, p. 84).

It is not possible to overstate the significance of this international campaign in promoting the idea that heritage was a universal concern, and that individual states could no longer expect to operate independently in the management of heritage deemed to be of international significance. This signalled an important shift from the perception of heritage as something for the management of individual nations to a global conception of heritage as something that was collectively owned. In this case, it was something to be drawn up and divided among the wealthy and powerful nations who not only gained the benefit of appearing in the role of philanthropists, but also were legitimately able to collect and mobilize relics for display in national museums.

Equally important to the recasting of these old colonial relationships and desires, and the new expression of nationalism through international collaboration, were issues surrounding cultural tourism. Although the area had long attracted visitors, its status as a site of intensive international collaboration over heritage stimulated a boom in tourism, which Egyptian authorities sought to exploit through the imposition of a tourist tax to help fund the safeguarding campaign. The idea that these temples belonged to the common heritage of humanity fuelled this tourist boom. Another important aspect of the safeguarding campaign and its use as part of UNESCO’s origin narrative is its ignorance of the displacement of an estimated 100,000 living Nubians, who occupied the area inundated by the dam’s construction, over the spectacular stone monumental remains which it saved (Hassan, 2007, p. 83). The emphasis on heritage as monumental and distant from the circumstances of the present would have a powerful influence on the *World Heritage Convention* text (see further discussion in Harrison, 2013a).

The 1972 *World Heritage Convention*

While the first UNESCO safeguarding campaign was under way, the Second Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings met in Venice in 1964 and adopted a number of resolutions. The first created the *International Charter on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the ‘*Venice Charter*’). The *Venice Charter* took the form of a treaty giving an international framework for the preservation and restoration of historic monuments and buildings. A subsequent resolution, put forward by UNESCO, created the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) to oversee the

implementation of the charter. ICOMOS was founded in 1965, and in this same year a White House conference called for a 'World Heritage Trust' to preserve the world's natural and scenic areas and historic sites 'for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry' (UNESCO, 2013b). The flooding of Venice in November 1966, and the subsequent development of a second international safeguarding campaign, appeared to underline the need for global collaboration on heritage issues, and images of a flooded Venice appeared to give urgency to these developments in the light of a growing sense of the vulnerability of global heritage. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), formed in 1948 as the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN), echoed the proposals that had emerged from the 1964 Venice Congress proposals, which were presented in 1972 to the United Nations conference on Human Environment in Stockholm. The conference developed a draft *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention)*, which was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972 (Bandarin, 2007).

The Convention created a World Heritage Committee, which would be advised by ICOMOS, IUCN and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). The World Heritage Committee would administer the nomination of places to a World Heritage List, which would contain 'a list of properties forming part of the cultural heritage and natural heritage ... which it considers as having outstanding universal value in terms of such criteria as it shall have established' (UNESCO, 2013b). It placed the question of the identification and management of heritage squarely within the context of the circumstances of late modern life by appealing to the idea of threat, and suggesting that the threat of the loss of heritage was an issue for the concern of all humanity:

cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction ... deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world.

(UNESCO, 2013b)

There is now a well-established literature which critically explores the implications of the *World Heritage Convention* (e.g. Walsh, 1992; Bianchi and Boniface, 2002; Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Smith, 2006; Francioni, 2008). Perhaps the most novel and defining aspect of the Convention's text was its concept of 'universal heritage value':

parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the World Heritage of mankind as a whole...in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, by the granting of collective assistance which, although not taking the place of action by the State concerned, will serve as an efficient complement thereto...it is essential for this purpose to adopt new provisions in the form of a convention establishing an effective system of collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods.

In employing this notion, the Convention text represents itself as a totalizing discourse representing a global hierarchy of value (cf. Herzfeld, 2004). Byrne (1991) suggests that the idea of the universal significance of heritage values is made up of two parts. The first is that all humans necessarily share an interest in the physical aspects of the past as 'heritage', and that they do so in the same way. The second is that people in one country would necessarily be interested in and concerned over the conservation of certain types of physical remains of heritage in another country – that certain aspects of heritage transcend physical and political boundaries. For this reason, Byrne and others have criticized the Convention as hegemonic, and as forcing what are essentially Western notions of heritage onto countries that might not otherwise hold such interest in heritage. The final important point to note is that the process of nominating World Heritage Sites was determined by state parties, and that there was an expectation that states would necessarily have such places within their boundaries and would be willing to allow them to be catalogued and recorded for the purposes of collective international interest and cooperation.

It is clear that the *World Heritage Convention* has played a central role in the globalization of specific models for the management of heritage. It has done this not only through enlisting the support of nation-states (states parties) as signatories to it and various other associated international treaties and conventions, themselves often drawn to the idea of World Heritage due to the ways in which it has been caught up in the reconfiguration of global tourist economies, but also, as I will argue further below, through the making and remaking of the physical world in particular ways. This aspect of heritage as a set of material design processes, directed towards very specific ends, has received relatively little attention in the critical academic literature. This is at least partially due to the way in which heritage work presents itself as the direct opposite of creation, as the arresting of decay or the passive shoring up of traces from the past (see Otero-Pailos, 2006, 2007). But heritage is fundamentally a *material* (and hence

simultaneously *discursive*) intervention in the contemporary world. In the space which remains in this chapter I would like to introduce a critical toolkit of concepts for thinking through the globalization of heritage by way of its material interventions, drawing on material-semiotic approaches from actor-network, assemblage and governmentality theories.

Critical studies of heritage and globalization

While there is a newly emergent literature which considers the relationship between heritage and globalization more broadly (e.g. Arizpe, 2000; Winter, 2007; Labadi and Long, 2010; Daugbjerg and Fibiger, 2011; Isar and Anheier, 2011), research on the relationship between heritage and globalization has tended to focus on one of three main issues:

- 1) *Technical standards*: Work which focuses on the development of international standards for conservation, preservation and management of heritage sites. This might be broadly grouped together with work which documents the illegal trade in antiquities and other forms of cultural heritage in its concern for the establishment of international treaties and standards which control the global trade in heritage objects;
- 2) *World Heritage*: discussions of World Heritage Sites, models of heritage associated with the work of the World Heritage Committee and associated critiques of the application of broadly 'Western' heritage models to contexts where different ideas about heritage prevail. This might be broadly grouped with work focusing on conflicts between 'local' and 'global' issues in the conservation and management of heritage;
- 3) *Economics/tourism/development*: Work which explores the relationship between heritage and tourism and the economics of heritage and associated debates about the role of heritage in development.

While the most 'critical' work has emerged from consideration of world heritage and economics/tourism/development, neither has tended to explore the extent to which the technical standards might be considered to represent a material intervention which remakes the world in quite specific ways, which has major implications for the way in which we study and think through the implication of these issues. I want to suggest some ways in which these different approaches might be brought together in a material-semiotic approach to heritage.

Material-semiotic approaches to heritage: Actor-network theory, assemblage theory and governmentality theory

Actor-network theory (ANT) was developed by sociologists and scholars working in the field of science and technology studies as a critique of

conventional social theory (e.g. Latour, 1993). It has been described as a material-semiotic method (Law, 2004) that simultaneously maps the relationships between 'things' and 'concepts', using the network as a framework for understanding the ways in which these are interconnected (Law and Hassard, 1999). Bruno Latour (2005) outlines a series of strategies for studying contemporary social phenomena, including a focus on the local spaces where the global is in the process of being assembled (and the actors involved in the production of social processes or movements), to look at the ways in which the 'local' itself is generated, and to study the connections between these 'sites'. ANT defines 'the social' in a particular way. The term does not define a field or a quality of a particular thing, but instead refers to

a movement, a transformation . . . an association between entities which are in no way recognizable as being social in the ordinary manner except during the brief moment when they are reshuffled together. To pursue the metaphor of a supermarket, we would call 'social' not any specific shelf or aisle, but the multiple modifications made throughout the whole place in the organization of all the goods – their packaging, their pricing, their labelling – because those minute shifts reveal to the observer which new combinations are explored and which paths will be taken (what later will be defined as a 'network'). Thus, social, for ANT, is the name of a momentary association which is characterized by the way it gathers together into new shapes.

(Latour, 2005, p. 65)

Latour uses the term 'actor' or 'actant' to stand for anything that modifies any particular state of affairs: the 'agent' or 'actor' is a conduit for change. Thinking in this way shifts the emphasis from what objects 'symbolize' to the affective qualities of things, and the ways in which material objects are involved in particular forms of interactions that create social 'features', such as inequalities or shifts in power, through momentary or more persistent networks of social connection. We can trace the creation of these social features by looking to the shifts or movements during which new combinations of associations are made available to collectives by considering the associations they choose to explore. These shifts or movements provide sources for a consideration of the networks of connection that allow local actors to have global influences (and vice versa).

Exploring heritage's actor-networks leads to a reassessment of 'who' and 'what' is involved in the process of 'making' heritage, and 'where' the production of heritage might be located within contemporary societies. This directly invokes the question of agency. One of the outcomes of actor-network and other related approaches in the social sciences is that it is becoming customary to consider agency not as an individual act of will, but as something that is distributed across collectives. Importantly, these collectives (or 'assemblages')

are considered to be composed of both humans and non-humans, and are seen to include plants, animals, the environment and the material world. Agency is thus contingent and emergent within social collectives, involving both human and non-human actors, and taking many different forms (see also Joyce and Bennett, 2010, p. 4). The World Heritage List, for example, might constitute one of these forms, involving as it does a collective of people – bureaucrats, local stakeholders, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), tourists – and ‘things’ – the heritage sites themselves, the varied visitor facilities and interpretive apparatuses and so on. The World Heritage List constitutes a collection that allows many of these human and non-human agents to act ‘at a distance’ without ever being present together on a site, through bureaucratic processes, for example, or through the production and dissemination of various representations and texts that influence a site’s management. Accounting for the ways in which individuals, corporations, texts, ideas, images and conventions can act and effect change ‘at a distance’ provides an innovative new set of questions with which to explore the relationship between heritage and globalization (see further discussion of ANT in relation to heritage in Harrison, 2013a).

In writing of heritage as a ‘process’, rather than a particular object, place or practice, I draw on an established literature in critical heritage studies which emphasizes this very notion (e.g. Walsh, 1992; Harvey, 2001). However, more recently, the idea of heritage as an *assemblage* (Bennett, 2009; Macdonald, 2009) drawing on Manuel de Landa’s (1997, 2006) articulation of Deleuze and Guattari’s ‘assemblage theory’ (see also J. Bennett, 2010) has increasingly been deployed (see further discussion in Harrison, 2013a). This connects with the material-semiotic approaches of ANT in important ways. De Landa (2006) shows that thinking of assemblages as heterogeneous groupings of humans and non-humans has the effect of flattening the hierarchy of relationships that exists within modern Cartesian thinking, which separates matter and mind, nature and culture, humans and non-humans. This, in turn, focuses our attention on the ways in which things and people are involved in complex, interconnected webs of relationships across time and space, rather than seeing objects and ideas about them as somehow separate from one another. Second, the notion of the assemblage connects with Latour’s argument that ‘the social’ should not be considered a separate domain, but ‘the product of a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling’ (2005, p. 7). In this way, the notion of the assemblage helps us to concentrate on the formation and reformation of social processes across time and space.

Jane Bennett’s (2010) discussion of assemblage theory also emphasizes the ways in which agency is distributed throughout an assemblage, which functions as a ‘federation’ of actants, in which all material and non-material things

are participants. Latour speaks of a 'parliament of things' (1993, pp. 144–5) to describe such collectives. Thus, agencies cannot be separated from the ways in which they are arranged and the affordances of the sociotechnical assemblages in which they are caught up. Thinking of heritage as an assemblage (or *agencement*) means paying attention not only to individuals and corporations and the discourses they promulgate or resist, but also to the specific arrangements of materials, equipment, texts and technologies, both 'ancient' and 'modern', by which heritage is produced in conversation with them. These specific arrangements of materials might include not only the 'historic' fabric of a heritage site itself, along with the assortment of artefacts and 'scars' that represent its patina of age and authenticity, but also the various technologies of tourism and display by which it is exhibited and made 'visitable' (cf. Dicks, 2003) as a heritage site. We might think of the governmental capacities of these various sociotechnical components, which together make up the heritage *agencement*, in relation to the concept of an apparatus or *dispositif*, as developed by Michel Foucault in his work on governmentality.

Recent approaches to the globalization of heritage have sought to show how it might be understood as a strategic sociotechnical and/or biopolitical assemblage composed of various people, institutions, apparatuses (*dispositifs*) and the relations between them (see Harrison, 2013a). Thinking of heritage in this way not only helps us to understand the way it operates at the level of both material and social relations, but also helps us to focus our attention on the particular constellation of power/knowledge effects that it facilitates, that is, the relationship between heritage and governmentality (see also Smith, 2006). Paul Rabinow (2003, p. 49ff) has shown how Michel Foucault defined an apparatus as a device or technology that specifies (and hence helps to create) a subject so that it may control, distribute and/or manage it. Agamben further defines an apparatus as 'anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, or discourses of living beings' (2009, p. 14) (and, indeed, the system of relations between them). We might think here of the governmental capacities of the various modern and historical material interventions at heritage sites – conservation methods and equipment, crowd-controlling devices, infrastructure associated with movement around a site, the various interpretive appliances that have been introduced alongside the affordances of the material that forms the heritage site itself, and the texts and discourses that give each of them their authority to control behaviour in specific ways. These devices and texts are arranged and assembled in precise and identifiable ways, the study of which allows their capacity to control and regulate behaviour, and the various networks of agency in which they are distributed, to be better understood.

Heritage as design process, material intervention and global transformation

With this set of theoretical orientations in mind, we might return to consider the question of heritage as a globalizing process. What is the work which heritage does in the world? I have already mentioned the ways in which 'World Heritage' might be seen to act 'at a distance' in the circulation of objects, people and ideas, and the governmental capacities and affordances of the various sociotechnical assemblages which might be seen to constitute the World Heritage apparatus. One of the key outcomes of heritage in general, and 'World Heritage' in particular, is the semiotic transformation of ruined and redundant objects, places and practices in a process by which they are given a 'second life' (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, 2006) as 'heritage'. But this transformation is not only discursive, as the work of heritage transforms not only the objects themselves (by way of conservation processes which may chemically or physically alter and transform the object into a piece of 'heritage') but also the landscape in which they are situated. We tend to think of heritage as something which is pre-existing and thus incorporated passively into the design of rural and urban landscapes, but the decision to conserve and incorporate what had previously existed as merely a 'ruin' into a new development and to label it as 'heritage' is one which transforms the material world in very specific ways. What I mean here is that a decision to build 'around', 'within', 'above' or 'below' is also a decision to build 'with' something – an archaeological site, part of a ruined building, a former factory – and this in itself is also a process of creating something new out of fragments (see also Shanks, 2013). In addition, the application of various international treaties and technical standards, along with particular familiar design features (glass, stainless steel, easily identified 'new' and 'old' materials), themselves part of an international arsenal of architectural design elements, carves out and identifies 'new' spaces which are designated as 'heritage' places, and are hence removed from the background cacophony of the 'everyday' and redeployed as spaces for exhibition, visitation and recreation. They are transformed both semiotically and materially into new places for the consumption of wealthy 'cosmopolitan' elites for whom the 'experience' of cultural difference has become its own mark of 'distinction' (Bauman, 2011) and for whom this new international heritage style marks out safe spaces of leisure within the urban and rural landscape.

In thinking of heritage as an assemblage, we are forced to dissolve the boundaries between that which is 'old' and that which is 'new' to consider each as part of the physical infrastructure which constitutes a piece of 'heritage'. In this sense, we need to look beyond the remains of the conserved heritage sites themselves, to simultaneously consider the vast material infrastructure relating to conservation and visitor management and the production

of the heritage 'experience' which work together to 'create' the heritage site. We might think of these as the 'technologies' of heritage – the various mechanisms and apparatuses by which the heritage experience is created. At the same time as this increasing mechanization of the technologies of heritage, we are seeing a vast global increase in the number of places which are classified and managed as heritage sites (Harrison, 2013a). Even in the case of natural and so-called 'intangible' heritage, these landscapes and cultural practices are increasingly being linked to sites of consumption (and their associated technologies of heritage experience), where they are staged and reframed for exhibition and consumption. The globalization and expansion of particular *definitions* of heritage throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have had important *material* implications, which have rarely been considered alongside their discursive consequences. However, both are equally important and work together in intervening within, transforming and remaking the contemporary world. The globalization of heritage, then, is far more than the adoption of international treaties and conventions, but a far broader (and yet intimately connected) process by which the world is simultaneously materially and discursively transformed. What work this transformation really does in the world remains open to critical investigation.

Future research directions

As Shami (2000) notes, globalization has tended to be seen as a story of 'Westernization', but this is only part of the story, or, indeed, one which arises from a particular viewpoint. Research on the relationship between heritage and globalization has tended to suffer from the same bias. Instead, we need to explore the ways in which alternative ways of caring for and appreciating things from the past, in the present, have become implicated in global practices of conservation and management. Elsewhere I have developed an argument for a new relational or 'dialogical' model in which heritage is seen as emerging from the relationship between people, objects, places and practices, and that does not distinguish between or prioritize what is 'natural' and what is 'cultural', but is instead concerned with the various ways in which humans and non-humans are linked by chains of connectivity and work together to keep the past alive in the present for the future (Harrison, 2013a). This model draws particularly on forms of indigenous ontological perspectivism and notions of caring for the future. As others have noted before me, heritage is not primarily about the past, but, instead, about our relationship with the present and the future. As such, heritage poses urgent questions that arise as a result of our consideration of contemporary geopolitical issues. Heritage is not a passive process of simply preserving things from the past that remain, but an active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror

to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future. Thinking of heritage as a creative engagement with the past in the present focuses our attention on our ability to take an active and informed role in the production of our own 'tomorrow'. Understanding our contemporary global obsession with preservation will allow not only heritage researchers and practitioners, but also informed laypersons, to exercise greater agency in the decisions that governments, NGOs, communities and other individuals make about actively forming our past in the present. The 'industry' that has grown up around the identification, preservation, management and exhibition of these many and varied forms of heritage has assumed an important place within the operation of contemporary global societies. For this reason, heritage needs to assume a central place in any consideration of what it means to be a global citizen in the early twenty-first century. It is, after all, not only that our taxes pay for the work of governments in conserving heritage, but, perhaps more importantly, that our futures are imagined and made possible through the pasts which are produced through heritage in our present.

Note

1. It should be borne in mind that there is a constellation of other less well-studied international NGOs that also play key roles in the globalization of heritage, including the Getty Conservation Institute, the Aga Khan Foundation and the World Bank. The relationships between, and roles of, such organizations in the globalization of heritage constitute one important area for future research in relation to the topic of this chapter.

References

- Agamben, G. (2009) *What Is an Apparatus? And Other Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities*, 2nd revised edn (London and New York: Verso).
- Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press).
- Appadurai, A. (ed.) (2001) *Globalization* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press).
- Arizpe, L. (2000) 'Cultural Heritage and Globalization' in E. Avrant, R. Mason and M. de La Torre (eds) *Values and Heritage Conservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute), pp. 32–7.
- Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2007) *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press).
- Bandarin, F. (ed.) (2007) *World Heritage: Challenges for the Millennium* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre).
- Bauman, Z. (2011) *Culture in a Liquid Modern World* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press).
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage).
- Bennett, J. (2010) *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press).

- Bennett, T. (2009) 'Museum, Field, Colony: Colonial Governmentality and the Circulation of Reference', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 2(1–2), 99–116.
- Bianchi, R. and Boniface, P. (eds) (2002) 'Special Issue: The Politics of World Heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 8(2), <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rjhs20/8/2#.VDOWrb4ScRw>.
- Byrne, D. (1991) 'Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management', *History and Archaeology*, 5, 269–76.
- Cleere, H. (2001) 'The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage' in R. Layton, J. Thomas and P. G. Stone (eds) *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 22–9.
- Collier, S. and Ong, A. (2005) *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing).
- Daugbjerg, M. and Thomas, F. (2011) 'Special Issue: Globalized Heritage', *History and Anthropology*, 22(2).
- de Landa, M. (1997) *A Thousand Years of Nonlinear History* (New York: Zone Books/Swerve Editions).
- de Landa, M. (2006) *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (London and New York: Continuum).
- Dicks, B. (2003) *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visibility* (Berkshire: Open University Press).
- Francioni, F. (ed.) (2008) *The 1972 World Heritage Convention: A Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Frank, A. G. and Gills, B. K. (eds) (1993) *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Harrison, D. and Hitchcock, M. (eds) (2005) *The Politics of World Heritage. Negotiating Tourism and Conservation* (Cleveland, OH: Channel View Publications).
- Harrison, R. (2013a) *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge).
- Harrison, R. (2013b) 'Assembling and Governing Cultures "At Risk": Centers of Collection and Calculation, from the Museum to World Heritage' in R. Harrison, S. Byrne and A. Clarke (eds) *Reassembling the Collection: Ethnographic Museums and Indigenous Agency* (Santa Fe: SAR Press), pp. 89–114.
- Harrison, R. (2015) 'World Heritage Listing and the Globalization of the Endangerment Sensibility' in F. Vidal and N. Dias (eds) *Endangerment, Biodiversity and Culture*.
- Harvey, D. C. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319–38.
- Hassan, F. A. (2007) 'The Aswan High Dam and the International Rescue Nubia Campaign', *African Archaeological Review*, 24, 73–94.
- Herzfeld, M. (2004) *The Body Impolitic: Artisans and Artifice in the Global Hierarchy of Value* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Isar, Y. R. and Anheier, H. K. (eds) (2011) *Cultures and Globalization: Heritage, Memory and Identity* (London: Sage).
- Joyce, P. and Bennett, T. (2010) *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge).
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Culture. Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).

- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2006) 'World Heritage and Cultural Economics' in I. Karp, C. A. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto (eds) *Museum Frictions. Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), pp. 161–202.
- Labadi, S. and Long, C. (eds) (2010) *Heritage and Globalization* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge).
- Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
- Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor–Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Law, J. (2004) *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research* (London: Routledge).
- Law, J. and Hassard, J. (eds) (1999) *Actor Network Theory and After* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Macdonald, S. (2009) 'Reassembling Nuremberg, Reassembling Heritage'. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 2(1), 117–34.
- Meskell, L. (2013) 'UNESCO's World Heritage Convention at 40: Challenging the Economic and Political Order of International Heritage Conservation'. *Current Anthropology* 54(4): 483–494.
- Osterhammel, J. and Peterson, N. P. (eds) (2005) *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Otero-Pailos, J. (2006) 'Creative Agents', *Future Anterior*, 3(1), ii–vii.
- Otero-Pailos, J. (2007) 'Conservation Cleaning/Cleaning Conservation', *Future Anterior*, 4(1), ii–viii.
- Rabinow, P. (2003) *Anthropos Today: Reflections on Modern Equipment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Säve-Söderberg, T. (1987) *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Shami, S. (2000) 'Prehistories of Globalization: Circassian Identity in Motion', *Public Culture*, 12(1), 177–204.
- Shanks, M. (2013) *Let Me Tell You about Hadian's Wall: Heritage, Performance, Design*. <http://www.mshanks.com/wp-content/uploads/Shanks-Heritage-Performance-Design.pdf>, accessed 22 November 2014.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Tsing, A. L. (2005) *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- UNESCO (1950) *Statement by Experts on Race Problems*. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001269/126969eb.pdf>, accessed 30 April 2013.
- UNESCO (2013a) UNESCO Constitution, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed 30 April 2013.
- UNESCO (2013b) *The World Heritage Convention*. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/>, accessed 30 April 2013.
- United Nations (1945) *Charter of the United Nations*. <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter9.shtml>, accessed 30 April 2013.
- Vidal, F. and N. Dias (eds) (2015) *Endangerment, Biodiversity and Culture* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge).
- Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Winter, T. (2007) *Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism: Culture, Politics and Development at Angkor* (London and New York: Routledge).

19

Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage

John Giblin

‘Who controls the past,’ ran the party slogan, ‘controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.’

As might be implied by Orwell’s (1949, p. 88) famous lines, heritage, broadly conceived as the use of the past in the present, is a locus of power, through the appropriation of which the dominant in society may attempt to control the future by creating historical justifications for contemporary goals. Indeed, this powerful cultural mechanism was harnessed by one of the most oppressive political doctrines of Orwell’s time and recent centuries: colonialism. Subsequently, however, post-colonial independent governments have also adopted heritage rhetoric and professional practices as they reappropriate and repossess their pasts to create new, purportedly nationally unifying, heritage narratives in post-colonial, post-conflict, nation-building eras in attempting to counter the ethno-racially divisive narratives that were typically constructed under colonialism.

Setting the parameters

Post-colonial critical approaches to heritage explore the history and legacy of this relationship between political power, colonialism and heritage, and related lingering heritage colonialities in post-colonial contexts. In addition, the colonial nature of authorized heritage professional discourse and practice (cf. Smith, 2006) more generally is also considered. These approaches typically draw upon the theoretical findings of the post-colonial critique (cf. Said, 1978) and those of the critique of authorized conceptions of heritage (cf. Smith, 2006), which are to some degree both branches of the Foucauldian tradition of discourse analysis (cf. Foucault, 2002 [1969]). I have chosen to emphasize the relationship between post-colonial and post-conflict critical approaches to heritage here because they often share the same historical and conceptual space (cf. Giblin,

2014). In historical terms, this refers to shared space where violent conflicts are associated with colonialism; in conceptual terms, it refers to similar processes of 'post-' reappropriation of heritage 'things' (cf. Smith, 2006, p. 2), the 'post-' recycling of heritage meanings and the 'post-' instrumentalization of the past, as heritage, to 'heal' the legacies of previous social ruptures and to achieve cultural renewal in the present for future goals.

Colonialism, in its many forms, has affected most of the world's nations and peoples. Indeed, whether as a colonizing nation or as a colonized one, the scramble to divide up and own the continents had massive social consequences, and many colonial contexts still exist. Critical responses to issues of heritage in post-colonial contexts have typically focused on minority Indigenous issues, where the dominant form can be categorized as settler-colonialism, such as in the Americas and Australia. These include the post-colonial recognition of heritages of oppression, forced assimilation, marginalization and genocide, alongside the more recent decolonization of heritage methodologies (cf. L.T. Smith, 1999) and positive valorization of alternative, not previously authorized, Indigenous conceptions of heritage (cf. Smith, 2006, pp. 276–98). However, post-colonial heritage issues are not confined to Indigenous debates but also include the reappropriation, recycling and renewal of identities and economies in nations that are not politically or numerically dominated by descendants of colonial settlers and recent migrants, such as those in Africa and Asia. These nations also typically suffered colonial oppression, including ethno-racial profiling, divisive policies and, in some cases, significant levels of colonial settlement, such as before and during apartheid in South Africa and in neighbouring Southern Rhodesia (contemporary Zimbabwe). However, in contrast, today, in an era of post-colonial independence, the demographic majority of these nations and their political leaders are descendants of pre-colonial populations.

Nevertheless, these nations do have post-colonial Indigenous political issues and consequent Indigenous heritage issues. For example, Hodgson (2011) has described how Maasai have chosen to become politically Indigenous to emphasize the similarities between their predicament and those of minority Indigenous populations of pre-colonial descent in the Americas and Australia. However, these issues are not the central post-colonial heritage concern in nations where the majority of the population would likely consider themselves to be Indigenous in terms of pre-colonial descent (cf. Lane, *in press*; Meskell, 2013, p. 40). Instead, the central issue here is the radical shifting of political power from minority colonizer regimes to majority rule and the use of heritage to construct new 'unified' post-colonial nations, albeit ones where colonial power asymmetries may persist.

The shared shift in power following the end of social violence is the basic reason why post-colonial heritage issues occupy comparable conceptual grounds

with post-conflict issues. For example, following periods of social and physical violence, as in post-colonial and post-conflict contexts, the resulting intense political heritage rhetoric typically includes the need to change from the damaging policies of the recent past and return to the supposedly unifying policies of the more distant past (cf. Giblin, 2014). In addition to colonialism as social violence, colonialism also produces extreme physical violence, including colonial genocides, wars of independence and subsequent civil wars and genocides under independence, the motivations behind which are frequently traced to the legacy of divisive colonial policies (for an example in post-genocide Rwanda see Giblin, 2012). Furthermore, there is something of a contradiction in the experience of 'post-' that is demonstrated by the 'double temporality' of both post-conflict and post-colonial heritage rhetoric (Farred, 2004; cited by Meskell, 2012, p. 43, 59). Put simply, the people of 'post-' eras as they attempt to reappropriate the power of the past are at once looking backwards and looking forwards towards cultural renewal, while the thing that is purportedly 'post-' lingers on materially and spiritually.

Summary

The central theme that emerges from critical approaches to both post-colonial and post-conflict heritage is the cyclical manner in which heritage becomes a locus of invested and contested political, sacred, economic and thus, ultimately, cultural power. However, occurring alongside these cyclical events are increasingly professionalized, authorized and ultimately colonizing heritage practices that act along a single trajectory as what were once local community heritages are increasingly appropriated by states, experts, and more recently private businesses. These acts of dispossession, which began in the colonial period with the arrival of Western heritage practices but continue today as acts of colonial-style dispossession in the post-colonial era, are thus also considered here.

Theoretical underpinnings

The post-colonial critique

The vast and many roots of post-colonial theory prohibit a narrow location of its origin and development. However, an approximate path may trace its beginnings in the colonial period with the emergence of a political and literary critique of colonialism, a critique which was to gather momentum in the post-colonial era as continuities in policy and inequalities of power were identified as 'neo-colonial', calling into question a neat chronological demarcation between 'colonial' and 'post-colonial' periods (cf. Fanon, 1967 [1952]; Said, 1978, 1993; Mudimbe, 1985; Chatterjee, 1986, 1993, 1996; Appiah, 1992; Bhabha, 1994, 2004; Spivak, 1999; Mbembe, 2001; see also Mazrui, 2005). Another significant

outcome of this critique is the appreciation that colonial, or culturally colonizing, policies – those that appropriate the cultural ‘goods’ of ‘others’ – are not confined to colonizing and colonized nations but are common political mechanisms of social control and the normalization of power inequalities.

Thus, the post-colonial critique emphasizes the importance of interrogating power relations within and between societies, and suggests an imperative to restructure, decentre or decolonize existing structures, especially those regarding expert knowledge and power (cf. Mignolo, 2009, 2010). Of particular significance for critical heritage studies, and prominent among culturally colonizing acts identified by the critique, are processes that are also associated with the existence of an authorized, or authorizing, heritage discourse (AHD), as theorized by Smith (2006). For example, colonial governmentality (cf. Foucault, 1991) and the AHD both created illusions of cultural superiority through the employment of supposedly objective interpretative scientific processes, including categorization and cataloguing (e.g. lists and typologies), and the dis-possession of cultural accomplishments through appropriation (e.g. collection and conservation) that served to legitimize their civilizing mission. In other words, colonialism can be characterized as a process by which the world and its peoples were explored, described, divided up and ‘conquered’, a process that was aided by anthropologists, archaeologists and historians, among many other expert actors. In comparison, recent authorized heritage practices can be characterized as involving the identification, listing and conservation of resources, or heritage assets, which ultimately leads to cultural owners being dispossessed of their heritage ‘things’ as they become appropriated and ‘conquered’, or owned and interpreted, by similar expert actors and their organizations (cf. Smith, 2006).

Thus, the post-colonial critique encourages a critical approach to not only the relationship between heritage, colonialism and power but also the inherently colonial aspects of contemporary authorized heritage practices, compared with alternative, non-authorized practices.

The heritage critique

The post-colonial position is already central to an emerging ‘critical heritage studies’ (cf. Smith, 2006, 2012; Winter, 2012). Indeed, although Smith’s (2006) identification and critique of the Western-inspired AHD is not explicitly founded upon post-colonial theory, it is heavily influenced by Foucauldian principles of discursivity and the decentring of expert knowledge and power. Smith’s (2006) powerful exposition of what she labels the AHD describes how a narrow, materials-based conception of heritage, predicated on the values of dominant social classes, typically white, middle and upper-class Western males, emerged in the nineteenth century. This developed into a self-regulating and universalizing globalized heritage practice in the later twentieth century, which was purportedly intended to secure the inheritance of the world’s cultural

accomplishments for future generations, but acted as a process of disinheritance for contemporary populations.

In response, Smith (2006) and others (e.g. Harvey, 2001; Byrne, 2008; Smith and Waterton, 2009; Harrison, 2013) have challenged this conception by retheorizing heritage as an essentially intangible common, but dissonant, cultural process or performance whereby constructions of the past are valorized, negotiated or contested, and instrumentalized in the present for future goals. Following this model, heritage is understood to have a long and wide history comparable to the continuous 'invention of tradition' (cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) that is not confined to the European post-Enlightenment conception of the AHD. Consequently, by broadening our understanding of what heritage can be, space is created for alternative conceptions that are not defined by society's most dominant groups but instead may include a diverse range of contemporary values as expert power is decentred and heritage is democratized.

The recent heritage critique thus provides a comparable theoretical framework to the post-colonial critique, whereby both have identified normalized power asymmetries and seek to challenge these. In combination, therefore, these frameworks provide a platform to explore related post-colonial issues regarding authorized and unauthorized cultural (re)appropriation, recycling and renewal.

Discussion

This discussion develops a generalized post-colonial, post-conflict heritage model that includes three connected elements: reappropriation, recycling and renewal, or what I will later refer to as the 're-triangle'. In addition, where appropriate, it identifies examples of colonial-style authorized heritage practices in the post-colonial era. Three prominent post-colonial (post-conflict) heritage cases are discussed here under three arbitrary heritage types: event, site and nation. The purpose of this typological division is to add structure to what might otherwise be an overwhelming task, considering the global reach of post-colonial experience. In reality, however, the distinction between these heritage types is artificial, because there is no point where one stops and another begins in isolation. The cases as used reflect my research interests in post-colonial, post-conflict, sub-Saharan Africa; however, the themes identified are also relevant beyond these continental borders, as demonstrated by the first example, Winter's (2013) analysis of the auto-exotic performance of nation at the 2010 Shanghai Expo, China.

Event

Winter (2013, p. 69–70) describes how, at the 2010 Shanghai Expo, 190 different nations performed their national identities to an audience of 73 million,

mostly Chinese, as they advertised themselves to the world's largest and increasingly mobile national population. These performances, as identified by Winter (2013), were divided into two distinct types, the hyper-modern¹ and the auto-exotic,² the former typically undertaken by colonizing nations, such as the UK, and the latter by once-colonized nations, mostly African and Asian. Drawing on Said's (1993) ideas regarding the colonial construction of 'us' and 'them', Winter (2013) highlights the historical significance of this contemporary distinction because, superficially at least, these auto-exotic performances replicated nineteenth-century colonially constructed exoticism as projected onto colonial subjects. Indeed, Winter (2013) describes how world fairs and universal expositions began 150 years earlier as demonstrations and legitimizations of colonial power, whereby the colonized were subject to dehumanizing exoticism while the colonizer was exhibited at the forefront of modernity as a necessary civilizing influence. Thus, a question emerges: why would post-colonial nations choose to present ostensibly the same colonially constructed exotic heritage performances that once served to further their oppression?

Conversely, however, we must also ask: is this actually replication, whereby a post-colonial nation cannot or chooses not to break out of the colonial mould, or is it something else? By employing Chatterjee's (1993) position regarding African and Asian states' deliberate developments of post-colonial nationalisms based upon pre-colonial tradition and spirituality as symbolic resources in opposition to previously enforced colonial ideologies of modernization, Winter (2013) concludes the latter. From this perspective, the auto-exoticism witnessed at the Expo may be theorized not as neo-colonial conformity but, as Winter (2013) suggests, as the result of a long strategic decolonial history of nation-building and more recent tourism branding. In the terms employed here, this is the reappropriation of pasts once colonized and the recycling of the meanings attached to heritage things, to achieve social, political and economic cultural renewal.

Winter (2013, pp. 83–4) recounts how the exhibitions of the 42 African nations in the Joint Africa Pavilion were notable for their focus on 'literal representations' of heritage, such as artisanal demonstrations and craft markets, in contrast to the more abstract 'playful use of heritage by countries like France, Italy, the UK, Denmark or the USA'. Of particular note were the inclusion of male and female 'partially clothed or semi-naked bodies', the 'African Faces' exhibit, which showed smiling African faces as 'an effigy of Africans at one with nature', and the use of ancient human remains to make references to Africa as the ancient cradle of humanity (Winter, 2013, p. 85). Thus, drawing upon post-colonial theories regarding the colonial use of the body as a key space for the colonial construction of otherness (cf. Bhabha, 1994, 2004; Spivak, 1999), Winter (2013, p. 84) observes:

Clearly here we once again see an imagining of a homogenous, timeless Africa, imbued with innocence and immutability; characteristics, that . . . took central stage in a European colonial narrative.

However, as Winter (2013, p. 88) suggests, although these are ostensibly the same heritage visualizations as those of colonial narratives, and thus 'there is a post-colonial persistence of former colonial ideas and practices', the function and meaning of these 'colonialities' have been recycled and reapplied for differing present and future goals. For example, in the field of contemporary tourism, national branding that can call on 'connotations of sustainability and nature-culture harmonies' in an era of environmentalism has significant economic leverage. Indeed, as Winter (2013, p. 88) concludes, post-colonial auto-exoticism 'needs to be seen in terms of the agency and sovereignty it affords and authorizes'.

Thus, through this single mega-event, the existence of broad commonalities regarding colonial and post-colonial heritage experiences between what were very different colonies and are today very different independent countries is demonstrated. In addition, it provides an example how the visuality of heritage 'things' may remain ostensibly the same between colonial and post-colonial periods but have their meaning and function recycled for new present and future aims; specifically, in this example, as a type of touristic economic branding.

A more specific but nevertheless comparable post-colonial, post-conflict heritage event includes Förster's (2008) account of the annual commemoration of the colonial war of 1904–1908 in Namibia and the 'reworking' of this heritage as Namibians perform re-enactments of the genocide and hold a Miss Genocide competition.

Site

The cycling of heritage sites, like the cycling of heritage events, through various phases of ownership, meaning and purpose provides this discussion with a related field of analysis. Perhaps the most famous of these examples is Winter's (2007) critique of the post-colonial, post-conflict construction of Angkor as heritage for tourism in Cambodia. However, African examples also exist, including the Senegalese 'recycling' of a French paternalistic colonial-era World War II memorial into a claim for recognition and reparation by France (De Jong, 2008), and Fontein's (2006) exploration of power appropriation and meaning-recycling regarding Great Zimbabwe, which is the focus of the following discussion.

Like Winter (2013), Fontein (2006) also employed Chatterjee's (1986, 1993, 1996) critique of post-colonial nation-building, alongside the addition of Bhabha's (1994) concept of neo-colonial cultural 'mimicry', to explain cycles

of heritage-making at Great Zimbabwe. Indeed, despite being the 'possession' of multiple ideologically divergent regimes over the past 150 years, including pre-colonial, colonial, anti-colonial and post-colonial authorities, each similarly invested the site with political power and presented it as heritage to justify their version of the past and legitimize their rule (Fontein, 2006, p. 131). Thus, contemporary neo-colonial 'derivative discourses' and 'mimicry' might be alleged (cf. Chatterjee, 1986; Bhabha, 1994). In addition, Fontein (2006) traces a contemporaneous trajectory of site dispossession generated by increasingly professionalized heritage practices, which have furthered the silencing of local voices and the appropriation of their heritage from colonial times to the present.

Many different contemporary meanings are invested in Great Zimbabwe. Today, from an archaeological perspective, it is the grandest stone-built site of the Southern African Zimbabwe tradition, constructed and occupied from c. AD 1150 until c. AD 1450 before being abandoned by its makers. In contrast, for some local communities Great Zimbabwe was never abandoned but was used by their ancestors until colonial authorities prohibited access to the site in the name of archaeological conservation. For Zimbabwean nationalists it is a symbol of both pre-colonial cultural accomplishment and the nationalist struggle against white-settler rule, while from an international perspective the site may be considered World Heritage, having been inscribed by UNESCO in 1986 (Fontein, 2006).

These multiple contemporary meanings and claims are the result of a long history of power investment in and appropriation of Great Zimbabwe. As Fontein (2006, pp. 19–46) describes, prior to colonial rule, local communities invested the site with sacred and political power, using it for spiritual practices and in contests over clan superiority and land ownership. During the colonial period (1885–1965), however, colonial and archaeological discourses attached new meanings to the site. Through colonial ideologies, Great Zimbabwe was presented as an example of earlier, ancient, non-African colonization in the region (Fontein, 2006, pp. 3–18). This was based on the racial premise that nothing of cultural significance could have happened within sub-Saharan Africa without non-African involvement. Thus, the site was interpreted variously as the historical home of the Queen of Sheba or of King Solomon, or an outpost of the Phoenicians, and was used as an ancient colonial civilizing precedent to justify contemporary colonization (Fontein, 2006, pp. 4–5). Reflections of the political power invested in the site around this time include its representation on colonial currency. However, during this period, the meaning of the site was challenged by archaeological science, which demonstrated that Great Zimbabwe was of local African origin, but, instead of its 'cultural significance' status being preserved, it was now famously denigrated as being the product of an infantile mind (Fontein, 2006, pp. 8, 13).

Nevertheless, the 'non-African origin' and 'of cultural significance' perspective persisted among some white settlers and archaeologists, and gained ground in 1965 when the white-settler minority broke away from colonial Britain to avoid African majority rule. Under this new regime, the presentation of Great Zimbabwe as being of African origin was increasingly prohibited (Fontein, 2006, p. 129), while soapstone birds from the site were placed on the 'national' Rhodesian flag in addition to their continuing presence on currency. However, African nationalists, fighting a guerrilla war of independence against the white-settler regime, challenged this meaning and held up Great Zimbabwe as both a local African construction and a major pre-colonial cultural accomplishment (Fontein, 2006, pp. 117–66). This nationalist position was formalized in 1980 when the newly independent nation, Zimbabwe, was named after the site, while Great Zimbabwe and its soapstone birds continue to be represented on the national flag and currency today.

Although the colonial and nationalist aspects of the political history described above are well rehearsed in the literature, Fontein's (2006) exploration crucially includes pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial local community meanings, which decentres the narrative and extends it before and beyond the beginnings of authorized colonial and national heritage discourses. In so doing, Fontein (2006, p. 15) describes how, despite a series of social ruptures and resulting dramatic changes in political ideologies, authorized forms of increasingly professionalized heritage practice have continued to distance, and silence, local community perspectives as a form of cultural appropriation. In this example, despite heritage rhetoric that emphasizes the importance of Great Zimbabwe for the Zimbabwean people, archaeologists and other heritage managers, supported by politicians, have effectively restricted access to the site to themselves and the economically powerful, that is, tourists (Fontein, 2006, pp. 167–84). This ethnography thus supports the claim that, in an uncritical authorized state, heritage may be considered a colonizing, appropriating practice or, as Fontein (2006, p. 12) terms it, a 'disembedding mechanism', whether it is practised under colonial rule or as a neo-colonial policy under independence.

Furthermore, Fontein's (2006, p. 213) extended problematization of the Great Zimbabwe narrative adds to our understanding of how 'meanings and significance attributed to place and landscape are constantly re-shaped, re-defined, and renegotiated within the changing spatial and historical context of wider discourses, struggles and contestations'. In this case, the wider context involves radical post-colonial and post-conflict changes in power and ideology. In other words, successive colonial, settler and post-colonial nationalist rulers have used the same site and visualization media (e.g. flags, currency and state rhetoric) to justify their version of the past and to legitimate their rule (Fontein, 2006, p. 131).

Fontein (2006, pp. 133–4) compares this reuse with Chatterjee's (1986) concept of post-colonial nationalist 'derivative discourses' and Bhabha's (1994) 'mimicry'. Crucially, however, like Winter (2013), Fontein (2006, pp. 137–8, 154), through his own analysis of Great Zimbabwe and his interpretation of Chatterjee's (1993, 1996) later work, recognizes that this is not simply neo-colonial conformity. Instead, it can be theorized as a deliberate attempt to create cultural renewal by reappropriating discourses and recycling meanings to construct modern African national identities. This is an attempt that preserves the 'derived/material/developmental spheres' of Western nationalism but that also remains 'autonomous/spiritual/sovereign', 'authentic' and 'original', based as it is on African 'spiritual' and 'traditional' pre-colonial domains in contrast to Western colonial ideologies of modernity (Fontein, 2006, pp. 154, 217).

Nation

The nature of heritage as a locus of post-colonial, post-conflict power may also be explored more generally through national investment in the concept of heritage and the use of heritage rhetoric and heritage 'things'. For example, in Africa this issue has been tackled with regard to Liberia (Rowlands, 2008), Sierra Leone (Basu, 2008), Kenya (Coombes et al., 2013), and Rwanda and Uganda (Giblin, 2014). However, the case I have chosen to focus on here is Meskell's (2012) multidisciplinary 'archaeological ethnography' of cultural therapy in post-apartheid South Africa. Through this case, combined with the findings of Winter (2013) and Fontein (2006), the existence of a post-colonial, post-conflict heritage 're-triangle', referred to earlier, is emphasized.

Meskell's (2012, p. 1) thesis, as she explains it, is about 'past mastering, or the struggle to come to terms with the past'. In this case, the struggle regards the material and spiritual legacy of apartheid. Thus, it is an explicit post-conflict heritage case. However, it is also a post-colonial one. Not only was apartheid born out of a colonial past, but it also involved the colonization of a population by a settler minority of colonial descent. In this sense, although apartheid was not technically a colonial period, because the government of this era of oppression did not answer to a colonial power, it was no less colonial in nature. Thus, this case also provides an important opportunity to demonstrate more explicitly the shared conceptual space between post-colonial and post-conflict heritage rhetoric in terms of heritage as a locus of power to be reappropriated and recycled for cultural renewal.

In 1910, following the end of the South African War (once called the Anglo-Boer Wars, or just the Boer Wars), the Union of South Africa was created as a British dominion. In 1931 the Union was granted independence and in 1961 the Republic of South Africa was created, effectively ending all British colonial ties. However, apartheid legislation introduced after the National Party came to power in 1948, which set out specific rights for each of three perceived 'races',

remained in place. This racist political, and colonially derived, ideology was not overturned until 1990 as the nation moved to majority rule in 1994 with the first democratic elections. This was the culmination of 33 years of both violent and peaceful conflict by the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC), alongside others.

Following the end of apartheid and the shift to majority, black African, rule, South Africa found itself in need of reinvention and took the brand 'Rainbow Nation' to highlight the aim of celebrating multicultural, multi-ethnic diversity, and equality, within a single unified nation, in contrast to colonial and apartheid years. In addition, the new South Africa was a state without an authorized past, without heritage except for that of the white-settler minority. Colonialism and apartheid in South Africa were founded on the myth of *terra nullius*, a common means of establishing a 'legal' basis for colonial appropriation that suggested the land was empty on arrival and had been for many years, resulting in the exclusion of black pre-colonial pasts from authorized heritage. Furthermore, black South African experiences during the colonial and apartheid years were not included in authorized heritage discourses, which instead told myths of white-settler success and black primitivism. Thus, as Meskell (2012) describes and critiques, in the immediate post-apartheid years, state and non-state actors alike engrossed themselves in 'past-mastering' to tackle and deconstruct problematic histories, to construct new more palatable ones, and to sell the new South Africa through its pasts to the world.

South Africa is a potent example for this discussion because of the overt state sponsorship and international visibility of this therapeutic post-colonial, post-conflict campaign, which involved overt rhetoric regarding heritage reappropriation, recycling and cultural renewal (Meskell, 2012, p. 38). Although the components of the following discussion are sides of the same re-triangle, it is useful to abstract them here to better illustrate my points. First, let us consider reappropriation. Meskell (2013, pp. 37–8) suggests that a major driver of the heritage therapeutic turn in the new South Africa was the 'recovery of black pasts' to make them pay for black futures, in terms of both empowerment and capacity-building, to heal identity and economic wounds. To achieve this, the ANC-led government embraced the concept of Rainbow Nation. However, by so doing, they returned to earlier racial and ethnic apartheid logics whereby, in order to divide and rule South Africa's black population, tribal difference was emphasized by replacing 'racialism' with 'culturalism' (Meskell, 2012, pp. 41–2, 207). Thus, in one sense, this is another example of neoliberal post-colonial mimicry, a derivative discourse or auto-exotic performance, a product of the reappropriation of heritage logics, whereby groups once territorialized under colonialism and apartheid are now made to do the job themselves (cf. Mbembe, 2000, 2001; cited by Meskell, 2012, p. 53). However, as is implicit in Meskell's (2012, p. 42) analysis, although it remains authoritarian, these 'contemporary

primitivisms' represent the creation of something different: black African control over black African past and present authorized identities as an expression of sovereignty.

The second side of the re-triangle regards meaning-recycling as a necessary consequence of reappropriation, because the meanings and materials now controlled must be recycled to make something more palatable for the present and future. Thus, in the new South Africa, '[g]overnment officials rewrote the dominant, racially motivated historical narratives that the apartheid government's decades of indoctrination imprinted on its citizens' (Meskell, 2012, p. 43). Furthermore, they linked their post-apartheid rhetoric with post-colonial, post-conflict heritage rhetoric elsewhere in the continent. Indeed, just as Zimbabwean nationalists reappropriated and recycled the meaning of Great Zimbabwe, Meskell (2012, p. 45) records how the new South Africa reappropriated sites, such as those with San rock art, and recycled their meaning to construct and promote the concept of an African-wide Renaissance. Tellingly for this discussion, Meskell (2012, p. 46) suggests that President Mbeki's 'rhetoric around the African Renaissance was a clear example of this strategy to *revive, regenerate, and reconstruct* the past for the present' (emphasis added). Indeed, the recycling of heritage in the new South Africa has been taken to such extremes that the very notion of heritage has been value-cycled from 'burden under apartheid' to 'asset for the new nation's revivalism, then recast again as a burden on a strained fiscus... before once again being cast as a potential asset' under neoliberal private control (Meskell, 2012, p. 52).

But what is the ultimate purpose of this reappropriation and recycling? To complete the post-colonial, post-conflict heritage 're-triangle', we must return to the overarching motivating notion of this rhetoric: cultural therapy to heal 'historic wounds'. Indeed, Meskell (2012, p. 38) describes how the new South Africa mobilized heritage as an economic 'palliative for the nation's poor and historically oppressed and their reintegration into new civic and economic spheres' to fulfil 'the social, spiritual and therapeutic needs of the majority of South Africans in an era of uncertainty'. Consequently, heritage came 'to resemble *muti*, the traditional medicine favoured by Black South Africans, because both call upon the ancestors in their efforts to heal and transform individuals and society' (Meskell, 2012, p. 39). Thus, once again, the post-colonial, post-conflict intention is to reappropriate the past, recycle its meanings and mobilize it to heal and transform society as a form of cultural renewal.

Reappropriation, recycling and renewal

Despite dissimilarities in location and scale, Winter's (2013), Fontein's (2006) and Meskell's (2012) examples support the proposed existence of a broad post-colonial, post-conflict heritage rhetoric 're-triangle'. Indeed, in each example the campaign to reappropriate colonial heritage visions involves the recycling

of these through post-colonial rhetoric in which authenticating spiritual influence comes from Africa but the material basis for its production is rooted in a 'Western capitalist value system with a strong neoliberal agenda' (Meskell, 2013, p. 46). Consequently, all three identify grounds for allegations regarding post-colonial auto-exoticism, derivative discourses and mimicry in these practices. For example, just as Winter (2013) observed at the Shanghai Expo, the new South Africa promotes an African Renaissance through visions of traditional African kingdoms and Africa as the cradle of humanity through naturalized bodily conceptions of primitiveness (Meskell, 2012, p. 48). However, each analysis recognizes that what is created is something new. For example, in contrast to colonial or apartheid construction, in post-apartheid South Africa recycled primitivism expresses black African sovereignty and is now marketed as an issue of environmental sustainability, in terms of both the original sustainable societies and their current environmental fragility (Meskell, 2012, p. 49; see also Winter, 2013). Thus, the intention of this rhetoric, as is made clear by Meskell's (2012) analysis, is to create cultural renewal, new nations with new identities and new economies that make use of reappropriated, recycled old materials and meanings. Indeed, for post-colonial studies this observation is not new. As cited by Meskell (2012, pp. 45, 204) to explain heritage rhetoric in the new South Africa, Appiah (1992, p. 262) has described how a post-colony may be considered a 'state looking for a nation'. Thus, as Meskell (2012, p. 54) suggests, in this atmosphere heritage may provide the performative arena in which to attempt such an undertaking.

Conclusion

Critical approaches to post-colonial, post-conflict heritage, as defined here, typically explore the cycling, 're' or otherwise, of power through heritage sites, events, practices and other heritage 'things' as these have moved from pre-colonial, to colonial, to post-colonial ownership. The key tension in these debates is the issue of post-colonial, post-conflict agency pulling against neo-colonial conformity as states struggle to nation-build and make something perceived to be new and better out of something perceived to be old and tainted. In addition, as highlighted by Fontein's (2006) analysis, these approaches may provide powerful demonstrations of the colonial pervasiveness of professional heritage discourses as a means of cultural dispossession.

These are 'critical heritage issues' (cf. Winter, 2012) both in humanitarian terms, because they directly pertain to the successful creation of new, more inclusive and equal societies, and in anthropological terms (cf. Smith, 2012), because they provide intensely rich demonstrations of the meaning and function of heritage. Indeed, although 'heritage issues concerning identity claims, indigeneity, rights, access, and benefits are common to most settings today

irrespective of post-conflict or post-colonial status', in these intense atmospheres of reappropriation and recycling for cultural renewal, post-colonial, post-conflict cases provide a 'critical distillation' (Meskell, 2012, pp. 8–9) of these matters.

Notes

1. I am using the term 'hyper-modern' here as shorthand to refer to those examples that Winter (2013, p. 83) suggests 'spoke of modernity and future orientated abstraction'.
2. Winter (2013, p. 88) uses the term 'auto-exotic' to refer to the way in which some cultures, which were once presented as being 'primitive and traditional', 'as the other of progress and modernity in the geographies of empire', are today playing on these constructions themselves.

References

- Appiah, K. A. (1992) *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Basu, P. (2008) 'Confronting the Past? Negotiating a Heritage of Conflict in Sierra Leone', *Journal of Material Culture*, 13(2), 233–47.
- Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge).
- Bhabha, H. (2004) 'The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse' in J. Evans and S. Hall (eds) *Visual Culture: The Reader* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage), pp. 370–78.
- Byrne, D. (2008) 'Heritage as Social Action' in G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. H. Jameson Jr and J. Schofield (eds) *The Heritage Reader* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 149–74.
- Chatterjee, P. (1986) *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Chatterjee, P. (1993) *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Chatterjee, P. (1996) 'Whose Imagined Community?' in G. Balakrishnan (ed.) *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso), pp. 214–25.
- Coombes, A., Hughes, L. and Karega-Munene (2013) *Managing, Heritage, Making Peace: History, Identity and Memory in Contemporary Kenya* (London: I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd).
- De Jong, F. (2008) 'Recycling Recognition: The Monument as *Objet Trouvé* of the Postcolony', *Journal of Material Culture*, 13(2), 195–241.
- Fanon, F. (1967[1952]) *Black Skin, White Masks* (Trans. C. L. Markmann) (New York: Grove Press).
- Farred, G. (2004) 'The Not-Yet Counterpartisan: A New Politics of Oppositionality', *The South Atlantic Quarterly Special Issue. After the Thrill Is Gone: A Decade of Post-Apartheid South Africa*, 103, 589–605.
- Fontein, J. (2006) *The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and the Power of Heritage* (London: UCL Press).
- Förster, L. (2008) 'From "General Field Marshal" to "Miss Genocide": The Reworking of Traumatic Experiences among Herero-Speaking Namibians', *Journal of Material Culture*, 13(2), 175–94.

- Foucault, M. (1991) 'Governmentality' in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect* (London: Wheatsheaf Harvester), pp. 87–104.
- Foucault, M. (2002[1969]) *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Trans. A. M. Sheridan-Smith) (London: Routledge).
- Giblin, J. D. (2012) 'Decolonial Challenges and Post-Genocide Archaeological Politics in Rwanda', *Public Archaeology*, 11(3), 123–43.
- Giblin, J. D. (2014) 'Post-Conflict Heritage: Symbolic Healing and Cultural Renewal', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20(5), 500–18.
- Harrison, R. (2013) *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Harvey, D. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319–38.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. and Ranger, T. O. (1983) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hodgson, D. L. (2011) *Being Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- Lane, P. J. (in press) 'Being "Indigenous" and Being "Colonised" in Africa: Contrasting Experiences and Their Implications for a Post-Colonial Archaeology' in N. Ferris, R. Harrison and M. Wilcox (eds) *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Mazrui, A. A. (2005) 'The Re-Invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond', *Research in African Literatures*, 36(3), 68–82.
- Mbembe, A. (2000) 'At the Edge of the World: Boundaries, Territoriality, and Sovereignty in Africa', *Public Culture*, 12, 259–84.
- Mbembe, A. (2001) *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Meskel, L. (2012) *The Nature of Heritage: The New South Africa* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Meskel, L. (2013) 'UNESCO and the Fate of the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE)', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 20, 155–74.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2009) 'Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 26(7–8), 159–81.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2010) 'Cosmopolitanism and the De-colonial Option', *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 29, 111–27.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. (1985) 'African Gnosis Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge: An Introduction', *African Studies Review*, 28(2/3), 149–233.
- Orwell, G. (1949) *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel* (London: Secker and Warburg).
- Rowlands, M. (2008) 'Civilization, Violence, and Heritage Healing in Liberia', *Journal of Material Culture*, 13(2), 135–52.
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books).
- Said, E. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus).
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2012) 'A Critical Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 18(6), 533–40.
- Smith, L. and Waterton, E. (2009) *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology* (London: Duckworth).
- Smith, L. T. (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: University of Otago Press).
- Spivak, G. C. (1999) *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

- Winter, T. (2007) *Post-Conflict Heritage, Postcolonial Tourism: Culture, Politics and Development at Angkor* (London: Routledge).
- Winter, T. (2012) 'Clarifying the Critical in Critical Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1–14.
- Winter, T. (2013) 'Auto-Exoticism: Cultural display at the Shanghai Expo', *Journal of Material Culture*, 18(1), 69–90.

Part V

Heritage, Identity and Affiliation



20

Heritage and Nationalism: An Unbreachable Couple?

Tim Winter

In the 1990s much of the academic literature on globalization heralded the decline of the nation-state and the emergence of a new global order, one supposedly defined by transnational connectivities, 'glocal' intersections and a seamless capitalist economy (Robertson, 1992; Hardt and Negri, 2001; Urry, 2003). More recently, it has been argued that cities are the new nation-states of the twenty-first century, a declaration derived from their role in shaping global thinking in governance and the welfare of today's world economy (Sassen, 2002). Elsewhere, much academic attention has been dedicated to ideas of post-national forms of identity, and the possibilities of citizenships oriented less by a prototypical nationalism and more by an ethos of cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2006; Delanty, 2009; Meskell, 2009). Others, however, remain less persuaded by such claims and have argued that assertions concerning the death of the nation-state as a key articulator of identity, politics and economic governance are either fallacious, premature or overblown (Bulmer and Solomos, 2012).

Cultural heritage is one arena where such themes and questions remain intriguing, and where evidence can be cited to support or dispute each of the positions held above. From the many aspects of cultural heritage, both intangible and tangible, that could be explored in relation to these questions, this chapter focuses its attention on the built environment, and in particular the ways in which 'classical' architecture, and the notion of 'antiquity', has figured in the making of nations. Examples are cited to provide a historical perspective, but the chapter also offers a contemporary case to illustrate how the coupling of a material culture of the deep past with the politics of nationalism and the making of national citizens remains as vibrant, and in some cases as troubling, as ever. A comprehensive account of the ties between architecture and nationalism across different historical and geographical contexts is far beyond the scope of this chapter. Constraints of space demand brevity and selectivity within an overarching aim of tracing some continuities between past and present, which, once revealed, beg important questions about the ongoing appropriation of cultural heritage within the politics of nationalism.

Antiquity and the nation

A wealth of literature has been published on the influence classical antiquity had on European thinking from the Renaissance onwards. As Morley (2009) notes, by the eighteenth century classical antiquity was by far the best known pre-modern society, due both to its nature and to its familiarity. Accordingly, Roman and Greek civilizations were

conceived to be sufficiently similar to the present for the comparison to yield precise and nuanced knowledge; unlike the crude contrast between, say, modern Europe and nineteenth century Africa, comparison of the sophisticated yet clearly different society and economy of classical antiquity with that of modernity would throw the particular characteristics of the latter into sharp relief.

(Morley, 2009, p. 17)

Morley thus argues that the very nature of modernity in Europe – whether framed in economic, cultural or governmental terms – continually invoked the texts and ideas of a classical past, and it is inconceivable to think of modernity's ascendance, ambiguous and contested as it was, without acknowledging antiquity as its backdrop. His account traces various aspects of this relationship, notably the emergence of European historiography oriented by concepts of progress and decline. In this vein, Marx and Nietzsche are among those in the mid- to late nineteenth century who most poignantly expressed a feeling that European societies were burdened by the weight of their history. By then the architectural ruin had solidified as one of the key forms through which such a narrative was expressed. As art, as metaphor, as allegory and as virtuous landscape, ruins captured the imagination, a physical embodiment of feelings that tied immutable pasts to tumultuous presents (Schama, 1995; Woodward, 2001). A critical turn came in the nineteenth century with the consolidation of nations into 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991), wherein processes of nationing for some involved the careful appropriation of the material legacy of glorious pasts. As Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) influential collection reveals, the decades leading up to the end of the nineteenth century were an instrumental period in 'the invention of tradition'. Many of the examples cited in the book trace the appropriation and symbolic loading of relatively recent pasts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as sports activities or songs. Interestingly, however, they pay less attention to those processes of heritage-making rooted in much older histories, and how these came to figure in constructions of a national consciousness or collective memory.

Among the many examples that might be cited to address such omissions, the story of modern Greece is particularly revealing. In his detailed account

of the country – one he describes as ‘at the same time a country and a *topos* in the western imagination, a reality and a myth, a national property and an (western) international claim’ – Hamilakis (2007, p. 58) identifies the role of ancient material traces and of archaeological practices in the configuration of Greek national memory and imagination. Together, these formed a ‘monumental topography of the nation’ (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 58). Classical antiquities, with all their symbolic associations, provided a mythological foundation, to use an apt metaphor, upon which the modern nation could be constructed. He argues that the Acropolis and the Theseion were among those sites put into service as ‘the material and monumental frame that structured human movement and action, and inspired and elicited awe, piety, and respect’ (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 63). But, as Hamilakis explains, the ‘rediscovery’ of a Hellenic heritage occurred in part because of encounters between residents of the Hellenic peninsula and the travelling middle classes of western and northern Europe, who increasingly looked to Greek classicism as the cornerstone of the European Enlightenment. The process meant not just that Greeks saw themselves as the heirs to a classical heritage, but that Greek antiquity also came to be folded into a wider narrative of a shared European cultural past. As the new nation, and subsequent state, came into being, the Greek language and a topography of Hellenism provided a sense of territorial and historical continuity with a classical, glorious past. Ancient buildings and material culture would provide the cement for gluing these relationships together:

Mythology and ancient authors were, of course, very useful in constructing the new topography of the nation, but it was the materiality of ancient sites, buildings, remnants, and artefacts, their physicality, visibility, tangible nature, and embodied presence, that provided the objective (in both senses of the word) reality of the nation. It was their sense of longevity, and their aura of authenticity that endowed them with enormous symbolic power.

(Hamilakis, 2007, p. 79)

Yalouri (2001, p. 55) adds to this picture, explaining how the demolition of monuments of periods later than a classical ‘golden age’ allowed the Acropolis to be collapsed into a moment of greatness. This construction of an epic time, to use Bakhtin’s aphorism, meant the Acropolis could serve as ‘a reservoir of meanings’ (Connerton, 1989, pp. 56–7), onto which multiple values and ideologies could be ascribed in the making of a modern Greek identity. To return briefly to Hamilakis, what becomes clear in his account is the critical role played by archaeology in such processes. As Bruce Trigger (2006) explains, in its formative years, archaeology at the end of the nineteenth century needed to do little more than document and record the material remnants of the ancient era with utmost fidelity, whereby such scholarly practice, as national duty, merely

communicated the already self-evident authority of the monuments. In addition, epigraphy, and its pursuit of interpreting inscriptions, ensured that the Greek language acted as the thread of historical continuity, binding modern society with a distant past in a tightly woven ethno-cultural nationalism.

It is a story that has its parallels elsewhere. Indeed, there is a long line of excellent studies tracing the entwining of fields like archaeology with emergent nationalisms in the nineteenth century (Kohl and Fawcett, 1995; Diaz-Andreu and Champion, 1996). Reflection on this literature leads Diaz-Andreu to conclude that archaeology needs to be seen as not merely embedded in or contingent upon its wider sociopolitical environment, but as an *inherently* nationalistic practice, 'either operating in the context of nationalism by itself, or of this in combination with imperialism and colonialism' (2007, p. 11). The pathbreaking and ambitious volume by Kohl and Fawcett, published back in 1995, offered a number of country cases, which together revealed the various ways in which archaeology has been mobilized for political ends over the course of the twentieth century. In her contribution to the volume, Diaz-Andreu (1995) examines how archaeological discourses in Spain have long been politically fashioned in line with the country's regional factions. Her account reveals how all the country's nationalist movements – Spanish, Catalan, Basque and Galician – have looked to archaeology for authorizing their respective causes. In an altogether different political environment, Tong paints a very different picture of China in the three decades after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Not surprisingly, much of the country's archaeology in this period was directed towards bolstering an extreme form of evolutionary Marxism. Tong (1995) suggests that, even though no books or papers ever expounded what the theoretical and methodological orientations of a Marxist/Maoist archaeology actually were, debate was not tolerated and publications offering alternative approaches were rarely seen. Finally, perhaps one of the most infamous examples of the appropriation of monumental architecture and antiquity within an extreme nationalist ideology is that of Nazi Germany. Here, Arnold and Hassman (1995) argue that research into the country's prehistoric past held little prestige prior to the rise of National Socialism. With the rise of Nazism, though, archaeologists were forced to make a 'Faustian bargain', whereby the acceptance of support and resources was accompanied by an unwillingness to raise questions about their role in the creation and justification of the policies of the Third Reich.

Imperialism, nationalism and classical glory

In his 1984 essay 'Alternative archaeologies: colonialist, nationalist, imperialist', Bruce Trigger explored the links between archaeology and European imperialism, and the contribution these two played in the production of

non-European nationalisms. Since then, such themes have been explored in greater detail by other scholars working within a framework of post-colonial theory. From the many examples that could be cited here, India and Cambodia are particularly revealing. In the case of India, for example, Cohn (1996, p. 80) describes how, over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, objects were put to work, and 'transformed', as part of an evolving Indian historiography:

India was to be provided with a linear history following a nineteenth century positivist historiography. Ruins could be dated, inscriptions made to reveal king lists, texts could be converted into sources for the study of the past. Each phase of the European effort to unlock the secret of the Indian past called for more and more collecting, more and more systems of classification, more and more building of repositories for the study of the past.

More recently, Tapita Guha Thakurta (2004) has added considerable detail to this picture, through an account that traces the parallel emergence of archaeology and architectural history. In inaugurating domains of scholarship on art, classical architecture and archaeological remains, pioneering British scholars such as James Fergusson and Alexander Cunningham were instrumental in fashioning a history conceived in terms of antiquarianism: featuring ruins, monuments and the recovery of 'lost' cultural pasts. As with the monuments of Greece, rigorous description and documentation became a process of 'extracting history from the ruins' (Guha Thakurta, 2004, p. 4). For Fergusson, India's long cultural past could be traced through shifting architectural styles, and the new technology of photography enabled the 'objective' documentation of both changes and continuities across time and space. Such efforts contributed to a spatial articulation to India's historiography: a knowledge that would subsequently become critical to assertions of an Indian nationalist rhetoric. But, as Guha Thakurta elaborates, Fergusson's reading of India's architectural past was heavily mediated by an aesthetic of the Picturesque, one that was imported from Britain.

The arrival of the Picturesque movement in the 1800s ensured that vernacular architecture, gnarled trees and ivy-covered ruins were brought into the fold of a European visual culture. As Woodward identifies, it was an aesthetic whereby 'nature could be improved by the eye of the artist, who adds living trees and rocks, sunlight, water and old ruins to the palette' (2001, p. 119). In large part, the Picturesque was defined by the attempts of philosophers, visual artists and poets to represent the subjective and layered nature of memory. In the literary hands of Byron, Ruskin, Diderot and Shelley, the ruin became further mythologized as an icon of both lament and optimism. As Romanticism spread across Europe, the movement also took on political motivations,

most notably within a post-revolutionary France. For public intellectuals bolstered by the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, decaying, tree-covered classical structures became a powerful motif for 'human pride, greed and stupidity' (Woodward, 2001, p. 157). In his examination of nineteenth-century France, Green (1990) argues that a shift in perception towards nature occurred on the back of an increasingly pervasive metropolitan culture. Modernity had prescribed a new aesthetic structure to nature. In a context of rapid urbanism and industrialization, encounters with ruins and other landscapes offered the possibility of 'another modernity'. The endurance of earlier Romanticist ideals ensured that notions of the sublime and myth superseded the voracity for an objective, empirically based rationality that stemmed from the Renaissance. Not surprisingly, it was a nineteenth-century vision of landscape that neatly dovetailed with contemporary territorial aspirations of empire held within Britain, France and the Netherlands. As Clarke reminds us, the Romantics were in search of a 'vision of wholeness... a oneness with nature, and for a reunification of religion, philosophy and art which had been sundered in the modern Western world' (1997, pp. 55–6). Said has also suggested that, for France in particular, 'theirs was the orient of memories, suggestive ruins, forgotten ruins' (1995, p. 169), as we shall see shortly.

Indeed, for Fergusson, India's mountain ranges, craggy rocks, sun-baked plains, torrential waterfalls and haunting wilderness offered an altogether more 'exotic' aesthetic than the domesticated order of the English landscape. Interestingly, such features of nature provided the evocations of a cultural past characterized by decay and degeneration. Soon after his return to London, Fergusson published *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan* in 1848. His depictions of the sub-continent's monumental past combined the Romantic, evocative aesthetic of the Picturesque with an attempt to convey authenticity through order and meticulous detail. This sense of order extended outwards from a depiction of architectural features towards a chronological history. Guha Thakurta (2004, p. 16) suggests that the choice of 24 images for the publication reflected a particular strategy:

The selection of monuments had to do as much with their 'picturesque' potentials as with their historical legibility; the order of their presentation was meant to trace both the route of Fergusson's discoveries and the unfolding of India's architectural history. We are taken on a spectacular tour from the gateway of the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi; to the temples of Bhuvaneshwar, Puri, and Konaraka; to the ruined chaori at Mokundara Pass and the temples of Chandravati and Barolli in the Chambal region; to the Victory Tower of Chitore, the Jain temple at Mount Abu, and the palaces and tombs at Udaipur and Bundi; and then southward, to the Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram and the mandapas and gopuras of the temples of

Chidambaram, Kumbhakonam, and Srirangam. The selection was meant to provide a chronological run from ancient to medieval history, to cover northern and southern styles, and to introduce the wealth of 'the civil architecture of Northern Hindostan . . . quite equal to anything found in what may be called the ecclesiastical architecture of the country'.

As she explains, by proclaiming certain structures as exemplars of classical Buddhist art or high points of a Tamil Hindu culture, a general history was outlined, one oriented by racial and religious categorizations. In this vein, Buddhist art, elevated for its age and stylistic integrity, was contrasted with the less refined hybridity of Jainism. To these categories certain values were attributed, most notably the idea that Indian civilization had been in long-term decline. Over the following years Fergusson formulated a North/South, Aryan/Dravidian divide, with Buddhism associated with the purity of the former and Tamil races in the south cited as evidence of civilizational decay. As Guha Thakurta (2004, p. 18) notes, stone was not so much the material from which the past was pieced together, but instead merely acted as the evidence supporting a preconceived formulation of a narrative of national history.

Further east, Southeast Asia presents us with a similar story. In 1860, the French botanist Henri Mouhot visited the temples of Angkor, located in what is today northern Cambodia. The serialization of his diaries in *Le Tour du Monde* three years later portrayed a landscape of abandoned architectural wonders and mysterious lost civilizations. For Europeans, it confirmed the sense of Indochina as an enigma of history that demanded further investigation and research. Some decades later, with much of the region now under French control, the Mission Archéologique Permanente was established in Saigon; a moment, Penny Edwards has argued, that laid the 'foundations for the institutionalization of French control over indigenous pasts and cultures, and their consolidation into national histories and symbols' (2007, p. 184). The formation of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO) three years later cemented this new phase of French intervention. EFEO's first director, Louis Finot, outlined three key aims for the school. First, it would provide France with clear ideas of the people it ruled, including their language, traditions and sense of morality; second, it would reinforce a sense of French responsibility towards the ancient monuments located within its territories; and, third, it would broaden French scholarship on the orient (Edwards, 2007, pp. 184–5). Negotiations with Siam in 1907, which gave full administrative control over Angkor to the French, paved the way for the incorporation of the monuments into a cartographic representation of an emergent Cambodian national territory. With dozens of large structures all located within a single region, albeit one spanning several hundred square kilometres, Angkor represented an immense and highly prestigious challenge for French scholars and bureaucrats. Intrigued by the sheer scale and

density of construction, EFEO would pursue three broad, interrelated lines of enquiry, all of which would evolve over the coming decades.

First, much as in India, painstaking studies were made of the monuments as architectural forms. As temples were cleared, numbered and mapped, a picture of a stylistic and technical evolution steadily appeared. Although the greatest attention was paid to the buildings within the Angkor region, studies were also conducted on structures lying further afield in order to trace transitions in style, construction techniques and the materials used. In his account of this process, Dagens (1995) indicates that, within a broader programme of 'scientific' clearing, research and restoration, a number of the temples were left untouched, offering European visitors the romance of picturesque, jungle-covered ruins. A second thread of research, pursued concurrently with a programme of restoration, involved the study of the stone sculptures found in and around the temple sites. A seemingly endless wealth of free-standing statues, wall-carved figurines and other ornamental features were categorized into phases, or 'styles', within an overall chronology of Khmer art (Giteau et al., 1997; Stierlin, 1997). Within the architectural symbolism of Angkor, wood was associated with vernacular, living culture; whereas, in representing permanence, stone spoke of another world, one of celestial beauties and divine guardians. In other words, sculptures carved in stone embodied the connections between former rulers, worshipped as ancestral deities, and a pantheon of Buddhist or Hindu gods.

In her 2005 essay, *Taj Angkor: Enshrining l'Inde in le Cambodge*, Edwards illustrates how this field of research firmly prioritized and reified the cultural and religious influence of India: a process she describes as the 're-Indianization' of Cambodian history. This reification of an Indian influence also defined EFEO's third line of enquiry, that of epigraphy. The meticulous translation of Sanskrit inscriptions found on numerous stelae or doorways revealed elaborate stories of kingship and devoted populations, of battles and conquests, and of deities and religious cults. Inscriptions provided a unique key for unlocking the mysteries of why kingdoms were settled and resettled in different areas, and why powers waxed and waned as territories and armies were won and lost.

Evolving in tandem over the course of the twentieth century, these three areas of research created an ever more detailed corpus of knowledge. Decades of study built around reading shifting architectural/artistic styles or the interpretation of bas relief carvings and inscriptions meant that archaeologists, architectural historians and epigraphers provided the chronological blueprint for segmenting and categorizing Cambodia's history into a linear narrative, wherein the idea of a glorious 'Angkorean Period' was set against less illustrious 'pre' and 'post' Angkorean eras. France's admiration for an idealized Angkor meant that its ruins became the material legacy of a once glorious, but now lost, even dead, civilization. According to Wright, by suggesting that the natives had allowed the temples to decay, the French inscribed Angkor with a new artistic,

aesthetic terminology to secure their role as the site's rightful custodians. As she states,

All historic architecture was aestheticized, then classified according to western criteria. Archaeologists and government functionaries lauded the Ecole's formal classification system and its exacting reconstruction effort as the only legitimate way to honour the great art of the past.

(Wright, 1991, p. 199)

In this respect, we can once again see the notion of history as decline transposed onto a space culturally and geographically very distant from Europe. As Cooper has noted, a narration of Cambodia's history around classical antiquities was crucial to France's political project of maintaining its protectorate (2001, p. 74). In securing the authority and right to restore Angkor, EFEO's expertise provided the French with a discourse of nation-building centred upon ideas of reconstruction and resuscitation. Foregrounding ideas of decline and an impending loss of sovereignty at the hands of more powerful neighbours ensured Cambodia's dependency upon France. Edwards (2007) thus accounts for Angkor's 'restoration' as a process of secularization, monumentalization and symbolic mobilization. In addition to the scholarly pursuits of EFEO noted above, she traces developments in civic architecture, urban planning, print media and museumology during the early decades of the twentieth century in order to document the complex ways in which the temples of Angkor, and in particular Angkor Wat, were installed as a unifying icon within the emerging imagined community of the Cambodian nation. Critically here, though, and in keeping with post-colonial scholarship on India, it is suggested that a Cambodian nationalism was not so much a colonial ideology imposed upon a passive population, but a vital fusion of 'native and European ... ideas of culture and politics' (Edwards, 1999, p. 3). With notions of a noble Khmer citizen, a Khmer cultural heritage and a Cambodian national history all forged around a totemic Angkor, monumental architecture and sculptural art were frequently cited as evidence of racial and cultural supremacy, the implications of which we will see shortly.

Enduring narratives

Edwards' recognition of the formation of cultural nationalism in Cambodia as an ongoing dialogue helps us anticipate the dynamics of post-colonial identity constructions for such countries. Before moving on to the case of Cambodia, which raises difficult questions about the role of monumental antiquities today, it is worth contrasting the above accounts with the story of Egypt, where the historical pathways through which antiquarian, monumental structures came

to be tied to a modern nationalism were quite different. Somewhat surprisingly, the seeds of an Egyptian nationalism grounded in a Pharaonic past were only sown in the final decade of the nineteenth century, an idea that would gradually take hold as the quest for independence from British rule gathered momentum from the 1910s onwards. As Hassan explains, on the back of subsequent revolutions and violence in the early 1920s, poets 'invoked the pyramids in a genre of nationalistic poetry comparing Egypt's past glory with its impoverished present and extolling the Egyptians to restore and revive Egypt's ancient splendour and hegemony' (1998, p. 205). By this time, the idea that modern Egyptians were the 'sons of the Pharaohs' and that their 'ancestors built the pyramids' was advanced by those behind the revolution. Although independence was declared in 1922, the British were not expelled until 1954, the year after the Egyptian Republic came into being. However, as the leaders attempted to align themselves with a wider Arab nationalism, Pharaonic Egypt was abandoned in the political discourse of the country (Hassan, 1998, p. 208). Since then, it has intermittently reappeared within cultural and political assertions of national identity, strength and character. Over the second half of the twentieth century, Pharaonic heritage has been but one part of a plurality of Egyptian pasts: a historical pastiche that has straddled, and moved back and forth between, Islamic and Christian, European and Arab cultures. Having said that, and as Mitchell (2001) points out, the growth of large-scale tourism did play a pivotal, albeit highly complex, role in recentring pyramids, pharaohs and sphinxes in the everyday life of Egyptians in the latter decades of the century.

Not surprisingly, cultural tourism, and the economic potential it promises, means the situation in Egypt is a highly familiar one. Around the world, countries like Mexico, Greece, Peru, Thailand and Zimbabwe all aggressively push their monumental pasts to attract the tourist dollar, a process that actively enhances the profile of these archaeological and architectural sites in the national imaginary. In a number of cases tourism makes a significant contribution to a country's gross domestic product (GDP), but, as Mitchell (2001) indicates for Egypt, inbound tourism often also leads to increased inequality and a distortion of localized economies, as the price of items like food, transport and land increase dramatically relative to incomes. As a result, heritage tourism around sites like the Acropolis, Angkor, Machu Picchu, Borobudur or Tikal has become a source of much tension and political struggle (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2008). In some cases, however, tourism can contribute to forms of contestation that are played out on a much larger scale, and advance less than benign forms of nationalism. Among the various examples that could be cited here, the battle between Thailand and Cambodia over the border temple complex of Preah Vihear reveals some of the ways monumental architecture continues to be associated with, and legitimize, aggressive, even xenophobic nationalist movements.

An outstanding example of Khmer architecture dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Preah Vihear temple complex has been a highly contentious marker of the boundary between Thailand and Cambodia for the past hundred years. The monument was the most important sanctuary of King Sûryavarman I, who seized power around 1006 CE, and was built during the early stages of what would become Southeast Asia's largest pre-modern polity, the Angkorean kingdom. While the capital of this once mighty kingdom, Angkor, is now firmly ensconced in a modern Cambodia, both territorially and culturally, the 'outlying' temple of Preah Vihear occupies a more ambiguous space. It came under the jurisdiction of the Tai (modern-day Thais) after the fall of Angkor in the mid-fifteenth century and the subsequent ascendancy of the Ayutthaya kingdom. As Chandler (2008) highlights, for the centuries prior to the designation of formal national boundaries, Tai-Khmer culture took on a form of hybridity, whereby the polities of Phnom Penh and Ayutthaya were more integrated than they were separate. Affinity and ties stemmed from shared language (Khmer) and religion (Buddhism). But, as the relative strength of the two continued to change, the Tais increasingly looked down upon their easterly neighbours. Chandler (2008, p. 297) neatly captures this complex situation in stating that 'despite, or perhaps because of, cultural affinities, relations have never been marked by a sincere effort on the part of Bangkok to treat Cambodia as a sovereign nation'.

In her recent account of the dispute over the site, Helaine Silverman (2011) highlights the various historical reasons why Thailand today continues to lay claim to not just the Preah Vihear site, but much of Cambodia, its land and its culture. For instance, major temple sites like Angkor, Banteay Chmaar and Preah Vihear, all of which are found in modern-day northwest Cambodia, remained under Thai possession right through to the late nineteenth century. In 1904, a joint commission made up of Thai and French administrators, established for mapping the region, proposed a treaty which created a border largely following the watershed line of the Dangrek mountains (Thongchai Winichakul, 1994; Cuasay, 1998). Given that the temple surmounted a 525-metre-high spur, the treaty placed the temple within Thai territory. However, as French cartographers submitted maps to Bangkok in 1908, demarcating the new boundaries between the two countries, the borderline was modified to give sovereignty over the temple to the French. In the wake of France's diminishing control over the region during Second World War, Thailand moved to regain control of territories it had previously ceded, including the Preah Vihear site and surrounding areas. Armed troops were sent to the area to occupy the temple in 1940, and the Thai government 'registered the site as a national monument, calling it Khao Phra Viharn or Prasat Phra Wihan' (Silverman, 2011, p. 3). Attempts to resolve the issue led to a hearing at the International Court of Justice in The Hague in 1962. As Cuasay (1998) documents in wonderful

detail, the court upheld the 1908 boundary line, awarding ownership of the disputed site to Cambodia: a decision based in large part on assertions that Bangkok had passed over several opportunities to contest the boundary designation. As the Vietnam–America war and totalitarianism overtook Cambodia in the 1970s the issue disappeared from view, much like the site itself. Indeed, the region surrounding the temple would be one of the final strongholds for the Khmer Rouge regime up until the late 1990s. In December 1998, the temple was the scene of negotiations with several hundred Khmer Rouge soldiers surrendering to the government in Phnom Penh.

To the surprise of many of those involved, tensions dramatically returned in the 2000s with a proposal for Preah Vihear to be added to the World Heritage List. On 7 July 2008 Cambodia was awarded its second World Heritage Site, with the temple being listed in controversial circumstances. While Cambodia's capital, Phnom Penh, erupted into celebrations, Thailand's foreign minister resigned over the issue just three days later. The site's listing came at a particularly difficult moment, with each country heading towards national elections. Inflammatory language by politicians turned the issue into a critical aspect of elections on both sides of the border. Over the following weeks, tensions escalated and the two countries moved hundreds of troops and heavy military equipment into the area. The standoff lasted several months, and in October the two sides opened fire on each other again, resulting in the death of three Cambodians and the wounding of seven Thai soldiers. Over the coming months and years, sporadic fighting continued, with flashpoints and more deaths occurring at different points in 2009 and 2010. The following year the fighting intensified and spread further along the border, with reports of civilian and military deaths on both sides reaching into the hundreds. Tanks, rocket launchers and even cluster munitions were among the weapons deployed during the fighting. A page titled the 'Cambodian-Thai border dispute' on Wikipedia provides a day-by-day account of the conflict, including the multiple cease-fires and reconciliation attempts over the 2009–2011 period.¹ With the election of a new government in Thailand in August 2011, tensions began to subside, and with a significant drop in violence since then it appears as though relations between the two countries are in a state of repair, albeit a fragile one. Explaining the causal factors of the conflict requires considerably more space than available here, and a number of recent studies have begun to piece together its various political and economic – both historic and contemporary – dimensions (Winter, 2010; Croissant and Chambers, 2011; Silverman, 2011).

The situation at Preah Vihear remains a complex one, and speaks of the very real challenges UNESCO now faces regarding the appropriation of cultural heritage by nation-states. As this example vividly reveals, deep political associations and feelings continue to converge upon, and coalesce around,

monumental architecture. Preah Vihear reminds us how those ties that bind archaeology and architectural conservation to formations of nationalism and nation-making, which we saw emerge in different parts of the world from the late nineteenth century onwards, remain as vibrant as ever. Numerous other examples from around the world, including Israel, India, Egypt, Greece and Italy, could be cited as evidence of the ways in which antiquity, and its forms of 'classical era' architecture, continues to serve as a key anchor point for many cultural nationalisms. In the cases of the Acropolis, Machu Picchu and the Pyramids, this relationship may have been rendered largely benign. But I have focused on the more charged, fraught case of Preah Vihear, as an example from the contemporary period, to illustrate why these ties between stone, identity politics and nationalism still demand our critical scrutiny.

Acknowledgements

Research for this chapter was supported under the Australian Research Council's Discovery scheme (The Role of Cultural Heritage in Conflict Transformation Societies, DP1094533).

Note

1. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodian–Thai_border_dispute, accessed 1 October 2012.

References

- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Arnold, B. and Hassman, H. (1995) 'Archaeology in Nazi Germany: The Legacy of the Faustian Bargain' in P. Kohl and C. Fawcett (eds) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 70–81.
- Beck, U. (2006) *The Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Bulmer, M. and Solomos, J. (eds) (2012) *Nationalism and National Identities* (London: Routledge).
- Chandler, D. P. (2008) *A History of Cambodia* (Boulder: Westview Press).
- Clarke, J. (1997) *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western Thought* (London: Routledge).
- Cohn, B. S. (1996) *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Connerton, P. (1989) *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Cooper, N. (2001) *France in Indochina: Colonial Encounters*. (Oxford: Berg).
- Croissant, A. and Chambers, P. (2011) 'A Contested Site of Memory: The Preah Vihear Temple' in H. K. Anheier and Y. R. Isar (eds) *Cultures and Globalization: Heritage, Memory and Identity* (London: Sage Publications), pp. 148–56.
- Cuasay, P. (1998) 'Borders on the Fantastic: Mimesis, Violence, and Landscape at the Temple of Preah Vihear', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32(4), 849–90.

- Dagens, B. (1995) *Angkor: Heart of an Asian Empire* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Delanty, G. (2009) *The Cosmopolitan Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Díaz-Andreu, M. (1995) 'Archaeology and Nationalism in Spain' in P. Kohl and C. Fawcett (eds) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 39–56.
- Díaz-Andreu, M. (2007) *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism and the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Díaz-Andreu, M. and Champion, T. C. (eds) (1996) *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (Boulder: Westview Press).
- Edwards, P. (2005) 'Taj Angkor: Enshrining L'Inde in le Cambodge' in K. Robson and J. Yee (eds) *France and 'Indochina': Cultural Representations* (Lanham: Lexington Books), pp. 13–27.
- Edwards, P. (2007) *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation 1860–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press).
- Giteau, M., Guéret, D. and Renaut, T. (1997) *Khmer Art: The Civilisations of Angkor* (Paris: ASA: Somogy).
- Green, N. (1990) *The Spectacle of Nature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Guha-Thakurta, T. (2004) *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Hamilakis, Y. (2007) *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hardt, M. and Negri, A. (2001) *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
- Hassan, F. (1998) 'Memorabilia, Archaeological Materiality and National Identity in Egypt' in L. Meskell (ed.), *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London: Routledge), pp. 200–16.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. and Ranger, T. O. (1983) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kohl, P. and Fawcett, C. (eds) (1995) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Meskell, L. (ed.) (2009) *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Mitchell, T. (2001) 'Making the Nation: The Politics of Heritage in Egypt' in N. AlSayyad (ed.) *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism* (New York: Routledge), pp. 21–38.
- Morley, N. (2009) *Antiquity and Modernity*. (Malden, M.A.: Blackwell Publishing).
- Robertson, R. (1992) *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage Publications).
- Sassen, S. (2002) *Global Networks, Linked Cities* (London: Routledge).
- Schama, S. (1995) *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins Publishers).
- Silverman, H. (2011) 'Border Wars: The Ongoing Temple Dispute between Thailand and Cambodia and UNESCO's World Heritage List', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(1), 1–21.
- Said, E. (1995) *Orientalism*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Stierlin, H. (1997) *Angkor and Khmer Art* (Paudex, Switzerland: Parkstone).
- Thongchai Winichakul (1994) *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press).
- Timothy, D. J. and Nyaupane, G. P. (2008) *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World* (London: Routledge).

- Tong, E. (1995) 'Thirty Years of Chinese Archaeology (1949–1979)' in P. Kohl and C. Fawcett (eds) *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 177–97.
- Trigger, B. (1984) 'Alternative Archaeologies: Colonialist, Nationalist, Imperialist', *Man*, 19(3), 355–70.
- Trigger, B. G. (2006) *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Urry, J. (2003) *Global Complexity* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Winter, T. (2010) 'Heritage Tourism: The Dawn of a New Era?' in S. Labadi and C. Long (eds) *Heritage and Globalisation* (London: Routledge), pp. 117–29.
- Woodward, C. (2001) *In Ruins* (London: Chatto and Windus).
- Wright, G. (1991) *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (London: University of Chicago Press).
- Yalouri, E. (2001) *The Acropolis: Global Fame, Local Claim*. (New York: Berg).

21

Heritage and Participation

Cath Neal

'Participation' within the heritage arena is generally considered to mean the active involvement of stakeholders within a range of processes and projects. However, it is critical that we recognize more implicit uses of the term, through which 'public participation' also comes to perform as a governance instrument by which individual behaviour is shaped and directed by governmental policy and associated institutions. While this type of participation can be seen across other sectors and not just within heritage discourse and activity, its occurrence here is remarkable for its pervasiveness and influence. For example, when explicitly considering participation within heritage, the most obvious foci of activity are within 'leisure activities', including arts, music, archives, museology and performance, although the nature of a broadly constituted heritage means that it may go on in everyday interactions and experiences, in ways that are hard to observe, recognize and measure.

Community archaeology is not necessarily central to participants who are active within the broad heritage sector, but in the UK this, along with museum projects, is certainly one of the most visible elements of heritage participation and is the area within which much of the formalized professional practice takes place, focused around issues of stewardship and regulation. Given my own role, employed within a UK university as an archaeologist on an integrated research, commercial and community project (Neal, 2012), community archaeology makes a useful place from which to explore heritage and participation agendas within the dominant professional discourse in the UK. Although this chapter will focus on UK experiences, the general observations and underlying critique are globally applicable. In the UK, given the colonial background, heritage and archaeology are often seen as synonymous, a situation that is less developed in other places around the world. The authority and primacy of archaeology as a way of understanding the past were established in the nineteenth century during a colonial regime, and as different forms of heritage have gradually been recognized they have been taken forward under

a system developed in relation to archaeological systems and archaeological interest groups in the UK. This results in skewed notions of importance for archaeology within the heritage field in the UK. Mindful of this caveat, the chapter will comprise a discussion of participation via the mechanism of community archaeology but will consider the role of volunteering, of governance and of government policy, including the 'localism' agenda.

Historic review of heritage practice

Heritage definitions within common lexicons emphasize inheritance and conservation, but also focus on the concepts of property (moreover, ownership), material culture and the built environment, as well as encompassing tourism.¹ Within this conceptualization, heritage is something of value that can be conserved, and passed on. When we consider 'heritage' as distinctive engagement, in its own right, it is difficult to establish origins, but during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a distinctively different attitude to the past emerged, which placed it squarely within the public domain (Carman and Stig Sørensen, 2009, p. 13). We can recognize heritage activity in the liberal elite use of archaeology during the nineteenth century, when, for example, Lubbock equated material conditions with levels of happiness, demonstrating through much of his subsequent writing that contemporary politics was what had shaped the heritage discourse of the era and ultimately led to the broader liberal programme of education and welfare reform across the UK (Carman, 2010, p. 151). As recently as the 1990s, the Labour government of the UK employed a rhetoric that emphasized similar sentiments, but on this occasion it was couched in more nationalistic terms (Carman, 2010, p. 152). Hewison (1987) and Wright (1985) emphasized that the growth in interest in heritage was linked to a general sense of decline within modern society, which aligned with middle-class nostalgia in a period of rapid societal change. Hewison in particular focused on the emerging 'heritage industry' and the increasing commercialization of the past as evidence for a process of distraction from pressing current issues (Hewison, 1987, p. 29). This critique relates to the neoliberal economic context, which, in the UK and the US, has led to a commodification of the past, part of a package to be bought, consumed and owned (Johnson, 2007, p. 162). The rise of neoliberalism, whereby private interests control a significant proportion of social life for personal profit, defines market exchange as an ethic in its own right and is clearly linked to globalizing processes (Chomsky, 1999). This is, in turn, related to processes of governmentality whereby states rely on expert discourse and institutional apparatus to coercively ensure societal cohesion (Foucault, 2004, p. 37; cf. Smith below). Samuel (1994) postulated a construction of heritage that was ideological and part of a broad political landscape, but also saw heritage practice as a place for people to derive meaning

from their own experiences at a grassroots level, drawing attention to the problematic of 'historical illusion' and falsification (p. 433). Within archaeological practice, the relationship of materials, and their values and meanings, with the broader heritage agenda has emphasized the relevance of the professional conservation ethic (Skeates, 2000, p. 10), and the fragmented nature of heritage enquiry has led to the development of different heritage processes with distinctive research and literature, making synthesis problematic (Mcmanamon and Hatton, 2000, p. 4).

The most influential concept within recent scholarship on heritage is the authorized heritage discourse (AHD), in which the dominant and prevalent Western view of heritage performs a hegemonic role in maintaining the status quo and in diminishing marginalized views and experiences of heritage (Smith, 2004, 2006). The AHD focuses on the protection and reverence of sites, places and objects, and this process helps to define who the legitimate spokespersons might be, based upon the assumption that there is an innate value to 'heritage', not so much commensurate with lived experience but, instead, as a commodity (Smith, 2006, p. 29). Resistance in the UK to the AHD is sometimes difficult to identify, being more subtle than those shaped by colonial discourse. However, recent political change, for example the re-emergence of a Scottish nation, has had a significant impact on public opinion which can be mobilized to challenge authorized views and influence regulatory practice (Cooper, 2013). The complex, nuanced nature of this type of conflict does not rely on two united and opposing points of view, as frequently implied within the broader literature, but is a dynamic, politically fluid and socially responsive process.

Background

Community engagement work has, in many ways, a natural resonance with archaeological practice in the UK, a discipline which provides a practical mechanism for facilitating both action and dialogue between 'professionals' and volunteers. Archaeology draws on a wide variety of disciplinary approaches and regularly uses applied scientific techniques set within a familiar framework of enquiry. In addition to the benefits derived from community archaeology that relate to ideas of connectedness to place and locale, there is a small but increasing body of data linking community archaeology with increased levels of social capital and civic engagement. This applies to communities in general, but especially to marginalized groups (English Heritage, 2009, p. 3; Kiddey and Schofield, 2011). Often, although impact can be identified for an individual or on an anecdotal basis, at a more general and quantifiable level these 'soft' benefits can be elusive, with a positive impact that either is difficult to discern or does not emerge for some time after engagement. Moreover, scholars investigating a more broadly defined notion of heritage find that, despite the intentions

of practitioners, work relating to social inclusion often becomes assimilatory in nature through a process of education and participation within the dominant paradigm (Waterton, 2010, p. 35).

'Community', 'public' and 'heritage' are malleable terms and concepts that have been explored to some degree by archaeologists within the mainstream literature, but, although the wider sociopolitical context of participatory practice has a relatively long history of analysis and critique in other disciplines (predominantly the political, social and health sciences), within the archaeological community the broad engagement agenda appears to have been accepted, largely uncritically, as a 'good thing', particularly at a 'grassroots' fieldwork level. This acceptance pervades practice as frequently discussed at conferences and local lectures, and it is implicit in the mission statement for bodies such as the Council for British Archaeology. At the level of heritage discourse, the critique of engagement by professionals has been growing (Carman, 2002; McDavid, 2007; Watson and Waterton, 2011; Boyd, 2012). Increasingly, examples of archaeological projects have been published which explore discourse about the establishment of contemporary identity and the influence of political frameworks on community participation (Isherwood, 2009; Belford, 2011), and developments in the application of spatial planning and landscape characterization have provided a more dynamic and complex heritage, removed from a concentration on the static or the monumental (Dobson and Selman, 2012).

A recent review of community archaeology by the Council for British Archaeology (Thomas, 2010) sought to measure the extent of community archaeology in the UK, to record the range of activities undertaken by groups, and also to identify the sources of support currently available, highlighting any gaps in provision. The resulting report emphasized the significant increase in the number of groups/participants in recent decades. Thomas recorded the existence of 2,030 voluntary groups and societies in 2010, representing about 215,000 individuals (2010, p. 5). While such groups and societies (construed broadly as 'heritage groups') have been in existence since the earliest was formed in 1710, the majority of groups have been established since the 1960s, following an era of post-war reconstruction. Within this general increase there has been a higher rate of group formation since 2000, which is presumably linked to the Local Heritage Initiative and other funding streams for community-led projects in the UK that came into force at that time (Thomas, 2010, p. 22).

Although archaeology provides a practical opportunity for engagement within a recognized and familiar structure of educational mission and scientific tradition (with the associated concentration on empiricism, rationality and measurement), the increase in the popularity of community archaeology, as a class of heritage participation, is undoubtedly related to a sea-change in the volume of archaeological representation within popular culture (for discussion see Holtorf, 2007). It is also related to the emergence of 'place' for the articulation

of notions of heritage, which becomes especially important after a period of rapid deindustrialization, and acts as a conduit for action (Walsh, 1992, p. 149; Johnson, 2007, p. 162; Schofield and Szymanski, 2011; Dobson and Selman, 2012). The English Heritage guidance *Power of Place*, which was published in 2000, shows commitment to a new set of values including social inclusion and multiculturalism, and these are articulated through state sponsorship of the notion of place (Johnson, 2007, p. 166). As recently elucidated (Neal and Roskams, 2013), the use of place to articulate connectedness is not without issue, as 'place' in this context almost exclusively relates to place of residence, a permanent abode, or possibly a destination for a visitor/tourist, but almost never to places of work, or of movement through a landscape in a transient fashion as a traveller. The significance of place as a focus for area-based initiatives that aim to change individual outcomes is a theme that is debated by researchers from many disciplines (e.g. Dorling, 2001).

The rise of archaeology is seen not only within dedicated television programming, documentaries, the film industry and historical fiction, where storytelling is used to articulate messages about archaeological mores and practice, but also within technological developments, including live archaeological news feed (BBC), interactive mapping with GPS, and digital developments in the use of social networking and other related opportunities. Those researching digital archaeology and access are asking questions about the semantics of 'public engagement' and its relevance for understanding the context of participation (Richardson, 2012). During the last decade, the academic literature has begun to reflect the changing landscape of practice through books providing specific guidance on dealing with media-driven demands (Clack and Brittain, 2007). Along with increased media presence, there has been an increase in the visibility (both physically and digitally) of excavations, exhibitions and surveys, leading to a concomitant increase in the general understanding of archaeological aims and techniques and some appreciation of the perceived benefits.

Other recent developments in participatory mechanisms within archaeology include what has been termed 'social contract archaeology'. This is a business model currently applied via the DigVentures brand, which uses crowdsourcing and crowdfunding to resource archaeological projects (Wilkins, 2012). This is a significantly different engagement model from what has come before, and uses cuts in provision to services, combined with the sustained popularity of archaeology, as the impetus to pursue a different economic model (Wilkins, 2012). Within this model, people can pay (from anywhere in the world) for the right to read online site diaries, and those with sufficient money can participate in an excavation themselves. Where this has been applied to excavations in 2012, the project leaders have described the local community of Flag Fen as global, challenging the idea of a geographically constituted local

community in light of globally connected digital communities. Flag Fen is a remote, rural Bronze Age site in Cambridgeshire (UK) with outstanding preservation of organic remains, so the 'repackaging' of this site as a global cultural offer is quite a shift in mindset. Thus, it provides a mechanism for passive and active participation within expertly guided practice, with a pre-determined cost at the point of use. In November 2012, DigVentures advertised a new initiative branded 'Dirty Weekends', in which, from 2013 at various urban sites, the public will be encouraged to just 'turn up, and we'll bring the tools and the expertise' all for a cost of £195 per weekend (<http://digventures.com/>). The ethics of this business model and its financial sustainability will need to be scrutinized and tested over the coming period, because the ability of an internationally recognized site such as Flag Fen to stimulate widespread support (and attract free academic/specialist services) cannot really be compared with the vast majority of archaeological investigations which take place in the UK. Recent critique of the DigVentures approach, by academics, has been rejected by the organization on the grounds that other professionals are stuck in traditional modes of practice and need to open their minds to new models and economic challenges.²

Increasingly, scholars have turned their attention to focusing in some detail on community archaeology. While some have recognized the way that practice can be shaped by, and can develop in response to, prevailing social and political conditions, and that this can be reflected and channelled by funding provision based upon governmental policy directives (Isherwood, 2009, p. 237), many more have not. For example, research analysing the values of community archaeology has explored, somewhat superficially, the relationship between traditional party politics in the UK and developments within community archaeology (Simpson, 2010, p. 7). The assessment of the political milieu in this instance relates primarily to the rhetorical language of government and the appearance of the term 'community archaeology' within the policy literature, postulating this as a meaningful shift in power and authority within the heritage sphere related to the particular government in power at the time, but this interpretation is problematic at many levels (Simpson, 2010, p. 8). What is evident is that Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat policy and government, in the UK at least, have adopted a neoliberal response to any reform, and that this has been increasingly characterized by a drawing back of the state apparatus from the direct provision of public services (Powell and Steel, 2012, p. 3). There is a persuasive argument that, even where targeted New Labour policies aimed to increase opportunities for all, they were limited in effectiveness by the lack of commitment to a broad redistributive justice agenda (Ellison and Ellison, 2006). The impact of neoliberal political philosophy upon historic environment practice in England and Scotland and the role of the neoliberal modern state in shaping the cultural practices of 'local communities'

have been elucidated recently by scholars (Ferguson and Gupta, 2005; Cooper, 2010). It is not possible to 'read off' governmental rhetoric and an espoused concern for the 'local' and the 'community' without identifying any examples or mechanisms by which real change has occurred. The concept of a 'citizen-consumer' living an accredited lifestyle and with an affirmed identity is central to neoliberal notions of either social capital (New Labour) or the Big Society (Liberal/Conservative coalition), and this method of governance is reliant on a socially embedded range of experts (Powell and Steel, 2012, p. 2).

The broader context

While an increase of participation within archaeology is evident, fuelled to some extent by enhanced media portrayal, it is important to recognize that this increase has not occurred in a vacuum but is part of a wider and wholly pervasive movement. There has been a substantial increase in volunteering across all sectors and also within the voluntary sector infrastructure, linked recently to the development of UK governmental commitment to the idea of the 'Big Society' and localized devolution aiming to create a more integrated and involved society. The National Council for Voluntary Organizations (NCVO) found that, for the year 2009/2010, approximately 25 per cent of British adults were engaged in regular volunteering activities, this being defined as 'on an at least monthly basis'. Moreover, their research suggests that the major benefits to the UK economy from volunteering have an estimated value in the region of £21.5 billion (NCVO, 2012). In parallel with this increase in personnel, funding for voluntary sector infrastructure has been cut, and, as the NCVO emphasizes, both the recent policy developments and the increase in volunteers have substantial implications for voluntary sector practice and provision. This includes evolving risk and risk management within a new (and untested) model, changes to the definition of volunteering, an appreciation of the legal implications of a volunteer workforce and, significantly for the heritage lobby, a perceived (or real) concentration on what are, in effect, middle-class values, aspirations and questions of access (NCVO, 2012).

Accordingly, the orchestrated governmental emphasis on volunteering perhaps goes against the grain of 'participation and access for all', as individuals need to have the time to volunteer in the first place, unless availability is based upon periods of unemployment, effectively creating a limited choice. Determining the specific nature of civic engagement for policy development has been considered for some time in the light of loss of confidence in governance and falling electoral returns. As part of this concern, pathways of participation through three different dimensions of civic engagement have been analysed. The rational choice model proposes that economically rational actions lead to maximized benefits at minimum cost, such benefits including general incentives as well as specific outcomes (Pattie et al., 2003, p. 444). The social capital

model builds on the work of Putnam (1993, 2000) by suggesting that those citizens who take part in local organization and activities foster a sense of trust, positive governance and success.

The final model is civic voluntarism, in which socioeconomic efficacy is important (as in rational choice) and people are more likely to engage in activity if they discern that they have a level of influence in the process; therefore, it follows that this model is most attractive to those who are better educated and more wealthy (Pattie et al., 2003, p. 445). Despite detailed analysis of these models, no clear or simple explanatory framework is discernible, and frequently central persuasion and mobilization are required in order to stimulate action (Pattie et al., 2003, p. 465). The factors determining why some people act, while others are passive, are multi-causal and not simply mappable. There are a wide range of participatory activities, and the relationships between their various elements remain unclear: for example, what are the respective impacts of donating money and volunteering within the same organization (NCVO, 2011)? Along with other arts and sports groups, archaeology might be considered a small 'volunteer silo' in which enthusiastic volunteers gather, although the role of leisure and sufficient time for recreation is an under-researched area. Research has linked leisure to 'quality of life' (Lloyd and Auld, 2002), but patterns of leisure and recreation undoubtedly also relate to social class identification and economics in addition to gender, life stage and other sociological measures. However, the idea of 'spillover' from one volunteering domain into another is a very simplistic model, and the patterns of volunteering (e.g. why some volunteer for life, whereas others do so only once or not at all) are far too complex to regard volunteering simply as a resource that can be harnessed for varying purposes or by design (NCVO, 2011). The increase in volunteering is linked to a governmental desire to increase the numbers of volunteers related to a significant policy shift towards localism, and it is no coincidence that this comes at a time when the economic recession heralds a reduction of state provision and centralized funding across all sectors.

Why engage?

Archaeologists have a long history of engagement with the general public and, in a limited way, this is linked to the (voluntary) roots of the discipline. The factors that motivate paid archaeologists and academics to undertake community engagement projects are multifaceted and often arise from an altruistic desire to share knowledge, to become more accountable and to improve research through an inclusive approach which sees, for example, communities as defining research agendas themselves rather than as a passive 'consent-based' process (Greer et al., 2002) or sees practitioners as advocates for marginalized views (McDavid, 2007). However, the recent emphasis on 'engagement' within

government policy and funding streams will alter the previous balance, leading potentially to more tokenistic work being undertaken to meet institutionally prescribed targets.

The policy diktat from central government in relation to engagement is filtered through various routes and mechanisms, including organizations such as English Heritage, but also university senates and Research Councils UK. There is a stress on outreach, impact and knowledge transfer for all academic staff, who are reliant on funding from these sources to maintain their career and professional status, and for whom justification of their mode of research enquiry is now required (Bate, 2011). Increased emphasis on the principle of participation leads, somewhat ironically, to the promotion of a new class of expert: those specializing in participation. A proportion of central government funding is now channelled through various participatory organizations, such as Involve ('making participation count'), whose funders include the Cabinet Office, the Home Office and the NHS.³

Academic and university concern with participation and engagement has been shaped by the multi-million-pound funding of The Beacons for Public Engagement Project. The work is coordinated by the National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement, which claims that public engagement is a term 'describing an aspiration to better connect the work of universities and research institutes with society' (NCCPE, 2012). The 'toolkit' available online aims to assist academics in their work with the public and is structured around ideas about informing, consulting and collaborating. Universities can also come into conflict with local communities, and this can relate to the university's role in the process of engagement. As part of its institutional mission, 'the university' has a duty to engage with locals, but, since it is the developer of land and the provider of services that are increasingly far removed from what the public recognizes as 'educational', disagreements can come to the fore (Neal and Roskams, 2013).

Concern regarding who should primarily participate necessarily involves consideration of who 'the public' really are and the levels of collaboration and support for cultural research and activity (Merriman, 2004; Waterton and Watson, 2011). Archaeology is often justified in terms of being in the public interest, or working for the common good, but this is proposed without a clear understanding of what people in general think about the discipline (Karl, 2012, p. 23). The 'public' as an entity can be identified essentially as a concept that serves bureaucratic interests and that does not acknowledge the highly variable nature of individual interests, wishes and aims. These interests sometimes overlap sufficiently to form 'interest groups', which then become discrete groups. Karl (2012, p. 4) defines four groups who are either consumers or owners of archaeology. The first group, which captures the vast majority, are those for whom archaeology constitutes a passive or casual consumer

interest, for example through accidental exposure to a television programme or a magazine article. The second group comprises a large minority of consumers who deliberately consume archaeological products and knowledge, seeking out exposure to archaeological practice. A smaller, third, group are a minority strongly involved in demands for ownership of archaeological materials and knowledge, and include collectors, re-enactors and novelists. Finally, the smallest, and arguably most self-interested/vocal group, are professionally trained archaeologists who vie with other 'owners' to control both materials and interpretations (Karl, 2012). Restating Smith's argument (2004, p. 53), Karl's point here is that archaeologists are not objective bystanders; rather, they have a vested interest in ownership and control of both the archaeological materials themselves and the ideas associated with them. Within this context, it is implicit that participation will not be focused on those 'on the receiving end' of participatory practice and activities.

Some of the nuances surrounding the notion of participation can be tricky to draw out. For example, during a community project with local volunteers at Heslington (UK), I encountered some difficulties in trying to ascertain the 'individual benefit' of participation. The participants were guided by the 'expert' view and were deferential to the archaeological staff, and so opinions collected during the project by questionnaire were overwhelmingly positive and congratulatory, and lacked any critique or depth. Following this experience, an independent facilitator was employed to try to provide a more equitable and meaningful interaction to discuss the outputs of the project. By recruiting an academic, who was not an archaeologist, to frame the questions in a non-archaeological manner, interesting responses were elicited which did not focus predominantly on objects or process, but instead evoked ideas about belonging, ownership and self-confidence. Respondents talked about who actually owned the land and what the long-term plans for it would be; they felt a connectedness with the place which transcended conventional legal ownership. They also described the way that being treated as 'competent' practitioners by those deemed 'in authority', who were managing the project, had influenced their self-worth, their feelings about the rest of the team and impacted on their 'sense of place' in relation to Heslington, resulting in a strong sense of belonging.

Recent work assessing the contribution of volunteers and local people within a research geophysical survey project noted a positive correlation between an increase of interest in heritage/museums and the uptake of the opportunity to participate in practical archaeological projects (Wolkan, 2012). Strikingly, however, despite advertisement, none of the volunteers were from the village where the work was undertaken, or from the neighbouring parishes. Of the seven volunteers, two were academically trained in archaeology (one with an undergraduate degree and another with a doctorate) and four had quite extensive experience within the commercial, academic or voluntary spheres

of archaeology. This example appears to support the notion that when we 'engage with the public' they can be a small, self-selecting team, often not representative of the wider 'general public', or of a broader concept of heritage. This may be linked, however, to levels of social capital, which can impact significantly on the ability of people in a geographic locale to respond to new resources or opportunities (Putnam, 1993). A recent community archaeology project in York, UK, exemplifies the positive response to the provision of new opportunities when they are articulated in a way that is both familiar and accessible to the would-be participants. Commercial work during autumn 2012 on a Park and Ride development on the outskirts of York was required, by the planning authority, to provide a community element to the archaeological investigation. A pre-project meeting in the village was attended by around 200 residents, and over 100 individuals subsequently signed up to various aspects of the work, including report-writing, all of which were oversubscribed (Nick Pearson, On-Site Archaeology, pers. comm.). Although the scale of the positive response undoubtedly had substantial resource implications, it is clear from the level of local interest that, when the opportunity was offered, the ability and motivation to act was well developed within this community.

Participation

Notions of citizenship have become an increasingly important political and policy concept against the background of falling electoral turnout and an implied decline in social capital (Pattie et al., 2003, p. 443) and are a feature of nineteenth as well as twenty-first-century liberalism which sought to create 'good citizens' (Carman, 2010, p. 151). Other disciplinary approaches to participation have examined its role within liberalizing governance, drawing on the Foucauldian model to explore the ways in which modern democratic states foster the agency of individuals and groups as part of a complex form of governmental control (Dean, 2002). Within heritage studies it has been acknowledged that this type of control is reliant on the role of the intellectual and associated institutions to reinforce the act of governance and to promote the accredited and authorized view of the world (Smith, 2004, p. 9). Central to this process, notions of expertise and specialist knowledge come to the fore. Archaeology can be seen as part of the governance apparatus in the UK, and this is articulated through the disciplinary concentration on statutory protection and regulation, the need for experts (within the concept of stewardship), links between material culture and identity, and the development of processualism and other scientific credentials (Smith, 2004, p. 103). The most visible resistance to this expert role has come from Indigenous communities, who have found that the process of consultation with archaeologists may not include negotiation (Smith, 2004, p. 102).

While some practitioners have explored and elucidated the mechanisms, processes and theories of heritage engagement and practice, and recent guidance has emphasized multi-vocality as an appropriate response to archaeological assessment and fieldwork (English Heritage, 2008, 2009, 2010), the overarching statutory framework within which archaeology operates in the UK is based upon notions of protection, stewardship and the conservation ethic. This conflict, between stewardship and regulation on the one hand and engagement and empowerment on the other, is frequently left unaddressed within the archaeological community itself. We can assert that the current concept of 'community' within the heritage sector frequently serves to propagate and affirm the status of the 'expert' (Waterton and Smith, 2011, p. 19), reinforcing the status quo and undoubtedly detracting from the positive impact of participation in its most transformative sense. To engage in a meaningful way with an interest group requires skills in negotiation, a commitment to flexibility and an understanding of the power/knowledge paradigm within which professional practice operates. Other disciplines, for example social work, have identified the tensions in practice within professional and client relationships, and this has been recognized as undermining the interventions which aim to empower (Pease, 2002, p. 144). The key to understanding this tension is to accept that professional practice is a self-disciplining and self-regulatory process which often marginalizes local and non-authorized knowledge, but that changes to practice can alter this power balance (Pease, 2002, p. 144).

In the US, influential work undertaken on citizen power in the planning process resulted in the development of a model: the ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969). Arnstein uses the ladder concept to reinforce the idea that traditional consultation and education frequently represents what is, in effect, a one-way process, thereby creating the illusion of participation (active) in a largely passive process (Arnstein, 1969). Implicit within the model is the idea that people can only be empowered by participating if they hold real power within the process. Arnstein's work has been augmented recently by Head, who utilized a similar schema (originally produced by the International Association for Participation) to emphasize the variance in power/control given to stakeholders in negotiations across all participatory sectors (Head, 2007, p. 445). Head emphasizes that the use of the term 'community' can effectively 'gloss over' conflicts and substantial social, economic and cultural differences related to either groups of people or to places (Head, 2007, p. 441). Pertinent to this argument is the effect of scale on interactions and, although writing from the perspective of museology, Graham (2012, p. 567) highlights the way that the focus of participation is on the institution as the locus for action: a place unamenable and disconnected, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, co-producing with citizens and too fully connected at another level. The effects of micro-level engagement and participation (in this case, museums) cannot be

'scaled up' to transform power relations at a higher, and more general, level (Graham, 2012, p. 568).

Community engagement and consultation have become widespread themes, with stakeholder forums and facilitation a common occurrence within civic processes, but we are warned that it is premature to see this as reflective of a new age of partnership because the degree of power-sharing is uncertain and the government, or their proxy, often retains control through a range of mechanisms, commonly allied to funding and regulation, and aided by institutional practice (Head, 2007, p. 452). Additionally, the degree to which the 'general public' are both able and motivated to contribute significantly to real participatory processes remains unclear and untested (Head, 2007). Unless community forums create alternatives to traditional solutions, the process itself will become tokenistic, with the same (and centrally preferred) outcomes being achieved merely by different means. If we accept this premise for participation, then we can begin to see that

Terms such as empowerment, agency, activity and resistance as much as dependency, passivity and subordination, are key aspects of our contemporary vocabulary of rule in relation to definite regimes of government and power relations.

(Dean, 2010, p. 87)

There can also be a misunderstanding that to govern liberally, or with a 'light touch', constitutes governing through freedom or even in a way that appears to respect personal freedom; while this may superficially appear to be the case, regulatory and controlling systems that maintain authoritarianism are in place (Dean, 2002, p. 39; Powell and Steel, 2012, p. 2). In addition to the potential tokenism offered via participatory practice, issues around the governmental and institutional pressure to participate, the potential formation of large or diffuse working groups leading to inaction, and the potential for conflict, particularly due to differences in expectation and possible outcome, emphasize that participation is a complex and politically loaded idea, and not something to be embraced uncritically.

Localism and governmentality

If it is accepted that increased participation is not a neutral activity, and is quite explicitly linked to liberalizing democratic governance apparatus, then the links to planning policy for archaeology become clearer. The UK planning process has recently been overhauled and is central to government agendas for decentralization and localism. Recent guidance for implementing planning policy (English Heritage, 2010) was superseded by the National Planning Policy

Framework (NPPF) in 2012, replacing over 1,000 pages of previous planning policy with just 50, and including frameworks for cooperation between local people and their councils to produce distinctive neighbourhood plans which will have some legal force (DCLG, 2012, p. i). The policy document is preceded by a substantially rhetorical comment:

We believe that the freedom of local communities to run their own affairs in their own way should be seen as a right to be claimed, not a privilege to be earned. The Coalition will embody this principle as a series of specific rights that can be exercised on the initiative of local people.

(Greg Clark, cited in Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012, p. i)

The NPPF is linked practically and ideologically to the Localism Act 2011, which changed the legal status and frameworks of Local Authorities in England (DCLG, 2011). Some of the most important changes in the Localism Act itself include the granting of 'General Power of Competence', which allows local authorities to do anything that is not strictly prohibited by law, giving communities the power to bid for the ownership and management of community assets, and also setting out radical reforms to the planning system (DCLG, 2011, p. 11).

This encapsulates the 'Big Government to Big Society' agenda. However, since the Act was ratified in 2011, British Academy research has found that many of the objectives of localism require behavioural changes to be successfully implemented, and that there are insufficient incentives for citizens to get involved (John and Richardson, 2012). The authors conclude that local implementation is patchy and insufficiently 'bedded down', and suggest that one solution might be to identify and nurture locally situated innovators and change agents (John and Richardson, 2012). There has been widespread acknowledgement that neighbourhood government is not developing as quickly as hoped, and it seems that localism needs centralist encouragement, the Cabinet Office conceding 'the need for further action to help local communities realize their local ambitions' (Travers, 2012).

The Trades Union Congress in the UK has published the views of leaders of the third sector organizations expected to contribute to the new agenda in order to gauge response to the new opportunities on offer. Respondents have found that 'local' is a virtually meaningless term defined by its context of use, that it is loaded with spatial, social and cultural assumptions, and that it is highly likely that 'My local is probably not yours' (Barritt, 2012, p. 2). At its worst, a 'local' way of thinking can be nationalistic and can be used to aggressively assert identity arguments; therefore, there are more risks for those groups who are not 'mainstream' and who are already marginalized. Groups who do not enjoy

popular appeal (e.g. travelling communities, tinkers or gypsies, who already experience a strong negative reaction in the UK media) and black and minority ethnic groups, who are already under-represented at every political level, are likely to become more disenfranchised under a localism agenda (Butler, 2012, p. 23). Within the heritage arena, the 'rise of the local' can be seen as a challenge to nationally defined heritage and the embedded role of the expert, giving voice to a more democratically defined heritage agenda (Fairclough, 2011, p. 32), but the impact of this change has yet to be felt and assessed.

How local authorities are to decide which neighbourhood forums are representative of the 'local' view is unclear, and the funding streams to support any efforts to produce neighbourhood plans remain opaque. Community planning is not a new idea in the UK, with examples stretching back into the 1970s.⁴ However, while there is sometimes a disjuncture between explicit governmental rationale and the 'implicit logic' of governmental action, in the case of localism we can go further and say that, while couched in rhetorical terms of benefit for all, decentralization is to do with reducing services and expenditure, being almost entirely economically driven. Localism offers, through rhetoric, the vague sense of 'something good' (Barritt, 2012) against a backdrop of service reduction.

Conclusion

There are a range of potential problems with the concept of participation. Underlying the current obligations for citizens to get involved and to be active is the principle that to be given a sense of freedom, but without any capacity to exercise, is a meaningless act. Active participation by citizens, leading to their empowerment, is potentially a transformative process because giving away power leads to change, and potentially to conflict; it goes against the hierarchy and the status quo. The role of academics and expert knowledge in this process was recognized by Foucault (2004, p. 38), who identified that marginalized knowledge and other ways of knowing things are affected negatively by dominant cultural practices, and the recognition of this means acceptance that archaeologists contribute to this dominance, despite their liberalizing intentions.

To review the study of heritage at the present time is to be clear that practice is dominated by Western expert knowledge situated within academic fields of study (Smith, 2012, p. 535). When considering the professional practice of archaeologists in the twenty-first century, we should be questioning traditional ways of doing things and placing the interests of the excluded and marginalized at the forefront of our professional agendas (Smith, 2012).

In relation to participation within heritage, there are three issues that need to be addressed immediately. The first of these is the apparent disjuncture between theory and practice. Despite a large volume of heritage discourse relating to the

AHD, it is not something that is referred to, or embedded within, traditional archaeological narratives, or alluded to within the writing up of community projects. Whether this relates to a perceived lack of relevance or to a failure to accept a direct challenge to practice is unclear, but I suspect the latter is the most difficult for professionals to grasp while working in the current economic climate and within a defensive professional culture.

Second, the dichotomy between the ability of heritage professionals to regulate on the one hand and to empower on the other, within the same sphere of action as participants, is not sufficiently recognized and explored. Other disciplinary research asserts that, although the rhetoric of empowerment is often used to legitimize policy and practice, it remains possible, within individual practice and intervention, to construct processes that have emancipatory elements (Pease, 2002, p. 144), although most examples of this relate to work with Indigenous groups. It is essential that we recognize the conflicts inherent in a system that expects us both to regulate and to empower, because, in addition to creating tensions, the skills needed, and the processes for each, are different.

Finally, as the examples used above demonstrate, if archaeologists and other heritage professionals are to operate in an informed context, this must have an interdisciplinary facet. Despite the fact that heritage interactions and notions of community are contested, they are usually viewed within professional practice as being an inherently 'good thing' (Watson and Waterton, 2011, p. 1), and this holds true for many of the terms that are in common usage throughout this chapter: local, public, volunteer, neighbourhood. If we are able to view these elements through a broader lens of civic engagement and governance, in conjunction with those who are researching and making policy, this will lead to a fuller and more nuanced understanding of the role of professional heritage practice and cultural resource management.

The current UK localism policy represents an accelerated phase of government retraction of support and services (Powell and Steel, 2012, p. 4), and, coupled with a reliance on third sector action, this means that it is no longer possible for us to regard practices such as community archaeology as a neutral activity or inevitably a 'good thing'. The nature of public engagement, as demanded by policy, institutions and funding bodies, is changing, and this requires a more comprehensive understanding of what community engagement and participation is within professional practice, incorporated within a broad, and multidisciplinary, conceptual framework. In terms of global heritage practice, a review of the current picture of participation from the UK reinforces what has often been recognized previously in contested areas of the globe, that participation within the heritage arena is a politically and economically mediated activity requiring high levels of broader social contextualization and critique.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Steve Roskams and Helen Graham for stimulating my broader interest in heritage matters.

Notes

1. See <http://www.oed.com/>, accessed 1 May 2013
2. See <http://digventures.com/>, accessed 7 September 2012
3. See <http://www.involve.org.uk/>, accessed 20 November 2012
4. See <http://www.regen.net/news/991935/Coin-Street-London>, accessed 20 November 2012

References

- Arnstein, S. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4), 216–24.
- Barritt, A. (2012) 'Unpacking Localism in Voluntary Action: The Wider Context' in *Localism: Threat or Opportunity* (London: TUC), pp. 2–4. http://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/tucfiles/localism_guide_2012.pdf.
- Bate, J. (2011) *Public Value of the Humanities* (London: Bloomsbury Academic).
- Belford, P. (2011) 'Archaeology, Community, and Identity in an English New Town', *The Historic Environment*, 2(1), 49–67.
- Boyd, W. (2012) 'A Frame to Hang Clouds On: Cognitive Ownership, Landscape and Heritage Management' in R. Skeates, C. McDavid and J. Carmen (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 172–98.
- Butler, V. (2012) 'Local Communities, Diverse Voices' in *Localism: Threat or Opportunity* (London: TUC), pp. 23–25. https://www.tuc.org.uk/tucfiles/354/Localism_Guide_2012.pdf.
- Carman, J. (2002) *Archaeology and Heritage* (London: Continuum).
- Carman, J. (2010) 'Coming Full Circle: Public Archaeology as a Liberal Social Programme, Then and Now' in S. Koerner and A. Russell (eds) *Unquiet Pasts* (Surrey: Ashgate), pp. 151–60.
- Carman, J. and Stig Sørensen, M.-L. (2009) 'Heritage Studies: An Outline' in M.-L. Stig Sørensen and J. Carman (eds) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 11–28.
- Chomsky, N. (1999) *Profit over People: Neoliberalism and Global Order* (New York: Seven Stories Press).
- Clack, T. and Brittain, M. (eds) (2007) *Archaeology and the Media* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press).
- Cooper, M. (2010) 'Protecting Our Past: Political Philosophy, Regulation, and Heritage Management in England and Scotland', *The Historic Environment*, 1(2), 143–59.
- Cooper, M. (2013) 'Competition and the Development of Authorized Heritage Discourses in a Re-emergent Scottish Nation' in J. Jameson and J. Eogan (eds) *Training and Practice for Modern Day Archaeologists* (New York: Springer), pp. 87–104.
- Dean, M. (2002) 'Liberal Government and Authoritarianism', *Economy and Society*, 31(1), 37–61.
- Dean, M. (2010) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, 2nd edn (London: Sage).

- Department for Communities and Local Government (2011) *Decentralization and the Localism Bill: An Essential Guide*. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/5951/1793908.pdf, accessed 7 November 2012.
- Department for Communities and Local Government (2012) *National Planning Policy Framework*. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6077/2116950.pdf, accessed 1 November 2012.
- Dobson, S. and Selman, P. (2012) 'Applying Historic Landscape Characterization to Spatial Planning: From Remnants to Remanence', *Planning Practice and Research* 27(4), 459–74. doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2012.680268.
- Dorling, D. (2001) 'Anecdote Is the Singular of Data', *Environment and Planning A*, 33(8), 1335–40.
- Ellison, N. and Ellison, S. (2006) 'Creating Opportunity for All? New Labour, New Localism and the Opportunity Society', *Social Policy and Society*, 6(5–3), 337–48.
- English Heritage (2008) *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2009) *Heritage Counts* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2010) *Planning Policy Statement 5* (London: English Heritage).
- Fairclough, G. (2011) 'New Heritage Frontiers' in Council of Europe (ed.) *Heritage and Beyond* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe), pp. 29–42.
- Ferguson, J. and Gupta, A. (2005) 'Spatializing States: Towards an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality' in J. X. Inda (ed.) *Anthropologies of Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 105–34.
- Foucault, M. (2004) *Society Must Be Defended* (London: Penguin).
- Graham, H. (2012) 'Scaling Governmentality', *Cultural Studies*, 26(4), 565–92.
- Greer, S., Harrison, R. and McIntyre-Tamwoy, S. (2002) 'Community-Based Archaeology in Australia', *World Archaeology*, 34(2), 265–87.
- Head, B. (2007) 'Community Engagement: Participation on Whose Terms?' *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 42(3), 441–54.
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen).
- Holtorf, C. (2007) *Archaeology Is a Brand* (Oxford: Archaeopress).
- Isherwood, R. A. (2009) 'Community Archaeology: A Study of Conceptual, Political and Practical Issues Surrounding Community Archaeology in the UK Today', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester.
- Johnson, M. (2007) *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Karl, R. (2012) 'The Public? Which Public?' in N. Schücker (ed.) *Integrating Archaeology: International Conference on the Social Role, Possibilities and Perspectives of Classical Studies* (Frankfurt a. M.: Römisch-Germanische Kommission), pp. 23–8.
- Kiddey, R. and Schofield, J. (2011) 'Embrace the Margins: Adventures in Archaeology and Homelessness', *Public Archaeology*, 10(1), 4–22.
- Lloyd, K. M. and Auld, C. J. (2002) 'The Role of Leisure in Determining Quality of Life: Issues of Content and Measurement', *Social Indicators Research*, 57(1), 43–71.
- McDavid, C. (2007) 'Death of a Community Archaeology Project' in R. White and J. Carman (eds) *World Heritage: Global Challenges, Local Solutions* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 1698), pp. 107–11.
- Mcmanamon, F. P. and Hatton, A. (2000) *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Merriman, N. (ed.) (2004) *Public Archaeology* (Oxford: Routledge).
- National Council for Voluntary Organizations (2011) *Volunteering as a Participation Pathway*, <http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk>, accessed 7 October 2012.

- National Council for Voluntary Organizations (2012) <http://www.3s4.org.uk/drivers/trends-in-volunteering>, accessed 5 June 2012.
- National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement (2012) <https://www.publicengagement.ac.uk/>, accessed 7 October 2012.
- Neal, C. (2012) 'Community Archaeology in the UK: Setting the Agenda' in N. Schücker (ed.) *Integrating Archaeology: International Conference on the Social Role, Possibilities and Perspectives of Classical Studies* (Frankfurt a. M.: Römisch-Germanische Kommission), pp. 29–33.
- Neal, C. and Roskams, S. (2013) 'Authority and Community: Reflecting on Archaeological Practice at Heslington East, York', *Historic Environment: Policy and Practice*, 2(4), 139–55
- Pattie, C., Seyd, P. and Whiteley, P. (2003) 'Citizenship and Civic Engagement: Attitude and Behaviour in Britain', *Political Studies*, 51, 443–68.
- Pease, B. (2002) 'Rethinking Empowerment: A Postmodern Reappraisal of Emancipatory Practice', *British Journal of Social Work*, 32, 135–47.
- Powell, J. L. and Steel, R. (2012) 'Policy, Governmentality and Governance', *Journal of Administration and Governance*, 7(1), 1–10.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Putnam, R. D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Society* (New York: Simon and Schuster).
- Richardson, L. (2012) 'Digital Public Archaeology', <http://digipubarch.org/2012/11/11/im-engaging-youre-engaged/>, accessed 26 November 2012.
- Samuel, R. (1994) *Theatres of Memory: Volume 1, Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London and New York: Verso).
- Schofield, J. and Szymanski, R. (2011) *Local Heritage, Global Context. Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Simpson, F. A. (2010) *The Values of Community Archaeology: A Comparative Assessment between the UK and US* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 2105).
- Skeates, R. (2000) *Debating the Archaeological Heritage* (London: Duckworth).
- Smith, L. (2004) *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2012) 'Editorial: A Critical Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 18(6), 533–40.
- Thomas, S. (2010) *Community Archaeology in the UK: Recent Findings* (York: CBA). <http://www.britarch.ac.uk/research/community>, accessed 7 June 2012.
- Travers, T. (2012) 'Being Pressed to Shift Power Downwards', *Local Government Chronicle* (5 April). <http://www.lgcplus.com/opinion/being-pressed-to-shift-power-downwards/5042540.article>, accessed 5 November 2012.
- Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Waterton, E. (2010) *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (2011) 'The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Heritage and Community Engagement* (Oxford: Routledge), pp. 12–23.
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (eds) (2011) *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration and Contestation* (London: Routledge).

- Watson, S. and Waterton, E. (2011) 'Heritage and Community Engagement: Finding a New Agenda' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration and Contestation* (London: Routledge), pp. 1–11.
- Wilkins, B. (2012) 'Social Contract Archaeology: A Business Case for the Future', Unpublished EAA Conference Paper Helsinki (Courtesy of Author).
- Wolkan, H. (2012) 'The Human Element: The Reality of Public Archaeology within the Professional Realm', Unpublished MA dissertation, University of York.
- Wright, P. (1985) *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, 3rd edn (London and New York: OUP).

22

Heritage and Social Class

Bella Dicks

Looking back, it's funny how quick it's all changed – a half century of growth in pits, buildings and people... and then just as dramatic, the slump of the 1920s and 1930s when there was suddenly no demand for coal and half our people were out of work and thousands left for good. Only the Second World War ended that, and decent times came again in the 40s and 1950s...

I suppose, through it all, we survived because, in a way, the getting of coal had made us a community. We've had our famous sons and daughters, like everyone else, but it's the ordinary people who really gave salt to our lives... Ordinary? They were bloody extraordinary.

Introduction: From the Rhondda to Alnwick Castle

This is the voice of 'ordinary' Bryn Rees, a retired miner from the Rhondda Valleys in South Wales, UK, addressing visitors to the colliery where he used to work. It has now become the Rhondda Heritage Park, a 'living history' heritage centre, where Bryn tells the story of his life in the 1950s, shortly after nationalization of the coal industry. He is speaking from a time of collective and organizational strength for coal-miners and other industrial workers. Yet his optimism, as we know, proved false, given that those ever-quickenings changes sweeping him and other miners along ultimately proved fatal to the UK and European coal industry. Listeners have stepped into this 1950s world from one virtually bereft of its old centres of industrial monopoly – in coal, steel, ship-building, railways – which have now become either ruined and impoverished or regenerated into new consumer-oriented urban areas. Bryn's words, therefore, evoke a sense of loss and powerlessness. It is a loss that is also, inevitably, about the loss of a cultural image of the working class. Manual industrial

occupations are memorialized in a range of 'ordinary' heritage sites in the UK. Beamish Open Air Museum in Tyneside, Big Pit in Wales, Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire, Quarry Bank Mill near Manchester, the Welsh Slate Museum at Llanberis, Museum of London Docklands, the Black Country Living Museum in Dudley, the People's History Museum in Manchester, and others besides, all display working-class lives, communities and occupations. They tell the stories of 'ordinary' people who, thanks to the conversion of old industrial sites into new 'vernacular' heritage, have now gained a public stage as 'extraordinary' characters.

Let us now leave the Rhondda for a moment and travel up to northern England, to Northumberland, where visitors can explore magnificent Alnwick Castle. This castle belongs to the ancient Percy barony, dating from the Norman Conquest. The present 12th Duke of Northumberland welcomes visitors in his Foreword to the castle's official guidebook (1999, p. 1). There he affirms that his family's 700 years at Alnwick have witnessed a history of 'war and peace, cruelty and benevolence, of artistic patronage, building and innovation on a scale to rival any house in Britain'. The sumptuous eighteenth-century drawing room is complete with ornate ceiling, fireplaces, floors and woodcarvings in the Roman cinquecento style. In the guidebook, the motifs are of ancient dynasties, the interconnections among European aristocratic families, military prowess, master-servant relationships and ever-shifting court, church and state relations. The current Duke takes care to connect the castle's architectural, dynastic and historical values with the humbler values of family and feeling. Lest we think, for instance, that the castle's lavish Italianate grandeur might have cowed its young occupants, he explains 'thankfully it is also a wonderful home' which he and his siblings treated 'as a huge playroom, not appreciating the priceless paintings and furniture that were often targets for water pistols and arrows!'

What separates these two contrasting instances of heritage is the vast social, cultural and economic gap between them, yet in neither is the concept of 'class' invoked. Both seek to place their particular history on the national stage, and to include the visitor within it – but on very different terms. It has been argued that class often figures in cultural texts as an 'absent presence': its effects pernicious but its existence rarely acknowledged (Bromley, 2000). In the UK at least, it has an 'understated ubiquity' (Skeggs, 2004, p. 117), whereby a public reticence about naming class gives it what Savage (2005) terms an 'everywhere and nowhere' quality. It structures social and cultural relationships but is rarely articulated, enabling a pervasive ideology of individual opportunity and meritocracy to go unchallenged (Sennet and Cobb, 1973). I have argued elsewhere (Dicks, 2008) that coal-mining heritage asserts the collective strength of mining communities while avoiding the language of class, with the effect of depoliticizing the history presented.

At the Rhondda Heritage Park, miners' work is represented as collective labour – shaped by the rhythms of the colliery, the hardships endured and the strong community spirit (Dicks, 2000). Their agency comes from their labour, but, as Connerton reminds us, while 'the modern world is the product of a gigantic process of labour... the first thing to be forgotten is the labour process itself' (2009, p. 40). Alnwick's magnificent fireplaces become signs of the family's wealth rather than of the stonemasons' craft. The Northumberlands' efforts are not presented as labour but as the lifeworks of individual successors – performed in the interests of the family 'name', its property and its continuity, following their chosen career paths and artistic inclinations. This individualized effort and its resultant 'treasure-houses' acquire a legitimacy, timelessness and continuity that are depicted as being at one with the interests of the nation-state, and even emblematic of its power (Mandler, 1997). In the Rhondda, meanwhile, the miners are depicted as labouring tirelessly for others in settings and under conditions over which they have no control. Their history is represented as a long 'struggle for justice' against the mine-owners, through a series of pre-war strikes and confrontations, until finally the narrative enters the 1950s when 'times changed' (Dicks, 1999). The Heritage Park is silent about the 1980s and beyond, but it is clear to the visitor that the Rhondda miners' power has dissipated with the 'quick changes' Bryn mentions. The Northumberlands' 700-year tenure, meanwhile, has endured, in spite of Alnwick's history of 'war and cruelty'.

If the working class are frequently depicted as facing extinction while the aristocrats carry forward the nation's historical banner, it would seem, meanwhile, that the middle class is a largely absent category in heritage. It is, of course, they who, predominantly, visit country houses and, indeed, museums (Merriman, 1991; though he points out the 'lower social status' of social history museum visitors, as below). However, the middle classes rarely appear on display as such. Admittedly, social history museums such as the London Transport Museum and the Imperial War Museum often recognize the different historical experiences of middle class as opposed to working-class families. However, we do not (yet) have a museum of the 'suburbs'¹ or the 'gentrified countryside'! This relates to Skeggs' (2004) observation that in public discourse working-class people are typically depicted as constituting a group with 'a culture', possessing a set of colourful cultural markers, while the middle class becomes the unmarked norm (and the aristocrats largely figure as private individuals and their families).

What is 'heritage' and what is 'class'?

Let us start our discussion of heritage and class by defining what we mean by both. Heritage, first, is a term covering a very broad compass. As Samuel's (1994)

encyclopaedic tour of popular heritage practices illustrates, it is not confined to public, exhibitionary sites but covers a huge diversity of private 'vernacular' practices such as stamp-collecting, metal-detecting and family-tree-making. This reminds us that heritage spills out far beyond the purview of professionals, be they historians, interpreters or city planners. Nevertheless, this chapter will focus on heritage as it appears in visitable sites open to the public such as history museums, heritage sites and restored buildings. These allow us to investigate which (and whose) heritage has attracted funding and become publicly affirmed, institutionalized and (often) instrumentalized for the visitor gaze. The ways in which class is bound up with this gaze offer insights into the symbolic workings of class itself and the many classed dimensions of our relationship with 'the past'.

Class is one of the most well-established yet controversial terms in both social science and media discourse. Within sociology, my own disciplinary area, it was common to declare in the 1980s and 1990s that class was no longer relevant, having been superseded by other forms of social identity and inequality, such as gender, 'race' and sexuality. However, since the turn of the millennium class analysis has been undergoing somewhat of a renaissance. Prominent sociologists in the UK and the US are reasserting and seeking to understand the ongoing and deep effects of class divisions on social life (Savage, 2000; Reay, 2005; Russo and Linkon, 2005; Sayer, 2005). Much of this new class analysis has moved away from treating class as purely an objective, measurable socio-economic category (as in Goldthorpe's classic work) to more cultural, symbolic and affective definitions. These recognize the ways in which, as Skeggs (2004, p. 117) affirms, class is rarely directly referenced or acknowledged in public-cultural representations but instead assumes a multiplicity of disguises, illustrating the extent to which the symbolic is 'absolutely central' to any understanding of class. Such symbols include heritage images of workers' 'heroic potency' (Munt, 2000, p. 10) in which they can be pictured as industrious upholders of communal values of solidarity, social cohesion and collective 'spirit'. Outside of heritage, however, it seems that working-class people are most often depicted today as defective consumers (Bauman, 1998; Owen, 2011).

'National heritage', 'the people' and nostalgia

There is a long history of 'exclusivity' and elitism in relation to heritage, which came increasingly under attack from the 1980s onwards. Smith (2006) describes how, in providing tax breaks for aristocratic families fallen on hard times, the UK's National Trust (whose original remit was to preserve open spaces for ordinary urban dwellers) began from the 1930s to privilege the acquisition and opening up of manorial and country homes. This helped establish the country's erstwhile ruling elites as significant beneficiaries of a large part of the

UK's state-supported heritage. Such 'elite' heritage, which also includes state monuments, memorials, church buildings, royal palaces and gardens, constitutes for Smith an example of the 'authorized heritage discourse', or AHD (Smith, 2006, p. 29). This represents traditional, inherited and state-promoted ideas of the 'heart of the nation' and identifies legitimate spokespersons of the past while denying others. It defines what is – and what is not – 'our' inheritance; it promotes ideas of an unchanging past, disconnected from the present, and it presents safe, non-challenging (especially national) narratives. These pay particular homage to rare possessions, collections and acquisitions, allowing ruling-class groups to establish the 'importance of material culture in demonstrating lineage, cultural and social achievement and power' (Smith, 2006, p. 23).

Earlier, in the UK context, Bommers and Wright (1982, p. 266) had identified a similar matrix of 'National Heritage' belonging to an 'Imaginary Briton'. A unified, non-contradictory, serene, immobilized, and yet vague and imprecise national subjectivity 'functions by excluding traditions which it cannot incorporate'. They argue that National Heritage, as 'the historicized image of the establishment', is class culture naturalized as 'national' (Bommers and Wright, 1982, p. 271). Such arguments kick-started a decade of academic wrangling over the functions (social, political, ideological) of heritage. Wright (1985) identified the 'heritagization' of Britain and promotion of 'our' British way of life as a Thatcher-era ideological strategy for securing allegiance to the national imaginary. For Hewison (1987), heritage promotes old cultural securities to mask the economic decline of deindustrialized Britain in the new global economy. It ensures that the populace, busy smiling on the past, has its back turned to the politics of the present. In this argument, neither the Alnwick nor the Rhondda version of heritage is authentic, since they manipulate the past through the 'filter of nostalgia' (Hewison, 1999, p. 161). Certainly, industrial heritage can peddle National Heritage myths as readily as elite heritage. West (1988) argues of Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire that its collection of industrial heritage museums and buildings celebrates capitalist industrialization by ignoring labour relations (both now and in the past) in favour of a 'professional-managerial' focus on industrial archaeology. Workers, employed by the Museum on degraded contracts, are merely the operatives of machines invented by great 'innovators' who testify to the nation's technological achievements.

Such arguments were taken up by the Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies (BCCC) in the 1970s, which advanced an Althusserian critique of heritage institutions as ideological 'historical apparatuses' producing a 'dominant memory' which, while 'open to contestation', served to buttress state institutions (Popular Memory Group, 1982, p. 207). Yet, as Robins (1995) notes, Foucault's idea of a 'popular memory' that is denied existence 'so people are shown not what they were, but what they must remember having been' raised the issue

of how subaltern experiences might be recovered (Foucault, 1975, p. 25, cited in Robins, 1995, p. 202). The British Cultural Studies idea of 'the popular' as a site of ideological contest, influenced by Gramscian perspectives, provided a means of addressing this possibility. Hegemony theory suggested that heritage could be seen as a battleground between popular and dominant memory both in the public sphere (of representations) and in the private sphere (of letters, memorabilia, oral histories, memories, etc.). This echoes Bommès and Wright's conception of 'public memory' as a struggle between dominant and subordinate social frameworks.

The BCCC Popular Memory Group proposed seeing popular memory as a political practice, not as a study of the past but as its 'living active existence in the present' (Popular Memory Group, 1982, p. 211). Rather than seeing people's memories as distorted by dominant ideology, these studies took them as real in the sense that they were able, however problematically, to point to the truth of situated experience. Work in the UK on the recovery of 'ordinary' memories was also developing rapidly through the Oral History Society and prominent oral historians such as Paul Thompson (see *The Edwardians*, 1975). Further, Raphael Samuel's founding of the History Workshop Movement at Ruskin College elaborated the concept of 'history from below'. This differed from labour history in its concern not with the formal institutions of organized labour so much as with traditions of popular protest and unorganized, lived experience.

Yet there is a risk in 'history from below' of unifying diverse experiences under the banner of class. This is critiqued in post-structuralist theory for suggesting that 'the features and positions of the working class are given for all time' (MacCabe, 1981, pp. 317–18, cited in Robins, 1995, p. 203). Samuel, aware of the problem, acknowledges that 'unofficial' history can risk lapsing into uncritical simplicities such as 'grandmother's washing day' (Samuel, 1994). Bommès and Wright (1982, p. 300), likewise, warn that attempts to recover subaltern voices can readily be incorporated as the 'people's humble contribution to the heritage of the nation'. This impasse seems to leave heritage assigned to either populist or conservative versions, neither of which allows complex linkages between ordinary, individual experiences and wider historical conditions to come to the fore, as originally urged by the Popular Memory Group. Lumley (1994) restates the problem as the need to distinguish a heritage impulse which resists change in favour of the 'timeless' and 'natural' appeals of the 'folk', the 'old days' and the 'community' from one that acknowledges the ordinary, the vernacular and the idiosyncratic as part of a multi-vocal 'people's history'.

This appeal of the 'vernacular' in a late-modern technological age suggests complex connections between the figure of the industrial worker and the present. As Strangleman (1999, p. 728) notes, nostalgia can be a 'powerful resource for the sustaining of occupational identity' since it allows 'restructured' workers to retrieve a sense of 'ontological security' (see also Davis, 1979).

Collective strength can be found in looking back as a means of fostering resistance to present degradations. While, for some, nostalgia evokes 'a positively evaluated past world in response to a deficient present world' (Tannock, 1995, p. 454), I have argued that it can serve instead to foreground the interplay between now and then (Dicks, 2004). As Thompson (1995) argues of the turn-of-the-millennium yearning for tradition, such a longing is a symptom of modernity (not a reaction to it), which stimulates fast-changing, mobile perspectives through 'disembedding' communication technologies. These allow traditions to be experienced outside their erstwhile contexts of moral authority, constraint and obligation, and to be 're-moored' in new, fluid and diverse situations (Thompson, 1995, pp. 183–91). Spectators of vernacular heritage can in this way explore the gains and losses of their own past without the dead weight of actually living it.

Therefore, it may be over-simple to define vernacular heritage as backward-looking. As Sandberg (1995) suggests in his analysis of the world's first folk museum in Sweden, what visitors may experience instead is an 'in-betweenness' of temporal location. At Skansen, newly urbanized and mobile ex-peasant families at the turn of the twentieth century could enter and examine from the inside a living tableau of their own rural, immobile pasts. They could participate (in a re-created experience of the past) and at the same time not participate (in its reality). Similarly, at the turn of the twenty-first century, industrial heritage preserves and displays an ordinary and working-class world, but at the later historical juncture of deindustrialization and entry into a new phase of global consumer capitalism (Dicks, 2004). Now, when working-class experiences and ontologies are cast aside and in danger of being forgotten or denigrated in the public eye, it seems important, as Bryn says, to 'look back, to see how quickly it's all changed'. This does not necessarily imply a desire to *go* back.

Class, collective memory, place and industrial ruination

The idea of heritage as offering an 'in-between' threshold suggests that the past is always appropriated from a particular vantage point in the present. Memories, therefore, cannot be seen as transparent, individual residues in need of simple unearthing. As Halbwachs (1980) reminds us, memories are social: they are created in the present through reflecting on the past, so that 'in reality, we are never alone' for 'we always carry with us and in us a number of distinct persons' who are part of our memories and helped us make them (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 23). These 'collective' memories may well never find their way into the formal histories of that group's epoch, which are constructed according to rules, evaluations and selections to which the group were not subject. This suggests that collective memories can function as repositories for 'subaltern and

dissenting heritage discourses' (Smith, 2006, p. 35) and for 'unofficial knowledge' (Samuel, 1994, p. 3). For Halbwachs (1980, pp. 78–9), such memories only remain intact as long as the group continues to interact, and will eventually 'fade and break up', never to be recovered. By contrast, for Samuel, fragments of 'popular' memory can always be gleaned and made sense of by using unofficial sources – such as oral tradition, personal memoirs, children's songs and rhymes and so on.

Halbwachs's insight that those sharing social milieux forge common memories should not commit us to unhelpful notions of unitary collective identities. The extent to which 'collective' memories circulate in local groupings is something to explore rather than assume. There is always the possibility of forms of 'mnemonic resistance' to well-rehearsed, circulating memories (Ryan, 2010), undermining the project of retrieving, capturing and displaying memories as straightforwardly and authentically 'working-class'. Robertson (2013, p. 59) gives the example of the Isle of Lewis memorial cairns, constructed by small committees of local people who worked with a local artist on the memorial designs. As the study shows, even such locally managed projects can stir up internal conflict over who has the right to determine what happens on the ground, indicating that 'dissonance and contestation are intrinsic to any attempt to write heritage into the landscape' (Robertson, 2013, p. 64). In the Lewis case, this led to two alternative cairns being erected by groups who thought of themselves as more authentically working class than the committees, more able to speak for the places and events being memorialized.

Place is always important in heritage, as memories are produced in and through particular places, journeys and mobilities (Urry, 1996). Relationships to place can be said to differ in a number of respects with respect to class. Working-class families whose ability to earn rests on manual labour are more dependent on place, at the mercy of non-local ebbs and flows of capital investment and disinvestment, than those with non-manual, 'transferable' skills and professions. This means that working-class heritage is often defined by change and migration as much as by community and belonging. Thus, working-class households are geographically mobile in a different way from the middle class, whose moves tend to reflect individual career trajectories. Both, in turn, are different from the manorial aristocracy, whose country 'seats' root them in specific, fixed terrains – even as their individual adventurers and entrepreneurs travel the globe.

Those in industrial, low-grade occupations work primarily with their hands. Their materials and tools, environments, buildings, workshops and machines tend to be destroyed and soon replaced with the next wave of investment. This can give rise to chronic and profound feelings of dislocation in areas of industrial ruination as the material culture of generations disappears (Mah, 2010). As Walkerdine (2010, p. 111) describes, the razing of the hugely dominant

steelworks in the south Wales town she studied created 'a hole at the centre of the community's imaginary ego-skin'. It symbolized the disintegration of a temporally and spatially organized grid of previously interconnected social practices and places (between the steelworks and the houses, the houses and the streets, the paths and the fences, the women and their neighbours, etc.). Workshops, manufacturing plants and mines in industrial areas were part of a whole emplaced labour process that connected them economically, socially and geographically to each other. This can give rise to strongly felt desires to preserve 'ordinary' objects and landscapes.

Objects, bodies, affect and performance

In the Rhondda, interviews carried out with the ex-miner guides revealed how important these networks were, and how their loss, and the loss of the materials and artefacts that were exchanged within them, was keenly felt. A leading ex-miner and trades unionist active in the preservation of the colliery, Dai, explained how frustrated he and others were by the failure of the Heritage Park to provide a haven for all the machinery and artefacts from the collieries rapidly closing down around them. He described how

It was a terrible waste, with things being cut up with Oxyacetylene and then the engineers phoning me from Lady Windsor [a nearby colliery] and saying, 'Dai, for Christ's sake, are you going to come and pick this stuff up because the scrap merchant's coming and they're going to have it and I don't want to see stuff going into skips but I can't hold it much longer'. I got so bloody frustrated in the end I went over to Abercynon colliery which was intact but closed and we actually piled a load of stuff into the boot of my car out of the winding engine that we need here. And the car was right down on its bloody axle almost and I brought it over myself.

The point for the redundant miners was to save the material signs of their past, because these were the objects and artefacts that were the remainders of lived experience: 'the paraphernalia we were used to', as Dai put it.

Further, manual labour involves collective experiences of bodily exertions, strains, emotions and stresses that testify to the embodied nature of memory. Many ex-miners spoke of the discipline they were subject to in the mine and the ways in which their bodies were corralled, searched, surveyed and controlled. As Ewan, another ex-miner guide, explains to the visitors about the non-stop winding of the pit-cage:

But that gate there would be lifted up, see, the men would go in, they would drop the gate down, and from 6 till 7 in the morning, they would get the men underground. Every two minutes, there would be about 25 men

dropping down the mine. Then 7 o'clock, a big steam hooter would blow, and that meant, if you was hanging about by here and you wasn't in that cage, you would be sent home. Because once 7 o'clock came, that same container was fetching the coal up. And it never stopped winding coal at all then throughout the rest of the day... Now if you had a migraine or a toothache and you wanted to go home, they wouldn't let you... because this would only stop if someone was immobilized.

Dai, in his tour, tells a complementary story of his first day at the pit:

These men, 25 at a time – were going into these cages and going down the pit, vanishing before your eyes as it were. And I can remember... my heart started to beat a bit fast, because everything was done so violently. Steam, noises of cages like this coming to the surface, hitting the gates up in the air and shuddering to a stop and men getting in and disappearing, until our turn came. And you could feel the draw of the air as you got nearer to the top of the shaft... Get in, in the cage, [noise of Dai slamming cage door] Ding, ding, ding, and away she started to go, and when I say go, I mean *plummeting*.

These vivid narratives, told from the guides' own autobiographical perspectives, testify to how heritage performance can bring industrial workplaces to life in a way that situates individual experiences within wider historical conditions.

In the tour guides' stories, these memories are sedimented and performed for visitors over and over again. As opposed to formal guided tours in country houses, such performance is not about empty places but places with bodies, laden with affect. As Connerton (2009) reminds us, places are not mnemonic unless they are lived in. This power of objects to evoke collective memories means that, as Johnstone (1998) suggests, heritage sites can function as 'substitute heirlooms'. They offer visitors the sensation of seeing 'their own' personal realm displayed and verified in the public collection – 'my granny had one of those!' Official memorials, by contrast, are explicitly designated as such and are selective: they forget important – often disturbing – elements and promote others (Connerton, 2009, p. 29). The formal country house interior, designed to show off art and furnishings, can be said to act as a memorial rather than a locus of memory (although for the Northumberland family it presumably does both).

Visitor studies of class and heritage

As Beiner (2008) remarks in relation to film, the heritage site itself does not remember; it is only through visitors' and audiences' constructions of the narratives presented that memories are invoked. Traditionally, visitors to

museums have been shown to be highly educated, middle and upper-middle-class groups, who feel at home among the formal classifications at work in museum displays. This is why museum-going, as famously studied by Bourdieu et al. in *The Love of Art* (1997), and by Bourdieu in *Distinction* (1984), usually figures as a marker of high cultural capital. There is some evidence that visitors to social history museums and industrial heritage sites are less uniformly middle class than those to art museums, however. Smith (2006, p. 208) surveyed three such UK museums (Beamish, the National Coalmining Museum and the Tolpuddle Martyrs Museum) and found that their visitors were three times more likely to have working-class occupations than visitors to country house sites. She also found that, unlike the latter, visitors to the industrial sites valued intangible heritage (memory, tradition, skills, family history, etc.) more than tangible, material heritage; they saw the site as educational (in a way that country house visitors did not); and nostalgia was expressed more as the activity of remembering lost family and neighbourhood ties than as a reverence for better times. Unlike the formal categories of art and collecting museums, and unlike the impersonal display of sumptuous wealth at Alnwick Castle, 'ordinary' heritage as narrated by Bryn Rees at the Rhondda Heritage Park insinuates a personal, affective relationship between the specific, narrated past and the legatees or inheritors of that past. This invites visitors to identify themselves as the legatees, raising questions as to how close or distant they feel to the stories presented. Memory and generation play a crucial role in this relationship.

Many visitor studies tend to investigate museums as the purveyors of messages that are 'responded to' by visitors, or that can be 'evaluated' in terms of learning outcomes (e.g. Falk and Dierking, 2000). In these approaches, class is usually operationalized as a set of demographic characteristics that can be measured as standardized variables, such as occupation, income, educational qualifications and so on. This returns us to the problem, earlier identified, of adducing an *a priori* fixity or essentialism to class. A better way of conceptualizing visitor interactions with museums would approach this not so much in terms of messages and informational content, as an encounter between differently positioned individuals and the specific symbolic invitations and 'challenges' with which exhibitions confront them. This draws upon a theorization of class influenced by Bourdieu's work on habitus, which does not reduce it to static variables possessed by individuals but examines practices of active position-taking by individuals in relation to cultural texts and institutions.

In this perspective, visitors are spoken to by public exhibitions – and themselves speak 'back' – from a social position that is structured by their prior social and psychological dispositions. Visitors come to the museum trailing a largely unconscious history of habits of thought, schemes and memories which provide the immediate standpoint from which they relate to the history presented to them. Rather than being a collection of stored mental items, this is a felt,

subjective and embodied positioning based on the accumulation of prior bodily habits and dispositions. But Bourdieu (1977, p. 86) decisively rejects the idea that all members of the same class internalize the same 'structures, schemes of perception, conception and action' as though all members' schemes were substitutable and impersonal. Instead, he recognizes the 'organic individuality' and 'particularities of the individual ego', which are related to objective class and habitus but are not fixed by them (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 86). Members of the same class or group are thus likely to be receptive in similar ways to similar histories, not because habitus operates identically for them, or because they share the same life experiences or trajectories (they do not), but because the habitus 'brings about a unique integration, dominated by the earliest experiences, of the experiences statistically common to the members of the same class' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 87).

This is a fruitful way of capturing the significance of class effects in visiting, because class is made manifest through position-taking behaviour rather than through conformity to a *priori* sets of worldviews or shared situations. This would allow research to illuminate how active processes of identification and disidentification, self/other relations and near/far experiences impinge on visitor imaginaries of what history was and is. Fyfe and Ross (1996), for example, show how visitors and, just as importantly, non-visitors to the Staffordshire potteries museums they studied adopt different types of 'gaze' on local history ('local working-class', 'cosmopolitan middle-class' and 'local middle-class') which is structured by class habitus in combination with individual trajectories of migration, settlement, education and occupational opportunity. Rather than fixed class identities, these standpoints are bound up with families' experiences of belonging and commitment to the place they have ended up living in and to the ways in which they think of 'leisure' and 'history'. Middle-class 'outsiders' embracing cosmopolitan values contrast with middle-class 'insiders' identifying with older values of community.

The research I conducted in the Rhondda demonstrates, in a similar way, that an important determinant of how visitors relate to mining history centres on their own relationship (social, political, biographical, cultural) to a particular mining 'imaginary', framing what visitors find salient in the museum display (Dicks, 2000). Interviews with visitors indicated that virtually all received the same particular message from the museum, namely, that the miners' story constituted a long 'struggle for justice'. However, within this broad message it was also clear that visitors adopted different subjective positions in relation to this story. For some, it was obsolete, having little relevance for their current lives and being of merely anachronistic interest. For others, it functioned largely as a springboard for their own memories and reminiscences. A third grouping actively engaged with the story as a means of making sense of their own lives. This largely depended on how visitors positioned themselves in relation to

mining itself, which is where class habitus comes in. Some middle-class visitors, such as an engineer and his family, acclaimed the end of mining as a new phase in the local environment where a regreened landscape could re-establish itself and local people could ‘move on’ because ‘I can’t see much future for people like that.’ For some working-class visitors from urban, service-sector backgrounds, the struggle for justice was about ‘the old days’ as ‘I’m not interested really in the modern.’ A history professor from Canada on a voyage of rediscovery of his own ancestral roots positioned the miners’ struggle for justice as an ongoing story of working-class heroes whose message was ‘a demonstration of the human spirit if it’s not a demonstration of justice’.

Working-class visitors from industrial backgrounds tended to relate to the story from a range of identifications on a continuum from the most directly personal – where they had first-hand experience of mining and saw the Rhondda people as ‘just like us’ because ‘we’ve always had to struggle for what we’ve got’ – through the largely anecdotal, often rooted in the personal reminiscences and handed-down stories of friends and relatives. In one or two instances, the displays seemed to enable working-class visitors to draw direct parallels between the miners’ struggle for justice and their own working lives, as in the following quote from a Cardiff electronics factory worker:

There’s better unity in the mines, than our, than this type of factory I’m working in. Because, if somebody got sacked tomorrow, for whatever reason, people would just say, ‘oh, too bad’, like. But, in the mines, I hear it’s more like if you got the sack, then they’d all get together. It’s a very selfish type of attitude in our factory. Everybody’s out for their own. They don’t care about other people. It’s clean, our place. It’s warm and everything, but it’s just a dead-end type of job.

Issues for the future

Taking seriously the injunction to see heritage as created in the present suggests seeing visiting as position-taking *practices* – enacted from a particular social standpoint in the present in which memories are remade. This seems to me more fruitful than asking how visitors decode discrete messages according to individual competencies. Examining visitors’ active ‘identifications’ with heritage can inform understanding about how heritage intersects with people’s memories, life trajectories and habitus (including relations of class, gender, age, ethnicity, generation, community and belonging). We also need to look critically at forms of display (in terms of technologies of representation, narrative, image, etc.) and their relationship to memory (in terms of lived, situated practices and social spaces). Class and politics are almost always there in the background of heritage, grand or ‘ordinary’, but’ in the case of industrial

heritage, often submerged into stories of 'our community' where class seems absent. To attend to the presence of class, its problematic and troubling implications need to be acknowledged as impelling processes of identification *and* disidentification. Rather than suggesting that classes carry around with them similar collective stores of common memories, we need to ask *how* people's various current situations and prior dispositions create standpoints from which they may 'look back' and recognize 'how quickly it's all changed'.

Note

1. Admittedly, the London Transport Museum has collections relating to middle-class suburbia (see <http://www.ltmuseum.co.uk/collections/spotlight/suburbia>), and mounted a temporary exhibition on the topic in 2010. However, my general claim that museums do not represent middle-class lives to the same extent or in the same manner as working-class or aristocratic ones still stands.

References

- Alnwick Castle (1999) *Official Guidebook* (Derby: English Life Publications).
- Bauman, Z. (1998) *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor* (Buckingham: Open University Press).
- Beiner, G. (2008) 'In Anticipation of a Post-Memory Boom Syndrome', *Cultural Analysis*, 7, 107–12.
- Bommes, M. and Wright, P. (1982) 'Charms of Residence: The Public and the Past' in R. Johnson, G. McLenon, W. Schwartz and D. Sutton (eds) *Making Histories* (London: Hutchinson), pp. 253–302.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Bromley, R. (2000) 'The Theme that Dare Not Speak Its Name: Class in Recent British Film' in S. Munt (ed.) *Cultural Studies and the Working Class* (London: Cassell), pp. 51–68.
- Connerton, P. (2009) *How Modernity Forgets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Davis, F. (1979) *Yearning for Yesterday* (New York: The Free Press).
- Dicks, B. (1999) 'The View of Our Town from the Hill: Communities on Display as Local Heritage', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 2(3), 349–68.
- Dicks, B. (2000) *Heritage, Place and Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
- Dicks, B. (2004) *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability* (Maidenhead: Open University Press).
- Dicks, B. (2008) 'Performing the Hidden Injuries of Class in Coal-Mining Heritage', *Sociology*, 42(3), 436–52.
- Falk, J. H. and Dierking, L. D. (2000) *Learning from Museums. Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning* (New York: Alta Mira Press).
- Foucault, M. (1975) 'Film and Popular Memory: An Interview with Michel Foucault', *Radical Philosophy*, 11, 24–9.
- Fyfe, G. and Ross, M. (1996) 'Decoding the Visitor's Gaze: Rethinking Museum Visiting' in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (eds) *Theorising Museums* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 127–51.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980) *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row).
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen).

- Hewison, P. (1999) 'The Climate of Decline' in D. Boswell and J. Evans (eds) *Representing the Nation: A Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 151–62.
- Johnstone, C. (1998) 'Your Granny Had One of Those! How Visitors Use Museum Collections' in J. Arnold, K. Davies and S. Ditchfield (eds) *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture* (Shaftesbury: Donhead) pp. 67–77.
- Lumley, R. (1994) 'The Debate on Heritage Reviewed' in R. Miles and L. Zavala (eds) *Towards the Museum of the Future: New European Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 57–70.
- Mah, A. (2010) 'Memory, Uncertainty and Industrial Ruination: Walker Riverside, Newcastle upon Tyne', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34(2), 398–413.
- Mandler, P. (1997) *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
- Merriman, N. (1991) *Beyond the Glass Case* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).
- Munt, S. (2000) 'Introduction' in S. Munt (ed.) *Cultural Studies and the Working Class: Subject to Change* (London and New York: Cassell), pp. 1–16.
- Owen, J. (2011) *Chavs: The Demonisation of the Working Class* (London: Verso).
- Popular Memory Group (1982) 'Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method' in R. Johnson, G. McLennan, B. Schwarz and D. Sutton (eds) *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics* (London: Hutchinson), pp. 205–52.
- Reay, D. (2005) 'Beyond Consciousness? The Psychic Landscape of Class', *Sociology*, 39(5), 911–28.
- Robertson, I. J. (2013) 'Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance' in H. Kean and P. Martin (eds) *The Public History Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 56–67.
- Robins, T. (1995) 'Remembering the Future: The Cultural Study of Memory' in B. Adam and S. Allan (eds) *Theorising Culture: An Interdisciplinary Critique after Postmodernism* (London: UCL Press), pp. 201–13.
- Russo, J. and Linkon, S. L. (eds) (2005) *New Working Class Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Ryan, L. (2010) 'Memory, Power and Resistance: The Anatomy of a Tripartite Relationship', *Memory Studies*, 4(2), 154–69.
- Samuel, R. (1994) *Theatres of Memory* (London: Verso).
- Sandberg, M. B. (1995) 'Effigy and Narrative: Looking into the Nineteenth Century Folk Museum' in L. Charney and V. R. Schwartz (eds) *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 320–61.
- Savage, M. (2000) *Class Analysis and Social Transformation* (Buckingham: Open University Press).
- Savage, M. (2005) 'Working Class Identities in the 1960s: Revisiting the Affluent Worker Studies', *Sociology*, 39(5), 929–46.
- Sayer, A. (2005) *The Moral Significance of Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Sennett, R. and Cobb, J. (1973) *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (New York: Vintage).
- Skeggs, B. (2004) *Class, Self, Culture* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Strangleman, T. (1999) 'The Nostalgia of Organizations and the Organization of Nostalgia: Past and Present in the Contemporary Railway Industry', *Sociology*, 33(4), 725–46.
- Tannock, S. (1995) 'Nostalgia Critique', *Cultural Studies*, 9, 453–64.
- Thompson, J. B. (1995) *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

- Urry, J. (1996) 'How Societies Remember the Past' in S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (eds) *Theorizing Museums* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell), pp. 45–67.
- Walkerdine, V. (2010) 'Communal Beingness and Affect: An Exploration of Trauma in an Ex-industrial Community', *Body and Society*, 16(1), 91–116.
- West, B. (1988) 'The Making of the English Working Past: A Critical View of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum' in R. Lumley (ed.) *The Museum Time Machine* (London: Routledge), pp. 35–62.
- Wright, P. (1985) *On Living in an Old Country* (London: Verso).

23

Of Routes and Roots: Paths for Understanding Diasporic Heritage

Ann Reed

The scholarly study of heritage and diaspora is relatively recent, but emerges out of earlier theoretical works on the separate domains of heritage/tourism (informed by anthropology, history, geography, museum studies and tourism studies) on the one hand, and diaspora (informed by anthropology, history, geography, political science and area studies) on the other. This chapter provides a review of the literature, focusing on the aspects of heritage and diaspora that have been brought together under these previously distinct domains. Geographer David Lowenthal (1985) reminds us that the quest to value the past and to positively identify with foreign lands is nothing new. Folk models cast heritage as traditional, unchanging cultural practices that have been handed down since time immemorial and nostalgia as the tendency to imagine oneself in a simpler, better time when life was easier, things were cheaper and people had more respect for one another. Deriving ‘from the Greek *nosos* = return to native land, and *algos* = suffering or grief’, nostalgia was identified not only as a mental yearning for the past, but as a physical ailment documented by physicians in the seventeenth century, leading some of its victims to supposedly waste away and die (Lowenthal, 1999 [1985], p. 10). Although the quest for nostalgia may be nothing new, the contemporary fascination with roots-searching as a form of individual expression seems to be at an all-time high. Why is it so important for people to claim a particular homeland in contemporary times, just as globalization is supposed to make us all citizens of the world? Is it possible for one to long for a past or have nostalgia for a homeland that one has not directly experienced? How are these nostalgic feelings about place and time brought about and popularized?

Folk concepts of heritage are often reinforced by the heritage and tourism industries, which, in the name of authenticity, conceal the constructed nature of heritage exhibitions and performances driven by powerful institutions, capitalism and identity politics. As anthropologist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, p. 150) argues, heritage organizations ensure the ongoing survival of

places and practices by ‘adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference, and, where possible, indigeneity’. There is an obvious tension here between the desire to visit destinations where people can commune with the past – perhaps even a place identified as a pilgrimage site to an ancestral homeland – and the commodification of heritage sites under late capitalism that seek to attract contemporary visitors for economic development (Karam, 2007; Reed, 2013). This chapter considers how scholars have grappled with the concept of ‘diaspora’ in trying to understand the processes by which social collectives are drawn to heritage sites. First, I review some of the key models for understanding diaspora. Then, I discuss ethnographically grounded work that tracks the ways in which various diasporic groups frame their encounters with destinations. Finally, I offer suggestions for future directions in the realm of research on the heritage of diaspora.

Defining diaspora

Political scientist William Safran (1991) proposes that diaspora includes expatriate minority groups whose members share several of the following features:

- 1) They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original ‘center’ to two or more ‘peripheral,’ or foreign, regions;
- 2) they retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history and achievements;
- 3) they believe that they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;
- 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are appropriate;
- 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and
- 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (pp. 83–4)

Safran suggests that the Jewish diaspora is the ‘ideal type’ exhibiting these features but that other groups – Cubans in the US, Turks in Germany, Chinese in Southeast Asia and blacks in North America and the Caribbean – may address these components to varying degrees.

While offering a workable, flexible definition for diaspora is commendable, a few problems are inherent in the model. Defining diaspora by these six components can lead to the assumption that every diasporic group tends towards exhibiting all of them. Must there be such an ideal? What about the

possibility of intra-group subjectivities – for example, when individuals are removed five generations from a homeland centre versus one generation, how is their relationship to their homeland different? What about situational differences individuals encounter when they shift between agreeing with dominant discourses of diasporic groups to those of their host nation-state?

Anthropologist James Clifford's (1994, p. 307) way out of this conundrum is to examine how diasporas are manifested in contrast to the norms of nation-states, on the one hand, and of Indigenous groups, on the other. He understands contemporary articulations of diaspora in terms of cosmopolitanism and flexible citizenship:

The language of diaspora is increasingly invoked by displaced peoples who feel (maintain, revive, invent) a connection with a prior home. This sense of connection must be strong enough to resist erasure through the normalizing processes of forgetting, assimilating, and distancing. Many minority groups that have not previously identified in this way are now reclaiming diasporic origins and affiliations . . . Association with another nation, region, continent, or world-historical force (such as Islam) gives added weight to claims against an oppressive national hegemony . . . The phrase *diasporic community* conveys a stronger sense of difference than, say, *ethnic neighborhood* did in the language of pluralist nationalism. This strong difference, this sense of being a 'people' with historical roots and destinies outside the time/space of the host nation, is not separatist. (Rather separatist desires are just one of its moments.) . . . Diaspora cultures thus mediate, in a lived tension, the experiences of separation and entanglement, of living here and remembering/desiring another place . . .

(Clifford, 1994, pp. 310–11)

The two necessary components for diaspora to work in practice are routes and roots, for diasporic groups, by definition, both are displaced from somewhere else and claim a particular place of origin. If increasingly diverse, overlapping categories of people have claimed membership in a diaspora, including expatriates, exiles, political refugees, immigrants and ethnic minorities, does the term become so diffuse as to lose meaning?

Cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy (1993) uses the image of the sailing ship to represent this lived tension of transnational identification for diaspora Africans in conceptualizing 'the black Atlantic'. The sailing ship represents the forced migration of Africans through the middle passage and recalls the shared memory of enslavement common to black diasporic communities. In tracing the intellectual history of the black Atlantic, Gilroy emphasizes the influence of European philosophy in forming the double consciousness of diasporic identifications with the black Atlantic world. He decentres assumptions about the

African diaspora rooted in an essential African past (e.g. that 'black' people and 'white' people have discrete histories or that the experience of all blacks can be generalized) to underscore the hybrid constitution of cultural identities. Anthropologists Edmund Gordon and Mark Anderson (1999) critique Gilroy for failing to explain Africa's symbolic significance for Afrocentric scholars and a wide array of black people alike. They advocate for ethnographic investigation of the particular processes through which individuals identify with one another as members of a black community engaged in transnational projects of cultural politics (Gordon and Anderson, 1999, pp. 289–90). In this way, scholars engaged in ethnographically grounded work interpret the significance of diaspora in a given cultural context and consider how its parameters are made meaningful through participation in heritage travel.

Diasporic travel to heritage centres

The historically particular approach to diaspora studies is heavily influenced by Boasian anthropology's tenet that much ethnographic enquiry and documentation is first necessary in order to correctly establish theoretical models. This approach to understanding culture and society has had lasting effects on how anthropologists and others drawing from the discipline tend to carry out research through participant observation, interviewing and relating the material to broader theoretical models for understanding human thought, behaviour and affect.

Valene Smith's (1977) foundational text in the anthropology of tourism, *Hosts and Guests*, looked at how tourism carried out by Westerners was altering the sociocultural fabric of hosts in the developing world; as such, it treated hosts and tourists as two distinct and culturally bounded entities. Contributors to this edited volume analysed the cultural dynamics involved in international tourism by producing detailed ethnographic case studies framed largely in terms of impacts, motivations, authenticity and the gaze. Edward Bruner (1996) was among the first anthropologists to write about heritage tourism as a global transnational phenomenon with complicated diasporic linkages not so easily captured by the hosts/guests model. Focusing on Ghana's Elmina Castle as a site of contested heritage, Bruner notes that African Americans remember it for its role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, whereas Ghanaians view it as having a much longer and complicated history that further includes intra-European competition before the advent of the slave trade and colonial and post-colonial uses of these spaces (Bruner, 1996, pp. 292–3). My own research from 2001–2002 and 2011 reveals that, although the heritage being recalled at Ghana's castles continues to be contested, Ghanaian tour guides have shifted their interpretations to align more with popular diasporic African discourse that enslavement should be the central focus and that the term 'slave' should be

replaced by 'captive' when referring to Africans held in the castles' dungeons (Reed, 2012, p. 101).

The public cultures of visitors engaging with a site sanction dominant meanings in other cases of diasporic travel as well. Jack Kugelmass (1992) uses the phrase 'rites of the tribe' to convey how most Jewish American travellers to Poland participate in a secular ritual aimed at confirming their identity as Jews; organized tour groups visit concentration camps that emphasize suffering, annihilation and redemption. Kugelmass suggests that, as knowledge about the precise genealogical links American Jews have to Poland fades, memory-work that relates to the broader ethnic Jewish collective becomes increasingly important in structuring the rites of the tribe (1992, p. 401). The power of this secular ritual is rooted in: (1) people sensually experiencing the actual sites of historical death camps that have been viewed in numerous films and (2) present-day political issues, namely the Arab–Israeli conflict and relationship to other minorities in the US in claiming power. Kugelmass writes:

By evoking the Holocaust dramaturgically, that is, by going to the site of the event and reconstituting the reality of the time and place, American Jews are not only invoking the spirits of the tribe and laying claim to their martyrdom, but they are also making past time present. And in doing so they are symbolically reversing reality: they are attempting to change current perceptions of themselves as highly privileged (in the American case) or oppressive (in the Israeli case) and to present their position as the diametric opposite of being privileged, to present themselves as what they in fact were. And it is this image of the self that remains central to the Jewish worldview.

(1992, p. 411)

The Scottish Highland diaspora also meditates on a collective memory of trauma and victimization that promotes social solidarity while selectively drawing from the past in order to stake identity claims in the present. Between 1780 and 1860, 'Highland Clearances' involved the primarily internal displacement of rural dwellers from their homes as the result of agricultural advancements (Basu, 2004, p. 161). Popular memories and diasporic websites commonly frame and reify the Clearances as a 'Highland Holocaust', a forced exile uprooting the Scots from their land, which stands in some contradiction to academic history. Basu writes:

In fact, the vast majority of those who now comprise this Scottish Highland diaspora are descended from emigrants who, like millions from other European countries, were attracted by the prospect of opportunity in the New World and who chose emigration as their escape route from economic

adversity. This is not to deny the trauma of even voluntary emigration, but it is to recognize the 'mythic' nature of the exile which many Scottish diasporic roots-tourists appear to experience: a vague ineffable sense of nostalgia and loss, which is given vivid form, and therefore becomes expressible, through the misappropriation of 'paradigmatic' victimization and survival narratives such as those of the Jewish Diaspora and Holocaust.

(2004, p. 161)

Diaspora Africans have also laid claim to having their own 'Holocaust' in the example of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which is interpreted as genocide and a painful rupture of Africans from their homeland. Just as increasingly diffuse groups are invoking diaspora as a term of identification, the same trend is found in reference to asserting that one's group has survived a 'Holocaust' or genocide (Native Americans, Australian Aborigines, etc.). For a group to lay claim to a 'Holocaust' not only structurally relates it to Jewish diaspora; it also goes further, to indicate a kind of competition between different ethnic groups over witnessing the most traumatic experience as a people and using that collective identification as a source of recovery and redemption. For example, an African American tour operator based in Ghana reasons that the enslavement of Africans resulting in over 100 million dead is, for diaspora Africans, their Holocaust. Imahküs Okofu explains her mission of leading diaspora Africans to the 'slave dungeons' of Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle as necessary to remember the tragedy of the past, to teach diaspora Africans that Africa is their home and that they are part of the African family (Aina, 1997). Her 'Thru the Door of No Return – The Return' is a pilgrimage tour intended for diaspora Africans to memorialize their Holocaust and reorient themselves through personal identification with Africa (see Bruner, 1996; Reed, 2013). This kind of identification, to which Kugelmass alluded, often follows the structure of a ritual and sometimes is directed by tour operators or culture brokers.

Pilgrimage tourism as ritual

The relationship between the individual and the collective becomes increasingly important in heritage tourism invoking the diaspora. When individuals are subjectively positioned according to age, class and gender, how is it that their identification with a diasporic identity transcends these distinctions? Several scholars have drawn from Nelson Graburn (1989) in likening touristic encounters to ritual rites of passage, deriving from the work of Victor Turner (1969) on the transitional stages found in religious ritual and pilgrimage: separation, liminality and reincorporation. Traditional rites of passage create legitimate localized community members; heritage tourism involving

diasporans often produces transnational heritage communities comprised of members who are deeply and personally invested in their collective meanings.

Graburn (1989) reasons that tourism makes most sense when it is likened to a secular ritual in which the tourist escapes his/her everyday workaday world in journeying to a destination that offers a temporary reversal from the mundane activities typically experienced at home. Both tourism and ritual involve participants transitioning through structural stages that shift from the profane/mundane to the sacred/liminal to the profane/mundane. Graburn views the parallel between tourism and ritual along the lines of a continuum, with serious endeavours at one end contrasting sharply with purely recreational pursuits at the other:

At this serious end, the traveler is seeking a very important or 'sacred' experience or place 'out of this world,' a sacred center spiritually more important than anything at home. These 'existential' tourists or pilgrims are on a true exploration and many are so moved by the experience attained or the place visited that they stay there and never go home, or in a more practical sense, never want to go home. Thus, American Jews, having visited Israel, may emigrate there

(2004, p. 30)

According to this logic, the heritage journeys in which diasporans engage attract them to sacred cores, destinations that are so compelling that they may be tempted to repatriate there, thus fulfilling one of Safran's six features defining diaspora. However, in the above example, the migration is directed not towards Poland (a place associated with the destruction of Jews) but towards Israel (a place of rebirth and redemption). Interestingly enough, in realizing this repatriation, it is typically not the same person who is involuntarily stripped of (or a political refugee from) a homeland who reclaims it; rather, in contemporary times, the person repatriating is often at least a few generations removed from the original forced exile.

This gap allows presentist memories, popular culture and identity politics to help structure the rites of the tribe and convey its significance to initiates. Paulla Ebron (2002) uses the tourism-as-pilgrimage framework to analyse a McDonald's-sponsored tour of African Americans to Senegal and the Gambia. She argues that, during the ten-day tour, a sense of African diasporic identity was created through a combination of factors: African American longing for a homeland, visiting sites associated with Alex Haley's *Roots*, confirmation of media-generated ideas of Africa that travellers already had, and the commodification of heritage facilitated by global capitalism (Ebron, 2002, pp. 189–92). For heritage travel to effectively function as pilgrimage, a diasporic or ethnic consciousness is critical, and this diasporic consciousness can take

root in multiple ways – though genealogy (Schramm, 2012), invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) or ‘imaginative reconstructions’ (Law, 2008), and the proliferation of explicitly marked heritage destinations (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998), for example. This same set of processes is utilized for heritage tourism sites located in the diaspora, such as the development of New Glarus, Wisconsin as the embodiment of Swiss ethnicity in the US (Hoelscher, 1998).

In the case of Scottish Americans making pilgrimages to Scotland, they are most interested in ‘finding one’s people and one’s place’ by establishing connections with ancestors (Ray, 2001, p. 133); however, many Scottish Americans problematically base their family connections and genealogy on establishing the clan society to which their surname purportedly belongs (Ray, 2001, p. 77; Basu, 2007, p. 124). American tourists attending the Scottish Highland Games in the US who have no particular affinity to Scottish culture are bound to interpret performances of Scottish heritage differently from initiated Scottish Americans who have grown familiar with such performances, because, as Ray (2001, p. 132) argues, ‘their authenticity, or value, lies in viewing them *in* Scotland’. Ray proposes that this kind of heritage practice is especially common in the context of the contemporary US, where social actors must negotiate their roles between the competing imperatives to express individuality and maintain commitments to community. Though I agree that many contemporary Americans are engaged in this project of reclaiming a sense of being ethnic Americans, this is not particularly unique to the US, as evidenced by the case of hyphenated Brazilians and Peruvians who become ‘strangers in their ethnic homeland’ when they return-migrate to Japan (Tsuda, 2003). Individuals who find meaning in identifying with an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983) of co-ethnics may do so to reinforce nostalgia for heritage, to claim a collective position of being historically victimized, displaced or denied (and possibly to advocate for reparations or other forms of redemption), and/or to promote ethnic-based nationalism within a given state or transnationally in contradistinction to multicultural mainstream society.

Global flows and transnational heritage

Arjun Appadurai’s (1990) notion of ‘-scapes’ provides us with a flexible model to track the global cultural flows of media messages, capital, technologies, people and ideas within the context of contemporary globalization fraught by irregularities (what he calls ‘disjunctures’) between economy, culture and politics. Far from everyone around the world becoming homogenized and steamrolled by American cultural imperialism, there is always play between how these -scapes become localized. Furthermore, the US is but one node through which -scapes flow; China (the largest manufacturer in the world), Brazil (host to the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics) and India (exporter of Bollywood films and

outsourcing hub) are alternatives among many others, and the nodes need not be limited to nation-states but may include transnational trade and political consortiums and diasporas as well. Appadurai reasons that, as signs become dislodged from their signifiers, there is a growing tendency for whole periods (e.g. the 1960s or the 1980s) and their attendant features to be reimagined and rerun by a host of producers, distributors and consumers situated in different transnational locations. This same process happens not only for whole decades but for whole social collectivities as well, which can produce representations that appeal to transnationally situated social actors.

The internet has helped to perpetuate a dizzying array of representations of heritage informed by mediascapes like the UNESCO World Heritage designations, TripAdvisor.com or ever-shifting memes about heritage to increasingly wider global audiences. Though I disagree with the proposition that the world has become a global village (McLuhan and Powers, 1989) delivering equivalent technology to the masses the world over, the internet has allowed different constituencies to creatively envision the past tied to one's identity, thus democratizing and directing the discourse on heritage. The widespread dissemination of information about identity on the internet occurs largely without peer review or editorial censorship, as message boards and Facebook posts can promote ideas that are not necessarily widely held within the broader society. As Niezen (2009, p. 48) suggests, 'the Internet blunts the effect of social censure by creating communities of recognition and acceptance. Life choices and political ideas that would be otherwise marginalized and possibly rejected are affirmed in solidarity with like-minded others.' In this way, diasporic groups and homeland centres are 'joint-agents in a complex "imagineering"' of a collective homeland (Basu, 2007, pp. 66–7). Popular culture, including images produced by the film and tourism industries, works along with state-based discourses that encourage heritage travel and re-establishing genealogical ties. This can signal state interests in economic development in the form of tourism or remittances, finding transnational political allies in cementing ideologies, or simply recognizing the global cultural capital, in Bourdieu's (1986) sense of the phrase, that comes with drawing diasporic (and other) groups to UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

In 2006, for example, Mauritius successfully secured Aapravasi Ghat on UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) as the site memorializes Indian immigration (between 1834 and 1925) under the British system of indenture. Lowe Swift (2007) writes that this site's inscription was based on its selective casting of heritage as a transnational symbol of the Indian diaspora, inspired by the 1970 visit of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Instead of inculcating in Indo-Mauritians a longing for India (diasporic ties outside the state), Aapravasi Ghat represented for Indo-Mauritians an official site of arrival (diasporic centre inside the state) and memorial of indenture, emphasizing their sacrifice and industriousness in building Mauritius. The inscription of Aapravasi Ghat into

the WHL has legitimized the rendering of Mauritius into four distinct diasporas: Indo-Mauritians, Sino-Mauritians, Franco-Mauritians and Afro-Mauritians; the last are largely stereotyped in contemporary discourse as indolent descendants of African slaves, in contrast to Indo-Mauritians (Lowe Swift, 2007, pp. 293, 305). Some Mauritians have been alarmed by this chain of events because of its potential to widen ethnically rooted notions of difference in opposition to embracing multiculturalism; others have welcomed the messages promoted in the development of hyphenated heritage.

In considering the diachronic orientation of many diaspora heritage consumers, one might be led to the assumption that they are motivated primarily out of a sense that the past is simply a foreign country to which they wish to reconnect. However, the diachronic dimension is always already informed by the synchronic dimension, such that diaspora groups draw from narratives of home and family, television shows, films, websites and novels to create 'memory-scapes' for viewing the past through selective lenses (Ebron, 2002; Reed, 2004). Scholars have called our attention to the distinctions between history and memory (see Nora, 1989) or between history and heritage (see Lowenthal, 1994) in order to remind us that memory and heritage are inherently incomplete, subject to remembering particular details and forgetting others, and presentist in their outlook. History is remote, critical and documented; memory and heritage appeal to one's personal and collective identity, emerge out of the contemporary moment and are always in process even if they claim otherwise.

Diasporic Scots may share the same 'Scotland of the mind' (Basu, 2007, p. 93), but travelling home entails increasingly more sophisticated sources of information beyond *Braveheart*; what starts out as a Disneyfied understanding of Scots is inevitably altered in the homecoming quest. Basu writes:

The journey home is... a journey of discovery and part of this process is the acquisition of an increasingly more authentic local knowledge (i.e. locally-authenticated knowledge), including the ability to discern truth from myth, a refined Highlandism from unrefined tartanry. Enabled through the rigours of genealogical research and, most especially, by visiting the homeland itself... Thus, with the necessary homogeneity of collective imagining is evident a heterogeneity of subtle, but codified, distinctions through which sub-diasporic social identities are 'defined and asserted through difference'.

(2007, p. 93)

Basu's analysis of diasporic Scots' engagement with heritage emphasizes the role of mediascapes in crafting imaginaries of Scotland; however, other scholars

have highlighted competing ideoscapes emerging from different nationalist or commercial centres.

Louie (2003) reasons that, although Chinese American heritage travel programmes have centred on Chinese Americans visiting ancestral villages and meeting relatives, the programme entitled *Going Back* from the 1970s served as a sharp contrast to the *Roots* programme from the 1990s in terms of the multiple identifications Chinese Americans have with Chinese villages, the state, and pan-Asian politics and popular culture. *Going Back* structured the return as an intentional political act aiming to correct standard versions of US history by reclaiming the unique experiences of Asian Americans; narratives by Chinese American visitors to China underscored their romanticized understanding of peasant labour as the primary means for socialist reform under Chairman Mao (Louie, 2003, pp. 746, 749). *Roots* was based on a depoliticized, more flexible individual quest for identity formation often structured through personalized experiences; ideally (though not often realized), a long-lost relative would share genealogical records going back 30 generations, or one would serendipitously locate a relative (Louie, 2003, p. 753). Chinese American ties to China are continually being reconstituted through a transnational imagining that incorporates pan-Asian popular culture (e.g. kung fu movies, Japanese comic books), news stories about human rights, trade relations and alleged hacking, and highly structured homeland tours in which the Chinese government facilitates village visits. Louie (2004, p. 91) writes:

It is by way of the ancestral village, conceived as a container of tradition, Chineseness, and a representation of home, that Chinese Americans initially wish to (re)connect with China. But as these connections are played out, Chinese Americans decouple Chinese identities from static notions of tradition and bounded place, and reshape relations with their ancestral villages as mobile, dynamic places defined through ties to other places. Amid these multiple attempts by Chinese government officials to fix place and identity, the mobile sense of place assembled by Chinese Americans opens up possibilities for alternative forms of transnational identification with China.

Diaspora heritage consumers appear more committed to ethnic identity politics that sustain an ideology about why ties to a particular homeland are important, as in the case of the 1970s-era *Going Back* tours to China, in which left-leaning Chinese Americans valorized Mao's reforms and read them as promoting progressive values of socialism and women's rights. However, as political readings and identifications with the past are bound to change over time, a diasporic group may reject a dominant ideology and replace it with a fresher one assembled around a different locus. For example, Brazilians of Syrian–Lebanese descent have been targeted in homeland tourism to sites of

past Israeli aggression in Syria and Lebanon. Though Syrian and Lebanese state officials have tried to encourage diasporic visitors to assume an anti-Zionist stance in visiting these places, the professional class of Brazilians who can most afford to travel to the Middle East has largely embraced a discourse of racial and religious democracy that is dominant in Brazil (Karam, 2007, p. 149). The disjunctures evident in such competing ideoscapes led some Syrian–Lebanese Brazilian visitors to criticize the political message sponsored by the states of Syria and Lebanon; others to uphold them, saying that Arabs have as much right as Jews to memorialize being victimized; and yet others to be either indifferent or ambivalent (Karam, 2007, p. 161).

Conclusion

The ethnographic examples included in this chapter suggest that scholars working on heritage and diaspora continue to face the challenge of developing a unified theory that explains the identifications diasporic groups have with heritage centres. Competing collective discourses that are themselves in a state of flux compel groups to identify with sites of memory in particular ways; at the same time, there are also individual subjectivities entangled in the consumption of heritage. Bronislaw Malinowski, a pioneer of ethnographic research, wrote in 1922: ‘at the very moment when it puts its workshop in order, to forge its proper tools, to start ready for work on its appointed task, the material of its study melts away with hopeless rapidity’ (quoted in Hannerz, 2010, p. 539). Researchers utilizing the inductive approach to understanding diaspora and heritage can appreciate the relevance of his words nearly a century after they were written – perhaps even more so today with the rapid and easy flow of ideas brought about through globalization. Rather than give up on a seemingly impossible pursuit, we should continue to ask how people find meaning in identifying as part of a diasporic culture and investigate how power mediates the structuring of heritage for different social actors involved in fostering a longing for a homeland.

Scholars need to continue focusing on how memories of the past can signal either cultural affinities of finding a long-lost family or, alternatively, contestation over who can be blamed for historical tragedies. For example, Jewish American visitors to Poland want Poles to admit their complicity in persecuting Jews during the Nazi occupation, and they raise questions over who has the right to interpret this history and profit from it in contemporary times. Lehrer writes:

For many Jewish visitors, the mere participation of non-Jewish Poles in commerce relating to Jewish tourism is distasteful. But beyond the common accusation of crass, mercenary self-interest – that Poles are now profiting

from the Jewish tragedy toward which they were inadequately empathetic in the first place – there is a more abstract level, a particular kind of discomfort caused by the confusion that occurs when Poles step into what is seen as ethnically Jewish territory. The widespread sense among visiting Jews that doing ‘Jewish things’ is something only Jews do, and further that doing such things is something that only Jews *should* do is deep

(2007, pp. 88–9)

In this case, diasporic Jews may never have set foot in Poland, but, because of identity politics, feel that they are more entitled than non-Jewish Poles to sites of Jewish heritage there. On the other hand, non-Jewish Poles may be surprised to learn that their presence at Jewish heritage sites or ‘doing “Jewish things”’ in their own country is resented. This example shows how rhetoric used by diasporic groups can recast notions of patrimony from a place associated with a nation-state to that of a diasporic group.

There seems to be an inherent tension in diasporic groups being framed alternatively as foreigner or as family. In the context of Ghana, local Ghanaians refer to diaspora Africans as foreigners (*oburoni*) even though they wish to be recognized as kin; slavery heritage sites have come to be thought of as spaces for black Americans instead of places with which ordinary Ghanaians personally identify; and Ghanaian tour guides have substituted the term ‘captive’ (signifying more agency) for ‘slave’, at the suggestion of diaspora African visitors to Cape Coast and Elmina castles. This example, like other cases of diasporic heritage, tells us that those who control the discourse about identity politics also direct official meanings of heritage sites (see Reed, 2014). We must attend to the complicated ways in which diasporic groups, local residents, state politicians, international donors and institutions like UNESCO, among others, produce heritage on the global stage. However, instead of relegating interpretations of heritage to state versus diasporic actors, for example, scholars should be mindful of the diversity of agents within these groups and note how they may form strategic allegiances. In these ways, diasporic heritage is unstable and always part of a creative social process involving routes and roots.

Future scholarship must also note how diasporans embody memory through rituals, performances or simply being there, in realizing a heritage of the body and spirit in conjunction with that of the mind. This newly emerging area foregrounds the senses in contemplating the role of affect and emotion in structuring collective heritage and the immediacy of culture, power, place and time experienced by diasporic groups. Embodiment serves as an important vehicle that may transport diasporans back in time to another place, perhaps rooted in a highly choreographed ritual of incorporation in which initiates claim to be forever changed. Multi-sited ethnographic approaches such as those outlined

above will continue to allow scholars to tap into the routes for understanding diasporic heritage.

References

- Aina, S., dir. (1997) *Through the Door of No Return* (Washington, DC: Mypheduh Films, Inc.).
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso).
- Appadurai, A. (1990) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', *Public Culture*, 2(2), 1–23.
- Basu, P. (2004) 'Route Metaphors of Roots Tourism' in S. Coleman and J. Eade (eds) *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 153–78.
- Basu, P. (2007) *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The Forms of Capital' in J. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press), pp. 241–58.
- Bruner, E. M. (1996) 'Tourism in Ghana: The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora', *American Anthropologist*, 98(2), 290–304.
- Clifford, J. (1994) 'Diasporas', *Cultural Anthropology*, 9, 302–38.
- Ebron, P. A. (2002) *Performing Africa* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press).
- Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Gordon, E. T. and Anderson, M. (1999) 'The African Diaspora: Toward an Ethnography of Diasporic Identification', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 112(445), 282–96.
- Graburn, N. H. H. (1989) 'Tourism: The Sacred Journey' in V. Smith (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 21–36.
- Hannerz, U. (2010) 'Diversity Is Our Business', *American Anthropologist*, 112(4), 539–51.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hoelscher, S. D. (1998) *Heritage on Stage: The Invention of Ethnic Place in America's Little Switzerland* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Karam, J. T. (2007) *Another Arabesque: Syrian-Lebanese Ethnicity in Neoliberal Brazil* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press).
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Kugelmass, J. (1992) 'The Rites of the Tribe: American Jewish Tourism in Poland' in I. Karp, C. M. Kremer and S. D. Lavine (eds) *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press), pp. 382–427.
- Law, R. (2008) 'Commémoration de la Traite Atlantique à Ouidah', *Gradhiva*, 8, 10–27.
- Louie, A. (2003) 'When You Are Related to the "Other": (Re)locating the Chinese Homeland in Asian American Politics through Cultural Tourism', *Positions*, 11(3), 735–63.
- Louie, A. (2004) *Chineseness across Borders: Renegotiating Chinese Identities in China and the United States* (Durham and London: Duke University Press).
- Lowe Swift, C. (2007) 'Privileging the Diaspora in Mauritius: Making World Heritage for a Multicultural Nation', *Diaspora*, 16(3), 287–322.
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Lowenthal, D. (1994) 'Identity, Heritage, and History' in J. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 41–60.
- Lowenthal, D. (1999[1985]) *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- McLuhan, M. and Powers, B. R. (1989) *The Global Village: Transformations in World Life and Media in the 21st Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).
- Niezen, R. (2009) *The Rediscovered Self: Indigenous Identity and Cultural Justice* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press).
- Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations*, 26, 7–24.
- Ray, C. (2001) *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press).
- Reed, A. (2004) 'Sankofa Site: Cape Coast Castle and Its Museum as Markers of Memory', *Museum Anthropology*, 27(1–2), 13–24.
- Reed, A. (2012) 'The Commemoration of Slavery Heritage: Tourism and the Reification of Meaning' in L. Smith, E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (London and New York: Routledge), 97–112.
- Reed, A. (2013) 'Diaspora Tourism: The Heritage of Slavery in Ghana' in A. Quayson and G. Daswani (eds) *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell), pp. 524–38.
- Reed, A. (2014) *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Safran, W. (1991) 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return', *Diaspora*, 1(1), 83–99.
- Schramm, K. (2012) 'Genomics en Route: Ancestry, Heritage and the Politics of Identity across the Black Atlantic' in K. Schramm, D. Skinner and R. Rottenburg (eds) *Identity Politics and the New Genetics: Re/Creating Categories of Difference and Belonging* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books), pp. 167–92.
- Smith, V. L. (ed.) (1977) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, 4th edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Tsuda, T. (ed.) (2003) *Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Turner, V. W. (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

24

Making Feminist Heritage Work: Gender and Heritage

Anna Reading

In 2012 in western Sydney, Australia, I met up with a group of heritage activists to carry out a 'docuprotest' at a derelict site in Parramatta that is Australia's oldest continuous site of institutional female containment. Ivy covered the windows and the perimeter wall. A noisy colony of fruit bats nested in the eucalyptus trees. Rusted padlocks prevented access to the buildings. We were given a tour of the buildings and grounds by women activists who, as girls, had lived at the site when it was a girls' orphanage in the 1980s. We took photos and videos to record in situ the stories of the women, as they held up old photos relating to the site, as well as plans, and lists of 'internees' that dated back to the 1840s. They described to us the horrendous daily abuse they had themselves survived at the hands of adults and the authorities in the 1980s (see Parramatta Female Factory Precinct Memory Project, 2014).

Parramatta Female Factory site was opened in 1821 as a workers' factory for women and girls transported to the then British colony in Australia. The buildings were turned into a mental asylum in 1847 and then a Catholic girls' orphanage until the 1990s. The site is also thought to be built on a significant sacred place for Indigenous women of the Burrattagal people, a clan of the Darug, who had inhabited the site by the Parramatta River for around 60,000 years. The University of Western Sydney (UWS) has completely renovated another site on the other side of the city of Parramatta which was an orphanage for Protestant girls, turning it into UWS's flagship campus, complete with art gallery and restaurant. But the site for the Catholic girls' home, which is also older, has been left derelict and neglected, with threats by Parramatta City Council to sell off the land and turn it into a car park with a cinema and bingo hall. The Female Factory Memory Project (2014) involves former inmates, academics and artists, mostly women, who have a particular interest in the site, from a feminist perspective. It involves taking people to the site, documenting the site through different media and producing a portal to the materials online, along with an archive of oral history interviews. The objective is to

turn derelict buildings in Australia into a publicly recognized and historically preserved place that is an International Site of Conscience (see International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, 2014) in recognition of the fact that it is the longest continuous site of female containment in Australia. The project seeks to preserve the buildings and provide a museum and education centre about these hidden aspects of women's lives, as part of a wider emergent colonial and post-colonial story of forgotten Australians and the stolen generations in Australian history. It has generated a number of related initiatives, including E.M.D (Exposed to Moral Danger), an exhibition in 2014; *Parramatta Girls*, a play by award-winning playwright Alana Valentine; and a Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, which in March 2014 heard three days of testimony from women who were abused as children at the site (Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 2014). I cite this example of Parragirls as illustrative of one of the current ways in which gender and feminism, after what is often characterized as a slow start, have come to engage with heritage campaigns, practices and studies, in ways that are increasingly international and digital.

In this chapter I examine the ways in which a feminist approach to heritage and heritage studies can be used to illuminate particular gendered processes: processes that include attentiveness to the gendered curation, protection, preservation and commemoration of the past. In doing so, I examine selected studies and perspectives that may be helpful in framing heritage research around questions of sexuality and gender, as well as suggesting what additional forms of analysis, methodologies, theoretical approaches and conceptualizations feminist theory can bring to heritage studies. In bringing together gender with heritage, I argue that these are generally structured around four broad areas of enquiry. First, there is the question of gender in relation to heritage in terms of what one might broadly term 'representation', understood in terms of heritage collections, sites and performances. Second, there is work framed around gender and heritage from the perspective of consumption – defined as encounters with heritage by educators, visitors and tourists. Third, there are questions of gender focusing on production, usually in terms of a concern with the gendering of workplace structures, curatorial practices and heritage management conducted by those outside particular heritage institutions as well as on the inside. Finally, there are issues of gender in relation to local and national heritage policies, as well as international protocol and convention.

In the chapter's concluding section, I suggest briefly what areas within heritage studies require further work from a gendered perspective and what areas are undergoing transformations that require us to rethink gendered approaches and paradigms. The chapter begins with a brief critical history that seeks to reclaim some of the earlier and more obscured history of gendered approaches to heritage.

A critical history of gendered heritage studies

Heritage studies is said to have been blind to questions of gender for a long time, despite the emergence of gender studies as a field of enquiry around the same time as the study and practice of heritage (Smith, 2008, p. 159). However, it is important to recognize that this view of gender blindness within heritage studies in part derives from ignorance within the field arising from the earlier dispersal of studies across the multidisciplinary of heritage studies. An interest in heritage, for example, is often somewhat arbitrarily said to have started in the UK with the establishment of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act in 1882, or sometimes with the creation of the National Trust (Harvey, 2001, p. 3). Although heritage concerns were long articulated within specific disciplines, its development as an interdisciplinary field is characterized as arising towards the end of the twentieth century, along with the development of heritage as a major 'social, economic and political phenomenon in the late 20th century' (Harrison, 2012, p. 3). Yet it is also critical from a feminist perspective to be wary of an approach to the history of the discipline that may then serve to exclude approaches to the past that lie outside present-day definitions of the discipline and which then may exclude women and gendered work. As Harvey states,

Every society has had a relationship with its past, even those that have chosen to ignore it, and it is through understanding the meaning and nature of what people tell each other about their past; about what they forget, remember, memorialise and/or fake, that heritage studies can engage with academic debates beyond the confines of present-centred cultural, leisure or tourism studies.

(2001, p. 3)

Harvey argues that heritage practices can be traced back to at least medieval times and have long been of concern as part of the contradictory processes of colonialism and nationalism that are also then accordingly gendered, with movements largely dominated by men seeking to promote national and nationalist causes. In Iran, for example, on the order of Reza Shah, a 'few "intensely patriotic" men gathered sometime in 1921 and "spontaneously" formed a "cultural" group called the Society for National Heritage (hereafter SNH or the Society)'. The aim of the group of men was to preserve, protect and promote the patrimony of Iran (Grigor, 2004). The elite group of men created ancient monuments around the lives of 'great men', the invented image of which they circulated to the masses (Grigor, 2004). At the same time, evidence suggests how ancient matrilineal cultures experienced deliberate destruction or reuse and recycling by male-dominated religions. Christianity sought to erase

the power of female goddesses or built environments that included women's lineage (Arvin, 2010). A classic example of this is the reuse of two giant gorgon heads of Medusa taken from sites in Anatolia and reused by St Justian in the sixth century in the creation of a huge underground cistern in what is now Istanbul. The contradictory and disarticulated matrilineal heritage chillingly evident within a patrilineal context now forms part of the attraction for heritage.

Gendered perspectives on heritage actually have a longer history within discipline-specific work derived from archaeology, history, town planning, anthropology, and Aboriginal and Indigenous studies, as well as geography, environmental studies, art history and museum studies. Female archaeologists, for example, have a long history of concerns with archaeological heritage in which they have brought a gendered approach to bear on their practice and study. One of the earliest examples is Sarah Belzoni (Joukowsky, 2003), who was an active archaeologist in the 1820s who sought to connect her archaeological work with cultural memories from local women of the area, to which only she, as a woman, could gain trusted access. Her work on the women of Egypt, Nubia and Syria is included in *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids* (Joukowsky, 2004). This work provided a precedent for recent 'gender archaeology' or the study of past material cultures through focusing on gendered relationships and identities, as well as sowing the seeds for feminist archaeological heritage studies that study gender through its intersections with sexuality, race and class (Conkey, 1991; Wright, 1996; Nelson, 2004). Stig Sørensen's work, for example, combines gender studies with archaeology to show how a gendered approach requires us to rethink much earlier archaeological approaches, as well as informing our understanding of material culture, space and identity (Stig Sørensen, 2000).

Early Western cultural anthropology also provided frameworks for analysing intangible cultural heritage in non-Western societies and cultures: anthropologists such as Margaret Mead argued for the 'plasticity' of biological heritage as a result of different cultural practices handed down in societies (Galas, 1953). Although Mead's work is not without significant problems in terms of its characterization of timeless primitive societies, it is possible, nevertheless, to trace in Mead's focus and concern with the inherited cultural practices of girls in early texts such as *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935) a precursor to current work within gender and cultural studies that informs feminist heritage work.

At the same, though, in relation to questions of world heritage it is true to say that gendered heritage studies has come to the stage recently. While movements to alter the white European bias of world heritage approaches have increasingly multiplied the number of voices included, particularly in terms of Indigenous perspectives, world heritage movements and studies have had a

tendency to remain gender-blind until very recently (Shortliff, 2010). Gendered approaches to heritage in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have also tended to use a simplistic framework in which gender is telescoped into a focus on women, making gender and heritage into what is seen to be a women's problem (Smith, 2008). A more productive way of understanding gender in relation to heritage is to frame it in terms of how changing constructions of masculinity and femininity interact with what is valued and included as heritage. The argument is that we need to consider whose identities are being 'represented and reinforced' and what the consequences are within contemporary culture for representing a primarily masculine perspective. As Smith notes,

The construction, commemoration and expression of gender identities in heritage can never be understood to be politically or culturally neutral, as what is constructed has a range of implications for how men and women and their social roles are perceived, valued and socially and historically justified.

(Smith, 2008, p. 159)

Gender, heritage and representation

The dominant gendered approach to heritage is one that has focused on issues relating to questions of representation – how gender is articulated within the content, meanings and space of a museum, a gallery, public monument, site, archive or cultural practice (Porter, 1998; Machin, 2010) Some of my own work on the social inheritance of the Holocaust in worldwide museums and memorials fits into this category. It sought to address the ways in which gender was articulated in museums and memorial spaces such as Auschwitz–Birkenau, the Jewish Museum in New York, the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum and the US Holocaust Museum, not so much in terms of a simplistic accounting for the absence or presence of women but through a more complex gendered lens that endeavoured to analyse how museum spaces articulated the narrative processes of genocide in ways that placed men and their experiences at the centre of history (Reading, 2002). Thus, in an analysis of the green field at Birkenau, where the ashes of murdered Jewish and Roma men and women were dumped, I show how the memorial sites re-enact the erasure of gender that was a constituent element of the Holocaust (Reading, 2002). Such work has since become an established approach to analysing gender in relation to genocidal heritage (Jacobs, 2008).

Earlier work on representation in museum exhibits tended to focus on counting the gaps and silences relating to women and the dominance of representations of men. This, in turn, led to an emphasis on the development

of special exhibitions featuring women to fill these absences. However, recent work has now largely replaced earlier concerns, with gender representation now understood in terms of gendered power relations at its centre and including some analysis of how the construction of masculinities and femininities intersects with and articulates with the past (Grundberg, 2012). Further, part of the gendered analysis of representation includes attention paid to sexuality, to reveal the heterosexism of museum exhibits and the ways in which domestic representations of hearth and home serve to marginalize and exclude lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people from national heritage (Levin, 2010).

Gender around less tangible heritage objects, such as textiles and clothing, has sought not just to provide a gendered analysis but to reshape what is considered to be important within heritage, and cultural heritage especially (Burman, 2002). Other work has sought to extend the boundaries of heritage through questions of gender contributing to what has been termed 'difficult heritage', such as sexual violence and the rape of women, and how heritage sites then seek to address the silencing that tends to occur in relation to these aspects of history (Cote, 2009).

While most of this representational work has tended to be focused on museums as sites of heritage, there is also work that has sought to expose gender inequalities and gendered discourses in relation to the heritage of monuments, building on Marina Warner's now classic *Monuments and Maidens*, first published in 1985 (Warner, 2000), which has since spawned many other studies that have reworked understandings of monumental heritage (Joyce, 1996). Research on monuments shows how statues of important male figures in history arise out of a framing of the past and of heritage that prioritizes the activities of largely men in political and military life. Reconceptualizations of heritage have also arisen out of gendered interpretations of the display of art collections. For example, Paola Tinagli's work on women in Italian Renaissance art examined the changing 'function' of such images, as well as the changes in ways images of women in art collections have been displayed. She explains that the ways in which museums display just panels of painted furniture obscures the cultural heritage of these, which was highly significant at the time. The art panels, she argues, have remained relatively marginalized within art heritage because they were not linked to famous – usually male – artists (Tinagli, 1997). At the same time as this very detailed work on gender and heritage has emerged, we have also seen large-scale mapping studies and directories detailing sites of women's heritage (Danilov, 2005).

Gender, heritage and consumption

A second approach to gender and heritage has largely been framed around concerns for the ways in which visitors encounter, make meanings from or

consume cultural heritage and heritage sites: feminist approaches critique how this is, in part, articulated through visitors' gendered identities and gendered performances. Much of this research involves various partnerships between heritage sites, museums and galleries themselves with external researchers to try to ascertain differences in relation to consumption in terms of 'identities' that are also perceived to be gendered (Smith, 2010). This might include the analysis of visitor numbers to museums; how men and women relate to exhibits differently or, indeed, in the same ways; and how masculinities and femininities are constructed through heritage sites in relation to visitors. Thus, Kremer and Mullins' (1992) work on children's behaviour in relation to museum exhibits examines gendered behaviour of children in science museum exhibits, building on earlier studies that examined the different roles adopted by men, women, girls and boys in elective learning environments, including museums and galleries, conducted in the 1970s and 1980s (Kremer and Mullins, 1992). In my own work on digital interactivity in Holocaust museums, I examined how male and female visitors used digital heritage resources in different ways, which are articulated through digital technologies as well as the museum space and their particular gendered relationships to the content of the exhibit (Reading, 2003).

Work on audiences and consumers within heritage sites is also drawing theoretically on feminist theories of performance and performativity in order to understand gendered production processes within museum environments. Such work seeks to examine the dialogical relationships in gendered terms between the meanings of heritage and their interpretation. This is especially pertinent given that women have typically dominated the local volunteer 'production' side of heritage activities. Thus, a study using qualitative research conducted in Shaanxi province in China, for example, examines the controls over and regulation of female museum guides' bodies. The representation of the museum is understood to be gendered through the gendered performances of the museum guides, which articulate with the content of the history museum (Ku, 2003). Here, gender in relation to heritage is understood as performative and relational: the meaning ascribed by visitors does not just derive from their own interpretation of exhibits but is, in part, gendered through the gendered performance of guides in relation to the gendered material cultures preserved in the museum exhibits.

Gender, heritage curation and management

The third approach to gender in relation to heritage is in terms of what might broadly be termed its 'production': this includes a concern with the gender balance within the heritage industry and within public memory institutions. It also includes the gendered practices in curation and gendered discourses that frame work within heritage management, such as the way in which, in

English heritage, priority is given to military and industrial heritage in ways that privilege masculine perspectives. Marjorie Schwarzer argues that the structure and leadership of museums mean that there are few women at the top to make leading decisions around heritage collections and their management, which has resulted in cultural bias towards heritage (Schwarzer, 2010). Adams (2010) uncovers not just the structures of museums but the particular 'old boy networks' within and between cultural heritage institutions that have made it hard for women to enter, progress and have an impact within the field.

Part of the impact of gendered heritage work has also involved feminist activists developing women's museums, women's collections and women's memorial sites, as well as lobbying heritage charities, organizations and governmental bodies to fill the gaps of women's history. Campaigns at the national level in many countries have sought, for example, to include recognition of women's history in the picture given of the built environment. This led to some national bodies significantly altering the gender bias of their production to create greater visibility for women. The website for English Heritage in the UK, for example, states as its objective:

Women's immense contribution to society has often been made invisible by a historic lack of social status and confinement to the home. The social, political and architectural history imprinted in the buildings around us has, in previous centuries, largely been recorded as the story of man.

However, women's achievements and experience have left a deep impression on the historic environment. Once exposed, this can help to fill in the gaps left by previous generations' recording of history to reveal a host of fascinating and inspirational stories.

(English Heritage, 2013)

English Heritage, in response to engagement by feminist heritage activists, has thus developed a range of resources that reinsert women into English national heritage, including monuments, Blue Plaques marking where remarkable women lived, a history of parks and gardens developed by women, and properties that tell the stories of women as owners, servants and royalty, as well as preserving buildings that celebrate the lives of working women (English Heritage, 2013). Feminist academics have also worked actively to develop specifically feminist heritage collections and museums that preserve and commemorate the struggles by feminists over several hundred years for equality. Some of these have been 'virtual' museum spaces (Pollock, 2007) and others included collections of artefacts to represent women's activist histories (Bartlett et al., 2007), as well as online resources (Chidgey, 2012). Other work has examined questions of how different social actors can have, and have had, an

influence on the creation of archives and the preservation of cultural heritage, such as Olivia Robinson and Trish Barnard's work, which looks at Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and how they have sought to influence the collection of both tangible and intangible heritage (Robinson and Barnard, 2010). This work also now extends to reflections by curators on the difficulties, for example, of the curation of a male same-sex exhibition (Petry, 2010).

Feminist research has highlighted the particular problems arising from embedded patriarchal assumptions within cultural heritage management. Projects have developed in response to the marginalization of women and women's heritage by cultural managers, such as a heritage project developed by feminist heritage archaeologists and Waanyi women from northwest Queensland, Australia (Smith et al., 2003). Waanyi cultural heritage was fractured and damaged by the invasion of European settlers in the 1870s and 1880s, followed by the control and abuse of the Indigenous population through relocation to reserves and missions away from their lands. Queensland National Park managers were then generally men, who talked with aboriginal men, who were then not in a position to talk about Waanyi women's cultural issues. This history of cultural management in the region meant that women's cultural heritage issues were, and continue to be, highly marginalized. However, what the project then also highlighted is how particular 'patriarchal' and Western cultural heritage frameworks were problematic for the women in the Waanyi community. The assumption that heritage needs to be made publicly available was, within this project, one that then had to be revised:

It was of considerable concern to Waanyi women that cultural information about the sites not be published or otherwise disseminated; the authors understood that the reasons for this were that it would be culturally inappropriate to disseminate the information publicly. Involvement in this project was based on the authors' word, and Waanyi trust in that word that detailed knowledge about the sites would not be communicated to people not involved in the project.

(Smith et al., 2003, p. 69)

The project highlighted the significance of not only kin but also gender categories in the dissemination of information, which if 'inappropriately communicated... can have disastrous consequences for both the custodian of that information and the recipient of it' (Smith et al., 2003, p. 72).

In addition, the study highlighted the importance to the women academics and the Waanyi women participants of the importance of the 'process' of heritage, which in this case meant spending time fishing and talking. To the academics involved in the project, this, at first, seemed a waste of time, since

it was not fulfilling what they saw as the objective of preserving the women's heritage. Yet, over the duration of the project, it became apparent that heritage

was being 'managed' by visiting and simply being in country. The intangible aspects of heritage – the emotional responses to place, the histories and knowledge that are held about a landscape, place or site – were identified not only as being as important as the physical site, but also in need of being 'managed' through reaffirmation.

(Smith et al., 2003, p. 76)

This particular study is also illustrative of the wider emergence of post-colonial feminist heritage work, particularly in the area of heritage management. It prompts a feminist approach that challenges the underlying assumptions of what constitutes heritage management in challenging and productive ways.

Gender, heritage, policies and protocols

A fourth, but probably least researched, gendered approach to heritage concerns the ways in which policies, protocols and international conventions on heritage and culture are in various ways articulated through gendered paradigms. By 2013 heritage policies had entered a new phase, whereby, in comparison with approaches 20 years earlier, gender equality and gender equity within heritage and culture were acknowledged to be key drivers of development in international policies (Vinson, 2007). This was in distinct contrast to the ways in which gender – articulated through a concentrated focus on women – in policy was conceptualized in, for example, the first special issue of *Museum International* on women in 1991. Scholars have shown the particular challenges of integrating questions of gender equality with protecting intangible cultural heritage (Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2007), based on a report carried out following a meeting of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Experts of UNESCO (UNESCO, 2003b). As they note, the report concluded that without women's involvement in the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage there was a strong likelihood of discrimination. Women researchers and custodians need to actively participate in the identification and documentation of intangible cultural heritage as well as being involved in the development and design of policies to ensure the safeguarding of heritage (Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2007). Drawing on expert examples from the report, they argue that the gendered impact of the instrument can work in contradictory ways. For example, storytelling

is widely regarded as a feminine practice and therefore marginalized. If such intangible art became recognized internationally and received financial

and other support, this would empower the women who practice the art. On the other hand, the stories could lose their 'mystery' or be copied and plagiarized.

(Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2007, p. 5)

They argue that, in UNESCO's booklet 'The Second Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity', gender-neutral language obscures the particular roles of men and women in the creation of cultural heritage. Photographs in the booklet largely only depict the work of men, without clarifying whether women are also involved (Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2007, p. 5). Moghadam and Bagheritari argue that in projects for the preservation of human intangible heritage it is crucial 'to stay close' to other UN instruments such as CEDAW (*The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women*), adopted in 1995. They also recommend that at the national level women are recruited into participating in heritage policymaking processes and that states develop gender-benchmarking criteria for assessing the gendered impact of heritage policies and protocols and women's involvement in those processes (Moghadam and Bagheritari, 2007). In my own work I have argued that one of the areas in which this needs to be clarified and developed is in terms of gender in debates on a right to memory (Reading, 2009). This work addresses how, at national and international levels, questions of gender are included within protocols and policies that advocate the importance of symbolic and cultural acts, utterances and expressions to preserve the past (Reading, 2011).

New challenges for feminist heritage studies

Heritage is being transformed through the processes of digitization, as well as the development of digitality and digital cultures: these sociotechnical and cultural changes also then implicate in new ways the dynamic of globalization in relation to gender and feminist approaches. Digital and connective media are changing the preservation of material heritage not only in terms of the digitization of books, testimonies and manuscripts but also in terms of being able to digitally make visual images of art and artefacts as well as digitally preserve intangible heritage, such as orally handed-down stories, gesture, spatial pathways, performances and dance. Many national archives and libraries are now at the forefront of leading projects to digitize heritage and to make it accessible to the public rather than only accessible to specialists. While some national institutions require payment from those seeking to access their heritage, there is also a converse drive for open access.

One of the largest open-access heritage digitization projects worldwide, begun in 2001, involves the Australian National Archives. The National Library

of Australia's digitization programme provides new forms of recording and access to Australian newspapers since the 1800s; it also provides access to digitized documents, photographs, books and sound recordings. Further, the platform of Trove, unusually within the context of national cultural institutions globally, was chosen by the Australian National Archives because they wanted something that could work in cooperation with other cultural and heritage institutions and organizations in Australia. As an open-source search engine, it provides access not to a website but to the various digitized objects of heritage across different kinds and scales of cultural institutions and across different platforms and materials. Thus, the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney, for example, has made its collections available, along with around a thousand other Australian heritage and cultural institutions. The platform also offers new ways for individuals and institutions to contribute their own digitized context, as well as adding to the searchability of content through encouraging users to add tagging content and suggestions for digital links.

With digital technologies re-creating the museums and galleries, as places without walls, in which visitors can preview their experience in the museum as well as accessing 'the museum' without ever visiting the site itself, it is increasingly important that gendered heritage studies integrates into its approach work from feminism and communication studies which has sought to understand the changing boundaries of public and private arising from new communications technologies. While critical heritage work on the uses of new media technologies has certainly identified the ongoing significance of gender when examining the impact and use of digital heritage (Economou and Pujol, 2007 p. 258), the rapidity with which environments are changing with the combination of digitization and globalization means that there are important gaps in research. Heritage studies has largely been a 'public' affair, commemorating, preserving and archiving places and resources for public access and consumption in the public sphere. But these public sites are increasingly domesticated and consumed within the home, and on the move through mobile technologies. They allow the preservation of and access to resources that previously would have been left undocumented. For feminist heritage work, this can enable new forms of guerrilla memorywork or heritage activism: the project cited at the beginning of the chapter, for example, involves women who have largely been ignored by public memory institutions and who are then using mobile and connective technologies to digitally document and preserve the longest continuous site of women's incarceration in Australia as one method, among many, to gain world heritage status as a site of conscience.¹

Participatory digital cultures also allow particular kinds of living cultural heritage work which can capture gender relations in new ways. For example, a project involving the use of participatory video with a Herero community in Namibia argued that, while the two-dimensionality of video was problematic

in dissociating time away from the Herero community's sense of place, it nevertheless did capture gendered differences in the uses of place that otherwise would have been overlooked or obscured (Bidwell, 2012, p. 205). What social media and connective technologies offer, according to Pietrobruno (2013), are new ways to archive intangible heritage. The protection of intangible heritage has been strongly supported by UNESCO since 2003 with the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage*, which has made this a global memory project (UNESCO, 2003a). A further form of safeguarding this heritage used by UNESCO is the online storage and broadcast of immaterial heritage on YouTube, as well as the incorporation of user-generated digital material into the UNESCO YouTube site. Further, Pietrobruno (2013) argues that this user-generated digital heritage has the capacity to offer different narratives of gender: she examines the particular preservation of the Melevi Sema (whirling dervish) ceremony from Turkey. The dance had been safeguarded in 2005 by UNESCO. The dance's preservation on the YouTube site means that it is continually updated by user-generated content and reordered according to users' preferences. The result is that 'YouTube's archives of intangible heritage seem to be forging a new form of structure that absorbs both dominant and marginal perspectives and is produced by the efforts of the human and machine' (Pietrobruno, 2013, p. 3). Where new media converge with archaeology, and particularly cultural heritage management, we see within heritage studies the development of paradigm shifts around public involvement in what is termed open archaeology (Webmoor, 2008, p. 4). While much of this work does not explicitly reference gender, it does raise issues around how digital technologies are changing public and private boundaries, which necessarily then has gendered implications that feminist heritage work needs to take on board.

Such large-scale digitization of heritage has important implications for how we conceive of feminist methods: it is transforming heritage knowledge practices as well as national cultural fields. My own work suggests that we move towards the development of methods and forms of analysis that emphasize trajectories, seeking to analyse, for example, how gendered heritage is assembled and reassembled in the 'global memory field'. While research can still use conventional methodologies, gendered digital heritage work could, for example, also examine how heritage is transformed across different media; the speed with which particular kinds of heritage are preserved and disseminated online; the points of contact or valencies between different heritage projects; and the new kinds of modalities that digital heritage offers in relation to gender.

Concluding remarks

This chapter began with a brief critical history that sought to reclaim the more obscured history of gendered approaches to heritage that have their origins

in discrete disciplines rather than the relatively recent transdisciplinary field of heritage studies. I then addressed how a feminist approach to heritage and heritage studies illuminates a variety of gendered processes that traverse gendered curation in public memory institutions, involving the preservation and protection of tangible and intangible pasts and heritage, as well as visitors' consumption of and contribution to past cultures and events. I examined selected studies and perspectives around questions of sexuality and gender in heritage research and suggested what methodologies, theoretical paradigms and conceptualizations feminist theory brings to heritage studies. I argued that gender and heritage research is generally structured around four broad areas. The first concerns questions of 'representation' in collections, sites and performances. Second, there are questions of consumption, or how educators, visitors and tourists encounter heritage. Third, there are those studies concerned with issues of production that include the gendering of heritage management and public memory institution curation. Finally, there are studies that are concerned with how heritage policies from the local to the international level incorporate issues of gender in protocol and convention. In the final section, I argued that digitization and digitality are changing the landscape of heritage in a number of ways that require us to transform and rethink gendered approaches for a new gendered digital heritage paradigm that gives emphasis to the trajectory and movements across the public and private domains.

In conclusion, gendered heritage studies has a much longer history than is often characterized within heritage studies. It is thus important for any gendered approach to be mindful of an intellectual amnesia that can forget pioneering feminist work and contradictory cultural practices that have long sought to preserve women's heritage in the face of its deliberate destruction. Further, feminist studies and research need to work across heritage processes to understand the dynamics and trajectories that occur between policy, production, text and consumption. It is also critical, in an era in which culture is increasingly digitized and connected within richer areas of the globe, to understand the place and best uses of digital technologies in relation to heritage and the particular gendered meanings this will then generate. Finally, the digital heritage landscape also strongly implicates researchers: as both men and women enquiring into heritage, both in the field and through increasingly connective digital devices, we are involved in and, indeed, partly responsible for the global and gendered mobilizations of digital heritage.

Acknowledgements

Heartfelt thanks to Dr Colin Harvey and Zak and Aphra Harvey-Reading for their ongoing and daily gender equality work at home, making this public gendered heritage work possible.

Note

1. See <http://www.pffpmemoryproject.org/>.

References

- Adams, R. (2010) 'The New Girl in the Old Boy Network: Elizabeth Esteve-Coll at the Victoria and Albert Museum' in A. K. Levin (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums* (London: Routledge), pp. 28–42.
- Arvin, A. H. (2010) *The Linear Heritage of Women* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse).
- Bartlett, A., Dever, M. and Henderson, M. (2007) 'Notes towards an Archive of Australian Feminist Activism', University of Western Australia, *Outskirtsonline Journal*, 16, <http://www.outskirts.arts.uwa.edu.au/volumes/volume-16/bartlett>, accessed 1 August 2013.
- Bidwell, N. J.-T. (2012) 'Extending Connections between Land and People Digitally: Designing with Rural Herero Communities in Namibia' in E. Giaccardi (ed.) *Heritage and Social Media: Understanding Heritage in a Participatory Culture* (London: Routledge), pp. 197–216.
- Burman, C. T. (2002) 'Introduction: Material Strategies Engendered', *Gender and History*, 14(3), 371–81.
- Chidgey, R. (2012) *Feminist Memory* (Word Press), From a Research Project Looking at Feminist Memory, Media and Archives. <http://feministmemory.wordpress.com/links/>, accessed 17 February 2013.
- Conkey, M. W. (1991) *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory* (London: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Cote, J. (2009) 'Post Colonial Shame: Heritage and the Forgotten Pain of Civilian Women Internees in Java' in K. Reeves and W. Logan (eds) *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult' Heritage* (London: Routledge), pp. 128–43.
- Danilov, V. J. (2005) *Women and Museums: A Comprehensive Guide* (Lanham, MD: Rowman Altmira).
- Economou, M. and Pujol, L. (2007) 'Educational Tool or Expensive Toy? Evaluating VR Evaluation and Its Relevance for Virtual Heritage' in Y. E. Kaly, T. H. Kvan and J. Affleck (eds) *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge), pp. 242–60.
- English Heritage (2013) *Women's History*. <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/womens-history/>, accessed 17 February 2013.
- Galas, M. M. (1953) 'Primitive Heritage: An Anthropological Anthology' in M. Mead, *Primitive Heritage: An Anthropological Anthology* (New York: Random House), pp. 122–32.
- Grigor, T. (2004) 'Recultivating "Good Taste": The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage', *Iranian Studies*, 37(1), 17–45.
- Grundberg, M. (2012) *Theorising Gender in Heritage Studies*. http://www.science.gu.se/digitalAssets/1367/1367109_p203-grundberg-women-history-or-gender-integration-.pdf, accessed 1 August 2013.
- Harrison, R. (2012) *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge).
- Harvey, D. C. (2001) 'Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), 319–38.
- International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (2014) <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/>, accessed 28 April 2014.
- Jacobs, J. (2008) 'Gender and Collective Memory: Women and Representation at Auschwitz', *Memory Studies*, 1(2), 211–25.

- Joukowsky, G. M. (2003) *Sarah Belzoni. Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archeology*. http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/results.php?d=1&first=Sarah&last=Belzoni, accessed 17 February 2013.
- Joukowsky, G. M. (2004) *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press).
- Joyce, R. A. (1996) 'The Construction of Gender in Classic Maya Monuments' in R. P. Wright (ed.) *Gender and Archeology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 167–98.
- Kremer, K. B. and Mullins, G. W. (1992) 'Children's Gender Behaviour at Science Museum Exhibits', *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 35(1), 39–48.
- Ku, M. C. (2003) Gendered Bodily Performances in Historic Museums. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 28(2), 13–19.
- Levin, A. K. (ed.) (2010) *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums* (London: Routledge).
- Machin, B. (2010) 'Gender Representation in the Natural History Galleries in the Manchester Museum' in A. K. Levin (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums* (London: Routledge), pp. 187–200.
- Moghadam, V. and Bagheritari, M. (2007) 'Cultures, Conventions, and the Human Rights of Women: Examining the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Declaration on Cultural Diversity', *Museum International*, 59, 9–18.
- Nelson, S. M. (2004) *Gender in Archaeology: Analysing Power and Prestige* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).
- Parramatta Female Factory Precinct Memory Project (2014) <http://www.pffpmemoryproject.org>, accessed 28 April 2014.
- Petry, M. (2010) 'Hidden Histories: The Experience of Curating a Male Same Sex Exhibition and the Problems Encountered', in A.K. Kevin (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality and Museums: A Routledge Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 151–62.
- Pietrobruno, B. (2013) 'YouTube and the Social Archiving of Intangible Heritage', *New Media and Society*, 15(8), 1259–76.
- Pollock, G. (2007) *Encounters with the Virtual Feminist Museum* (London: Routledge).
- Porter, G. (1998) 'Seeing through Solidity: Feminist Perspectives on Museums' in S. F. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (eds) *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in A Changing World* (London: Wiley-Blackwell), pp. 105–26.
- Reading, A. (2002) *The Social Inheritance of the Holocaust: Gender, Culture and Memory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Reading, A. (2003) 'Digital Interactivity in Public Memory Institutions: The Uses of New Technologies in Holocaust Museums', *Media, Culture and Society*, 25(1), 67–85.
- Reading, A. (2009) 'Gender and a Right to Memory', *Media Development*, 2, 11–15.
- Reading, A. (2011) 'Identity, Memory and Cosmopolitanism: The Otherness of the Past and a Right to Memory?' *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14(4), 379–94.
- Robinson, O. and Barnard, T. (2010) '"Thanks, But We'll Take it From Here" Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women Influencing the Collection of Tangible and Intangible Heritage' in A. K. Levin (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums* (London: Routledge), pp. 129–36.
- Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2014) <http://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/media-centre/media-releases>, accessed 28 April 2014.
- Schwarzer, M. (2010) 'Women in the Temple: Gender and Leadership in Museums' in A. K. Levin (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums* (London: Routledge), pp. 16–27.

- Shortliff, H. (2010) *Master's Thesis: Gender and (World) Heritage: The Myth of a Gender Neutral Heritage*. Retrieved from Brandenburg University of Technology: http://www-docs.tu-cottbus.de/whs/public/alumni/master_theses/Shortliffe_Sarah.pdf, accessed 1 August 2013.
- Smith, B. C. (2010) 'A Woman's Audience: A Case Study of Applied Feminist Theories' in A. K. Levin (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums* (London: Routledge), pp. 65–70.
- Smith, L. (2008) 'Heritage, Gender and Identity' in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 159–79.
- Sorensen, S. (2000) *Gender Archeology* (Oxford: Polity).
- Smith, L., Morgan, A. and van der Meer, A. (2003) 'Community-Driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: The Waanyi Women's History Project', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 9(1), 65–80.
- Tinagli, P. (1997) *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- UNESCO (2003a) *Convention for Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>, accessed 1 August 2013.
- UNESCO (2003b) *Final Report, Expert Meeting 'Gender and Intangible Heritage'*. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00125-EN.pdf>, accessed 10 October 2014.
- Vinson, I. (2007) 'Editorial: Prospects for Gender Studies in Cultural Heritage', *Museum International*, 236, 1–3.
- Warner, M. (2000) *Monuments and Maidens* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- Webmoor, T. (2008) 'From Silicon Valley to the Valle of Teotihuacan: The "Yahools" of New Media and Digital Heritage', *Visual Anthropology Review*, 24(2), 2–18.
- Wright, R. (1996) *Gender and Archaeology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Part VI

Heritage and Social Practice



25

‘Thinkers and Feelers’: A Psychological Perspective on Heritage and Society

John Schofield

Cultural heritage agenda are often, it seems, driven and determined by ‘thinkers’, people who can make rational ‘scientific’ decisions about things – that ‘site X or building Y should be preserved at all costs, as one of only 23 examples of its type left standing, and this one has the best preserved gable end’ ... or whatever. It would seem likely that ‘thinkers’ created these systems in the first place. And they are good systems, and necessary for meeting heritage protection agendas, among others. Yet, increasingly, and certainly over the past ten years or so, through the work of Common Ground (Clifford, 2011), the terms and aspirations of the 2000 *European Landscape Convention* (Council of Europe, 2000) and notably the 2005 (Faro) *Framework Convention on the Value of Heritage for Society* (Council of Europe, 2005, 2009), as well as work in Australia under the umbrella ‘heritage as social action’ (e.g. Byrne et al., 2013), the focus of heritage has extended to something more aligned with social and community value; where emphasis on rarity and historic significance, for example, is being overlain, if not at times replaced, by values attached often to everyday and unremarkable places by the people for whom these places are part of everyday experience. Heritage, in other words, has become increasingly people-centred. But there is a problem. This approach to heritage requires ‘feelers’ to implement and facilitate it, people who follow their emotional instincts. It is my impression that much of cultural heritage practice is led by thinkers, and this may need to change.

The right to heritage

The sands of heritage are always shifting, inevitably given that heritage was never really about things, but, rather, a way of thinking about and managing them (Smith, 2006). And, while those things may not change very much, the way we think about them certainly does – we are constantly adding new heritage to the old, for example (see Penrose, 2007). The rhythms of heritage are, therefore, very different. Scheduled monuments, for example, change

slowly, subtly, over decades, centuries (although on occasion change does happen and it can be abrupt, decisive, dramatic). The legislative framework also changes slowly, with occasional step changes in emphasis or approach. But public attitudes and the way heritage practitioners think about heritage change more rapidly, as opinion polls in recent years have demonstrated. Moods and opinions swing and fluctuate according to national and local priorities and agendas. Is heritage more or less significant in time of recession? Are we more attuned to individual places or buildings when they come under immediate threat? Recently, changes in society (towards greater public engagement, represented by freedom of choice in many aspects of our lives – e.g. Thomas, 2008) have been mirrored by changes in heritage philosophy and (to some extent at least) practice. Leaning heavily on the influences of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR, 1948), the *European Landscape Convention* (Council of Europe, 2000) and the *Framework (also Faro) Convention on the Value of Heritage for Society* (Council of Europe, 2005), alongside English Heritage's *Conservation Principles* (2008), this short chapter emphasizes the plain fact that heritage is for everyone, and that everyone has the right to participate actively in it. Everyone, more to the point, will have an opinion, for example on what matters and why, and on how places should be managed into the future. The heritage sector, therefore, needs to prioritize the facilitation of public engagement, and encourage and promote public interest (Schofield, 2013).

The 2005 *Faro Convention* (after UDHR) is very clear that everyone in society has the right to participate in the heritage of their choice, and that this right accords with their basic human rights. While some member states appear reluctant to endorse this European convention, its principles can nonetheless form the basis for a new approach to heritage and to public engagement with the historic environment, in much the same way as the principles of the Australian *Burra Charter* (Marquis-Kyle and Walker, 2004) were adopted and used far beyond its country of origin. And, significantly, Faro is not alone. The Preamble to the 2000 *European Landscape Convention* defines landscape in terms of perception and recognizes that landscape has a 'public interest role in the cultural, ecological, environmental and social fields' and is a 'key element of individual and social well-being and that its protection, management and planning entail rights and responsibilities for everyone'. In 2008, English Heritage issued its *Conservation Principles*, noting that the 'historic environment is a shared resource' which people value, and which

each generation should therefore shape and sustain...in ways that allow people to use, enjoy and benefit from it, without compromising the ability of future generations to do the same. Heritage values represent a public interest in places, regardless of ownership.

(2008, p. 19)

A further conservation principle is that

everyone should be able to participate in sustaining the historic environment, by having the opportunity to contribute his or her knowledge of the value of places, and to participate in decisions about their future, by means that are accessible, inclusive and informed.

(2008, p. 20)

This inclusivity is represented also in heritage values. The Conservation Principles, for instance, define 'communal value' as 'deriving from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory' (English Heritage, 2008, p. 31). Social value is further defined as being associated with

places that people perceive as a source of identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence. Some may be comparatively modest, acquiring communal significance through the passage of time as a result of a collective memory of stories linked to them. They tend to gain value through the resonance of past events in the present, providing reference points for a community's identity or sense of itself.

(2008, p. 32)

But nowhere is this idea of 'everybody's heritage' better or more strongly expressed than in Faro, which recognizes

- The need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage;
- that every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others, as an aspect of the right freely to participate in cultural life enshrined in the UDHR (1948);

and is

- convinced of the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage. (Council of Europe, 2005)

In a world in which everyone has views on heritage, to which they attach particular values, values that are often hard or even impossible to articulate beyond recounting a story, an intimate experience, how might heritage practice encompass and encourage such diversity, such breadth? How can everyone get involved in ways that are meaningful, that enhance well-being and ensure an effective (affective) participation in social practice? On one level, it is necessary to create robust and effective procedures and practices which can facilitate this level of public participation. Equally, in order for these to exist and to be shaped

appropriately, this requires a heritage sector in tune with social needs: people who are empathetic towards and able to recognize and understand the multiple and diverse ways in which local communities engage with their heritage. The heritage sector, in other words, needs ‘people people’, at least in those roles that are public-facing, as many of the key roles increasingly seem to be. For this, Carl Jung’s (1963) psychological types provide a useful (if perhaps contentious) framework, and one that merits closer scrutiny.

Thinkers and feelers

Ross et al. (1996) helpfully review Jung’s theory of psychological types, and cite numerous applications of it (and of the Myers Briggs Type Indicator derived directly from it – Myers and McCaulley, 1985). From clinical observations, Jung (1954) showed how individuals differed from each other in three ways:

1. having an introverted or extraverted orientation;
2. a preference for perceiving based on being a sensor or being intuitive; and
3. a preference for judging based on being a ‘Feeler’ or a ‘Thinker’.

Myers and Briggs (in Myers, 1980) further distinguished judging and perceiving. These differences will be briefly described and the implications for heritage practice assessed.

Extraversion and introversion

Extraversion (E) and introversion (I) represent, for Jung, different attitudes or ways of directing interest towards things. As Ross et al. (1996, p. 266) point out, ‘[t]he E is mainly bound up with the object of awareness, whereas the I attends to the subject of awareness’. E types, in other words, lose the sense of themselves as subjects. Ross et al. (1996, p. 266) give a helpful example:

‘What a wonderful view!’ exclaims the E, even as the experience and the object of the experience are felt as one. The I, however, remains aware of the effect of his experience upon the object of his experiencing. I types experience the difference between what is there and what they experience.

Thus, E types focus on the ‘outer world of people... They need to experience the world to understand it and thus tend to like action’ (Myers, 1987, p. 5). ‘I’ types spend time in their own world: ‘They like to understand the world before experiencing it, and so often think about what they are doing before acting’ (Myers, 1987, p. 5). Understanding is central to the way the heritage sector operates, being the energy that drives a ‘virtuous circle’ through valuing,

caring and enjoying, to ultimately create a 'thirst to understand' (English Heritage, 2005, p. 8). In terms of allocating scarce resources, and deciding where priorities lie, it would seem appropriate for the heritage sector to be led by introversion. But, for a heritage that has at its core social engagement, participation, ground-up approaches to management and policy formulation, extraversion, and the need to place emphasis on action and experience, is preferred. As the emphasis within heritage practice shifts slowly from one to the other, this becomes an important consideration, at least for any significant facilitation and policy leadership roles.

Sensation and intuition

Sensation and intuition contrast in key ways that again have relevance to the way we think about heritage practice. Sensation, according to Jung, mediates perception to establish what is actually present. One might interpret this as represented by a 'concern with the concrete and orientation to details without any clear awareness of connections with the whole' (Van der Hoop, 1979, p. 27). Thus, with great complexity, the sensation function is easily confused. Myers and Briggs (1987, p. 5) describe how 'sensing types tend to accept and work with what is given in the "here-and-now" and thus become realistic and practical'. Intuition, by contrast, is concerned with possibilities and patterns of relations; there is a focus on context and a desire to deal with wholes. Unlike those who favour sensation (S types), 'N types' are future oriented; they tend to enjoy change and seek novelty (Myers, 1987).

In relation to approaches to heritage, S types will be more concerned with specifics and with points of detail. There will be emphasis placed on the present, and contemporary issues and concerns. S types will follow convention and work within the system. N types will look to change the system, or create ways around it. N types will be more relaxed about change, and the management of change. In terms of my own experience with English Heritage, where I worked within designation and landscape characterization, this distinction appears helpful and clear-cut. Designation and heritage protection are 'sensation'-led, and Characterization more driven by 'intuition'. In terms of Faro, creating mechanisms and approaches for greater public engagement and a broader definition of what constitutes heritage, intuition appears the more appropriate response.

Feeling and thinking

Feeling and thinking serve as different processes, or different ways of forming judgements. Jung also described them as 'apperceptive' or 'rational'. These functions order the perception derived through intuition or sensation, but in different ways: the thinking function orders on the basis of logic and consistency, whereas feeling operates according to valuation (Ross et al., 1996, p. 266).

To summarize, Newman (1986, p. 17) describes how ‘feeling sees shading and gradations where thinking sees only distinctions and opposites’.

Judgements and values are very different, but are both widely used in various ways within heritage practice. Taking the example of heritage designation in England, this requires thinking. The rules are clear in terms of what constitutes a ‘monument’, and how ‘national importance’ is defined (a prerequisite for any monument to qualify for scheduling). Even in cases like the scheduling of monuments in England, where the decision to designate is discretionary, the circumstances under which sites will or will not be afforded protection are carefully and closely defined. One only has to conform to good practice, for the most part. With listing, the situation is comparable: any buildings that meet the criteria of ‘historic interest’ *must* be listed. Again, this is clearly a thinking function. But where we begin to discuss the implications of Faro, or any policy that welcomes a multiplicity of views and public engagements, then black and white quickly turns to multiple shades of grey, and feeling becomes the relevant function. It follows that any approach that seeks to engage a diversity of user groups, stakeholders or interested bystanders must be driven by feelers. Functions which are more process-led are best managed by thinkers.

Judging and perceiving

The distinction between judging and perceiving refers to the function used to deal with the outside world. Those who prefer to judge (J types) like to make decisions and come to closure on issues. They believe in a ‘planned, orderly way, wanting to regulate life and control it’ (Myers, 1987, p. 6). P types, on the other hand, prefer a flexible and spontaneous approach. They like to keep their options open and experience life as it happens rather than control it (Myers, 1987, p. 6). Within the heritage sector, J types create and curate the structures, adjusting them as and when required; and they work within the structures they establish. Designation again falls within this category, as does the case-work arising from it. P types work outside, or around, the structures. Again, Characterization works as an example. As a discrete ‘team’ at English Heritage, it was often considered an ill fit, needing to fit somewhere, but no-one quite knew where. And this was often true also of the approaches and ideas emanating from the team, which others across the organization did not always fully understand in terms of specific working practice (at least in the early years, before things bedded in).

The language of heritage

One final consideration may be helpful here: that of language. Research by Seegmiller and Epperson (1987, pp. 49–50) demonstrated that individual thinking–feeling preferences are related to the use of certain verbs in natural language. Now, the language of heritage is very distinctive. While it does make

use of everyday words (place, landscape), other words predominate, words that are given very specific meanings, which are less common in everyday usage (Designation, Asset, Consent, Inscription), and are less well understood. These are the words heritage practitioners tend to use, but which are less well understood by the wider public. The point is better made, perhaps, by considering the use of verbs. For example, Analyse, Study, Conclude, Evaluate, Decide and Question are all verbs closely aligned with, and commonly used in, conventional contemporary heritage practice. But, where heritage practice attempts to promote public participation, how useful are these verbs? They tend to imply a preference for clarity (black and white, not shades of grey) and scientific process. As we have seen, Faro expects the public to begin to (re)shape the very concept of heritage, and to become actively involved in its management. Yet this language of heritage appears to exclude them. It is interesting that most of the 'heritage' words and the verbs listed above are 'Thinking' words (after Pebinsky et al., 1977). 'Feeling' words are more likely to be used by the local communities Faro expects to engage within an expanded, more inclusive heritage discourse. Such words might include Place and Landscape, while verbs include such examples as Feel, Love, Enjoy, Care and Hope. Some heritage practitioners and ethnographers do use these words (e.g. Herzfeld, 2009; Byrne et al., 2013; Schofield, 2013; Schofield and Morrissey, 2013), but the majority do not. If the implementation of Faro, alongside other comparable initiatives, is to be successful, this may need to change.

Conclusion

Heritage practice is often systems-led, requiring heritage practitioners who can curate and maintain the system, improving and updating it as appropriate. Given that most opportunities within the heritage sector relate to the operation and facilitation of these systems, it would seem reasonable that most heritage employees have the personality traits best suited to operating and maintaining such a structured environment. But the problem comes with change: not only the process of change but also its implications. Earlier we saw how a raft of policy and guidance documents have recently emphasized the necessity to give the heritage sector a more obvious and open public face, partly because transparency, accountability and public engagement are high on the political agenda, and partly because the public have a genuine enthusiasm for heritage and a desire to influence and shape the places where they live. For all these reasons, heritage is becoming and must continue to become people-centred, and that requires recognition and incorporation of a completely different set of functions from those currently prevalent across the sector. If people are to exercise their right to heritage, as increasingly they seem to, the heritage sector must be well-positioned to respond, with thinkers *and* feelers in the positions that matter.

Acknowledgements

Versions of this paper were presented at the Institute for Archaeologists conference (Birmingham) and the 'Whose Business is Heritage?' symposium (University of York), both in April/May 2013. I am grateful to participants at both events for their thoughtful and critical comments. I am also indebted to Golnar Bayat for inadvertently shaping some of the ideas presented here.

References

- Byrne, D., Goodall, H. and Cadzow, A. (2013) *Place-Making in National Parks: Ways that Australians of Arabic and Vietnamese Background Perceive and Use the Parklands along the Georges River, NSW* (Sydney, NSW: Office of Environment and Heritage).
- Clifford, S. (2011) 'Local Distinctiveness: Everyday Places and How to Find Them' in J. Schofield and R. Szymanski (eds) *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 13–32.
- Council of Europe (2000) *European Landscape Convention*. www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/176.htm, accessed 7 April 2013.
- Council of Europe (2005) *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*. www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/199.htm, accessed 7 April 2013.
- Council of Europe (2009) *Heritage and Beyond* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe).
- English Heritage (2005) *Discovering the Past, Shaping the Future: Research Strategy 2005–2010* (Swindon: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2008) *Conservation Principles: Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (Swindon: English Heritage).
- Herzfeld, M. (2009) *Evicted from Eternity: The Restructuring of Modern Rome* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
- Jung, C. G. (1954) *The Symbolic Life: Collected Works 18* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Jung, C. G. (1963) *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Pantheon Books).
- Marquis-Kyle, P. and Walker, M. (2004) *The Illustrated Burra Charter: Good Practice for Heritage Places* (Burwood: Australia ICOMOS).
- Myers, I. B. (1980) *Gifts Differing* (Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press).
- Myers, I. B. (1987) *Introduction to Type* (Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press).
- Myers, I. B. and McCaulley, M. H. (1985) *Manual: A Guide to the Development and Use of the Myers-Briggs Indicator* (Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press).
- Newman, J. (1986) 'Feeling as a Cognitive Process', *Bulletin of Psychological Type*, 9(2), 17–22.
- Penrose, S., with contributors (2007) *Images of Change: An Archaeology of England's Contemporary Landscape* (Swindon: English Heritage).
- Pepinsky, H., Baker, W., Matalon, R., May, G. and Staubus, A. (1977) *A User's Manual for the Computer-Assisted Language Analysis System* (Columbus: Ohio State University, Mershon Center, Group for Research and Development in Language and Social Policy).
- Ross, C., Weiss, D. and Jackson, L. (1996) 'The Relation of Jungian Psychological Type to Religious Attitudes and Practices', *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 6(4), 263–79.
- Schofield, J. (ed.) (2013) *Who Needs Experts? Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate).

- Schofield, J. and Morrissey, E. (2013) *Strait Street: Malta's 'Red Light District' Revealed* (Malta: Midsea Books).
- Seigmiller, R. and Epperson, D. (1987) 'Distinguishing Thinking-Feeling Preferences through the Content Analysis of Natural Language', *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 51(1), 42–52.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Thomas, R. (2008) 'Archaeology and Authority in the Twenty-First Century' in G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. Jameson Jr and J. Schofield (eds) *The Heritage Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 139–48.
- Van der Hoop, J. H. (1979 [1937]) *Conscious Orientation: A Study of Personality Types in Relation to Neurosis and Psychosis* (Darby, PA: Darby).

26

Heritage and Policy

John Pendlebury

Introduction

The term 'policy' is often equated with being a means to achieve systematic state action. Heritage has formed part of a broad conception of social policy at least since the emergence of the nation-state, with its emphasis upon mobilizing concepts of national heritage. As the state's role in daily life has grown through the twentieth century in much of the world, so heritage policy has become increasingly developed and formalized. Furthermore, increasingly we have seen not only policy *for* heritage but heritage as an instrumental device to achieve other social and economic policy objectives. Embodied within the idea of policy there tends to be the deployment of state power by elites, and critiques of how power has been deployed by state bureaucracies abound. In this chapter, brief reference is made to critiques coming from interpretive policy analysis, from a policy studies tradition, and the authorized heritage discourse (AHD), from heritage studies.

Different policy traditions exist, and the focus in this chapter is upon the British administrative tradition of policy as a discretionary mechanism that frames management processes. Specifically, the focus is upon the built or historic environment and its management through processes of town or conservation planning. The development of conservation as a central planning objective is briefly considered before focusing upon how successive governments, in tandem with heritage agencies, have sought to deploy the historic environment as an aid in achieving wider economic and social goals. The latter part of the chapter focuses on the localism agenda of the British Coalition government elected in 2010, with a short case study of the Fish Quay area in North Shields in the northeast of England. The localism agenda is seen as having the potential for allowing less hegemonic, more diverse conceptions of heritage, but also the potential danger of other elite interests in the property sector exerting control and weakening hard-won conservation-planning policy.

Policy and policy analysis

The word 'policy' carries many meanings in different linguistic and governance contexts. According to Patsy Healey (2006), in some languages, such as French, Spanish and Italian, there is no distinction between policy and politics, whereas in the English-speaking world policy tends to denote an explicit statement of a governance objective. Thus, while the notion of policy can exist in different organizational spheres, very often policy is taken to be synonymous with 'public policy', and public policy is the focus of this chapter. While, for example, private organizations may typically have policies on a range of procedural and organizational matters, it is within the public sector that policy tends to be more closely bound with delivering the core aims of the organization, as a means of bringing state power (however manifest) to bear on particular problems. That is, policy is the means to define action in some particular area of practice; it is used as an explicit statement of a governance objective. But policy implies more than a decision taken to do something; it suggests continued programmatic action. Traditionally, models of rational policymaking assume three characteristics to this organized action: coherence, hierarchy and instrumentality (Colebatch, 1998). Coherence suggests consistent application; hierarchy that some people, or some bodies, set policy to be implemented by and affecting others; and instrumentality that policy is made with a purpose: it exists to identify and deal with problems or issues. Leading on from this, we can say that policy is expected to have the following attributes: authority, expertise and order (Colebatch, 1998). That is, the notion of policy implies that policymakers have legitimate authority, that policy decisions are founded upon expert knowledge, and that policy enables consistency and therefore, conversely, that decisions are not made arbitrarily or capriciously. Thus, in short, we can see policy as mobilizing a particular set of values through, in theory, a system of instrumental rationality underpinned by legitimate authority. It aims to enable stable and predictable approaches to particular goals.

While governments and other governance bodies have always operated *de facto* policies, a public policy approach to governance has been particularly associated with the twentieth century. In parallel, the century saw the development and expansion of government bureaucracy, typically organized functionally. This bureaucracy works through policy, often translated into procedural and legal rules. In countries which have their governance styles rooted in the Napoleonic Code, policy may exist in the arena of politics and be separate from administration, the latter seen as the legal interpretation of formal rules (Healey, 2006). However, in British administrative tradition, rather than being translated into formal rules and codes, policy is often a tool in a management process that allows officials discretion in policy interpretation (including the scope to ignore or override policy) on the assumption that their judgement

and ethics will produce 'good government' (Jowell and Oliver, 1985; cited in Healey, 2006), which raises issues of expertise and legitimate authority.

The high point of the public policy approach can be seen to be the period following the Second World War. Liberal ideas about the purpose of policymaking were predicated on a widely held belief across much of the Western world that the state should manage those aspects of social and economic life that markets were considered as being no longer capable of solving; this was manifest in the creation of the welfare state, nationalizations and so on. This demanded a more developed and informed policy process than had historically been the case. In Britain, the first systemic challenge to this approach was the new-right government administrations of Margaret Thatcher, from 1979, who argued that the public interest was served by contracting the public sector, with one of the residual functions of the smaller state being to facilitate market mechanisms and related economic policies. Wayne Parsons (1995) characterizes this as a shift from 'public administration' to 'public sector management'. The Labour governments between 1997 and 2010 had a complex and at times contradictory approach to public policy, embracing a more positive discourse about the role of the public sector while continuing and extending the use of market-driven approaches introduced by previous governments. At the same time, public policymaking was typically presented as a technocratic, evidence-driven exercise, stripped of ideology, with effectiveness measured through the setting of targets; an obsession that has been characterized as 'targetolatry' (Belfiore, 2012). This context is relevant to cultural policy generally in the UK and heritage policy specifically, as I will return to below.

Finally, as part of this general introduction, it is worth briefly reflecting that policy studies is a distinct interdisciplinary field of social science enquiry, often linked to the post-war work of Harold Lasswell (Fischer, 2003). One continuing strand of policy analysis is highly technocratic, quantitative and economics-based; Fischer (2003) groups this work as 'empiricist policy enquiry'. However, as might be expected, such rationalist constructions of policy formulation and implementation have come under serious challenge. Social constructionist perspectives expose the simplicities and deficiencies in positivist rationalist models, challenge the view that policy analysis can be a value-free technical project, and provide a critique of bureaucratic culture. A major part of this alternative approach to policy studies has been termed 'the argumentative turn' (Fischer and Forester, 1993; Fischer and Gottweis, 2012). Argumentative approaches explore civil debate and the way people engage in persuasive dialogue to reach and justify decisions. It includes work on discourse analysis, deliberation, governance, expertise, participatory enquiry, local and tacit knowledge and collaborative planning (Fischer and Gottweis, 2012). One significant strand has been 'interpretive policy analysis', which seeks to go behind existing beliefs and their communication and consider the political role of

communicative activity in both constituting and maintaining power relations (e.g. Wagenaar, 2011). Also, and as I will return to later in this chapter, a strong strand of the argumentative turn has been an emphasis upon participatory democracy and approaches that emphasize deliberative interactions between citizens, analysts and decision-makers.

Heritage policy

The creation of heritage, as constituted in the modern world, can be seen to have always had a policy function, using policy in its broadest social policy sense as set out above. The rise of Western ideas of heritage as now commonly understood has been linked to the eighteenth century and Enlightenment ideas, including the development of a modern historical consciousness and the nation-state. New relationships with culture and religion, with nature and environment, generated new conceptions of time. History came to be interpreted as a collective social experience that recognized that different cultures and places had different natures. Historicity, the belief that each period in history has its own beliefs and values, led to a consideration of works of art and of historic buildings as unique, and so worthy of conservation as an expression of a particular culture and a reflection of national identity (Jokilehto, 1999). Furthermore, the concept of the nation-state crystallized in this period, aided by such traumatic events as the French Revolution. A more strongly defined nationalism, based around the territorial unit of the nation-state, demanded both a process of building identity and a common national heritage (Graham et al., 2000). Thus, various European countries began to develop legal and policy frameworks and heritage bureaucracies to protect 'national heritage'. At the same time, there was a developing view that cultural heritage might have a universal value. The early phases of modern conservation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were characterized by debates and exchanges of information that crossed national barriers throughout Europe. For example, one of the early causes taken up by the British Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was proposed alterations to St Mark's, Venice, and there are many other early examples of transnational preservation efforts (e.g. see Hall, 2011).

The Second World War and the years after were, more generally, a significant period in the shifting relationship between the state and a whole range of activities of cultural production and reproduction in many countries. Internationally, one arm of the newly founded United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), dealt with cultural issues. A key landmark was the production in 1964 of the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, known as the *Venice Charter*, adopted as a key doctrinal document by the International

Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). Subsequent to the *Venice Charter*, a whole raft of supra-national developments has occurred at a variety of levels: at a global level principally through ICOMOS and UNESCO. Along with the activities of regional bodies, such as the Council of Europe, these documents effectively form a supra-national policy framework for the management of built heritage.

In Britain, Robert Hewison (1995) describes how, from 1940, government patronage of the arts supplanted that of church, crown, aristocracy and bourgeoisie. An elite cultural policy became an increasingly important hegemonic process in creating 'consensus' over social expressions of national identity. Heritage policy is intertwined in this cultural policy, but, at the same time, the management of the wider historic environment became increasingly embedded in the land-management process of town planning. From an emphasis in the post-war period on clearance and redevelopment, urban conservation gradually moved towards the centre of planning policy and practice as the century progressed, as a reaction to some of the development consequences of modernist comprehensive planning from the 1950s and 1960s, while also forming part of the same modernist and comprehensive system of planning that conservationists sought to critique (Pendlebury and Strange, 2011).

Thus, from the middle of the twentieth century, pressures for policy to protect the historic character of towns and cities grew in significance. Between the 1940s and 1980s, whether in the widely acknowledged historic 'jewel cities' or those places less obviously historic, conservation concerns and policies began to feature in development plans. Similarly, national conservation-related legislation and policy emerged to guide and direct local planning authorities as they began to embrace conservation as a planning function. Throughout the 1970s in particular, policy evolution and reform established a more systematic and supportive environment for conservation whereby policy was incrementally (but repeatedly) strengthened. By the 1990s, conservation had become a significant objective embedded at the heart of the land-use planning system, with a near-unchallenged consensus that the protection of the historic environment was a fundamental purpose of planning policy. This was an agenda that had been campaigned for by a significant extra-state conservation movement but had been institutionalized by national governments in policy and legislation and eventually taken up with enthusiasm by most local authorities (Pendlebury, 2009).

The policy and legal framework that was developed to support this institutionalization has been argued to form part of an AHD (Smith, 2006) that is powerful in shaping ideas of what the conservation-planning system should seek to protect and what constitutes legitimate conservation actions and interventions. Laurajane Smith posits the AHD as a self-referential discourse that

'privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building' (Smith, 2006, p. 11). As with broader interpretive policy analysis approaches, critical to Smith's concept are the power relations it embodies and the way that the AHD is used to close down other possible heritages, or subaltern heritages, and as such is seen as a regressive process.

Smith reinforces the point that policy instruments, such as the *Venice Charter*, institutionalize and formalize the AHD. She argues that the foregrounding of arguments about the aesthetic and scientific value of physical heritage disguises the real cultural and political significance of heritage processes. The management and conservation of the historic environment is in itself a cultural process that creates value and meaning, and these processes are therefore not just concerned with the management of physical fabric but also exert control over cultural and social value and meaning, perpetuating the AHD in the process. Emma Waterton (2010) has developed these arguments in the specific context of British heritage policy.

However, we should also note that heritage policy does not, of course, exist in a vacuum. Taking the specific case of conservation-planning policy, in certain important respects it is located firmly within the domain of town planning. Its legislation and policy form part of the planning system and, for example, government policy and statements are important in framing conservation-planning practices. So, while part of the discourse that swirls around conservation-planning activity relates to discourses of heritage, part of it relates to planning and the raft of other policy goals that relate to the management of the built environment and, indeed, overarching public policy goals more broadly.

Heritage and economic policy

With the election in Britain of a Conservative government in 1979 there was a broad imperative across most spheres of government towards a smaller state, with functions previously provided by government to be replaced by market mechanisms. This reorientation towards the market was certainly felt in the heritage sector, and heritage was able to successfully reposition itself as a major consumption activity. Indeed, the very term 'heritage' became problematic for many charged with its conservation and management, as it acquired associations with a shameless and casual economic pillaging of history. For example, there was outrage among some commentators as English Heritage monuments began to be used to stage popular, if historically dubious, re-enactments and events, in order to generate income (e.g. Fowler, 1989).

The rhetorical policy direction for town planning set by the Thatcher governments was of deregulation and greater freedom for the development industry

(see, for example, Allmendinger and Thomas, 1998). In practice, in order to achieve regeneration objectives and overcome resistance from vested interests, there was a fragmentation of the system (Thornley, 1991), with the conservation of historic environments not only escaping even the rhetoric of liberalization, but developing and strengthening in policy significance (Pendlebury, 2000). Part of the success of the historic environment sector in not only defending its sphere of activity, but in extending its reach and policy significance, can be attributed to the sector's success in positioning itself as complementary to economic growth and physical regeneration. In doing so, conservation objectives formed part of emerging ideas of 'the cultural industries', a global phenomenon that extended across many countries. In the sphere of the built environment, this was linked to strategies of physical regeneration as part of efforts to change place-image and exploit locations such as waterfronts in reimagining post-industrial cities (e.g. Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993) or through the development of 'cultural quarters' (e.g. Montgomery, 2003, 2004). At a more strategic scale, a focus developed upon achieving accolades such as European Capital of Culture (ECOC) as an agent of regeneration, with Glasgow in 1990 a famous early example (Garcia, 2005).

By the early 1990s, much of the conservation sector in the UK had fully embraced these new, more economically instrumental relationships and the need to present the historic environment as having a positive role in achieving economic development and regeneration policies. In part this had been driven by central government conservation policy. For example, the economic role of conservation emerged in planning guidance in Department of Environment (DoE) Circular 8/87, which argued that conservation is an economically beneficial activity (DoE, 1987): a message subsequently reinforced in Planning Policy Guidance Note 15 (DoE and DNH, 1994). A key body in mediating and promoting this agenda has been English Heritage, which through the course of the 1990s became steadily more engaged with urban regeneration. An English Heritage publication, entitled *The Heritage Dividend* (English Heritage, 1999), was the start of a continuing process of more thorough documentation of the economic impact of heritage spending and the ability to present this in terms of the performance measures and indicators that might be recognized by evaluators of mainstream regeneration funding schemes. Success was measured in relation to regeneration indices rather than in terms of conservation measures and values. Indeed, pushing the historic attributes of the historic environment to the background, and regarding it more as having qualities of place not easily reproducible through new development, has been a characteristic of the instrumental use of the historic environment in achieving other policy goals. This discourse continued throughout the period of Labour government and was evident in its swansong statement on heritage issues (HM Government, 2010).

Heritage as social policy

The election of a Labour government in 1997 posed new challenges to the British heritage sector. In part this was due to a continuation and extension of the economic imperatives described in the previous section. But there was also a wider anxiety in the sector about the modernizing and reformist rhetoric emanating from the new government, which was perceived to be anti-heritage (see, for example, Pendlebury and Townshend, 1998; Venning, 1999). In reality, the incoming government was not as hostile to heritage concerns as feared, but it did initiate a process of reform and reinforce the instrumentality of the use of heritage in helping achieve other policy objectives. Under Labour, the new emphasis was the contribution of the cultural sector to social policy objectives. As Clive Gray (2002) has described, cultural bodies followed a process of 'policy attachment', aligning their goals and activities to broader policy agendas, in part due to top-down pressures from government, for example on social inclusion policy, but in part also through bottom-up processes, whereby actors and organizations in the cultural sphere sought to attach themselves to more prominent and better resourced areas of public activity in order to secure better budgets and to demonstrate political relevance.

In the sphere of heritage, Waterton (2010) has documented the government processes which resulted in *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment* (English Heritage, 2000). This report, produced by English Heritage in collaboration with others across the heritage sector, was intended to be a major statement – as suggested by the subtitle – of how the sector, including its legislative and policy framework, should evolve. The government's response to *Power of Place* subsequently emerged as *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future* (DCMS and DTLR, 2001). One outcome from this review was the beginning of a process of heritage protection reform, which, despite some lofty pronouncements, amounted to little more than an administrative rationalization and tidying exercise that proceeded at a snail's pace and was not complete when the government changed in 2010. More notable, perhaps, were the signals that were sent about the need to understand the historic environment in a more inclusive way and the benefits this might bring.

Social inclusion was a powerful rhetoric during the lifetime of the Labour administrations, adopted across the cultural sector as a matter of necessity and expediency (Gray, 2002, 2008; Pendlebury et al., 2004; Waterton, 2010). Soon after the 1997 election, a Social Exclusion Unit was created by the prime minister and located at the heart of government in the Cabinet Office. This unit had the job of ensuring all government departments addressed issues of social inclusion alongside their normal functional responsibilities. Departments were required to produce reports showing how their activities were contributing positively to this agenda. The sponsoring department for heritage, the Department

of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), reported in 1999 (DCMS, 1999) and in 2001 (DCMS, 2001), although in practice the first report focused on sport and the arts and the subsequent progress report contained only the briefest of mentions of 'The Built and the Historic Environment'. Subsequently the DCMS produced *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment* (DCMS, 2002), which was concerned with the wider built environment as well as built heritage.

While policy attachment to the social inclusion agenda became evident in the policies of bodies such as English Heritage, the Heritage Lottery Fund and the National Trust, this was with very little precision or consistency about the use or meaning of the term. In practical terms, efforts to achieve inclusiveness goals were perhaps most common through an access agenda (Pendlebury et al., 2004). What was being offered was helping more people in society to access and benefit from existing, unchallenged definitions of heritage. This encompassed issues of physical access, financial access and intellectual access. Education was strongly stressed in *A Force for Our Future*. It made the case for built heritage as a resource for learning about history and other disciplines, such as geography and design. It was also said to be useful in developing an active citizenship, by helping people learn about their own environment and how they can participate in its evolution. The agenda was geared to admitting people to the established order on the established order's terms. More challenging inclusiveness possibilities, such as changing definitions to extend to more pluralistic conceptions of heritage, extending participation in heritage management and ceding control over decision-making, were less common, despite the efforts of bodies such as the National Trust, which have arguably become more sophisticated and reflexive over time.

Heritage and localism policy

In 2010, following a general election, a new coalition government was formed in the UK between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. One of the major policy directions to emerge with this government was an emphasis on 'localism', embodying a commitment to enhancing participation within policy and decision-making and transferring powers to neighbourhoods and citizens, leading to the Localism Act 2011. In reality, the principles underpinning this new localism were hardly new. In the arena of conservation planning there is a long history of non-state groups and individuals playing an active and significant role in the conservation and management of place (Hewitt and Pendlebury, 2014). And from the early 2000s Labour governments were pursuing a policy that has been referred to as the 'new localism', with an emphasis upon collaborative approaches (Gallent and Robinson, 2012; Tewdwr Jones, 2012).

However, as Mark Tewdwr Jones discusses, perhaps the distinguishing feature of the Coalition government policy is its focus upon the neighbourhood level. This has the promise of more direct citizen involvement in planning processes through, for example, the production of Neighbourhood Development Plans. These provisions effectively enable local neighbourhoods to assume the responsibility for statutory plan-making. The development of these powers raised many contentious issues. For example, an immediate question is: Who has the right to propose and prepare a plan? It is also clear that, despite the localist rhetoric from the government, there is a firm view that the purpose of neighbourhood planning should be to enable development, not to prevent it. This is not supposed to be a 'NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) charter'; yet history suggests that community mobilization most frequently occurs in affluent areas seeking to safeguard the existing qualities of place. Linking these issues of representation and strategy together, one of the most contentious elements of the Neighbourhood Development Plan provisions is the possibility this has created for plan production to be a business-led process.

During the period when the legislation was being drafted and subject to consultation, there was much anxiety in the conservation-planning sector about proposed clauses that would have allowed Neighbourhood Plans to ignore some of the national statutes on conservation. Thus, the Heritage Alliance, an umbrella group for many national conservation organizations, responded to the proposed legislation in the following terms:

The Heritage Alliance welcomes the Coalition Government's intention to shift the balance of policy-making more towards the communities who care about them ...

But there was also a reminder to government that heritage is not just a local concern:

Although local interests are important and we do not underestimate the quality of expertise available in many communities, there is also significant knowledge and expert advice in our national civil society, outside central and local government.

(Extracts from The Heritage Alliance consultation response to the
Localism Bill, 2011)

The legislation that was ultimately introduced responded to these issues, and Neighbourhood Plans are now expected to be in general conformity with a range of other plans and planning policy, including the National Planning Policy Framework.

As a prelude to the introduction of legislation, the government committed to supporting a number of pilot or 'frontrunner' Neighbourhood Plans. One of the first wave of 17 plans was North Shield Fish Quay, a historic but somewhat run-down area close to the mouth of the River Tyne in the northeast of England, with a mix of commercial and residential land uses. Like many of the frontrunner proposals, the impetus for a community planning process did not arise out of a vacuum. Community planning processes started up in Fish Quay in 2002, linked to the evolution of conservation and regeneration plans for the area. Previous outcomes have included a community-generated conservation area character appraisal, a community design project and work on a heritage centre project. Thus, when pilot plans were being sought, the combination of an active community engaged in processes of planning and regeneration and a market interest from developers made it an obvious candidate for frontrunner status. Fish Quay was proposed by the local, directly elected mayor, and this was met with cautious enthusiasm by the existing community partnership in the area and less reservedly by development interests.

Having been successful in the bidding process, the first difficult stage was the need to create a group with the locus to produce the Plan. As a non-parished area, there is no Parish Council, and the existing FISH (Folk Interested in Shields Harbour) and Fish Quay Heritage Partnership community groups were not considered to be constituted correctly to take on this role. The creation of a new group, the Fish Quay Neighbourhood Plan Group, was a difficult and contentious process, and there was a change in the dynamic of community representation in the area. So, for example, there was a more overt business representation, and a number of people from outside the area became an active part of the process – something allowed under the legislation.

The plan was adopted as a Supplementary Planning Document in 2013 (North Shields Fish Quay Neighbourhood Plan Group, 2013). There seems to be less focus on traditional conceptions of heritage and conservation-planning goals in developing the plan than in previous planning initiatives. Instead, there is an increased emphasis on other concepts, such as amenity. So, for example, there is a site in the area currently empty of buildings but that had been earmarked for development. Analysis of the historic morphology and the townscape has supported this as the 'correct' policy approach. However, as part of the neighbourhood planning process, different perspectives arose and greater stress was placed upon amenity and views, with the site now to be left as an open space. Thus, it seems as though the new neighbourhood planning process has created a different dynamic and interaction of interests in the area. One outcome of this might be a modified conception of place, with different values given emphasis in its future management.

An initial reading of the localism legislation, and, indeed, this case, might see the extension of planning powers to neighbourhoods through the Localism

Act as a straightforwardly positive development. Such a reading would see the possibility of the wresting of the hegemonic control over heritage definition and management away from experts, away from the state and towards community and civil society through collaborative processes. As such, it would open up more inclusive, more diverse, more democratic readings of heritage and how these might be planned for. The Neighbourhood Plans could, from a heritage perspective, develop more holistic conceptions of place and place-value, with less emphasis placed upon locally applied expert-led judgements of national criteria. And, indeed, this may be one outcome of the localism legislation.

Yet there are complexities and problems with taking such a straightforward interpretation. While localism might challenge a powerful AHD and its control of policy processes, we need to recognize that such an AHD exists in competition not only with subaltern discourses of heritage but equally, if not more so, with other elite discourses over the future of place, and specifically processes of capital accumulation. Thus, in bringing new 'voices' to the process of place and heritage management we might see new, subaltern and more holistic conceptions of place and heritage structuring the discourse of planning, albeit in tension with conceptions of the historic environment held within the AHD. Equally, however, we might see subversions of the process: the status of locally valued places challenged by commercial or other interests directly through the plan-making process. Indeed, we may see both.

Conclusion

As the state has appropriated the idea of heritage over the last few hundred years, so heritage policy has developed. At the broadest level, heritage has been incorporated into grand and diffuse narratives of nation and national identity but also in idealistic notions of the importance of heritage to humankind as a whole. Throughout the course of the twentieth century, as the state's role in daily life in Britain and elsewhere steadily grew, with attendant state bureaucracies, the policy context around heritage became more developed, more complex and, in the latter part of the century, more explicitly linked to other policy goals. Specifically for conservation planning, there has developed an explicit instrumentalization context for policy that demands a contribution to such goals as economic regeneration, social inclusion and localism. Ultimately the conservation-planning sector is a relatively small and weak actor in the management of place. Despite grand rhetorical government statements about the importance of heritage, the sector has constantly felt the need to justify its relevance to more overarching public policy goals and to attach itself to these policies.

The classic formulation of policy suggests that it is imposed through governance structures on the basis of expert knowledge. The legitimacy of experts

as controlling ideas of and policies for the management of heritage has come under increasing and sustained challenge. The AHD focuses on discourse and the way this is used to control what is valorized as heritage and how it is subsequently managed, in the process suppressing alternative subaltern notions of heritage and its management. From a policy studies perspective, interpretive policy analysis approaches seek to critique the role of policy in sustaining power relations. Wagenaar (2011) reviews the literature on empowered participatory governance while acknowledging the practical difficulties of such approaches, with their need for inclusiveness, efficiency, stability and to be technically well informed (Forester, 2009). As well as being inclusionary, policies should be effective. As Wagenaar discusses, these are difficult challenges, as citizens need to develop skills and motivation in the face of the formidable agenda-setting power of officials and agencies. The work of such writers as Healey (2006, in spatial planning) is an attempt to outline how participatory and collaborative approaches could work, with more open and equal interactions between citizens and policymakers.

Within this context, the localism agenda championed by the British government (and, indeed, by its predecessor) would seem to offer much. This legislation and policy offer the potential for neighbourhood groups to create statutory plans for their areas, albeit still constrained by the need to conform to higher-level policy objectives. In the sphere of heritage, this would seem to offer the prospect of new inflections to dominant modes of heritage. But, in practice, the historic environment sector (including national civic society groups) has worked tirelessly to ensure that such neighbourhood action occurs within a hard-won national framework of national laws and policy.

We could regard this as the assertion of a powerful, hegemonic AHD over subaltern notions of heritage: lip service to neighbourhood action, but within strictly controlled parameters. However, it is worth remembering that part of the reason the historic environment sector clings so tenaciously to this national policy framework is the competition that exists for urban space. Legislation and policy were won, in negotiation with the state, to prevent and mediate rapid urban transformations in the 1960s and 1970s. While such rapid destructive change to urban environments in the UK may no longer be common, external threat remains a powerful binding discourse. The function of the AHD in this context is not only to press the claim of a particular construction of heritage over other heritage possibilities, but to claim superior cultural capital and value, 'civilized values', as a strategy of resistance to established modes of capital accumulation through land and property development. While the AHD might serve the purposes of a particular elite, this may be less at the expense of suppressing subaltern heritage than in competition for control over the built environment with other elite interests, and specifically those concerned with

property development, considered an important and legitimate actor in new neighbourhood planning processes.

Ultimately, localism policy exposes an important dilemma for heritage management. Heritage policy, and specifically conservation policy, is controlled by an elite and expert professional group through such devices as an AHD. An opening up of this process and the construction of more participatory and grassroots ways of formulating policy for local places, as in principle promised by localist rhetoric, should be considered a positive development. However, the relinquishment of power over the construction and management of heritage by cultural elites does not automatically ensure the transfer of power and control downwards to enable subaltern definitions and approaches to heritage. Rather, in practice, it may enable the assertion of interests with little interest in any conception of heritage. State policy and legislation are a vital framing for mediating how such competition over urban space is played out.

References

- Allmendinger, P. and Thomas, H. (eds) (1998) *Urban Planning and the British New Right* (London: Routledge).
- Belfiore, E. (2012) '“Defensive Instrumentalism” and the Legacy of New Labour's Cultural Policies', *Cultural Trends*, 21(2), 103–11.
- Bianchini, F. and Parkinson, M. (eds) (1993) *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience* (Manchester: University Press).
- Colebatch, H. K. (1998) *Policy* (Buckingham: Open University Press).
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport (1999) *Policy Action Team 10: A Report to the Social Exclusion Unit* (London: DCMS).
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2001) *Building on PAT 10: Progress Report on Social Inclusion* (London: DCMS).
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2002) *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment* (London: DCMS).
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport and Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (2001) *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future* (London: DCMS).
- Department of the Environment (1987) *Circular 8/87: Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas – Policy and Procedures* (London: HMSO).
- Department of the Environment and Department of National Heritage (1994) *Planning Policy Guidance 15: Planning and the Historic Environment* (London: HMSO).
- English Heritage (1999) *The Heritage Dividend: Measuring the Results of English Heritage Regeneration 1994–1999* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2000) *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment* (London: English Heritage).
- Fischer, F. (2003) *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices* (Oxford: University Press).
- Fischer, F. and Forester, J. (eds) (1993) *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning* (London: Duke University Press).
- Fischer, F. and Gottweis, H. (eds) (2012) *The Argumentative Turn Revisited: Public Policy as Communicative Practice* (London: Duke University Press).

- Forester, J. (2009) *Dealing with Differences: Dramas of Mediating Public Disputes* (Oxford: University Press).
- Fowler, P. (1989) 'Heritage: A Post-Modernist Perspective' in D. Uzzell (ed.) *Heritage Interpretation Volume 1: The Natural and Built Environment* (London: Belhaven), pp. 57–63.
- Gallent, N. and Robinson, S. (2012) *Neighbourhood Planning: Communities, Networks and Governance* (Bristol: Policy Press).
- Garcia, B. (2005) 'Deconstructing the City of Culture: The Long-Term Cultural Legacies of Glasgow 1990', *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6), 841–68.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage* (London: Arnold).
- Gray, C. (2002) 'Local Government and the Arts', *Local Government Studies*, 28(1), 77–90.
- Gray, C. (2008) 'Instrumental Policies: Causes, Consequences, Museums and Galleries', *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), 209–22.
- Hall, M. (ed.) (2011) *Towards World Heritage: International Origins of the Preservation Movement 1870–1930* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Healey, P. (2006) *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
- Hewison, R. (1995) *Culture and Consensus: England, Art and Politics since 1940* (London: Methuen).
- Hewitt, L. and Pendlebury, J. (2014) 'Local Associations and Participation in Place: Change and Continuity in the Relationship between State and Civil Society during the Twentieth Century', *Planning Perspectives*, 29(1), 25–44.
- HM Government (2010) *The Government's Statement on the Historic Environment for England 2010* (London: DCMS).
- Jokilehto, J. (1999) *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann).
- Montgomery, J. (2003) 'Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Urban Quarters', *Planning Practice and Research*, 18(4), 293–306.
- Montgomery, J. (2004) 'Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 2: A Review of Four Cultural Quarters in the UK, Ireland and Australia', *Planning Practice and Research*, 19(1), 3–31.
- North Shields Fish Quay Neighbourhood Plan Group (2013) *Fish Quay Neighbourhood Plan Supplementary Planning Document* (North Tyneside: North Tyneside Borough Council).
- Parsons, W. (1995) *Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar).
- Pendlebury, J. (2000) 'Conservation, Conservatives and Consensus: The Success of Conservation under the Thatcher and Major Governments, 1979–1997', *Planning Theory and Practice*, 1(1), 31–52.
- Pendlebury, J. (2009) *Conservation in the Age of Consensus* (London: Routledge).
- Pendlebury, J. and Strange, I. (2011) 'Urban Conservation and the Shaping of the English City', *Town Planning Review*, 82(4), 361–92.
- Pendlebury, J. and Townshend, T. (1998) 'New Labour: New Conservation?' *Context*, 60, 17–18.
- Pendlebury, J., Townshend, T. and Gilroy, R. (2004) 'The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion?' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10(1), 11–32.
- Smith, L. (2006) *The Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Tewdwr Jones, M. (2012) *Spatial Planning and Governance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

- The Heritage Alliance (2011) Memorandum submitted by The Heritage Alliance to the Parliamentary Public Bill Committee on the Localism Bill. <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmpublic/localism/memo/loc070.htm>, accessed 25 July 2013.
- Thornley, A. (1991) *Urban Planning under Thatcherism: the Challenge of the Market* (London: Routledge).
- Venning, P. (1999) 'The Government Turning Its Back on the Historic Environment', *Context*, 61, 7.
- Wagenaar, H. (2011) *Meaning in Action: Interpretation and Dialogue in Policy Analysis* (London: M. E. Sharpe).
- Waterton, E. (2010) *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

27

Heritage, Power and Ideology

Katharina Schramm

The nexus between heritage, power and ideology almost seems self-evident, at least at first sight. Is not heritage, or the announcement of something *as* heritage, per se ideological – characterized by a highly reductionist recourse to ‘the past’ in order to legitimate current interests and future aspirations of political actors? And is it not a matter of power and control, as David Harvey has paraphrased George Orwell: ‘who controls the present controls the past’ (2008, p. 20)?

But, of course, things are not so easy and straightforward. Heritage, for one, is not a ‘thing’ but, rather, a process (Harvey, 2008, p. 21): a relation that cannot be reduced to one dimension or a unilinear trajectory. Moreover, as the contributions in Part IV explore, contestation is at the core of numerous discourses about heritage, be it in the commemoration of past violence (cf. Argenti and Schramm, 2010; Silverstein and Makdisi, 2005), ancient greatness (Fontein, 2006; Butler, 2007) or everyday life (Berdahl, 2010). Such contestations over heritage are not merely conflicts over the power to define what is relevant and who should represent it, but they are potentially irresolvable and inherently ‘difficult’ (Macdonald, 2009). Some authors have therefore suggested that we speak of heritages in the plural (Ashworth et al., 2007) in order to account for the fact that heritage artefacts, sites or narratives may always have different meanings to different groups and people (cf. Rampley, 2012, p. 16) and that these are bound to change over time. Others have proposed investigating the effects of heritage regimes as complex networks that go beyond the various intentions of the people involved in the debate. As Bendix et al. have put it, ‘It is not simply human actors seeking or wielding power and holding control: the regimes themselves, as realized in unfolding bureaucratic institutions and processes, discipline both actors and their cultural practices into (perhaps) unforeseen dynamics’ (2012, p. 16).

In this contribution, I therefore aim at a critical reflection on power and ideology that builds on the ambiguous character of heritage. Such an approach

does not take the concept of power or ideology as its starting point in order to then account for their reflection in heritage. Rather, it implies the need to follow their mutual entanglement and various articulations in practices. This, of course, has been quite widely acknowledged among heritage scholars – and I will discuss these developments in the first part of the chapter. However, even in critical heritage discourse there has been a tendency to juxtapose and somewhat fix dominant and subaltern actors in relation to heritage and its institutionalization. The interrelated case studies that I will present in the second part of this chapter challenge this view. Starting from the heated debates about the New York African Burial Ground and their strong, though perhaps unexpected, reverberations in Ghana and South Africa, I will complicate the relationship between state and community, which are often presented as oppositional parties in heritage debates. By following the discursive and material trajectories of the New York African Burial Ground, I will show how dominant and marginal positionalities may shift in relation to heritage and ideology.

Conceptual and methodological approaches

Let me begin my discussion by examining how heritage, power and ideology have been brought together in previous studies. For Brian Graham (2002, p. 1006), for example, heritage is ‘one fundamental element in the shaping of... power networks and in elaborating [the] “identifiable but diffused” concept of power’ that is articulated in Manuel Castell’s (1997) concept of the ‘network society’. While this perspective acknowledges the decentralization of power and a kind of distributed agency (without explicitly referring to actor-network theory), the network society approach still adds a sense of substance and pervasiveness to power as something that exists ‘out there’ (cf. Walters, 2012, p. 3).

In contrast, a more Foucauldian approach would put further emphasis on the Janus-faced-ness of heritage as at the same time enabling *and* debilitating, empowering *and* subjugating (cf. Bond and Gilliam, 1994). For Foucault, power is not a negative force to be executed by somebody who possesses it onto another who is subdued, but first and foremost a productive relation that produces powerful effects of subjectification. Studying such effects, their stabilizations as well as their malleability in relation to heritage and its multiple expressions on a global and local scale, places heritage at the centre of an analysis of contemporary cultural and political articulations.

In a similar way, one should not juxtapose ideology with concepts such as identity or authenticity, but should, rather, analyse these forms of articulation as necessarily interlinked (cf. Schramm, 2004). In her discussion of heritage regimes between arbitration (as authoritative scheme) and engineering (as creative apparatus), Kristin Kuutma refers to Marc Augé’s concept of the *ideo-logic*

to account for the fact that heritage configurations convey 'both relations of power and relations of meaning' (Kuutma, 2012, p. 22). This emphasis on meaning-making, in addition to the necessary attention to power relations, acknowledges the contingencies inherent in the production and interpretation of heritage. It also reminds us of the necessity to ask why some forms of heritage appear as 'successful' and persuasive while others, even if they form part of an official structure of governance, may not achieve popular acceptance and thus fail to perform a legitimizing role.¹

Other authors who have captured the productivity of this *ideo-logic* constellation are John and Jean Comaroff, who coined the term 'ID-ology', which they take to mean 'a site in which various sorts of identity struggle to express themselves in the politics of everyday life' (2003, p. 448). For Terry Eagleton, who puts identity, power and meaning at the core of his thinking about ideology, the concept of ideology provides a useful distinction between 'those power struggles which are somehow central to a whole form of social life, and those which are not' (1991, p. 8). For him, ideology is not necessarily concomitant with a position of dominance, but is related to forms of social legitimation and political subjectivity in a broader sense.

Identity and power struggles are connected to the heritage sector in a number of ways. They can, for example, take shape through an embodied sense of belonging and entitlement as expressed in the proliferation of genetic ancestry projects and autochthony movements (cf. Schramm, 2012; Broz, 2009), or as the commercial branding of 'culture', 'tradition' and 'ethnicity' that is so characteristic of contemporary heritagization (cf. Ebron, 2002; Waterton, 2011). Both forms of incorporation are closely interlinked – a dynamic which, once again, has been appositely termed 'Ethnicity, Inc.' by the Comaroffs (2009).

So what are the methodological tools to investigate these processes? Foucault's genealogical method appears as an appropriate starting point. In his discussion of governmentality as critical encounters, William Walters (2012) has usefully distinguished between three different genealogical styles of thinking after Foucault. To him, genealogy can refer to a) descent; b) forms of reserialization and counter-memory; or c) the retrieval of forgotten struggles and subjugated knowledges. As my discussion below will show, I would like to problematize these notions, and in particular those referring to subjugation and resistance, since they imply the danger of fixing positions of dominance and marginality. For the time being, however, the genealogical method allows us to historicize the notion of heritage itself, in addition to investigating the specific relationality of past–present–future that it entails.

Tracing the genealogies of power and heritage both vertically and horizontally, it becomes clear that this process is not at all arbitrary or completely contingent. If, indeed, the past is a scarce resource (Appadurai, 1989), there are limits to the ways in which it is imaginable or in which it can be convincingly

narrated (Trouillot, 1995). At this point, it is important to think about the archive (in both a literal and a metaphoric sense) as a very specific mode of knowledge production. To Foucault, the notion of the archive is similar to that of ‘apparatus’ or ‘*dispositif*’, in referring ‘to a discipline’s set of rules at a given period, and these rules define, limit and form the things that are “sayable”’ (cited in Smith, 2004, p. 63). However, if we consider what Carolyn Hamilton (2011) has called the ‘life of the archive’, this enables us to recognize marginalized voices as an integral part of, as well as active agents in, the biography of specific archives. Moreover, her concept also allows us to de-objectify dominant narratives by disentangling their backstory, i.e. the various elements that constitute a particular history and the conditions under which this version of the past gained legitimacy, has been stabilized and continues to be maintained (or discarded).

In debates about heritage and power, such questions of legitimation and stabilization of particular narratives about the past have often been discussed with a strong focus on the relationship between the state, international bodies and academic disciplines, or, in other words, the nexus between power, knowledge and institution that is marked by it.

Critical heritage discourse

Consequently, the ideological weight of heritage appears most strikingly in connection with its institutionalization through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and this organization’s universalizing claims to safeguard and represent ‘cultural diversity’ and the patrimony of humankind as a whole (Eriksen, 2001; cf. Bendix et al., 2012). UNESCO’s policies appear paradoxical – while they attempt to preserve the multiplicity of local cultural traditions perceived to be under threat by the forces of globalization, the resulting heritage regime itself seems to act as a homogenizing machine, objectifying and classifying distinct cultural forms as heritage and others not. Preservation effectively becomes transformation into a standardized format – as ‘culture’ is being patrimonized (cf. Berliner, 2012). This paradox is particularly virulent in the creation of the legislation on intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Initially conceived in order to balance the Western monumental bias that had previously dominated the choice of World Heritage Sites, the new scheme actually appears to expand a Eurocentric notion of monumental time (Herzfeld, 1991) onto the newly created archive of intangible heritage.

Moreover, even though UNESCO’s choice of protected sites and practices is decidedly local, it always collaborates with the respective state in which these are located. For that matter, a number of scholars have criticized UNESCO and other international agencies for being complicit with the self-aggrandizement

and monumentalization of the state because of their promotion of 'heritage technologies for the production of official pasts and futures' (Rowlands and de Jong, 2008, p. 13). Such technologies that are imminent to official experts' approaches to cultural policies include standardized processes of identification and the classification of cultural artefacts and expressions considered worth preserving. These and further references to objective scientific information have been called the 'fetishising of expert knowledge' (ACHS, 2011, cited in Smith, 2012, p. 534f) in the recent manifesto of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies. They are rhetorical strategies that have a peculiar tendency to depoliticize the heritage sector (Winter, 2013, p. 8) and thereby to black-box the various power struggles that are at play in it.^{2,3}

This emphasis on the possibility of an objective assessment of heritage (and its value) through expert knowledge is often put forward by heritage practitioners and policymakers who operate in a utilitarian framework and within state institutions. The experts who are involved in these processes – archaeologists, conservationists or biological anthropologists, to name but a few – tend to share this view (at least when it comes to the public representations of expertise). After all, these claims of neutrality and facticity go to the core of their disciplinary identities (cf. Smith, 2004). In addition, media representations and lay understandings of heritage and its intrinsic value usually follow this interpretation.

In contrast, many approaches from the humanities, according to Tim Winter tend to put greater emphasis on the critical aspects of heritage – going as far as being 'anti-heritage' (2013, p. 2). Here, the emphasis is not so much on the generation of knowledge per se, but, rather, on the examination of the inextricable nexus of power/knowledge that is underlying any discourse on heritage – and official discourses in particular. According to the Foucauldian genealogical model referred to above, critical heritage debates stress the aspect of counter-memories as well as the valorization of dissident voices. Thus, heritage is not important in and of itself, but, rather, in relation to the politics of recognition that are at play in popular memory.

An often-quoted example for such a community project that counts as a successful appropriation of the heritage repertoire in order to reclaim a deep loss and recreate a sense of belonging 'from below' is the District Six Museum in Cape Town, South Africa (McEachern, 1998; Hall, 2001; Rassool, 2006). District Six was a 'multi-racial' working class area in the inner city of Cape Town. In consequence of the infamous Group Areas Act between the late 1960s and early 1980s, all residents were forcibly removed to the segregated wasteland of the Cape Flats, and the district became neglected. During the time of transition from apartheid, the museum initiative took shape. Former residents brought personal memorabilia and photographs, organized tours through the now abandoned district, and gathered at the museum to share

memories and discuss strategies for restitution of land and houses. Even though their project fitted the official rhetoric of the post-apartheid state and leaned towards its ideological framework, it also threatened the authority of the new state and its representatives, who put far greater emphasis on the commemoration of the political struggle of the African National Congress and its leadership than on ordinary people's nostalgia for home (cf. Coombes, 2003).

While, on the one hand, the state, through its cultural politics and its compatibility with a globalized heritage regime, thus appears as the dominant agent that is able to expand its domain of governance through its control of the past and its representation (see de Cesari, 2012; Smith, 2004), communal heritage, on the other hand, appears as a form of resistance and resilience. Clearly, the case of the District Six Museum does not stand for the depoliticized notion of heritage that we often associate with state-sponsored heritage projects. On the contrary, it served as a platform to strengthen community members' voices in the negotiations of substantial land claims.⁴ And yet, District Six is also an excellent example of the more complicated relationship that exists between 'official' and 'subversive' heritage discourses, or 'the state' vs. 'the community'. Through their engagement in this project of popular memory, many of the museum's board members and activists, some of whom were already professional historians, became well-known heritage experts themselves, and nowadays a number of them can undoubtedly claim the status of important and recognized voices in Cape Town's public sphere (see below). Moreover, the specific emphasis that the District Six Museum placed on community participation and empowerment through a particular form of commemoration has itself become a globally circulating, quasi-standardized model for heritage practitioners elsewhere.⁵

In the remainder of this chapter, following my emphasis on the shifting dynamics of heritage, power and ideology, I will discuss two related cases from my own fieldwork in disparate places. The first one is an example from Ghana, where I studied the relationship between Pan-African ideology and the politics of heritage in the commemorative practices around the slave trade, shared, but also highly disputed, among Ghanaian and African American stakeholders (cf. Schramm, 2010). The second case derives from my current research, which deals with scientific and public debates about race and human origins in post-apartheid South Africa. Both cases are concerned with dead bodies that were marginalized in life (as slaves and underclass) but have now attained a central role in the struggles over ownership, political voice, social position and representational power as they occur in the two settings. The story begins, however, in New York.

Ideology, power and relationality: Shifting perspectives

In 1991, bulldozers unearthed a large gravesite in the middle of Manhattan during construction works for a federal building. This discovery of what was later to be termed the New York African Burial Ground caused an enormous stir. The dug-up human remains from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries belonged to enslaved as well as free black people, whose presence had been largely ignored in the city's official history. From the beginning, African American community activists feared that the interests of capital and urban development would win over their own concerns to commemorate and honour the dead (see La Roche and Blakey, 1997; Blakey, 2010). They brought in the discourse of slave heritage and silenced pasts in their fight for recognition. Eventually, as part of a compromise among the various stakeholders, the General Services Administration (GSA) ordered the human remains to be transferred to the traditionally black Howard University in order to perform bio-archaeological as well as genetic research on the dead. The decision-makers presented this step as a twofold achievement. On the one hand, black scholars would be in control of the study of the bones. In a US setting where the scientific study of human remains associated with Native American burials had been a matter of fierce debate about cultural (and intellectual) property, this was presented as a progressive move. On the other hand, the scientific work would help to gain factual knowledge about the African origins of the remains, and thus enable the establishment of a meaningful linkage to the African homeland.⁶ Through a number of related indicators, today's Republic of Ghana was identified as one possible place of origin for the people buried in Manhattan, and in 2003 some of the remains were reinterred on site in hand-made Ghanaian coffins.

Today, the New York African Burial Ground, including the adjacent memorial and exhibition, forms part of the official heritage landscape of the US.⁷ To many, the declaration of the site as a national monument in 2006 felt like an exclamation mark after a long and arduous struggle for recognition of the great importance of an early black presence in the US north as well as for contemporary African American concerns more generally. It clearly and firmly positioned African Americans as full citizens of the US – and so the recognition went both ways, despite the controversies that had accompanied the negotiations throughout.

Yet other people had different ideas. Among them was the late community activist Sonny Carson, who harshly criticized the incorporation of African American ancestral memories into the heritage landscape of the city of New York and therefore into mainstream US society. Following a more radical Afrocentric conviction, he insisted on the repatriation of the remains of one of his own ancestors to African soil.⁸ This desire was shared by activists and

decision-makers on both sides of the Atlantic, and Ghana became the site for the performance of this initial 'homecoming pilgrimage' (see Schramm, 2004).⁹

In August 1998, with the collaboration of prominent diasporan scholar-activists, including Sonny Carson, but also Leonard Jeffries, James Small, Min-ion Phillips and Dhoruba Bin Wahad, the Ghanaian state, through its Ministry of Tourism, organized the first 'Emancipation Day' festival (repeated annually ever since). The central feature of this elaborate ritual was the repatriation and eventual reburial of the remains of Samuel Carson and Chrystal (an enslaved woman from Jamaica). The site chosen for the grave was Assin Manso, a former slave market around 40 kilometres away from the famous World Heritage Site of Cape Coast Castle, a European fortress and slave dungeon. Through the town of Assin Manso runs the river Donkor Nsuo ('Slave River'), where, according to the storyline of the event, slaves were said to have had their 'last bath' on African soil before being shipped to the Americas.

In this account, the more ambivalent local memories of the slave trade, which include denial, social exclusion and complex inner African trading networks as well as a profound sense of abjection in the face of ongoing marginalization in the global economy (Holsey, 2008), did not feature. They did not fit into the official narrative of black triumph – a narrative constructed by African American stakeholders together with the Ghanaian state officials.¹⁰ The sidelining of local memories and concerns became most visible in the eventual building of a memorial and Reverential Garden at Assin Manso. Whereas the riverside had previously marked a sacred grove, a spiritual abode and local place of worship,¹¹ a wall nowadays encircles the whole area, and one needs to pay an entrance fee to access the river and gravesite. Today, Assin Manso, together with other Ghanaian slave sites, belongs to Ghana's main attractions in the important market niche of heritage tourism.

In this example, the entanglement of heritage, power and ideology is apparent in mutually overlapping discourses that do not fit neatly into a dichotomy of dominant versus marginal positionalities, but are, rather, contingent and shifting. Zooming out of the initial debates over the New York African Burial Ground as they unfolded between African American community representatives and agents of the state administration, two major positions emerged. The first was a claim for recognition. If we take on a Foucauldian perspective, this is an essential part of the power game. In order to have a voice that will be heard, one needs to express oneself through an idiom that somehow gels with the official discourse, or there must at least be the implicit acknowledgement of a shared 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault, 1994, p. 237). Here, the productive character of governmentality comes to the fore. Moreover, according to Laurajane Smith, in the context of heritage analysis, this governmentality framework provides

an intellectual tool for tracing the historical construction and deployment of knowledge about material culture and its effects on the perceptions of 'identity' held by, and applied to, specific populations. It allows an examination of the effects of archaeological discourse and ideology on political struggles through its effects on notions of identity.

(2004, p. 72)

However, helpful as it may be, the governmentality framework does not sufficiently explain the second position, namely, that of radical separatism and the demand for repatriation (of the dead as well as the living). Nor is it fully applicable to this position's multifold afterlife in Ghana. Radical Afrocentrism operates in a different ontological framework from the heritage regime that eventually produced the national monument of the African Burial Ground in New York. It is also quite distinct from the tourism policy of the Ghanaian state. And yet, some of its central themes have been adopted into official heritage discourse. In the wake of Emancipation Day and its aftermath, the Afrocentric counter-discourse to the politics of the US, marginalized in its original setting, became the prime format in which the state of Ghana addressed visitors from the diaspora. Moreover, it formed part of a new heritage discourse that in itself marginalized other positions. However, this translation into a new setting is by no means complete – the heritage of the slave trade and the return of the remains continue to mean quite different things to different people.¹²

In my second example, it was not the bones themselves that travelled, but, rather, the discourse about and the disciplinary practices around them. At almost the same time as the eventual reinterment of the human remains took place at the site of the New York African Burial Ground in 2003, another disremembered colonial burial site was uncovered in Green Point, South Africa. Ten years after the end of apartheid, urban reconstruction of this part of the city of Cape Town – strategically located between the CBD and the newly built Waterfront – was in full bloom. Luxury apartments and an upmarket shopping mall shot up in the area of former District One, from which many people had been forcibly removed during apartheid times. Today, Cape Town's city marketing praises the area as an upcoming, colourful, arty place: a 'bustling, cosmopolitan hub'.¹³ However, as in many cases of such gentrification, the diversity that is advertised is actually class-based and thus relies on the exclusion of those who cannot afford it.

From archival materials and oral history it was known that the area, which had served as 'Gallows Hill' during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was also a site of many unofficial burials. Slaves, sailors, prisoners, the poor – all of them were put into the ground here (see Weeder, 2006). Thus, it should not have come as a surprise to the developer and the municipality when a large field of human remains literally came to the surface during construction

works at Prestwich Place. Immediately, archaeologists were called in to examine the site and 'rescue' the remains to prevent further damage (see Malan, 2003). According to the new legislation of the South African Heritage Resource Agency (Section 36 of the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999), a public consultation process of 60 days had to occur. This consultation, however, only started when exhumations had already begun. It eventually unravelled into an unprecedented public outcry that completely overwhelmed the official heritage professionals, who apparently had no protocol for such a situation.

A 'Hands off Prestwich Place Ad Hoc Committee' (HPPAHC) – later 'Prestwich Place Project Committee' (PPPC) – was formed that vehemently objected against any further disturbance of the site – be it through development activities or archaeological 'grave-robbing' in the name of research (Minutes, First Public Meeting, 2003, p. 6). The representatives of the committee, some of whom were closely connected to the above-mentioned District Six Museum, spoke as community representatives and descendants of the dead. They viewed the exhumations as sacrilege, something that would repeat the violence and disrespect that the people buried there had gone through in their lifetime. They also linked the removal of human remains by predominantly 'white archaeologists' (Minutes, First Public Meeting, 2003, p. 2) to the forced removals of the Group Areas Act and its traumatic consequences for the affected black and coloured communities (see esp. Weeder, 2006). The group demanded that the development should stop and the whole area should be declared as a national heritage site. A proper memorial should be erected on site. No exhumation or scientific study should be allowed. This was presented as an important moment in history, a chance to eventually commemorate those people who usually did not feature in official (white) history books of Cape Town, but who had actually been the ones who had built the 'Mother City'.

In contrast to these demands, archaeologists and heritage officials who were in favour of the exhumation agreed to the need to recognize Prestwich Place as a site of national significance, without challenging the prerogatives of 'development'. Nevertheless, they urged the city of Cape Town, as well as the South African government, to take this issue seriously (see ACO, 2003). They shared the narrative about the importance of the history of slavery, especially in the new South Africa. Expanding the archival metaphor but not necessarily reflecting on its problematic colonial connotations (cf. Stoler, 2009) or its complex backstory (cf. Hamilton, 2011), they presented the remains themselves as a unique archive to learn about the lives of the people laid to rest there: their looks, the food they ate, the diseases they suffered from, the work they performed, their causes of death (see Sealy, 2003). Without such knowledge, so the argument went, it would not be possible to restore the dignity of the dead. Following 'best professional practice', archaeologists (together with biological anthropologists) presented themselves as the experts who could 'give voice' to

those who had previously been silenced in the official heritage discourse (see Friedling, 2005). This claim to neutrality and scientific objectivity was vigorously questioned by the HPPAHC, as well as by a number of critical academics¹⁴ who condemned it as a means of *objectifying* the dead and *silencing* the living members of disadvantaged descendant communities.

During the entire consultation process, several people made references to the New York African Burial Ground. Those who cited it almost unanimously presented it as a positive example for the achievement of (inter)national recognition of the heritage of slavery and a turning of the tables in the relationship between marginal and dominant, heritage and power. The archaeologists who were in favour of the exhumation and scientific examination of the bones emphasized this aspect of the African Burial Ground – namely the knowledge that was gained by the morphological and genetic studies that had been performed on the New York remains. In contrast, the people who objected to the exhumation of the Prestwich Place remains argued that ‘whatever remains there that were removed from the site for research was intended for a limited period only, and by appropriate archaeologists in appropriate sites’ (Minutes, First Public Meeting, 2003, p. 4), stressing the aspects of representation and ownership rather than epistemology. Only one person who made reference to the ABG mentioned the fact that ‘there were... many fights over the wrongs and rights of the project... scientists wanting to do research and put bones in cupboards versus what is prerogative of community’ (Minutes, First Public Meeting, 2003, p. 4).

In the end, a decision was made in favour of the development, and, one could say, against heritage. All remains were excavated, but any further examination of the bones was precluded. An ossuary was built in close proximity to Prestwich Place, where the bones are now shelved in cardboard boxes in a barred vault. There is a small exhibition on the history of District One and of the Prestwich Place burial grounds. Most visitors know the site not for its memorial but for the adjacent coffee shop. The newly constructed ossuary has not become a place of worship or community commemorations. It does not appear on the South African list of heritage sites, nor has it become part of UNESCO’s Slave Route Project, as had also been proposed.

Many authors have written about Prestwich Place as a site where conflicts over heritage, its proper care and management, were revealing much deeper struggles about (post-)apartheid politics, power relations and ideological convictions (e.g. Jonker, 2005; Grunebaum, 2007). These conflicts were also analysed as part of divergent knowledge regimes (Shepherd, 2007; Hall, 2001), similarly to Tim Winter’s above-quoted identification of the dichotomy between managerial and critical heritage approaches. Gerard Ralphs, for example, opposes the critical interdisciplinary position I have referred to with what he calls an instrumentalist literature that he associates with the

'archaeology of disclosure' (2008, p. 39), which would ignore the dynamics of power/knowledge and the ideological framework that the discipline of archaeology was embedded in. On the other hand, authors such as Alan Morris (2008), anatomy professor at the University of Cape Town and strong proponent of the excavations and the study of the remains in order to better understand their lives and deaths, made similar accusations against the critics of the excavations, arguing that their position, too, was deeply ideological.

What makes Prestwich Place such an apt example to reflect on the relationship between heritage, power and ideology is that the case itself, together with the scholarly debate that unfolded around it, shows how complex the relationship between material objects (including the symbolically hyper-potent human remains), institutional bodies (in this case the national heritage agency plus two universities with a different apartheid legacy), historical moment (the transitional post-apartheid era), different experts (not only technocratic experts but also historians and other critical academics claiming heritage expertise of a different kind), the state, government and municipality (which was obviously not identical with the heritage administration), social and political articulation (e.g. of racial consciousness and positionality), globally circulating models of heritage and commemoration (from the African Burial Ground to the District Six Museum), as well as community (characterized by a multitude of actors and attitudes) may turn out to be.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tackled the issue of heritage, power and ideology from a perspective that does not take these terms for granted but aims at an analysis of their specific elements and forms of articulation in a particular setting. It is not merely the dynamics of power/knowledge that are central to this approach; a consideration of the situatedness of knowledge (Haraway, 1988) is vital for this endeavour, too. In her seminal article 'Situated Knowledges', Haraway points out that there is no gaze from nowhere – and no critical gaze, for that matter. In the empirical examples that I have cited, this entanglement of positionality, representation and particular (always partial) truth claims has become quite evident. Moreover, this connection is not given a priori, but constantly (re-)enacted and transformed in practice. With Haraway, I would thus like to caution against a naïve privileging of 'subjugated standpoints', as they are often associated with the voice of 'community', because '*how* to see from below is a problem requiring at least as much skill with bodies and language, with the mediations of vision, as the "highest" technoscientific visualizations' (1988, p. 584). The material/semiotic approach that she suggests seems particularly fitting when dealing with heritage – where materiality and meaning are closely

connected. To account for their complex relationship, however, depends on ethnographic diligence and critical theoretical rigour.

Notes

1. This 'heritage dynamics' is investigated in the NOW-funded project of the same title; see <http://heritagedynamics.wordpress.com>, accessed 7 March 2013.
2. While Winter here is mainly concerned with the material dimensions of tangible heritage and UNESCO's initial reproduction of Westernized value-regimes in its monumental approach, Rowlands and de Jong (2008, p. 17) also include the more recent UNESCO convention of 2003 and its emphasis on intangible heritage and everyday practices in their critical assessment of UNESCO's policies along the goals of restoration and preservation.
3. For an elaborate account of the political effects of such depoliticization through objectification within the field of archaeology, cf. Smith (2004), especially chapter 4.
4. In a sharp commentary, Zoë Wicomb has criticized the popular (and by now official) commemoration of District Six as an idealization that would mainly serve to authenticate the oppressed status of 'coloureds' in the old *and* new South Africa (cf. Wicomb, 1998). Similarly, Christiaan Beyers (2009) notes that the nostalgic reference to District Six is built on an exclusionary notion of a 'coloured community' which does not take into account the fact that people who were classified as 'black' had been forced out of the area much earlier, under the auspices of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the Western Cape.
5. See <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/>, accessed 7 March 2013.
6. The stress on this African heritage and continental linkage makes sense in relation to contemporary African American identity politics. It puts the focus on a status of freedom versus enslavement and cultural integrity versus deracination. For the history of African Americans' shifting relations towards Africa, see Schramm (2010).
7. See <http://www.nps.gov/afbg/index.htm>, accessed 7 March 2013.
8. Carson had been one of the most outspoken voices in the initial debates about the African Burial Ground. His own ancestor, who had been a runaway slave and later served in the US navy, was exhumed from a site nearby the ABG; see <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/175.html>, accessed 7 March 2013.
9. Carson and other African American activists who accompanied the remains portrayed the US bureaucracy as a huge hindrance in the return. I did not have access to any files or legal documents concerning the return and could not confirm this information. However, in the film that was made during Emancipation Day (*The Great Homecoming*, 1999), no representative of the US embassy appears, whereas several high-ranking members of the Ghanaian government were involved during all stages of the event. One could read this as a further indication of the distance from the US system that was sought by the African American activists.
10. Bayo Holsey ascribes this position solely to the Ghanaian state and claims a more critical position for diasporan activists. During the event of Emancipation Day, however, the triumphant rhetoric was shared among the majority of actors.
11. Tour guides to the river point out that the sacred grove is a former burial ground for slaves who died on the spot. I could not verify this information. However, whether or not people were buried here, their role in the production of the memorial was primarily that of silent players, providing a sense of solemnity for the visitors.

12. For example, the changes of government that occurred since 2004 have had a profound impact on these debates and on the Ghanaian state's perception of and relationship with the African diaspora.
13. See <http://greenpoint-capetown.co.za/history/>, accessed 7 March 2013.
14. These respective positions also went along with institutional affiliations. The segregationist educational policy of apartheid had positioned the University of the Western Cape (UWC) as a coloured/black university, in contrast to the white (and far better equipped) University of Cape Town (UCT). Many scholars at UWC were active participants in the anti-apartheid struggle. The archaeologists and physical anthropologists involved in the excavation work were all affiliated with UCT, while most of the academic critics (though not all) were UWC-based.

References

- ACO (Archaeology Contracts Office) (2003) 'Application to the Lotto Fund: Slave Burials, Cape Town. Crisis Relating to Slave and Other Burials in Cape Town City – Green Point Area', *SAHRA Prestwich Files* 9/2/018/206, Vol. 1–2.
- Appadurai, A. (1989) 'The Past as a Scarce Resource', *Man (N.S.)*, 16, 201–19.
- Argenti, N. and Schramm, K. (eds) (2010) *Remembering Violence: Anthropological Perspectives on Intergenerational Transmission* (New York: Berghahn Books).
- Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. and Turnbridge, J. E. (eds) (2007) *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press).
- Bendix, R., Eggert, A. and Peselmann, A. (2012) 'Introduction' in R. Bendix, A. Eggert and A. Peselmann (eds) *Heritage Regimes and the State* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag), pp. 11–20.
- Berdahl, D. (2010) *On the Social Life of Postsocialism: Memory, Consumption, Germany* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press).
- Berliner, D. (2012) 'Multiple Nostalgias: The Fabric of Heritage in Luang Prabang (Lao PDR)', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 18(4), 769–86.
- Beyers, C. (2009) 'Identity and Forced Displacement: Community and Colouredness in District Six' in M. Adhikari (ed.) *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: UCT Press), pp. 9–103.
- Blakey, M. L. (2010) 'African Burial Ground Project: Paradigm for Cooperation?', *Museum International*, 62(1–2), 61–8.
- Bond, G. C. and Gilliam, A. (eds) (1994) *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power* (London: Routledge).
- Broz, L. (2009) 'Substance, Conduct, and History: "Altaian-Ness" in the Twenty-First Century', *Sibirica*, 8(2), 43–70.
- Butler, B. (2007) *Return to Alexandria: An Ethnography of Cultural Heritage, Revivalism, and Museum Memory* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press).
- Castells, M. (1997) *The Rise of the Network Society* (Malden, MA: Blackwell).
- Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J. (2009) *Ethnicity, Inc.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J. L. (2003) 'Reflections on Liberalism, Policulturalism and ID-ology: Citizenship and Difference in South Africa', *Social Identities*, 9(4), 445–73.
- Coombes, A. E. (2003) *History after Apartheid. Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- de Cesari, C. (2012) 'Thinking through Heritage Regimes' in R. Bendix, A. Eggert and A. Peselmann (eds) *Heritage Regimes and the State* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag), pp. 399–413.

- Eagleton, T. (1991) *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso).
- Ebron, P. A. (2002) *Performing Africa* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).
- Eriksen, T. H. (2001) 'Between Universalism and Relativism: A Critique of the UNESCO Concept of Culture' in J. K. Cowan, M.-B. Dembour and R. A. Wilson (eds) *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 127–48.
- Fontein, J. (2006) *The Silence of Great Zimbabwe: Contested Landscapes and the Power of Heritage* (London: UCL Press).
- Foucault, M. (1994) *Dits et écrits* (Paris: Gallimard).
- Friedling, J. (2005) 'Yes! Dead Men Do Tell Tales', Seminar Sponsored by David and Elaine Petter Charitable Trust, University of Cape Town, 19 February 2005.
- Graham, B. (2002) 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?' *Urban Studies*, 39(5–6), 1003–17.
- Grunebaum, H. (2007) 'Special Topic: Cities – Unburying the Dead in the "Mother City": Urban Topographies of Erasure', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 122(1), 210–19.
- Hall, M. (2001) 'Cape Town's District Six and the Archaeology of Memory' in R. Layton, P. G. Stone and J. Thomas (eds) *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property* (London/New York: Routledge), pp. 298–311.
- Hamilton, C. (2011) 'Backstory, Biography and the Life of the James Stuart Archive', *History in Africa*, 38: 319–41.
- Haraway, D. (1988) 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575–99.
- Harvey, D. (2008) 'The History of Heritage' in B. J. Graham and P. Howard (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 19–36.
- Herzfeld, M. (1991) *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Holsey, B. (2008) *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Atlantic Slave Trade in Ghana* (Chicago: Chicago University Press).
- Jonker, J. (2005) 'Excavating the Legal Subject', *Griffith Law Review*, 14(2), 187–212.
- Kuutma, K. (2012) 'Between Arbitration and Engineering: Concepts and Contingencies in the Shaping of Heritage Regimes' in R. Bendix, A. Eggert and A. Peselmann (eds) *Heritage Regimes and the State* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag), pp. 21–36.
- La Roche, C. J. and Blakey, M. (1997) 'Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground', *Historical Archaeology*, 31(3), 84–106.
- Macdonald, S. (2009) *Difficult Heritage. Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (London: Routledge).
- Malan, A. (2003) *Prestwich Place Exhumation of Accidentally Discovered Burial Ground*. Public Consultation Process, 9 June to 9 August 2003 for Pre-Circulation in Preparation for a Public Meeting to Be Held on 16 August 2003 at Alexander Sinton High School, Crawford, 11 August 2003.
- McEachern, C. (1998) 'Mapping the Memories: Politics, Place and Identity in the District Six Museum, Cape Town', *Social Identities*, 4(3), 499–521.
- Minutes, First Public Meeting (2003) 'Minutes of First Public Meeting held at St. Stephen's Church, Riebeeck Square, Cape Town, 29 July 2003', *SAHRA Prestwich Files 9/2/018/206*, Vol. 1–2.
- Rampléy, M. (2012) 'Contested Histories: Heritage and/as the Construction of the Past: An Introduction' in M. Rampléy (eds) *Heritage, Ideology, and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe: Contested Pasts, Contested Presents* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press), pp. 1–20.

- Rassool, C. (2006) 'Making the District Six Museum in Cape Town', *Museum International*, 58(1–2), 9–18.
- Rowlands, M. and de Jong, F. (eds) (2008) *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press).
- Schramm, K. (2004) 'Coming Home to the Motherland: Pilgrimage Tourism in Ghana' in J. Eade and S. Coleman (eds) *Reframing Pilgrimage: Cultures in Motion* (London: Routledge), pp. 133–49.
- Schramm, K. (2010) *African Homecoming: Pan-African Ideology and Contested Heritage* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press).
- Schramm, K. (2012) 'Genomics en Route: Ancestry, Heritage, and the Politics of Identity Across the Black Atlantic', K. Schramm, D. Skinner and R. Rottenburg (eds) *Identity Politics and the New Genetics: Re/Creating Categories of Difference and Belonging*. (Oxford: Berghahn), pp. 167–92.
- Sealy, J. (2003) 'What Scientists Learn from Studying Human Remains', Presentation at First Public Meeting held at St. Stephen's Church, Riebeeck Square, Cape Town on 29 July 2003, SAHRA Prestwich Files 9/2/918/206, Vol. 1–2.
- Shepherd, N. (2007) 'Archaeology Dreaming', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 7(1), 3–28.
- Silverstein, P. A. and Makdisi, U. (eds) (2005) *Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press).
- Smith, L. (2004) *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Smith, L. (2012) 'Editorial', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 18(6), 533–40.
- Stoler, A. L. (2009) *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Commonsense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- The Great Homecoming* (1999) *The Great Homecoming. The Door of No Return Opens ...* Written and directed by Fred Daramani, produced by Visionlink Productions Ltd, Accra. Video, 35 min.
- Trouillot, M.-R. (1995) *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press).
- UNESCO (2003) *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris: UNESCO).
- Walters, W. (2012) *Governmentality: Critical Encounters* (London: Routledge).
- Waterton, E. (2011) 'Branding the Past. The Visual Imagery of England's Heritage' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 155–72.
- Weeder, M. I. (2006). *The Palaces of Memory: A Reconstruction of District One, Cape Town, before and after the Group Areas Act*. A Mini-Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Public and Visual History (University of the Western Cape).
- Wicomb, Z. (1998) 'Shame and Identity: The Case of the Coloured in South Africa' in D. Attridge and R. Jolly (eds) *Writing South Africa: Literature, Apartheid and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 91–104.
- Winter, T. (2013) 'Clarifying the Critical in Critical Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 532–45.

28

Heritage Economies: The Past Meets the Future in the Mall

Steve Watson and M. Rosario González-Rodríguez

The relationships between heritage, economic development and regeneration are now so close, and so interwoven, that one could be forgiven for believing that heritage provides an infallible source of value just waiting to be realized in 'strategies for growth', 'revitalization', 'urban renaissance' and so forth (see, for example, the UK government's *Statement on the Historic Environment for England* [Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010]). UNESCO's designation of World Heritage Status contains an explicit promise of good things to follow, and economic development is key among them (Arezki et al., 2012). In this post-industrial age, when the consumer, more than the producer of goods, defines economic activity (Bauman, 2001), heritage is said to act as the catalyst (Euromed, 2002, p. 15; Greffe, 2009; English Heritage, 2013) that draws down, with its 'intrinsic' worth, the freely circulating capital associated with globalization and helps to create new places of consumption. The *Statement on the Historic Environment for England* is emblematic:

Aside from its inherent cultural value, the historic environment also has an important role to play in helping Government to achieve many of its broader goals. It can be a powerful driver for economic growth, attracting investment and tourism, and providing a focus for successful regeneration. Alongside the best in new design, it is an essential element in creating distinctive, enjoyable and successful places in which to live and work. Heritage can be a significant focus for the local community, helping to bring people together, to define local identities and to foster a new understanding of ourselves and those around us.

(Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010, p. 1)

This use of heritage, which has been termed 'instrumental' in policy documents since the last decade (Holden, 2006; Scott, 2009), is part of what we refer to here as the 'heritage economy', a discourse that is ubiquitous in plans to revive broken places, defunct economies and dysfunctional communities. This

is spelled out very clearly by English Heritage (2013) in the way that old buildings can be transformed, through conservation, into key tools in regeneration, as expressed in the following 'key message':

There is a strong economic case for regenerating historic buildings. The benefits relate not only to the individual building, but also to the wider area and community. The inclusion of heritage assets in regeneration schemes provides a focus and catalyst for sustainable change. The impact of successful schemes is felt beyond the boundaries of the heritage asset itself and can boost the economy of the whole town or city.

(English Heritage, 2013, p. 9)

The document provides an accompanying flowchart to underline the case.

The UK's Heritage Lottery Fund is even more emphatic in demonstrating the economic value of heritage, by producing some data to substantiate the case:

All told, the businesses based in heritage buildings in the UK contribute over £47 billion in GVA and over 1.4 million jobs. This represents 3.5 per cent of the UK's total GVA and 5 per cent of total UK employment (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013, p. 32).

Heritage is also used to promote new and better forms of 'upmarket' tourism, encouraging higher-spending cultural tourists away from beaches to engage with more 'authentic', and inherently more attractive, upscale places (see Light, Chapter 8 in this volume). As such, the heritage economy has come to be represented as part of a wider agenda of so-called 'public value' which has sought, rather tortuously, to identify a comprehensive framework for analysing the way that heritage might be 'valued' (see especially Blauge et al., 2006; National Trust, 2006; Scott, 2009; Clark, 2012).

Instrumentally, then, heritage can be seen as a form of substitution, providing new forms of capital accumulation to replace old and dying industries amid the redundant capital of previous economies. In developed economies such value has been made available, or facilitated, through regeneration policies and planning frameworks that recognize 'intrinsic' value in certain objects of the past, and in doing so engage measures to protect and conserve them in the face of ever-present threats from other forms of development, such as the modernization of infrastructures and redevelopment programmes (see Pendlebury, Chapter 26 in this volume). Intrinsic value, however, seen together with instrumental value as a component of the public value of heritage (Clark, 2012), is a rather slippery concept, and it might be more accurate in cultural and historic terms to describe this value as 'ascribed' and the result of aesthetic projects that are culturally relative and which change over time.

Despite these attempts to create an intellectually robust framework for analysing the value of heritage, the discourse of the heritage economy and the

faith thereby placed in its benefits has actually developed with a very specific range of factors associated with the period of social and economic change that has accompanied post-industrialism and globalization (see Corner and Harvey, 1991; Mellor, 1991; Zukin, 1991; Lash and Urry, 1994; Meethan, 2001). These changes have brought about transformations in the nature of space and place that are quite profound and in which the heritage economy has played a significant part, yielding a plethora of case studies from both the academy and other institutions involved in economic development (see, for example, English Heritage, 2007, 2013; Rátz et al., 2008; Historic Environment Forum, 2010; Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi, 2012; Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013). This chapter examines how and why this has happened, looking at manifestations of the heritage economy of various kinds, and an example of the discourse in practice in an urban development project in Seville, Spain.

In analysing the heritage economy, attention is drawn to the variety of forms it takes, the assumptions upon which it is based and the politics of its effects in the world. For example, we might consider the extent to which it provides an alternative to the otherwise intrusive rapacities of developers, or simply a source of legitimacy for their activities. We might ask whether it provides the basis for a genuine engagement with 'host communities' as expressed in notions of 'public value', or merely succour to those seeking the hard-nosed 'business case' for an *authorized heritage* bounded and defined by professional experts trading in connoisseurial knowledge (see Smith, 2006). It is clear that, while much depends on the heritage economy, a great deal also depends on the ways in which it is understood by the actors and agencies involved in projects to link it and integrate it with wider economic goals.

The value of the past

At first sight, the heritage economy has all the hallmarks of a Faustian deal, a way of reconciling what seems like the irrefutable (intrinsic) goodness of heritage with the commercial compromises necessary for its survival. But there is more to it than that. By turning a necessity into virtue, not only are the barbarians at the gate kept from profaning the altars, they are actually enlisted in the sacred duty of preserving the temples and all they contain. The new global environment, in which heritage provides places with a source of value, distinctiveness and competitive advantage, is the unsurprising context for such activity, but its effects have been 'glocal' as well as global and have provided new impetus to much of the regeneration that Western cities have seen in the last 30 years, especially where, as in the US, it became associated with so-called 'boosterism' (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991; Mordue, 2010, pp. 173–6).

This new supercharged heritage can also be linked, very productively, with wider discourses of identity, continuity and social cohesion. So not only is it

the case that 'heritage is good for the economy'; it also becomes clear that 'heritage is good for us all', and if it also demonstrates the vitality and value of 'our heritage' that is a good thing too. What can be identified, then, is a virtuous circle of mutual benefit operating between heritage objects and their stewards: economic development agencies and national heritage discourses. The heritage economy, it seems, is a moral crusade that not only makes money and regenerates moribund places, but also makes nations and forges identities.

Of course, it is easy to be cynical about such usages, and anyone involved in the heritage economy will be keenly aware of its potential to create jobs and generate much-needed revenue, some which can be used to conserve the very objects of heritage that are being thus employed. This, of course, is good news for policymakers and planners, especially in urban contexts where a 'win-win' of conservation and development can be seen to be achieved and where an unlikely synergy of past and future can be satisfyingly realized in the present (see Pendlebury, Chapter 26 in this volume, for an account of policy development and planning in relation to heritage). But, even if it could be put beyond doubt that the economic benefits of heritage increase the sum of human happiness, we are still entitled to ask what might be lost as well as gained in this process, or at least how the heritage economy works and what are the implications.

In order to unpack some of these issues, we focus on the 'value' of heritage in economic development and regeneration strategies and the relationships between such strategies and other discourses about heritage. We argue, ultimately, that heritage in this context demonstrates its sociocultural centrality in defining the terms by which specific narratives of *pastness* are attached to pressing concerns about the present and future. The assumed and largely untested irrefutability of economic benefit expressed in heritage economy discourses lends weight to both the selection of narratives and the authorized discourses that support them.

In this configuration, heritage reflects the needs of new and diverse forms of capital accumulation in global post-industrial contexts. However, not all that constitutes heritage fulfils this need, and it is apparent throughout that mediating processes of international conventions, professional expertise, civic interests and local politics all have a part to play in valorizing particular forms of heritage in its economic guise and that, as a consequence, there are clear winners and losers in this game.

Conventional economic analyses of heritage, though few in number, tend to focus on identifying and measuring the inherent value of objects, how this translates into exchange value in terms of a consumer's willingness to pay, and the modalities of management that support such processes (Peacock, 1998; Throsby, 2001; Mazzanti, 2002; Navrud and Ready, 2002; Noonan, 2003; Kaminski et al., 2007; Choi et al., 2010). Heritage as a 'good' thus takes its place

in the post-industrial service economy as something that represents value that people are willing to pay for, either to access or simply to preserve, in the interests of some higher ideal related to cultural and/or aesthetic value. The heritage conventions 'industry' has not only sprung up to variously identify, define, list, classify and ascribe significance on this basis; it also makes the case for heritage in economic terms, as in Articles 8 and 10 of the Faro Convention. In practice, this has led to considerable investments in the preservation and conservation of 'listed' objects. The admission fee to a stately home or museum exhibition, or the use of tax revenues, lottery funds, charitable donations or membership fees for an organization dedicated to heritage preservation, all of these payments represent such 'value-driven' investment. As to why people should be willing to pay for such benefits through taxation, we are propelled into arguments about the 'indivisible' nature of much heritage. In other words, one can benefit from the beauty of a landscape whether or not one is prepared to pay for it, and it seems sensible, therefore, to remove it from such exchange conditions and make its preservation a matter of public policy and expenditure, provided that such measures attract some degree of popular support.

Generally speaking, however, heritage is expected to 'wash its face' in financial terms, especially in these straitened times. The problem is that conventional economics has tended to view heritage, and culture more generally, as homogeneously significant sets of assets, whereas, of course, such significance varies over time and between cultures, communities and even individuals, despite all the grand attempts there have been to create definitions of such value that are universal (ICOMOS, 2008).

The value of heritage is therefore always negotiable and relative, either in the marketplace or in the realms of communal sentiment and its institutionalized formations, the effect being that while some heritage objects are valued, other old and even scarce objects are either not regarded as heritage or, if they are, are still at risk because their value is not recognized on a wide enough scale. There are many historical examples of how such value changes over time as it is renegotiated in new cultural contexts and administrative settings attempting to enact conventional approaches. For example, the City of York in the UK is one of the very few cities in the country to have retained its Roman and medieval city walls, albeit in a much restored form. And yet, in the early nineteenth century they were seen by the city authorities and tradespeople as an unnecessary encumbrance – a physical barrier to the growth of the city and an obstacle to access in its centre. It was decided, therefore, that they should be demolished, as, indeed, had happened in many other English towns and cities. In an act of unprecedented intervention, however, and encouraged by the novelist Sir Walter Scott (Hughes and Hughes, 1904, p. 49), the walls were preserved and later restored and protected to find value in the new economy of heritage and tourism.

York, like many other towns and cities around the world, has lost many ancient buildings that would now be treasured because of the way such objects are now ascribed with, and endow, value in an economic context that re-commodifies them. What we might learn from this, apart from the dynamic nature of heritage value, is that the value currently ascribed to such objects is of fairly recent origin, as, indeed, is the recognition of this by academics. The result of all of this is persistence of the notion that heritage is intrinsically valuable. As two economists have stated, '[e]veryone agrees that we should protect our cultural heritage. Monuments, groups of buildings and moveable cultural property such as paintings, drawings and antiquities are generally taken to be worth preserving' (Frey and Oberholzer-Gee, 1998, p. 27). But such approaches are limited by their concern with the costs of heritage, how much we can afford and who decides. Benefits are seen in terms of exchange value, consumer sovereignty and choice.

The heritage economy discourse is much wider than this, however, and seeks to demonstrate that heritage objects are not so much costs that must be borne in the name of cultural edification as assets, the value of which can be realized when they are put to work in the new service economies and the spatial transformations that ensue (Grefe, 2009). This is a wider concept of value, expressed, for example, in the Faro Convention, that puts heritage beyond the reach of simple cost-benefit analyses and projects it into the uncertainties of econometric and impact studies, where its value is more assumed and its discursive power is flexed.

Such values are also associated with the so-called local-global paradox, and expressed in a now well-established discourse of *local distinctiveness*, wherein specific and differentiated localities become more significant as a result of global uniformities, and where symbolic economies derived from those elements of a locality that are culturally valued are selected and traded in a global context (Meethan, 2001; Schofield and Szymanski, 2010). For Savage et al. (2005), the global has always had a local significance and influences, while a number of commentators have examined the ways in which local polities have focused on local assets and local cultural capital, often in the form of heritage, in order to add value to the locale in question and create an attractive image for inward investment (Harvey, 1989; Corner and Harvey, 1991; Zukin, 1991, 1995; Dicks, 2000, 2003; Meethan, 2001, pp. 38–9). As MacDonald has observed, 'the reorganisation of space around heritage and tourism is now the dominant strategy of economic revival' (2002, p. 62). These transformations in the political economy of place have been well documented (Zukin, 1991; Harvey, 1993), while Graham et al. (2000) have suggested how this process has been aided by a decentralization of responsibility for tourism management from national to local government and organization and a concomitant increase in local interest and the need to attract capital investment (2000, p. 203). For the purposes

of economic development, these official designations have been generated by the activities of locally and regionally based public sector organizations which identify all manner of cultural and heritage assets that can be duly packaged and re-represented for the purposes of attracting inward investment.

An early example in the UK was Bradford in West Yorkshire, as one of the first industrial cities to identify post-industrial opportunities to transform the redundant capital of its past into the *material* of heritage tourism (Hope and Klemm, 2001). In a similar vein, Dicks (2000) has examined the role of industrial heritage in providing new forms of regeneration in the Rhondda Valley in Wales, and sets this in the context of a wider analysis of 'vernacular' heritage development, which seeks to employ and develop local assets in the service of economic regeneration:

Heritage, of course, is high on the list of local 'assets'. Different areas attempt to corner different sections of the market... The 'presentation of self' becomes all important, and aspects of local identity – such as heritage – that can help to define this image as well as generating local spend and revenue are co-opted into an expanding market of local signs and images.

(Dicks, 2000, p. 55)

The process is now widely acknowledged as one of the features of the last two decades of the twentieth century: as Meethan has put it, the de-commodification of redundant industrial spaces and their re-commodification as places of consumption (Meethan, 2001, p. 85).

Within the restrictions of the global economy, policies and marketing strategies assign symbolic and aesthetic value to the material attributes of space. In turn these representations or narratives of people and place assume an exchange value as the objects of consumption becoming commodities to be traded and consumed the same way as the material goods and services which are associated with them... The production of tourist space therefore involves the material environment and the socio-economic circumstances which give rise to its form as well as encapsulating symbolic orders of meaning for both hosts as much as guests.

(Meethan, 2001, pp. 37–8)

While tourism is an ever-present factor in these considerations, it is not necessarily central to them. Rather, it is a part, if a very significant part, of a bigger picture that is concerned with the re-commodification of space. Thus, there are broader processes at work, and tourists can be seen as but one type of potential 'investor', as well as governments, businesses and residents. People and agencies of various kinds are making decisions about allocating resources on the basis of

what they can consume, or what can be consumed by others, on a spatial basis, and heritage as a source of value *in place* is central to that consumption. By the mid-1990s this broader sense of the economic benefit discourse had become pretty much embedded in ideas about how places were 'consumed', as is clearly demonstrated by Urry:

images of place are themselves significantly constructed out of particular products and services which are or have been available in particular places. Examples here would include popular music in Liverpool, wine in the Loire, haggis in Scotland and so on. Thus, there are complex interdependencies between consuming goods, services and places, and what links them together are the patterns of social life organised in and through particular places. Such patterns are significantly commodified but there is a general complex mixing of both commodification and collective enthusiasm.

(1995, pp. 28–9)

Meethan's analysis places representational practices at the core of such process, particularly through 'civic' marketing strategies of the sort we illustrate later with the case study of Seville, the significance of which in terms of heritage is well established (see Light and Prentice, 1994). Graham et al. (2000, pp. 163–7) provide a closer account of this mechanism in discussing the significance of 'civic consciousness' as locus for collecting and representing images of place for both tourists and citizens and, particularly, the importance of heritage as a component in this process: a point that has been made previously by Corner and Harvey (1991), Robins (1991, p. 58) and Zukin (1995) and is well expressed in contemporary understandings of, particularly, urban space.

From the discussion above it might be inferred that it is the materiality of the past that forms the basis for heritage as a factor in economic development and regeneration, not least because conservation projects often employ local labour and use material that is locally sourced (Euromed, 2002). It also constitutes a use of what is already there without, therefore, the need for massive infrastructural investment:

City centre revitalization may be the best international example of sustainable economic development – utilizing the existing resources to support the local economy. The success stories in these efforts have not made the city centre a museum isolated in time and space, but rather re-established the city centre as the vital, vibrant, evolving, multifunctional heart of the city. The preservation of the heritage buildings within the city centre has not been an end in itself, but as a means to house businesses, residences,

cultural activities, educational institutions and public services. This has been economic development that does not require the extension of infrastructure or the conversion of agricultural lands into office parks.

(Rypkema, 2009, p. 118)

And this is often combined with intangible heritage (Greffé, 2009) and some sense of place image or myth, which provides the essentialized core of representational practice that then appears in promotional material and text supporting economic planning and strategies. The irony is that the search for distinctiveness often produces its own uniformities of expression, selection and, ultimately, design: distinctive places are always, it seems, in danger of looking the same (Watson, 2007).

Discourse and practice

As we stated at the beginning of this chapter, heritage and economic development and regeneration are so intertwined that they have become difficult to separate in the practices associated with both of them and have created a discourse around the economic benefits of heritage that has an almost talismanic quality. In this section we are looking at the way the discourse is manifest in economic development policies and at one case study in the City of Seville, Spain.

In developing countries, the heritage economy is clearly starting from new and on the basis of hitherto unrealized heritage assets, with heritage tourism and community development often providing the twin drivers of change. The World Bank's 'Rehabilitation of Medinas' projects in the Middle East and North Africa are a striking example of this, where the three key objectives of conservation, realizing economic potential, and improving infrastructure, housing and employment for residents have been attempted in cities such as Bethlehem and Fez as well as towns and cities in Tunisia, Yemen and Lebanon (Bigio and Licciardi, 2010).

Regeneration, by contrast, is associated with economic cycles in the developed world, where older industries and particularly urban configurations are in transition. While regeneration is seen as a good thing, if not a necessity, development carries with it the ambivalence associated with the threats it brings as well as the benefits it promises: a double-edged sword. With both, however, there are competing interests, contested meanings and shifting loyalties.

The kind of tourism envisaged, however, is rarely mass tourism but the low-volume high-spending segments (Euromed, 2002, p. 20), who are likely to be motivated to seek out such opportunities and benefit from them. There is often a certain amount of misplaced optimism about these projects, however, and an

unjustified faith in the amount of tourism that will be generated in terms of volume and value, especially in more obscure locations or at sites for which a clear cultural narrative does not already exist (Watson, 2009).

Nonetheless, in urban contexts such developments in what we have described as the heritage economy are so widely lauded for their economic benefits that they gather a momentum of their own with an interior logic that is often linked to the specific development issues of the place in question. A new paradigm has therefore emerged in traditional urban tourist destinations due to the rapid development in technology and the evolution of new consumer patterns leading to different economic development models in these cities (Spirou, 2011). Based on this reality, a new concept of the use of heritage as cultural capital (a source of value rather than a cost to be borne) for both tourism and wider consumption practices has appeared. New urban spaces that satisfy tourist demands in a competitive global environment and the needs of local people in terms of lifestyle and new patterns of consumption need to be designed or redesigned. The overarching imperative in such circumstances is to satisfy these demands as well as to find the right balance between the extrinsic standards of the heritage economy and sustainable local development (Maciocco, 2009).

This growing sensitivity to heritage as cultural capital has had a great impact on cities as places of cultural production and consumption, much of which is expressed in the loosely applied but powerfully influential term 'cultural' or 'creative industries' with its emphasis on knowledge and new technologies often inhabiting and revitalizing old urban spaces. Let us pay our respects to Horkheimer and Adorno (1944 [2002]) for originating this concept as long ago as 1944, albeit in a somewhat narrower application. Its development over the last few decades has been extraordinary (see Galloway and Dunlop, 2007, for a detailed account) and its breadth now takes in the more obvious industries, such as media and publishing, but also the subsidized arts and museums, and with these a new architecture in hotels, the 'public realm', 'cultural quarters', themed areas, trails, business and conference venues, and technological and industrial parks. This newly configured urban space is linked closely with the employment of heritage as cultural capital and the growth of heritage economies (Maciocco, 2008). However, traditional heritage buildings and locations need to be adapted to the new consumer requirements in terms of effective presentation and interpretation and, not least, the feeling of authenticity that enables tourists to understand the distinctive heritage on display in a particular local culture (Dicks, 2003; Maciocco, 2009). An added economic benefit is that such patterns of consumption, whether touristic or in meeting local needs, will tend towards creating value for higher-spending consumer segments, a feature of such developments that is not lost on the developers themselves, who will seek to align these 'new places' of heritage with global

brands and other corporate interests that may find them (and their consumers) attractive.

Heritage in Seville

Tourism, one of the strategic drivers for the economic development of the city of Seville, is considered an essential sector in generating employment, wealth and business (Turismo de Sevilla, 2013). Seville, considered a cultural heritage destination since the days of Washington Irving's 'discovery' of southern Spain in the early nineteenth century is, like many other urban tourist cities, experiencing an intense change not only in the nature of its tourism and regeneration but also in its management and promotion in national and international markets. Based on these changes, the current Tourism Strategic Plan has been designed by the local authority to respond to this new reality by rediscovering potential local heritage sources and other areas within the city that are in need of regeneration. The aim of the Plan implies the design and management of a range of tourist products to increase the overnight stay and the quality of service and to mitigate the effects of seasonality.

Undoubtedly, cultural heritage constitutes a fundamental pillar in Seville's tourist offer (Turismo de Sevilla, 2013). A wide variety of monuments of different types and periods are already a part of this portfolio, including well-known UNESCO World Heritage Sites such as the Cathedral and the Giralda, the Real Alcázar, the Archivo de Indias; and, in addition, the Barrio de Santa Cruz, the Torre del Oro, the Town Hall, the Maestranza Bullring, the Plaza de España, the Archaeological Museum, the Arts and Popular Costumes Museum, the Museum of Flamenco and the Museo de Bellas Artes (Spain's second art gallery). The rich heritage of churches and convents in the city is also worthy of mention.

The challenge for tourism providers has been to respond to the new consumer patterns and the rapid advances in technology in ways that employ the historic core of the city to meet the market demands of different segments, including residents and tourists alike. This implies either designing new products or redesigning traditional products based on the concern to configure the city in a way that respects its historic integrity but which also meets the needs of regeneration and new consumer sentiment. From a strategic point of view, therefore, actions have been required which integrate tourism with the tangible and intangible resources that create and improve the quality of experience for residents and tourists. Efforts have, therefore, been directed at converting what we might call the 'latent resources' of tradition, festivities and public spaces into products for the new heritage economy.

Seville also possesses a rich intangible heritage of festivals and events, the most significant of which is the *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) procession in April, when the neighbourhood 'brotherhoods' process through the streets with their various icons, some of which are, in themselves, historic objects. The

city's association with flamenco is demonstrated in the *Biennale de Flamenco*, considered the most important flamenco festival in the world, and a relatively new event is the operatic festival, *ciudad de Ópera* (Konecna, 2010). This intangible heritage effectively diversifies its heritage offering and provides an additional stimulus to visit the city. Seville, 'city of opera', is a clear example of converting a latent cultural resource, with its historic links to Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Rossini's *Barber of Seville* and Bizet's *Carmen*, into a contemporary tourist product.

Gastronomy has also played an increasing part in the intangible heritage of the city, which is famous for its tapas bars and restaurants. A new project named *Saborea Sevilla*, part of the broader *Saborea España* (Turismo de Sevilla, 2013), is being developed with two goals: first, to focus on the marketing of gastronomic products; and second, to promote gastronomy as an essential part of Spanish cultural heritage. Other tourist products focus on the heritage 'mapping' of the city as manifest in trails and designated routes focusing on, for example, Mudéjar architecture and the history of the Sephardic Jews. In all, there is a clear desire to marshal the often previously under-utilized heritage resources of the city, both tangible and intangible, in order to create a heritage economy with regeneration as a key factor and outcome.

All of this is dependent, of course, on the quality of the material available for such purposes and the skill in transforming it within the urban fabric of the city through physical developments and the representational practices associated with city marketing and contemporary tourism. The ultimate goal is to combine infrastructural development with heritage to make Seville an urban tourist destination that is highly competitive in global tourism markets and an attractive location for other forms of inward investment and consequential economic growth. Such developments have demanded great efforts in urban planning to properly assimilate tourism and contemporary urban development within the day-to-day life of the city.

There are significant political challenges, however, in the use of heritage as an economic resource, and issues of dissonance, well known in heritage theory (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996), and of appropriation are both apparent in Seville, particularly where local residents become witnesses to rather than participants in the changes going on around them. At present, the Metropol Parasol is a clear example of the new cultural heritage which has contributed to the economic development of the city, especially to the transformation of the area where it is located, but it has not been without controversy.

A new cultural heritage: The Metropol Parasol

The Metropol Parasol is a large wooden structure in the Plaza de la Encarnación, in the centre of Seville, reputedly the largest wooden building in the world. It was designed by the German architect Jürgen Mayer-Hermann as a

multifunctional mall housing the market that had traditionally occupied the site, retailing, restaurants, a space for concerts and events, a viewing platform and a museum in the basement that preserves Roman and Moorish remains that were uncovered during the construction process. The building was designed as a modern icon expressive of the city's contemporary significance while drawing on its distinctive past as a kind of literal and metaphorical underpinning. While clearly intended to evoke the feeling of a series of interlocking parasols – a useful equipage in the heat of the Sevillian sun – the residents have already renamed it *Las Setas*, as for them it evokes more a series of interlocking mushrooms.

The locals had been waiting for a new market for over 40 years, the original having been located in the plaza since the nineteenth century as a locus for the residents of the city and the province as a whole. The building was partially demolished in 1948 according to the urban renewal plan of that time, but it survived till 1973, when it was finally abandoned. The site remained unused until 1990, when the City Council decided to build an underground car park and to rehabilitate the site as a food market. During the archaeological excavations, the Roman and Moorish ruins were discovered, so the construction was stopped and the area once again was abandoned by the Council and developers.

In 2004, the Council once again turned its attention to the plaza and set about producing a development plan to regenerate both the space and the traditional market. A public and international competition was carried out to generate ideas and projects that would meet the regeneration needs and also preserve the historical material that had been previously discovered. The competition generated 65 proposals, but German architect Jürgen Mayer-Hermann carried the day, even though it was the most expensive. The developers would be Arup, a global design and engineering company that had an established reputation with the Sydney Opera House and the Pompidou Centre in Paris.

The building was completed in April 2011 and consists of six interconnected parasols, or mushrooms (*setas*). In terms of its setting, floating above and dominating the ancient square, it does not only occupy the dualities of 'intrusive yet compelling' and 'incompatible yet iconic'; it also nestles nicely between contemporary-futuristic design and material heritage, with the ancient contents of its basement as an integral part of the concept. The shapes were inspired by the vaults of Seville's expansive cathedral – although here the desire was to create a 'cathedral without walls' that would be 'democratic': another duality that juxtaposes past against future (Mayer-Hermann cited by Moore, 2011). The timber structure is around 150 m long, 75 m wide and 28 m high and is organized on four levels. The basement level contains the archaeological site, where Roman and Moorish ruins uncovered during the building project are displayed through a viewing platform. On the street level is the 2,155 m² marketplace, and above it is an open-air public plaza shaded by wooden parasols

and designed for public events, performances and concerts. On the third floor is a restaurant, and on the fourth a public panoramic balcony offering one of the best views of the city centre, including the Cathedral and the Giralda. There can be little doubt that what this represents in terms of the local civic polity is a major landmark in the city and an iconic attraction in an area that was previously run down and neglected, but one that not only respects its location but also preserves its origins.

The Metropol Parasol can be considered, therefore, as a 'new' cultural heritage object, the main goal of which was to regenerate a much-deteriorated area. It also changed local residents' lives forever – before, during and since the end of the project – and it should be borne in mind that the economic impact was held to be a major motivation for the development, something that was brought into play when controversy arose over its scale and design (Arup, 2012).

The new architecture has had a great impact on local residents since the plan was unveiled, and it is unsurprising that it was so controversial, given its physical and visual presence, especially for those people who lived and worked around it. Thus, it met with scepticism and resistance among those who thought it would diminish the sense of place associated with the plaza and provoke a loss of local identity. Arup collected Sevillanos' opinions about how Metropol Parasol has affected them (Arup, 2012) and this, perhaps, not unnaturally given the authorship, suggested not only that popular sentiment has moved from negative to positive but that the economic benefits have begun to be apparent.

There can be little doubt that the project really has given new life not only to the plaza but to the barrio around it. It was a neighbourhood of dark streets and closed premises, with few businesses and many empty houses. Now there are no empty properties in the surrounding area; they are all occupied and shops are opening all the time. The development has actually rebalanced the spatial dynamics of the city centre so that footfall and commercial activity has grown to balance more effectively the main central area to the south and spread some of the tourism out from the Cathedral/Santa Cruz core.

The incorporation of the Roman and Moorish remains in the Metropol Parasol structure may have been the fortuitous result of discovery, but the recognition of its value in this context is striking and significant. The lengths to which the developers went to integrate them as a tourist attraction demonstrates the easy relationship that has emerged between heritage 'capital' and contemporary development in recent years. The experience has been enhanced by using a virtual recreation software called *Past View* (PastView Presentación, 2012), which is operated through 'videoglasses'. This technology in the service of Seville's heritage is clearly aimed at tourists, but it also changes the way that residents and local communities interact with the past in particular places. The virtual experience is developed in two routes called *Past View*

Seville and Past View Metropol. The first is a guide to the most relevant places in the *Isbilya Andalusí*, the 'Golden Age' of Seville in Moorish times. The second offers a vision of the city's Roman period to the present day from the Parasol's panoramic balcony, from where it is possible to recreate such recent moments as the Universal Expo of 1992, a key event in Seville's regeneration. Such virtual reality technology creates a new point of access to the materiality of the past by linking it through technology to the use of contemporary urban space.

The material remains are physically integrated in a chronological sequence dating from the first century to the thirteenth, with Roman, Visigothic, Almohad and medieval structures appearing in a standard archaeological sequence, one above the other in the same place. The exhibition space is enclosed by a glass membrane of 1,100 m², which, together with hanging walls and light lanterns, is intended to create an immersive sensory experience (Turismo de Sevilla, 2013).

The Metropol Parasol is also connected to other less tangible aspects of the city's heritage. Gastronomy, for example, has already been mentioned as a fundamental pillar for tourism and for residents by representing part of their daily life as an attraction factor. In fact, the Sevillian gastronomy offer is considered internationally to be of the first order, not least for its famous and traditional *tapas*. The *tapeo* is not only about eating and drinking but is also a social activity where Andalusian culture and conviviality are celebrated (Turismo de Sevilla, 2013). The Metropol Parasol has reflected this tradition by housing a restaurant specializing in *tapas* based on ingredients from the market (Gastrosol, 2011).

Metropol Parasol can be characterized as an attempt to blend futuristic place-making, and the kind of investment (some 100 million Euros) this implies, with the value ascribed to local objects of heritage, in this case the rehoused market, the Roman and Arabic ruins as discovered and conserved, and the various traditions and cultural aspects of the city as a whole, including music and gastronomy. This has created a unique architectural contribution to the city and a space where tourists and local residents can coexist. The area has also gained from an added commercial dynamism, particularly in the small business sector with the traditional food market and hospitality businesses, and in the variety of shops located near to Metropol and in the surrounding streets. As a focal point, it has spread the footfall of tourism over a wider area of the city centre and regenerated a rundown district in the process. From the City Council's point of view, the benefits drawn from this use of heritage are clear: it enriches the city economically and socially, and the new architecture is a reference point for other historical cities about how to integrate modernism with traditionalism without loss of identity.

What we have, then, in the case of the Metropol Parasol, is a very clear discourse based on the idea of a heritage economy, a deliberate attempt to commodify heritage in the service of economic development *and* regeneration.

In drawing this discussion together we will now attempt to outline a critical perspective on the heritage economy.

Conclusion

It was stated earlier in this chapter that the notion of a critical stance on the heritage economy is fraught with difficulty, particularly when it is clear that such developments can be of huge benefit to the economic well-being of resident communities. Any analysis must, therefore, avoid casual cynicism as much as uncritical commentary, but, while it is clear that much might be gained from the commodification of heritage in the service of economic development and regeneration, there is little as yet to point to what might be lost. Still some conclusions might be drawn.

There is, for example, an obvious risk that the process represents a gradual dislocation of the city and its history and from local meanings as it becomes re-represented for the purposes of inward investment and the global tourism industry. The city itself, therefore, becomes a site of dissonance between a heritage understood and expressed by locals and another which is conceived and represented by local officialdom, and performed by businesses, global high street brands and property developers. In this way, and in celebrating its uniqueness, it is effectively and paradoxically dedifferentiated from everywhere else in the world that is attempting something similar for the purposes of global consumption (Mordue, 2005; Watson, 2007).

In addition, there is an associated risk that this local but officially mediated version of heritage will act as a vector for the mobilization of dominant versions of heritage – authorized heritage discourses, as Smith (2006) has put it. What is lost in this scenario is the possibility of multi-vocal, oppositional, subaltern or even broadly dissonant versions of the past because these do not fit the necessarily commercial narratives associated with commercial verities. At the centre of these debates are conflicts about the representation and appropriation of space by commercial and administrative powers, and the use of that space by tourists and by locals as put upon, excluded or, indeed, victims. While Hale is pessimistic about a situation in which poly-vocalism always tends to be replaced by a single and privileged narrative, he still offers the prospect of a new balance in which a range of historical experiences are self-consciously promoted (2001, p. 194). Hollinshead (1999) cautions operators and the agencies of governance (whoever they are in any particular situation) to be more aware of their eye-of-power status and the panoptic implications of their domain, and, perhaps optimistically, he points to the instructional value of Foucauldian thought for practitioners in avoiding imprisonment within their own powerful definitional repertoires (1999, p. 16). Ignoring this warning risks the creation of oppressive discourses expressed through well-meaning and aspirational policy

documents, promotional narratives and the subsequent absorption of these into local perceptions of place, a situation which the residents of Seville, among many other places, might easily recognize.

It follows that a theory of heritage that encompasses and explores dissonance, rather than one that is diminished by its implications, would seem to be vital to its application as a theoretical construct or framework. It begins with an acknowledgement of the plurality of perspectives and a duality of power and powerlessness in the act of representation. Hollinshead (1999, p. 17) recognizes this in his demand that those who possess the power of representation must become self-conscious and ‘vigilant to the fact that their actions are not as “neutral” and as axiomatically equitable as they might have assumed...’. With this in mind, operators can admit alternative narratives and recognize the rights of host populations to convey their own story. Waitt (2000, p. 857) proposes a similar solution for the Sydney Cove development, where a ‘multiplicity of viewpoints and interpretations’ could be incorporated into the narrative formed by officials and operators. Whether or not they would do so within the context of the hegemonic and commercial pressures that operate on and within their domain is, of course, arguable, but a space for other readings can at least be imagined, even where dissonance of various sorts exists. How that space is filled is part of another debate.

For present purposes, then, rather than being diminished by dissonance and contestation, the heritage economy, it could be argued, forms a potentially valuable context for open and enlightened debate about the received past and the uses to which it is put in a wide range of contexts. Economic development and regeneration are obvious locations for such contests, however unequal they may be, and the future may yet provide a fruitful route to the past.

References

- Arezki, R., Cherif, R. and Piotrowski, J. (2012) ‘UNESCO World Heritage List, Tourism and Economic Growth’ in G. Licciardi and R. Amirtahmasebi (eds) *The Economics of Uniqueness, Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development* (Washington, DC: World Bank), pp. 183–212.
- Arup (2012) *Metropol Parasol: Overview, Details, Fast Facts* (2012) www.arup.com/Projects/Metropol_Parasol.aspx, accessed 31 August 2013.
- Bauman, Z. (2001) ‘Consuming Life’, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 1(1), 9–29.
- Bianchini, F. and Schwengel, H. (1991) ‘Re-Imaging the City’ in J. Corner and S. Harvey (eds) *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents in National Culture* (London: Routledge), pp. 212–35.
- Bigio, A. G. and Licciardi, G. (2010) *The Urban Rehabilitation of Medinas, The World Bank Experience in the Middle East and North Africa*, Urban Development Series Knowledge Papers, No. 54935 (Washington: World Bank).

- Blauge, R., Horner, L. and Lekhi, R. (2006) 'Heritage, Democracy and Public Value', *Conference Proceedings of the Capturing the Public Value of Heritage Conference*, 25–26 January 2006 (London: Royal Geographical Society).
- Choi, A. S., Ritchie, B. W., Papandrea, F. and Bennet, J. (2010) 'Economic Valuation of Cultural Heritage Sites: A Choice Modelling Approach', *Tourism Management*, 31, 213–20.
- Clark, K. (2012) 'Only Connect' – *The Social, Economic and Environmental Benefits of Cultural Heritage*. <http://www.environment.gov.au/system/files/pages/f4d5ba7d-e4eb-4ced-9c0e-104471634fbb/files/essay-benefits-clark.pdf>, accessed 29 September 2013.
- Corner, J. and Harvey, S. (eds) (1991) *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture* (London: Routledge).
- Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2010) *The Government's Statement on the Historic Environment for England* (London: DCMS).
- Dicks, B. (2000) *Heritage Place and Community* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
- Dicks, B. (2003) *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability* (London: MacGraw-Hill).
- English Heritage (2007) *Valuing Our Heritage: The Case for Future Investment in the Historic Environment* (London: English Heritage).
- English Heritage (2013) *Heritage Works: The Use of Historic Buildings in Regeneration, A Toolkit of Good Practice* (London: English Heritage).
- Euromed (2002) *Creating a Future that Cares for the Past* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities).
- Frey, B. S. and Oberholzer-Gee, F. (1998) 'Public Choice, Cost Benefit Analysis, and the Evaluation of Cultural Heritage' in A. Peacock (ed.) *Does the Past Have a Future? The Political Economy of Heritage* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs), pp. 27–53.
- Galloway, S. and Dunlop, S. (2007) 'A Critique of Definitions of the Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13(1), 17–31.
- Gastrosol Tapas (2011) *Espacio Metropol Parasol. Plaza de la Encarnación*. www.gastrosol.es/es/index.html, accessed 31 August 2013.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage, Power, Culture and Economy* (London: Arnold).
- Greffe, X. (2009) 'Heritage Conservation as a Driving Force for Development' in Council of Europe, *Heritage and Beyond* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing), pp. 101–12. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/identities/PatrimoineBD_en.pdf
- Hale, A. (2001) 'Representing the Cornish, Contesting Heritage Interpretation in Cornwall', *Tourist Studies*, 1(2), 185–96.
- Harvey, D. (1989) 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism', *Geografiska Annaler*, 71(1), 3–17.
- Harvey, D. (1993) 'From Place to Space and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity' in J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner (eds) *Mapping the Futures, Local Cultures Global Change* (London: Routledge), pp. 3–29.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2013) *New Ideas Need Old Buildings* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund).
- Historic Environment Forum (2010) *Heritage Counts 2010* (London: English Heritage).
- Holden, J. (2006) *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy: Why Culture Needs a Democratic Mandate* (London: DEMOS).
- Hollinshead, K. (1999) 'Surveillance of the Worlds of Tourism: Foucault and the Eye-of-Power', *Tourism Management*, 20, 7–23.

- Hope, C. A. and Klemm, M. S. (2001) 'Tourism in Difficult Areas Revisited: the Case of Bradford', *Tourism Management*, 22, 629–35.
- Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T. W. (Trans. E. Jephcott) (1944 [2002]) *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press).
- Hughes, M. A. W. and Hughes, W. H. (1904) *Letters and Recollections of Sir Walter Scott* (London: Smith, Elder and Co.).
- ICOMOS (2008) *The World Heritage List: What Is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties* (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag).
- Kaminski, J., McLoughlin, J. and Sodagar, B. (2007) 'Economic Methods for Valuing European Cultural Heritage Sites (1994–2006)' in J. McLoughlin, J. Kaminski and B. Sodagar (eds) *Perspectives on Impact, Technology and Strategic Management* Vol. 1 (Budapest: EPOCH), pp. 98–121.
- Konecta (2010) *Sevilla Ciudad de Opera: Manual de Producto, Turismo Sevilla* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, Ayuntamiento de Sevilla).
- Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space* (London: Sage).
- Licciardi, G. and Amirtahmasebi, R. (eds) (2012) *The Economics of Uniqueness, Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development* (Washington, DC: World Bank).
- Light, D. and Prentice, R. (1994) 'Market-Based Product Development in Heritage Tourism', *Tourism Management*, 15(1), 27–36.
- MacDonald, F. (2002) 'The Scottish Highlands as Spectable' in S. Coleman and M. Crang (eds) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance* (Oxford: Berghahn), pp. 54–72.
- Macciocco, G. (2008) *Fundamental Trends in City Development* (New York: Springer).
- Macciocco, G. (2009) *Enhancing the City: New Perspectives for Tourism and Leisure* (Dordrecht: Springer).
- Mazzanti, M. (2002) 'Cultural Heritage as Multi-Dimensional, Multi-Value and Multi-Attribute Economic Good: Toward a New Framework for Economic Analysis and Valuation', *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 31, 529–58.
- Meethan, K. (2001) *Tourism in Global Society, Place, Culture, Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- Mellor, A. (1991) 'Enterprise and Heritage in the Dock' in J. Corner and S. Harvey (eds) *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture* (Routledge: London), pp. 93–207.
- Moore, R. (2011) 'Metropol Parasol, Seville by Jürgen Mayer H – Review', *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/mar/27/metropol-parasol-seville-mayer-review>, accessed 31 August 2013.
- Mordue, T. (2005) 'Tourism, Performance and Social Exclusion in "Olde Yorke"', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(1), 179–98.
- Mordue, T. (2010) 'Time Machines and Space Craft: Navigating the Spaces of Heritage Tourism Performance' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds) *Culture, Heritage and Representation, Perspectives on Visuality and the Past* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 173–94.
- National Trust (2006) *Demonstrating the Public Value of Heritage* (London: National Trust and Accenture).
- Navrud, S. and Ready, R. C. (eds) (2002) *Valuing Cultural Heritage: Applying Environmental Valuation Techniques to Historic Buildings, Monuments and Artifacts* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).
- Noonan, D. (2003) 'Contingent Valuation and Cultural Resources: A Meta-Analytic Review of the Literature', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 27, 159–76.
- PastView Presentación (2012) www.pastview.es/, accessed 31 August 2013.

- Peacock, A. (1998) 'The Economist and Heritage Policy: A Review of the Issues' in A. Peacock (ed.) *Does the Past Have a Future? The Political Economy of Heritage* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs), pp. 1–26.
- Rátz, T., Smith, M. and Michalkó, G. (2008) 'New Places in Old Spaces: Mapping Tourism and Regeneration in Budapest', *Tourism Geographies*, 10(4), 429–51.
- Robins, K. (1991) 'Tradition and Translation: National Culture in Its Global Context' in J. Corner and S. Harvey (eds) *Enterprise and Heritage. Cross Currents of National Culture* (London: Routledge), pp. 24–44.
- Rypkema, D. (2009) 'Economics and the Built Cultural Heritage' in Council of Europe, *Heritage and Beyond* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing), pp. 113–24.
- Savage, M., Bagnall, G. and Longhurst, B. J. (2005) *Globalization and Belonging* (London: Sage).
- Schofield, J. and Szymanski, R. (eds) (2010) *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place* (Farnham: Ashgate).
- Scott, C. A. (2009) 'Exploring the Evidence Base for Museum Value', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 24(3), 195–212.
- Smith, L. (2006) *The Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge).
- Spirou, C. (2011) *Urban Tourism and Urban Change: Cities in a Global Economy* (London: Routledge).
- Throsby, D. (2001) *Economics and Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).
- Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage, The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (London: John Wiley and Sons).
- Turismo de Sevilla (2013) *Dossier para Prensa, Turismo de Sevilla. Excelentísimo Ayuntamiento de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Turismo de Sevilla).
- Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge).
- Waite, G. (2000) 'Consuming Heritage, Perceived Historical Authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(4), 835–62.
- Watson, S. (2007) 'Trading Places: Europe for Sale' in U. E. Beitter (ed.) *Reflections on Europe in Transition* (New York: Peter Lang), pp. 157–76.
- Watson, S. (2009) 'Archaeology, Visuality and the Negotiation of Heritage' in E. Waterton and L. Smith (eds) *Taking Archaeology out of Heritage* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), pp. 28–46.
- Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of Power, from Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Zukin, S. (1995) *The Cultures of Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell).

29

Heritage in Consumer Marketing

Georgios C. Papageorgiou

Introduction

This chapter begins from an interest in the power that ‘the past’ holds in various senses, and in particular how it is often romanticized and associated with ‘lost’ or waning values, the role of the passing of time in evoking nostalgic feelings towards specific eras as well as areas, and, of course, the effect of the past on shaping the future. Perhaps the pre-eminent contribution in this field is Lowenthal’s (1985) resourceful treatise, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, on the influence of the past on people’s lives, which creates a conceptualization of its role in, among other things, breeding familiarity, offering reaffirmation and validation, shaping identities, providing guidance, acting as a vehicle for escape from the present and so forth. Irrespective of which semantic definition of the past is adopted, its power in affecting perceptions and attitudes is widely recognized, not least in the field of advertising.

This chapter focuses in particular on the power of the past over individuals and groups as consumers, and how this influence is exploited and operationalized for marketing purposes. It is worth noting that the practice of referring to corporate heritage in advertising campaigns is neither novel nor exclusive to any type of product or service. From attempts to convey a brand’s association with quality through references to the know-how established through (years of) accumulated experience, to attempts to revitalize a company/brand/product by emphasizing its ‘vintage’ nature or value, any reference to a company’s, or indeed a region’s, heritage is fair game. This is especially so in today’s increasingly competitive marketplace, where online advertising and customer engagement through new/social media allow more freedom to small or young companies to occupy market niches and compete with larger or older firms without the need for a substantial marketing budget.

While it would be beyond the scope of this discussion to explore the influence of the past in terms of specific psychological and sociocultural processes, the chapter will initially refer to some of the main elements in the power of

the past, such as nostalgia, a concept closely woven with people's perception of the(ir) past, as well as key marketing concepts and functions. The purpose here is not to exhaust either topic, as they are both extensively researched, but to offer a platform for a discussion of their interconnections. The main facets of the power of the past analysed here are: (a) nostalgia, in the sense of the romanticizing of the past; (b) reliving the past, in the sense of projecting older values, fashions and so on onto later societies, centring on concepts such as 'vintage', 'classic', 'retro' and so forth; and (c) longevity as a guarantee of quality and the interpretation of time as 'the secret ingredient'. Through this categorization, the chapter will attempt to explore the utility of such attributes of the past for contemporary marketing practice, and the specific marketing functions that could benefit from the above associations.

Consumer marketing context

Marketing as a business function is primarily centred on: (a) putting a product on the market in a profitable way; and (b) being more successful at it than the competition. Without delving into the theoretical concepts and frameworks that underpin marketing practice, it is perhaps essential to explain the connection between certain basic functions.

A fundamental element of marketing is developing the right product, that is, devising a bundle of attributes that is able to satisfy specific consumer needs or desires. Both parts of this 'equation' are complicated, and the marketing literature focuses exhaustively on what the characteristics of a successful product are, as well as on how consumer needs and desires are shaped, influenced and fulfilled. The first part necessitates extensive market research as well as foresight, while the second part refers to the variety of factors that shape consumer behaviour.

An important issue to highlight in the context of this chapter is that a product is more than just what a product *does*; that is, the list of attributes that different consumers may find important or attractive in a product goes beyond the functions it performs: as Snelders and Schoormans (2004, p. 808) put it, 'abstract product attributes are associated with the emotional content of consumer judgements'. A chair is not simply a piece of furniture for sitting on, but may at the same time have design value, collectable value, sentimental value, demonstration value and so forth. Similarly, a Harley-Davidson motorcycle is not primarily a means of transportation, but a bundle of associations with specific ideals and experiences that establish what marketing theory terms affect, and its correlatives of mood and emotion (Erevelles, 1998). Additionally, consumer choice of a specific product may be related more to characteristics such as durability, reliability, status, image, country of origin, price, availability, ease of purchase, customer care, after-sales service, financing and so on,

rather than purely factual elements related to the product's function (Kotler et al., 2009). What is more, product attachment and post-purchase behaviour are not necessarily predicated on satisfaction (Mugge et al., 2010). The central notion here is that consumer choice is influenced by non-utilitarian factors, including perceptions of a firm's *identity* and *history*.

The second part of the above equation is related to the study of consumer behaviour, and the issue to highlight for the purposes of this chapter is that the purchase of any product is not a momentary decision, but the outcome of a process – irrespective of how conscious of it the consumer is. The typical stages of a consumer behaviour model include need recognition, information search, evaluation of alternatives, purchase decision and post-purchase behaviour (Mullen and Johnson, 1990). Without going into a detailed explanation here, the point to emphasize is that marketing practice is heavily involved in all of these stages. The consumer has free choice, but that choice is influenced by the way marketing creates, rather than simply serves, needs and desires, and, of course, by all marketing efforts invested in persuading consumers to buy a specific product or choose a specific brand, retailer and so on. However, marketing is not the only force influencing consumers; demographic, social, cultural as well as psychological factors contribute to the process, in a sense dictating consumer behaviour. Sentimentality in consumer behaviour has been discussed most notably by Holbrook and Hirschman (1993), while Laros and Steenkamp (2004) delve into the role of emotions in positive and negative affect towards products. For a product to be successful in constituting a customer's choice, it has to strike a chord at a social and psychological as well as a functional level, via not just the product attributes but even its very *identity*.

This leads to the closely related marketing aspect of establishing a company or brand image in the minds of consumers, that is, creating a brand identity and encouraging an instant association of the brand/company/product name with specific values that appeal to consumers (e.g. price, quality, innovation). In the words of Firat and Venkatesh (1993, p. 244), 'the image does not represent the product, but [...] the product represents the image'. The operative marketing concepts here are segmentation, targeting and positioning, that is, the categorization of potential consumers into segments that share specific characteristics in terms of their consumer behaviour, thus making it easier to target them for marketing purposes (i.e. designing specific products, pricing the products in the most beneficial way, promoting and distributing the products effectively and so on). The result of segmentation and targeting efforts is the positioning of the brand/company/product in the mind of consumers as 'the' name to trust in a particular product category, or positioning against the competition, that is, the conceptual space or 'market share' occupied in relation to competing brands in an industry or product category (Needle, 2004).

A large part of marketing work is dedicated to creating the right image for the company and capturing it in a brand name that turns abstract and amorphous characteristics of a company, such as its values and orientation, into a recognizable form (Aaker, 1991). Again, *company histories* can constitute a key resource in pinpointing a brand's distinct identity (Blombäck and Brunninge, 2009; Rindell et al., 2011).

This highlights a third key element of marketing: the imperative of not only having a 'good' product for sale, but actually convincing consumers why and how this product is different from or better than competing products in the market. Much of the creative part of marketing management resides in the effort towards differentiation (Kotler et al., 2009), with opportunities to highlight difference or superiority over other brands stemming not only from the actual product attributes but also from peripheral elements related to the ethos of a company, its history, nationality, focus on customer care, drive towards innovation, and practically any feature, hard or soft, factual or conceptual, that could identify and distinguish it in the eyes of consumers.

The basic-level description above is meant to highlight the interconnections between different marketing functions, but also to introduce potential aspects of marketing in which heritage in its wider sense could play a beneficial role for marketers. The following section draws on more specific literature and examples exploring the lure of the past on consumers.

The power of the past

Nostalgia and retro-marketing: Yesterday was better

Perhaps the most obvious application of the power of history and heritage can be located in the attachment people tend to feel towards the past, for different reasons. The Greek-origin term 'nostalgia' means a yearning towards the past, an attachment to past times as well as pain in the realization that the past is no longer accessible. The past is in danger of being forgotten, its values, morals, ways and so forth unattainable, irreplaceable, disappearing. Building on Lowenthal's (1985) discussion on nostalgia, Marchegiani and Phau (2011, p. 108) specify that 'nostalgia may be generated either from a personally remembered past (personal nostalgia: "the way I was") or from a time in history before one was born (historical nostalgia: "the way it was")'. Although a detailed analysis of the complex neuro-psychological processes behind these attitudes to the past is beyond this chapter's scope, it is evident that they are closely connected to ageing and the passing of time (Holbrook and Schindler, 1996), whose inevitability forms a prism through which human experiences and histories are judged, at a personal as well as a social level.

In attempting to dissect nostalgia into its emotional components, Holak and Havlena (1998, p. 218) conceptualize it as 'a positively valanced [sic] complex feeling, emotion, or mood produced by reflection on things (objects, persons, experiences, ideas) associated with the past'. Aptly, the most widely accepted scientific definition of nostalgia is 'a *preference* (general liking, positive attitude, or favourable affect) *towards objects* (people, places, or things) that *were more common* (popular, fashionable, or widely circulated) *when one was younger* (in early adulthood, in adolescence, in childhood, or even before birth)' (Holbrook and Schindler, 1991, p. 330, original emphasis). After an almost exhaustive analysis of the literature on nostalgia from different disciplines, Kessous and Roux (2008, p. 193) state that 'beyond the differences in definitions, the concept of nostalgia refers to an individual's relation to time'.

Nostalgia is a powerful influence on human life, including consumer behaviour. The products popular during a person's youth continue to influence their buying behaviour throughout their lifetime, and companies are eager to exploit any historical resources in reinforcing product attachment. Tellingly, Balmer (2011) includes nostalgia in his conceptualization of key corporate-level constructs that draw on the past, and many studies have addressed how 'nostalgic' cues, including images and sounds from the past, can be exploited to create favourable emotions towards products (e.g. Havlena and Holak, 1991; Storr, 1992; Chou and Lien, 2010; Marchegiani and Phau, 2011). Beale (2009) and Wagner (2010) affirm the recent comeback of retro-marketing and its application to different product types (e.g. clothing, food and drink items, household goods), citing examples of recent campaigns by heritage brands such as Sainsbury's, Hovis, Marks & Spencer, and Persil. In their view, an important explanation behind this trend is the current financial crisis. According to Beale (2009), nostalgia-based advertising is strategically centred on establishing an image of 'authenticity, reliability and trust – values that in these confusing times we're more hungry for than ever'. This is echoed by Lindstrom (2012, p. 133), who asserts that 'in the face of insecurity or uncertainty about the future, we want nothing more than to revert to a stable time'.

In what is considered a seminal treatise of 'the retro revolution', Brown (2001) recognizes and brilliantly documents the phenomenal rise of this marketing trend. However, he also points out that reverting to heritage as an aid in fulfilling marketing objectives does not constitute a new approach, and that efforts in this direction are, rather, rediscovered, imitated, perhaps even predictably cyclical – 'repro' rather than retro. So, even though the strategy works and can be immensely successful, it is not unproblematic, as it essentially creates a challenge for marketers in terms of originality. Furthermore, despite the frequent tendency to regard nostalgia as a negative emotion, Pickering and Keightley (2006, p. 919) argue that 'it should be seen as accommodating progressive, even utopian impulses as well as regressive stances and melancholic

attitudes'. However, it is this complex combination of positive and negative emotions that makes Holak and Havlena (1998, p. 223) warn marketers that the effect of nostalgia is difficult to predict, and advise that they should explicitly 'portray the product as a means of recapturing enough of the past to avoid an overwhelming feeling of loss'.

Perhaps because of the 'ruthlessness' with which the present becomes the past and the continuous acceleration of human life through technological advances (Gleick, 1999), heritage and history assume great value, and people ascribe to them qualities that (it is claimed) cannot be replicated in the present or future. The most characteristic example of this is the phrase 'they don't make them like that anymore'. In other words, there is often a tendency towards romanticizing or idealizing the past, (axiomatically) deeming it better than the present, as well as glorifying tradition to the detriment of contemporary life and practice – an attitude caustically commented on by Woody Allen in his film *Deconstructing Harry* with the phrase 'tradition is the illusion of permanence'. This reverence for the past is an interesting subject to study in its own right, with applications readily available in everyday life. For example, the inter-generational gap often evident in parents' advice to their offspring ('when *I* was your age...'), as well as regression to childhood, is based on a rather unfair or ill-informed comparison of two uneven sets of circumstances: the present and the past. 'Every time we remember a past event it not only evokes the earlier memory, but can re-cast the past into a more pleasing "remembered" version' (Daye, 2010). The past adds a soft-focus filter over our hindsight. The grass may only *seem* greener on the other side of the fence.

Reliving the past: Classic, vintage, old's cool

The second aspect of the power of the past goes a step beyond glorifying it, and into actually trying to relive or re-create it, or, more accurately, emulate it. The points discussed in the previous section undoubtedly feed into this trend, as some consumers, often of a younger age, engage in seeking items from the past and blending them into contemporary life. The difference is that this is done not because old items are thought of as superior to contemporary ones, but because of the retrospective value they acquire. Comparatively 'low-tech' products (e.g. Lomography cameras, vinyl records) or old designs are favoured as manifestations of escapism from the hold that modern technology has got on consumers, and even as an attempt to appear different from one's peers, if only by embellishing one's appearance with items from past times (Cervellon et al., 2012).

An interesting tangent of this trend is that consumer tastes and sense of style evolve over time, certainly through individuals' life-cycles, and can even be said to be cyclical, with trends being re-created, revamped and re-popularized every

few decades. What is thought of as a unique item by one consumer today may be discovered and cherished by another a few years later – the ‘uniqueness’ or ‘discovery’ value, of course, being only imaginary. Worse than that, in today’s global, virtual marketplace and customer knowledge-sharing and influence, the trend towards ‘retro’ designs is fuelled as well as exploited by companies in different industries that try to harness consumers’ thirst for ‘originality’ by offering products that are simply re-creations or imitations of older ones, or ‘a modern take on a classic’ (e.g. Brown et al., 2003). Without entering into a discussion on authenticity (although this would be a central concept to delve into in a less constrained setting), it is hopefully obvious that the originality or uniqueness found in mimicking the past is rather deceptive (see Chapter 4 on *Heritage and Authenticity*, this volume). And yet it can be personally fulfilling as well as commercially successful.

A characteristic example can come from an examination of relevant aspects in the musical instruments industry, and more importantly in the area of electric guitars, as well as related products such as amplifiers, effect units and so on. Perhaps no other instrument’s history enjoys as much reverie as the electric guitar. Almost invariably, players and manufacturers alike look to the past not only for inspiration but also as a benchmark and even a blueprint for contemporary practice. This goes beyond the (reasonable) admiration of old instruments and equipment or their commercial success years after their production on the basis of their collectable value. The parallel is drawn because of the tenacity with which contemporary players and manufacturers try to ‘nail that ’50s twang’, ‘sound just like Jimi’ (Hendrix) or build ‘classic’ instruments to exact ‘period-correct’ specifications using ‘vintage’ components. Even though musical instrument design technology has evolved greatly since the earlier days of the electric guitar, aficionados of this instrument are perhaps the most backward-looking – in the sense of authenticity-seeking – group in musical performance (Nicholson, 1991). But this goes further than collecting and using old guitars or amplifiers and effects. Companies are constantly manufacturing ‘re-issue’ models that ‘combine modern technology and playability with that vintage feel’, or even employ ‘the exact same circuits and components as...’ (seminal older pieces of equipment) – including their flaws, such as noise and hiss. Even further, the process of ‘relic-ing’, that is, artificial decay of their surface, is followed in the production of some new models so as to give them an ‘authentic, road-worn’ look and feel – usually commanding a higher selling price. More recently, there has been a trend towards effects units in particular emulating older effects units, which emulated older instruments themselves – like a third-generation imitation of an original or classic sound, such as the sound of an overdriven old tube amplifier captured in a guitar pedal that itself becomes a classic piece of equipment that subsequent guitar pedals are modelled after.

This rather obsessive emphasis on the superiority of the classic/vintage/retro sound, often at the expense of the attention paid to the actual music that is produced using such equipment, has created a thriving business, consisting of not only manufacturers but also retailers, guitar magazines and firms specializing in modifying the electronics of contemporary instruments and equipment to lend them vintage characteristics. Many new companies enter the field each year, including several so-called 'boutique' manufacturers who use as their main selling point the small numbers of products that they produce and the fact that they are usually hand-made. This, of course, relates again to a nostalgic attitude towards former times supposedly pre-dating (the evils of) mass production.

It must be noted that it is not implied here that contemporary instruments and equipment are better-sounding than older ones (what sounds good is, after all, a matter of personal preference), or that the glorification of vintage equipment is irrational or based on a false premise. However, the example hopefully shows how contemporary marketing practice feeds, as well as draws on, (some) consumers' perception of the past as authentic and worth re-creating.

Longevity and tradition: Time as the secret ingredient

The third dimension of the power of the past is rooted in the popular association of longevity with experience, and, as a consequence, knowledge, quality, even excellence. Companies or brands that are lucky to have operated for considerably longer periods than their competitors are often viewed as superior merely by virtue of their longevity. The assumption is that, if they have been around for so long, they must be doing something right. The simplest example of how this is employed by companies is the proclamation of their age in their logotype or business sign, for example 'Established in 1903'. Additionally, companies specializing in one type of product or service for many years are assumed to have gained experience in the process and established a degree of know-how and expertise. The effect is even more pronounced when a company has been (among) the first to offer a particular product in a specific market, whereby it has created a first-mover advantage (establishing itself as 'the' name to trust in a particular product category) or, even better, introduced innovations or industry standards that subsequent competing products have relied on, thus establishing a tradition of innovation – a beautiful contradiction in terms, also commented on by Lowenthal (1985).

The longevity of a brand during a person's life-cycle or family history can also create a tradition from the *consumer's* side, in the sense that the person or family selects a particular brand or retailer out of loyalty, habit or trust or as a tribute to members of earlier generations in the family who also favoured the same brand (Perez et al., 2011) though the process of cultural transmission (Colbert and Courchesne, 2012). However, in their analysis of the characteristics that constitute the basis for a retro-brand's appeal, Brown et al. (2003, p. 144) remind us

that 'consumers have a stake in the retromarketing process. They grew up with the brands, invested them with meaning, and wove stories of personal development around [them]'. Although this would seem to promote attachment to the brand through a sense of shared ownership, it also poses a challenge for marketers, who aim to 'evoke a strong personal memory from the past, but reinterpreting it as relevant and valued in today's world' (Wagner, 2010, p. 5) but must also ensure that the authenticity of the original brand is maintained for it to appeal to the values of a specific community (Beverland, 2005).

In all the above considerations, time, in the sense of longevity, plays the role of a key ingredient in establishing a positive association with the brand in the mind of consumers. While younger companies tend to stress their currency, technological prowess, innovative solutions, fresh approach, hip status and so on as their main strengths, older firms may play one additional card, tradition and longevity, in their efforts to convince consumers to favour their products and services. This is very often the case in food and drink-related product advertisements, where the distinct taste or quality is attributed to 'a secret recipe' in the brand's history, again evoking feelings of nostalgia towards the preservation of the past. The inference is that younger rival companies lack the essential ingredient of time needed to develop and *perfect* their products. Even though consistency may not be sought in relation to all types of products (Charters, 2009), longevity is one vehicle through which companies can assert a sense of authority in their field. The concept can be applied to most product or service categories, with interesting examples located in tourist destination advertisements, which often tend to perhaps overplay history as one of the attractions.

Operationalizing brand heritage for marketing purposes

By no means exhaustive, the above conceptualization of the three dimensions of the power of the past has hopefully not only explained the suggested role of each, but also highlighted their interconnectedness – each dimension feeding into, and supported by, the other two. Closely related as they are, it is possible that their effect is felt by consumers in a rather abstract way and not taken actively into consideration when consumers' attitudes towards a brand or product are formed – itself a continuous process that cannot be pinpointed to one particular moment in time. Consumers do not necessarily distinguish which component is at work in a particular advertisement, or which psychological processes, combined with social and other factors, contribute to their attitude towards the firm. As Zaltman has observed (2003, p. 9), 'consumers have far less access to their own mental activities than marketers give them credit for'. This tacit rather than factual approach allows firms to employ any and all means available in encouraging this association between their heritage and the

attainment of their marketing goals. Indeed, most often it is a combination of the different components that is utilized to imply and foster affect towards the brand: nostalgia, retrospective and tradition evoked rather indiscriminately or interchangeably. Additionally, because retro-marketing functions mostly by creating an emotional attachment rather than being based on cognitive positioning, it can facilitate non-rational consumption choices (Erevelles, 1998). Indeed, several of the above forces can be utilized in tandem in sophisticated marketing strategies in order to serve specific marketing functions and achieve specific results. This final part of the chapter discusses how the above considerations may be operationalized in contemporary marketing practice.

The element of time may be used in conjunction with, for example, nationality as a further way of cementing a company's link to their target markets. Brands contribute to identity creation within a community (Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver, 2010), but a brand's nationality as heritage may also communicate specific (soft) values about the product (Hakala et al., 2011). A frequent use is the reference to a positive reputation or tradition of excellence in the products of a specific country of origin, as is the case with, for example, German car makers. Additionally, in a more topical example, due to the severe financial crisis that Greece is experiencing at the time of writing, many firms in Greece are eager to proclaim their Greek origin in their advertisements and packaging so as to appear more sympathetic than foreign rivals operating in that market. Phrases such as 'proudly handcrafted in... since...' capture a sense of place attachment and solidarity as well as the element of time (Brown et al., 2003).

A particular benefit of exploiting the element of time is the opportunities it creates for reaching specific target demographics. Perhaps the most obvious example would be the senior citizen segment, because of their relationship to the past (Le Serre and Chevalier, 2012). In addition to employing a retro-marketing approach, companies can also use the knowledge of consumer characteristics of this segment in order to design products that can address their specific motivations. For example, in the case of tourist destinations, nostalgia, a big driver in destination choice, has led to 'the increasing desire to re-visit a specific country or city with a sentimental association instead of discovering somewhere new' (Hudson, 2010, p. 450). This may lead destinations, but also producers of other products and services, to employ specially targeted customer relationship schemes so as to benefit from this trend.

The earlier discussion of the three facets of the power of the past argued that its use in marketing, and in particular through nostalgia advertising, may positively influence a number of consumer behaviour elements, including affect, cognition, emotions, attitudes, purchase intention, brand loyalty and so on. An additional dimension is that increased attachment to a particular product, a key aim of retro-marketing, can also increase loyalty to the brand rather than just the product, that is, promote brand attachment. This will not only affect future

purchase of products by the same brand, but also, as Mugge et al. (2010, p. 279) point out, 'attached consumers are likely to be more vocal in recommending the same product or brand to others'. In a similar vein, Bhat and Burg (2011) discuss the value of communicating a spin-off company's association with its parent brand's heritage so as to transfer the parent brand's attributes of trust and reliability to the new venture.

Perhaps a final issue to include in this discussion should be a reflection on the discrepancy between the 'soft' nature and influence of retro-marketing (compared, for example, with the usually direct and often aggressive character of advertising) and the 'hard' approach inherent in planning it and operationalizing its benefits. While marketing theory predominantly tries to apply a 'hard science' approach to discussing contemporary practice, perhaps the topic of this chapter lends itself to an alternative approach, as advocated by Tapp and Hughes (2008), informed less by marketing theory and more by other disciplines that encourage the consideration of frequently ignored variables at an individual level. Further to Brown et al.'s (2003) earlier point that consumers 'co-own' a brand through their long-term involvement, perhaps it is apposite to close with Beverland's (2005, p. 460) advice that, in order to enhance marketing effectiveness, brand managers should 'downplay their overt marketing prowess, [...] decouple and downplay their real business acumen in favour of appealing to social norms', that is, opening up their brands to the members of communities they wish to appeal to and appearing relevant to the values of those communities.

Conclusion

Though not novel, the practice of utilizing corporate heritage in order to serve marketing functions has enjoyed increased popularity among firms in different product categories in recent years. This chapter has attempted to present a consideration of different interpretations of heritage and, in particular, different ways in which the past exerts power over people's lives. By classifying this influence in three distinct but interrelated categories, it then discussed the opportunities and challenges each creates from a consumer marketing viewpoint.

By definition a topic that embraces relatively long and varying periods of time, further research on the use of heritage for marketing purposes could perhaps delve into each of the three dimensions identified here by employing a longitudinal approach combining psychological, sociocultural and commercial perspectives in mapping marketing practices and consumer attitudes. This could potentially identify product categories that by their nature might, historically, lend themselves to such a marketing approach. Furthermore, it could reveal whether the use of the time element in a marketing context shows any

shifts in approach and application, or whether its appeal can be explained using existing (traditional?) conceptualizations.

In closing, it must be noted that the author comes from an academic background that is orientated towards marketing rather than heritage studies. As exciting as the research and thought process on the subject has been, the chapter essentially remains a relatively personal gaze that combines rather than exhausts issues. Any omission of perhaps seminal texts and theories in the field of heritage is not intended to reduce their value – the outcome hopefully still adding to current thinking on the overall topic.

References

- Aaker, D. (1991) *Managing Brand Equity: Capitalizing on the Value of a Brand Name* (New York: Free Press).
- Balmer, J. M. T. (2011) 'Corporate Heritage Identities, Corporate Heritage Brands and the Multiple Heritage Identities of the British Monarchy', *European Journal of Marketing*, 45(9–10), 1380–98.
- Beale, C. (2009) A Happy Anniversary for Heritage Brands. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/advertising/claire-beale-on-advertising-a-happy-anniversary-for-heritage-brands-1682514.html>, accessed 12 February 2013.
- Beverland, M. (2005) 'Brand Management and the Challenge of Authenticity', *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 14(7), 460–1.
- Bhat, S. and Burg, C. J. (2011) 'Does Communicating Corporate Parent Brand Heritage Help Spin-off Stock Performance?' *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 16(1), 27–37.
- Blombäck, A. and Brunninge, O. (2009) 'Corporate Identity Manifested through Historical References', *Corporate Communications*, 14(4), 404–19.
- Brown, S. (2001) *Marketing: The Retro Revolution* (London: Sage).
- Brown, S., Kozinets, R. V. and Sherry, J. F. Jr (2003) 'Sell Me the Old, Old Story: Retromarketing Management and the Art of Brand Revival', *Journal of Customer Behavior*, 2(2), 133–47.
- Bulmer, S. and Buchanan-Oliver, M. (2010) 'Experiences of Brands and National Identity', *Australasian Marketing Journal*, 18(4), 199–205.
- Cervellon, M.-C., Carey, L. and Harms, T. (2012) 'Something Old, Something Used: Determinants of Women's Purchase of Vintage Fashion vs Second-Hand Fashion', *International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management*, 40(12), 956–74.
- Charters, S. (2009) 'Does a Brand Have to Be Consistent?' *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 18(4), 284–91.
- Chou, H.-Y. and Lien, N.-H. (2010) 'Advertising Effects of Songs' Nostalgia and Lyrics' Relevance', *Asia Pacific Journal of Marketing and Logistics*, 22(3), 314–29.
- Colbert, F. and Courchesne, A. (2012) 'Critical Issues in the Marketing of Cultural Goods: The Decisive Influence of Cultural Transmission', *City, Culture and Society*, 3(4), 275–80.
- Daye, D. (2010) *The Power of Nostalgia in Advertising*. <http://www.brandingstrategyinsider.com/2010/01/the-power-of-nostalgia-in-advertising.html>, accessed 12 February 2013.
- Erevelles, S. (1998) 'The Role of Affect in Marketing', *Journal of Business Research*, 42(3), 199–215.
- Firat, A. F. and Venkatesh, A. (1993) 'Postmodernity: The Age of Marketing', *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 10(3), 227–49.

- Gleick, J. (1999) *Faster: The Acceleration of Just About Everything* (London: Little, Brown).
- Hakala, U., Lätti, S. and Sandberg, B. (2011) 'Operationalising Brand Heritage and Cultural Heritage', *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 20(6), 447–56.
- Havlena, W. J. and Holak, S. L. (1991) 'The Good Old Days: Observations on Nostalgia and its Role in Consumer Behaviour' in R. Holman and M. R. Solomon (eds) *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 18 (Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research), pp. 323–29.
- Holak, S. L. and Havlena, W. J. (1998) 'Feelings, Fantasies, and Memories: an Examination of the Emotional Components of Nostalgia', *Journal of Business Research*, 42(3), 217–26.
- Holbrook, M. B. and Hirschman, E. C. (1993) *The Semiotics of Consumption: Interpreting Symbolic Consumer Behavior in Popular Culture and Works of Art* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter).
- Holbrook, M. B. and Schindler, R. M. (1991) 'Echoes of the Dear Departed Past: Some Work in Progress on Nostalgia' in R. Holman and M. R. Solomon (eds) *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol.18 (Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research), pp. 330–3.
- Holbrook, M. B. and Schindler, R. M. (1996) 'Market Segmentation Based on Age and Attitude toward the Past: Concepts, Methods, and Findings concerning Nostalgic Influences on Consumer Tastes', *Journal of Business Research*, 37(1), 27–39.
- Hudson, S. (2010) 'Wooing Zoomers: Marketing to the Mature Traveler', *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 28(4), 444–61.
- Kessous, A. and Roux, E. (2008) 'A Semiotic Analysis of Nostalgia as a Connection to the Past', *Qualitative Market Research*, 11(2), 192–212.
- Kotler, P., Keller, K. L., Brady, M., Goodman, M. and Hansen, T. (2009) *Marketing Management* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited).
- Laros, F. J. M. and Steenkamp, J.-B. E. M. (2004) 'Emotions in Consumer Behaviour: a Hierarchical Approach', *Journal of Business Research*, 58(10), 1437–45.
- Le Serre, D. and Chevalier, C. (2012) 'Marketing Travel Services to Senior Consumers', *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 29(4), 262–70.
- Lindstrom, M. (2012) *Brandwashed: Tricks Companies Use to Manipulate Our Minds and Persuade Us to Buy* (London: Kogan Page Limited).
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Marchegiani, C. and Phau, I. (2011) 'The Value of Historical Nostalgia for Marketing Management', *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 29(2), 108–22.
- Mullen, B. and Johnson, C. (1990) *The Psychology of Consumer Behavior* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates).
- Mugge, R., Schifferstein, H. N. J. and Schoormans, J. P. L. (2010) 'Product Attachment and Satisfaction: Understanding Consumers' Post-Purchase Behavior', *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 27(3), 271–82.
- Needle, D. (2004) *Business in Context: An Introduction to Business and its Environment*, 4th edn (London: Thomson Learning).
- Nicholson, G. (1991) *Big Noises: Rock Guitar in the 1990s* (London: Quartet Books).
- Perez, M. E., Padgett, D. and Burgers, D. (2011) 'Intergenerational Influence on Brand Preferences', *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 20(1), 5–13.
- Pickering, M. and Keightley, E. (2006) 'The Modalities of Nostalgia', *Current Sociology*, 54(6), 919–41.
- Rindell, A., Korkman, O. and Gummerus, J. (2011) 'The Role of Brand Images in Consumer Practices: Uncovering Embedded Brand Strength', *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 20(6), 440–6.

- Snelders, D. and Schoormans, J. P. L. (2004) 'An Exploratory Study of the Relation between Concrete and Abstract Product Attributes', *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 25(6), 803–20.
- Storr, A. (1992) *Music and the Mind* (London: Harper Collins).
- Tapp, A. and Hughes, T. (2008) 'Why "Soft Science" Is the Key to Regaining Leadership in Marketing Knowledge', *European Journal of Marketing*, 42(3–4), 265–78.
- Wagner, B. (2010) 'The Power of Nostalgia: Zeitgeist or Marketing Hype?' *Pioneer – University of Strathclyde Business School Magazine*, Winter, 4–5.
- Zaltman, G. (2003) *How Customers Think: Essential Insight into the Mind of the Market* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press).

30

Heritage and Sustainable Development: Transdisciplinary Imaginings of a Wicked Concept

Robyn Bushell

We find ourselves in a state of profound, world-wide crisis. It is a complex, multi-dimensional crisis whose facets touch every aspect of our lives – our health and livelihood, the quality of our environment and our social relationships, our economy, technology, and politics. It is a crisis of intellectual, moral and spiritual dimensions; a crisis of a scale and urgency unprecedented in recorded human history.

(Capra, 1982, p. 1)

Capra noted in *The Turning Point* (1982) that the stockpile of nuclear weapons was sufficient to destroy the human race several times, and that this global madness revealed a frightening attitude among world leaders, knowingly spending over a billion dollars a day on an arms race, with the so-called 'first' world trading arms with the 'third' world; developing nations spending more on warfare than health, despite hundreds of millions of people, mostly children, either dying or starving each year; and 40 per cent of the world's population living in profound poverty without access to safe drinking water or health services. He went on to express concern about numerous social pathologies overwhelming the experts. These included rampant inflation challenging the best economic minds; cancer defeating the leading oncologists; psychiatrists mystified by schizophrenia; police helpless in the face of rising crime. What have we learnt about ourselves and the complex interrelationships that mark the well-being of our world? Have we *progressed* as a civil society in the 30 years since?

The last 20 years have certainly marked a period of huge leaps in knowledge and concern about the *global* and the *future* and, with this, significant shifts in worldviews well beyond national and personal boundaries. We have become far more *connected* in so many ways. Communications are changing with dizzying rapidity, information flows now massively and extensively distributed. Each of

us – including the developing world – carry around pocket-sized devices more powerful than all the supercomputers that filled entire buildings not so long ago, enabling ordinary citizens to be far more aware and informed, engaged in and influential on decision-making. International travel has transformed from the exotic to the everyday. We therefore have a much better sense of and for the world. The availability of education worldwide has expanded exponentially, from the most foundational to the highest levels; highly secretive scientific and medical advances are no longer the norm. These shifts have created a more *global village* and global consciences. This development is reflected on many fronts, including concerns about sustainability.

The recent decades have produced concerted collaborative global research, spending and policy formulation around the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG), conventions and programmes for environmental management, pollution control, climate change mitigation, and the protection of biodiversity and ecosystems. However, regardless of all these advances, we continue to face the constancy of (terrorist) acts against humanity, ongoing civil unrest, and the recent Global Financial Crisis, all of which are indicative that the economic, political and jurisdictional still struggle to manage cycles of conflict, corruption and inflation. Greed and power remain so potent. Major epidemics and countless natural disasters remind us that we still understand and control so little of what shapes so much.

Throughout history, struggle and conflict have been countered by social reforms and collaboration. Philosophers, sociologists and scientists have pointed to the cyclical and complex nature of social transformation. Challenges are eternal, and, within each, the seeds of new hope but also of new threats. This has long been recognized. The ancient Chinese conceptualized this as yin and yang, with all things embodying opposites. The term for crisis, *wei-ji*, contains the characters of both *danger* and *opportunity*. Somewhat paradoxically, the more we know the less we understand, because each answer contains more and more questions (Toynbee, 1972). The online and mobile world is no different, producing endless new opportunities but countless risks, and with them many challenges to understandings and positions on ethics, acceptable codes of behaviour and appropriate regulatory frameworks. The start of the twenty-first century has already been witness to many processes of change and paradox, each affecting how we perceive and understand many things, including notions of sustainability.

One such paradox is that, due to increasing standards of living and education, and despite our vastly greater awareness of environmental issues, the rate of resource consumption is now 2.5 times greater than the production capacity of the planet (Melkert and Vos, 2008) and, indicative of inappropriate strategic planning, we now have the first ever generation in which the majority of the Earth's population live in cities. It is little wonder that many have declared

a profound crisis in a world facing endless wicked problems. Thus, the cycles continue. What is different today, perhaps, is the degrees of complexity, the massive scale and the rate of change. This is accompanied by the added dimension of immediacy with which all matters – great and minuscule, wonderful, catastrophic, gross or entirely banal – are communicated in increasingly viral and chaotic ways. And thus, in this era of wide-scale levels of education and democratization of information, there is an ever-expanding opportunity for misinformation, persuasion and confusion. Think of racial othering and the plight of refugees as a product of influential shock jocks and social media.

What, then, does *heritage* mean in this era? When mass globalization, mass urbanization, mass communication and mass mobilities render endlessly complex all the relational dimensions of people and place, how is *heritage* understood and valued; what does it signify and to whom? This chapter will explore some of the historical dimensions of the concept of sustainable development and attempt to weave a loose thread through emergent ways of thinking that have an influence on the well-being of people and place, bringing heritage and sustainable development into the same frame. Where might this lead us, from a diversity and convergence of disciplinary perspectives in a transdisciplinary imagining about sustainable futures (Brown et al., 2010) that embrace heritage? And what does it reveal about gaps in our knowledge, research and theoretical approaches to critical heritage studies? One of the elements is disciplinary tension. Debates surrounding both sustainable development and heritage inhabit a space filled with passionate, contradictory and conflicting beliefs and values: scientific, romantic, neo-colonial, erudite, practical, cultural, esoteric, personal, influential. Disciplinary tensions exist between understandings and values associated with change, measured against static entities (objects, buildings and urban fabric) and dynamic processes (including ecologies, spiritualities, aspirations and desires) (Bushell and Staiff, 2012) and between temporal (past, present and future), spatial, cultural and political geographies: developed versus developing; wealthy versus impoverished; European/Western versus non-Western, each inflected by identity, margins and so on. Thinking about both sustainable development and heritage has transformed as each has gained greater traction, broadened and been theorized by a range of stakeholders, each with their own vested interests. Some of the social turns in approaches to both natural and cultural heritages, policy and praxis will be considered in light of the imperatives of concurrently grappling with the realpolitik of the sustainability agenda and the cosmopolitanization of the dialogue.

Sustainable development: Tipping, turning or connecting?

There are endless possible starting points to a very long and complicated story. I will begin with the emblematic and bold work of the Club of Rome that began

when a global think tank formed in 1968. A small international group of professionals from the diverse fields of diplomacy, industry, academia and civil society met in a quiet villa in Rome, invited by a seemingly unlikely duo: an Italian industrialist, Aurelio Peccei, and a Scottish scientist, Alexander King. The group discussed the dilemma of prevailing short-term thinking in international affairs and concerns regarding unlimited resource consumption in an increasingly interconnected world. Their agreed mission was 'to act as a global catalyst for change through the identification and analysis of the crucial problems facing humanity and the communication of such problems to the most important public and private decision makers as well as to the general public' (CoR, 2013). Their much debated and contested but also best-ever-selling environmental publication, *The Limits to Growth*, was a commissioned report, produced by researchers (Meadows et al., 1972) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1972. The body of literature about tipping points and the capacity of the planet to cope is extensive. *The Limits to Growth* was a seminal piece, bringing together qualitative and quantitative evidence that revealed the magnitude of the problem. The Club of Rome have continued their high-level work on a global scale, 'grappling with growing complexity, globalisation and increasing interdependence' (CoR, 2013). They have contributed significantly to the scholarly and pragmatic development of the concept of sustainability.

Other prominent thinkers of the time, including the prolific Garrett Hardin (*Tragedy of the Commons*, 1968), refuted the commonly held ideas of nature as eternally bountiful. The challenge was, and remains, convincing decision-makers, policymakers and the general public that the well-being of all life on the planet is inextricably linked to the health of the environment, and that our natural heritage is a finite resource in need of protection and respect. Hardin also set his sights on dislodging populist Malthusian (mis)conceptions of the Earth finding equilibrium through natural disaster. The message of Hardin's (1993) *Within Limits*, along with many other influential activists of that period, was that of mounting evidence of population growth pushing us beyond the carrying capacity of the planet. Ilona Kickbush, as a leading health scholar and, at the time, head of the Health Promotion branch of the World Health Organization, like others, advocated for investment in the future and the imperative of taking responsibility for the future by understanding the long-term consequence of our current-day actions. Her phrase 'good planets are hard to find' (1989) sums up the gravity of the situation. These environmentalists, from a broad range of disciplinary backgrounds, changed the global agenda through a sustained discourse about the consequences of unchecked growth, linking economic development with environmental disaster and human well-being. As this was during the Cold War era, misinformation proliferated. Those trying to turn the tide and seek global cooperation face(d) powerful opposition from

within the public and private sectors, with inherently complex, entangled, and often sinister and cynical political and economic vested interests.

Such an activist, marine biologist Rachel Carson, for example, faced fierce attack by chemical companies when she brought to the attention of the American general public the risks associated with high levels of pesticides in the natural environment and our food chain. Her works, especially *Silent Spring* (1962), had a lasting impact on the environmental movement, inspiring activism, and are regarded as influential for the rise of ecofeminism (Hynes, 1989). Like many aspects of complex environmental science, her work was highly controversial, acclaimed by many but also (dis)credited with the spread of malaria in poor nations due to resultant bans on DDT. She was not advocating bans as such, but, rather, the need for good research into the long-term effects of the proliferation of chemical pollutants in the ecosystem, and for viable alternatives to mass agricultural practices of the day that accepted profit as more compelling than good husbandry.

The story of DDT is yet another example of a solution throwing up the seeds of new problems. It is a most intriguing story that exemplifies the extent of entanglement and complexity. It demonstrated what in environmental science is known as the *butterfly effect*: the movement of a butterfly's wings creating rippling consequences in weather patterns around the globe. This trope grew out of late-nineteenth-century chaos theory. It proffers that, due to sensitive dependence on initial conditions, a small change at one place in a deterministic, non-linear system can result in large differences in a later state (Lorenz, 1963). It is a fitting metaphor for so much that is imperceptibly interconnected, im(un)measurable, unknown and subject to so many factors, chances, understandings across temporal, spatial and disciplinary frames that *truth* and *facts* of cause and effect can be both compelling and illusionary. This makes much about sustainability a matter of sensibilities rather than sciences. It renders negotiations and agreements endlessly difficult. As Latour (2011, p. 1) notes,

[t]here is no single institution able to cover, oversee, dominate, manage, handle, or simply trace ecological issues of large shape and scope. Many issues are too intractable and too enmeshed in contradictory interests. We have problems, but we don't have the *publics* that go with them. How could we imagine agreements amid so many entangled interests?

The stakes were, and remain, high with many stakeholders. Not only non-government bodies were agitating for change. Many government agencies were at the fore of the turning tide. The Swedish government was pushing for reforms in global thinking, recommending in 1968 that the United Nations Economic and Social Council convene a conference to focus attention on the interactions between humans and the environment. The conference, held in

1972 in Stockholm on *Human Environment*, mandated a set of reports and guidelines for action by national governments and international organizations. Opening the conference, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, said: '[n]o crisis ever before has underlined to such an extent the interdependence of nations. The environment forces us to make the greatest leap ever into world-wide solidarity' (UNEP, 2012, p. 8).

One of the epochal issues to emerge – or at least be given the prominence it deserved at this meeting – was acknowledgement of the link between poverty alleviation and protecting the environment, proposed by Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, a remarkable individual with a pedigree and lineage that emboldened her to great effect. The conference, and the many scientific meetings preceding and following it, have had a profound impact on environmental policymaking and nudged the social turn in environmental sciences. This included the establishment later that year of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). It became the first UN agency to be headquartered in a developing nation (Nairobi, Kenya). The collaborative research by UNEP and its many affiliates has been pivotal in unpacking the effects of global warming. UNEP convened the first international expert group meeting on climate change, leading to the development of numerous subsequent agreements, such as the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* (UNFCCC), creating an architecture under which arrangements for international climate change cooperation could (or might) be agreed.

The *Kyoto Protocol* was eventually adopted in 1997, setting out the first international agreement on emissions reduction targets. The protocol required developed country state parties to limit or reduce their emissions over the period 2008–2012. Despite limited buy-in, subsequent negotiations have continued: Copenhagen (2009), Cancun (2010), Durban (2011), Dohar (2012) and New York (2014) (UNEP, 2012). Despite this, climate change remains a vexed issue, not only among world leaders; it has failed to date to be the clarion call that environmentalists hope for. It is symptomatic of much about sustainability that is wicked: the concept, the evidence, the ambiguity, the realities of transactional, (slowly) negotiated and incremental change.

Safeguarding the past/future

The latter half of the twentieth century was, of course, equally important in relation to international cooperation and agreements on the conservation of heritages. Also taking place in 1972, the General Assembly of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. The *World Heritage Convention*, as it is more commonly known, emerged from the collective recognition of loss resultant from the devastation of two World

Wars. In the 1920s, the procedure of wealthier nations assisting poorer nations to protect heritage commenced with the League of Nations. Post-Second World War, this role shifted to UNESCO. The process is now widely accepted, but at the time the pragmatics of development far outweighed preserving the past, and remains a lasting tension. At the time, international concern surrounded the decision to build the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, with the consequent flooding of the Nile valley, home to the Abu Simbel temples, treasures of ancient Egyptian civilization. This is a well-known story in cultural heritage circles, with UNESCO launching an international safeguarding campaign to relocate the temples and the formulation of recommendations for the *Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites*. Supported by some 50 nations, the campaign demonstrated the importance of solidarity and shared responsibility in conserving outstanding cultural sites (UNESCO, 2013).

The most significant feature of the *World Heritage Convention* in the context of this discussion was the linking of the concepts and the merging of two active movements: one preserving cultural sites, and the other the conservation of nature. This followed years of discussion and debate in many forums. In 1965, environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) urged the US government, through a White House conference, to call for a World Heritage Trust to stimulate international cooperation to protect 'the world's superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry' (UNESCO, 2013). In 1968, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) developed similar proposals for its members. These proposals were presented to the 1972 Stockholm conference.

The resultant *World Heritage Convention* came into force, once ratified by 20 nations, in 1977. With UNESCO's support, the IUCN, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) assumed the role of advisory bodies to the intergovernmental committee of UNESCO, the World Heritage Committee. The convention was enthusiastically adopted and continues to be one of the most widely supported. The first 12 sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1978 (UNESCO, 2005). In 2014, some 191 state parties are signatories to the convention, with 1007 properties currently on the list, although with extant imbalances – 48 per cent of sites are located in Europe and North America, and 79.8 per cent (779) are cultural, with only 197 natural and 31 mixed sites (UNESCO, 2014).

While these are the iconic sites deemed to possess outstanding universal value, there are many other forms of protection and conservation of natural heritage. These include marine and terrestrial protected areas. They now account for some 12.7 per cent of the world's terrestrial and 1.6 per cent of global ocean areas (IUCN, 2013). Protected areas are widely regarded as one of the most successful measures implemented for the conservation of

biodiversity, affording greater local decision-making (although the majority align with the IUCN categories of protected areas). They draw on traditional, community-based and national governance regimes, bringing together scientific and traditional knowledge and practices. The Global Biodiversity Outlook (CBD, 2010) notes that protected areas are one of the few conservation measures considered to be improving at the global scale (IUCN, 2013). The nature conservation movement has broadened its reach considerably and today represents state, NGO, community and private sectors, with a strong social and economic focus.

IUCN, in collaboration with the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and UNEP, was, in fact, the first to coin the phrase 'sustainable development' in *The World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN, 1980), despite common misperception that it was first used in the Brundtland report: 'Sustainability is in IUCN's DNA' and the NGO has been 'working towards making it a reality ever since' (IUCN, 2013, p. 2).

The World Conservation Strategy, together with the reports of the Stockholm conference, led to the formation of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), headed by former Norwegian prime minister and, later, Director General of the World Health Organization, Dr Gro Harlem Brundtland. It is notable that, as a mother, politician and medical doctor, she brought quite a different perspective to the male-dominated 'growth is good' political and business world of the 1980s. WCED was an international group of politicians, civil servants and experts on the environment and development. Until their report, *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987), the discourse of sustainable development was confined to issues around sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment, reflecting its historical roots. The phrase '*ecologically* sustainable development' or ESD was more prominently used than 'sustainable development'. It was the work of the WCED that developed the concept, with the Brundtland Report defining it as development that 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs', pointing to the interconnectivity of development and the environment:

Failures to manage the environment and to sustain development threaten to overwhelm all countries. Environment and development are not separate challenges; they are inexorably linked... the environment cannot be protected when growth leaves out account for the costs of environmental destruction... problems cannot be treated separately by fragmented institutions and policies. They are linked in a complex system of cause and effect.

(WCED, 1987, p. 48)

The WCED gained broad political support for the concept of sustainable development. The report highlighted the fundamental components of sustainable development, namely the environment, the economy and society, elaborating as core principles the need:

- to conserve and enhance our resource base, by gradually changing the ways in which we develop and use technologies;
- for developing nations to be allowed to meet their basic needs of employment, food, energy, water and sanitation;
- for population growth to be slowed to a sustainable level; and
- for economic growth to be revived with developing nations allowed growth of equal quality to that of developed nations (WCED, 1987).

The devil, of course, is in the detail. The report triggered a vast multitude of global activities and debates that continue today. Conferences, think tanks, high-level summits, action plans, conventions, guiding principles, guidelines and monitoring protocols to which national governments are committed were subsequently produced. This was accompanied by endless critique of sustainable development as an oxymoron and an unachievable ideal (Griffith, 2002).

Among the important agenda-setting global summits, the 1992 Rio Earth Summit precipitated the preparation and subsequent signing by world leaders of the *Convention on Climate Change*, the *Convention on Biological Diversity*, the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* and the *Forest Principles*. The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was created to monitor and report on the implementation of the Earth Summit agreements, including Agenda 21. This was a 300-page blueprint for civil society – public and private sectors – to achieve sustainable development in the twenty-first century, in order to obviate impending environmental disaster.

The CSD continues to be an influential high-level forum and preparatory committee for summits and sessions on the implementation of Agenda 21. The UN Division for Sustainable Development acts as the secretariat to the Commission and the Council of Parties that enact frameworks for the implementation of Agenda 21 by state parties. It remains essentially voluntary and its adoption has been varied. It was intended to involve action at international, national, regional and local levels. Some national and state governments have legislated for local authorities to implement the plan locally. In other countries, opposition has surfaced to varying extents.

Despite its environmental focus, the predominant arguments at the Earth Summit concerned finance, consumption rates and population growth. The developed nations were seeking environmental sustainability, while less industrialized developing nations were demanding a chance for their economies to

catch up with the developed world. Many meetings in many forums have continued the conversation, debates and negotiations. The General Conference of UNESCO, in 1997, passed the Declaration on the *Responsibilities of the Present Generations towards Future Generations*. The importance of safeguarding natural and cultural heritage, and the role of the individual, the state, business and community in this process, has prompted a burgeoning heritage *industry*, one built around collaborative partnerships across all these spheres. It is also built around a profound sense of shared values, yet, despite seeming agreement, there remain many challenges and differing interpretations of what is required and what the desirable outcomes might be, from highly protectionist regimes to very liberal acceptance of sustainable use and adaptive reuse; from expert-led to entirely egalitarian approaches; from Euro-centric to Indigenous modes of understanding.

Following a summit of world leaders in 2000, the UN General Assembly adopted the *UN Millennium Declaration*, and subsequently, in 2005, the MDG, out of which was negotiated the UN-agreed *Responsibility to Protect*, giving the world community the right to intervene in the case of ‘national authorities manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity’. There was also broad agreement at the summit for the need to set up the Human Rights Council, established in 2006. This all links back to the 1972 Stockholm Conference on Human Environment, and the recognition of the need to address inequality and alleviate poverty if progress is to be made in other arenas of sustainability.

Notwithstanding variable successes and persuasive opponents, the momentum leveraging the concept of sustainable development has been maintained. The first World Public Meeting on Culture, held in Brazil in 2002, came up with the idea of establishing guidelines for local cultural policies, comparable to Agenda 21 for the protection of the natural environment. These cultural policies are intended to be included in various subsections of Agenda 21 and to be carried out through a wide range of sub-programmes beginning with the G8 countries (the group of eight highly industrialized nations – France, Germany, Italy, the UK, Japan, the US, Canada and Russia). At the 2012 UN Conference on Sustainable Development, attending members reaffirmed their commitment via the outcome document *The Future We Want* (UN, 2012).

The concept, however, remains disputed. The meta-narrative of sustainable development, advocating social equity, empowerment and socially responsible business practices in both developed and developing nations, has great appeal; it is, however, regarded as naïve and utopian. Others argue that development is anything but sustainable. Rather, it is increasingly neoliberal, driven by market-led entrepreneurship and resource exploitation; wealth accumulation overriding any concern for social equity, let alone conservation agendas.

It nevertheless remains one of the central orthodoxies of planning in many countries. Hybridity of approaches and rationalities is commonplace (Raco, 2005). At the same time as we witness the rise and rise of globalism, there is, again, an interesting turn from internationalization to a return and entwining with nationalism amid the debates on *the global community* and the future. This is emerging alongside anxiety around many challenges apparently global in cause and consequence, and more recent conceptions of sovereignty, community and identity (Sluga, 2013). Current debates around world heritage certainly exemplify this crack in the narrative of the ideologues and idealists.

The concept of sustainable development has also shifted. The fulcrum is arguably now social rather than ecological or cultural, though all remain firmly subordinate to economic policy. And, while heritage is not explicitly mentioned, it is repeatedly invoked in most of these declarations of our humanity. It is notable that the linkages – theoretical and pragmatic – between natural and cultural remain relatively isolated despite the connection between natural environment and society, and in particular the economy. Articles on urban planning refer to sustainability as the intersection of environment, economy and equity (Berke, 2002). It seems that bringing the cultural dimension into the discourse of sustainability is more elusive than the social.

Commentators have been trying to shift the language and remove the separation for some time. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) asserts that *natural* heritage is an inappropriate label. By virtue of human interaction and interpretation, all natural landscapes are culturally inscribed, understood and valued (Latour, 1999). The notion of separating *natural* and *cultural* is a modernist Western construct, just as the notion of *wilderness* fails to recognize the cultural dimension of wild places (Gomez-Pompa and Kaus, 1992; Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997; Reynolds, 2003) and the eloquently articulated limitations of separating the past and the present (Byrne, 2007). Staiff (2008) notes two important aspects about the interface of nature, culture and sustainability. First, because nature is culturally inscribed, every cultural context will have a tradition of a deep and different relationship with nature, especially Indigenous societies, where they are indivisible. Second, for many, the relationship is much more about aesthetics or production than it is about ecology and biodiversity. The discourses about sustainability are therefore not universal, despite the mediation of globalization. In an exploration of development options for remote Indigenous communities, Altman (2001) proposes polemics in support of hybrid analytical and intellectual frameworks bringing together biological sciences, social sciences and Indigenous knowledge systems, in order to better understand the requirements of an amalgam economy built around cultural heritage with sustainability issues at the core. This includes the need to significantly broaden the concept of development, to better accommodate customary

understandings. These critiques point to the need for more depth in our understanding and approaches.

This returns us to the ideas of Brown et al. (2010) for a transdisciplinary imagining about sustainable futures, and the focus of this chapter, one that embraces heritage and sustainability. Generally the literature dealing with the intersection of sustainable development and heritage is scant, and can perhaps be best characterized as thin and largely descriptive case studies. Jabareen (2008) noted the lack of a theoretical framework for sustainable development and lack of agreement of what is to be sustained. He reviewed literature across a very broad spectrum of disciplines and noted that the literature is 'fraught with contradiction', contested and mostly symbolic, but he was unable to move us any closer to either a theoretical or a prudential understanding. The work of Jane Bennett (2010) is more promising in this regard. Theoretically provocative, it is also quite pragmatic, offering quite a different perspective. Her exploration of the political ecology of *things* challenges the supposed *uniqueness* of humanity, interrogating ideas as contemporary as those of Bruno Latour and as far back as those of Charles Darwin in search of voice and agency within the non-human and a more nuanced and relevant understanding of the notion of a *public*. Several ideas are very pertinent to any consideration of bringing together constructions of *nature* and *culture* to inform a different register of policymaking. Latour, like others, rejects their separation outright, denying the concept of nature devoid of human culture, preferring instead to consider the *collective* of human and non-human elements and the political processes of assemblages that form a livable whole (Latour, 1999). Darwin, many years earlier, asserted the intelligent improvisations of all forms of life, not just humans. It is necessary to be mindful of the limitations of universalistic notions of both nature and culture, and recall Altman's concerns, to not assume any homogeneity in either sphere but to move our thinking to encompass a variety of disciplinary and cultural frames.

Bennett draws on numerous sources to argue that anthropomorphic resonances and resemblances uncover a world of 'vibrant materialities' and isomorphisms between nature and culture, of a polity of conjoint actions, much in the same way that ecosystems operate. In theorizing the interdependencies between nature and culture, she draws explicitly on Dewey's (1927) theory of action and affect and how people can recognize or accept a role in support of the non-human world, and how we might better learn to recognize 'propositions' not expressed in words. Latour (2011, p. 2) suggests:

One of the reasons why we feel so powerless when asked to be concerned by ecological crisis, is because of the total *disconnect* between the range, nature, and scale of the phenomena and the set of emotions, habits of thoughts,

and feelings that would be necessary to handle those crises – not even to act in response to them, but simply to give them more than a passing ear.

Bennett also calls on Rancière's (2004) theory of democracy, disruption and social order to provide voice for the many excluded humans. She is interested in a materialist theory of democracy. In the context of this discussion it is useful as a way to consider why and how the voice of so many, and daily evidence, can be ignored for years on matters considered to be of vital importance – such as sustainable development and the future of the planet. She considers how *noise* might become persuasive argument, translating eventually to policy and action. To shift across, slightly, to citizenship studies, Lister (2007, p. 49) acknowledges 'the avalanche of literature' and ways in which a diverse range of disciplines might assist in the unfolding of the potential – never before possible at this scale and extent – for more egalitarian and inclusionary processes in the global village. Just how this might occur in the *connectedness* of the twenty-first century, together with such diversity of opinion, presents myriad questions, and is suggestive that we have only just noticed the tip of the iceberg, let alone realized its importance.

A serious gap remains in our theorizing of the link between heritage and sustainable development as we search for far more nuanced and sensitive approaches to heritage, both research and management. We might look at what Bennett, Latour and others suggest for a deeper understanding of how *publics* operate and can be heard, engaged and influenced. If we were to be very bold, we might not only expand our horizon to include the social, the cultural and intangible, but we might also shift beyond the anthropocentric to genuinely acknowledge non-human materialities and, as Bennett suggests, 'to listen and respond more carefully to their outbreaks, objections and propositions Like the ways we have come to hear the voices of other humans formerly on the out' (2010, pp. 108–9). In so doing, we might (re)consider our aspirations for our heritages, the natural and the cultural, to safeguard the present, past and future and align the interests of heritage professionals with broader social and ecological contexts. This is, after all, the obligation of the decades of work leading to the UN MDG.

Wicked concept? Like yin and yang, sustainable development holds within it the promise of so much – a healthy environment and a healthy economy – but it disappoints on so many levels. A powerful concept cum political tool, the rhetoric far outweighs the expectations. Our ethical responsibility, to leave a legacy of a healthy future, is perhaps the most 'inconvenient truth' of our time; and the greatest paradox that rising standards of living inspire profligacy rather than genuine appreciation. So, while we flock to World Heritage Sites in our millions to admire and enjoy, are we willing to change anything we do in our everyday life in order to sustain such places?

References

- Altman, J. C. (2001) *Sustainable Development Options on Aboriginal Land: The Hybrid Economy in the Twenty First Century*, Discussion paper 226 (Canberra: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University).
- Bennett, J. (2010) *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham and London: Duke University Press).
- Berke, P. R. (2002) 'Does Sustainable Development Offer a New Direction for Planning? Challenges for the 21st Century', *Journal of Planning Literature*, 17(1), 21–36.
- Brown, V. A., Harris, J. A. and Russell, J. Y. (2010) *Tackling Wicked Problems through the Transdisciplinary Imaginary* (London and Washington, DC: Earthscan).
- Bushell, R. and Staiff, R. (2012) 'Rethinking Relationships: World Heritage, Communities and Tourism' in P. Daly and T. Winter (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Heritage in Asia* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), pp. 247–65.
- Byrne, D. (2007) *Surface Collection: Archaeological Travels in South East Asia* (Lanham and New York: Altamira Press).
- Capra, F. (1982) *The Turning Point: Science, Society and the Rising Culture* (London: Flamingo, Harper Collins).
- Carson, R. (1962) *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin).
- Club of Rome (2013) <http://www.clubofrome.org>, accessed 8 August 2013.
- Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (2010) *Global Biodiversity Outlook 3* (Montreal: Secretariat CBD, UNEO).
- Dewey, J. (1927) *The Public and Its Problems* (New York: Holt).
- Ghimire, K. B. and Pimbert, M. P. (eds) (1997) *Social Change and Conservation* (London: Earthscan).
- Gomez-Pompa, A. and Kaus, A. (1992) 'Taming the Wilderness Myth', *Bioscience*, 42(4), 271–9.
- Griffith, R. (2002). *How Shall We Live? The Sustainability Agenda and Institutional Change in Local Governance in Australia*. (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Western Sydney).
- Hardin, G. (1968) 'The Tragedy of the Commons', *Science*, 162, 1243–8.
- Hardin, G. (1993) *Living within Limits: Ecology, Economics and Population Taboos* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Hynes, H. P. (1989) *The Recurring Silent Spring*, Athene Series (New York: Pergamon Press).
- International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (1980) *The World Conservation Strategy* (Gland: IUCN, UNEP, WWF).
- IUCN (2013) *Nature+: Towards Nature based Solutions*. 2012 IUCN Annual Report (Gland: IUCN).
- Jabareen, Y. (2008) 'A New Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Development', *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 10, 179–92.
- Kickbush, I. (1989) 'Good Planets Are Hard to Find: Approaches to an Ecological Base for Public Health', *Future*, 13, 29–32.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004) 'Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production', *Museum International*, 56(1–2), 52–65.
- Latour, B. (1999) *Pandora's Hope. Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Latour, B. (2011) *Waiting for Gaia. Composing the Common World through Art and Politics*. Lecture at the French Institute London, November 2011. http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/124-GAIA-LONDON-SPEAP_0.pdf, accessed 4 November 2013.
- Lister, R. (2007) 'Inclusive Citizenship: Realizing the Potential', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1), 49–61.

- Lorenz, E. N. (1963) 'Deterministic Non-periodic Flow', *Journal of the Atmospheric Sciences*, 20(2), 130–41.
- Meadows, D. H., Meadows, D. L., Randers, R. and Behrens, R. R. (1972) *The Limits to Growth* (New York: Universe Books).
- Melkert, A. A. and Vos, R. (2008) *Millennium Development Goal 8: the Global Partnership for Achieving the Millennium Development Goals*, MDG Gap Task Force Report 208 (New York: United Nations Secretariat).
- Raco, M. (2005) 'Sustainable Development, Rolled-Out Neo-Liberalism and Sustainable Communities', *Antipode*, 37(2), 324–47.
- Rancière, J. (2004) *Dis-Agreement: Politics and Philosophy* (Trans. J. Rose) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Reynolds, H. (2003) *The Law of the Land*, 3rd edn (Camberwell: Penguin Books).
- Sluga, G. (2013) *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Staiff, R. (2008) 'Cultural Inscriptions of Nature: Some Implications for Sustainability, Nature-Based Tourism and National Parks' in S. F. McCool and R. N. Moisey (eds) *Tourism, Recreation and Sustainability: Linking Culture and the Environment*, 2nd edn (Wallingford: CAB International), pp. 220–235.
- Toynbee, A. (1972) *A Study of History* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- United Nations (2012) *The Future We Want* (Geneva: Rio+20 United Nation Conference on Sustainable Development).
- United Nations Environment Program (2012) *UNEP: the First 40 Years* (Nairobi: UNEP).
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2005) *World Heritage Information Kit* (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre).
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2014) UNESCO World Heritage List. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>, accessed 23 November 2014.
- World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987) *Our Common Future*. The Brundtland Report (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Part VII

Conclusions



31

Contemporary Heritage and the Future

Cornelius Holtorf and Anders Högberg

We need to define in advance a response to the great issues of the next two decades, to define a future just as we have always presumed to create the past. Archaeology is about change and time; future time differs only from past time in its pace, and as a profession we should be able to adjust to the future, and direct it, more than most.

Graham Fairclough, abstract written for the session 'Archaeology Tomorrow', which he organized at the 1992 Institute of Field Archaeology's *Archaeology in Britain* conference

Studies of the future are pertinent in order to make the best decisions in present society. They are, however, full of difficulties, as the future is an empirical field which does not exist (Slaughter, 1996; Bell, 1997; Mogensen, 2006). Both pertinence and difficulties apply also to studying the future in relation to human culture. The main challenge lies in the circumstance that cultural heritage of the future cannot in itself be empirically investigated and described, since it is in part dependent on decisions that have not yet been made. Studying heritage futures is thus about considering what we know about cultural heritage in the context of prognoses and visions of what will come. Yet how do we do that? The American anthropologist Samuel Gerald Collins contributed to an interesting discussion on how anthropology and anthropologists have previously embraced the future and how they might now be embracing it. He emphasized that an important approach is to vouchsafe the possibility that future ways in which people will think and act may be very different from today, and, in doing so, to open up a space (or a spacetime) for critical reflection on the present (Collins, 2008, p. 8). This approach is a useful programmatic declaration for engaging with the future in disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, history and heritage studies.

Studying the future of cultural heritage and the cultural heritage of the future is, accordingly, very much about acknowledging different ways of thinking and

acting regarding cultural heritage in the future and, in doing so, opening up for critical reflection on cultural heritage in our own present. In line with this, our interest lies in questions on how cultural heritage and the future are interconnected and what this tells us about the present. Although our perspective is largely archaeological, we will discuss some forms of non-archaeological cultural heritage that in all likelihood will be of the distant future. We will also review how the heritage sector has failed to give sufficient attention to future issues and argue that this shortcoming should be remedied as soon as possible. Finally, we will introduce the theoretical concept of future consciousness and emphasize it as a vital concept to establish future studies within heritage studies.

Throughout this chapter, we will be critical of the prevailing conservation ethos within the heritage sector. But it is important to emphasize that the discussion we want to raise here is not about whether or not heritage sites categorically ought to be protected and preserved. Instead, we wish to draw attention to and discuss the fact that the heritage sector lacks a thorough engagement with questions concerning the future benefits of cultural heritage and thus concerning the appropriateness of present-day practices and policies in heritage management.

Cultural heritage, the future and thought styles

There are some very profound and deep-reaching links between past, present and future. The archaeologist Patrick V. Kirch, for example, states that an archaeology of prehistoric global change investigating the effects of uncontrolled human population growth on environmental degradation ultimately leading to sociopolitical crises can make a contribution 'to the future of this planet' (Kirch, 2004, p. 23). In environmental studies, models of prehistoric climate change and long-term human impact on the environment have been used to discuss past climate variation and possible future trends (Rockström et al., 2009). The historian Daniel Lord Smail uses the long-term perspective of prehistoric human evolution to discuss the deep history of the human brain and its past, present and future to delineate an understanding of what is fundamentally human today and how this understanding might be constituted in the future (Smail, 2008). There is also interesting research concerning cultural heritage and the implications of known future trends, such as demographic changes. For example, museums have been developing strategies in order to improve the quality of life of the increasing number of senior citizens with Alzheimer's disease or dementia and their caregivers (Rhoads, 2009). Our focus here is, however, somewhat different.

Heritage management is a futuristic activity because to a large extent it is motivated by the present-day desire to preserve the remains of the past for the

benefit of future generations. This makes the heritage sector a future-targeting type of business. It is based on a professed notion of the importance of what is constituted as an underlying conservation ethos. This is an idea of preservation that either involves the conservation of heritage in physical terms ('preservation in situ'; 'stewardship') or, if a given site or object cannot be conserved, it involves recording and archiving the information it contains ('preservation by record'; 'rescue archaeology'). The underlying thinking is based on the assumption that future generations will in one way or another value what we leave for them, so that we effectively will become 'good ancestors for future generations' (Agnew, 2006, p. 1). This idea of preservation is the basic paradigm of the majority of all heritage management. And it is an underlying conservation ethos that is seldom questioned either in the heritage sector or in heritage studies (but see e.g. Rüschi, 2004; Holtorf and Ortman, 2008). It is symptomatic that even a book like Salvador Muñoz Viñas' *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*, which questions much of what is taken for granted regarding the principles of conservation and conservation science, fails to problematize the relationship between conservation and the future, and instead reaffirms an obligation to take potential benefits for future users into account (2005, pp. 194–7).

The conservation ethos within the heritage sector is an example of what Ludwik Fleck (1935) called a specific 'thought style' within a given 'thought collective'. A thought collective is the result of a group of people reciprocally exchanging ideas or maintaining intellectual interaction and, in doing so, becoming more and more skilled and specialized in their profession. These kinds of collectives continuously reproduce what is understood as common knowledge and understanding within the group. A special way of speaking and acting develops, and with this the collective adopts certain ways of perceiving and thinking. A characteristic thought style for that group is established. Every thought style within a thought collective develops certain ways of thinking which encourage the feeling of a shared spirit. This spirit connects the group members and inspires people to act in certain ways without analysing the consequences of these actions in relation to conditions outside the thought collective (Fleck, 1935).

Typical ways of reasoning about the future in the heritage sector express what are seen as core values related to a conservation ethos (Table 31.1). Archaeological heritage is said to consist of valuable, original sites of the past that are neglected in the present or even threatened by destruction and therefore must be preserved so that future generations can study and enjoy them, too (see Holtorf and Ortman, 2008). Policy documents justifying the conservation ethos typically include phrases like 'preservation for posterity', 'hand on to future generations' and 'stewardship for tomorrow's generations'. Listed in Table 31.1 are just a few of many possible examples showing how a present-day conservation ethos is motivated by assumed future benefits.

Table 31.1 Examples of typical ways of reasoning about the future within the heritage sector

Organization	Slogan/motto/formulation about the future
The Archaeological Conservancy (2012)	Preserving the past for the future. Every day, prehistoric and historic archaeological sites in the US are lost forever – along with the precious information they contain. Modern-day looters use backhoes and bulldozers to recover artefacts for the international market. Urban development and agricultural methods such as land levelling and topsoil mining destroy ancient sites. The Conservancy protects these sites by acquiring the land on which they rest, preserving them for posterity [...]. By permanently preserving important cultural sites, the Conservancy makes sure they will be available for our children and grandchildren to study and enjoy.
Greek Ministry of Culture (Hadziaslani, 2002, p. 7)	These buildings [Acropolis in Athens] that have survived for almost twenty-five centuries... the relentless damage of time, must be preserved as historical testimonies and be handed on to future generations in the best possible condition.
Heritage Departments in the County Councils (Länsstyrelser) of Sweden	The County Council oversees the county's ancient monuments. It is charged with protecting, maintaining and making our ancient monuments more accessible so that today's and tomorrow's generations can understand and enjoy the historical environment.
<i>Our Fragile Heritage. Documenting the Past for the Future</i> (Hansen and Gillian, 1999, from the back cover)	All over the world, cultural remains are being destroyed faster than ever and find a major challenge to modern archaeology to identify and record the heritage to protect it for the future.

Conserving and preserving important artefacts and preparing detailed records of information from sites that are about to fall victim to development, and subsequently maintaining those finds and records in archives and collections, are widely considered an important duty of the heritage sector for the benefit of future researchers. An investment in preserving selected past remains and carefully recording their lost context of surrounding features implies a saving in the costs of future research that can draw on these sources in further advancing human knowledge about the past (as argued e.g. by Goldhahn, 2006). This thought style has practically never been questioned but has continuously been reproduced within the heritage sector, thus establishing the conservation ethos as a dominant thought style within this thought collective (Fleck, 1935).

The future of heritage – do we care?

Despite such tight conceptual links between the rationale of cultural heritage and the future and some emerging problems in relation to these links, academic literature exploring these links is scarce. There have been discussions on the social history of the concepts of both the past and the future, which first became longer and, more recently, have become drastically shorter (Lowenthal, 2005, 2007). There have also been studies exploring the links between heritage and cultural memory, addressing the conditions both of preservation and of forgetting (e.g. Assmann, 1999). But none of this has ever been well connected specifically to contemporary policies and practices of heritage management.

Preliminary but still unpublished results of our ongoing research on how selected actors in heritage management view the future show that people active in the sector never, or extremely rarely, think about the future or articulate it in words. Even when they refer in their everyday practice, in a simple and often routine way, to a conservation ethos of preserving things for the future, they do not really think about the future for which things are to be preserved. Nor do they talk with their colleagues about what this future might look like. The future is not there as a figure of thought in their day-to-day work, yet it remains a purpose-giving mantra.

Significantly, David Lowenthal (2005) and Eckart Rüsç (2004) argued that the present concern for future generations in the heritage sector is neither a matter of altruistic self-sacrifice for the welfare of future human beings nor one of inter-generational equity. As the past and its remains are continuously growing every day, future generations cannot run out of past and there will always be plenty of cultural heritage to study and enjoy. It is thus easy to come to the generalized conclusion that slogans such as ‘preserving the past for the future’ are catchphrases intended to project a forward-thinking image that mostly serves to give a future not to the past but, rather, to the slogan’s origin, that is, the heritage sector and its stakeholders in the present (Spennemann, 2007a, p. 5). According to one commentator, such notions may be little more than clichés ‘that seem to pull at the heartstrings of the audience in order to mask their own befuddlement’ (Spennemann, 2007b, p. 92).

As mortal human beings, we are driven to pursue meaningful purposes that survive ourselves (Rüsç 2004). Arguably, the widespread desire to protect and preserve heritage may be understood as an outcome of a strong human desire to obtain a sense of purpose by caring for something profound, whether that be the ozone layer and global climate, homeless people, the fight against poverty, tigers, biodiversity, or Stonehenge and other cultural heritage sites (Holtorf and Ortman, 2008). David Lowenthal suggested accordingly that the constant but superficial concern for future generations in heritage management is ‘a matter of enriching our own life with depth and purpose’ (Lowenthal, 2005). It may

even be said that the preservation of cultural heritage is one way to meet the longing for immortality in a secular age (Jensen, 2000). As a result of such preoccupation with our own all-too-human needs and desires to care, and to give the impression that we care, we have never asked what role we can expect heritage to play in the *actual* future. That future will not entirely resemble the present, and will thus require different policies and practices. In the established thought collective that the heritage sector constitutes, no need has been felt to articulate the future. The feeling of doing something good for future generations has been there as a thought style, despite – or perhaps, rather, because of – the absence of serious considerations and critical discussions about what we might see happening in the actual future.

Dirk Spennemann (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) is one of the few heritage experts who have seriously considered possible scenarios of future heritage. Classifying the majority of historic preservation professionals as ‘future avoiders’, Spennemann (2007c) pointed to two classes of heritage objects that are likely to gain significance in the future. One is pongid heritage, that is, artefacts used and in some cases created by the great apes. The other category of heritage Spennemann expects (2007c, p. 869) consists of the heritage created by robots: ‘The question that heritage managers need to consider is whether they wish to stand accused by future generations that they let slip by the opportunity to collect robotid artefacts and intermediate milestone artefacts while we had the chance.’ Moreover, he argued that we can expect that sentient future robots will claim the right to determine the fate of their own heritage (Spennemann, 2007c, p. 871). In the same way, it may be reasonable to imagine that future representatives of the evolutionary line descending from the great apes will claim their right to their pongid heritage, a heritage which has already been the subject of attention and analysis by science in an archaeological study on the prehistory of primates (Haslam, 2012). But, arguably, this line of reasoning is itself little more than a projection of present-day thinking onto the future, within the dominant thought style of the heritage sector. The few other studies on future issues of cultural heritage that have recently been published (e.g. Ost 2001; Moore, 2006; Labadi and Long, 2010; Solli, 2011; Taylor, 2013; Holtorf and Högberg, 2014) show a clear potential to come to more radical conclusions in the future, but they are still somewhat tentative and offer neither the depth of analysis nor the creativity in thinking that will be needed.

Heritage for the future?

The archaeologist Graham Fairclough (cited at the beginning of this chapter) suggested back in 1992: ‘We need to define in advance a response to the great issues of the next two decades, to define a future just as we have always presumed to create the past.’ Two decades later, this call has still not been heeded.

Recently, Spennemann (2007a, p. 13) made a similar point in arguing that it is not good enough when the past (and heritage) are deemed valuable for their own sake for all times, thus avoiding any serious engagement with the future that will inevitably involve change. The question to be addressed, instead, is which future we would like to assist in shaping by drawing on the past and cultural heritage as strategic resources so that the world will become a better place. This requires new ways of thinking.

However, what can we actually know about cultural heritage in the actual future? The answer to that question, of course, depends largely on what temporal perspective one applies. Tomorrow the majority of what we today regard as cultural heritage will still be there. But if we go forward a little in time, say 50 years, it is likely that much of what we today preserve as cultural heritage will have been redefined and rewritten as something else. And other things that we cannot even imagine today will have arrived, rendering part of our present world into heritage. There is nothing strange about this. Past and future are constantly changing to suit the present in which they are imagined. Thirty-five years ago Concorde was the transport of the future, the supersonic plane that halved the flight time between two continents. Today there are few people who share that vision of the future, and Concorde has become heritage, a museum piece.

A palpable heritage we unavoidably will pass on to the future is radioactive nuclear waste. The invention of nuclear power and nuclear power plants made it possible to produce large amounts of electricity to power homes, factories, trains, street lighting and so on. But nuclear power also produces radioactive waste, which, if not handled properly, is deadly to us as well as to future generations. It is estimated that it will take a hundred thousand years or more for the waste to break down, lose its radioactivity and consequently no longer be considered dangerous to humans. Therefore, final disposal of the spent nuclear fuel is carefully planned. In Sweden, it will be buried several hundreds of metres below ground in the parent granite. But, once the waste is buried, we are faced with the need to communicate the danger of building, digging and exploring at this location over a very long time in the future. How can we create a future heritage that for a hundred thousand years or more maintains knowledge about that risk? The task of preserving concrete knowledge into the distant future is at the same time necessary and, in all likelihood, impossible (Hora et al., 1991; Benford, 1999, part 1; Jenkins-Smith et al., 2010).

Another heritage of the future consists of messages and bold technological statements about Earth sent into outer space. This is a heritage which will travel for hundreds and thousands of years in space and, perhaps, eventually be found by some sort of intelligence. Even though the purpose of the majority of the initiatives of communication sent into space has been a sincere wish to find ways to communicate life on Earth to extraterrestrial life forms, what

these messages so far have done best is transmit ideas about being human on late-twentieth-century Earth to other human beings on that same planet. The highly advanced natural-science-based messages engraved on plaques and records on board the Pioneer and Voyager spacecraft sent into outer space in the 1970s (Sagan, 1978) say much about the people who sent them: they are portrayed as a species living in a highly developed society based mostly on scientific and technological advances. The messages on the disc designed for the Cassini rocket are different, portraying humans as a social, friendly and loving species living in a nice cosy environment (Figure 31.1). Intriguingly, none of the messages designed for communicating life on Earth to extraterrestrial beings tell stories of poverty, hatred, abuse, homicide, war, genocide or other unpleasantness that the species *Homo sapiens* has accomplished during millions of years of evolution.

Outer space communication also highlights our present-day concepts of time and space, which are so important in archaeology and heritage studies, too. This becomes evident in radio messages beamed into the Universe. For example, in 1974 the so-called Arecibo message was broadcast into space, aimed at the globular star cluster M13 some 25,000 light years away. This means that it will take 25,000 years for the message to reach its intended destination of stars (Sagan, 1978). If we imagine that some intelligent life form somewhere in that cluster of stars is able to detect the message, and will be able to answer it, people on Earth will eventually receive a message, providing an answer to a message sent by people who have been dead for at least 50,000 years.

There are also unintentional clues about human civilization perceptible in outer space. An enormous flow of radio and television broadcasting on Earth is sent into space. These radio waves constitute a perfect 'time-machine' for those able to interpret them, from the earliest broadcasting of a human voice to the thousands of television channels broadcast today around the clock and the constantly increasing amounts of traffic on the internet. However, maybe it is not the messages sent that will be read as clues about human civilization? Instead, a future extraterrestrial 'archaeologist' may choose to interpret the materiality of the space craft, the plaques or the radio waves, in order to understand the species that sent all this stuff into outer space.

Having discussed the lack of an explicit discussion about the future in the heritage sector, and having speculated about some possible future heritages, we need to offer some suggestions to the following nagging questions. In what ways can the heritage sector start to think about the future and future heritage? What kind of theoretical tools are appropriate? Without trying to give universally valid answers to these questions, we suggest that a discussion of the concepts of historical consciousness and future consciousness might be helpful.



Figure 31.1 This image was designed by Jon Lomberg and photographed by Simon Bell in order to be sent on board the NASA space orbiter Cassini into outer space. Cassini left Earth in 1997 and is destined eventually to remain on Saturn's moon Titan. The image was intended to communicate human life on Earth (Benford, 1999, part 2; Lomberg, 2007). As it turned out, Cassini eventually left without the disc containing the image. Disagreements concerning copyright and corporate sponsorship made NASA drop the project in the final hour. Furthermore, the original image contained two nude twin children to show the two human sexes. Out of concerns over possible NASA censorship due to conflicting views about the appropriateness of nude images, two bathing suits were later painted on. Indeed, the present publisher Palgrave Macmillan insisted on the painted version of the image. Personal, social, cultural and ethical conflicts may, in fact, reveal more about human life on Earth than the original image placed on Cassini could ever have done. In that sense, the project succeeded after all. The people in the photograph are Dara Hamilton and Terry Tokuda (couple in distance), Derek McGuin (man pushing canoe); group shot, left to right: Carlos Cisco (seated boy), Sara Maika Nakano (girl twin), Leandra Rouse (adolescent girl), Nikolas Shin Nakano (boy twin), Fanny Collins Au Hoy (Grandmother Earth), Tane and Amber Datta (father holding girl), Marcus Weems (adolescent boy), Nancy and Breanna Marie Bellatti (mother and baby), Miles Mulcahy (standing man). Photograph by Simon Bell, reproduced with permission (simonbellphotography.com)

From historical consciousness to future consciousness

The concept of historical consciousness has been firmly established for more than two decades in didactic discourses, especially in the education system and historical scholarship (Rüsen, 2004; Bjerg et al., 2011; Eliasson, 2012; Lee, 2012). The concept is mainly used to put words on the symbiotic relations that prevail between interpretations and perceptions of the past, an understanding

of one's own or everyone's present, and perspectives and expectations concerning the future. As Klas-Göran Karlsson (2009, p. 48) has put it, 'Every person has a historical consciousness, that is to say, turns to, reflects on and integrates history in their own identity formation, their own knowledge and their own actions. We rarely do it in an open, structured and articulate way, but we still do it.'

To clarify this, Peter Aronsson, inspired by others such as Jörn Rüsen (2004), has worked with the concepts of history of culture, use of history and historical consciousness (Aronsson, 2002, p. 189):

- history of culture – the artefacts, rituals, customs and claims with references to the past that offer opportunities to combine the relationship between past, present and future;
- use of history – the processes where parts of the history of culture are activated to form specific meaning-making and action-oriented wholes; and
- historical consciousness – the perceptions of the association between past, present and future that govern and are established and reproduced in the use of history.

If these concepts are translated into practical work aiming to create a deeper understanding of how the heritage sector deals with issues of the future, it is clear that the concept of historical consciousness is important. The crucial thing, then, is to investigate and clarify the types of historical consciousness that permeate the activities: in other words, to identify and analyse how those who do the work ascribe meaning and causality to relations between past, present and future. This involves putting one's finger not only on the ways in which the heritage sector promotes remains from the recent or distant past, and knowledge about it, but also on how they are then activated in the present by ascribing some form of meaning to the knowledge, the remains and the very process of activating them, in order to stake out a course for a future that is either envisaged as looking like today or expected to change. The thoughts, prior knowledge and preconceived ideas that are the foundation for this process, that is, what happens when the history of cultures are activated in the use of history, to refer to Aronsson's definition of the concepts, are the historical consciousness that makes up the foundation for the goals and meaning of the work.

It is important here to point out briefly that historical consciousness, as it is formulated here, is not the same as an awareness of history and historical processes. Historical consciousness and awareness of history are not the same thing. The meanings of these variants of the same term are often confused, and they are not infrequently lumped together under 'historical consciousness' (see the discussion in Ashton and Kean, 2008; Karlsson and Zander, 2009).

An awareness of history and historical processes includes the insight that we all exist in time, that is to say, that we all have a past and that this provides the conditions for how we live today and how we create our future. Historical consciousness is the perception of this insight in specific uses of history, linking past, present and future. Historical consciousness is thus not a concept that refers to an awareness based on or arising from a historical perspective. It refers to the underlying thought structures that generate meaning-making when a historical perspective is given significance and filled with content in the present with consequences for the future.

Historical consciousness could equally well be called future consciousness. The concept of future consciousness is in line with so-called critical future studies, which are framed by a constructivist and self-reflexive approach (Slaughter, 1996). In relation to the cultural heritage sector, critical future studies would typically deal with critical studies of the assumption that future generations will appreciate what we preserve and conserve – which is more than appropriate, as we do not know anything about what future generations are going to appreciate (Holtorf and Ortman, 2008; Holtorf and Högberg, 2014). The concept of future consciousness is, in this respect, important to introduce and develop within the heritage sector. In the same way as it is possible to investigate historical consciousness as manifested in the use of history, the future consciousness of the heritage sector can be investigated in its use of the future.

How do actors in the heritage sector reflect on their own and other people's use of the future in different contexts? What insights are expressed as regards an understanding of how future consciousness is reflected in the use of the future, and vice versa? These questions are still a virtually unexplored field in heritage studies (but see Figure 31.2).

Conclusions

Our discussion of contemporary heritage and the future established that, even though heritage management is pro-actively preserving heritage for future generations and is thus a futuristic activity, neither contemporary policies nor theories of heritage have given much attention to specifying or problematizing the future heritage management is about and, indeed, for. We suggest, therefore, that both the practical and theoretical realms of the heritage sector should start thinking in more depth about how they perceive the future and what role heritage can realistically play in relation to that future.

Both national and international policy of heritage should make the futures they work for explicit. No kind of management will preserve heritage forever. When the potential benefits of preserved heritage for future generations are considered, competent decisions need to be based on an understanding of whether these future generations will live 50, 500, 5,000 or possibly even more



Figure 31.2 In 2007, visitors to the Swedish History Museum in Stockholm were invited to select contemporary objects as 'future memories'. Together with attached labels containing stories about their perceived significance in the present, the objects were first formally recorded and registered in the museum's database and then permanently 'incubated' inside the museum courtyard in holes that had previously been excavated by other visitors. The intention was to inspire reflections in the present on objects from the past and in the future, how we remember previous times and how future generations will remember us. But the project was also meant as a provocation for the museum and heritage sector to reflect on their current practices, not least concerning the benefits they will offer to people in the future (Wahlgren and Svanberg, 2008). Photograph: Christer Åhlin, The Swedish History Museum, Stockholm

years ahead. A realistic way forward in heritage policy may be to distinguish short-term (one generation), medium-term (three generations) and long-term (ten generations?) preservation goals. Different kinds of heritage might be preserved for different timespans and for different audiences and purposes. When the intended time of preservation has elapsed, a new decision could be made, so that decisions about the future would be regularly updated as perceptions of the future and the value of heritage in the future change.

The academic field of heritage studies should likewise include the future as a legitimate subject of study in relation to heritage. We need to know more about how heritage contributes to shaping people's future consciousness and how existing future consciousness, in turn, contributes to how people perceive heritage. We need to be able to make political decisions in heritage management based on critical studies of the possible impact of certain forms of future consciousness on sustainable societal development. We also need to develop

tools assisting policymakers and civil servants in making informed decisions on heritage preservation for the future. Assuming that present-day conditions will remain unchanged in the future is naïve. What can we know today about which future, and with what degree of certainty? What roles is heritage able to play in those futures, and why? There is certainly a fair amount to be learned for the heritage sector from existing debates in other sectors, such as the long-term management of hazardous waste. It will also be useful to develop possible scenarios of heritage in the future which could inform present-day decisions. Scenarios are the result of predictions of possible futures based on extrapolating certain parameters and forces driving development. Diverging scenarios illustrate, on the one hand, the uncertainty of future predictions. But, on the other hand, they illustrate the variety of possible futures.

We will have to learn much more about possible futures in order to manage the heritage in our present competently and responsibly for the benefit of future generations.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Emma Waterton and Steve Watson for the invitation to contribute to the present volume and Simon Bell, Jon Lomberg and Katty Anund Hauptman for assistance and permission to use the figures. This paper was written as part of the project 'One hundred thousand years back and forth – archaeology meets radioactive waste', co-funded by the Swedish Nuclear Fuel and Waste Management Company (SKB).

References

- Agnew, N. (2006) 'Introduction' in N. Agnew and J. Bridgland (eds) *Of the Past, for the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute), pp. 1–2.
- Archaeological Conservancy (2012) About Us. <http://www.americanarchaeology.com/aaabout.html>, accessed 26 January 2012.
- Aronsson, P. (2002) 'Historiekultur, politik och historievetskap i Norden', *Historisk Tidskrift*, 2002(2), 189–208.
- Ashton, P. and Kean, H. (eds) (2008) *Public History and Heritage Today. People and Their Pasts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Assmann, A. (1999) *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck).
- Bell, W. (1997) *Foundations of Future Studies. Human Science for a New Era* (London: Transaction Publishers).
- Benford, G. (1999) *Deep Time. How Humanity Communicates across Millennia* (New York: Avons).
- Bjerg, H., Lenz, C. and Thorstensen, E. (eds) (2011) *Historicizing the Uses of the Past: Scandinavian Perspectives on History Culture, Historical Consciousness and Didactics of History Related to World War II* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag).

- Collins, S. G. (2008) *All Tomorrow's Cultures. Anthropological Engagements with the Future* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn).
- Eliasson, P. (2012) 'In Search of Historical Consciousness – A Class Room Research Project of History Education' in K. Nordgren, P. Eliasson and C. Rönnqvist (eds) *The Processes of History Teaching. An International Symposium Held at Malmö University, Sweden, March 5th–7th 2009* (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press), pp. 43–67.
- Fleck, L. (1935) *Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache. Einführung in die Lehre vom Denkstil und Denkkollektiv* (Benno Schwabe und Co).
- Goldhahn, J. (2006) 'Debatt: "Man får vara bra naiv för att inte inse att unik kunskap gått förlorad. För all tid" ', *Barometern*, 6 October 2006, 38.
- Hadziaslani, C. (ed.) (2002) *The Works of the Committee for the Preservation of the Acropolis Monuments on the Acropolis of Athens* (Athens: Ministry of Culture – Archaeological Receipts Fund).
- Hansen, H. J. and Gillian, Q. (eds) (1999) *Our Fragile Heritage. Documenting the Past for the Future* (Copenhagen: National Museum).
- Haslam, M. (2012) 'Towards a Prehistory of Primates', *Antiquity*, 86, 299–315.
- Heritage Departments in the County Councils (Länsstyrelser) of Sweden, 21 homepages, for example: <http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/sodermanland/Sv/samhallsplanering-och-kulturmiljo/arkeologi-och-fornlamningar/Pages/default.aspx>; all web pages accessed 27 August 2011.
- Holtorf, C. and Högberg A. (2014) 'Communicating with Future Generations: What Are the Benefits of Preserving for Future Generations? Nuclear Power and Beyond', *European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies*, 4, 315–330.
- Holtorf, C. and Ortman, O. (2008) 'Endangerment and Conservation Ethos in Natural and Cultural Heritage: The Case of Zoos and Archaeological Sites', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 14(1), 74–90.
- Hora, S. C. et al. (1991) *Expert Judgment on Inadvertent Human Intrusion into the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant*. Albuquerque, NM: Sandia National Laboratories. <http://large.stanford.edu/courses/2011/ph241/dunn2/docs/SAND90-3063.pdf>, accessed 24 November 2014.
- Jenkins-Smith, H. C., Strandberg, U. and Trouset, R. S. (2010) 'New Perspectives on Nuclear Waste Management', *Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy*, 1(4), 1–11.
- Jensen, O. W. (2000) 'Archaeology and Death in Modern Society' in O. W. Jensen and H. Karlsson (eds) *Archaeological Conditions* (Göteborg: Department of Archaeology, Göteborg University), pp. 67–78.
- Karlsson, K. G. (2009) 'Historiedidaktik: begrepp, teori och analys' in K.-G. Karlsson and U. Zander (eds) *Historien är nu: en introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, 2nd edn (Lund: Studentlitteratur), pp. 25–69.
- Karlsson, K. G. and Zander, U. (eds) (2009) *Historien är nu: en introduktion till historiedidaktiken*, 2nd edn (Lund: Studentlitteratur).
- Kirch, P. V. (2004) 'Oceanic Islands: Microcosms of "Global Change"' in C. L. Redman, S. R. James, P. R. Fish and J. D. Rogers (eds) *The Archaeology of Global Change* (Washington: Smithsonian Books), pp. 13–27.
- Labadi, S. and Long, C. (eds) (2010) *Heritage and Globalisation* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Lee, P. (2012) 'Walking Backwards into Tomorrow. Historical Consciousness and Understanding History', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 10(2), 34–67.
- Lomberg, J. (2007) A Portrait of Humanity. http://jonlomberg.com/articles/a_portrait_of_humanity.html, accessed 18 May 2013.

- Lowenthal, D. (2005) 'Stewarding the Future', *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, 2(2), 6–25.
- Lowenthal, D. (2007) 'The Past of the Future. From the Foreign to the Undiscovered Country' in K. Jenkins, S. Morgan and A. Munslow (eds) *Manifestos for History* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 205–19.
- Mogensen, K. (2006) *Creative Man* (Copenhagen: Institutet for Fremtidforskning).
- Moore, L. E. (2006) 'Going Public: Customization and American Archaeology', *The SAA Archaeological Record*, May 2006, 16–19. <http://saa.org/Portals/0/SAA/Publications/thesaaarchrec/may06.pdf>, accessed 4 March 2012.
- Muñoz Viñas, S. (2005) *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (Burlington, MA: Elsevier).
- Ost, F. (2001) 'The Heritage and Future Generations' in J. Bindé (ed.) *Keys to the 21st Century* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn), pp. 152–158.
- Rhoads, L. (2009) 'Museums, Meaning Making, and Memories: The Need for Museum Programs for People with Dementia and Their Caregivers', *Curator*, 52(3) (July), 229–40.
- Rockström, J., Steffen, W., Noone, K., Persson, A., Stuart Chapin, III, F., Lambin, E.F., Lenton, T.M., Scheffer, M., Folke, C., Schellnhuber, H.J., Nykvist, B., de Wit, C.A., Hughes, T., van der Leeuw, S., Rodhe, H., Sörlin, S., Snyder, P.K., Costanza, R., Svedin, U., Falkenmark, M., Karlberg, L., Corell, R.W., Fabry, V.J., Hansen, J., Walker, B., Liverman, D., Richardson, K., Crutzen, P. and Foley, J.A. (2009) 'A Safe Operating Space for Humanity', *Nature*, 24 September 2009, 461, 472–75.
- Rüsch, E. (2004) 'Vergangenheitsfalle oder Zukunftsentsorgung? Folgen einer Denkmalpflege ohne Gegenwartsbewusstsein', *Kunsttexte.de* 1/2004. <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/download/denk/sym3-ruesch-v.pdf>, accessed 18 May 2013.
- Rüsen, J. (2004) 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development' in P. Seixas (ed.) *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), pp. 63–85.
- Sagan, C. (1978) *Murmurs of Earth: The Voyager Interstellar Record* (New York: Random House).
- Slaughter, R. (1996) *New Thinking for a New Millennium* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Smail, L. D. (2008) *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Solli, B. (2011) 'Some Reflections on Heritage and Archaeology in the Anthropocene', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 44(1), 40–88 (with comments and reply).
- Spennemann, D. H. R. (2007a) 'The Futurist Stance of Historical Societies: An Analysis of Position Statements', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 9(2), 4–15.
- Spennemann, D. H. R. (2007b) 'Futurist Rhetoric in US Historic Preservation: A Review of Current Practice', *International Review on Public and Non Profit Marketing*, 4(1–2), 91–9.
- Spennemann, D. H. R. (2007c) 'Of Great Apes and Robots: Considering the Future(s) of Cultural Heritage', *Futures*, 39, 861–77.
- Taylor, J. (2013) 'Intergenerational Justice: A Useful Perspective for Heritage Conservation', *CeROArt* (online), available at <http://ceroart.revues.org/3510>, accessed 19 April 2014.
- Wahlgren, K. H. and Svanberg, F. (2008) 'Public Archaeology as Renewer of the Historical Museum', *Public Archaeology*, 7(4), 241–58.

32

Themes, Thoughts, Reflections

Steve Watson and Emma Waterton

To arrive at some concluding thoughts for a volume that is so large, so varied and so complex seemed both foolhardy and essential – not a good combination. Yet not to have done so would have been to draw attention to the inherent weakness of such collections, which is that they are rarely able to arrive at cogent conclusions. But, if we put ‘cogent’ on one side and leave that to the reader to decide, we can at least make a stab at concluding this colossus with some thoughts worth taking away. With this in mind, we would like to focus on what we see as the key themes of the very large amount of work dedicated to this book by its many contributors. Thus, we have alighted on three ‘closing aspects’ that are designed to achieve the essential tasks of summarizing where heritage research is now and where it might go in the future. These aspects are: an anxious celebration of eclecticism and diversity; an urge towards the critical; and, finally, a degree of contemplative frustration at the continued lack of any particular theoretical momentum at the heart of our field. While we acknowledge that few readers will have read this book from cover to cover and arrived here exhausted but hopefully fulfilled, we do intend that these closing aspects will at least provide, as any good book should, both a moment of reflection and a call to further action.

Eclecticism unbound

In the early days of the ‘heritage debate’ in the 1980s and early 1990s, the apparent eclecticism of heritage was largely disparaged. More than anything, it signified the fact that heritage was a lesser thing, a ragbag, filled with many good things, perhaps, but when taken as a whole amounted to very little of value. The eclecticism was partly a reflection of the postmodern thinking predominant at that time and, indeed, an aspect of the very condition of postmodernity. For Urry, for example, writing in 1990, heritage was a great eclectic vortex in which anything that was old was interesting and as interesting

as anything else that was old (1990, pp. 129–30). There was in eclecticism, therefore, a flatness of representation, so that everything from great art and architecture to folk art and nature was treated in the same way – as a potential object of consumption for which no distinction or differentiation was necessary, or even desirable. Eclecticism was thus equated with the devaluation of culture and its contents. The line between ‘the fake’ and ‘the original’ was blurred, maybe even irrelevant, and the simulacrum was born. Fakery, depthlessness and a kind of cultural despair, as expressed in Hewison’s (1987) well-known critique, dominated the field and fed into the ‘anti-heritage animus’ at the heart of the heritage debate (Lowenthal, 1998). Yet, as Mellor perceptively observed in 1991,

Gloomily sitting in the Orwell Pub at Wigan Pier, worrying about the fake Tiffany lamps and the genuine space invaders, we have assumed that others share our disorientation and deracination (p. 100).

On the contrary, he avers, far from being the passive consumers of all those horrors that Hewison fretted over, visitors to heritage places are often actively engaging with whatever visual and other cues are provided in order to construct or reconstruct their own memories and reminiscences – and in this he prefigures Bagnall’s (2003) later observations of museum visitors. More of this later, but, in relation to eclecticism, one thing that we think is very apparent in this book is that eclecticism is not necessarily a bad thing. While it might be an unintended consequence of postmodernism (bearing in mind that postmodernism may, following Jameson [1991], be an unintended consequence of late capitalism), it might also be in the nature of heritage to be this way. So, instead of disparaging the colourful chaos of heritage, we take from this book a celebration of its vivid diversity, both in its manifestations and in the way it can be studied. We might not be relaxed about it, necessarily; we might even be wary that diversity, like eclecticism, betokens a lack of ontological depth. Nonetheless, it certainly gives us something to think, research and write about. And in all of this we should not forget that the eclecticism of heritage is in the perception of its ‘products’, whereas the diversity of heritage is in the awareness of encounters and engagements and what it *means* to people. That is why Bagnall’s (1996, 2003) views on this are worth revisiting, first, because they directly address the issue of engagement, and, second, because they decentre the debate and give due attention to the people who, rather than being passive and uncritical in the modalities of consumption, are actually involved in a complex and discursive engagement that involves the mapping of their own memories, reminiscences, emotions and feelings of nostalgia onto museum displays. Key to this process is a sense in which they are performers of their own consumption, meeting and mediating the messages contained in the representative practices

employed by museums and admitting or rejecting them according to how well they can be mapped against their own experience and emotional engagement (Bagnall, 2003, p. 96).

So where does this leave us? For us, this book seems to serve a very useful purpose in highlighting, in a positive way, the diversity of experience that heritage represents. This is a diversity that is expressed in the manifestations of heritage and its constituents, from the wide variety of its tangible forms to its more recently recognized intangibles, and everything in between. But it is also expressed in the variety of perspectives available in researching it, its interdisciplinary nature and methodologies, all which are apparent in this book. It is an anxious celebration, though, because it also concerns us that the eclectic production of heritage robs it of meaning. But this is an old concern, and perhaps we should be consoled by the thought that diversity is as much the property of those who engage with heritage as eclecticism is of those who produce it – in that consolation we might find other avenues of enquiry in the post-human, or whatever we want to call the destabilized ontologies of a heritage that is subjective, emergent and performative in moments of engagement.

A critical urgency

When we began approaching contributors for this book, we were keenly aware that people would be in different places – literally and metaphorically. And, while the global spread was reasonably easy to plan, language permitting, we were less sure about the extent to which authors would assign themselves to critical perspectives and be willing to examine, perhaps deconstruct, the subject matter that we had offered them. What we found was something that surprised us in the nuanced and complex approaches that contributors adopted in their responses to this commission. We had asked them to summarize the key literature in their topic area and to offer some thoughts on where research in it might be taken in the future – personal thoughts, reflections and concerns. We expected to find reflected the well-acknowledged divisions between those for whom critical examination was a distraction and those for whom it was essential, and usually directed at the former. We certainly found a range of perspectives, from those who were content with surveys of the kind of work that had been and continued to be done in their field to others for whom ‘critical heritage studies’ was something of a banner and a call to action. What pleased us more than anything, however, was that there was clear resonance in many of these contributions with Winter’s (2013) perspective that critical heritage studies should not just be about applying critical and deconstructive analysis to manifestations and politics of heritage production and consumption – the anti-heritage of the heritage debate – but that, in developing and advancing

a critical turn, it should also address itself to the wider issues that challenge humanity in its global context:

While critiques of policy approaches and paradigms will always be important, I argue here, however, that critical heritage studies should also primarily be about addressing the critical issues that face the world today, the larger issues that bear upon and extend outwards from heritage.

(2013, p. 533)

Many of these larger issues have been touched upon in this volume – nationalism, globalization, multiculturalism, post-colonialism, sustainability and so forth – but each is deserving of a far more rigorous exploration than our contributors have been afforded here. They are, in all senses, issues and themes that deserve continued attention and further investigation. As Winter goes on to argue, this also means calling the profession and operators to account when they uncritically peddle the ideological wares of their host polities:

I would argue that at its most significant level it means better understanding the various ways in which heritage now has a stake in, and can act as a positive enabler for, the complex, multi-vector challenges that face us today, such as cultural and environmental sustainability, economic inequalities, conflict resolution, social cohesion and the future of cities, to name a few.

(Winter, 2013, p. 533; see also Waterton, 2010)

We wholeheartedly endorse this perspective, and this perspective on criticality. This is critical heritage studies with an agenda in the world that it occupies, and, moreover, Winter invites those of us working from the social sciences critical studies tradition to engage dialogically and constructively with the professionals who produce heritage materialities and not, as we have perhaps done, to ignore them or marginalize them in constructing our critical analyses. This post-Western perspective on heritage can revivify and reinvest our study of heritage with notions of the good it can do as well as its secret and nefarious work on the side of the powerful, the commercial and the ideological. What we learned from commissioning and assembling this collection, then, was that a broader perspective on what constitutes the critical has already taken root, and this can be seen as soon as heritage is decentred from its Western roots, and particularly its Anglophonic origins. The urgency stems from a need to promulgate this perspective for the sake of the richness of heritage in all its manifestations and to pay due homage to the diversity that we have already celebrated in our first closing aspect in concluding this book.

A contemplation (and a little frustration)

Why on earth doesn't everyone see it the way we do? Well, what do we expect? Heritage research has grown piecemeal over the last 40 years from a wide range of disciplinary sources. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find in its canon a collection of dazzling parts rather than any kind of satisfying whole. In theoretical terms, at least, it is clear that heritage research has yet to get its act together. We have often contemplated this, and have found it reflected in the present collection of essays. Heritage is all over the place theoretically. It seems that it always has been. In a particularly contemplative moment, we charted its theoretical development over the last 30 years (Waterton and Watson, 2013), but gave up the attempt to find any hint of a unified theoretical momentum. Instead, we proposed that heritage could be viewed through at least three 'frames': theories in, of and for heritage, each with its own genealogy of supporting thought and disciplinary orientations. If these frames could be marshalled in some way so that they could work together, then, in the absence of a unifying theory of heritage, we might at least find coherence in what we described as a 'critical imagination', an approach that gave due regard to the range of theory that had been brought to bear in our field, and hoped in that to find some advance.

Unifying theories are, however, thin on the ground, and in any case we may be looking in the wrong place, or places, for an alternative. Who knows? Let's wait and see. But it is clear that in its diversity there is something lacking in theoretical momentum, a kind of complacency about how heritage should be theorized that seems to avoid the need to root research within any particular discipline or paradigm and instead, by way of displacement, to focus on the next case study of heritage *as heritage* rather than as cipher of some other social formation, or as a better way of understanding the social world and the individual's place within it, or, indeed, as a way of creating critical perspectives into those bigger issues *ultra-heritage*. This book has certainly underlined the need to go beyond the petit-case study, the micro-level and another example of It has, by contrast and in its whole construction, sought to relate heritage to those wider formations and constituencies and, in doing so, to identify and highlight the canonical precedents and theoretic implications of such linkages.

A conclusion

An anxious celebration of eclecticism and diversity, an urge towards the critical, and a degree of contemplative frustration: this book is intended to make a contribution to contemporary thinking about heritage and the way it is researched. In that sense, it provides a snapshot that reveals a patchwork of heritage categories, each with its own disciplinary roots and its own rate of progress and

change. And, at the risk of mixing metaphors, a palimpsest might be another way of describing it, with each new contribution writing over the remnants of something that went before, adding to it, perhaps obliterating it, but always changing the way that heritage is known and understood. Either way, we hope that in providing this collection of essays on contemporary research in heritage we have at least given pause for some useful reflection on where this field, with all its fascinations and frustrations, is currently situated and where it might go next, albeit with no clear direction of travel mapped out. Others on this same journey, readers of this book perhaps, will help chart that course.

References

- Bagnall, G. (1996) 'Consuming the Past' in S. Edgell, K. Hetherington and A. Warde (eds) *Consumption Matters: The Production and Experience of Consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 227–47.
- Bagnall, G. (2003) 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites', *Museum and Society*, 1(2), 87–103.
- Hewison, R. (1987) *The Heritage Industry* (London: Methuen).
- Jameson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mellor, A. (1991) 'Enterprise and Heritage at the Dock' in J. Corner and S. Harvey (eds) *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Life* (London: Routledge), pp. 93–115.
- Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage).
- Waterton, E. (2010) *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Waterton, E. and Watson, S. (2013) 'Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 546–61.
- Winter, T. (2013) 'Clarifying the Critical in Critical Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(6), 532–45.

Index

Note: The letters 'n' and 't' following locators refer to notes and tables respectively.

- Aaker, D., 481
Aapravasi Ghat, 390
Aas, C., 220
Abolition of Slave Trade Act, 121
Aboriginal history, misrepresentation
of, 121
Aboriginal Land Rights Movement, 102
Aboriginal reservations, 79
Abu Simbel temples, 300, 498
Acropolis, 340
Actor-network theory (ANT), 28, 30,
304–6, 443
Adams, L. S., 205
Adams, R., 404
Addley, E., 161
Adham, K. N., 80
Adirondack Mountains, 168
Adovasio, J. M., 99
aesthetic consumption practices, 168
aesthetics, 210–11
see also visual arts
affect, 181–7
contingent, 186
energy, 186
multi-sensual experiences, 186
participative performativities, 187
space vitality, 186
spacing, 186
subjectivity, 186
African Burial Ground, 443, 448–50,
452–3, 454n. 8
African National Congress (ANC), 323
Aga Khan Foundation, 310n. 1
Agamben, G., 307
Agenda, 25, 500–1
Aina, S., 387
Alan Lomax Collection, 235
Alderman, D. H., 166, 167
Allen, Woody, 483
Allmendinger, P., 432
Alnwick Castle, 366–8, 376
AlSayyad, N., 80
Altman, J. C., 502, 503
Amazing Grace, 7, 121
American Civil War, 283
American Historical Association, 116
American national park system, 167
Amirtahmasebi, R., 460
Amoonguna, 79–80
Anawak, J., 100
Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 3,
95, 399
Anderson, B., 162, 163, 283, 298, 332, 389
Anderson, M., 131, 385
Angkor, 200–1, 205, 213, 319, 337–8,
340–1
Anglo-Boer Wars, see Boer Wars
Anglophonic origins, 527
Anheier, H. K., 215, 304
Anjar, M., 292
anthropologize the West, 264
Anti-Aesthetic, The, 210
antiheritage animus, 5, 27
anti-modernism, 168
antiquarianism, 335
Antiquities Acts, 95
antiquity, 332–4
see also nationalism
anti-urbanism, 168
anti-war movements, 116
Anton, M., 253
Anyon, R., 103
apartheid legislation, 322
Appadurai, A., 6, 132, 134, 136, 298, 389,
390, 444
Appiah, K. A., 315, 325
Arab–Israeli conflict, 386
Archaeological Conservancy, 512f
archaeological heritage, 12, 101, 400
Archaeological and Historic Preservation
Act (AHPA), 100
archaeology
abstract, 98–102
bronze age, 93

- cognitive-processual archaeology, 105
 critical theory, 104
 cultural development stages, 94–5
 cultural evolution, 95
 cultural resources management, 100–2
 culture-history approach, 93, 96–7
 of disclosure, 453
 environmental approach, 98
 evolution of material culture, 94
 evolution theory, 93–5
 general, 98–102
 hermeneutics, 104
 hypothetic deductive approach, 98
 interpretive approach, 104
 inventing archaeology, 92–7
 iron age, 93
 material of the past, 103–4
 migration theory, 95–7
 nationalist archaeology, 94
 neo-Marxism, 104
 philosophical approaches, 104
 post-positivism, 104
 post-processual archaeology, 104–6, 108
 post-structuralism, 104
 principles of New Archaeology, 101
 public archaeology, 106–7
 reinventing archaeology, 97–107
 science and legislations, 98–100
 scientific, 98–102
 socio-political context, 102–7
 stakeholders, 107
 stone age, 93
 systematic analysis, 98
 transformation into democratic
 structure, 104–6
 universal, 98–102
Archaeology as Anthropology, 98
 Arecibo message, 516
 Arezki, R., 458
 Argenti, N., 442
 Arizpe, L., 304
 armed conflict
 in Afghanistan, 289
 in Bosnia, 289
 cultural destruction, 289
 cultural property, 286
 destruction of Buddhas of Bamiyan, 285
 heritage sites destruction, 285
 historical dimension, 282
 impacts of the post-war
 reconstruction, 288
 instrument of punishment and
 intimidation, 289
 intention and impact, 292–4
 in Iraq, 289
 Kashmir, 290
 Kosovo, 290
 looting of sites, 283
 memory war in Spain, 290
 policies, 281, 288
 propagandistic strategies, 292
 protection measures, 281, 283
 reconstruction, 287–9
 recovery, 287–9
 Rwanda, 290
 Sri Lanka, 290
 wartime destruction, 283
 Yugoslavia, 290
 Arnold, B., 334
 Arnstein, S., 357
 Artleiers de la Péninsule, 208
*Art Plunder: The Fate of Works of Art in
 War*, 282
 Arvin, A. H., 400
 Ashton, P., 115, 518
 Ashworth, G. J., 13, 39, 40, 114, 196,
 203n. 3, 275, 287, 298, 442, 469
 assemblage theory, 304, 306
 Assisi, 206
 Association for Cultural Equity, 245
 Aswan High Dam, 300, 498
 Athens Charter, 72, 300
 Atkinson, D., 160
*Atomic Bomb and the Origins of the Cold
 War*, 120
 Auld, C. J., 353
 Aumont, J., 205, 208
 Austin, J. L., 38
 Australia
 Aboriginal Land Rights Movement, 102
 Bunjilaka, 33
 community heritage projects, 7
 digitization programme, 408
 docuprotest, 397
 Greenough, 33
 heritage tourism, 144
 Kakadu (rock art), 205
 Kimberley, 103

- Australia – *continued*
 multicultural policies, 130–1
 popularity of TV shows, 7
 settler-colonialism, 314
 social and political debate, 5
 White migration policy, 131
- Australian Aboriginal, 79, 405
- Australian Communities*, 131
- Australian Indigenous people, 138
- Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 102
- Australian National Archive, 407–8
- authentic experience-seeking tourists, 77
- authenticity, 1, 8, 35, 69, 72–3, 76, 82, 84, 484
 authenticity in tourism, 77
 contemporary authenticity, 84–5
 contrastive term, 69
 cultural authenticity, 73, 80
 cultural objects, 70
 current research on, 80–2
 demand for, 272
 deployment of, 70
 emergent authenticity, 75
 essence of, 8
 experiential authenticity, 77
 fundamental aspect of authenticity, 79
 guarantee of, 71
 heritage and tourism, 76–80
 indigenous authenticity, 80
 intangible cultural heritage, 75–6
 international heritage doctrine, 72–4
 intersection with heritage, 70
 manipulability of, 69
 in nineteenth century, 70–2
 objective authenticity, 81
 policy implications, 82–4
 (re)insertion or denial, 70
 UNESCO, 75–6
 Venice's test of, 74
- Authenticity Hoax, The*, 69
- authorized heritage discourse (AHD), 29, 41–2, 45–6, 48, 52, 61, 65, 70, 72, 140, 146, 151, 155–6, 197, 213–14, 273, 316–17, 323, 348, 361, 370, 426, 430–1, 437–9, 473
- autoethnographies, 32
- auto-exotic, 326n. 2
- Bachelard, G., 72, 180
- Bacon, Francis, 211
- Bærenholdt, J. O., 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 152
- Bagheritari, M., 406, 407
- Bagnall, G., 53, 58, 60, 61, 65, 119, 152, 153, 155, 255, 525, 526
- Bahn, P., 93, 94, 98, 99, 104, 105
- Baillie, B., 287
- Baker, A., 292
- Bale, J., 248, 251
- Ballantyne, R., 288
- Bal, M., 133, 209
- Balmer, J. M. T., 482
- Bandarin, F., 302
- Bann, S., 209
- Banteay Chmaar, 341
- Barbara, Santa, 116
- Barber of Seville*, 469
- Barnard, T., 405
- Barnett, C., 134
- Barritt, A., 359, 360
- Barthel, D., 71
- Bartlett, A., 404
- Barz, G., 238
- Basilica (San Francesco), 213
- Basu, P., 322, 386, 389, 390, 391
- Bate, J., 354
- Baudrillard, J., 8, 80, 163
- Bauman, Z., 150, 269, 308, 369, 458
- BaAka music, 235, 237, 242, 246
- Beacons for Public Engagement Project, 354
- Beale, C., 482
- Beamish Open Air Museum, 367
- Becker, C., 114
- Beck, U., 298, 331
- Beiner, G., 375
- Belanger, A., 252
- Belfiore, E., 428
- Belford, P., 349
- Beloved*, 198
- Belzoni, Sarah, 400
- Bender, B., 278n. 2
- Bendix, R., 82, 442, 445
- Benjamin, W., 132
- Bennett, J., 138, 306, 503
- Bennett, T., 116, 132–4, 137, 213, 306
- Bensouda, Fatou, 286

- Berdahl, D., 442
 Bergesio, L., 279n. 11
 Berke, P. R., 502
 Berliner, D., 445
 Berman, M., 132
 Bethel Baptist Church, 197
 Bevan, R., 286
 Beverland, M., 486, 488
 Beyers, C., 454n. 4
 Bhabha, H. K., 70, 315, 318, 319, 320, 322
 Bhatia, V. K., 47
 Bhat, S., 488
 Bianchini, F., 432, 460
 Bianchi, R., 302
Bible of Amiens, The, 92
 Biderman, A. D., 21
 Bidwell, N. J.-T., 409
Biennale de Flamenco, 469
 Bigio, A. G., 466
 Big Pit (Wales), 367
 Bijsterveld, K., 239
 Billig, M., 48, 149
 Binford, L. R., 98, 103
 Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies
 (BCCCC), 370–1
 Black Country Living Museum, 367
 Blake, J., 3
 Blakey, M. L., 448
 Blauge, R., 459
 Blists Hill Victorian Town, 117
 Bloch, M., 123
 Blombäck, A., 481
 Blommaert, J., 38, 46
 Blumenfeld, T., 78
 Bodnar, J., 194
 Boer wars, 322
 Bommers, M., 370, 371
 Bond, G. C., 39, 443
 Boniface, P., 302
 boosterism, 460
 Borobobur, 340
 Boswell, D., 214
 Bottelberghe, T., 256
 Boukas, N., 253
 Bourdieu, P., 49, 211, 376, 377, 390
 Bowdler, S., 103
 Boyd, S. W., 144, 150, 154
 Boyd, W., 349
 Boyer, P., 120, 121, 123
 Boylan, P., 284
boyobi ceremony, 242
Braveheart, 7, 391
 Breathnach, T., 151
 Breglia, L., 28
 Brenneis, D., 238
 Brett, D., 4, 12, 40, 115
 Bretton Woods United Nations Monetary
 and Financial Conference, 299
 Brinkhurst, E., 239
 Briones, C., 269
 Britain
 abolition of slave trade, 122
 community heritage projects, 7
 contemporary migration patterns, 164
 cultural development, 94
 decision to abolish its slave trade, 122
 economic decline, 370
 heritage debate, 117–19
 heritage industry, 117, 147
 heritage policy, 42
 heritagization of, 370
 involvement in transatlantic
 slavery, 121
 popularity of TV shows, 7
 public policy consequences, 7
 territorial aspirations, 336
 transatlantic slavery, 121
 see also United Kingdom (UK)
 Brittain, M., 350
 Bromley, R., 367
 Brown, L., 123
 Brown, S., 482, 484, 485, 487, 488
 Brown, V. A., 494, 503
 Broz, L., 444
 Brubaker, R., 269, 295n. 4
 Brulatour, Jules, 159
 Bruner, E. M., 55, 77, 79, 82, 387, 385
 Brunninge, O., 481
 Brussels Declaration, 283
 Bryson, N., 209, 210
 Buchanan-Oliver, M., 487
 Buddhism, 337, 341
 Bulmer, M., 331
 Bulmer, S., 487
 Bunjilaka Gallery, 134
 Burg, C. J., 488
 Burkitt, I., 179
 Burman, C. T., 402

- Burra Charter*, 42, 73–4, 418
 Burrows, R., 24
 Büscher, M., 31
 Bush, G. W., 289
 Bushell, R., 209, 492, 494
 Butler, B., 39, 43, 47, 442
 Butler, J., 54, 55, 61, 65, 66
 Butler, V., 360
 Byrne, D., 6, 33, 40, 200, 254, 298, 303, 317, 351, 417, 423, 502
- Caffyn, A., 222
 Callard, F., 32
 Cambodia
 - Angkor, 200–1, 205, 213, 319, 337–8, 340–1
 - cultural nationalism in, 339
 - dependency upon France, 339
 - history around classical antiquities, 339
 - Maoist-influenced forced migration, 200
 - monumental antiquities, 339
 - monumentalism, 200
 - national heritage, 200
 - political history, 200
 - re-Indianization of history, 338
 - Thai border dispute, 342
 - totalitarianism overtook, 342
 - tourists narratives, 200–1
- Cameron, F., 40
 Cameron, C. M., 119
 Campbell, G., 42
 Canada, 5, 7, 222, 224, 250, 378, 501
 - Olympic Hall of Fame, 250
 - popularity of TV shows, 7
 - social and political debate, 5
- Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 275
 Canadian-recognized First Nations tribes, 82
 canonical positivism, 23
 capitalism, 44, 70, 118, 146, 163, 372, 382–3, 525
 capitalist industrialization, 370
 Capra, F., 492
 Carlisle, R. C., 99
 Carlsen, J., 224
 Carr, E. H., 114, 125n. 1
 Carrier, D., 205
 Carroll, D., 210
 Carroll, L., 275
- Carson, R., 448, 449, 454n. 8–9, 496
 Carson, Sonny, 448–9
 Cartesian thinking, 306
 Casey, E., 180
 Castañeda, Q., 278n. 2
 Castleford Festival, 199
 Castleford Heritage Trust (CHT), 199
 Certeau, M. de, 135, 136, 137
 Cervellon, M.–C., 483
 Césaire, Aimé, 271
 Chakrabarty, D., 264
 Chambers, P., 342
 Champion, T. C., 283, 334
 Chandler, D. P., 341
 Changdeok Palace (South Korea), 149
 chaos theory, 496
 Chapman, A., 148
 Charlesworth, A., 166
 Charters, S., 224, 486
 Chartres Cathedral, 206
 Chatterjee, P., 315, 318, 319, 320, 322
 Cheetham, M. A., 205, 211
 Chevalier, C., 487
 Chidgey, R., 404
 Childe, Vere Gordon, 95
 China
 - American heritage travel programmes, 392
 - cultural understanding, 45
 - tourism policies, 78
- Choi, A. S., 461
 Chomsky, N., 347
 Chou, H.-Y., 482
 Christensen, D. R., 81
 Chronis, A., 53
 Chuo Li, 81
 civic reform, 133, 137, 141
 civil rights, 116
 civil rights movement, 102, 197
 Clack, T., 350
 Clark, A., 121
 Clarke, J., 336
 Clark, G., 104
 Clark, K., 102, 459
 class-based values, 5
 class domination, 26
 classical antiquity, 145, 332
 Cleere, H. F., 3, 91, 92, 95, 101, 298
 Clifford, J., 44, 47, 135, 136, 137, 384

- Clifford, S., 417
 climate variation, 510
 clipboard survey approach, 2
 Clough, P., 23, 31, 33
 Club of Rome, 494–5
 Cobb, J., 367
 Coda, 276–8
 co-ethnics, 389
 Cohen, E., 75, 76, 77, 79
 Cohn, B. S., 335
 Cojti, A., 273
 Colbert, F., 485
 Colebatch, H. K., 427
 Coleman, R., 31
 Coleman, S., 53, 152
 collaborative sound curation, 244–6
 archives of vernacular music, 246
 models development, 245
 non-institutional aspects, 246
 Collier, S., 297
 Collingwood, R. G., 125n. 1
 Colombian Act, 278n. 3
 colonialism, 26, 95, 130, 148, 177, 197,
 272, 313–16, 323, 334, 399, 527
 Colten, C. E., 168
 Comaroff, J. L., 444
 commemorative voice, 120
 Commission and the Council of
 Parties, 500
 Commission on Sustainable Development
 (CSD), 500
 commodification, 6–8, 24, 44, 80, 196,
 383, 388, 464–5, 473
 communitarianism, 7
 community archaeology, 346–9, 351,
 356, 361
 Congress of Vienna, 283
 Conkey, M. W., 400
 Connerton, P., 192, 193, 333, 368, 375
 conservation ethos, 510–13
 consumer marketing
 brand heritage, 486–9
 brand image, 480
 brand longevity, 485
 consumer behaviour, 480
 fundamental element, 479
 key elements, 480–1
 longevity, 485–6
 marketing goals, 487
 marketing theory, 488
 nostalgia, 481–3
 period-correct specifications, 484
 post-purchase behaviour, 480
 product attachment, 480
 purchase decision, 480
 retro-brand appeal, 485
 retro-marketing, 481–3, 486–8
 sentimentality, 480
 tradition, 485–6
 vintage components, 484
Contemporary Theory of Conservation, 511
 contemporary tourism, 163, 227, 319, 469
 conventionally critical approaches, 29
 conventional objects, 2
 Convention Concerning the Protection of
 World Cultural and Natural
 Heritage, 497
 Convention on Biological Diversity, 500
 Convention on Climate Change, 500
 Convention on the Elimination of
 Discrimination against Women
 (CEDAW), 407
 Convention on the Protection of Cultural
 Property in the Event of Armed
 Conflict, 284
 Convention for the Protection of Cultural
 Property in the Event of Armed
 Conflict, *see* Hague Convention
 Convention for the Safeguarding of the
 Intangible Cultural Heritage, 42, 75,
 284–285, 293, 409
 Convention on the Value of Heritage for
 Society, 418
 Coombes, A. E., 332, 447
 Cooper, F., 269
 Cooper, M., 348, 352
 Cooper, N., 339
 Corbishley, M., 107
 Corner, J., 147, 460, 463, 465
 Cosgrove, D., 209
 cosmopolitan elites, 308
 cosmopolitan ethics, 141
 cosmopolitan lay geography, 62
 Cossons, N., 220
 Cote, J., 402
 Council for British Archaeology, 349
 Council of Europe, 292, 417–19, 430
 Courchesne, A., 485

- Coward, M., 386, 387
 Crang, M. A., 25, 30, 53, 55, 152, 155, 177, 184
 Crawford, G., 253
 Creative Heritage Program, 76
 critical discourse analysis (CDA), 28, 39–43, 46, 48, 197
 critical imagination, 22, 528
 critical turn, emergence of, 130
Critique of Judgment, 211
 Croissant, A., 342
 Cronon, W., 167
Crossroads: The End of World War II, The, 120
 Crouch, D., 25, 28, 30, 52, 53, 152, 177, 179, 180, 184, 187
 Cuasay, P., 341
 Cubitt, G., 121, 122
 cultural artefacts
 classification of, 446
 identification, 446
 cultural cottage garden, 4
 cultural discourse, 37, 43–4, 64
 cultural diversity, 45, 47, 78, 122, 266–9, 275, 291, 445
 cultural evolution, 95
 cultural expressions, 70, 195
 cultural heritage, 52
 cultural moment, 4, 10, 78
Cultural Moment in Tourism, The, 36, 213
 cultural ossification, 27
 cultural resources management (CRM), 100–2, 106
 cultural theory, 130, 141
 cultural tourism, 12, 30, 145, 160, 226–7, 301, 340
Culture, Heritage and Representation, 36, 213
 culture-history approach, 93–8, 107
 culturization regime, 265
 Cunningham, Alexander, 335
- Dagens, B., 338
 Dalby, D., 160
 Daniel, G., 92, 93, 94, 95
 Daniel, S., 286
 Daniels, S., 209
 Danilov, V. J., 402
 dark figure, 21–5, 29
 Darwin, Charles, 94, 503
 Darwin's theory of species evolution, 94
 Daugbjerg, M., 304
 Davenport-Hines, R., 159
 Davidson, J., 182
 Davis, F., 371
 Davis, H. A., 97, 99, 100, 102
 Davison, G., 121
 Daye, D., 483
 Dean, M., 356, 358
 Dearden, P., 76
 de Cesari, C., 447
 Declaration concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage, 284
 Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, 300
 Declaration of San Antonio, 74
Deconstructing Harry, 483
 definitional power, 21
 De Jong, F., 319
 de la Barre, S., 253
 De Landa, M., 306
 Delanty, G., 331
 De la Torre, M., 100
 Deleuze, G., 186, 306
Deleuze and Research Methodologies, 31
 Denes, A., 81
 Denmark, 3, 7, 56, 318
 playful use of heritage, 318
 popularity of TV shows, 7
 Deo, A., 246
 depoliticization through objectification, 454n. 3
 DeRuyver, D., 116
 Dewey, J., 503
 Dewsbury, J.-D., 180
 Dhanjal, S., 107
 diaspora
 collective discourses, 393
 commodification, 383
 components for, 384
 cosmopolitanism, 384
 defining, 383–5
 diachronic orientation, 391
 diasporic travel, 385–7
 ethnic identity politics, 392
 flexible citizenship, 384
 folk models, 382
 global flows, 389–93
 inductive approach, 393

- Jewish diaspora, 383
- minority groups, 383
- multi-sited ethnographic approaches, 394
- pilgrimage tourism, 387–9
- Scottish Highland diaspora, 386
- social collectives, 383
- trans-Atlantic slave trade, 387
- transnational identification, 384
- Díaz-Andreu, M., 283, 334
- Dicks, B., 28, 213, 226, 307, 366, 367, 368, 372, 377, 463, 464, 467
- Diefendorf, J. M., 287
- Dierking, L. D., 376
- difficult heritage, 192, 194–8, 402
- digital archaeology, 350
- digitization of heritage, 409
- DigVentures, 350–1
- Dilsaver, L. M., 168
- Diquís Delta, 274
- discourse
 - analytical strategies, 46
 - archaeological discourse, 40
 - argumentative quality of, 114
 - authorized heritage discourse, 41, 52
 - British heritage policy discourse, 42
 - Chinese heritage discourse, 44–5
 - cognitive approaches, 42
 - commodification, 44
 - Confucian strategy of cut and paste, 45
 - constructions, 40
 - corpus-based discourse analysis, 47
 - critique of heritage, 41–5
 - discourse-oriented ethnography, 43
 - discursive practice and, 39–41
 - discursive representations, 40
 - ethnographic-based discourse analysis, 47
 - ethnographic fieldwork, 47
 - ethnographic-oriented discourse analysis, 43
 - Foucauldian discourse analysis, 42–3
 - frameworks, 46
 - Frankfurt school's critical theory, 42
 - functional approaches, 42
 - future trends, 45–8
 - indigeneity of, 47
 - indigenization of heritage, 47
 - material consequences, 41
 - memorial approach, 44
 - multimodal discourse analysis, 47
 - in non-Western settings, 43
 - pluralization of heritage, 47
 - postmodern capitalism, 44
 - progress and rationality, 44
 - theoretical explorations, 48
 - tools and techniques, 46
 - transformation, 47
 - use of poetry, 44–5
- discursive approach, 37, 45, 47–9, 52
 - define, 37–8
 - Foucauldian theorizations of, 38
 - fundamental layers of meaning, 37–8
 - Gee's notion, 38
 - integrated concept of, 39
 - notion of, 37–9
 - three dimensional concept of, 39
- dissonant heritage, 196
- dissonant pasts, and their commodification, 27
- Distinction* (1984), 376
- Ditchfield, S., 115
- DJ-ing, 234, 241
- Dobby, A., 92
- Dobson, S., 349, 350
- domestication of conflicts, 27
- Done, S., 252
- Don Giovanni*, 469
- Dorling, D., 350
- Doughty, L., 107
- Douglas, Louise, 131
- Dowling, E., 33
- Downing, M. J. Jr, 31
- dramatic growth of museums, 146
- Dresser, M., 121
- Dubin, S., 120, 121
- Du Cros, H., 220
- Duc, Viollett le, 92
- Dudley, S., 138, 367
- Duke of Northumberland, 367
- Duncan, C., 133
- Duncan, J., 164
- Duncan, J. S., 168, 169
- Duncan, N. G., 168, 169
- Dunlop, S., 467
- Eagleton, T., 444
- earth bows, 242

- Ebron, P. A., 388, 391, 444
- eclecticism, 524–6
- Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO), 337
- Economou, M., 408
- economy
- civic consciousness, 465
 - consumer sovereignty, 463
 - conventional economic, 461–2
 - cost-benefit analyses, 463
 - discourse and practice, 466–73
 - local distinctiveness, 463
 - local-global paradox, 463
 - post-industrialism and globalization, 460
 - re-commodification of space, 464
 - regeneration, 461, 466
 - representational practices, 465
 - sociocultural centrality, 461
 - spatial transformations, 463
 - value of the past, 460–6
- Eco, U., 210
- Edensor, T., 53, 54, 145, 152
- Edwards, J. A., 222
- Edwards, P., 337, 338, 339
- Egypt, 7, 16, 62–3, 92, 300–1, 339–40, 343, 400, 498
- antiquities of, 300
 - Aswan High Dam, 300, 498
 - classical era architecture, 343
 - community heritage projects, 7
 - Karnak temples, 205
 - mass tourism, 62
 - nationalism, 340
 - plurality of past, 340
 - tourist tax, 301
- ejengi ceremony*, 243
- Eliasson, P., 517
- elite cultural values, 130
- Ellison, N., 351
- Ellison, S., 351
- Elshahed, M., 80
- Elton, G. R., 114
- Emancipation Day festival, 449
- embodied engagement, 2, 12, 195–6
- Emerick, K., 100, 101
- emotion, 181–5
- constitutive character, 183
 - energies, 184
 - general notion, 182
 - sensing-thinking body of phenomenology, 182
- empiricism, 22, 24, 32, 349
- endangerment sensibility, 298
- England
- environment practice, 351
 - heritage designation, 422
 - heritage protection organizations, 92
 - industrial heritage attractions, 152
 - scheduling of monuments in, 422
 - Statement on the Historic Environment for, 458
 - tourist attractions in, 147, 148t
 - see also* United Kingdom (UK)
- English Heritage, 348, 350, 354, 357–8, 404, 418–19, 421–2, 431–4, 458–60
- Enlightenment, 41, 317, 333, 429
- Enola Gay*, 120–1, 123–4
- Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), 99
- environmentalism, 319
- Epperson, D., 422
- Erevelles, S., 479, 487
- Eriksen, T. H., 445
- Erlmann, V., 239
- escapism, 483
- Esteva, G., 276
- ethnicity, 13, 81, 94, 130, 154, 171, 184, 187, 196, 378, 389, 444
- ethnographic recordings of music and sound, 234
- ethnographic research methods, 28
- ethnographies of heritage, 278
- ethnomusicology, 10, 234, 237–8
- European Landscape Convention, 417–18
- EU Social Fund project, 56
- Evans, J., 214
- Evans, R. J., 126n. 1
- exoticism, 271–2, 318–19, 325
- experiential practices, 30
- experiential tourism, 119, 226
- expert knowledge, fetishising of, 446
- Exposed to Moral Danger (E.M.D.), 398
- Fabian, J., 245
- Fairclough, G., 360, 509, 514
- Fairclough, N., 38, 39
- Fairley, S., 250, 254, 255
- Falk, J. H., 376

- Fallon, S., 208
 Fanon, Frantz, 271
 Farchakh Bajjaly, J., 286
 Faro Convention, 418, 462–3
 Farred, G., 315
 Fawcett, C., 334
 Fawcett, P., 106
 Fear, V., 251, 252
 Federal Antiquities Act, 97
 feeling, 181–7
 contingent, 186
 energy, 186
 multi-sensual experiences, 186
 participative performativities, 187
 space vitality, 186
 spacing, 186
 subjectivity, 186
 Feilden, B., 92
 Feld, S., 238
 feminism, 116, 131, 398, 408
 feminist approach to heritage, 398, 410
 feminist theory, 398, 410
 Ferguson, J., 352
 Ferguson, R., 202
 Ferguson, T. J., 203
 Fergusson, James, 335
 field recordings, 234–6
 Fincham, B., 31
 Finkel, H. C., 236
 Firat, A. F., 480
 first museums boom, 146
 Fischer, F., 428
 Fishel, L. H., 115, 116
 Fish Quay Neighbourhood Plan
 Group, 436
 flamenco festival, 469
 Fleck, L., 511, 512
 Folk Interested in Shields Harbour
 (FISH), 436
 follow-up in-depth interviews, 33
 Fontein, J., 319, 320, 321, 322, 324,
 325, 442
 Forester, J., 428, 438
 formalism, 207–8
 see also visual arts
 Förster, L., 319
 Foster, H., 210, 212
 Foster, Norman, 212
 Foucauldian model, 356, 446
 Foucauldian thought, 133, 473
 Foucauldian tradition of discourse
 analysis, 313
 Foucault, M., 38, 39, 42, 43, 48, 133, 134,
 270, 271, 307, 313, 316, 347, 360,
 370, 371, 443, 444, 445, 449
 Fouseki, K., 122
 Fowler, P., 39, 40, 431
 Framework Convention on the Value of
 Heritage for Society, 417
 France
 importance of preserving historic
 buildings, 71
 Lascaux caves, 164
 metropolitan culture, 336
 revolutionary government, 71
 territorial aspirations, 336
 Francioni, F., 302
 Frank, A. G., 211, 212, 297
 Franklin, A., 146, 148, 149, 151, 152, 155
 French Revolution, 294n. 1, 429
 Frey, B. S., 463
 Friedling, J., 452
 Friedman, M. T., 248, 251, 256
 Friel, B., 167
 future consciousness, 510, 516–17, 519–20
 Fyfe, G., 377

 Gable, E., 82, 194
 Galas, M. M., 400
 Gallent, N., 434
 Galloway, S., 467
 Gallows Hill, 450
 Gamboni, D., 286
 Game, A., 180
 Gammon, S., 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253,
 254, 255, 256, 257
 Garcia, B., 432
 Garden of Remembrance, 165
 Garrett, B. L., 495
 Gatewood, J. B., 119
 Gathercole, P., 106
 Gay, P., 211
 Gebler, L., 287
 Gee, P., 37, 38, 46
 Gehry, Frank, 211–12
 gendered approach
 challenges for feminist studies, 407–9
 consumption, 402–3

- gendered approach – *continued*
 critical history, 399–401
 cultural anthropology, 400
 digitality and digital cultures, 407
 discipline-specific work, 400
 emergence of, 399
 feminist approach, 398–9
 feminist research, 405
 feminist theories of performance and
 performativity, 403
 gender archaeology, 400
 gender balance, 403
 gender-benchmarking criteria, 407
 gendered performances, 403
 heritage curation, 403–6
 heterosexism, 402
 lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
 people, 402
 male-dominated religions, 399
 management, 403–6
 marginalization of women, 405
 masculinities and femininities, 402
 matrilineal cultures, 399
 monuments and maidens, 402
 policies and protocols, 406–7
 post-colonial feminist heritage
 work, 406
 representation, 401–2
 same-sex exhibition, 405
 simplistic framework, 401
 social inheritance of the Holocaust, 401
 gender inequalities, 26, 402
 genus loci, notion of, 185
 Geographical Information Systems
 (GIS), 32
 Geography
 class formation, 162
 cultural performances, 162
 cultural values and memories, 162
 heritage, 166–70
 heritage preservation, 161
 identity, 167–70
 memory, 166–7
 memory spaces, 164–6
 nature, 167–70
 place-based identity politics, 161
 religious affiliation, 162
 sense of national identity, 162
 space, 166–7
*Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and
 Economy*, 6, 9
 Germany, 3, 7, 124, 207, 224, 284, 301,
 334, 383, 501
 Getty Conservation Institute, 310n. 1
 Getz, D., 80
 Ghana, slave castles of, 82
 Gherkin in London, 212
 Ghimire, K. B., 502
 Giblin, J. D., 313, 315, 322
 Gibson, Dorothy, 159
 Gibson, H. J., 248
 Gibson, J. J., 55
 Gilliam, A., 39, 443
 Gillian, Q., 512
 Gillis, J., 195
 Gills, B. K., 297
 Gilroy, P., 198, 384
 Giteau, M., 338
 Giza pyramids, 62–4
 Gleick, J., 483
 Global Biodiversity Outlook, 499
 global capitalism, 388
 global climate, 513
 global consciences, 493
 globalization
 approaches to, 307
 critical studies, 304
 economics/tourism/development, 304
 electronic mediation of
 communication, 298
 electronic mediation of new media, 298
 global transformation, 308–9
 importance of, 298
 material intervention, 308–9
 material-semiotic method, 305
 research directions, 309–10
 technical standards, 304
 global–local interface, 37
 global village, 493
 Glover, I., 96
 Goffman, E., 54
 Goldhahn, J., 512
 Gombrich, E. H., 207, 208
 Gomez-Pompa, A., 502
 Gordon, E. T., 385
 Gottweis, H., 428
 Goulding, C., 24
 governmentality theory, 297, 304

- Graburn, N. H. H., 73, 79, 387, 388
 Graham, B. J., 6, 7, 27, 29, 116, 160, 162, 429, 443, 463, 465, 509, 514
 Graham, H., 357, 358
 Gramsci, Antonio, 132
 Grand and Romantic tourists, 146
 Gray, C., 433
 Greece, 72, 145, 332, 335, 340, 343, 487
 classical era architecture, 343
 classicism, 207, 333
 cultural tourism, 340
 heritage tourism, 145
 Greek Ministry of Culture, 512*f*
 Greene, K., 93, 94, 95, 98, 104
 Green, H., 116
 Green, N., 336
 Greenwood, D., 77, 84
 Greer, S., 353
 Greffe, X., 458, 463, 466
 Gregg, M., 181, 210
 Gregory, K., 139, 140
 Gregson, N., 55, 65
 Grewcock, D., 30
 Griffith, R., 500
 Grigor, T., 399
 Grosz, E., 183
 Group Areas Act, 446, 451
 Grunebaum, H., 452
 Guatemala, Indigenous communities
 in, 273
 Guattari, F., 186, 306
 guerrilla memorywork, 408
 guerrilla warfare, 222
 Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, 212
 Gupta, A., 352
 Gurdwara site, 167

 Habermas, Jürgen, 270
 Hadziaslani, C., 512
 Hague Convention, 283–4, 289, 293, 300
 Haiti earthquakes, 196
 Hakala, U., 487
 Halbwachs, M., 192, 193, 372, 373
 Halbwachs, Maurice, 192
 Haldrup, M., 52, 53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64
 Hale, A., 388
 Hale, C., 268
 Hallam, E., 180
 Hall, C. M., 6, 224, 429, 446, 452
 Hall, S., 38, 40, 113, 118, 123, 264, 276
 Hamilakis, Y., 333
 Hamilton, C., 445, 451
 Hamilton, D., 122, 123
 Handler, R., 73, 82, 194
 Hannam, K., 153, 155
 Hannerz, U., 393
 Hansen, H. J., 512
 Haraway, D., 453
 Hardin, G., 495
 Hardt, M., 331
 Hardy, D., 114
 Harris, J. A., 202*n*. 1
 Harrison, D., 302
 Harrison, K., 238
 Harrison, R., 6, 7, 148, 211, 297, 298, 299, 301, 306, 307, 309, 317, 399
 Harron, S., 76
 Hartmann, R., 203*n*. 3
 Harvey, David, 3, 25, 269, 442
 Harvey, D. C., 3, 27, 41, 70, 113, 144, 145, 269, 306, 317, 399, 442, 460, 463, 465
 Harvey, S., 147
 Harwit, M., 120
 Haslam, M., 514
 Hassan, F. A., 300, 301, 340
 Hassard, J., 305
 Hassman, H., 334
 Hatton, A., 348
 Havlena, W. J., 482, 483
 Head, B., 357, 358
 Healey, P., 427, 428, 438
 Hegemony theory, 371
 Hellenism, 333
 Henson, D., 107
 Herbert, D. T., 24
 Heritage Alliance, 435
 heritage-as-performance, 52
 heritage boom, 147, 270
 Heritage Departments in the County
 Councils (Länsstyrelser) of
 Sweden, 512*f*
Heritage Dividend, The, 432
 heritage framework, 169, 405
 heritage gaze, 26
*Heritage Industry: Britain in an Age of
 Decline*, 117
 Heritage Lottery Fund, 147, 434, 459–60

- heritage preservation, progressive developments in, 164
- Heritage Site of Cape Coast Castle, 449
- Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, 28
- heritage theory, 14, 27, 210, 469
- heritage-as-things, 52
- Heritage and Tourism*, 16, 144, 213, 219
- Hermann, I., 148
- Hernández-Ramírez, M., 221
- Herzfeld, M., 303, 423, 445
- Hetherington, K., 65
- Hewison, P., 370
- Hewison, R., 4, 6, 117, 118, 119, 144, 146, 147, 151, 164, 347, 430, 525
- Hewitt, L., 434
- Heyman, Michael, 123
- Higginbotham, G., 151
- Higham, J., 253, 255
- higher-spending cultural tourists, 459
- Hinch, T., 253, 255
- Hirschman, E. C., 480
- historical abstraction, 27
- historical consciousness, 517–19
- Historic Environment, The*, 433
- Historic Houses Trust, 139
- historic morphology, 436
- historiography, 39, 131, 167, 332, 335
- History of Ancient Art*, 92
- History Channel*, 59–60
- history, heritage and
- americanizing, 116
 - applied history, 115
 - backward glance, 118
 - contemporary politics, 124
 - critical approach, 114
 - criticisms, 119
 - of cultural theory, 141n. 1
 - culture wars, 119
 - definition, 114–15
 - development of public History, 115–17
 - everyday confrontations with, 115
 - history at war, 119–22
 - history wars, 119
 - ideological lines, 125n. 1
 - irrelevance, 114
 - kind of research or inquiry, 125n. 1
 - liberal humanitarianism, 122
 - national identity, 124
 - negotiation of cultural meaning, 122
 - people's history, 115
 - popular history, 115
 - public history, 115–17
 - significance or status, 114
 - Thatcherite rhetoric, 118
 - of transatlantic slavery, 121
 - voice multiplicity, 123
- history wars or culture wars, 119
- History Workshop Movement, 371
- Hitchcock, M., 298, 302
- Hobsbawm, E. J., 44, 73, 298, 317, 332, 389
- Hodder, I., 95, 97, 100, 103, 104, 107
- Hodgson, D. L., 314
- Hoelscher, S. D., 389
- Holak, S. L., 482, 483
- Holbrook, M. B., 480, 481, 482
- Holden, J., 458
- Hollinshead, K., 473, 474
- Holsey, B., 449, 454n. 10
- Holtorf, C., 349, 509, 511, 513, 519
- Holy Land, 92
- homecoming pilgrimage, 449
- Hooper-Greenhill, E., 7, 133, 134
- Hope, C. A., 464
- Hosts and Guests*, 385
- House of the Seven Gables, The*, 171
- Howard, P., 113, 162
- How Do Americans Understand Their Pasts?*, 117
- Howe, B. J., 115
- Hudson, Bob, 83
- Hudson, K., 94
- Hudson, S., 487
- Hughes, M. A. W., 462
- Hughes, R., 211, 212
- Hughes, T., 488
- Hughes, W. H., 462
- humanism, 270–3
- Human Rights Council, 501
- Hurricane Katrina, 196
- Hutchison, M., 131, 137
- Hutson, S., 103
- Hynes, H. P., 496
- hyper-modern, 326n. 1
- hyper-tradition, 80

- iconography, 12, 167, 178, 198, 208–9
 see also visual arts
Identity of Man, The, 104
 identity politics, 5, 12, 82, 161, 171, 343,
 382, 388, 392, 394
 ID-ology, 444
 imagined community, 14, 162, 298, 332,
 339, 389
 immaterial heritage, 272, 409
 imperialist nostalgia, 272
 Imperial War Museum, 368, 401
 Inca festival, 84
 India, 148, 335–6, 338–9, 343, 389–90, 497
 architectural history, 336–7
 classical era architecture, 343
 cultural past, 335
 historiography, 335
 nationalist rhetoric, 335
 vernacular music in, 246
 Indian Ocean tsunami, 196
 indigenous agitations, 5
 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples
 Convention, 278
 industrial archaeology, 219, 221, 224, 370
 Industrial Revolution, 71
 industrial tourism, 219–20, 223, 226–9
 closeness of local communities, 228
 closing of mines, 221
 conservation of industrial heritage, 226
 costs and benefits, 225
 description–explanation, 226
 destination management, 227
 disciplinary areas, 223*t*
 economic impact, 219
 experiential tourism, 226
 factory tourism, 228
 financial benefits, 229
 induction–deduction, 226
 industrial archaeology, 219, 221
 industrial centres of activity, 220
 language, 221*t*
 methodological approaches, 225*t*
 mining tourism, 222–3
 new technologies, 228
 opportunities for heritage tourism, 227
 profitable differentiation for
 destination, 229
 social impacts, 225
 stakeholder theory approach, 229
 state of the art, 220–5
 visitors' motivations and
 expectations, 225
 visitors' safety, 225
 visits to industrial centres, 219
 wine tourism, 223
 Infranco, G., 95
 Ingold, T., 55, 180
 Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 83
 intangible cultural heritage (ICH), 73,
 75–6, 400, 406
 intangible heritage, 6, 8, 42, 74, 198, 253,
 292–3, 309, 376, 407, 409, 445, 466,
 468–9
 intellectual property (IP) rights, 76
 inter-corporeality processes, 32
 interdisciplinary models, 234
 International Association for
 Participation, 357
 International Centre for the Study of the
 Preservation and Restoration of
 Cultural Property (ICCRPM), 302, 498
 International Charter for the
 Conservation and Restoration of
 Monuments and Sites, *see* Venice
 Charter
 International Committee for the
 Conservation of Industrial
 Heritage, 227
 International Congress of Architects and
 Technicians of Historic
 Monuments, 72
 International Council of Monuments and
 Sites (ICOMOS), 42, 73–4, 93, 211,
 301–2, 430, 462, 498
 International Court of Justice, 341
 International Journal of Heritage Studies,
 6–7, 9, 27, 105, 221, 249
 International Library of African Music
 (ILAM), 234–7, 239–42, 245–6
 International Site of Conscience, 398
 International Union for Conservation of
 Nature (IUCN), 302, 498–9
 International Union for the Protection of
 Nature (IUPN), 302
 interpretive archaeology, 104
 inter-subjective and situational
 humanism, 271
 intervention in historic buildings, 92

- Inti Raymi celebration, 84
invention of tradition, 44, 317, 332
Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social, 31
Ireland, 7, 59, 82, 160, 165
Ironbridge Gorge, 367, 370
Isar, Y. R., 215, 304
Isherwood, R. A., 349, 351
Israel, 7, 343, 388
Italianate Victorian buildings, 81
Italy, 3, 169, 224, 301, 318, 343, 501
- Jabareen, Y., 503
Jackson, A., 55
Jacobs, J., 401
Jainism, 337
Jameson, F., 269, 525
Jameson, J. H., 106
Japan, 228, 293, 389, 501
 Kojo Moe movement, 228
 Transnational imaging, 392
 Yamato Declaration, 293
Jeffries, Leonard, 449
Jenkins, K., 126n. 1
Jenkins-Smith, H. C., 515
Jensen, H. L., 56, 57
Jensen, O. W., 514
Jewish Museum, 401
John, G., 251
Johnson, C., 480
Johnson, M., 347, 350
Johnson, N. C., 162, 166, 167, 170
Johnstone, C., 375
Jokilehto, J., 91, 92, 93, 429
Jones, Mark Tewdwr, 435
Jonker, J., 452
Jordanova, L., 114, 115, 126n. 1
Jorvik Viking Centre, 117
Joukowsky, G. M., 400
Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage, 107
Journal of Heritage Tourism, 144, 249
journey, 33, 59, 108, 178, 185, 255, 391, 529
 individual, 178
 inter-subjective, 178
 moments in, 178
 private, 178
- Joyce, P., 306
Joyce, R. A., 402
Judd, D. R., 249
Jung, C. G., 420
- Kahunde, S., 239
Kaluli People's Trust Fund, 238
Kaminski, J., 461
Kaplan, C., 121
Karam, J. T., 383, 393
Karl, R., 354, 355
Karlsson, K.- G., 518
Karnak temples, Egypt, 205
Katta Djinoong: First Peoples of Western Australia, 131
Kaus, A., 502
Kearns, G., 160
Keightley, E., 482
Kelly, Robert, 116
Kemp, E. L., 115
Kenderdine, S., 40
Kennedy, N., 202n. 1
Kersel, M., 28, 107
Kessous, A., 482
Kfar Al-Gourna resort, 80
Khmer culture, 81, 338, 341
Kickbush, I., 495
Kidd, B., 248
Kiddey, R., 348
Killebrew, A., 95
King, Alexander, 495
King's Speech, The, 7
King, T. F., 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102
Kininmont, L., 220
Kirch, P. V., 510
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., 52, 70, 213, 286, 291, 298, 302, 308, 382, 389
Klemm, M. S., 464
Knox, D., 153, 155
Knudsen, B. T., 30
Kohl, C., 106
Kohl, P., 334
Kojo Moe' movement, 228
Koshar, R., 124
Kossinna, Gustaf, 94
Koster, R., 123
Kotler, P., 480, 481
Kremer, K. B., 403
Kress, G., 47

- Küchler, S., 195
 Kugelmass, J., 386, 387
 Ku, M. C., 403
 Kuutma, K., 443, 444
 Kyoto Protocol, 497
- Labadi, S., 249, 304, 514
 Lake, M., 214
 Landau, C., 238
 Landorf, C., 221
 Landry, T. R., 82
 Landsberg, A., 196
 landscape preservation, 169
 language authenticity, 44
 Laqueur, T., 159
 Larkham, P. J., 40
 La Roche, C. J., 448
 Laros, F. J. M., 480
 Larsen, J., 53, 54, 55, 62, 63, 64, 77, 147, 149, 152
 Larsen, M. T., 96
 Lasansky, D. M., 214
 Lash, S., 460
 Latin America, 74, 265–6
 Latour, B., 305, 307, 496, 502, 503, 504
 Law, J., 22, 23, 305
 Law, R., 389
 Layton, R., 106
 League of Nations, 299, 498
 Leask, A., 6
 Le Duc, V., 92
 Lee, P., 517
 Legal autonomy, 279n. 5
 Legg, S., 167
 Lehmann, G., 95
 Lehrer, E., 196
 Leib, J. I., 166
 Leone, M. P., 7
 Le Serre, D., 487
 Levin, A. K., 402
 Lewis, P., 211
 Libya
 colonization of, 96
 Roman existence in, 96
 Licciardi, G., 460, 466
 Liddington, J., 124
 Lieber Code, 283–4, 294n. 2
 Lien, N.-H., 482
 life of the archive, 445
 Light, D., 144, 148, 151, 459, 465
 Li, J., 43
 Li, L., 43, 47
Within Limits, 495
Limits to Growth, The, 495
 Lindstrom, M., 482
 Linenthal, E. T., 120, 121, 123, 124, 195
 Linkon, S. L., 369
 Lipe, W. D., 99, 100
 Lister, R., 504
 Little, B., 273
 Littler, J., 118
On Living in an Old Country, 4, 17, 117
 Lloyd, K. M., 211, 212, 353
 Llurdés, C. J. C., 222
 Local Heritage Initiative, 349
 localism, 169, 347, 353, 358–60, 426, 434–9
 Localism Act, 359, 434, 436
 location-centred ethnography, 32
 Logan, W., 196
 Lomax, Alan, 235, 238, 245
 Lomberg, J., 517
 London Transport Museum, 368, 379n. 1
 Long, C., 249, 304, 514
 Longhurst, B., 119
 long-term human impact on the environment, 510
 Lord, Walter, 159
 Lorenz, E. N., 496
 Lorimer, H., 28, 29, 32
 Lorimer, Hayden, 32
 Louie, A., 392
 Louis Sarno archive, 237
 see also Bayaka music
Love of Art, The, 376
 Lowenthal, D., 4, 5, 7, 12, 27, 40, 43, 69, 71, 106, 115, 117, 119, 145, 146, 162, 163, 206, 215, 286, 382, 391, 478, 481, 485, 513, 525
 Lowe Swift, C., 390, 391
 Luang Prabang, 276
 Lubbock, John, 94–5
 Lucas, J., 93, 97, 100, 102
 Lumley, R., 5, 119, 147, 151, 152, 371
 Lury, C., 31
 Lutz, J., 222

- MacCannell, D., 8, 73, 77, 79, 146, 251
 MacDonald, F., 463
 Macdonald, S., 28, 196, 306, 442
 Machin, B., 401
 Machu Picchu, 340
 Macintyre, S., 121
 Maciocco, G., 467
 MacKenzie, R., 107
 Mack, S., 121
 MacPherson, H., 32
 Madinda, Xolile, 237
 Mah, A., 373
 mainstream-mediated cultural context of
 experience, 188
 Makdisi, U., 442
 Malan, A., 451
 Malinowski, Bronislaw, 393
 Mandler, P., 118, 368
 Marchegiani, C., 481, 482
 maritime kitsch, 160
 Maritime Museum in London, 164
 marketing theory terms, 479
 Marquis-Kyle, P., 418
 Marxism, 104, 132, 334
 Marxist/Maoist archaeology, 334
 Mason, D., 249
 Mason, R., 92, 130, 137, 141n. 1
 Massey, D., 54
 Massumi, B., 178, 181, 182, 183
 materialist approaches, 11
 materialist theory of democracy, 504
 materialities of heritage, 64
 material-semiotic approach, 297, 304, 306
 Matsuda, A., 106
 Mattingly, D. J., 96
 Mayan heritage, 274
 Mayer-Hermann, Jürgen, 469–70
 Mazrui, A. A., 315
 Mazzanti, M., 461
 Mbembe, A., 315, 323
 McArthur, S., 6
 McCain, G., 151
 McCarthy, C., 136
 McCaulley, M. H., 420
 McCormack, D., 31
 McDavid, C., 7, 349, 353
 McDonald, H., 161
 McEachern, C., 446
 McElhinney, S., 80
 McGimsey, C. R., 97, 99, 100, 102, 106
 McIntosh, A. J., 221, 222
 McKercher, B., 220
 McLaren, B., 214
 McLuhan, M., 390
 Mcmanamon, F. P., 348
 McNiven, I., 5
 Mead, Margaret, 400
 Meadows, D. H., 495
 Medieval Centre, 56–9
 Medinas' projects, rehabilitation of, 466
 Meethan, K., 146, 460, 463, 464, 465
 Melevi Sema (whirling dervish)
 ceremony, 409
 Melkert, A. A., 493
 Mellor, A., 460, 525
 Memory, 16, 72, 164, 178, 186, 191,
 193–5, 197, 370–1, 376, 397
 analytical methods and
 perspectives, 193
 boom, 270
 case studies, 197–9
 characteristics, 191
 collective and individual memory, 193
 commodification, 196
 consumption of memory, 193
 container models, 194–5
 contested, 191
 continuing and emerging directions,
 201–2
 digital media, 201
 domestic material, 198–201
 embodied memory, 193, 200–2
 foundations, 192–3
 issues, 194–5
 key themes, 194–7
 memorialization, 196
 memory distortion, 196
 memory mediation, 193
 metaphysical nature, 192
 nature of, 192
 partial, 191
 performance of remembering, 200
 performative aspects, 202
 physiological mechanisms, 192
 political, 191
 prosthetic memory, 196
 reification of memory, 195
 re-memory, 198–201

- social mediation and performance, 195
 social and political machinery, 195
 storage models, 195
 subjective, 191
 technological changes, 202
 themes, 195–7
 theoretical issues, 194–7
 theorization of embodied social
 memory, 193
 touristification, 196
 virtual worlds, 201
 visual culture, 198–201
- memory spaces, 164–6
 cognitive content of, 165
 element of exemplarity, 166
 ethical-political level, 166
 ethics of memory, 164
 levels of memory practice, 165
 pragmatic layer of remembering, 165
 pragmatic memory, 165
- Merleau-Ponty, M., 55, 179
- Merriman, N., 5, 7, 106, 107, 150,
 354, 368
- Mertens, B., 208
- Meskell, L., 196, 286, 314, 315, 322, 323,
 324, 325, 326, 331
- Mesopotamia, 92, 95
- methodological spaces, 32
- Metropol Parasol, 469–73
- Meyer, M., 46
- Miami Marlins, 256
- Mianus River Gorge Wildlife Refuge and
 Botanical Preserve, 169
- Middle Range Theory, 98, 103
- Middleton, V., 147
- Mignolo, W. D., 316
- Millennium Development Goals (MDG),
 493, 501, 504
- Miller, D., 62
- minority groups, 13, 130, 136, 383–4
- Minor, V. H., 206
- Mirzoeff, N., 205
- Mission Archéologique Permanente, 337
- Mitchell, T., 213, 340
- Mobile Methodologies*, 31
- Mobile Methods*, 31
- mobile tourism ethnography, 62
- mobilities, 28, 30, 63, 202, 373, 494
- modernism, 211–12, 472
 see also visual arts
- Mogensen, K., 509
- Moghadam, V., 406, 407
- Mol, A., 22
- Molyneaux, B. L., 39
- Montgomery, J., 432
- Montial, J., 279n. 11
- Montreal Forum, 252
- monumental architecture, 266, 286, 334,
 339–40, 343
- monumentalization, 339, 446
- Mooney-Melvin, P., 115, 116
- Moore, K., 249, 250
- Moore, L. E., 514
- Moore, R., 470
- Mordue, T., 460, 473
- more-than-representational theory, 1–2,
 28–30, 32
- Morgan, Lewis Henry, 94
- Morley, D., 249
- Morley, N., 332
- Morrison, T., 198
- Morrissey, E., 423
- Morris, W., 71, 72
- Morton, F., 31, 32
- Moscardo, G., 7, 220
- Moshenska, G., 107
- Mosher, S. D., 248
- Mount Vernon Ladies Association, 97
- Mudimbe, V. Y., 315
- Mugge, R., 480, 488
- Mullen, B., 480
- Mullins, G. W., 403
- multiculturalism, 269, 278n. 1
- multicultural reforms, 267
- multicultural times, 263
 anthropocentrism, 270
 codification of collective moral
 desires, 265
 cultural diversity, 266, 268
 cultural neutrality, 268
 global multicultural rhetoric, 264
 governmentality, 270–3
 historical discourses, 266
 humanism, 270–3
 liberalism, 268
 modern political theory, 267

- multicultural times – *continued*
 multicultural concessions, 268
 multicultural faces, 270–3
 multiculturalism, 266, 269
 multicultural reorganization, 268
 national and post-national
 discourses, 265
 patrimonialization, 271
 pluralization of a heritage, 264
 post-industrial, 264
 postmodern, 264
 quasi-mystical condition, 263
 resolution of conflicts, 270
 technical reductionism, 265
 trans-modern, 264
- Munjeri, D., 70
 Munt, I., 147
 Munt, S., 369
 Munz, P., 71
 Murray, M. G., 249, 250
 Murtagh, W., 99, 100
 museology movement, 120
 museum
 association with multiculturalism, 137
 colonial museum, 136
 as Contact Zones, 135
 Hooper-Greenhill's model museum, 134
 instruments of civic reform, 133
 interpretation strategies, 136
 museumification of past, 164
 object of analysis, 133
 part of a governmental complex, 133
 presentations, 5
 spatial and aesthetic qualities of the
 exhibition, 137
 Museum of American Natural History, 133
 Museum Island, 58–60
 Museum of London Docklands, 367
 Museum of Melbourne, 134
*Museums and the Construction of
 Knowledge*, 133
 Museum of Sydney, 139
 Myanmar, 83
 Myers, I. B., 420, 421, 422
 Myers, F. R., 79
- Napoleonic Code, 427
 Napoleonic Wars, 283, 294n. 1
 Nara Document on Authenticity, 73
*Narrative of the Operations and Recent
 Discoveries within the Pyramids*, 400
 narrative strategies, 138
 National Air and Space Museum
 (NASM), 120
 National Coalmining Museum, 376
 National Coordinating Centre for Public
 Engagement, 354
 National Council of Public History,
 115–16
 National Council for Voluntary
 Organizations (NCVO), 352–3
 National Environmental Policy Act
 (NEPA), 99
 National Football Museum, 251, 256
National Geographic, 59
 National Heritage Resources Act, 451
 National Historic Preservation Act
 (NHPA), 99
 nationalism
 antiquity, 332–4
 Arab nationalism, 340
 banal, 149
 classical glory, 334–9
 cosmopolitanism ethos, 331
 cultural nationalism, 339
 decline of, 5
 egyptian nationalism, 340
 formations of nationalism, 343
 imperialism, 334–9
 modernity, 336
 modern nationalism, 340
 narratives, 339–43
 nationalist ideology, 334
 non-European nationalisms, 335
 politics of nationalism, 331
 prototypical nationalism, 331
 socialism, 334
 xenophobic nationalist movements, 340
 National Maritime Museum, 123
 national parks, 116, 168
 National Park Service, 97
 National Planning Policy Framework
 (NPPF), 358–9, 435
 national and post-national
 conceptions, 273
 National Register of Historic Places
 (NRHP), 99
 National Trust, 139–40, 369, 399, 434, 459

- Natural Historic Landmark in the US, 169
 natural landscapes, 144–5, 168–9, 502
 Nature Conservation Act, 3
 Navrud, S., 461
 Nazism, 124, 334
 Ndalianis, A., 210
 Neal, C., 122, 346, 350, 354
 Needle, D., 489
 negative heritage, 196
 Negri, A., 331
 Neighbourhood Plans, 435–7
 Nelson, R. S., 205, 210
 Nelson, S. M., 400
 neoliberalism, 347
 Netherlands, 7, 300, 336
 New Archaeology, 98–105, 108
 Newman, J., 422
New Perspectives in Archaeology, 98
 New Year festival, 200–1
 New Zealand, 5, 73, 144
 heritage tourism, 144
 social and political debate, 5
 Nicholls, R., 123
 Nicholson, G., 484
 Nieves, A. D., 114
 Niezen, R., 390
Night to Remember, A, 159
 9/11 terrorist attacks, 135
 Noland, C., 180
 non-or more-than-representational
 theory, 28
 non-representational theory, 30, 53
 Noonan, D., 461
 Nora, P., 195, 391
 nostalgia television channels, 154
 Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY) charter, 435
 NOW-funded project, 454n. 1
 Nyaupane, G. P., 340
 Nye, J. S. Jr, 289

 Oberholzer-Gee, F., 463
 occasional culminations, 8
 Ocora, 235, 238
 Oglethorpe, M. K., 221
 Okamura, K., 106
 O’Keefe, R., 286
 Oldenburg Monuments Protection Law of
 1911, 3
 Oldfield, J., 121, 122

 Olick, J. K., 5, 6, 124
 Olwig, K. R., 167
 Olympic Hall of Fame, 250
 see also sport
 O’Neill, M., 250
 Ong, A., 297–8
 online gaming, 32
 ontological examination, 26
 ontological politics, 21–2, 25, 27
 Operational Guidelines for
 Implementation of the World
 Heritage Convention, 73
 Oral History Society, 371
Order of Things, The, 133, 270–1
Ordinary Affects, 28, 36
 Orser, C. E. Jr, 82
 Ortman, O., 511, 513, 519
 Orwell, G., 313, 442
 Osmond, G., 250
 Ostergaard, J., 81
 Osterhammel, J., 297
 Otero-Pailos, J., 303
 Otgaar, A. H. J., 228, 229
Our Common Future, 499
 Owen, J., 369
 Oxford Code Hague Conventions, 283
 ozone layer, 513

 Pakier, M., 286
 Pallasmaa, J., 210
 Palmer, C., 28, 149, 220
 Panofsky, Erwin, 209
 Papoulias, C., 32
 Pardo, M., 265, 272
 Parish Council, 436
Paris Lonely Planet guidebook, 208
 Parker, M., 184
 Park, Hyung-yu, 149
 Parkinson, M., 432
 Park and Ride development, 356
 Parramatta Female Factory, 397
Parramatta Girls, 398
 Parsons, W., 428
 participation
 academics role, 360
 active citizen participation, 360
 authoritarianism, 358
 authority and primacy, 346

- participation – *continued*
 broader context, 352–3
 civic voluntarism, 353
 commodification of the past, 347
 community engagement, 358
 disciplinary approaches,
 348, 356
 disciplinary research, 361
 expert knowledge, 360
 historic review of, 347–8
 illusion of participation, 357
 ladder concept, 357
 localism and governmentality,
 358–60
 micro-level engagement, 357
 multiculturalism, 350
 participatory mechanisms, 350
 processualism, 356
 public participation, 346
 rational choice model, 352
 self-discipline, 357
 self-regulatory process, 357
 social contract archaeology, 350
 social inclusion, 350
 socioeconomic efficacy, 353
 participatory digital cultures, 408
 Pascoli, Giovanni, 96
Past is a Foreign Country, The, 4, 16,
 117, 478
 pastoral landscape, valorization
 of, 169
Past View, 471
 Paton, D., 122, 124
 Pattie, C., 35, 352, 353
 Peace Memorial and West African slave
 route sites, 196
 Peace of Westphalia treaties, 283
 Peacock, A., 461
 Pearson, M., 208, 356
 Pease, B., 357, 361
 Peccei, Aurelio, 495
 Peckham, R. S., 162, 163
 Pendlebury, J., 426, 430, 432, 433, 434,
 437, 459, 461
 Penrose, E., 417
 People's History Museum in
 Manchester, 367
 Perez, M. E., 485
- performance
 Butler's concept, 65
 citational practices, 65
 complex and multidimensional, 55
 emergence of, 52–3
 emotional and imaginatively
 mapping, 61
 features of, 54
 Goffman's dramaturgical approach,
 54–7, 65–6
 with heritage, 61–4
 at heritage sites, 58–61
 heritagization process, 61
 live performances, 55
 media role, 61
 moderate stand, 64–6
 museum theatre, 55
 performances of heritage, 55–8
 performances of tourism, 53
 performance turn, 53–5
 post-structural/linguistic notions, 54
 relational entanglements, 56
 site-specific transactions, 56
 social interaction, 55
 symbolic consumption, 53
 theatrical performance, 58, 61
 theoretical perspectives, 53
 in tourism and leisure studies, 54
 tourist performances, 60
 visitor experience, 65
 worries about authenticity, 59
 performative ethnography, 32
 permanent exhibition on Australia's
 Indigenous people, 131
 personal and collective performance of
 tourism, 78
 Perthes, Jacques Boucher de, 93
 Peru, 83–4, 340
 Peters, H., 78
 Petersson, N. P., 297
 Petry, M., 405
 Pharr, C., 91
 Phau, I., 481, 482
 phenomenology, 179–81
 auditory, 179
 constructivist practices, 179
 multi-sensual, 179–80
 notion of performativity, 180
 olfactory, 179

- performativity is distinctly
 - precognitive, 181
 - taste, 179
 - theories of performativity, 180
 - touch, 179
- Philippines, 76
- Philippot, P., 95
- Phillips, Minion, 449
- Philo, C., 160
- Phnom Kulen National Park, 214
- Picard, D., 77
- Picasso, Pablo, 211
- Pickering, M., 482
- Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostani*, 336
- Picturesque movement, 335
- Pier, Wigan, 117, 525
- Pietrobruno, B., 409
- pilgrimage tourism, 387–9
- Pimbert, M. P., 502
- Pitt Rivers, A., 95
- Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), 234, 237, 242–4
- Plato, 207
- poetics of display, 137–8
- Policy
 - bottom-up processes, 433
 - classic formulation, 437
 - coherence, 427
 - conservation-planning practices, 431
 - conservation policy, 426, 439
 - cultural industries, 432
 - cultural policy, 428, 430
 - economic policy, 431–2
 - empiricist policy enquiry, 428
 - formal rules and codes, 427
 - heritage policy, 429–31, 439
 - hierarchy, 427
 - instrumentality, 427
 - interpretive policy analysis, 428
 - linguistic and governance context, 427
 - localism agenda, 426
 - localism policy, 434–7, 439
 - policy analysis, 427–9
 - policy attachment, 433
 - policy evolution and reform, 430
 - policy traditions, 426
 - procedural and organizational matters, 427
 - public administration, 428
 - public sector management, 428
 - rational policymaking models, 427
 - social inclusion, 433
 - social policy, 426, 433–4
 - top-down pressures, 433
- Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*, 42
- Pollock, G., 404
- Pollock, Jackson, 211
- polyphony and polyrhythm, 242
- poly-vocalism, 473
- Pompidou Centre, Paris, 470
- Poria, Y., 150, 151, 155
- Porter, G., 401
- post-colonial (post-conflict) heritage
 - archaeological ethnography of cultural therapy, 322
 - auto-exoticism, 318–19, 323, 325
 - colonially constructed exoticism, 318
 - colonial-style authorized practices, 317
 - construction of otherness, 318
 - contemporary primitivisms, 324
 - critical approaches, 313
 - derivative discourse, 323, 325
 - disembedding mechanism, 321
 - disinheritance process, 317
 - divisive policies, 314
 - ethno-racial profiling, 314
 - forced assimilation, 314
 - genocide, 314–15
 - guerrilla war of independence, 321
 - heritage critique, 316–17
 - marginalization, 314
 - mimicry, 325
 - multi-ethnic diversity, 323
 - nation, 322–4
 - neo-colonial cultural mimicry, 319
 - oppression, 314
 - political power reflections, 320
 - post-colonial critique, 315–16
 - post-colonial mimicry, 323
 - power inequalities, 316
 - reappropriation, 324–5
 - recycling, 324–5
 - renewal, 324–5
 - shared space, 314
 - site, 319–22
 - wars of independence, 315

- post-colonial theory, 315–16, 335
 post-conflict reconstruction, 287–8, 291
 post-conflict recovery, 281, 292
 post-economic forms, 276
 postmodernism, 163, 210, 525
 post-museum, 133
 post-phenomenology, 30
 post-post-structuralist thinking, 30
 post-processual archaeology, 104–6, 108
 criticisms, 105
 dynamism, 104
 inclusiveness, 104
 see also interpretive archaeology
 post-structuralism, 22, 104, 133
 post-structuralist theory, 371
 post-war migration scheme, 131
 post-Western perspective, 527
 pot bows, 242
 Potter, A., 69
 Potter, J., 41
 Potts, A., 209
 Potts, K., 123
 Powell, Colin, 289
 Powell, J. L., 351, 352, 358, 361
 Powerhouse Museum, 131, 408
 power and ideology, 114, 321, 442–3, 447, 449, 453
 autochthony movements, 444
 conceptual approaches, 443–5
 critical heritage discourse, 445–7
 genealogical method, 444
 genetic ancestry, 444
 ideology, 448–53
 methodological approaches, 443–5
 political subjectivity, 444
 power, 448–53
 power genealogies, 444
 relationality, 448–53
 social legitimation, 444
Power of Place, 350, 433
 Powers, B. R., 390
 Powys, A. R., 72
Practice of Everyday Life, The, 135
 Preah Vihear, 340–3
 prehistoric climate change models, 510
Prehistoric Times, 94
 Prentice, R. C., 24, 119, 153, 221, 222, 465
 preservation of cultural heritage, 405, 514
 Prestwich Place Project Committee (PPPC), 451
 Preziosi, D., 206, 207, 208, 209, 213, 214
 Prideaux, B., 220
Principles of Art History, 207
 Prior, K., 122
 pro-active sound archiving, 237–9
 anthropology of senses, 238
 anthropology of sound, 238
 preservation and custodianship of musical heritage, 238
 protective site management policy, 81
 protestant girls, 397
 psychological perspectives
 conservation principles, 418–19
 engagement, 421
 extraversion and introversion, 420–1
 feeling and thinking, 421
 ground-up approaches, 421
 judging and perceiving, 422
 language of heritage, 422–3
 legislative framework, 418
 moods and opinions swing, 418
 participation, 421
 sensation and intuition, 421
 Pubblico, Palazzo, 213
Public Historian, The, 116
 public landscapes of national parks, 168
 public value, 459–60
 Pujol, L., 408
 Pulitano, E., 82
 Pullan, W., 287
 Putnam, R. D., 353, 356

 qualitative approaches, 9, 226
 Quarry Bank Mill, 367
 Québec declaration, 211

 Rabinow, P., 264, 307
 racial oppression, 26
 racial and religious categorizations, 337
 Raco, M., 502
 radical otherness, 268, 275
 radical reforms, 359
 radical transformation, 132
 Radley, A., 186
 Radstone, S., 202n. 1
 Rampley, M., 442
 Ramshaw, G., 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257

- Rancière, J., 504
 Ranger, T. O., 44, 298, 317, 332, 389
 Rassool, C., 446
 Rátz, T., 460
 Raven, J., 286
 Ray, C., 389
 Ray, N. M., 151
 Reading, A., 401, 403, 407
 Ready, R. C., 461
Real Wild Child, 131
 Reay, D., 369
 Redmond, G., 248
 Reed, A., 382, 383, 386, 387, 391
 Reeves, K., 196
 Regulamento of 1909, 3
 Reiss, A. J. Jr., 21
 relational materialism, 30
 relational participations, 188
Remains of the Day, 7
 Renaissance period, 91–2, 107
 Renfrew, C., 93, 94, 98, 99, 104, 105
 Reparation Commission, 284
 representational awareness, threshold
 of, 31
 Representative List of the Intangible
 Cultural Heritage of Humanity, 70,
 75–6
 Representing Enslavement and Abolition
 in Museums, 26
 rescue archaeology, 98, 511
 see also salvage excavations
 research methodology, 24
 retro revolution, 482
 revitalization, 458
 revolutionary iconoclasm, 294n. 1
Revolution and Peace, 282
 Reynolds, H., 502
 Rhoads, L., 510
 Rhondda Heritage Park, 366–8, 376
 Richardson, L., 350, 359
 Ricoeur, P., 164, 165, 166
 Riegl, Alios, 208
 Riga Charter, 74
 Rigg, V., 131
 Rindell, A., 481
 Ringrose, J., 31
 Rio Earth Summit, 500
 Robertson, I. J., 373
 Robertson, M., 159
 Robertson, R., 331
 Robins, K., 249, 465
 Robinson, J., 249
 Robinson, M., 77
 Robinson, O., 405
 Robinson, S., 434
 Robins, T., 371
 romantic ideology, 168
 Romanticism, 41, 335
 Romantic movement, 145
 Rome, 91, 282, 495
 Ronayne, M., 123
 Rosaldo, R., 272
 Rose, G., 55, 65
 Rosenzweig, R., 115, 116, 117
 Rose, T., 63, 64
 Roskams, S., 350, 354
 Ross, C., 420, 421
 Ross, M., 377
 Rounder Records, 238
*Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late
 Twentieth Century*, 135
 Roux, E., 482
 Rowlands, M., 322, 446, 454n. 2
 Royal Botanic Garden Belfast, 170
 Royal Commission into Institutional
 Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 398
 Royal Dublin Society, 170
 Ruiz Ballesteros, E., 221
 Rüsçh, E., 511, 513
 Rösen, J., 517, 518
 Rush, L., 107
 Ruskin, J., 71, 72, 74, 92, 335
 Russell, L., 5
 Russia, 7, 148, 501
 Russo, J., 369
 Ryan, L., 373
 Ryde, J., 213
 Rypkema, D., 466

Saborea Sevilla, 469
 Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character
 of Landscapes and Sites, 498
 Safran, W., 383
 Sagan, C., 516
 Said, E., 313, 315
 salvage excavations, 98
 Samuel, R., 118, 119, 164, 192, 193, 347,
 371, 373

- Sandberg, M. B., 372
 Sarlo, Beatriz, 269
 Sartre, J.-P., 270, 271
 Sassen, S., 331
 Sather-Wagstaff, J., 25, 30, 191, 196
 Saussurean linguistics, 140
 Savage, M., 24, 367, 369, 463
 Sävve-Söderberg, T., 300
 Sayer, A., 369
 Scardaville, M. C., 115
 Schama, S., 332
 Schechner, R., 55
 scheduled monuments, 417
 Schindler, D., 284
 Schindler, R. M., 481, 482
 Schneider, J., 287, 288
 Schofield, J., 196, 287, 348, 350, 417, 423, 463
 Schoormans, J. P. L., 479
 Schorch, P., 30
 Schramm, K., 114, 389, 442, 443, 444, 447, 449, 454n. 6
 Schulz, C. B., 116
 Schwarz, B., 202n. 1
 Schwarzer, M., 404
 Schwengel, H., 460
 Scotland, 221–2, 224, 351, 389, 391, 465
 Scott, C. A., 458, 459
 Scottish Highland Games, 389
 Scott, Walter, 462
 Sealy, J., 451
Sea Stallion from Glendalough, 59–60
 sea-sun-and-sand-seeking tourists, 62
 Security Council Resolution, 286
 Seeden, H., 97
 Seegmiller, R., 422
 Segato, R. L., 275
 Seigworth, G. J., 210
 self-aggrandizement, 445
 self-inscription, 138
 Selman, P., 349, 350
 semiotic density, 214
 semi-structured interview, 23, 32
Seven Lamps of Architecture, The, 92
 Seville, 468–9
Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, 400
 Shah, Reza, 399
 Shami, S., 309
 Shanghai Expo (2010), 317–18
 Sheller, M., 28, 152
 Shepherd, N., 452
 Sherman, D. J., 71
 Shiff, R., 205, 210
 Shi-xu, 43, 46
 Shone, R., 205
 Shortliff, H., 401
 Shotter, J., 183
 signature styles, 211
Silent Spring, 496
 Silk, M. L., 256
 Silverman, E. K., 78
 Silverman, H., 69, 79, 83, 197, 279n. 11, 287, 341, 342
 Silverstein, P. A., 442
 Simonsen, K., 54
 Simpson, F. A., 351
 simulacrum, 80, 85, 135, 164, 525
 Siririsak, T., 81
Sirmondian Constitution, 91
 site management, 64
 16th Street Baptist Church, 197
 Skeates, R., 106, 107, 348
 Skeggs, B., 367, 368, 369
 Skounti, A., 75
 Slaughter, R., 509, 519
 Slave Route Project, 452
 slavery heritage sites, 394
 slave trade, 122, 385, 387, 447, 449–50
 Sluga, G., 502
 Smail, L. D., 510
 Small, James, 449
 Smart, G., 43
 Smeets, R., 75
 Smith, B. C., 5, 403
 Smith, L. T., 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 26, 29, 30, 40, 41, 42, 48, 52, 60, 61, 65, 70, 72, 75, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 108, 114, 116, 119, 122, 123, 140, 144, 145, 146, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 197, 199, 200, 213, 255, 273, 291, 298, 302, 307, 313, 314, 316, 317, 325, 348, 356, 357, 360, 369, 370, 373, 376, 399, 401, 403, 405, 406, 417, 430, 431, 445, 446, 447, 454n. 3, 460, 473
 Smith, M. K., 145
 Snelders, D., 479

- Snowy Mountains Hydro Scheme, 131
 Snyder, E., 248
 social capital model, 352–3
 social class
 affect, 374–5
 bodies, 374–5
 collective memory, 372–4
 cosmopolitan middle-class, 377
 essentialism to class, 376
 facing extinction, 368
 gender, race and sexuality, 369
 hegemony theory, 371
 identification and disidentification, 379
 industrial ruination, 372–4
 local middle-class, 377
 local working-class, 377
 mnemonic resistance, 373
 national heritage, 369–72
 nostalgia, 369–72
 objects, 374–5
 ontological security, 371
 organic individuality, 377
 particularities of the individual ego, 377
 people, 369–72
 performance, 374–5
 place, 372–4
 post-structuralist theory, 371
 public cultural representations, 369
 social identity and inequality, 369
 visitor studies, 375–8
 working class, 368
 social cohesiveness, 14
 social exclusion unit, 433
 social inclusion, 42, 136–7, 349–50, 433–4, 437
 socialist reform, 392
 social movements, 130, 275
 social researcher's toolkit, 32
 social surveys, 23
 social theory, 6, 305
 Society of Antiquaries of London, 92
 Society for National Heritage (SNH), 399
 Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), 72
 Solli, B., 514
 Solomos, J., 331
 sonic heritage, 234–6
 sound curation, 234–6
 sound elicitation, 239–42
Sound of Africa, The, 235–6, 239–42
 South Africa, 7, 114, 148, 165, 234, 236, 239, 314, 322–5, 443, 446–7, 450–1
 Apartheid, 114, 148, 314, 322–3
 popularity of TV shows, 7
 Truth Commissions, 165
 South African Heritage Resource Agency, 451
 Southeast Asia, 337, 341, 383
 South Korea, Changdeok Palace, 149
 Southwestern Association for Indian Arts (SWAIA), 82
 Spinney, J., 31, 32
 Spirou, C., 467
 Spivak, G. C., 315, 318
 sport
 Barcelona's Camp Nou, 251
 Boston's Fenway Park, 256
 Calgary's Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum, 254
 Cardiff Arms Park, 252
 Connecting with tourism, 248–50
 fantasy camps, 253–4, 257
 Fenway Park baseball stadium, 251
 future directions, 255–7
 growing acceptance of, 249
 heritage-based events, 252–3
 Hockey Hall of Fame in Toronto, 256
 mass or mob football matches, 253
 museums and halls of fame, 250–1
 NASCAR Hall of Fame, Charlotte, 256
 National Football Museum, 256
 personal sport heritage journeys, 254–5
 positive and negative legacies, 257
 retail services, 250
 spatial and financial accessibility, 249
 sporting memories network, 256
 stadia and venues, 248, 251–2
 stadia design, 248
 stadium tours, 251
 Twickenham stadium, 252
 Springwood, C. F., 248, 257
 Staiff, R., 30, 33, 205, 209, 210, 213, 494, 502
 stakeholder theory approach, 229
 Stanton, T., 255
 Starn, O., 248

- Steel, R., 351, 352, 358, 361
 Steenkamp, J.-B. E. M., 480
 Sterne, J., 235
 Steve Feld's challenge, 238
 Stewart, K., 28, 31, 33, 34, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185, 186
 Sthapitanonda, N., 208
 Stierlin, H., 338
 Stig Sørensen, M.-L., 28, 281, 347, 400
 Stockholm Conference on Human Environment, 501
 stolen generations, 131
 Stoler, A. L., 451
 Stonard, J. P., 205
 Stone, P. G., 39, 107, 286
 Storr, A., 482
 Stovel, H., 74
 Strange, I., 430
 Strangleman, T., 371
 Stride, C., 256
 Strohmayer, U., 253
 structuralist semiotic forms of analysis, 140
 structuralist theoreticians, intellectual legacy of, 132
 Stubbs, J. H., 206, 208, 212
 subject-object interaction, 138
 sublime frequencies, 238
 Sullivan, S., 100, 208
 Summers, D., 207, 208
 Summerson, J., 71
 supra-national organizations, 8
 Susser, I., 287, 288
 sustainable development, 226, 494, 499–504
 environmental disaster, 495
 epidemics, 493
 market-led entrepreneurship, 501
 meta-narrative of, 501
 natural disasters, 493
 resource exploitation, 501
 safeguarding the past/future, 497
 Su, X., 78
 Svanberg, F., 520
 Swarbrooke, J., 6
 Sweet, R., 71
 Swidler, N., 5
 Sydney Cove, 474
 Sydney Opera House, 212, 470
 symbolic functions, 52
 Szymanski, R., 350, 463
 Tainter, J. A., 93, 97, 100, 102
 Taipei Declaration for Asian Industrial Heritage, 227
Taj Angkor: Enshrining l'Inde in le Cambodge, 338
 Taj Mahal, 54, 212
 tangible heritage, 75, 255, 292–3, 405, 454n. 2
 Tannock, S., 372
 Tapp, A., 488
 Taussig, M., 180
 Taylor, C., 267, 268
 Tenney, L. J., 31
 Tewdwr Jones, M., 434, 435
 Thai–Burma railway in Kanchanaburi in Thailand, 140
 Thailand, 76, 81, 140, 340–2
 Thakurta, Guha, 335–7
 Thatcher-era ideological strategy, 370
 Thatcherism, 147
 Thatcher, Margaret, 428
 Thelen, D., 116, 117
Theodosian Code, 91
 theoretical schism, 11
 Thomas, C. J., 151
 Thomas, H., 432
 Thomas, R., 418
 Thomas, S., 107, 349
 Thompson, J. B., 372
 Thompson, P. R., 123
 Thornley, A., 432
 Three Age System, 93
 Thrift, N., 54, 55, 179
 Throsby, D., 461
Through the Looking Glass, 275
 Tibbles, A., 123
 Tikal, 340
 Tilden, F., 97
 Till, K., 166
 time-space compression, 70
 Timothy, D. J., 144, 145, 150, 154, 248, 254, 340
 Tinagli, P., 402
Titanic, 7, 159–61
Titanic: The Artefact Exhibition, 160
 Titanic Belfast Museum, 160–1

- Titanic: The Experience*, 160
 Titterington, A., 252
 Tivers, J., 53, 55
 Tolia-Kelly, D. P., 25, 30, 166, 177, 181, 182, 184, 187, 197, 198, 199
 Tolpuddle Martyrs Museum, 376
 Toman, J., 284
 Toner, E., 257
 Tong, E., 334
 Tonkin, E., 123
 Topp Fargion, J., 238
 Tosh, J., 114
 tourism (heritage)
 academic interest, 153
 Acropolis, 340
 Angkor, 200–1, 205, 213, 319, 337–8, 340–1
 Borobudur, 340
 BRIC countries, 148
 class identities, 150
 composition of, 148
 consumer culture, 146
 critique of, 151
 cultural perspective, 145
 cultural turn, 148
 definition, 144
 economic activity, 147
 educational role of, 151
 explosion of, 147
 future research, 153–6
 grand tour, 145
 growth, 146
 heterogeneity of, 153
 history of, 145–8
 holiday type and destination, 150
 identities, 148–50
 improvisational experience, 155
 industrial past, 147
 Machu Picchu, 340
 mass tourism, 146
 middle-class pursuit, 150
 multifaceted, 155
 new forms of, 148
 performative turn, 155
 pilgrimage, 81
 role in nation-building, 149
 subjective experiences of visitors, 154
 Tikal, 340
 tourism-as-pilgrimage framework, 388
 Tourist, The, 16, 36, 79
 tourist tax, 301
 tourist transgression, 76
 Tower of London, 162
 Townshend, T., 433
 Toynbee, A., 493
 Tracey, H., 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 242
 traditional cultural expressions (TCEs), 76
 transition zone, 56
 transnational connectivities, 331
 transnational heritage, 389–90
 Travers, T., 359
 tree-drumming, 242
 Treue, W., 282
 Tribe, J., 220, 222
 Trigger, B. G., 94, 95, 96, 97, 103, 104, 333, 334
 Trilling, L., 69
 TripAdvisor.com, 390
 Trodd, C., 134
 Trouillot, M.–R., 39, 194, 195, 445
 Truth Commissions, 165
 Tsana, Nyakonzima, 237
 Tsing, A. L., 78, 297
 Tsui, C. M. C., 80
 Tunbridge, J. E., 1, 6, 9, 13, 39, 114, 196, 287, 469
 Turismo de Sevilla, 468, 469, 472
 Turner, J. M. W., 205, 214
 Turning Point, The, 492
 Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett, 94
 Ucko, P. J., 103
 umgidi initiation ceremony, 240
 United Kingdom (UK)
 Big Government to Big Society agenda, 359
 coalition government, 434
 commodification of the past, 347
 community archaeology, 349
 community planning, 360
 cultural moment, 4
 DigVentures approach, 351
 economy, 147
 Flag Fen, 351
 heritage debates, 5
 heritage policy, 428
 industrial heritage, 153

- United Kingdom (UK) – *continued*
 Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat policy, 351
 local heritage initiative, 349
 localism policy, 361
 National Coalmining Museum, 376
 neoliberal response reform, 351
 nostalgia television channels, 154
 party politics, 351
 Pitt Rivers Museum, 237
 playful use of heritage, 318
 resistance to AHD, 348
 Rhondda Heritage Park, 366–8
 Tolpuddle Martyrs Museum, 376
 tourism, 144, 147
 Trade Union Congress, 359
 welfare reform, 347
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), 497
- United States (US)
 aestheticization of political life, 169
 African Americans, 448
 Afrocentric counter discourse, 450
 Chinatowns in, 81
 Civil Rights Movement, 102, 197
 commodification of the past, 347
 community heritage projects, 7
 development and urban expansion, 99
Enola Gay, 121
 federally recognized tribes, 82
 Holocaust Museum, 401
 identity politics, 82
 imperial endeavour, 116
 Iraq invasion, 289
 Kwanzaa, 75
 National Park Service (NPS), 4
 natural historic landmark, 169
 New Archaeology approach, 108
 playful use of heritage, 318
 popularity of TV shows, 7
 public history, 115–16
 settler-colonialism, 314
 social and political debate, 5
 Swiss ethnicity, 389
 urban redevelopment initiatives, 249
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 294, 418
- University of Western Sydney (UWS), 397
- UN Millennium Declaration, 501
Unsinkable Molly Brown, The, 159
- Urban, G., 70
- urban-industrial capitalism, 168
 urban renaissance, 458
 urban renewal plan, 470
- Urry, J., 23, 26, 28, 52, 54, 77, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 163, 179, 331, 373, 460, 465, 524
- Uses of Heritage*, 9, 41
- Utzon, Jørn, 212
- Uzzell, D., 4, 6, 7, 288
- Valentine, Alana, 398
- Vamplew, W., 248
- van Leeuwen, T., 47
- Vargas-Sánchez, A., 219, 222
- Vasari, Giorgio, 207
- Venice Charter, 42, 73, 83, 301, 429–31
- Venkatesh, A., 480
- Venning, P., 433
- Vergo, P., 5, 120
- Versailles Treaty, 284
- Vézina, B., 76
- Video Vision: Changing the Culture of Social Science Research*, 31
- Viejo-Rose, D., 281, 283, 284, 287, 288, 289
- Vietnam, 140, 342
- Viking Ship Museum, 56, 58–60
- Viñas, Salvador Muñoz, 511
- Vinson, I., 406
- visual arts
 aesthetics, 210–11
 art history and theory, 205
 Art Nouveau, 208
 Christian theology, 207
 codifications, 208
 confluence of, 215
 contemporary heritage, 212–15
 co-option as national heritage, 214–15
 Cubism, 208
 dialogism, 209
 drawings, 205
 empirical approach, 207

- formalism, 207–8
 genres or typologies, 207
 Greek Classicism, 207
 heritage-centric investigation, 206
 iconography, 208–9
 impressionism, 208
 inextricable interweaving, 206
 modernism, 211–12
 mosaics, 205
 nation–visual arts–heritage
 intricacy, 215
 neo-classical, 208
 paintings, 205
 periodization of, 208
 photography, 205
 prints, 205
 Rococo, 208
 Romanesque, 208
 scenic values, 210
 scientific approach, 207
 sculptural forms, 205
 semiotics effects, 209
 stained glass, 205
 visual arts legacy, 206–12
 Western modernism, 212
 working definition, 206
 visuality of heritage, 12, 319
 visuality of landscapes, 12
Visual Theory, 210
 Voase, R., 164
 Volvey, A., 183
 Vos, R., 493
- Waade, A. M., 30
 Wacquant, L., 49
 Wagner, B., 482, 486
 Wahad, Dhoruba Bin, 449
 Wahlgren, K. H., 520
 Waitt, G., 474
 Wakefield, N., 31
 Walkerdine, V., 373
 Walker, M., 418
 Wallach, A., 133
 Walsh, K., 4, 26, 40, 116, 119, 302, 306,
 350
 Walters, W., 443, 444
 Walvin, J., 121, 122
 Wang, N., 77
 Warner, M., 402
- water-drumming, 242
 Waterton, E., 1, 5, 7, 9, 12, 21, 23, 26, 28,
 29, 30, 40, 41, 42, 47, 48, 70, 72, 77,
 105, 107, 122, 179, 209, 213, 317,
 349, 354, 357, 361, 431, 433, 444,
 524, 528
 Watson, S., 1, 5, 9, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30,
 77, 78, 107, 122, 179, 209, 215, 349,
 354, 361, 458, 466, 467, 473, 524, 528
 wealth tax, 118
 Wearing, S., 148, 150
 Webmoor, T., 409
 Weeder, M. I., 450, 451
 welfare reform, 347
 Welsh Slate Museum, 367
 Wengrow, D., 96
 Wertsch, J., 192, 193, 194, 201
 Wesch, M., 202
 West, B., 370
 Western fetishism, 41
 Weston, R., 211
 Weyeneth, R., 102, 103
 Wheeler, Mortimer, 96
 Whelan, Y., 167
 White, H., 39
 Whitehead, N. L., 202
 White, L. A., 98
 White migration policy, 131
 Whitley, J., 209
Who Do You Think You Are, 7
 whole-landscape assemblages, 171
 Wicomb, Z., 454n. 4
 Wilberforce, William, 121
 Wilkins, B., 350
 Willems, W. J. H., 92
 Williams, R., 184
 Wilson, A., 159
 Wilson, R., 159
 Wilton, A., 214
 Winckelmann, Johan Joachim, 207
 Winkworth, Kylie, 131
 Winter, T., 197, 200, 201, 214, 215, 304,
 316, 317, 318, 319, 322, 325, 331,
 342, 446, 527
 Witcomb, A., 33, 130, 131, 132, 134, 136,
 137, 138, 139, 140, 141
 Withers, C., 166
 Wobst, H. M., 5
 Wodak, R., 46

- Wolff, J., 211
 Wölfflin, Heinrich, 207
 Wolfson Gallery of Trade and Empire, 164
 Wolkan, H., 355
 Wood, C. S., 208
 Wood, M., 122
 Woodward, C., 332, 335, 336
 World Archaeological Congresses, 106
 World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 499–500
World Conservation Strategy, The, 499
 World Heritage Convention (WHC), 42, 73, 101, 208, 215, 284, 298–9, 301–4, 390, 497–8
 World Heritage List/Site
 Aapravasi Ghat, 390
 Angkor as monumental culture, 200
 Archaeological Museum, 468
 Archivo de Indias, 468
 Arts and Popular Costumes Museum, 468
 Auschwitz-Birkenau, 196
 Barrio de Santa Cruz, 468
 Diquís Delta, 274
 economic development through tourism, 83
 frescoes and sculptures at Sigiriya, 205
hutongs (China), 78
 Kimberley (Australia), 103
 Luang Prabang, 276
 Maestranza Bullring, 468
 Museo de Bellas Artes, 468
 Museum of Flamenco, 468
 nomination processes, 212
 place-based, 69
 Plaza de España, 468
 Preah Vihear, 341–3
 Real Alcázar, 468
 rice terraces (Philippines), 76
 rock art in Kakadu, 205
 Torre del Oro, 468
 Town Hall, 468
 World Heritage Trust, 302, 498
 World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), 76
 world music festival on Borneo, 80
 World Tourism Organization, 162
 World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), 499
 Wright, Frank Lloyd, 211–12
 Wright, G., 339
 Wright, P., 4, 117, 118, 119, 151, 163, 347, 370
 Wright, R., 400
 Wu, Z., 37, 44, 45, 46, 48
 Wylie, J., 32, 186
 Xhosa recordings, 236–7, 240
 Yalouri, E., 333
 Yamato Declaration, 293
 Yeoman, I., 6
 YouTube, 238, 409
 Yu, H., 44
 Yusoff, K., 32
 Zaltman, G., 486
 Zander, U., 518
 Zimbabwe, 237, 314, 319–22, 324, 340
 cultural tourism, 340
 problematization of, 321
 Zimmerman, L., 5
 Žižek, S., 268, 278
 Zolberg, V. L., 121
 Zukin, S., 460, 463, 465