Cultural Heritage Preservation: The Past, the Present and the Future

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Forskning i Halmstad nr 24

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Heritage comes in many shapes—in tangible forms such as sites, buildings, landscapes, or as intangibles, like memories, emotions, values and customs—as does the use of heritage, ranging from the purpose of building nations to marketing places. Heritage usually represents a phenomenon within a traditional historical discourse but have lately, more and more, come to take in peripheral appearances; often emanating from groups at the fringes of that traditional discourse as well. The use of heritage occurs in different arenas and takes on significance as a vehicle for political, cultural and entrepreneurial purposes, as well as educational and emancipator, to name just a few. How to interpret heritage in order to understand its meaning to different groups is therefore a very important task.

This anthology describes heritage preservation, development and management from different theoretical views and disciplines. It integrates perspectives from history, human geography, archaeology, social anthropology and heritage conservation. The texts revolve around different dimension of culture and heritage via examples from varying contexts and locations.

Examples of questions which this anthology elucidates are: How is heritage perceived within different regional context? How should the postmodern heritage landscape and values from the past be preserved for the common future? How could the dynamic of heritage sites and the complexity of the heritage preservation process be synthesized today? These questions are highlighted on the basis of research which focuses planning of cultural landscapes, the dynamics of heritage and the conceptualization of cultural values.

Definition of heritage

Cultural Heritage refers to the contemporary society's use of the past. "Our cultural heritage" contributes to the shaping of national stereotypes and regional identity and it's a modern or postmodern reflection of the past. In Europe it is often associated with older city centers. In North America, it is strongly linked to national parks, museums and galleries in urban areas. In Australia and New Zealand, it is also associated with the indigenous culture, identity and landscape (Boyd & Timothy 2003).[1]

According to Carman and Sørensen (2009), the field of heritage studies developed from David Lowenthals influential book *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), and uses methodology mainly from the social sciences to study interaction between individuals and heritage.

> Cultural heritage is "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political, or social" (Khakzad 2015, p 110).

UNESCO defines cultural heritage as "the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations".[2] This organization describes three dimensions of the cultural heritage; it is consisted of monuments, groups of buildings and sites (see figure 1:1).

Figure 1:1 The meaning and significance of cultural heritage according to The World Heritage Convention, Article 1

Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/

1. The meaning of heritage has been described by the Dutch scholar F.F.J. Schouten as historical facts run through "mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing" (Schouten 1995, p 21).

2. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage/

UNESCO differs also between immovable heritage (archaeological sites, monuments and so on), movable heritage (paintings, coins, sculptures, manuscripts) and underwater cultural heritage (underwater ruins, shipwreck and cities).[3] Article two defines natural heritage which is consisted of geological and physiographic formations, natural features and natural sites (see figure 1:2).[4]

Figure 1:2: The meaning and significance of natural heritage, according to the World Heritage Convention, Article 2

> Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
>
> geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;
>
> natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/

"Tangible heritage includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future".[5] This refers to objects which are important in the context of architecture, archaeology and science or technology of a specific culture.[6] Cultural heritages also include intangible heritage, i.e. "living expressions and the traditions that countless groups and communities worldwide have inherited from their ancestors and transmit to their descendants, in most cases orally".[7]

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3. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/

4. Heritage in the event of Armed Conflicts refers to protection of values as conflicts are going on. The first international efforts in order to protect heritage values as wars are going on were formulated in 1954: "The Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict adopted at The Hague (Netherlands) in 1954 in the wake of massive destruction of cultural heritage during the Second World War is the first international treaty with a world-wide vocation focusing exclusively on the protection of cultural heritage in the event of armed conflict." http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/armed-conflict-and-heritage/the-hague-convention

5. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage1

6. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/cairo/culture/tangible-cultural-heritage

7. http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=34325&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

In 1972 UNESCO introduced the notion of World Heritage, meaning a place of cultural or natural significance to the "common heritage of humanity" as a way of protecting and conserving such sites. Valid practices were set out in the World Heritage Convention.[8]

There are at least four arguments behind the preservation of heritage: (1) scientific (research and increased knowledge), (2) political (messages and symbolism), (3) social (sense of place and cultural identity) and (4) economic (attracts tourists and visitors to the region) (Boyd &Timothy 2003, pp 87–132).

> Cultural heritages play a strong role in both economic and social life even though the majority remains informal, without public protection and without explicit management as they are the main institutions that connect history, territory and society, defining the cultural context of social life (Barrere 2015, p 6).

Other arguments relate to that heritage sites are associated with different kinds of values. Sites with a positive heritage refer to museums which illustrate advances and aesthetically appealing phenomena (free interpretations from Boyd & Timothy 2003). Sites with neutral values refer to scientific exhibitions and museum. The darker sights are embedded with negative values with relation to conflicts, epidemics, death and suffering.[9]

That heritage is always contested and fought over by different groups for various reasons is a fact pointed out by Ashworth and Tunbridge. They write:

> All heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance [from which 'heritage' derives] implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially. This disinheritance may be unintentional, temporary, of trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed; or it may be long-term, widespread, intentional, important and obvious (Ashworth & Tunbridge 1996).

Not only the physical place of heritage but also the immaterial meaning attached to it becomes an object of struggle as different meaning (positive or negative connotations) is attached, and will eventually lead to what Ashworth and Tunbridge label *canonization* (turning the site into a museum or a monument) or the totally opposite stand—*iconoclasm*.

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8. http://whc.unesco.org/en/committee/

9. See for example Biran et al. 2011; Broderick 2010; Butler & Suntikul 2013; Cooper 2007; Magee & Gilmore 2015, p 900; McClelland et al. 2013, p 585; Sather-Wagstaff 2011; Smith 1998; Welch 2015

Every site has contrasting narratives attached to it, grounded in history and fixed to specific communities. In conflicts, depending on which side comes out on top, the meaning is either altered or determined. Those inherent anachronisms are the reason why most heritage sites carry dissonances. Hence, Ashworth and Tunbridge describe such heritage as *Dissonant heritage* (Ashworth & Tunbridge 1996). Modern examples of Dissonant heritage are often results of either ethnic or religious conflicts (or a combination of both)—see for instance the effects of the conflict in former Yugoslavia (Naef & Ploner 2016) or the Talibans, and more recently ISIS in Syria and Iraq, and their destruction of heritage sites not in accordance with a strict interpretation of Islam.

During recent decades, broader perspective has become integrated into heritage preservation. The importance it plays for the human being is highlighted and the preservation is regarded as an important part of the societal development (RAÄ 2015). The importance of bottom up approaches and contextual analysis has also been emphasised (Stenseke 2001; Stenseke 2004; Thorell 2008).

Uses of heritage

Heritage can be used in a number of ways. Departing from Klas-Göran Karlssons specification (Karlsson 2004), existential, ideological, commercial and educational use seems especially useful and applicable. And combined with provisions for preservation, development and management, heritage then offers a full range of options to heritage operators, developers, planners and to the public as well.

Planning, managing and participation

A growing body of literature on planning, developing and managing of cultural institutions is now starting to emerge. In these texts, different models are presented and evaluated, often with perspectives concerning both actors within the heritage sector and the public. Recently, studies on the role of culture and heritage in place marketing, has also been published (Aitchison, MacLeod & Shaw 2000; Boyd & Timothy 2003; Ek & Hultman 2007; Schouten 1995).

When planning, developing and managing heritage sites, a number of factors have to be taken into consideration—the main ones are access to resources necessary to preserve, develop and maintain a historical site or an historical object!

Chapter two in this anthology presents a general analytical tool for managing parks and open cultural landscapes, developed within a European framework. *The CultTour Analysis Tool* is used holistically to evaluate landscapes' future potential in relation to tourism development. The empirical results are based on a case study of Boruna Monument Park,

Bulgaria, and indicated that heritage sites in general must think beyond their uniqueness and develop their visitor services: better rest room facilities, access to interpretation material and abilities to stage events, in order to give visitors a satisfying costumer experience.

Participation in the planning process is also an important theme in heritage studies: local say in development of rural areas (the subject of chapter three) or in other areas is paramount to success. The bottom up approach—involvement of locals—in planning and development of heritage project is positive but traditionally the planning process has been kept exclusively in the hands of actors within the heritage sector (Mason 2002). But as has been concluded, bottom-up approaches are very much based on insights into the specific community and the context in which values exist. They will, thus, entail a greater emphasis on insights into the specific community and the context. Bottom-up approaches may contribute to the formulation of long-term efforts that are specifically adapted to local conditions and needs.

The processes leading up to World heritage nomination, as described in chapter nine, are initiated either by the government in a top-down approach, strictly regulated by the UNESCO-rulebook, or from below, by engaged actors on a local level. The nomination process behind the cultural/nature world heritage Laponia in the north of Sweden, was more top down than at Visby and Grimeton (radio transmitter). Those cases were proposed by a coalition of participants from within the regional heritage sector, the business community and local politicians, and had firm local backing, whilst in Laponia, the regional Saami community was initially very reluctant to allow use of historical reindeer pastures.

On a local level, so called Cultural Planning is a model that utilizes heritage as a driver for societal and economic progress, mostly directed to the local inhabitants, but can at the same be used to attract visitors and investments. Many Swedish municipalities have during the last ten years embarked on cooperative project with similar aims and where the public have possibilities of input through participation (Lindeborg & Lindkvist 2010).

Sponsorship schemes are another way for external actors to participate in the cultural sphere. Such deals are becoming more important than ever to the daily running of cultural institutions (museums, libraries, archives etc.) as well as the preservation of heritage sites.[10] Large corporations, like American Express or the Swiss banking giant UBS, have for many years supported the arts. As a result, sponsorship is no longer as stigmatized as it used to be.[11] And the receiving institutions no longer see such transaction as infringements on art but instead rather view them as a possibility to "cultivate the economy" (Stenström 2009).

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10. Rome is one city that is looking at such an option. The city, with large debts, is calling on its own citizens, wealthy individuals/philanthropists and concerned companies to help out to finance the restoration of crumbling monuments and sites through a £380m emergency scheme. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/25/rome-calls-on-companies-and-the-rich-to-adopt-crumbling-ancient-sites

11. http://advisor.museumsandheritage.com/features/fundraising-and-sponsorship-in-the-cultural-sector-no-longer-a-necessary-evil-but-an-essential-source-of-income/

However, critics of such sponsorship deals, like BPs support of British Museum (dating back to 1996) and the National Portrait Gallery, Tate and the Royal Opera House, worth £10m over five years and running until 2017, labeled those institutions immoral for accepting money from "Big Oil" when the sponsorship deal was renewed in 2011.[12]

Interpretation

Interpretation is a process that can be viewed in at least three ways: (1) as attempts by peripheral groups from outside the heritage sector to re-interpret sites of heritage, (2) as a process where opposing groups/communities disagree on the value of a certain heritage site, and (3) as ways of conveying the value in preserving/introducing the less obvious heritage (maritime, industrial etc.).

The first strand occurs with great regularity during the post-war period. De-colonization, globalization and the multi-cultural society are important factors. Ethnic minority groups, like the Native Americans, the Innuit people or formerly dominated nations, now protest their continued colonial subordinate position, and demand that also their stories be told. They claim that narratives connected to monuments, battlefields and sites of protest and uprising must be re-written and re-interpreted in accordance with their experiences and traditions (see Hurt 2010; Lundén 2016).

If such claims are a protest of a Eurocentric worldview, expressed as racism, "the white mans´ burden" and through thefts of, and latter refusal to repatriate, heritage from Africa, Latin America and Asia, singling out how indigenous and religious art is interpreted and framed and ascribed alien meanings in western museums and art institutions also expresses similar emotions.

In chapter five, the effects of musicological and history of art framings of Islam are examined and problematized. It gives an understanding of the heritage of Islamdom from different concepts, terminologies and theoretical perspectives, and therefore constitutes a telling case for a westernized interpretation, boxed in by gate keepers.

In the second strand (see above), Heritage sites of a contested nature are treated and interpreted by different groups in an ideological way rather than as objects of preservation. Due to different interpretations, heritage is either canonized or destroyed (iconoclasm).

To ascribe value to more peripheral types of heritage is what the third strand does. Cultural heritage contributes to social and economic requirements. Therefore, it is important to increase the understanding of the complexities of cultural heritage and how it relates to the contextual development. The contribution in chapter seven is a case study that illustrates whether the practices related to the maritime and industrial heritage are reflecting the development of a broadening of the heritage sector and a societal perspective. It discusses how the values of the maritime and cultural heritage are conveyed.

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12. https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/dec/19/galleries-renew-bp-deal-protests

Another form of usage of heritage is the existential mode: it is through heritage individual or collective identities germinate, and illustrates the variety and different effects of heritage. Literature, films and paintings involve a complex set of representation of the past and present. In chapter seven it is shown that the search for common cultural ground among people in Africa, Spain and the Ukraine, constantly turn out derisive and in vain when it comes to identity-making.

Commercialization and place marketing

Preserving and developing heritage sites implies making choices based on a variety of values. For instance, the trademark World Heritage is in general a term associated to legitimizing but it has several different kinds of contextual meanings as well. While Laponia and Grimeton (chapter nine) use the brand/status as a symbol of national values, Visby refer instead to the city's transition into a postmodern theme city, that carries with it explicit expectations of profitability.

Löfgren and others emphasizes the paradoxical results of place marketing through unique heritage—all those monuments, castles and preserved urban milieus put on display, all promoted via the same marketing schemes and buzzwords, eventually turn into a hollow clutter, not possible to tell apart for the visitors (Löfgren 2001).

Heritage preservation through utilization often also implies elements of commercialization. The steamer Bohuslän (chapter four) is a good case: to carry the costs of the continuously ongoing preservation efforts, and in order to uphold competence of running a steam powered ship, Bohuslän must every summer be utilized in commercially successful cruises. Utilization then becomes a very necessary way of safeguarding artefacts, buildings and sites.

The contribution *Tokyo Heritage* (chapter six) focuses global conceptualizations of cultural heritage and place marketing. The theoretical basis is applied to certain areas in Tokyo and the analysis shows that material, historical and religious aspects of architecture in Japan rest on notions of insubstantiality and transience, whereas traditional conservation methods and legislation seem to be founded on substance and permanence. The landscape is formed in urban processes of rapid change and Tokyo is rather associated with market-forces and future (economized) values, than qualities which are connected to the past.

Commercialization of heritage can be a highly visible process. Plans to diffuse and outsource collections of the Guggenheim and the Louvre art museums to Abu Dhabi are a distinct example of trade-offs between a very prosperous state (in search of alternatives to the petro-industry) using cultural heritage and iconic architecture to re-brand itself.[13]

13. Guggenheim in Bilbao (1997) created the blueprint for such projects. A parallel development of heritage diffusion on the national level was the establishment of Tate Liverpool in 1988 and when the Louvre decided to established a local branch (satellite museum) at Lens in 2003 (inaugurated 2012).

Heritage as edutainment

The tourism industry has often been about kicks—Grand tours to Italy and dreams of antiquity, the sensation of the sea at Blackpool, a red cabin in the vast wood, hectic night life in the big metropolis. The list goes on and on. But ever since the emergence of the so called "experience economy", even more emphasis has been put on marketing, selling and collecting thrills and treats. And culture and heritage are now firmly embedded in such an economy.

The term was made popular by the American scholars Pine and Gilmore in an influential book (*The Experience economy* 1999) and is based on their analyses of consumer behavior. In the book they state that there are strong links between not only the quality of an item/service being considered but that the content of the experience connected to that item/service play a decisive role for the decision to purchase it as well.

Within tourisms the notion of the value of experience is well understood: to argue that all consumption can be understood as experience because the value of goods and services always are co-created or co-produced through interactions of consumers and producers, are not controversial.

One example of an activity that is built on both participation in and experience of heritage, is re-enactment of historical periods and events. Re-enactment is often defined as "attempt(s) by people to simulate life in another time", and is carried out in a number of places by different institutions, groups and organizations for several reasons: experimental research, educational purposes or just for fun. Beside those considerations, one might add identity-making as well: in the individualistic society of modernity, a wish to share common interests and experiences by looking to history, is used as one way of forging a communal identity (Kruse & Warring 2015).

Museums and other educational institutions often incorporate in the method of Living history also the tools of re-enactment in order to train/educate staff and visitors about life and society during past historical periods. Authenticity and correctness in executing are of course important factors but sometimes the performative aspects of Living history/re-enactment are allowed to gain the upper hand in order to create powerful and lasting experiences to the public. At the Swedish open air museum Jamtli, individual and intergenerational experiences are purposely part of the visit, and are performed by guides and employed personal, acting out narratives via specific assigned roles, based on fictional characters or authentic individuals from a range of carefully chosen historical periods (Aronsson 1998). Hence, as part of the experience, culture, heritage and history very deliberately become edutainment.

Public participating at archaeological excavations is the topic for chapter eight. Results are presented from the research project: "Varnhem before the monks" which was undertaken between 2005 and 2008. The purpose of the project was twofold: firstly to increase

the understanding of how Västergötland was Christianized and became an autonomous kingdom during the Middle Ages. Secondly, the project set-up encouraged the public to take part by visiting, making inquiries, helping out and maybe most importantly—being an additional outlet for information and popularizing. The public participation was indeed helpful in anchoring an archaeological dig to popular culture.

Such tendencies have been called attention to by the archaeologist Cornelius Holtorf. According to him, the past itself is important because through archaeology the past could be used to evoke "past people and what they left behind for a range of contemporary human interests, needs and desires" (Holtorf 2005, p 6). The past then, become an integral part of popular culture.

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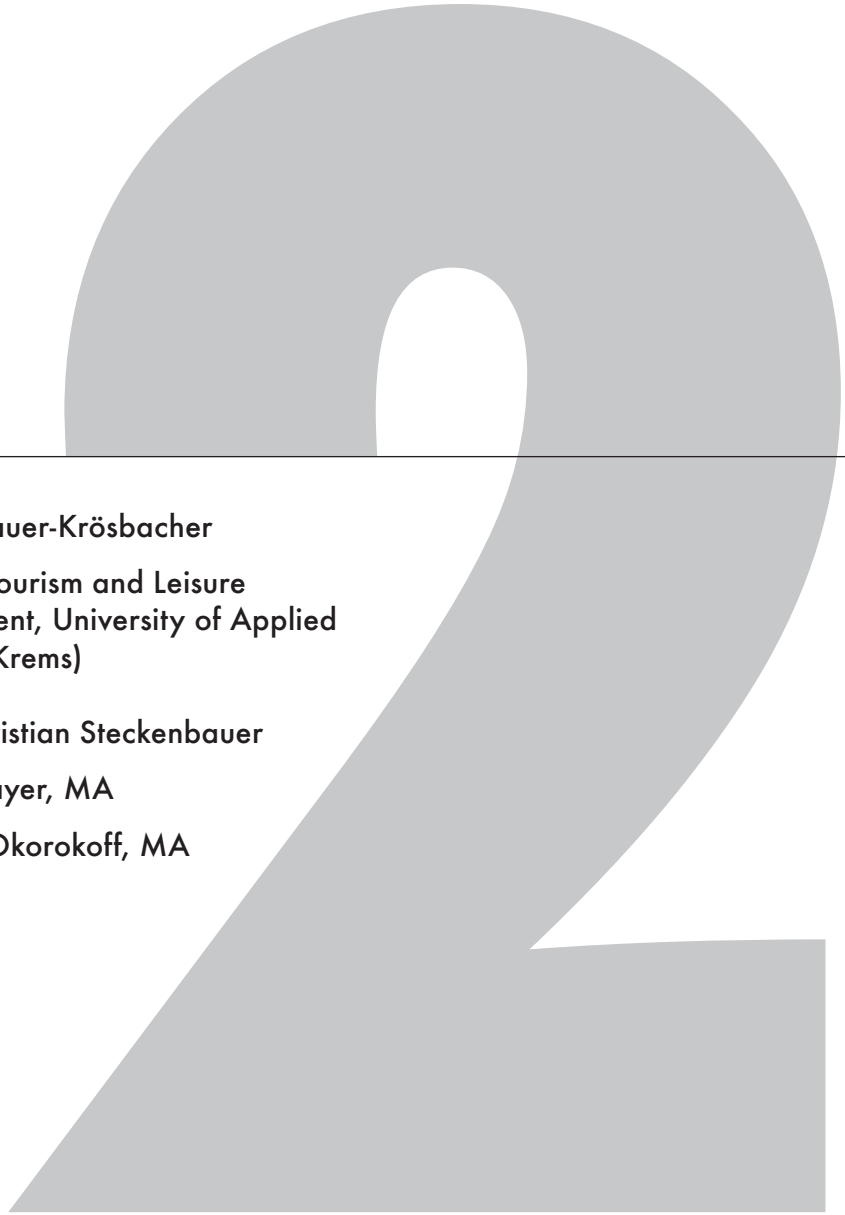

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CHAPTER TWO THE CULTTOUR ANALYSIS TOOL FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF GARDEN AND OPEN SPACE HERITAGE SITES AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE BORUNA MONUMENT PARK

The project described in this chapter is based on the fact that the need for professional education and tourism offers, that meet international standards, is constantly growing in South East Europe. CultTour therefore aimed to address this need by creating models, scenarios and strategies for integrated tourism development based on the principles of sustainable tourism and regional economy. In order to reach these aims, the project contained eight different work packages ranging from model simulation, situation analyses and scenario building to education and dissemination.

The core task of the IMC Krems was the creation of a model for a touristic re-utilisation of garden and open space heritage sites and the development of recommendations for the future use of the pilot sites. The CultTour Analysis Tool constitutes an integral part of this model and its development and application will be highlighted in this chapter.

The CultTour Project was an INTERREG project funded by the EU within the framework of the ETC (European Territorial Co-operation), the South East Europe Program (SEE) and co-funded by the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund). The project lasted from January 2011 until June 2014 and involved partners from Romania, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, and Germany. The consortium included three scientific institutions, which are the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences Vienna, the Berlin University of Technology and the IMC University of Applied Sciences Krems. Apart from scientific institutions, four project pilot sites and their respective municipalities were

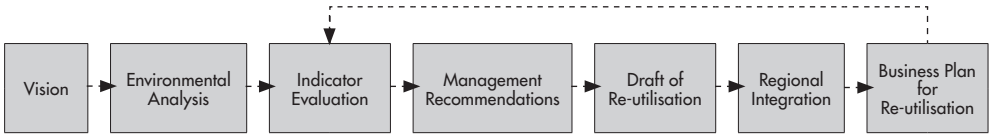
included in the project. These are the Brukenthal Palais in Avrig, the Monument Park Boruna in Veliko Tarnovo, the Park of National Independence in Alexandroupolis and the "Villa Peripato" in Taranto. The involved municipalities played a crucial role in reaching the overall aim of the project: the implementation of strategies for the preservation and valorisation of cultural garden and open space heritage sites by giving them a contemporary use in tourism and at the same time conserving their "genius loci".

The re-utilisation process model

Different steps of the model

The CultTour Analysis Tool is embedded in an overall process model for the re-utilisation and development of a garden and open space heritage site for tourism purposes. It serves as a strategic management instrument and targets managers of heritage attractions including owners and operators of cultural garden and open space heritage sites as well as consultants. The re-utilisation process model includes seven different steps, which are depicted in figure 1 below.

Figure 2:1 Re-utilisation process model

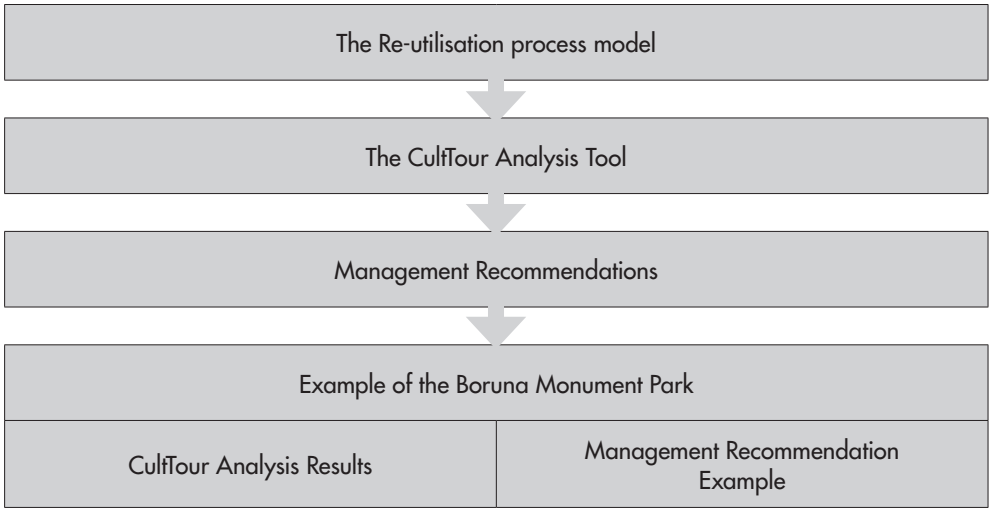


Source: by the authors

These steps need to be considered in order to develop a site in a holistic way. The indicator evaluation (step 3) on which the CultTour Analysis Tool is based and resulting management recommendations constitute the core of this re-utilisation process model and are described in detail in the following chapters. Figure 2 provides an overview of the structure of these chapters.

First, the re-utilisation process model, the CultTour Analysis Tool and its purpose are explained. Thereafter, the development and structure of the resulting management recommendations are outlined. Finally, the application of the CultTour Analysis Tool on the Boruna Monument Park and specific management recommendations are portrayed.

Figure 2:2: Chapter structure



Source: by the autors

The CultTour Analysis Tool

After the formulation of a vision and the implementation of an environmental analysis for the re-utilisation of a heritage site, the process model includes the application of the CultTour Analysis Tool in order to assess the tourism development potential of the site.

The CultTour Analysis Tool was developed in several steps and included a comprehensive literature review on the topics of model development as well as management and sustainability principles. Following two focus groups for the definition of indicators, hierarchical scales for each indicator were developed. In a final step, the Analysis Tool was evaluated by internal and external experts and practitioners.

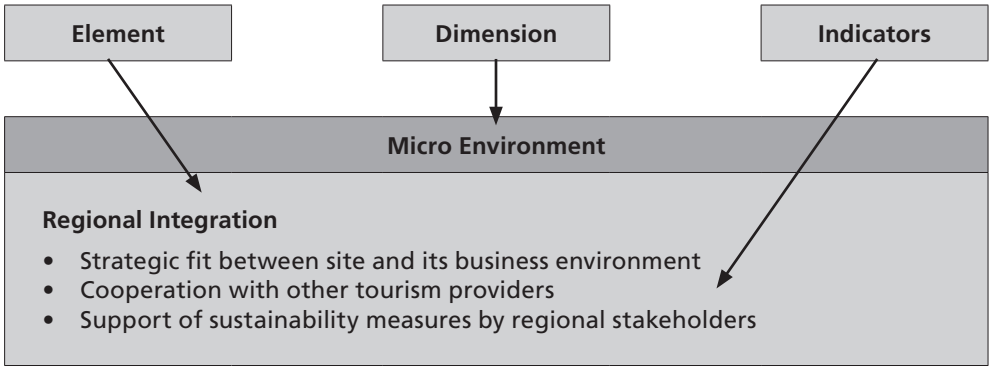
The application of the tool has several aims. First, the analysis tool aspires to obtain an overview of the current situation of the site. The goal of the second step is to define desired target states and, in doing so, depicting the overall development potential of a heritage site for creating a satisfying and memorable visitor experience. Finally, the aim is to compare the development of the various indicators over time.

The Analysis Tool is structured into the following four different dimensions:

- Macro environment;
- Micro environment;
- Site management; and
- Site characteristics

Each dimension contains several subjects of consideration (i.e. "elements"). These elements are assessed through a total of 88 indicators. An example of a dimension and one of its corresponding elements and indicators is given below in figure 3.

Figure 2:3 Analysis Tool structure



Source: by the author

Every indicator of the tool is evaluated on a hierarchical four-stage scale in a spreadsheet. The current and target state are defined together with the most important stakeholders taking into account the desired state of the site in three to four years. The stage of the current and target state are selected from a drop-down list ranging from one to four. The following illustration shows an extract of the spreadsheet used for the application.

Figure 2:4 Analysis Tool extract

Analysis Tool
Site Management Analysis

Dimension	Element	Indicator	Indicator Specification	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Current State	Target State
III. Site Management & Administration	III.1. Organization	III.1.1. Organizational strategy	Establishment of strategic direction of organization	No organizational strategy	An orientation exists, but no real organizational strategy	Formal organizational strategy, but not implemented	A comprehensive organizational strategy is in place		
		III.1.2. Quality management system	Establishment and Management of quality standards	No quality management system	Quality management system is planned for the future	Quality management exists, but is not implemented	Quality management system is implemented		

Source: by the author

Management recommendations

After the analysis of a site's future tourism development potential, the next step in the re-utilisation process model is the application of management recommendations in order to reach the desired target state. These have been developed in the form of generic management recommendations. Each indicator in the Analysis Tool is linked to the respective recommendation, which is presented on the project website (www.culttour.eu). The proposed recommendations are arranged according to the following structure:

1. Introduction
   - Definition of indicator when needed
   - Importance of the indicator
2. Checklist for improvement
   - List of key questions to be addressed or
   - Steps for implementing actions
3. Related indicators
   - References and further information
   - Experts' sources/Institutional documents
   - Best practice examples

Within the introduction of each recommendation, a definition of the respective indicator is provided and the importance of the indicator in relation to the re-utilisation of the site is described. The core of the recommendation is the checklist for improvement that aims to support the attainment of the desired target state. This checklist either includes a list of key questions that need to be addressed or outlines different steps for implementing actions that lead to the target state. Since indicators are grouped into elements within the Analysis Tool, each recommendation also includes related indicators. These links should support the holistic view of the re-utilisation. A final aspect of each recommendation is the citation of references and the provision of further information, as for example, the outline of good practice examples in the industry.

In the following, a demonstration of a management recommendation is provided using the example of the Boruna Monument Park, one of the CultTour pilot sites.

Example of the Boruna Monument Park

Description of the site

The "Boruna Monument Park" in the project partner city of Veliko Tarnovo in Bulgaria lies on the meander of the Yantra River and at the foot of Sveta Gora. It is an open space that features one of the most notable monuments, namely the Monument to Assens. The monument is better known under its name "horsemen" as it presents four horsemen, each facing a different direction with a sword pointing to heaven in the middle. It was built in 1985 in honour of the 800th anniversary of the uprising of Assen and Peter and depicts four of the greatest kings of Bulgaria-Assen, Peter, Kaloyan and Ivan Assen II.

Besides the monument, the Boruna area is also home to the "Boris Denev" Art Gallery, which is located opposite the Monument to Assens. The gallery currently exhibits over 5000 pieces of art in an area of 850 square meters divided into paintings, prints and sculptures.

The Boruna area is open to the public all year round and is used by residents and visitors alike. The absence of cars and noise and the large space add to its attractiveness for residents and highlight the recreational value of the park. Day visitors and tourists particularly use the area as a lookout point as it provides a magnificent view of the old town (Schwaba & Jacobs, 2013).

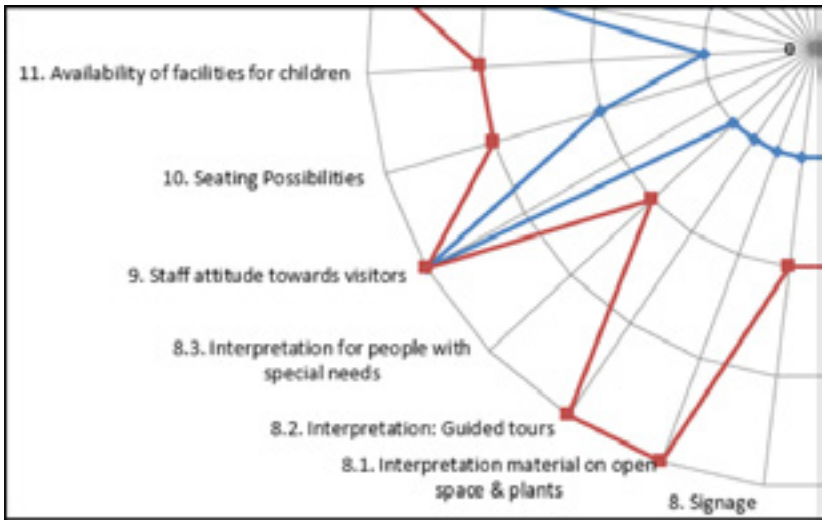
Within the framework of implementing strategies for the preservation and valorisation of garden heritage, the CultTour Analysis Tool was applied to the Boruna Monument Park in April 2013.

Results of the Analysis Tool

The application of the Analysis Tool onto Boruna Monument Park revealed a variety of results and disclosed the development potential of the site in various respects. One of the key aspects for the touristic re-utilisation of a heritage site is the element of "Visitor services" of the dimension "Site characteristics". This element includes 25 indicators that cover different topics as, for example, the availability of visitor facilities for adults and children, means of interpretation, and staging of events. For a visualisation of the development potential, the gap of each indicator is depicted in a two dimensional radar chart.

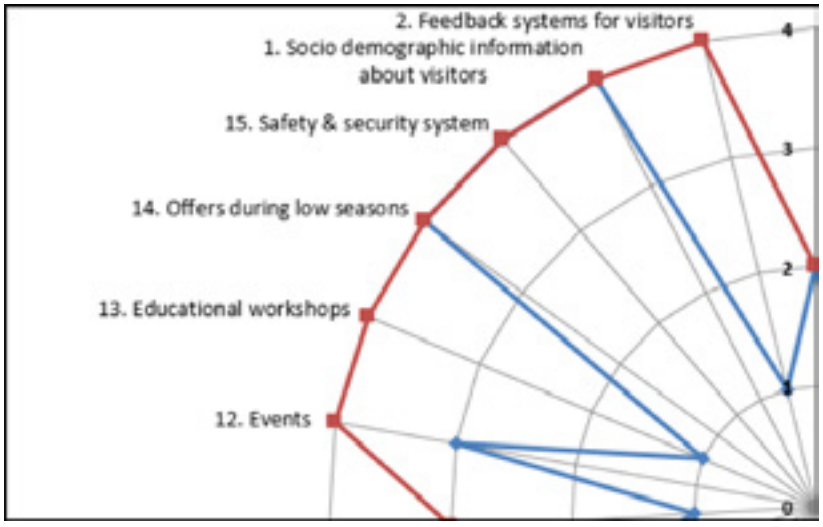
The results suggest a strong need and desire for the development of interpretation services since the indicators "Guided tours", "Interpretation material on open space & plants" and "Educational workshops" show the biggest gaps with respect to their current and desired target state. Figures 6 and 7 are snapshots of parts of the corresponding radar chart.

Figure 2:5 Illustration of radar charts I



Source: by the authors

Figure 2:6 Illustration of radar charts II



Source: by the authors

Having identified the areas with the highest development potential in terms of visitor services, the next step for the Municipality of Veliko Tarnovo is the consultation of provided management recommendations and prioritization of the actions. The following chapter provides an example of one of the management recommendations important for the Boruna Monument Park.

Management recommendation example

Based on the recognition that the site lacks interpretation, the management recommendation of the indicator "Educational workshops" is taken as an example. The example is illustrated in the table below and commences with an introduction, followed by the checklist and the list of related indicators. Finally, references and further information is provided. The recommendation includes a list of key questions that owners and managers of a heritage site should try to answer concerning the implementation of educational workshops as a mean of interpretation.

The management recommendations are very practice oriented and aim to be easy to understand. Reviewing this recommendation, the Municipality of Veliko Tarnovo can integrate its ideas and answers to the key questions in the development of the re-utilisation concept which is the next step in the re-utilisation process model.

Conclusion and recommendations

By the development of the re-utilisation process model for heritage sites, an important step to fulfil the main aim of the CultTour project was achieved—creating a model that would be possible to use on a number of divergent heritage sites at local, regional and national levels, facilitate transregional and transnational cooperation and offer compatibility in strategy and methodology. The CultTour Analysis Tool in particular allows assessing the tourism development potential of a heritage site and together with the management recommendations constitutes an important part of the overall re-utilisation process model. It has successfully been applied to five different gardens and open- space heritage sites throughout South East Europe, including the Boruna Monument Park in Veliko Tarnovo, the Brukenthal Palais in Avrig, the Park of National Independence in Alexandroupolis, the "Villa Peripato" in Taranto and the ASTRA Open Air Museum in Sibiu.

One important aspect of heritage management raised by the pilot project at Boruna Monument Park concerns the generalising potentials of the model—is it applicable to an indefinite number of contexts or is it confined to sites just in South East Europe?

Even though the CultTour model has far reaching potentials, bottlenecks and limitations are inherent. For instance, resources available to the agencies managing the sites

Table 2:1 Management recommendation example

Introduction

Due to changing consumer demands 'alternative' tourism experiences, which increasingly include a number of learning aspects and combine education and entertainment, are more and more searched for (Williams, 2010). Educational workshops can contribute to these 'alternative' touristic experiences and increase the overall visitor experience at your site.

Checklist

The following considerations should be made when implementing educational workshops as part of the services offered at your site:

- Who do I want to target? There is a difference between:
  - Local people: e.g. children, school classes, garden owners
  - Tourists
- What should be the maximum number of participants?
- Which types of workshops will be provided?
  - Workshops on garden themes
  - Workshops on other topics: yoga, painting, other creative activities
- What is the aim of the workshop? This could be for example:
  - Learning about the different plants at the site
  - Using the plants/herbs for cooking classes
  - Offering garden practice workshops (e.g. cutting roses)
  - Being creative in painting workshops
- How long should the workshop last?
  - 2–3 hours
  - Half a day
  - A day
- Who will conduct the workshop? Educational workshops need to be conducted by professional people who have the specialist knowledge and are trained in giving workshops. These can be people who work for your site (guides, gardeners) or external experts who are hired for that special purpose
- Where should the workshop be held?
- How can education be combined with entertaining aspects? (particularly for children e.g. in the form of scavenger hunts)
- How can I get feedback on the quality of the workshop?
  - Brief questionnaire at the end of the workshop or by e-mail
  - Direct verbal feedback

See also: Feedback systems for visitors; Additional use of facilities; Guiding theme; Availability of facilities for children; Interpretation for people with special needs.

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might vary according to reigning political regimes, prevailing cultural norms and attitudes or the state of the overall economy, effectively affecting the ability to implement the model.

And since the Analysis Tool is applied at a certain point in time, and the development of a site takes time, a re-application of the Analysis Tool after a two to four-year period is recommended. Moreover, it is strongly advised that realistic assumptions with respect to the target state are made. In this regard, a prioritization of developments is crucial; as not everything can be done at the same time.

Finally, since it is difficult for a site to operate as a closed system, the importance of regional integration needs to be particularly emphasized as well as access to collaborative partners.

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CHAPTER THREE THE BOTTOM-UP DIMENSION OF LANDSCAPE PLANNING IN RURAL AREAS

Introduction

Rural areas are places filled with activities, links, values and meanings. They are consisted of social/psychological processes, activities conducted in that environment and the physical context. Most of them have been given meaning based on human experiences, emotions, relationships and thoughts (Wang & Xu 2015, p 242).

These are also areas with a large amount of agricultural land and forest with specific values which are preserved for the common future. The establishment of protected areas is one of the most important instruments within nature conservation (Borgström et al. 2013). The importance of preserving lands which belong to traditional agricultural practices is expressed within the environmental goals that formulate the base for policies in Sweden and policies on the international agenda. The goals state that the value of the farmed land must be protected at the same time as biodiversity and cultural heritage are preserved (Thorell 2008).

Opinions about how nature should be protected by the public sector have changed during recent decades. This has resulted in a raised awareness of the important role that local people play in the preservation of areas of high biodiversity values (Zachrisson 2004). International and national policy programs emphasise the importance of integrating local knowledge into environmental preservation and conservation. The "United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) recognizes the role of local traditional knowledge in the conservation of natural resources and management of natural disasters" (Chisadza et al. 2015, p 227). The European Landscape Convention stresses that landscapes should be preserved through the intervention of local people (Nordiska ministerrådet 2004; Stenseke 2004). In addition, the World Heritage Status of the Agricultural Landscape of Southern Öland stresses the importance of landscape management with the farmer as a key actor (Saltzman et al. 2011).

There is a gap between the decision-making level and the local contexts (Stenseke 2008). This gap between the administrative sphere and local actors can be bridged through "top-down communication" which involves dialogue from authorities to local actors. Employees within the public sector assign political goals and measures on the local level through information and education. The other method: "the bottom-up approach" involves dialogue from local actors upwards towards the political level. Policy measures are thus prepared through participatory processes and decentralization (Thorell 2005a; 2005b).

Analysis of local participation is relevant to public administration nowadays as many regions go through different kinds of changes to make governments more accountable and transparent. There is, however, still a lack of knowledge of how local participation is integrated into public planning (Oliveira & Paleo 2016). Bottom-up approaches integrate traditional knowledge systems which represent "the knowledge of a people of a particular area based on their interactions and experiences within that area, their traditions, and their incorporation of knowledge emanating from elsewhere into their production and economic systems" (Chisadza et al. 2015, p 227).

This explorative research review analyses the distinguishing characteristics of nature conservation policies from below, i.e. planning processes that are based upon the capacities of local actors. Important questions to highlight and elucidate in this context are: What characterizes a nature conservation planning process which is built upon local perspectives and capacities? What are the preconditions for bottom-up approaches to nature conservation planning? The results are based on international research and experiences from action research in Western Sweden which included eight focus group interviews, three field tours and a planning process where the participants formulated local strategic plans (Thorell 2005a; 2008; 2013).

The rural landscape and its values from below

The traditional agricultural landscape in Sweden has dramatically changed during the last century. The transformation from small scale to large scale farming activities has resulted in habitat loss, fragmentation and degradation in the most species-rich areas (Johansson et al. 2008; Lindborg et al. 2008). Attention has been paid to the loss of semi-natural grasslands such as pastures and meadows. Certain areas have been transformed into arable land, abandoned or forested (Stenseke 2006). The area has been divided since 1920 (Jordbruksverket 2008) and in the beginning of the 21st century, there are only about 450 000 ha semi-natural grassland left in Sweden (Stenseke 2006). The considered qualities of semi-natural grasslands are: (1) biodiversity, (2) culture heritage, (3) a vital countryside and (4) economic values (Lindborg et al. 2008).

The importance of preserving lands that belong to traditional agricultural practices is expressed in environmental goals that formulate the base for policies in Sweden (Thorell 2008). Biodiversity is an important value within lands use planning and preservation since it is a basic precondition for functioning ecosystems (Borgström et al. 2013). There are, however, so many more landscape values to pay attention to within preservation such as those which refer to aesthetic, economy, recreation, life sustaining, learning, biodiversity, heritage future, therapy, wilderness, environment and spirituality (Brown 2005; Brown & Raymond 2007; Zhu et al. 2010).

Policy measures do not confront local wishes, but the inhabitants valuate so many more qualities in the landscape than those preserved by the public sector (Stenseke 2001). The traditional agrarian landscape is appreciated by local actors and visitors in rural areas. A diverse landscape with natural elements and expressions of traditional agricultural practices methods is thus appreciated. This is a miscellaneous agrarian landscape, one that embodies natural elements and symbols of traditional cultivation (Jones 1998; Strumse 1994). Local actors are also keen on environments which give rise to emotions of identity, tradition, aesthetic and diversity (Stenseke 2001). Semi-natural grasslands involve explicit values associated with beauty, history and nature from a stakeholder perspective (Lindborg et al. 2008; Stenseke 2006). These lands have been preserved by substitutes within The Common Agricultural Policies (CAP). Further, Swedish environmental law involves instruments that can be used in order to preserve elements with special values within the agricultural landscape (Jordbruksverket 2008; Thorell 2008).

With the close connection follow a unique and specific awareness of the landscape. Those living in the landscape experience the surrounding with all their senses. It is mainly a visual impression where different elements become composed into a scene but movements, smells and sounds are also involved. The experience involves a deeper impression of feelings and memories. Theses meanings refer to previous experiences from the same or a similar landscape and symbolic expressions of human actions in interaction with the landscape. There is a connection between the farmer and its landscape; on the rational farmer's land ends the fields on the horizon and the organic farmer's fields involve cornflowers (Thorell 2005a; 2008; 2013.).

From a local point of view, the agricultural landscape involves economic values since it is a base for food production but is also embedded with other kinds of values. A case study in Sweden describes that it is difficult to point out qualities in the landscape that involves thousands of phenomena. In addition, landscape is in an ever ending process of change and embedded with a lot of dimensions that are related to the everyday life. Some landscape values could, however, be pointed out in the study. The respondents strived for a diverse farmed landscape with lands and elements which belong to the traditional agriculture. Thus, pastures, meadows, dams and stone walls are well appreciated among stakeholders.

Local actors also appreciated well-managed lands and natural phenomena such as the sound of birds, forest and biodiversity. For those living in the countryside, it was also important to preserve a positive atmosphere, service and population (ibid.).

Local actors appreciate the qualities that are preserved within public preservation policies but from a different base. Conserved areas in the agrarian landscape were not primarily evaluated for biodiversity reasons but since the lands are associated with experiential and emotional values. Pastures, meadows and stone walls are beautiful and give rise to positive feelings of tradition and connection to previous generations, from a local perspective (ibid.).

Farmers get insights into landscape processes from the managing and preservation. They expressed that the landscape is in an ever-ending process of change with the farmer as the main transformer. The agricultural landscape is thus a result and expression of human actions. Therefore, it involves symbolic characteristics; a rational farming practice gives rise to fields which end at the horizon and organic farming to beautiful lands with cornflowers. Pastures, meadows and stone walls are expressions of an interest in heritage preservation among farmers and well-managed land a representation of precision and craftsmanship. Landowners and transformers are aware of how physical processes, weather conditions and pollutions are affecting landscapes. This requires flexible policy measures and rules. Exact and strict rules are difficult to adapt when managing a dynamic landscape which is within processes of change and affection of a lot of external factors (ibid.).

Local knowledge and place specific resources

"The term professional knowledge refers to technical and scientific knowledge used by professionals, whereas local knowledge refers to knowledge usable within a specific contextual environment" (Hanberger et al. 2015, p 32). Professional knowledge is generated from theoretical deduction and repeated observation experiments (Sun 2015, p 132). Professional or expert knowledge is thus based on a kind of science which makes use of monitoring and evaluation processes (Hanberger 2015, p 119).

During recent decades, there has been an increasing interest in different kinds of local knowledge since it contributes to the conservation and preservation (Gajardo et al. 2015, p 354). The term ordinary knowledge refers to casual empiricism, common and thoughtful speculation or analysis. It is responsive to the needs of the public and bridges, therefore, the gap between policy makers and local actors (Hanberger 2015, pp 199–120; Lehebel-Peron et al. 2016, p 132). Local knowledge refers to the insights that are local in two senses; it is dependent on the context where it has been produced and is valid within a specific geographical area (Johnston 2000). It is situational and contextually specific (Sun 2015,

p 132) and transferred through generations. It is received through observation of the local environment where the knowledge is constructed within social and cultural processes. It involves mental abilities, information, beliefs and practices (Oliveira & Paleo 2016, p 544). It also includes important understandings of meanings and specific characteristics, events, circumstances, and relationships (Hanberger 2015, p 119).

> Local people, who live close to the natural resources, observe the activities around them and are first to identify any changes within their locality and adapt to them. Appearance of certain birds, mating of certain animals, or the nature of flowering of certain plants are all important signals of changes in time and seasons that are well understood by traditional knowledge (Chisadza et al. 2015, p 227).

An adjacent concept is indigenous knowledge which denotes insights that have been shaped in the interaction between people and the environment. It exists in a historic- geographic context since it is transferred from generation to generation (Verlinden & Dayof 2005).

Charney et al. (2007) differ between traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and local ecological knowledge (LEK). TEK is cumulative and dynamic knowledge of the relationship between different kinds of living organisms and between species and the environment. It includes practices, knowledge and beliefs based on experiences and social learning (Charney et al. 2007). Traditional ecological knowledge includes insights into traditions, beliefs, institutions, practices and visions of the world that are developed by local communities as the result of interaction between human and land (Lehebel-Peron et al. 2016, p 132). The insight has a historical dimension since it is transferred from one generation to another. It is bounded to specific geographical areas and found in societies with the practical use of natural resources (Thorell 2008).

LEK denotes a more recent kind of knowledge and practice that has been reached through observation and interaction with local ecosystems. This is also associated with beliefs shared among local stakeholders (Charney et al. 2007). It is a cumulative body of practices, knowledge and beliefs which have been developed within adaptive processes and transferred through generations within cultural processes. It often touches upon the relationship between different living beings and between them and the environment. It is not a homogeneous and static kind of knowledge but bounded by small cultural groups and linked to socio-ecological resilience and adaptive capacities (Blanco & Carrière 2016, pp 30–31).

Farmers have a practical knowledge of landscape dynamics and changes that is transferred from previous generations. They have insights into practical landscape management and the local knowledge is an important complement to natural science in conservation.

Thorell (2005a; 2008; 2013) describes also place specific resources that appear in processes with local stakeholders. With the close connection to the village follows a local knowledge concerning the distinguishing characteristics of the community, the specific conditions and the current needs. Local actors are also well aware of the local culture as well as the interests and opinions of the inhabitants. Moreover, it became clear that local actors have a contextual knowledge of the social and economic preconditions that the preservation of semi-natural grassland is dependent on.

Cases studies indicate that nature conservation policies from below are formulated on the basis of a holistic understanding of phenomena. The contextual planning approach was defined when the participants who took part in rural landscape planning discussed important factors for the preservation of pastures. Strategies were formulated with respect to economic and social preconditions for the preservation (Thorell 2005a; 2008; 2013).

The distinguishing characteristics of bottom-up approaches

Sweden is active in biodiversity conservation and several studies investigate local perception within nature conservation planning which traditionally is based upon natural science (Stenseke & Hansen 2014). Special emphasis has also been paid to the effects of the rationalization process within agricultural policies over the last decades (Johansson et al. 2008). This paper argues that local actors may contribute to the preservation of biodiversity as well as other values in the landscape. The power for common actions and the capacity to represent public interests give the basic precondition for participatory approaches. The major driving forces are social capital, entrepreneurship and the capability to represent public interests (Thorell 2005a; 2008; 2013). This section analyses the effects of bottom up approaches on the basis of the explorative research review.

Experiences and landscape transformations

Nature conservation policies that are based upon the local perspective of the landscape will have a different nature than top-down policies. Bottom-up policies will entail a greater emphasis on the specific landscape which humans experience with all senses and transform through their daily actions. Policies would pay more attention to the preservation of aesthetic, emotional and other experiential values that the agricultural landscape is associated with. It is also associated with flexible measures which pay respect to the ever changing and dynamic landscape. This is important since farmer's pre conditions to manage landscape from detailed rules are limited since it is affected by weather, wind and pollutions (Thorell 2005; 2008; 2013).

Conclusion 1: Bottom-up approaches will entail a greater emphasis on the specific landscape which humans experience with all senses and transform through their daily actions. Abstract spaces and representations of the landscape will then be less important within planning and management.

Local knowledge

Measures that pay respect to local perspectives open up for the integration of farmer's knowledge into landscape management (Thorell 2005a; 2008; 2013). It pays also respect to insights of meanings and specific characteristics, events, circumstances and relationships within the rural area (Hanberger 2015, p 119). This knowledge is associated to what Charney et al. (2007) name traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and local ecological knowledge (LEK). Local knowledge has been neglected in public policy making and planning; however, policymakers have recently realized that it may be an important complement to scientific knowledge (Brown et al. 2004; Cloke & Hall 2005). Steele & Shackleton (2010) recognize that local ecological knowledge is important in natural resource management and highlight the need for better techniques to integrate stakeholders' insights into the formal policy process. Hiwasaki et al. (2014) elucidates that the integration of local and indigenous knowledge supports the implementation of policies.

Although previous research show that different kinds of local and indigenous knowledge are important for resilience and sustainability, it is not fully accepted as a key driver within management and planning (Brown et al. 2004; Cloke & Hall 2005).

> However, it has yet to be fully harnessed by scientists, practitioners, and policy-makers. We believe that such knowledge needs to be integrated with science and technology before it can be used in policies, education, and actions related to disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation (Hiwasaki et al. 2014, p 25).

The professional and local knowledge may complement each other through the different scales of analysis. The local knowledge is detailed and local while the scientific is mainly regional and global in its character. Another difference is that the scientific knowledge depends on the frequency of data at a specific time while local knowledge is generated continuously (Chisadza et al., 2015, p 227; Cloke & Hall 2005).

Conclusion II: With bottom up approaches follow efforts that are formulated, to a higher degree, on the basis of insights into the specific community and the contexts in which landscape values exist.

Local conditions, cultures and needs

Bottom-up approaches will entail a greater emphasis on insights into the specific community and the contexts in which landscape values exist. With the close connection to place follow a local knowledge about the distinguishing characteristics of the community, the specific conditions and the current needs. Local actors are also well aware of the local culture as well as the interests and opinions of the inhabitants. The local knowledge may, therefore, contribute to policies that are adapted to local conditions, cultures and needs (Thorell 2005a; 2008; 2013).

Conclusion III: Bottom-up approaches will entail a greater emphasis on insights into the specific community and the contexts in which landscape values exist. This may support measures that are better adapted to the local level.

Long-term efforts

Local actors have a contextual knowledge about how different functions within the community are linked to each other. They are thus aware of the social and economic preconditions for preserving semi-natural grassland in a long term perspective. The contextual knowledge may contribute to the formulation of long-term efforts. This is a result of that they pay respect to the economic and social conditions that are preconditions for preserving values in the agricultural landscape in a long-term perspective. From a long-term perspective, it is then not enough to base measures into biological and ecological insights. Agricultural lands disappear when there a lack of grazing animals and farmers` basic preconditions for agricultural become too weak (Thorell 2008; 2013).

Conclusion IV: Bottom-up approaches may contribute to the formulation of long-term efforts that take the social and economic context into consideration.

Discussion

On the basis of these insights, it is a task for decision makers to decide whether policy processes should give more room for local actors. It is important to consider whether the society is prepared to undertake the changes that follow with bottom-up approaches. The proposed changes are: (1) integrating local perspectives on landscape into policy making, (2) opening up for farmers' traditional ecological knowledge and local ecological knowledge and (3) applying processes that make use of local capacities (Thorell 2005a; 2008).

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CHAPTER FOUR THE STEAMER *S/S BOHUSLÄN* AS INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE. A BASIS FOR RE-THINKING HERITAGE PRACTICES

Introduction

Industrial remains grew in importance as heritage assets for community development throughout the western world during the 1980s to 1990s. Simultaneously the traditional view of cultural heritage as material historical testimony has to an increasingly degree been substituted by an understanding of heritage as a living dynamic phenomenon (Howard, 2003; Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2012; Benesch et al. 2015). "Industrial heritage" has in this process left its domain of being "ugly" and "dirty" to become a mean of providing an, often aestheticised, physical frame with obvious historical connotations, for new activities (Willim 2008; Storm, 2008; Walters & Lagerqvist 2011; Del Pozo & González 2012; Lagerqvist 2012; Rinke Bangstad 2015). However, at the same time, the possibilities for local economic development by re-using former industrial sites have become an important interface between heritage practice and societal development (Jones & Munday 2001; LaBelle 2001; Hospers 2002; Landorf 2009; Lagerqvist 2010; Dal Sasso & Caliandro 2010). Regardless of ambition or direction of re-use, the practice of preserving could be seen as a de facto design process, implying change, redevelopment, redesign, or reconstruction of the material structure (Oevermann & Mieg 2015). In best case scenarios, the re-use is based on a thorough interpretation of the historical content giving substance to narratives, but more often the past is produced as imagined as the apprehension of a certain condition in the future (Ashworth et al. 2007).

Industrial heritage sites, remains and memories range broadly from archaeologically/scholarly based storytelling to redesigned "disneyficated" history into perceived contemporary sentiments and commercial opportunities (Kennedy & Kingcome 1998). There are several possible perspectives on derelict, reused or deserted industrial sites which could be subjects for far-reaching research within a number of different disciplines (Cowie & Heathcott 2003; Douet 2012; Oevermann & Mieg 2015). This article is based within the confines of professional heritage practice and presents a case study on the preservation and re-development of a coastal steamer. The steamer is both a maritime heritage as well as part of the industrialised society and the intention of the paper is to discuss the possibilities to balance different perspectives in preservation and economic regeneration. The central concept of this chapter concerns industrial heritage and how a broader understanding of such heritage as demonstrated by the preservation of *s/s Bohuslän*, results in needs to re-think heritage practices.

Developing industrial heritage in Sweden

In the early 1900s, attempts to preserve representative historical sites of iron production was organised in Sweden (Industriminnen 1979; Isacson 2003). Mining and iron production as symbols for the Swedish industrial heritage was further strengthened when *Jernkontoret*—The Swedish Steel Producers' Association—in 1966 established *Bergshistoriska utskottet*—The Historical Metallurgy Group. The objective was to support research in the area and provide dissemination of its results emphasising archaeological and historical studies on metals and iron production (Jernkontoret 10 July 2013). By the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, a number of restoration projects took place on sites such as the Falu Copper Mine, Engelsberg Works, Löa blast furnace and Moviken blast furnace; all representatives of mining and metallurgy and traditionally situated in the countryside (Industriminnen 1979). The restoration projects were managed through governmental funding targeting the organisation of unemployed people into different kinds of activities, in this case restoration of industrial heritage. In 1968, a meeting on industrial heritage was organised in Stockholm (Industriminnen 1979) due to the global consequences of industrialisation. This development, the third industrial phase, was characterised by management by distance, ownership through economic optimisation and local traditions and competences becoming redundant. This resulted in higher degrees of automation and the transferring of production sites from the west to low-wage countries and a large number of abundant industries and increased unemployment in the west (Isacson & Morell 2002; Isacson 2007). The increasing number of derelict industries, and the large number of unemployed people forced to move to the major urban areas, created a vision of diminishing local communities

in the countryside and a disappearing modern heritage not yet recognised as heritage. This motivated the inventories and documentations, although—as was stated—the industrial buildings were not easily valued and preserved, since it could not be done on aesthetical grounds (Industriminnen 1979). Three key factors evolved in 1980s out of this context and are, in this paper, suggested to have been the driving forces in Sweden for establishing industries as general accepted heritage.

A Swedish version of the History Workshop movement (the so called "Gräv där du står-rörelsen") could be seen as the first factor in this process. It started in the mid-1970s as study circles among formerly employed industrial workers (Alzén 2011). This gave knowledge of workers' history, industrial history, local history, economic history and so on. The studies resulted in a locally based comprehensive contextual understanding of the local industrial development that had been studied. The focus on the local history of the site and the production or other forms of activities that once took place, could in some cases, lead to the development of a working life museum. The conserved technical equipment and the knowledge on how to operate it were and are valued as representing a local identity and represent at the same time the museum initiators' understanding of their shared history. In Sweden today there are just over 1,400 working life museums co-operating within the network ArbetSam (The Working Life Museums, July 11 2013) which started in 1998. A common quality for these museums is their firm base as idealistic, non-profit organisations reflecting in total a very diverse image of industrialised society. The importance of understanding preserved machinery and how it should be worked has however not yet fully spread to conservators, restorers and other professions of the formal heritage area. The opportunities that could come out of a recognition of such qualities of the industrial/technological heritage and its significance for the society's ability to generate certain industrial sites, communities, crafts or traditions, has yet to be created.

The second factor is the evolving focus of studies on industrial history, industrial remains and labour history, in established academic subject areas such as economic history and ethnology. Furthermore, new subject areas such as industrial history and the history of technology, contributed to the increased understanding on how to understand industrialisation in a long-term perspective as well as the changes in contemporary society. Svante Lindqvist received the first chair in History of Technology in Sweden in the mid-1980s, and some years later, in 1992, Marie Nisser received a chair in Industrial History. Both professors were installed at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. The Nisser professorship resulted in several doctorates in industrial history and also a Nordic PhD-course on "The Industrial Heritage of the Nordic Countries" which was given on three occasions, where the participants today are renowned researchers or practitioners in industrial heritage (Industriminnen i Norden 1996).

The instrumental qualities of derelict industrial sites represent the third ingredient. The working life museums have in several cases played an important role for redeveloping local economy in the previous industrial communities. However, in most cases, the machinery and technical equipment of former industries had been dismantled and scrapped or sold and transferred to a low-wage country. The empty premises, on the other hand, presented unlimited possibilities for reuse as office areas, schools, shopping centres, etc.

Eventually industrial remains were recognised as heritage and in 1993, the National Board of Antiquities (later renamed in English to *the National Heritage Board*) were commissioned to investigate the long-term management of industrial heritage sites within the country, and in 1997, the commission was completed with the instruction to produce a list of the ten most important sites. Eventually in the year 2002, a programme was presented describing twelve industrial heritage sites (Pettersson 2006). A broader perspective was presented by a public inquiry *Questions to the Industrialized Society* of 1999 (SOU 1999:18). One result of their inquiry was the establishment of: *The Delegation for the Cultural Heritage of the Industrialized Society*, with the guiding principles to act as an operative authority under the Secretary of Culture and to perform, follow up and evaluate governmental initiatives within the industrial heritage (SOU2002:67). The important effects of the activities of the delegation was the realisation that heritage work also concerns the present society, and that heritage work is a potential force for inclusive societal processes.

Case study: The steamer Bohuslän[1]

Introduction

The steamer *Bohuslän* was built by the *Eriksbergs Mekaniska Verkstad* [The Eriksberg Mechanical Workshop] on order from *Marstrandsbolaget* and was launched on December 15, 1913. For more than 40 years the steamer trafficed the route Gothenburg–Lysekil–Smögen–Gravarne along the Swedish west coast, north of Gothenburg. In the beginning of the 1960s, *s/s Bohuslän* was taken out of traffic and was sold in 1965 to be scrapped. By the intense effort of *Sällskapet Ångbåten* [The Steamer Society] that was established to save the steamer, *s/s Bohuslän* operates the same route today as in the first four decades of traffic (Almén 1985). The ticket sales and chartered tours have since 1966 also brought necessary funds to the society for maintaining the preserved status of the steamer, following an early understanding that all restoration work must be based on a re-use strategy within the concept of "back to working order".

1. Technical data. Length: 42,42 m, Beam: 7,26 m, Draft: 2,7 m, GT: 329,73, Steam engine: triple expansion, 700 hp Fire tube boiler with three fumaces, Steam powered generator, 110 volt DC

Historic background

Steamboat traffic began in the 1870s in the county of Bohuslän in the northern part of the Swedish west coast. New opportunities were thereby opening up for the islanders to travel on a regular basis between their homes to cities such as Marstrand and Gothenburg. Two shipping companies operated regular passenger traffic; from Gothenburg in the south to Oslo in the north. One company, *Marstrands-bolaget,* operated their steamers in the outer parts of the archipelago, while the other company, *Ångbåts AB Bohuslänska Kusten*, maintained routes in the fjords and inner parts of the coast and thereby visited communities located in these areas. In 1914, the *Marstrandsbolaget* put their new steamer *Bohuslän* in traffic.

Until the First World War, steamboat traffic represented almost the only means of public transportation along the Swedish west coast. During its heyday *Ångbåts AB Bohuslänska Kusten* had 16 steamers trafficking routes between the cities: Gothenburg, Marstrand, Uddevalla and Strömstad.

In the early 1900s (1903–1907) the railway between Gothenburg and Strömstad was inaugurated, and became a major rival to the steamboat lines; specifically in the cities like Uddevalla and Strömstad. However, the steamboats kept their competitiveness by establishing routes calling at communities along the coast situated some distance from the mainland and the proximity of the railway (Svensson 1982).

During the interwar period, the road network in Bohuslän improves immensely. Therefore passenger traffic by bus started with routes linking archipelago communities with railway stations. As early as 1911, an intercity bus line was inaugurated between Tanum railway station and Grebbestad. Gradually, the bus service expanded and after World War II the steamboat traffic suffered significantly from the competition from trains and buses which were a lot quicker compared to the boats (Almén 1985).

Furthermore, the number of cars increased and larger islands such as Orust and Tjorn became connected to the mainland by car ferries and later also by bridges. The lighter freight traffic was gradually taken over by trucks. The company first hit by the land-based passenger traffic was *Ångbåts AB Bohuslänska Kusten* since they primarily maintained the routes in the inner parts of the archipelago and thus were more sensitive to competition from land-based transportation systems. The passenger traffic eventually became unprofitable and the company ceased to operate in 1949. *Marstrandsbolaget* could however continue with passenger traffic throughout the 1950s and the company modernised their fleet by replacing steam engines with diesel. The steamer *Bohuslän* engine was kept, but the heating of the boiler was changed in 1951 from coal to oil burners. The company also tried to find other, more profitable traffic areas. These were mainly routes between the Nordic countries thus providing possibilities for sale of alcohol and tobacco on-board without tax charges

due to being in international waters. The concept of duty-free stores became a profitable business for the shipping company, and they put their steamer *Bohuslän* on the route between Landskrona and Tuborg, i.e. between Sweden and Denmark. The ship was re-designed for this mission with a duty-free shop on the steerage and a café on the rear deck (Starmark unpublished data).

In the early 1960s the regulations on what was considered "international" waters were constantly changing in order to prevent or aggravate this kind of traffic. This meant that the waters between Sweden and Denmark ceased to be defined as international waters (SOU 1998:49). The owners of *s/s Bohuslän*, in her final operation, put her on route between Strömstad in Sweden and Sandefjord in Norway. But to meet the requirement to traffic routes on international waters meant calling at Kragerö in southern Norway, which was too far away. Without any duty-free opportunities, it soon became unprofitable and *s/s Bohuslän* was laid up in Marstrand between 1963 and 1965, and eventually sold to a scrapping company in Gothenburg for dismantling (Starmark, unpublished material).

The rebirth of the steamer Bohuslän

On April 2, 1965 the society *Sällskapet Ångbåten* was formed. The initiators were a small group of seven persons. Four of the original group continue to have an active role in the reuse process even today. The purpose of the society was, if possible, to preserve *s/s Bohuslän* as a good example of the traditional steamers that once operated the routes along the Swedish west coast. Within the preservation concept, the intention was to get it in seaworthy condition as a living and serviceable museum of a bygone era. By selling shares in the boat at 100 SEK each, the group succeeded to raise the necessary 60 000 SEK and were able to buy the vessel in 1966. This in itself impressed the scrapyard owner, who became a member himself in the society, and decreased the price of the ship (Starmark).

After several years of fundraising, the restoration work began in the early 1970s. The aft deck that originally had been opened was in the 1950s provisionally turned into a saloon and in 1970 it was redesigned as a café. Several details of the original appearance were found in the bilge and were possible to save, but several parts were obtained from scrapped vessels such as a steam-powered generator. The interior went through a major restoration with the objective to reach the interior design of the original; specifically concerning the dining room, the ladies lounge and the smoking lounge. The period wallpaper as well as upholstery were not be found in Sweden but could through a number of contacts be purchased from different suppliers throughout Europe. Since the interior was designed by the well-known interior designer Otto Schulz, there was documentation as well as specifications from the construction period available that provided detailed images of the original design. In this way, the painting of bulkheads and up under the deck could follow the specification from 1914. The galley was fully modernised to enable high dining standard to

secure the attractiveness of the short charter tours, as well as a steam-heated washer which was purchased second-hand and carefully refurbished (Starmark).

For some restoration tasks, good competence in industrial craft skills had been absolutely necessary; specifically concerning the replacement of riveted steel plates in the hull and not least, the complete change of all 734 tubes in the boiler. Much of this has been made possible by the small shipyard *Gotenius Varv* in Gothenburg, who focus some of their services towards the needs of traditional and historic ships, but still on commercial basis (Gotenius et al. 2000).

The objectives of the preservation process were set to a number of issues: The steamer *s/s Bohuslän* should, as far as possible, be restored to a condition similar to the 1914 appearance; however, this turned out not to be fully possible. Furthermore, the steamer should sail under its own power and not become tied to a quay as a dead object. "Preserving in working order" became the guiding principle which is still fully practiced. The preservation process and re-use project needed to be met by the society's ability to use the steamer in such a manner that it provided an economic gain. Although donations are, and have been accepted, the sales of tickets, food and charter has generated an acceptable net gain over the years. All activities on board and in the society have been completely non-profit and voluntary. At the same time, it has been important to meet the applicable laws and regulations concerning required skills, competence and certificates for work on board a vessel intended for commercial passenger traffic. The competence needed concerned a qualified officer on the bridge and in the engine room, further sailors, cooks, steam engineers and stokers. Not only did the work force need to be qualified and certificated, but also the boiler and steam engine from 1914 had to be tested and approved. The necessary certificate was awarded in 1966 (Starmark).

From the beginning, the traffic is divided into two parts: *Open tours* and *Charters*. The former could be shorter round trips in the archipelago or longer journeys between communities along the coast, and is aimed at the general public. For the longer trips, both the dining room and the café are in operation, while on the shorter runs in the Gothenburg archipelago lighter meals are served in the café. Due to the high costs for bunker oil, the future traffic will, to an increasing degree, be carried out in waters close to Gothenburg. The sailing season begins on May 1 and runs into September when the ship enters the winter season for restoration and maintenance work (Starmark).

Reflections

The re-use of *s/s Bohuslän* has been based on an ambition to reach an appearance as close as possible to the original design, which has included both exterior and interior passenger areas, as well as the engine room, crew facilities and technical functions. This provides the

fundaments for a passenger experience of historical authenticity and qualities that also guarantees the long-term need to secure funding for continuous maintenance and restoration activities. The commercialisation has thus played an important role in the ability to preserve Bohuslän, although a balance has been achieved regarding historical significance on one hand and modern requirements on passenger traffic on the other. The ship is therefore a representation of the possibilities to integrate such contradictory ambitions as historical reliability and commercial use.

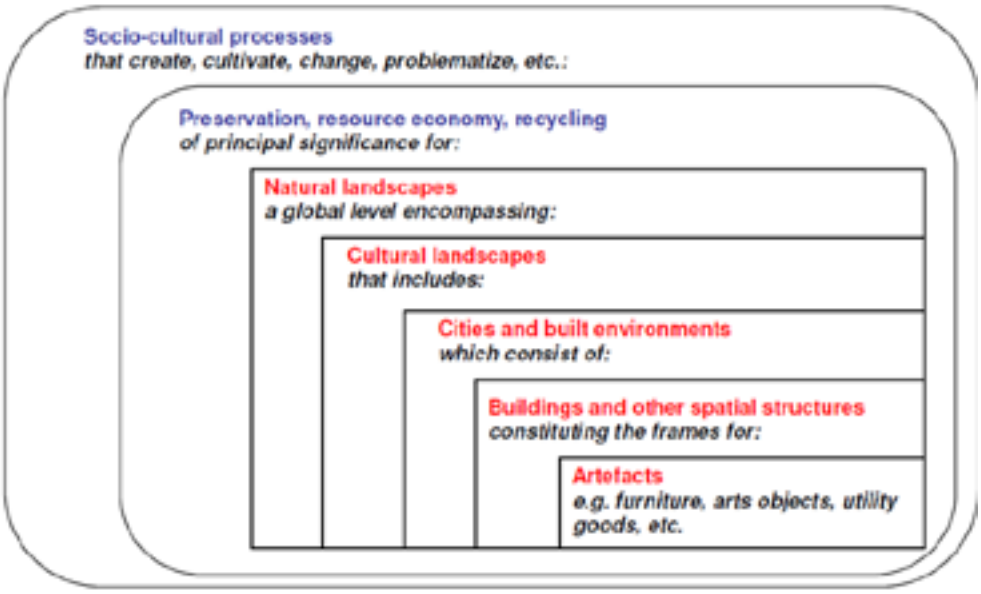
Rethinking heritage practices

The starting point for the production of industrial heritage coincided with the third industrial revolution; resulting in sites available for heritage re-use in the western world (Isacson & Morell 2002). A major component of this re-use has been a kind of re-industrialisation within the fastest growing contemporary industrial area, i.e. the tourism industry (Statista 18 February 2016). An industry which provides the base for economising the maintaining of competences and tacit knowledge required for demonstrating historical techniques, crafts and production processes which, in turn, might form the base for innovative entrepreneurship and new industries. This process has put increased requirements on the heritage profession to be able to balance a number of diverse perspectives on the heritage in question (Bergström 2002 and 2003; Douet 2012). Examples of such perspectives could be:

- Different and often conflicting interpretations of the historical significance.
- Contemporary aesthetical norms or other emotively apprehended qualities as value premises affecting interpretations.
- The traditional western focus on material authenticity as constituting historical significance.
- The possibilities for local usability in terms of local economy available for development or local engagement in other ways possible to operationalise in the preservation process. This could also concern possible needs to revitalise the foundations for the local society in terms of identity, economy, self-esteem, etc.
- The global impact concerning for instance economy, technological development, tourism flows, or political movements, but also fashion, aesthetics, heritage practices development, etc.

Industrial heritage could be associated with the same problems as the heritage field faces from a general perspective. Principally, natural and cultural heritage practices are performed through different strategies, regulations, organisation forms, occupational groups and so on which, in many situations, independently make decisions and measures within their own field. These practices have, in several cases, been developed depending on what sort of object is in focus for the activities, and in a very general sense the field could be divided according to "typical" cultural heritage objects that can be understood in terms of different social systems or contexts; which are exemplified by the boxes in *Figure 4:1* The activities within one box might have positive or negative effects in the other boxes. Industrial heritage could be found at least within the four inner boxes. The success of these activities in a broader societal context are dependent on more general attitudes to concepts such as preservation, recycling or resource-economising, and these attitudes are in turn the consequences of on-going socio-cultural processes in society that discusses and redefines the context for heritage work. For the further development of heritage practices, it is necessary to identify these boxes as interlinked sub-systems that depend on attitudes in society toward memory, history and preservation. In this way, the sub-systems form one system—the heritage practices—that are continually integrated in a wider perspective with co-operating and competitive systems, where the production results of the heritage field become resources or obstacles to the practices of these neighbouring systems.

Figure 4.1 Heritage practice as traditionally object-oriented sub-systems

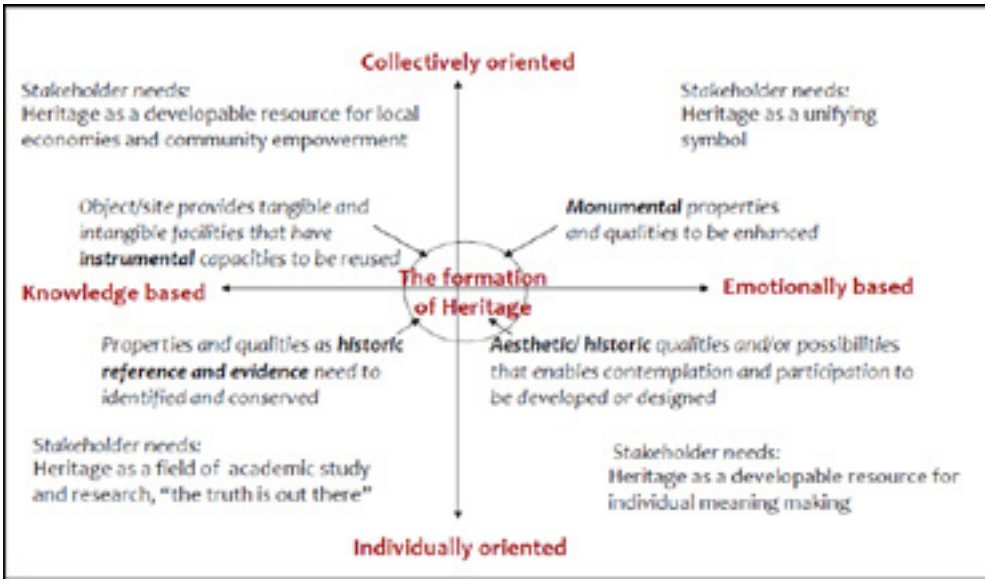


Source: After Lagerqvist et al., 2014

Taking the case of the steamer *s/s Bohuslän*, she could be understood as an artefact, a museum piece that needs to be managed as such but would, in this case, have lost several dimensions of her history. By re-using her more or less as in her previous function, she is not only interacting with the landscape and the history of the small coastal communities, but also enabling the continuous maintenance of details in the built environment such as quays and ticket offices. To keep her afloat, shipyards need to maintain competences in riveting, steam technique, old interiors, etc. A number of different interests and groups of people could therefore be seen as stakeholders in the continued preservation of the boat.

When approaching a site of industrial-maritime historical significance and defining what sort of heritage it is, i.e. what needs or requirements should it address, it is necessary to understand the different stakeholders' incentives or motivations for engaging in a heritage formation process (see *Figure 4:2*). The heritage, and the process of its definition, could be interpreted as the locus of the intersection of two differing types of tensions—one representing the dynamics between knowledge based and emotionally experienced heritage, the other illustrating the relation of heritage to individually or collectively oriented needs. Different processes, possibilities and conflicts could be discussed by placing stakeholder needs in and between the four activity areas of this structure.

Figure 4.2 Different needs from different stakeholders provides decision base for actions deploying conservation, restoration, reconstruction, design, addition and demolition.

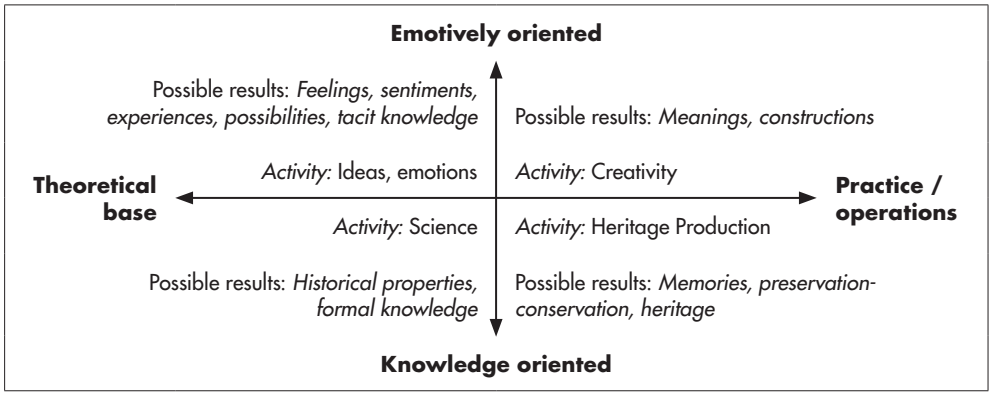


Source: Lagerqvist and Bornmalm, 2015

An industrial heritage site might become a vivid place with its significance in the present for the people who use the site or are concerned by it. In *Figure 4:3* a possible strand for changing the heritage practice is outlined tentatively based on how two dimensions might be identified in relation to a closed industrial site. One concerns the dynamics between the knowledge based and the emotionally experienced and the other stretches from the theories, ideas and thoughts at one end to operative actions at the other. The thoughts and the operative actions could be driven by the emotions we sense as well as the knowledge we possess and by putting this into a structure; thereby, creating four activity fields, different situations, opportunities and problems could be anticipated. For example, all the boxes from *Figure 4*:1 could be found in the lower right field of *Figure 4:3* as the results of activities streaming from the lower left hand field. Traditional heritage practices strive to remain there and not, consciously, to integrate emotions or sentiments as part of a creative design process into the definition of a heritage site. On the other hand, the sustainability of an historical environment is often based on people's actions represented by a flow of activities going from the upper left field to the upper right field where it is possible to define, for example, user values. The activities here are described as only going from left to right, but other more complex movements are certainly possible to outline and might also effect the production of heritage.

Based on research on and operative measures for preservation and re-use of industrial heritage (Lagerqvist 2004; Hellman & Lagerqvist 2005; Bergman et al. 2006; Lagerqvist 2006; Lagerqvist 2007; Lagerqvist 2008) it is possible to state that the reusability of historically interesting industrial sites as part of heritage processes, are dependent on the ability within the heritage profession to combine a number of perspectives and processes by expanding the practices outside traditional boxes of thought, as exemplified in *Figure 4:3*. The heritage production within the domains of industrial and technical history is a dynamic process that could benefit from a better integration between knowledge based respectively emotionally experienced activities. This integration also concerns the possibilities to improve the cooperative links between contemporary production industry and industrial heritage sites regarding tacit knowledge, innovative entrepreneurship stemming from industrial and crafts traditions, and possibilities for regenerating local economies.

Figure 4.3 Activity fields and perspectives in heritage practices



Discussion

The goal of preserving *s/s Bohuslän* has not been set to develop it into a museum, the objective could instead be defined as *back to working order*. One perspective of the concept concerns the heritage problem of machinery and technical equipment, i.e. the problems in maintaining the technical competences on long-term basis (Bergström 2003). The problem is valid for all working life museums or other organisations that maintain technical historical objects in use and operation, and concerns: how the machinery can be operated, whether there is someone competent to operate it, if one can afford to operate it, and in what ways a sustainable system for competence transfer can be formulated. The problems organisations working with industrial, maritime and technical heritage are facing regarding the transfer of such tacit knowledge, are in several cases shared with contemporary industrial production. There are numerous examples of the importance of tacit knowledge to be identified as an informal intangible asset in the technological profile of a production oriented business (Howells 1996; Lawson & Lorenz 1999). Working order is here understood as a requirement for the re-usability of machinery, equipment and in a larger perspective the full production process. The ability to maintain the tacit knowledge could therefore be instrumental for the preservation of industrial, maritime and technical heritage. The other perspective on working order concerns how this case ought not to be seen as isolated objects, but rather as instruments in a broader context. This context concerns how *s/s Bohuslän* provides through its operation basis for economic development outside its own reach, such as maintenance and restoration works needed to be implemented as well as tourism and local hospitality activities along the coast.

Craft skills necessary to keep the heritage alive could to some degree be regarded as endangered phenomena in the western world. (UNESCO; Bornmalm & Lagerqvist 2014). Within the Department of Conservation at the University of Gothenburg, a craft laboratory has been established as a national centre for the further development of craft skills involved in the preservation and safekeeping of cultural heritage. The mission of the craft laboratory is to document and secure endangered craft skills and to enhance quality and develop methodologies in the field of craftsmanship of cultural environment. In the case of the specific craft skills related to the maintenance and restoration of maritime and industrial heritage, the conditions for such craft specialisations have been surveyed in 2012 with the aim to include those within the craft laboratory operations. The skills developed, for example, in the maintenance of *s/s Bohuslän* would thus be secured, and better conditions would be given for keeping the floating heritage afloat. Such craft skills have also the strength to provide a base for establishing local economies such as mechanical workshops, shipyards and facilities related to tourism. Heritage thus understood will then, apart from producing formal memories and conserved objects, also be a meaningful asset in the continued development of society.

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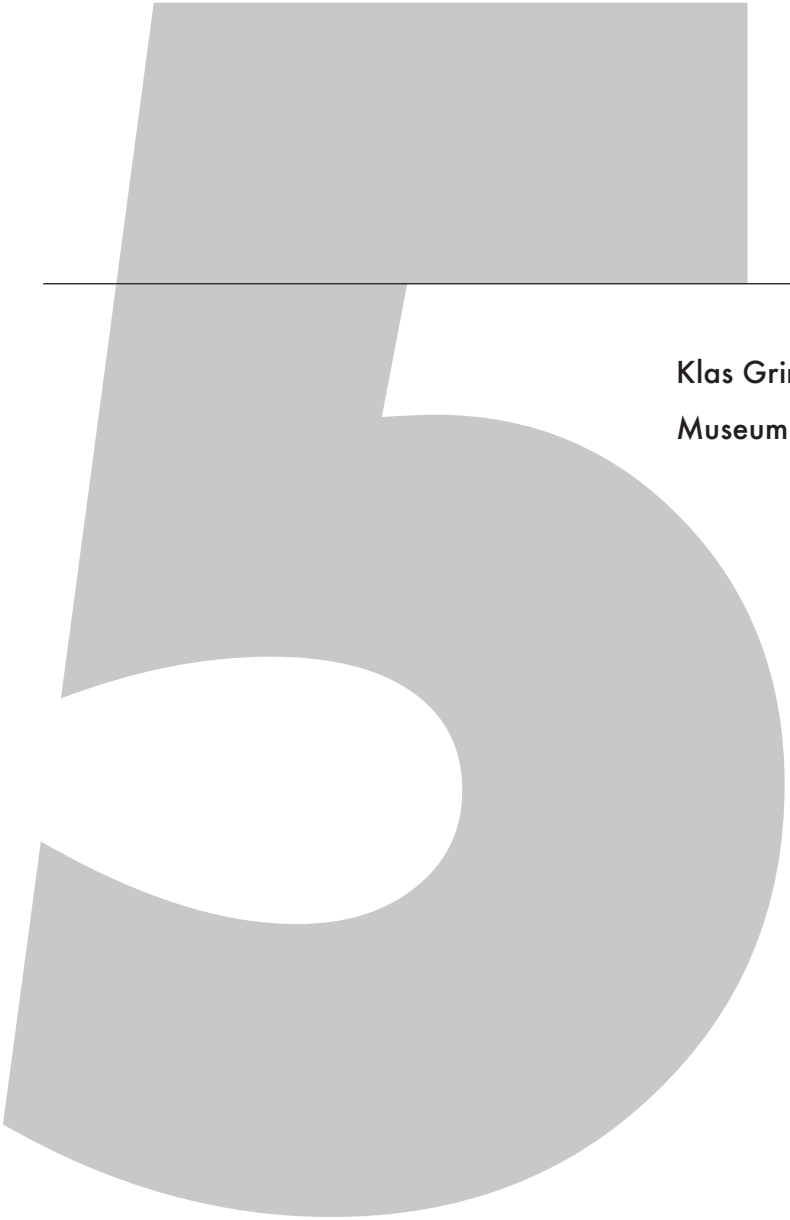

Klas Grinell
Museum of World Culture

CHAPTER FIVE FRAMES OF ISLAMICATE ART. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF ISLAMDOM

Introduction

Heritage is often discussed with an implicit understanding that it has to do with *our* relation to things from our past, even when it is described as contested and constructed, or when it is defined as world heritage (Harrison 2013). And it has recently been argued that the traditional task of museums as keepers, guardians and creators of national, regional and local heritage and as institutions upholding national identities, must, in the light of increasing migration and multiculturalism, be revised and complemented (SOU 2015:89). But, in the museum sector there are segments that do not fit into this framing. Museums also care for, and use, heritage from cultures seen as outside of our own. Ethnography is the most obvious case. In the same period as heritage has become a prominent academic theme there has been much talk about the crisis of ethnography in museum studies (Grinell & Gustavsson 2013). The connections between these two developments are little studied, though.

Here I will address these connections via a related category of cultural heritage and museum collections: Islamic art. The people who have developed the field of Islamic art have worked within European and US museums and academic institutions. The culture they study and display has not been discussed in terms of heritage. Today these collections, that for a long time were the interest of relatively few connoisseurs, have gained a wider attention because of a felt need to address what is talked about as growing tension between Islam and the West. This article focuses mainly on how this use of Islamicate cultural heritage has been framed in Europe.[1]

1. The term *Islamicate* originates from the American historian Marshall Hodgson. He defined it as something that "...would refer not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims". (*Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, p 59).

Even if there are many shared developments in the US and Europe there are also important differences between these two contexts. In Europe heritage management has until very recently had a national frame, while in the US it has from the outset been more multileveled (Harrison 2013, p 20). The contemporary political context also has important differences that make it relevant to focus on Europe here. Some of the most vocal representatives of European intolerance today are populist nationalists who portray Islam as the greatest threat to European values and culture. They try to use Islamicate cultural heritage to show the incompatibility between European and Islamic values. Their arguments not only rest on a very selective use of history, they also rely on a vague terminology that is similar to the comparing of apples and oranges. There are many studies of this contemporary rise in Islamophobia and prejudiced representations of Islam. In them there is however a systematic neglect of heritage perspectives and museum representations of Islam.[2]

Within the heritage sector cultural heritage is often said to be useful in promoting tolerance and global understanding (WGCCI 1997). Can the fear of a coming Eurabia be cooled down by using Islamicate cultural heritage held in the collections of European Museums to foster tolerance? There has certainly been some grand rhetoric around the opening of, for example, the section for Islamic Art at the Louvre in Paris which was called "a political gesture in the service of respect for peace" (Polland 2012). There has also been strong criticism arguing that using the displays of Islamicate art to promote cultural dialogue and tolerance might even turn out to be counterproductive (Flood 2007; Shatanawi 2012).

To have a ground from which to discuss the use of cultural heritage of Islamdom in Europe I will spend quite some time on the question of definitions and terminology.

People that came to Europe from for example Turkey or Pakistan in the 1970s and -80s were referred to as Turkish or Pakistani immigrants. During the last ten years they are more and more often called Muslims. There has been a shift from nationality and migration towards religious identification of immigrant Europeans, going together with a shift from social perspectives on migrants to a stronger focus on cultural heritage and cultural-ethnic identity (Allievi 2005; Grinell 2014, p 193). But as Kenan Malik has pointed out, already since the 1970s, Muslim as an identity of choice, due to societal advancement among certain groups, exists as a parallel trend (Malik 2009). The heightened visibility of Islam in Europe in the wake of migration, after the formation of OPEC, the Iranian revolution and the post-9/11 war on terror has also meant that new interests have been tied to collections of Islamicate cultural artifacts. How does this frame Islam, and Islamicate art?

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2. Some prominent examples are Chris Allen, *Islamophobia* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2010); Thomas Deltombe, *L'Islam Imaginaire: La Construction Médiatique de l'Islamophobie en France 1975-2005* (Paris: La Découverte 2005); Liz Fekete, *A Suitable Enemy: Racism, Migration and Islamophobia in Europe* (London: Pluto Press 2009); Amina Yaqin & Peter Morey, *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and Representation After 9/11* (London: Harvard University Press 2011).

Museum collections of Islamicate cultural artifacts in Europe mainly contain objects that are categorised as Islamic art. Most of the larger collections of Islamic art have been or are currently reframed, reorganized and displayed in new gallery settings. The displays of historic Islamicate artifacts that have been content with catering for a smaller segment of the art interested public are now, due to the developments described above, drawn into a new public debate concerning Islam and Muslim cultures. This interest does not primarily stem from an engagement with cultural heritage; instead it is an effect of the portrayed Islamic resurgence and Islamic terrorism of the 21st century.

Museums traditionally develop their exhibitions showing the best of their collections. As said, these collections have very little to do with the issues that make the broader public interested in these exhibitions. Is this a problem? I think we should refrain from giving too simple an answer to this question. What is pressingly needed is a more nuanced and complex understanding of Islam and the cultures of Islamdom. Meeting objects of art and handicraft might produce more complex understandings of the cultures in which they were produced (with an emphasis on might…). Other aspects are more clearly problematic, such as the fact that most exhibitions of Islam is about Islamicate art from the Middle East, mostly from before the eighteenth century, and very, very rarely from the 20th century. Islam is thus represented as a cultural epoch ending with the advent of modernity. As the Middle East and North Africa curator at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, Mirjam Shatanawi has argued, these exhibitions might instead reinforce "the proposition of a contrast between contemporary Islam (stagnant and intolerant) and early Islam (advanced and tolerant), which informs much of global politics" (Shatanawi 2012a, p 179.)

What is Islamic art, really? Framing a field

According to the Index Islamicus bibliography of Islamic art of 2012 there were 146 general books on Islamic art in any language. A vast majority of the 77 English books include the term Islamic art in their titles. Most of them focus on the Middle East and totally omit populous areas of the Muslim world such as Indonesia and Malaysia. In this, they follow many general introductions to Islam and the Muslim world that in practice has an historical focus on the Arabo-Persian world. In contrast to most art books on other traditions, Islamic art is often presented in tandem with architecture, so that many books include the phrase: Islamic art and architecture (Sinclair 2012). This is an indication that Islamic art frames a wider range of artistic (artisan) objects than the Western concept of art usually denotes; due to its origins in the classical Aristotelian idea of art as representational (mimetic).

In an influential article on the state of the field in 2003, Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom complained that there lacked any good introductory text books for undergraduates approaching the field of Islamic art. In the general history of art overviews, Islamic art is

often located between the Western categories of late antiquity and early medieval art; or presented alongside Indian, Chinese and Japanese art. Blair and Bloom say that the scholars within the field have put "the fundamental definition of the field under close scrutiny" (Blair & Bloom 2003, p 152). They also acknowledge that areas such as tropical Africa, Western China and Southeast Asia are marginalized in the field. The problem of the religious connotations of the term Islamic is also pointed out, the authors say that the attempt to introduce the term Islamicate to refer to the secular culture of Islamic civilization has not found widespread acceptance. They are right about this. In the Index Islamicus database, a search for "Islamicate" gives only 55 hits with almost half of them referring to articles in the peer-reviewed journal: Intellectual History of the Islamicate World which aims to provide "a forum for research that systematically crosses the boundaries between three major disciplines of academia and research, viz. Islamic Studies, Jewish Studies and the study of (Eastern) Christianity". A search for "Islamdom" gives a mere 4 hits.

Blair and Bloom call the dominant term: Islamic "convenient if incorrect" (Blair & Bloom 2003, p 153). There are similar problems with the art-aspect of the label Islamic art. Most of the objects in the museum collections of Islamic art are handicrafts objects that in Western arts are most often defined as "minor" or "decorative" art in contrast to the valued categories of painting and sculpture. As a field of study, Islamic art is a European invention, tracing its origins to the Swiss scholar Max von Berchem (1863–1921), who studied in Cairo and travelled in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. The narrow geographical scope was there already at the initiatory stages. As most Orientalists at the time, von Berchem was interested in the early formation of Islam that was thought to express true Islam. This was carried on by Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948) in Berlin. In 1925, the Metropolitan Museum in New York created a department for Islamic art and, in 1929, the University of Michigan established the first professorship in Islamic art. As in many other fields, it was after World War II that the US rose forth as the centre for Islamic art studies with Oleg Grabar as one of its major actors (Blair & Bloom 2003, pp 155–56).

Blair and Bloom show that there are a range of interesting, enlightening and high quality studies of concrete objects, topics and places under the umbrella of Islamic art studies. This cannot hide the fact that "'Islamic art' is a poor name for an ill-defined subject" (Blair & Bloom 2003 p 174). The field has always been centered on the early centuries of Islamicate history and it is in this narrow context where it works best. Most of the scholars in the field are still trained as medievalists. The field thus risks strengthening the old Western prejudice of Islam as something monolithic and medieval that is best explained by its old heritage rather than the many contemporary and localized uses made of it. Using the scholarship on Islamic art to understand the role of Islamicate cultural heritage today seems problematic.

Aforementioned Oleg Grabar made continuous efforts to define his field of study. His attempts are by no means unique, as Blair and Bloom note it is found in similar terms in most writings on the topic. I will use Grabar's example to get closer to the subject. There is, in the field of Islamic art, a more pressing difficulty of framing than in many other subjects. The "Islamic" of Islamic art "does not refer to a particular religion, for a vast proportion of the monuments have little or anything to do with the faith of Islam", says Grabar (Grabar 1973a, p 1). There is both a Jewish and a Christian Islamic art, which is what the term Islamicate is set to denote. This is of course confusing to a newcomer to the field. What is it then that the term frames? Grabar suggests that "Islamic" in Islamic art is more similar to epochal terms such as "Gothic" or "Baroque". One striking difference is that the term Islamic is supposed to cover a period of at least one thousand years; which makes it much vaguer. As Grabar states: "it is logically unlikely and demonstrably untrue that a sixteenth-century Persian miniature and an eighth-century Syrian wall painting are related to each other in anything but the most remote fashion" (Grabar 1973a, p 3). Still, they are unanimously counted as examples of Islamic art. In choosing these examples, Grabar keeps with a very narrow geographical area of Islamdom. What happens if we bring in a sixteenth or eighteenth century Indonesian mosque decoration? Grabar goes on to say that the term Islamic "pertains to many of the usual categories—ethnic, cultural, temporal, geographic, religious—by which artistic creations and material culture in general are classified, without corresponding precisely to any of them" (Grabar 1973a, p 3). It might be added that it is a term for an analytical concept. There were no artists that saw themselves as part of an Islamic art movement in the period studied, collected and displayed as Islamic art This is of course not unique for Islamic art, but applies for many historic and non-Western art categories. It is still important to note that there are no Islamic art manifestos.

In the book *The Formation of Islamic Art* Grabar tried to formulate an implicit definition where Islamic can be seen as a civilizational denominator. He says that "the formation of Islamic art can be seen, then, as an accumulation and novel distribution of forms from all over the conquered world, as a conscious sorting out of the meanings associated with the forms, and as a creation of a limited number of new, characteristic forms." (Grabar 1973b, p 210). This is as precise as he gets. Others are more outspoken. David Talbot Rice talks about how in the Islamic world there "was much greater uniformity, both with regard to time and space" than in medieval Christendom. With the term "the Islamic world" he is referring to the lands from Spain to India (Talbot Rice 1965, p 7). Grabar was critical to the fact that Islamic art had not included regions with important Islamic histories such as; Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, and Africa; south of the Sahara (Grabar 1973a, p 2).

The philosopher Oliver Leaman criticizes Grabar for being too cautious to what Grabar himself called "the orientalist sin of easy generalization". He spent his life studying specific objects, their specific contexts and methods of production. Despite his impressive life time oeuvre, we still do not know what can be framed as an Islamic art object (Leaman 2004, pp 7–8). Leaman concludes his discussion on "eleven common mistakes about Islamic art" by saying that "there is no evidence that there are specific differences between Islamic and other kinds of art, which means that we need to use a distinct aesthetic or other conceptual machinery to analyse Islamic art" (Leaman 2004, p 43). From this it also follows that Islamic art should not be counted as part of Islamic studies but rather as any other art history or aesthetics. There are aesthetic theories formulated in Islamic philosophy, but they are not exclusively adaptive to Islamicate art, and the reverse can be said for Western aesthetics. Leaman lands in a universalistic idea about beauty as something that is not culture bound. Art should be studied and enjoyed by other categories than if it is Islamic or not.

This goes totally against, for example, Titus Burckhardt who says that Islamic art is "sacred art". In the introduction to his book, Art of Islam: Language and Meaning, he describes how the study of it can lead to "a more or less profound understanding of the spiritual realities that lie at the root of a whole cosmic and human world" (Burckhardt 1976, p 1). The spiritual profundity sought by Burckhardt, who was himself a Muslim, is strongly Sufi oriented. As Leaman also notes, there is a very broad range of contradictory interpretations in the study of Islamic art. On this, Oleg Grabar reflected that in the history of art, generally "the 'receiver' may be considered more important than the 'sender', perhaps even than the 'message'" (Grabar 1972, p 568). Grabar is, as always, skeptical towards grand theories of meaning and he argued that Burckhardt's esoteric interpretations relied more on Islamic culture in the abstract than on the analysis of its actual monuments and artifacts (Grabar 1976, p 393). In one of his last presentations on the subject in 2010, Grabar gives a succinct genealogy of the field of Islamic art by referring to the "essentially Western European, para-academic climate of wealthy men and women in which works of Islamic art have been collected and studied". He stresses that Islamic art is "an art of the object" and that "much of Islamic art is secular, not religious" (Grabar 2012, pp 18–19). After a full life studying and teaching, and being part of institutionalizing it as a field, Grabar, like Blair and Bloom, end up saying something like: "Islamic art is something that is studied inside the frame of Islamic art studies".

Robert Hillenbrand, another of the leading names in the formation of the discipline of Islamic art studies, reflects, in his 1999 contribution on Islamic art and architecture, to the

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3. See also Oleg Grabar "Geometry and Ideology: The Festival of Islam and the study of Islamic art" in Farhad Kazemi & R. D. McChesney (eds.) *A way prepared: Essays on Islamic culture in honor of Richard Bayly Winder* (New York: New York University Press 1988)

Thames & Hudson prestigious series World of art that "the volume of scholarship consecrated to this field is tiny in comparison with that available for European art" (Hillenbrand 1999, p 9). There is thus one book on Islamic art and architecture sidelining for example: the two separate volumes on Athenian red figure vases, one on "the Archaic period" and one on "the Classical period", as well as a third volume on Early Greek vase painting and a range of books on Greek art and sculpture (Boardman 1973; 1989; 1989).

The level of generalization and eclecticism in an overview of Islamic art is therefore very high, something that also applies—even if on a slightly different scale—for similar problematic concepts such as African art; even if there is a World of Art-Companion Contemporary African art (Willett 2000). Hillenbrand does his best to warn the reader that "it would be a serious mistake to assume from that disparity that there is any less 'going on' in Islamic than in European art" (Hillenbrand 1999, p 9). Furthermore, Hillenbrand carries on the limitation of the geographical scope to its central lands with one single map in the usual Eurocentric Mercator projection of "The Islamic lands from Anatolia to Central Asia" stretching from Alexandria in the west, to Kabul in the east, Mecca in the south to Samarkand in the north. Chronologically, his narrative is structured around dynasties and stretches from the Umayyad art and architecture in the seventh century to Sassanid and early Ottoman art and architecture in the 16th century. This conservative framing of the field is still the most reproduced in textbooks and publications outside of scholarly journals; even if there is also a growing discussion of its limitations among scholars.

To get a fuller view of the art produced in lands with a Muslim majority, within the Thames & Hudson world of art series, one needs to go to titles such as: Indian art and the art of South East Asia to meet the art produced in the currently most populous Muslim majority nations of: Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan and India (Craven 2004). In these books, there is very little focus on the Islamicate tradition as other regional similarities and genealogies are privileged; themes that are also discussed in the titles Hindu art and architecture and Buddhist art and architecture, where the focus is more exclusively on religious artifacts and buildings such as sculptures and temples. Egyptian art, as a contrast, refers only to Pharaonic art and thus ends by 320 BC (Mitchell 2000; Fischer 1993; Aldred 1980).

Despite the problems that most framings of the field acknowledge, the category of Islamic art shows no sign of disappearing in University departments and courses, and not least in museums. Even the critical survey of Blair and Bloom called "The Mirage of Islamic Art" capitulates and concludes that it would be "a great pity indeed" if the field of Islamic art was pulled apart (Blair & Bloom 2003, p 178). Most museums avoid the problem of categorization as most collections of Islamic art are old. They are at hand, and defined by the historical collecting of previous curators. Also here we come to the conclusion that Islamic art is what is conserved and curated by the museum departments of Islamic art (Junod et al. 2012). Is there no way out of this mirage?

In the 30-year anniversary edition of the leading scholarly journal of the field, Muqarnas, the editor Gülru Necipoglu states that "the typical question, 'What is Islamic about Islamic art?' became marginalized in academic scholarship [in the 1990s] by inquiries that began to foreground diversity and intercultural exchange" (Necipoglu 2013, p 4). According to Necipoglu, the last ten years has seen a backlash where stereotypes and outdated approaches have returned and been strengthened in popular introductions to the field in documentaries, exhibitions and new museums of Islamic art. This has meant a broadening gap between simplistic popularizations and more and more complex academic interpretations. Stefan Weber, director of the Museum of Islamic art in Berlin is also critical of such a development and argues that the museum should disseminate knowledge about: "key issues such as the cross-regional flow and development of taste, ideas, the aesthetic and semantic value of objects in their functional and decorative contexts, technical innovation, the cultural realities behind, for example, floral ornamentation and vibrant colours, together with the fact that the artefacts belong within specific reference systems of 'good taste'" (Weber 2012, p 29).

As an adaptation to the growing professionalization of its content, the journal Muqarnas, in 1996, changed its subtitle from: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture, to An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World; in 2009, it was modified to talk about visual cultures in plural. The tendency to stay within the central lands and the early periods of Islam, and maybe to a lessening degree the "orientalist sin of easy generalization" still goes for most of the contributions to the journal, despite its change in editorial outlook. Islamic art is, to a higher degree than other Islamic studies, staying within classical orientalist frames.

Changing the terms of discussion

What to do then? I would argue that changing ideas require changing terminology. Philosopher Jacques Rancière talks about "interrupting the distribution of the sensible", a move that is both political and aesthetic. Redistributions of the way we sense and thus frame the world open new possibilities for the action of unrepresented parts of society. Small things, such as the changing of names, can result in a clash between logics and disrupt the normalized political distribution in a society (Ranciére 2004). Rancière gives the example of the juridical process against Auguste Blanqui in France in 1832. When asked by the court about his profession, Blanqui stated "proletarian". The judge claimed that "proletarian" was not an occupation, to which Blanqui answered that it was the occupation of the majority of the people and that they had been deprived of their political rights. Rancière reads this moment as a subjectivation of people that had not hitherto been part of the symbolic con-

stitution of society. The majority of the people could by the name of proletarian become visible; thereby the political field had changed (Ranciére 1999, pp 37–39).

What would this mean in relation to the Muslims of Europe and Islamicate cultural artifacts? One of the most thorough and sincere discussions on the categories and terms used to understand world history in general and, the areas relating to Islam in particular, can be found in the introduction to Marshall Hodgson's The Venture of Islam. According to Hodgson, the overarching concept of civilization was, to a large extent, defined by philologists who thought that "a civilization is what is carried in the literature of a single language" (Hodgson 1974, p 31). Even if this is not entirely mistaken, it has led to a strong Arabistic bias within Islamic studies. The so-called central Arab lands with Cairo as a center continues to be a privileged site for empirical and textual studies. The Arab lands that saw the rise of the religion of Islam are seen as the true Islamic lands; even if the Islamicate civilization cannot be said to originate in that area alone nor even primarily from Arab traditions. For example, Syriac and Persian were integral and central features in the development of Muslim urban life, art and thought. Not even Greek traditions of thought can easily be seen as foreign to the Islamic civilizaton (Grinell forthcoming). In some ways, Islamic art can be said to see this more clearly in its focus on the continuation from late antique art into Islamic art. As Hodgson points out: the inability to talk clearly about the formation of Islamicate civilization in part comes from the ambiguous meaning of the term "Islamic".

The Islamicate civilization is normally portrayed as essentially and historically Arab. Hodgson counters by saying that "the Islamicate civilization may be seen as the latest phase of the Irano-Semitic culture which goes back, in the lands from Nile to Oxus, to Sumerian times" (Hodgson 1974, p 43). Hodgson introduces the term Islamicate together with the term Islamdom to exchange the biases and ambiguities of the term Islamic for a terminology that can differentiate religion from society and culture. Hodgson starts by making a distinction between Islamic, as a term for religious phenomena and, Muslim for cultural traits; common among Muslims. In order to talk about the areas under influence from Islamic religion, he coined the phrase "Islamdom". In analogy with Christendom, Islamdom is only the society that carries a culture/civilization. Hodgson urges us to talk about "the society of Islamdom and its Islamicate cultural traditions" (Hodgson 1974, p 58). This leaves Islamic as a term for religious aspects of these cultural traditions, like the term Christian art Islamic art would thus only cover artistic expressions of religious ideas and functions. The material framed by the different definitions presented above should therefore be called Islamicate art, something that very few scholars have adapted.[4] In many introductions to Islamic studies, writers acknowledge Hodgson's argument as valid, but like

4. A notable example on cultural heritage is Susan Kamel, "Representing Objects from Islamicate Countries in Museums" in Valeria Minucciani (ed.) *Religions and Museums in Europe: Immaterial and material heritage* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C. 2013) and more general Bruce Lawrence, "Islamicate civilization: a view from Asia" in Brannon M. Wheeler (ed.) *Teaching Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003)

Blair and Bloom say that since it has not gained popularity it comes about as strange and obscure. Even if judged to be better it is still not used much.

One might find it petty to be caught up with these terminological specificities. In line with Rancière, I would argue that it does have an impact on the way Islamicate cultural heritage is handled and for the role it can possibly play in the crucial representations and presences of Islam and cultural heritage of Islamdom in Europe, and thus for the everyday conditions of being Muslim in Europe. The possible positions and distinctions in relations to Islam, Islamic, Islamdom and Islamicate cultural heritage become clearer with a distinctive terminology and the understanding of Islamophobia can therefore be more distinct and hopefully, more productive and progressive. It might also leave art historians at peace and clarify that Islamphobia is a social and political problem that needs to be addressed in broader ways than permanent exhibitions of old collections of Islamicate art. As Beshara Doumani says: "Redefining the concept of Islamic art in the museum context is ultimately about reconfiguring Europe's vision of itself and its relation to the Other" (Doumani 2012, p 129).

In order to do this, we might also need a less celebratory understanding of cultural heritage. The discrepancy between scholarly and popular exposés of Islamicate art that Necipoglu saw and criticized might also be understood as the difference between history and heritage. David Lowenthal writes that "collapsing the entire past into a single frame is one common heritage aim" and "stressing the likeness of past and present is another" (Lowenthal 1998, p 139). Scholars in the field of Islamic art are engaged in historical research, trying to find answers to specific questions put to localized materials. The grand theories about Islamic civilization belong to the academic field of history. When history is used for contemporary political and identitarian purposes it is transformed into heritage. This goes for any history.

Museums of Islamic art are special in the same way as museum ethnography in that the collecting, care and use of this heritage has not been a positive building block in the curators own identity. For a long time most Orientalists were convinced that Islam was a past civilization. They collected and studied it as a closed chapter of world history. In this it served to show that Europe and the West were the makers of progress. For some there was of course certain nostalgia for times past, when handicrafts and spirituality were held in higher esteem. Academic history engaged in a move away from this, brilliantly argued by Hodgson in the 1960s. At that same time museums and universities drifted more and more apart, and the field of Islamic art was more and more separated from other aspects of Islamic studies with the advent of area studies and the rising critique of the Orientalist perspective. Even today, the museums and popular writers use of heritage is in most cases by proxy. It is not the visitors that shall take pride in the display of Islamicate heritage;

they should rather learn to respect the people and the tradition that could produce such masterpieces. As Shatanawi writes "the preferred strategy is to focus on universal love of aesthetics; substituting beauty for violence and artistic skill for backwardness" (Shatanawi 2012a, p 177).

Islam at the museum

Exhibitions of Islamic artifacts have since September 11, 2001 been surrounded by a growing rhetoric of tolerance. The Victoria and Albert Museum opened a new gallery of Islamic Art in 2006, the Ashmolean Museum opened new Islamic galleries in 2009, the Louvre in 2012, the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin is working for a re-launch in 2019 as one of the final parts of the great Museum Island project.

It should be noted that there is a major difference between temporary and permanent exhibitions, in finished products as well as in working methods and processes. Permanent exhibitions at large keep the same overall structure throughout the period since WWII, sorting its material according to region, dynasty and material. More temporary exhibitions have been influenced by the movement of new museology; representing a shift of perspective from curators concerns to the social function of museums and the agency of local and what is called source communities. The aim is social inclusion and empowerment rather than the appreciation of bourgeoisie connoisseurs Kamel (2013). Even if the aim is good, the outcome might not reach its goals. As Shatanawi argued "the representation of cultural diversity by means of 'communities' reinforces a focus on difference—that which distinguishes migrant visitors from a regular museum public—rather than communalities" (Shatanawi 2012b, p 77).

The discrepancy between the history framing of Islamicate art in scholarship and the heritage framing of museum exhibitions of the same material is getting stronger and stronger. The classical ethnographic and museological approach has been to collect and present the most typical examples of a discrete and clearly delimited culture. Even when this is done in an appreciative and informed way, it enhances the understanding that cultures are separate entities with typical traits. The contemporary investments in new museums of Islamic art seem to follow the same perspective. In opening the Louvre's new wing on Islamic Art, French President Francois Hollande called it "a political gesture in the service of respect for peace." However, Jennifer Polland of the Business Insider, who quotes president Hollande goes on to ask: "Now that the Louvre and the [New York] Met have opened their Islamic art wings, the world has taken note. So the question is: Will these new galleries help heal the rift between the West and the Muslim world?" (Polland 2012).

The idea of two separate worlds that need to tolerate and respect each other seems to be strengthened by most museums. Like the introductory textbooks, the major exhibits on Islam are very much centered on past reified expressions of a great and impressive civilization. As the mission statement from the museum project "Discover Islamic Art" informs, Islamic art is a historic category. All the same, the display of the best examples of this art is said to make them ambassadors for a civilization (Schubert 2007).

In order to show that contemporary world culture is a joint production, transgressing the division of classical world cultures, it is vital that other ways of normalizing Islam, as contributors to the global human existence, are given room in major museum projects; not only in separate wings for Islamicate heritage (Grinell 2014).

Understanding through gazing?: Museums at large

As earlier stated, Islamic art departments and museums, like ethnographic museums, display the heritage of "other" cultures. It might therefore be helpful to graft on to the larger discussions on ethnography. With the advent of new museology and the crisis of ethnographic museums, as tied to an imperialist world view and world order, there have been a continuous concern that "many anthropological museums in recent years have begun to display some of their objects as 'master pieces'" (Clifford 1988, p 221). James Clifford describes how objects move from being collected and displayed to metonymically represent a traditional, collective culture, into being treated as original and singular objects of art. This also means that the object-as-object becomes more important than its context of origin. If the ethnographic and anthropological museums were ideally about learning the there-and-then, the art museum is about refinement of taste and appreciation of objects as works of art. The art way of looking reifies cultural objects, and the value of them becomes similar to the value of commodities. Ethnographic master pieces are described as treasures, splendors, and such. Their value is in some way measured as wealth and riches (Clifford 1997, p 121).

One problem of course is that the concept of a masterpiece relies on a well-established canon marking certain objects as extraordinary and genial. There are unique objects that Modern individuals know you should have seen, that are important parts of building cultural capital, such as: the Eiffel Tower, the Grand Canyon, Mona Lisa at the Louvre, any painting by Picasso, van Ghogh or Rembrandt and maybe Andy Warhol. Most people know about them. They are famous for being famous, even if many of them have lost the basis of their fame. The Empire State Building became famous as the tallest building in New York. It is far from that now, but still attracts some two million visitors. There are also vaguer kinds of sights that do not relate to a specific object, such as an English pub, an Alpine landscape, a Pacific beach (Urry 1990, p 12). How many such Islamicate master-

pieces can you name? As Seif al-Rashidi notes, the Taj Mahal is one of the few examples with such a status (Seif al-Rashidi 2012, p 210). Stretching the category somewhat, we might add the Blue Mosque, the grand mosque in Cordoba, a Persian miniature painting, an arabesque pattern, a bazaar, veiled women and bearded men in jellabahs, camels and sand dunes—however, we seem to slip further and further into Orientalist stereotypes… (Grinell 2002, p 16).

Normally, a massive institutional support is required in order to sacralize a sight or make a masterpiece of an art object. It is achieved through a process of naming, framing, enshrining, mechanical reproduction and social reproduction. According to sociologist Dean MacCannell, there is "a twofold process of sight sacralisation that is met with a corresponding ritual attitude on part of the tourist [or museum visitor]" (MacCannell 1976, p 42).

The first step to make an object visible is to give it 1) a specific name, to distinguish it from similar objects and the surroundings where it is displayed. This leads to a 2) framing and elevation of the object. It is set apart from the mass by cases, podiums, lightning, and labels and so on. This builds up to 3) an enshrinement of the object where it becomes more and more obvious that this is something out of the ordinary that requires a special respect and response from the viewer. This will more or less inevitably lead to 4) mechanical reproductions of the object, pictures, posters, replicas and souvenirs. On any major master piece there are a multitude of books, they are frequently referred to in films and might even be a daily reference in many languages. This leads to the final step of a full sacralization when there is 5) social reproduction; when a group or a district (a museum) starts naming themselves in relation to the object (MacCannell 1976, pp 44–45).

As writers later have argued, this process depends today very much on public mediation through "film, newspapers, TV, magazines, records and videos which construct that gaze" (Urry 1995, p 132). A museum cannot decide that they want to be a sacralized sight or display a masterpiece. This process is in the hands of many other actors, and it is thus very difficult to control. Multiple interests have to be involved to make an object into a masterpiece, or to construe a heritage site. Even if one aims at a sacralization on a local level, and small scale, a range of other interests must mobilise to use the object for its own cultural promotion, enjoyment and production. This will take some time.

Visiting a museum is like, and often part of, being a tourist. As John Urry states in the classic Tourist Gaze: "Particularly as tourists, we see objects which are constituted as signs. They stand for something else" (Urry 1990, p 129). Urry states that the gaze within museums has changed in central ways: the objects deemed worthy of preservation and display has been fundamentally broadened. Urry describes this as a shift from "aura" to "nostalgia". Even if this means that just about any object can be expected to be displayed in some museum somewhere, it also means that objects need to be framed as a sign of nostalgia, as something beyond its mere materiality, to be recognized. The logic of the gaze still rules.

Like tourism, museums display the world as an aesthetic surface. They are both extreme forms of modernity in their preoccupation with the visual. I would like to argue that this tourism gaze is compatible to what we can call the museum gaze. Urry develops his understanding of the gaze from Michel Foucault's discussion of the medical gaze (regard médical) in The Birth of the Clinic. When "we" leave home, we look at the surroundings with curiosity and interest. The tourist gazes at what he/she encounters. This of course also holds for a museum visit, one of the prime activities of tourism. "This gaze is as socially organized and systematized as is the gaze of the medic" says Urry, and "there are in fact many professional experts who help to construct and develop our gaze as tourists" (Urry 1990, p 1). The gaze consumes signs of desirable experiences, and knowing how to gaze as a tourist and in a museum is a sign of modernity. The gaze also needs a certain distance; things that differ in some way attract its attention with more ease. Still, neither the tourist gaze nor the museum gaze should be reduced to the behavior of the individual tourists or museum visitors. Urry has been criticized for portraying the tourists as if they have power to choose what to look at. There are, in fact, a lot of brokers and institutional restraints that make things and sites into sights, heritage or master pieces.

Within all the different modern genres of knowledge, Foucault registered a gaze that isolates, differentiates and exerts power over what or whom it views. There is a new and modern belief that the visible, and what has been observed, can be fully expressed in language, and that language can fully capture reality (Foucault 1989, p 89; 1970, p 217).

The medical gaze points to the establishment of new codes of knowledge. The individual case was no longer interesting in itself; a patient was not primarily a sick person, but an indefinitely reproducible pathological fact that could be found in all patients suffering in the same manner. "But to look in order to know, to show in order to teach, is this not a tacit form of violence, all the more abusive for its silence, upon a sick body that demands to be comforted, not displayed? Can pain be a spectacle?" (Foucault 1989, p 84).

The institution of the museum is, as Bennett (1995) has convincingly shown, a visible example of this shift in the fundamental structures of experience that modernity formed; that formed modernity. Donna Haraway calls this objective European gentleman "the modest witness". This dis-engaged and a-emotional truth telling from an objective place (a culture without culture) was by definition masculine. A woman could view an experiment, but she was not seen as a reliable, rational witness. The European collectors of Islamicate art were almost ideal types of such gentlemen. Museums are interesting in that they straddle the division between the scientific gaze and the tourist gaze. Many of them are scientific institution engaged in scientific collecting, but they are also public spaces displaying aesthetical and educational exhibitions (Haraway 1997, pp 23–27).

Concluding discussion

The gulf between scholarship and popular displays described above might point to that the museum gaze is more and more connected to heritage and tourism than to science. In some aspects this relates to a general development within the museum field where the reliance on collections expertise is giving way to interpretation and communicatory perspectives (Black 2012). Generally this is argued to be done in order to take social responsibility and address prejudice. Displays that want to reach a broader public are meant to counter stereotypes, not enhance them. Museums shall be in the service of society, and this is why they shall not mainly be directed towards disseminating sophisticated research findings about objects in the collections that the public finds obscure and irrelevant. Taking the museum's social responsibility seriously requires collecting new materials, breaking up old categorizations, and addressing new topics. In new museology it is often argued that museums should not be seen as experts, but apprentices helping to learn from, rather than learn about the traditions whose expressions they curate (Nicks 2003; Sandell 2007). It might even require that the "traditional object-focused aspirations are reduced or even discarded" (Heumann-Gurian 2006, p 116). It is quite remarkable that the field of Islamic art has an opposite trajectory (Necipoglu 2013). Especially given the discursive importance attached to Islamicate cultural heritage as means for counter Islamophobia.

In today's Europe, Islam is highly politicized topic. Most European countries, including Sweden, have populist parties talking about Islam and Muslims as the greatest existing threat to European values and societies. It is therefore vital to make a distinction between the importance of tradition and heritage, and nationalistic groundings of political solidarity in identity, belonging and similarity. The facts and artifacts museums choose to display are always incorporated into public narratives that are constructed mainly of other material. Exhibiting Islamdom, mainly or only as the source of a past civilization seems to strengthen the idea that Islam has no room in shaping a common European future, and that contemporary conflicts are best understood in terms of culture rather than as strategies of domination. Giving more room to more elaborate arguments about the intercultural exchanges that historically produced Islamicate culture will not escape this culturalization of Islam and Muslims. Islamic art is still displayed as something to learn more about, not a heritage to engage in and learn from.

The use of cultural heritage to promote dialogue and tolerance requires other frames. In its current framing, tolerance does not demand that the tolerant transform themselves. It is rather about letting those who deviate from the norm by belonging to another culture be as they are; even if they are a bit peculiar or behind. The positive sides of our societal norms are thus further normalized—those who tolerate are equal, rational and critical of norms.

But what does this say about those in need of tolerance, for example Muslims? Are we not indirectly saying that those we need to tolerate—the Muslims—are less developed; that they need our benevolence to have a place in society; that their only role in museums are as heirs of a closed and dead heritage, even if that heritage is full of diversity and intercultural exchange?

I close with an analogy: Who would promote an exhibition of Italian renaissance painting as a way of countering Berlusconi influenced prejudice against Italy and Italians, or against Catholic Christendom?

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6

CHAPTER SIX TOKYO HERITAGE

Introduction

> ”In promoting the low city [Shitamachi] as a place to go, a place to have fun, a place to shop, a place to get in touch with one’s ’roots’, [S]hitamachi has been fetishized” (Bestor 1993, p 55).

Towards the end of my fieldwork, I make a visit to the Tokyo Shitamachi Museum, which is hosting a special exhibit on the Tokyo reconstruction era (the re-building of Tokyo after the devastating Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923). I chat with the museum staff about the history of Tokyo, how the Shitamachi area, the low city, was almost wiped out; not only in the 1923 earthquake, but also in the firebombing towards the end of World War II and the importance of Shitamachi for the identity of Tokyo today. The museum tells these stories vividly, using artefacts, images and documents. Maps show the visitor how Shitamachi shifts and expands over time, and how conflagrations repeatedly consume the area. On the ground floor, there are reconstructions of fully equipped homes, shops and workshops. I ask about the place. Where should I go to experience old Tokyo (Shitamachi) today? A brief silence follows before one of the staff hesitantly answers the expected: ”Around Ueno and Asakusa” (two nearby urban subcenters). While nodding in agreement, the others cautiously add that there actually remains little to be seen.[1]

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The museum staff's contention that little of the history of Shitamachi—the historical heart of Tokyo—is possible to visit, despite the attempts to promote it as a place to go, is confirmed in the academic literature on Tokyo. The urban landscape is portrayed as transient, in flux and dynamic, or characterised as rootless, chaotic and obsessed with the present (Ashihara 1989; Cybriwsky 2005; Seidensticker 2010; Sorensen 2009; Waley 2006; Waley 2012). It has even been suggested that "no other city in the world, much less one so large and important, has been so ephemeral in physical form" (Cybriwsky 2005, p 218). In contrast to the exceptional instability of Tokyo's urban landscape, we find a global development in which heritage, as a form for stabilising and presenting the past in physical form, has become pervasive (Smith 2006). Preservation and displays of the past as heritage has established itself as a global standard for creating identity and distinction in competition and communication with the world. In the global politics of recognition, which puts a premium on physical forms of heritage, how does Tokyo deal with the predicament of ephemerality and what does that mean for heritage as an act of "presencing" the past (Macdonald 2013, pp 15–17) and making history visitable (Dicks 2003, p 134)?

In what follows, I (1) begin with a discussion of what heritage generally is anticipated to achieve, focusing on globally dominating conceptions of heritage and how heritage is turned into an asset in place making and place marketing. I will (2) then examine how these anticipated effects, in the case of Tokyo, are impeded by various circumstances such a volatile urban landscape and diverging preservation practices. Finally (3), I turn to the co-existence of an image of the city based on flux and future, and an engagement in expressions of the city's past. I will argue that beyond the officially designated buildings, the preservation movements' projects, and the playful recreated sites, we need to pay attention to the ways historical buildings serendipitously linger on in the city's urban fabric. Building on Marilyn Ivy's work on the haunting absence of the vanishing past in contemporary Japanese society (Ivy 1995), I want to reformulate this and stress the heightened sense of the *lingering past* in contemporary interstitial spaces in the urban fabric.

Heritage anticipations

"All at once heritage is everywhere", exclaims David Lowenthal in the introduction to his influential critical investigation of contemporary heritage practices (Lowenthal 1998, p xiii). Not only is heritage everywhere, it is also expected to do, if not everything, then at least a great number of things. Heritage has become a favoured tool in political projects, economic strategies and social initiatives across the globe. Expectations are high for heritage to justify political claims, stimulate economic growth and to foster senses of belonging (Benton 2010; Harrison 2010; Labadi & Long 2010). A rich heritage is anticipated in

contemporary forms of packaging and presenting places for the purpose of place branding and destination building (Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000).[2] In other words, heritage has increasingly been reconfigured into an asset to be explored and harnessed in specific contexts and for specific purposes. Pierre Nora (1989) and David Lowenthal (1985) amongst others have critically discussed the packaging of history into displayable and marketable formats and contrasted it to what they see as less corruptive social forms of memory and history. This position has, in turn, been disputed for being elitist and idealistic and resting on assumptions about authentic forms of remembering and knowing the past (Samuels 1994, pp 259–273). Here, the aim is not to debate heritage as a specific apparatus of managing the past in contrast to history, memory, tradition and myth, but to show how heritage is being operationalised within specific contemporary political, economic and social projects and processes on multiple scales.

The emergence of a globally hegemonic conceptualization of heritage has been discussed in terms of an "authorised heritage discourse" (Smith 2006) and a "patrimonial régime" (Hafstein 2012). These discussions have urged researchers to think about the discursive practices and knowledge regimes implicated in the establishment of legitimate heritage objects, and how these processes evolve within global fields of power. Laurajane Smith's work critically investigates how metropolitan conceptions of heritage are spread throughout the world as standard for proper heritage (Smith 2006). Central to this development is the regulatory framework for global governance of heritage developed under the UNESCO umbrella, with its apparatus of expertise, procedures and techniques for systematically safeguarding and preserving cultural and natural heritage.

The UNESCO emblem aptly symbolises the endorsed form of heritage. It features a stylistic rendering of the Parthenon temple (Valderrama 1995, p 102) and signals how the global heritage regime "privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artifact/site significance tied to time depth" (Smith 2006, p 11). The centrality of material substance and monumentality in dominating conceptualizations of heritage is connected to three crucial concerns. Firstly, it is linked to how authenticity is established through the knowledge regime of science and how heritage management and conservation are developed based on scientific methods. Secondly, it makes heritage visible and visitable, which fits political, social and commercial agendas for strengthening local communities and national belongings. Lastly, a point I will return to below, it reflects the heritage conceptions of some influential European member states with a richness in historical buildings that stand sturdy over the centuries.

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2. A sign of the times is the World Bank commissioned study on the subject of heritage as an engine in urban and economic development, aptly titled *The Economics of Uniqueness: Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development* (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi 2012).

Understood as a hegemonic discourse and a regime of knowledge, heritage making takes place in two steps. In the first step, it expands outwards from the center of policy-making, incorporating new localities and phenomena and in the second step, people, things and places are transfigured and homogenized as they are aligned to these standards. We are thus concerned with a globally expanding set of concepts and practices that challenge and sometimes threaten alternative forms of experiencing, knowing and preserving the past (Smith 2006, p 11). The apparatus of formal UNESCO procedures for nomination, screening and designation is a vessel for the global expansion and transformation of heritage practices and heritage objects. However, the hegemonic heritage discourse also has reverberations beyond these formal global structures influencing other channels for making proper heritage and for what kind of heritage is desirable.

Valdimar Hafstein discusses heritage in similar terms, viewing it as a form of a global regimentation, but beyond the conventions, charters and lists of official heritage governance he also sees an engendering potential (Hafstein 2012). As an example, he refers to the environmental movement. Like the notion of "environment", a powerful concept like "heritage" has the capacity to connect people, phenomena and places in common causes (Hafstein 2012, p 502). In this sense, the globalising heritage discourse is not only a hegemonic system defining proper and desirable forms of heritage, disqualifying alterity and producing recognised heritage objects and heritage subjects, it also provides a conceptual apparatus "to mobilise people and resources, to reform discourses and to transform practices" (Hafstein 2012, p 502). Thus, another aspect of the UNESCO driven heritage paradigm lies in its capacity to provide a social arena for global heritage recognition, management and preservation. This can be likened to the argument by Richard Wilk, who has shown how the proliferation of beauty pageants in Belize constitutes a universal grammar of display and identification that is structurally diversifying; much like the global heritage paradigm. The format encourages distinction and calls on people to display differences. The "structures of common difference" ensures continued diversity, but orchestrates the conditions for production of difference. Whether it is beauty or heritage, the point is that it is a global arena that provides "a common channel and a point of focus for the debate and expression of differences" (Wilk 2002, pp 205–206).

That the UNESCO heritage framework is not a straightforward case of a globally hegemonic discourse, co-opting particular localities into a unified framework, is clear from how nation state actors actively embrace the conventions, procedures and lists. Despite the global governance function of the UNESCO lists, "nation-states have harnessed [these] global systems more than been eclipsed by them" (Askew 2010, p 23). World heritage designations have established themselves as global forms of recognition of valuable cultural and natural resources and can constitute tools for domestic agendas such as political projects

and economic development. Nation-states and national imaginations require these "signatures of the visible" that are useful in mobilising resources and people (Appadurai 2001, p 44, Jameson 1992).

Beyond the level of the nation-state, where heritage designations are mobilised to form perceptions of the nation, heritage also has concrete potential and promises; in particular, places, regions and cities. In the cultural economy of contemporary consumer society, heritage is attributed great potential in contributing to regional development, not least in struggling depopulation areas. It is also understood as a generative instrument in urban development projects, frequently in terms of public-private partnerships, where corporations contribute resources to carry out public services. The hopes are generally that heritage, as a form of cultural production of display and visitability helps build appealing place brands that attract people and resources (Dicks 2003; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Cultural vibrancy and creativity are crucial features of comprehensive global cities and "heritage is a vital factor in the urban economy" (Graham 2002, p 1014). In short, the display of cultural and historical richness is understood to be a measure of openness, diversity and sophistication; typical of a creative and innovative place, which attracts people, corporations and capital that can further, develop the city (Graham 2002, p 1014). Culture and cultural heritage in terms of urban development have increasingly come to be part of an invigorating package that is anticipated to stimulate people and the economy. Opera houses, signature architecture, museums, exhibitions, and historical districts are all part of a toolkit for creating identity, supplying exciting consumer experiences and attracting tourists. Most significantly, heritage has contributed more than the atmosphere of experience-oriented consumer zones. Historical buildings and neighbourhoods have been crucial assets in many urban gentrification projects. Furthermore, heritage has regularly boosted real estate value in urban renewal projects (Dicks 2003, p 140).

Heritage circumstances

As has been argued above, the global heritage regime and the cultural economy of place-making impel nation states and cities to celebrate their past in specific ways. In particular, the visibility and visitability of material and monumental phenomena makes them suitable and desirable forms of heritage. This way, heritage is engaged in projects of stabilising the past, stabilising places, and stabilising communities (with the additional promise to liquidate into cash). Heritage thus becomes a diversifying apparatus that orchestrates conceptions and practices, and an empowering tool that can be put to a multitude of uses, but at the same time reconfigures places and people.

Turning to the case of Tokyo, it is clear that the globally desired brick and mortar kind of heritage is a scarce phenomenon.[3] A rough overview would show that there are scattered surviving brick, stone and concrete buildings from the late 19th century onwards.[4] These are usually government buildings, corporate offices, department stores or university buildings. They represent official and corporate early modern Tokyo and range from meticulously maintained examples, such as Tokyo's only national treasure designated building, Asakusa Palace,[5] and important cultural properties classified buildings like Mitsui Main Building,[6] to endangered modernist office buildings and elementary school buildings (Watanabe 2001). Generally these buildings have withstood the conflagrations resulting from earthquakes and war better than wooden structures, but have not fared so well in urban development processes, as in the Marunouchi-Ōtemachi business area where today a paradoxical heritage driven urban redevelopment project demolishes late pre-war and early post-war office buildings.[7]

Wooden structures, on the other hand, include official buildings, religious structures, shops and private residents. They can be of Japanese architectural styles, Western styles (in particular, the few surviving early modern upmarket residences) or just modern combinations. They can be classified into specific time periods framed by the devastating conflagrations in 1923 and 1945. Some wooden structures remain from before 1923, predominantly religious structures, school/university buildings or residences, nearly all of them outside the Shitamachi area of Tokyo. The next set originates in the 1920s and 1930s and managed to survive the firebombing of 1945. The scope of building types in this category is wider and includes some Shitamachi settings. The third category is early post-war wooden buildings, typically two-storied machiya (wooden town houses often with a store on the ground floor and residential quarters upstairs) or nagaya (longhouses typically comprising four apartments), which have survived waves of urban re-development efforts. It is the presence

3. I confine the following discussion to roughly eight core wards that modern Tokyo City emerged from: Chiyoda-ku, Chūō-ku, Minato-ku, Shinjuku-ku, Bunkyō-ku, Taitō-ku, Sumida-ku and Koto-ku. Since this is the area that has the longest history of urban settlement it is also where one can expect to find most of the historical buildings. My fieldwork focused in particular on the eastern half this area, which is also its Shitamachi part.

4. See Watanabe (2001) for a useful overview of historical buildings in Tokyo.

5. Asakusa Palace was constructed in 1909. There is one more National Treasure in the Tokyo Metropolitan area, The Shofuku-ji Temple, but that is located outside the former "City of Tokyo".

6. Mitsui Main Building was constructed in 1889. Important Cultural Properties is a lower level of official national heritage designation according to the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties.

7. The Marunouchi-Ōtemachi area in central Tokyo is the main corporate driven heritage based urban redevelopment project, including the restauration of Tokyo Station. Striking the desired balance between heritage and land use efficiency has involved demolishing a number of historical buildings.

of this last category of buildings that still makes Shitamachi stand out in Tokyo, even if they are comparatively limited in number, most likely due to the lower economic pressure to demolish and rebuild in this area compared to in the more attractive areas of the city (Watanabe 2001).

The often repeated fact that the lifespan of buildings in Tokyo is extremely short, on average 26 years for single family dwellings and only slightly longer for steel or reinforce concrete buildings such as apartment and office buildings, is another indicator of the transience of the city's urban fabric (Muminović et al. 2013, p 331; Yashiro 2009, p 18). Not only are there exceedingly few historical buildings remaining, they are also scattered throughout the urban expanse, rarely adding up to something that could constitute a historical district. Even in Yanaka, which is a neighbourhood in central Tokyo well-known and appreciated for the successful preservation of some of its historical buildings, only 3 % of the approximately 1,500 houses covered featured facades that "resemble traditional Edo [the old name for Tokyo] wooden architecture (sic![8])" according to a recent count (Muminović et al. 2013, p 334). No wonder then, that the staff of the Shitamachi Museum, which is located near Yanaka, were vague about directions, and that some people I talked to only half-jokingly suggested that I leave Tokyo in order to visit the past of Tokyo. In fact, Kawagoe City in Saitama Prefecture, 40 km northeast of central Tokyo, promotes itself as Little Edo (Ko-Edo) due to its preserved Edoesque streetscape with merchant houses, warehouses and a bell tower resembling Tokyo's pre-modern urban landscape.[9]

Having given an overview of what remains in Tokyo in terms of historical buildings, we will next consider some of the reasons for this state of affairs. Perhaps the most obvious explanation concerns the effects of various natural and man-made disasters. Earthquakes, conflagrations and war are the main reasons for the ephemeral nature of Tokyo's urban landscape. Roman Cybriwsky notes that during the 250 years prior to the birth of modern Tokyo in the 1860s, there were approx. 100 major conflagrations in the city, where towns-people considered it "unusual if they are not chased by fire from their homes at least once in any two-year period" (Cybriwsky 1998, pp 64–65). These devastating fires came euphemistically to be known as Edo flowers (Edo no hana), lightening up the sky like fireworks (hanabi) (Kelly 1994, p 311). Moving into the 20th century, two major disasters flattened most of Tokyo's urban landscape to the ground, and killed hundred of thousands of people. In 1923, the Great Kantō Earthquake caused conflagrations that raged for two days

8. The criteria are vague, but the figures still give an idea about how scattered these historical buildings are within the community.

9. The Kawagoe City townscape has been officially designated a Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings. Sawara City in the adjecent Chiba Prefecture is the only other designated Edoesque townscape around Tokyo.

throughout the city in which "the Low City [Shitamachi] did almost completely disappear for a time" (Seidensticker 2010, p 293). The hilly parts to the west, and modern buildings fared better, but this disaster rewrote the entire Tokyo landscape.

The reconstruction begun before the fires had been put out writes Seidensticker and notes that bitter experience led to the development of infrastructure and routines for restoring the city after disaster (Seidensticker 2010, p 295). Lumber was kept on reserve in lumberyards and the extensive work in re-building the city was done through numerous small-scale efforts, rather than an orchestrated plan by the authorities. People were relocated, streets widened and parks constructed, all with the intention of creating a safer city; however, it was a far cry from achieving a comprehensive reorganisation of the city (Seidensticker 2010, pp 295–299). The grim repetition of this horrible experience came in the spring of 1945, when much of Tokyo was wiped out again, this time by massive allied fire bombings. In the main incendiary raid one night in early March "some two-fifths of the city went up in flames. The four city wards between the Sumida River and the Arakawa Drainage Channel [i.e. most of Shitamachi] almost disappeared. Between seventy and eighty thousand people are believed to have died that night." (Seidensticker 2010, p 415). The raids continued.

Compared to earthquakes and war, urban planning and development are less devastating, but can have far-reaching effects and constitute another set of reasons for the volatility of the urban fabric. Besides the forced re-building after the repeated destruction of the city, Tokyo has undergone waves of small-scale redevelopment undertakings. The Tokyo Olympics in 1964 gave authorities a chance to display the city to the world. Their vision included exemplary modern infrastructure (bullet trains, highways and subways), shiny modern architecture (stadiums and hotels) and a pleasing urban landscape, achieved by cleaning-up neighbourhoods and clearing away the homeless (Seidensticker 2010, pp 496–504).

The "olympification" of Tokyo was an industry that supported urban transformation project headed by the government. The "bubble economy" that occurred two decades later, on the other hand, provided a framework for a government-supported urban re-development propelled by the real estate business and the construction industry. Real estate offered an outlet for investments of the massive economic surplus created in the heated national economy in the 1980s, partly produced by government relaxations of building regulations (Sorensen 2011). It was a gentrification process of sorts, with the aim to realise capital accumulation through inflated land and real estate prices, but without using heritage as an asset. Quite the contrary, in the incentive package for landowners to rebuild their plot or sell it to realise larger patches for redevelopment, there was no place for preserving and enhancing historical features. The essence of this phase of speculation rested in the potential for economic growth in land itself, not in possible values of whatever already stood on it (Sand 2008, p 388). Land speculation was so intense that real estate developers did not hesitate

using mafia associated groups to forcefully coerce landowners who did not immediately see this potential (Sand 2008, p 378).

We see then that intensive seismic activity, aggressive warfare and economic pressure on land development have forced Tokyo to change continuously. The highly volatile urban space of Tokyo is an extreme case even by Japanese standards, but volatility and ephemerality has come to play a crucial role in general conceptions and practices of preservation and in how continuity is established in the built environment over time. Expanding the discussion about the circumstances of heritage in the built environment in Tokyo, we also need to examine the broader context of preservation practices in Japan.

This is a complex topic, but for present purposes I want to bring up a few aspects that share light on preservation of heritage in Tokyo. The famous Ise Shrine is regularly brought up as an example of a diverging, and distinctively Japanese, form of preservation where authenticity is said to rest less in materials than in practice, knowledge and essence. Ise Shrine, located in Mie Prefecture some 300 km south west of Tokyo, is the main shrine of the Japanese imperial family, and is dedicated to the sun goddess, Amaterasu Ōmikami. Every 20 years, the shrine buildings are dismantled and then painstakingly re-built on a nearby site using fresh materials, however, keeping ancient building techniques and design. The first site is left barren only to be used again for the next re-construction twenty years later. It is obvious that something radically different is going on here than in the case of the Parthenon temple, the symbol of the globally dominating preservation paradigm. The German architect Bruno Taut, who wrote about Japanese architecture in the 1930s, argued that the Ise Shrine was in fact to the world of wooden architecture what the Parthenon temple was to the world of stone architecture (Taut 1937, p 139). Given their great significance in the cultural history of their respective parts of the world, the radical difference in methods of ensuring continuity over time is illustrative.

As all material is replaced in the process of rebuilding the Ise Shrine, the material substance itself does not determine the continuity of the shrine. Continuity is rather dependent on the ceaseless reiteration of building carried out by experts embodying the necessary skills and techniques, and resides in the essence that is restored in the assembled fresh parts of the shrine buildings. Preservation, as a technique to achieve continuity over time, is decentered from the material to embodied practice. To be precise, the intangible forms of construction practices and spiritual practices mediate continuity. Maintaining the physical form and spiritual essence of the decaying Ise Shrine demands knowledge and skills that are embedded in the historical construction techniques, whereas conservation of materials methods and techniques that are embedded in scientific knowledge.

However, the emphasis on a distinctively Japanese tradition of conservation needs to be qualified. First of all, as is often pointed out, even if the Ise Shrine case is illustrative, it is not a preservation project (Ashihara 1989, p 122). It is a ritual practice to ensure spiritual

power and continuity. Secondly, the value of embodied techniques is well known and appreciated by preservation practitioners worldwide, particularly in the field of the crafts, which makes the issue more a matter of emphasis than qualitative difference. Thirdly, techniques of material conservation have been frequently used in Japanese history. One of the most famous examples is the Horyu-ji Temple, which is said to be one of the oldest timber structures in the world and UNESCO World Heritage enlisted, despite the replacing of members and partial reconstructions through history (Larsen & Marstein 2000).

The Japanese cultural properties specialist Inaba Nobuko takes this argument one step further. She draws on debates amongst conservationists in Japan in the late 19th century and concludes that there is clear evidence that from that time onwards "the main principle of concern to architectural conservation professionals [in Japan] has been the authenticity of the materials of conservation" (Inaba 2009, p 156). This is also the foundation of the modern conservation legislation developed from that time on that came to be the enduring conservation paradigm.

However, in the mid-1950s, the Japanese government revised its object-centred legislative framework for heritage conservation to further safeguard intangible aspects of cultural heritage such as the techniques and methods that went into making the objects (Kurin 2004, pp 67–68). Innovatively, this included the protection of the people embodying these practices, which later popularly became known as: living national treasures (ningen kokuhō). This was largely a state reaction to what it saw as the eroding effects of modernity in which important national traditions were feared to be lost due to the accelerating disappearance of skilled craftsmanship (Cang 2007, p 47). The legislative move was undertaken to raise awareness, appreciation and manageability of intangible forms of cultural heritage and to foster national sentiments. The amendment of the *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties* in the mid-1970s extended the law to include locally embedded traditions similarly vulnerable to the rapid transformations of society, and served to protect local diversity of intangible cultural heritage (Cang 2007, p 47).

However, this should not be understood as a shift from the tangible to the intangible. The emphasis on intangible techniques and methods often serves the cause of material preservation (Larsen 1994, p 72). In the case of designations pertaining to intangible cultural heritage there is a clear ambition to have material conditions in focus. The specifications often delve in detail on material aspects of the craft or performing art being protected. A case in point, brought up by Inaba, is the pottery technique Onta-yaki. The conditions stipulate that for this craft to be judged authentic clay must be from a specified area, traditional tools and methods for milling, sieving and drying are obligatory, traditional kick-wheels for throwing must be utilized as well as particular materials for glazing, and, finally, objects must be fired in the family inherited wood-fired kilns (Inaba 2009, pp 159–160). The regulatory conditions for the preservation of this particular intangible cultural heritage

reads like an actor-network theory inspired analysis, with plenty of material culture being enrolled in the production of authenticity. In contrast to the detailed specifications of material culture of intangible cultural heritage, Inaba notes that intangible properties such as patterns, designs and styles, are usually only vaguely specified (Inaba 2009, p 160). In short, the goal is to identify, manage and safeguard intangible dimension of cultural heritage based on scientific methods that prioritise tangible and material conditions that are understood to be more easily verifiable and manageable (Inaba 2009, p 161).

Summing up, material, historical and religious aspects of architecture in Japan rest on notions of transience and insubstantiality, whereas legislation and conservation methods seems to be founded on permanence and substance. It is a complexity that is not without its ironies. The Ise Shrine, as mentioned above, is not designated under the national cultural heritage law despite its great historical and contemporary importance. However, testifying to the argument that material authenticity has a high value in Japanese conservation law and practice, other important Shinto shrines that, for various reasons, stopped the reconstruction practice in the mid-19th century, are now safeguarded by preservation laws (Inaba 2009, p 157).

Taken together, the circumstances as described above, from disasters of different kinds to the existence of a specific set of heritage practices which favour intangible practices and tangible forms over material substance, give insights into why there has not been a proliferation of globally dominating forms of heritage in Tokyo; such as the development of historic districts and preservation projects that can be found in many global cities.[10] Rather than jumping on the global heritage bandwagon or reluctantly accepting a "lack" of heritage, necessity has been made a virtue in the city. Instead of stabilising buildings, sites and streetscapes into historicised urban landscapes to make the city's heritage visible and visitable, the continuous renewal and rebuilding of the urban fabric have been turned into Tokyo's distinctive mark in the global arena. Tokyo is globally associated with liquid imaginations of possible futures more than the solid materialities of the past.

Heritage interstices

As we have seen, a dominating image of Tokyo, in place marketing as well as academic writing, is a city of dynamic flux, a place of "future presencing" more than "past presencing"

10. Another notable consequence is that the Japanese government has been highly active in reforming and expanding the UNESCO heritage discourse. Japanese practices of preservation was a crucial element in decentering the scientific understanding of authenticity in the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994 (Larsen and Marstein 1994) and was a major source of inspiration for the 2003 convention on intangible cultural heritage, shifting focus from materials and substances to practices and traditions (Hafstein 2004, pp 40–44).

(Macdonald 2013, pp 16–17). However, the prominence of transience has not galvanised the city against the global tendency to explore and exploit the past. In fact, another development has simultaneously taken place, in which the government, private corporations and social movements have engaged in establishing spaces for commemorating and celebrating history in Tokyo in heterogeneous ways. The remainder of this chapter will outline how various actors have sought to connect with imagined as well as physical remnants of Tokyo's past, and will focus on the complex but significant role played by the area of Shitamachi.

Shitamachi, the Low City, or literally "downtown", can be considered the heart of historical Tokyo. Edo, pre-modern Tokyo, was socio-economically divided into two parts. Yamanote (High City), in the hilly western part, was the locus for political and administrative power inhabited by samurai lords and their retainers that sustained the Tokugawa Shogunate. The Yamanote population lived in large residences, but only periodically, since they alternated between their home domains and being on duty in Edo.[11] Shitamachi was the central city in the low-lying areas east of the Tokugawa castle. It was a densely populated and settled community of townspeople, mainly merchants and artisans, but it also attracted the samurai class for business and pleasure. Much of the identity of Edo and its economic, cultural and social developments were rooted in the dynamic and lively Shitamachi area.

During the intensive modernisation of Japanese society in the second half of the 19th century Shitamachi gradually lost its importance and with time faded into obscurity and backwardness (Bestor 1993, p 49). The Shitamachi-Yamanote dichotomy was reconfigured to meet the challenges of new times. The new modern and Western forms of government, bureaucracy and industry became associated with western Yamanote hills, transforming the physical landscape, with modern buildings, avenues and parks (Fujitani 1996). A new and highly influential social class emerged with the shift to a modern industrial economy and the expansion of modern bureaucracy. The white collar and professional middle class settled in Yamanote and rapidly usurped the social status and power of the old merchant middle class of Shitamachi. Shitamachi, correspondingly, underwent a number of changes. Some of the core districts were in fact "Yamanote-ised" when powerful merchant families transformed their businesses into modern corporations. The eastern side of Shitamachi rapidly grew with new settlements of work migrants moving into the city to look for employment in the factories (Bestor 1993, pp 50–51). As a result, Shitamachi was deterritorialised, pushed eastwards and socio-economically marginalised. Along with the process of turning the old capitals, Kyoto and Nara, into the custodians of national history, tradition and culture, the socio-cultural significance of Shitamachi receded, and it was possible to establish

11. Wifes and children of feudal lords were often kept in the Edo residences in a semi-hostage arrangement, to reduce the risk of uprisings against the regime.

Tokyo as the new modern imperial capital, relieved from the weight of history and directed towards the future (Fujitani 1996).

However, in the 1970s, Shitamachi started to be associated with more positive values. After having been marginalised in the early modern politics of urban space; repeatedly ravaged by conflagrations that took the greatest tolls in the low-lying wooden urban landscape of Shitamachi, and lastly exploited for urban redevelopment during the bubble economy, Shitamachi eventually found its way back into popular imagination. A nostalgia-boom in popular culture, not least in the form of the immensely popular and long movie series on the Shitamachi character Tora-san (Schilling 2000) created a longing for places and a way of life imagined to have been lost through modernisation (Bestor 1993, pp 53–55). The longing for furusato (hometown) throughout the nation encompassed the historical heart of Tokyo and Shitamachi became reinvoked and celebrated.

Authenticity and traditionalism became the core notions of Shitamachi. It is this idealized image, more than reality, which Cybriwsky catches when he, somewhat uncritically, describes the area as

> … one of the last vestiges in Tokyo of an old-style urban landscape and way of life. It was a tightly packed 'urban village', of small wooden houses with tiled roofs along narrow, crooked streets, small family-owned shops, and potted greenery double- and triple-stacked beside every building. The temple with its small grounds was a spatial focus. Neighbours also got together at the sento, the local bathhouse. There was much outdoor activity as well. It seemed like everyone knew each other and that the community was exceptionally close-knit. (Cybriwsky 2005, p 225)

Dorinne Kondo further notes that in this image of Shitamachi community, people were considered to be "informal, warm-hearted, emotional, quick to anger, and quick to forgive", which was contrasted to the people of Yamanote, who were thought to be formal, polite, concerned with privacy, and keeping up appearances, at least from the Shitamachi-perspective (Kondo 1990, pp 63–64). This type of Yamanote/Shitamachi binary runs through much of socio-cultural life in Tokyo, intersecting with class and gender and pertaining to language, food, dress, taste, aesthetics, behaviour, etiquette, appearance, posture, etc.

The deterritorialized Shitamachi ethos was longed for and became a valuable asset in shaping communities, even in places with no link to Shitamachi (Bestor 1993, p 56). Bestor mentions that local neighbourhood organisations in Tokyo often invoke the notion of Shitamachi to foster sentiments of solidarity and "to create an aura of stability and legitimacy based on what appears to be historical continuity" (Bestor 1988, p 426). Annual festivals (matsuri) in which the tutelary deity is carried around the community in a porta-

ble shrine (mikoshi), is one important way to actively form links to the past (Bestor 1988, pp 432–433). Seeking heritage designations for the community's craftspeople and their craft is another (Kondo 1990, pp 70–71). As in the examples discussed above, priority is given to practices and immaterial forms, whereas protecting and preserving historical buildings and settings are generally not on the agenda.

Unlike the local neighbourhood associations discussed above, other actors have established sites and locations for commemorating and experiencing Shitamachi. The city government responded to the vogue of exploring Tokyo's past by establishing the new Edo-Tokyo Museum in 1993. The museum is one of the largest municipal museums in the world, tracing Tokyo's history with a focus on the everyday life of the urban dwellers and, in particular, on Shitamachi (Sand 2001). Significantly, this prestige project was built in one of today's core Shitamachi wards, Sumida-ku. The monumental Edo-Tokyo Museum was preceded by the more intimate Shitamachi Museum, where this chapter started out, which was constructed in 1980. Operated by another Shitamachi ward, Taitō-ku, it tells the story of Shitamachi in a less monumental and more low-key manner.

Private corporations also saw the chance to harness the enthusiasm for Shitamachi, beyond movies, books and commodities, and created places where one can experience and immerse one-self in Shitamachi environments. In 2003, the privately owned spa facility Ōedo Onsen Monogatari opened to the public, built around reconstructions of an urban Shitamachi setting. In addition to the spa, restaurants, shopping, accommodation, amusements and events are provided to ensure the experience of traditional recreation. In a similar way, Daiba Itchōme Shotengai is a recreation of an early post-war shopping arcade, featuring Shitamachi settings and atmosphere, with narrow streets, amusements, shops, commodities and food from bygone times. Both these privately owned recreated and experience oriented commercial Shitamachi sites are located outside Shitamachi in the newly developed waterfront area.

Despite these attempts by public and private actors to react to the popularity of the Shitamachi heritage of Tokyo, such interest rarely seems to express itself in the form of preserved buildings. In the aptly entitled article: "Who cares about the past in today's Tokyo?" Paul Waley singles out civil society as the main caretaker of Tokyo's past (Waley 2012). In the wake of state withdrawal from the preservation of physical heritage, along with corporate disinterest in such endeavours, new social movements have established themselves as promoters of historical values in the built environment (Waley 2012, p 152). Preservation movements have often been fighting an uphill battle against local governments, corporations and landowners. Waley focuses on the notorious case of the Yanaka neighbourhood and the Taitō Cultural and Historical Society[12] which has, since the 1980s, successfully

12. http://taireki.com

worked with raising awareness of the historical value of the remaining old houses in the Yanaka community (Waley 2012; also see Muminović et al. 2013; Sand 2013; Sorensen 2009). Professionals such as journalists, academics, architects and historians have joined forces with local residents and students to engage landowners, the local community and local business organisations to discuss issues of urban development. Even if the actual number of historical houses is small, as noted previously, the narrow winding streets, the low building heights and the local atmosphere have resulted in an urban environment that is attracting media attention and tourists.

As a contrast to the well-established Yanaka-case, I want to suggest that it is valuable to look in urban interstices to discover how buildings of the past linger into the present as another form of "past presencing" in Tokyo. I am here concerned with forms of *perpetuation*, in contrast to preservation, of buildings in unlikely places and under unlikely conditions.

In 2012, Tokyo's new broadcasting tower, Skytree, opened. True to its name, this is a structure that with its height of over 600 meters touches the sky, where it does so from its Shitamachi location. The opening of the Skytree is significant since it was constructed right in a Shitamachi area that is far from the nostalgic and neat Yanaka neighbourhood. The Skytree can be described as an entire city within the city, with shopping and entertainment facilities around its base. It draws thousands of visitors and shoppers to the area, and even if the goal is to revitalise the broader economy of this part of Tokyo, it still remains to be seen if it has the desired effect, or if visitors remain mainly within the premises. What the Skytree does, however, is to draw public attention to Shitamachi communities that have not been in the limelight before, communities that are increasingly seen as pristine and authentic.

Mukōjima, Oshiage and Bunka are neighbourhoods in the vicinity of the Skytree; located in the northern half of the Sumida Ward, the ward that also features the Edo-Tokyo Museum. This area has been typical for Shitamachi, with industries, small factories and workshops, local shopping streets with small family-owned shops catering to the local community. It is a densely populated residential area with small two-storied houses and narrow winding streets with potted plants in front of the houses. The communities are lower middle class and working class, with small shop owners, petty entrepreneurs and factory workers. The communities also include some homeless people living in the parks and along the river embankment. In short, it partly conforms with Shitamachi in the popular imagination, but is not as neat and tidy as Yanaka where the maintenance of the urban landscape has been the object of debate and intervention for some time, and media and tourists come to experience what is thought to be a cosy and intimate urban environment. The area around the Skytree might be said to also partly conform to the image of Shitamachi before the nostalgia-boom, being somewhat "dull, conservative, old-fashioned and declining" (Bestor 1993, p 49).

What is interesting in this area, however, is how old buildings remain in this urban landscape due to obscurity and insignificance. This area was affected by the conflagrations of 1923 and 1945, but there are still wooden houses and buildings, both machiya town houses and the nagaya long-houses, from the early post-war period remaining in the urban landscape. Some are in poor condition, others better maintained, but never really part of conventional preservation undertakings, neither by the public sector nor preservation movements. Instead, they linger on in the urban fabric without much attention or intention, which is why I suggest that it is an alternative form of heritage, which is *perpetuated*, rather than preserved.

Among the better-maintained examples of early post-war buildings are a number of cafés.[13] These cafés have become anchor points in the urban landscape, as that they have recently received attention in lifestyle magazines and occasionally attracted visitors to venture beyond the popular Skytree shopping centre. All of them are on, or near, declining local shopping streets (shōtengai) in the area and part of the local business community, but differ in that they also draw customers from the outside, and use the historical buildings that they are in, to create an attractive setting.

The houses are two-floored wooden houses originally with residential quarters on the second floor and shop space on the ground floor, which the café owners have renovated or restored to create an early post-war atmosphere. This has typically been done by the owners themselves together with friends and acquaintances. The aim has generally not been to be authentic to a specific time period or style, but to somewhat eclectically restore the house making use of the existing features and properties and add old and second-hand interior elements and furniture that has been readily available. In one café, the owner converted the ground floor of his parents' old house just off a local shopping street, by gathering friends for a collective effort of tearing out the existing interior to restore it to a more original condition, and installing kitchen facilities. In another example, the couple running the café converted a former pharmacy to a café, using the old interior features and adding second-hand furniture from vaious sources, such as a school.

These cafés have come into existence quite serendipitously and as a combination of a way of earning one's living and as an expression of an interest in old things and old houses. For the café owner, who converted his parents' home, it was a matter of finding a way to support himself after having returned to Japan from travelling around the world. Being interested in food, he had learnt cooking at various places around the world, and combined this skill with the historical setting of an old Shitamachi house he had access to, to create a popular café where the authenticity of the food being served is reinforced by the authenticity of the setting it is being served in. For the couple that now run a café in an old pharmacy, it was

13. A café in Japan usually also servs meals.

the accidental encounter with a vacant old house that they liked, and a way to find a more stable income to complement the work they did as writers. Also in this case, the uniqueness of the place gives weight to the handmade pastry served in the café.

However, these places are not only serendipitous in their becoming, they are also temporary in their existence. Compared to the comparatively stable arrangements in the case of the preservation projects in Yanaka, where social movements are backing up the maintaining and preservation of historical buildings, the old buildings in this area are more vulnerable to various changing conditions, such as ownership. Ownership arrangements can be complex, with landownership, ownership of the house and the ownership of the business activity being spread out between different persons. Needless to say, the café-owner is dependent on the others to continue the business, and it is partly the temporary business arrangements that allow the continued existence of the old house. This is because it pays the rent, but also because there are people caring for the building. The owner of the old building that used to house a pharmacy had for example no use for it, but he was also not interested in constructing a new building on the site which would have been a viable option as that would have resulted in income from the renting of apartments. Coincidently, the couple now running the café presented themselves. Their contract also includes the residential quarters upstairs and the contract can be terminated by the owner should he wish to use the house or the plot for different purposes, for example, if the local shopping street manages to turn around the declining tendency and attract more shoppers thanks to the new Skytree.

Conclusions

This chapter started out with the contention of the Shitamachi Museum's staff that Shitamachi does not really exist as a place to go any longer and Bestor's claim that the reality of Shitamachi of the past has been fetishized into an object of consumption and identity politics.

We have seen how Shitamachi has been made visible and visitable in the popular neighbourhood of Yanaka where the preservation movement has successfully mobilized people in the community and beyond. With a similar intent, but adopting an alternative approach to past "presencing", corporate actors have reconstructed Shitamachi settings in commercial settings. Both these approaches to making the past a part of the present seems to create what Ivy would call a haunting absence of the past (1995). By being made materially present in preservation and reconstruction efforts, the past is also being made conspicuously absent. The appearance of the past in these places marks its disappearance. Hence, the hesitant answer to the question where to go to experience Shitamachi.

Something else seems to be going on with the old houses that linger on in the Shitamachi urban landscape in the Mukōjima, Oshiage and Bunka neighbourhoods. As we have seen, they are fragile and serendipitous, but vital interstices of the past in the present. They linger on due to a number of related factors: one being general indifference, another being the care and concern of individual persons who see these buildings as opportunities to make a living, and customers who appreciate this kind of old, but not yet officially valued, houses. The hard and precise work of preservation and reconstruction so typical of conventional forms of making heritage is here replaced by another set of preservation practices based more on coincidence and insignificance that lead to perpetuation of the past into the present—the way Tokyo handles its past just follows a different path.

This is not to imply that people do not care. They do, but this caring for continuities over time is intimately interwoven with life itself, as seen in the cases above where daily activities, including work, leisure and time with family and friends takes place in these sites. They can be said to be places of Tokyo's Shitamachi past, but more than establishing this past as a separated object in relation to the present, these sites invite the past into the present, as parts of on-going life.

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CHAPTER SEVEN CULTURAL HERITAGE AND IDENTITY

Introduction

The meaning of culture is and has always been a highly contested topic. In recent decades, sociologists have been busy making a distinction between culture: the unwieldy reckless creative genius, and civilization: the orderly dependable often sophisticated mediocrity. Historians of whatever background have been less inclined to separate culture and civilization but rather point to their inherent interdependence. Moreover, in recent decades, we have observed an offensive by evolutionary biologists and evolutionary psychologists, who appear to claim that cultural production and, by inference then also cultural heritage, are limited by the capacity of what human genes, cells and brains may allow (Rose & Rose, 2013). We have been through this discussion before under somewhat different circumstances; more specifically during the 1930s, as a Frankfurt school under Adorno and Horkheimer developed their particular criticism of the techno-industrial culture that, in dictating thinking by implication, reduced the scope of what the arts and literature could say. The simple definition by anthropologists and biologists is that culture represents the combination of traits that distinguishes one group from another. Two options present themselves: either there is a fierce competition between distinct cultures or: there is an evolutionary growth spiral where traits and innovative impulses are readily shared between otherwise distinctly different cultures. The result would be an accumulation of new knowledge.

The concept of identity is similarly subjected to contention. One dynamic definition, articulated by Zygmunt Bauman in 1996, sees identity as a life project on the part of the individual who constantly strives to live up to an ideal, but never realized, identity. That definition is clearly related to the linear conception of time when identity became affiliated to personal qualities and their improvement. Before this when cyclical time conceptions prevailed, identity had been attached to names, houses, villages and specific attachments to family networks. Another very simple definition is to just claim that identity is people's source of meaning and experience. If the ambition of culture is the production of meaning through experience, then the understanding of culture and identity are intertwined. However, culture is not necessarily the result of a deliberate act. It may also be the consequence of subconscious acts where the acting is part of a broader favoring of cultural creativity. Calhoun, on the other hand, defined identity in the following way—"We know of no people without names and languages as well as cultural traits"—without being meaningful constructions even though it may feel like a discovery. Distinctions between self and others, we and they, are pervasive.

In recent times, the tendency to perceive people as possessing identities that are culturally determined rather than the outcome of individual accomplishments has gained significant momentum. The identity of individuals is tolerated due to group adherence rather than individual beliefs and actions. Underpinned by the outlook of cultural pluralism personal beliefs and opinions have become disassociated from individual reflection and conscience and have become expressions of pre-given cultural identities which represent a significant contrast to the Lockean notion that beliefs are matters of personal revelation or deliberation in which our individuality agenda is the expression of our fundamental humanness. The blank slate approach discarded any importance of cultural heritage that might have anything but symbolic impact and mostly just a constraining effect.

In the very act of naturalizing identity autonomy and choice are diminished. Narrative of group rights is part of a wider cultural tendency that holds culture and ethnicity as the determinants of people's consciousness and identity familiarity of identity through ascribing individual consciousness to the working of culture offers an account bereft of human agency. From an obverse perspective, the evolutionary psychologists understood themselves as a step more advanced than the socio-biologists, whose genetic determinism justified the existing social order with all its injustices. Yet in an ideological sense, the evolutionary psychologists actually came to the rescue of biological determinism by arguing that human nature already had been fixed in the Pleistocene and there had not been sufficient time to change that nature subsequently. They turned out to be hardened determinists at the same time as they claimed to be Darwinists while Darwin himself, in his theory of evolution, took a stance of radical indeterminacy.

It is not surprising then that a Parmenidian attitude became rooted in the natural sciences and, as a complement, that Heracletian approaches were used by the social and human sciences. Parmenides and his foremost disciple Zenon, who is equally identified with this view, meant that there was nothing essentially new when it comes to human nature in a social context, Heracleit, on the other hand, famously saw constant processes of change in nature as well as in human conditions. We know that some of the more influential social theorists of our time subscribed to the Heracletian view, perhaps because of its inspiring hope rather than disillusioned realism. Social constructivism is part of this approach i.e. that new social phenomena are not nature bound but an effect of deliberate social change.

For instance modern nation-states were impossible during illiterate agrarian conditions, embryonic during literate agrarian conditions and not only fully possible but a direct consequence of more complex accumulations of knowledge via science and technical innovations. This contention is mostly identified with Ernest Gellner and has been somewhat modified by Benedict Anderson. Anthony Smith who proposed that the indelible imprint of cultural heritage made it possible to identify the embryo of nationalism in ethnic cultures, actually stuck to this argument in order to offer Gellner some resistance and opposition. Privately, he admitted that he too basically shared Gellner's approach. In their last discussion that took place in October, 1995 both Gellner and Smith used corporal metaphors to describe and illustrate their respective angles. Gellner died only two weeks later while in the act of lecturing in Prague in early November, 1995.

Corporal images

Initially, I thought of pursuing the use of corporal metaphors and understandings of human anatomy. This can also be coupled to images in the form of paintings; powerfully illustrative paintings which trigger strong emotions of more or less primitive identity. For instance, there are the paintings of the Battle of Mohacz in 1527, when a large part of Hungary was conquered by the Ottomans. There is a whole room devoted to this degrading brutality at the Hungarian National Art Museum that is housed in the Royal castle in Budapest. Highly rational and enlightened Hungarian scientists always react with very strong emotions while entering this room. There are also the equally strongly emotional paintings of the division of Poland at the end of the 18th century in a particular room housed in the Royal Castle in Warsaw where the symbolic gesture is the exposure of the chest by surrendering Polish officers. Polish animosity to Russia thus gets its explanation. A third example is represented by the illustrations of the Greek War of liberation from the Ottomans 1820–1830, which are on permanent exhibition in the old Greek parliament building made national museum in the centre of Athens; where the mind boggling brutalities of the Ottomans are on display.

The contention here is simply that a message may be more unambiguously perceived when it comes in an image in the form of paintings, maps and anatomical illustrations of the body. The design has a more powerful impact than a text which can be interpreted in many ways and directions. The map designed by Laurence Nowell called "General Description of England and Ireland" (1564/65) was in a form of a pocket edition. It was part of the cultural heritage initiated during the Elizabethan reign that could be used for both the purposes of cohesion and, social and geographical differentiation. It was first and foremost used for practical purposes. Elizabeth 1st first minister: William Cecil had scribbled elaborate notes of different travel routes in Northern England and to Scotland on the back of the map. A decade later, Christopher Saxton worked out a regional atlas fulfilling Nowell's ambition to graphically illustrate the one nation project as it went in those times. Tony Blair for one, and now even more emphatically Ed Miliband and even, somewhat falteringly and less convincingly, David Cameron, have promoted the same communitarian ringing project in their call for a one-nation identity programme more than four hundred years later. James 1st tried to campaign for a one-nation concept in the early 17th century i.e. during the height of Shakespearean times. His attempt failed since his conceptual thinking behind this idea turned out to be too abstract. Shakespeare has famously used this motive for some of his domestic tragedies, which indicates the sheer difficulty in this endeavor.

Rembrandt and his contemporaries often made group portraits of Dutch bourgeois men in some societal position of certain significance. They painted group portraits of professionals such as: lawyers, legally trained administrators, physicians, anatomy scholars and municipal councilors; all gathered together where no one would be more distinguished than the other This represented the new image of democracy without hierarchies, where many specialists acted jointly to solve a task. Several professional associations or guilds, of whom many constituted of quite modest craftsmen, were thus given a sense of a democratic face in 17th century Dutch society. Rembrandt transformed the traditional arrangement of a group of portraits as he alluded to the sitters' various duties in the company. The scene was replete with actions that illustrated the role each participant played. The realism in the scenes were always dispelled by a number of symbolic extras such as the girl with the Kloveniers' emblem of claws suspended at her waist and the drummer whose presence refers to festive occasions. This chimed in well with Spinoza's critique of those hierarchical systems which were encouraged by the church (White 1989, p 97). This criticism of what the church represented actually constituted the first decisive steps towards a Jacobin society and an embryonic nation-state run by citizens of equal status.

The body as image and metaphor quickly entered the rhetoric during the 17th century. A general interest in the anatomy of the body was as one notable example portrayed by

Rembrandt in his painting called: "The Anatomy of Dr Nicolaes Tulp" in 1632. Rembrandt had discovered the landscape and, as a corollary, the naked body. The nude played an intermittently important role that was probably decisive for his ethics. The nude developed as much into a subject in its own right as a preparation for appropriate figures in religious and mythological subjects. In Rembrandt's prototypes in this genre—Ruben's work in general and in Annibale Carracci's etching of Suzanna and the Elders in particular—contained a degree of grace and idealism that was conspicuously lacking in his Naked Woman on a Mound (1631) that offered a piece of unadorned social realism (White 1989). The sacredness of the naked individual resided in its authenticity.

Descartes who had moved to Amsterdam during this time lived in the quarters of abattoirs where he often bought carcasses for doing anatomy studies of his own. By way of studying the laws of mechanics, Descartes discovered anatomy due to his stay in these quarters. He became increasingly convinced that any unification of body and soul was impossible. Hence, the body responded to one sort of logic while the invisible soul followed quite different patterns of thinking. His famous letter to a royal benefactor, dated 28th June, 1643, where he declared the irreversible separation of body and soul, would then have an enduring impact upon all intellectual life in Europe until very recent times. Holistic perspectives were out of the question.

This Cartesian imprint upon the cultural heritage from an age when corporal metaphors began to take hold has lasted until today. The body and bodily functions and their inevitable limitations were also reflected in frequently used concepts such as bounded rationality as regards organizational theory, which indicated a recognition that even such a key word as rationality that had ruled the mind since the days of Averoës or Ibn Rushed and Maimonides and intensely so since the breakthrough of the enlightenment and hashkala had its anatomical limits. However, analogies with corporal organs became increasingly used to describe societal functions to the extent that they became part of identity formation. Furthermore, one of the most important postwar works in political science: The Nerves of Government by Karl Deutsch represented an analogy of the human body system of nerves and the system of government. That happened in the 1950s when the concept governance was still far away.

What Karl Deutsch's work also implied was an application of Newtonian mechanics to the understanding of human behavior and the contexts of political conditions. Newton's physical world had introduced a whole new set of concepts and thinking to the realm of politics. Balance, pendulum and revolution became new key words. Especially balance had a powerful impact upon political treaties in international contexts. Newtonian conceptual thinking chimed in with Cartesian concepts. Hence the concept politics of interest represented the logic of this thinking for some time as recently as the 1980s/1990s until circum-

stances changed and the politics of identity came to prevail. It was ironically UNESCO that in two policy proclamations, one in 1968 and one in 1982, promoted the politics of identity to this prominence in the wake of the rise of the ethnic issue. Ethnicity has become a university discipline in its own right.

Identity under formations of nationalism

However, modern identity is normally linked to the rise of nationalism and the nation-state. Towards the end of the 19th century, the new urge to implement cohesive policies meant that monarchies stopped meddling in politics but concentrated everything on building national monuments of themselves. David Cannadine (1983) has described this metamorphosis where royal families had been living in obscurity and now suddenly brandished themselves as the prime factor of cohesion of national unity. Old stuffy ceremonies were abandoned and more accessible manifestations were implemented. Modernism represented a critical attitude towards the cultural heritage of the past. No one wished to appear murky or behind

One paradox in modern times is the wish to appear modern and to cultivate modernity that is marked by connotations of universalism and transnational perspectives. At the same time do, national monuments embodied in buildings, stand as symbols of the potency inherent in national culture. Legal culture came into focus through enlightenment philosophy and also legal reforms of the 20th century took their point of departure in the enlightenment and the legal, political and economic visions of the 19th century. The most concrete examples of the development of legal culture find their manifestation in court buildings, and even if they do constitute demonstrable arte facts on the part of very different nation states do, they also represent a common European concept. Palais de justice in Paris and Brussels, Reichsgericht in Leipzig, Courts of Inn in London, the Supreme Court building in Washington DC all combine the same expressions of majestic gravity in their architecture, their iconography and semiotics, modern as well as historic. In a sense, this tribute to law courts was a concession that they had replaced the importance of majestic cathedrals from the 11th century onwards to the 18th century in terms of vouching for a transnational establishment of fair justice and moral universalism.

Can rights be properly ascribed to cultures? Do cultures as cultures automatically contain unwavering moral values? If a culture is tantamount to any subjective expressions such as pieces of music or poems then its moral values cannot claim to be more universal than those included in Shakespearean plays. Hence, it is not cultural diversities which should be our concern but the awareness of fairness and just methods as well as accessibility to transcend and transmute artistic potentials. Cultural heritage is often used and abused for

the purpose of identity politics. There are an abundance of prominent cases today where political battles are fought over cultural heritage and the identity brought with it. The current conflicts in the Ukraine and Spain are two burning cases in point.

African models

Moreover, two of the most eminent of contemporary and veteran literary figures such as Wole Soyinka and Chinua Achebe recently published heritage and soul searching studies. Soyinka scrutinizes the whole of Africa while Achebe is drilling into the unique body of Biafra and its tragedy. Soyinka points to the difference between an outer rhetoric that chimes well with current ideals and the underlying reality which reveals latent relations of a threatening character without reducing the essence of a rich and many-sided cultural heritage. In recent decades, the Côte d'Ivoire has been a trouble spot with the flaring up of civil war like conflicts. Since independence, it was, for almost four decades viewed as a model stable democracy that brought progress and relative prosperity to its inhabitants. In reality, it was run as a patriarchal dictatorship by the much lauded Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Because of this heritage, his successors were quickly caught up in bloody conflicts with each other where such an asset as trust was none existent. In fact, the Ivorian wealth had been built by foreigners; mostly people from neighbouring nations such as Burkina Faso, which itself for a short period of time during the 1980s experienced what seemed like a model progressive regime.

What is important in heritage? Often anniversaries are celebrated such as the bicentennial of the beginnings of the end of slavery in 1807. It should be more important today to remind, not only Africans, but the whole world of the hopeful and progressive regimes in Guinea Bissau during the 1960s and the 1970s and of the values inherent in the Arusha declaration of 1968. The strictly African humanist values which came to the fore during the final phases of the struggle for independence and during most of the 1960s–70s, contained a rare sublime heritage; distinguished by advanced forms of sharing and cooperation that represented new expressions of creative democracy. Chinua Achebe's book on the Biafra experience is one other example of elevating an easily forgotten heritage.

In African nations where higher education was more readily available and encouraged by the state system, you might also discover a much higher number of civil networks less marked by particularism. This facilitated the by-passing of those mushrooming economic projects which were deterring from a democratic point of view. From a growth point of view this may be just fine. However, from the angle of cultural heritage this could be disastrous. Around the 1950s and 1960s, there was a cultivation of the great humanism inherent in

African autonomy circles. Jomo Kenyatta had a PhD. His dissertation and further writings broke new ground, not only the sense of understanding of East African cultures, but, above all, in giving these cultures their proper identity in a rapidly changing society.

Among those more prominent intellectuals also holding the reins in political developments, we may note: Léopold Sédar Senghor, who gave the African countenance a conceptual edifice, Achebe, of course, Dr. Busia, the Ashanti liberal and main rival of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Sekou Touré in Guinea and Ezekiel Mflalele in South Africa. Senghor was above any form of racial particularism in his conceptual approach to a universal synthesis of African humanistic values, which "stimulated deeper explorations and creative animation of the cultures that housed those values; long before rivalries between East and West, Islam and Christianity and the negation of African self-esteem", according to Soyinka.

Senghor, on his part, set out the following agenda at the 2nd Congress of African Writers and Artists held in Rome in 1959: The problem we are facing "is to discover how we are going to integrate African values into the world of the late 1950s; while it is not a question of resuscitating the past through any Black African Museum, it is a question animating the world, here and now, with the values of the past" (quoted from Soyinka 2012). African humanism was profoundly lodged within her spirituality which, in South Africa, was called Ubuntu meaning "the bundle of humanity", according to Desmond Tutu, who meant that Ubuntu also referred to the yet untapped resource of African humanism that is so deeply lodged in African spirituality.

The humanist aspects of African social relations were always stressed in the mid-20th century. It was certainly true that a different mental and spiritual approach to societal visions then prevailed. This was the main cause of optimism. One Swedish lady, who was a teacher and driven by religious ethics, devoted her entire life and soul to the development of Tanzania. She was unmarried had no marriage of her own so Tanzania and the ruling TANU-party became her family during the formation of the famous Arusha-declaration. She had a very ordinary Swedish name, Barbro Johansson, so hardly anyone could suspect that she was not the real thing, i.e. born and bred a genuine Swede turned African. She became a confidant of Nyerere and his associates and she became a member of not only of the Tanzanian parliament as a member of TANU, the ruling party, but also as a member of Nyerere's government. Inevitably, she brought with her some of the most genuine ethics from the Swedish provinces, which she effortlessly mixed with local Tanzanian ethics. Her combined ethics constituted cultural heritage as a universal phenomenon.

Diversities in cultural heritage are created by a mixture of local political ambitions, ecological conditions and the complex interaction between language and cultural features (Joshua Fishman). The Nigerian nation may serve as an illustration. In the early 1950s,

Chief Awolowo of the Yoruba nation wrote that Nigeria was an impossible entity since it was made up of too divergent regional cultures. Northern Nigeria was dominated by the predominantly Islamic Hausas and Fulanis, who provided the new nation with heads of government, while Igbo in the south eastern region consisted of the well-educated elite and the Yorubas of the south western region who provided the new nation with capable administrators and state functionaries.

Tensions appeared immediately between the representatives of each region. Balewa, the first Prime Minister, came from the North and was murdered in 1966. Military regimes began to dominate their unstable country. The Nigerian head of state was a Tiv during the civil war between the Biafran nation that was led by Dr. Ojukywe and the much more resourceful Nigerian nation. The Tiv people reside in middle Nigeria along the major river and are known to be acephalous and predatory and, in accordance therewith, they have supplied the Nigerian nation with, as unconventional as skilled, military leaders. After mission accomplished at a terrible price he exposed himself more or less voluntarily to a coup d'état while he was abroad at a conference.

Soyinka used to stress that Africans had never threatened anyone or any other nations whereas they had been invaded by brutalized representatives of other continents such as Arabians and Europeans. African knowledge of, for instance, herbal medicine is vast and profound. The United Nations have invested heavily into this highly advanced and specialized knowledge through both the WHO and the FAO. In his powerful play: *The Crucible*, Arthur Miller has put an African slave woman at the centre of events where her skills and know-how with herbal medical plants demonstrates her superior intelligence to the audience while the ignorant, brutal and bigoted whites are brandishing her knowledge witchcraft. That seals her fate. The African slave woman stands for intelligence and highly civilized behaviour; whereas, the primitive and stupid white populace stands for the kind of dangerous mob culture that has ruled to disastrous consequences and threatens to rule again.

Soyinka reminds us of the significance of an exegesis of Orisa worship, the old religion of the Yoruba people that is far more ancient than both Christianity and Islam. A symptom of its inherent strength is that it has sunken deep roots in South America; in particular in Brazil and Colombia, as well as Caribbean spirituality. In spite of its spread throughout the world, it involves a powerful urge to go back to Source, i.e. Ile-Ife in the land of the Yoruba. The Compendium of Ifa is equivalent to the Christian Bible and the Koran. It is full of ethical precepts which are guiding, but not dictating, both individual and communal preferences of life routes. The Book of Ifa recognizes that deflation of affluence is a necessary part of social and spiritual balance and general well-being. Orisa worship thus facilitated immunity to dictatorial priests of other religions (Soyinka 2012).

The specter of the civil war in Spain

Spain is experiencing the current crisis as the moment of truth in terms of cultural heritage. The financial crisis led to a shift of government from PSOE or the Socialist Party to Partido Popular, PP, which is still regarded as the Francoist party since it contains people from the Franco-regime. Most of PP cabinet members are also members of Opus Dei. Between 1936 and 1975, all talk of atrocities during the Civil War and afterwards had been forbidden. It was only in the beginning of the 1980s that local historians began to work with people, whose ancestors had been murdered by Franco's henchmen or who as children had been robbed from their Republican families only to be forced to live with Francista families.

These endeavors met with some sympathy from Gonzales' socialist regime that ruled Spain from 1982 until 1996. It met with the more of obstructions from the local conservative legal order. In 1989, at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall and revelations of oppressive cruelties in Eastern Europe, more official initiatives were taken in Spain under the leadership of judge Balthazar Garzon, who had an international reputation. Up to 1975, Garzon had played by the conformist rules as a judge in the Basque region. During the 1980s, he had built up a strong progressive image as a one man legal force leftists could turn to and trust. Now his task was to register every child exposed to Francoist theft from would be leftist parents, who were more often than not executed and thrown into anonymous mass graves. All summarily murdered Republican or sympathizer with the Republican cause should be registered and have an honorable funeral. PP officials, who had called for general amnesty regarding atrocities committed in the past by Francoists, obstructed with all means available.

In 2011, Garzon lost his legal battles to restore dignity to the victims of the Franco-regime. A fierce battle had already raged for some years regarding who owned and controlled the Spanish cultural heritage. Powerful documentaries were made describing how grandchildren to executed Republicans searched intensely around Spain for possible graves. One such documentary, made by two Swedes (Martin Jönsson and Pontus Hjortén) in 2008 was called Mari-Carmen Espana: the End of Silence and followed one woman's efforts to exhume her extrajudicially executed grandfather in southern Spain. It received numerous prizes as the best documentary that year but never managed to find a Spanish distributor, who would have to be private. This meant that the one country it was not shown in was Spain.

Another pathbreaking and strongly emotional documentary made in 1996 by a Spanish-American film-maker, Cristina Hardt, was met with the same fate. It was called: Death in El Valle and dealt with the extrajudicial execution of Hardt's own grandfather by security forces in 1948. Memory communities in Spain became exposed to a deep ideological freeze during the Cold War. After the PSOE attained power under Felipe Gonzales in 1982, he

immediately opted for Spain's full membership of NATO. He managed to install sufficient fear (temor) in the general public to get them on his side otherwise civil war and apocalypse would occur. Temor became a new buzzword to get things done. A cultural heritage of temor proved more powerful than the Allianza Popular's (Partido Popular's predecessor) bid to forget everything according to Helen Graham (2012), and Spain's civil society became more active with a large number of dissidents pretending to fool the others.

Cultural heritage in Spain was complicated by a multitude of divides and not only an ideological one. In 2011, the left had initiated a mass popular protest movement named Los Indignados. However, each separate region such as Catalan or Valencia had its own inherited language. Local nationalism depended on other factors beyond nationalism. The web of affiliations became vastly more important in 2011. Leftist nationalists were, in Catalunya, more important than right-wing stooges in Valencia. The criss-cross syndrome appeared to have vast numbers of communication potential on a global scale. Right-wing nationalists in Valencia were as nauseated by Madrid as any left-winger. At the same time, no one could any longer deny that contemporary Spanish culture and local as well as Castilian dialects owe an important amount of features to the common Judeo-Islamic high culture of the 11th and 12th centuries; with Cordoba-Toledo-Sevilla as main centres.

Ukraine, the final test of belonging and identity

In early 2014, hardly any nation has a more crucial fate than Ukraine since in the end European security is dependent upon it. Ukraine's borders have been shuffled around quite much for the past 1100 years and hence there is a strong desire among Ukrainians to keep them stable as of now. However, the geographical notion of Ukraine is uncertain, its language is distinct but contested, the roots of Ukrainian identity are debatable and Ukraine's claim to separate nation statehood is denied by Russia for many years. Still, Ukrainian historians argue that the Russians and Ukrainians have always pursued separate paths; where either Rus was a loose agglomeration of peoples or it was a relatively united early Ukrainian state called Ukraine-Rus from which the Russian nation later emerged as a belated off-shot. The West has too easily given in to Russian versions where Russians are taught to believe that no Ukrainian state exists (Prizel 1998).

Whose origins are the most genuine? The intertwining of east-Slavonic languages such as Belarussian, Russian and Ukrainian makes it hard to suggest any natural separations. It all began with Rus in Kiev. Since then the language issue has been more of an artificial weapon in propaganda battles. Then the cultural and institutional differences have become far more important. Most contemporary Ukrainians at universities or in media offices see themselves as belonging to a European cultural tradition. Ukrainians in general wish to see

a functioning judicial system much beyond the corrupt ones in Russia and Ukraine until yesterday. A notable freedom of speech belongs to the Ukrainian cultural heritage whereas in Russia this only concerns the Europeanized liberal elite.

Attempts at russification recurred during the the First World War but the proclamation of Ukrainian independence on the 16th of July in 1917 was well received in western capitals, especially in Paris (Cvengros 1995, p 16). The leading socialist Ukrainian, Volodymyr Vynnytchenko, stated to the French press that: "The more we meet opposition to our requirements, the more certain Ukrainians are turning to Austrian and German interests" reminding of contemporary tidings but in another direction (Cvengros 1995, p 17).

The Council of the Ukraine People's Republic (UNR) in March, 1917 elected an intellectual, the historian Mykhailo Hrushevskyi,as its first president. UNR had no army, as its idealist intellectual elite preferred a people's militia, nor had it anything but a rudimentary state administration, but it did have both a currency, the hryvnia, and a flag. The new Bolshevik regime in Russia launched an assault on Ukraine in 1919 which promoted western Ukraine to create its own national version, separate from eastern Ukraine. The division into two cultural spheres has been endemic. An intermittent but shortlived Ukrainian "Hetmanate" (derived from Bohdan Khmelnytskyi's 17th century "liberation" of Ruthenia) state was in 1918 set up by stooges to the anti-Bolshevik Whites; consisting of large landowners and largely German interests. Its leading figure, Pavlo Skoropadskyi, was a descendent of legendary aristocrats and the writer Bulgakov described him as a comic opera character.

After the fall of the Habsburg Empire in November, 1918, the west Ukrainians established a third Ukrainian state that was named the West Ukrainian People's Republic or ZUNR which was its well-known Ukrainian acronym. It encompassed eastern Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia and what now constitute the Polish territories of Peremyshyl, Kholm, Pidlachia and the Lemko region. ZUNR represented a maximum definition of ethnographic Ukraine but could not survive an overpowering onslaught by a much stronger Polish army in July, 1919. However, it had subsequently been regarded as a valid state under Habsburg protection. If the Habsburg Empire had not fallen it might have supported ZUNR quite successfully against Polish interests (Wilson 2002).

The redivision of Ukrainian lands between 1918–1922 were as follows: Galicia and Volhynia went to the newly independent Poland; Transcarpathia to Czechoslovakia; Bukovyna to Romania; and the rest fell to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with the exception of Crimea; which was a separate Autonomous Republic. The result was a radical ethno-nationalist alternative that developed into an anti-Russian and anti-Polish western Ukraine. Ukrainian lands were not united until 1945, but on very different terms than after the First World War. The western Ukrainians built upon the rise of ethno-nationalism around the turn and beginning of the 20th century. Ukrainian national identity stood alone between

the two evils of Polish and Russian nationalism. Poland played the instrumental role of the oppressor and Russia was Ukraine's existential anti-thesis, which Russia incidentally was to the whole of Europe; according to the main Ukrainian ideologist of the new identity, Dmytro Dontsov, who lived from 1883 to 1973 (Wilson 2002).

Cultural heritage and identity are commonly the first victims of ferocious propaganda wars. To be more exact, we may quote the foremost linguist and cultural scholar within the realm of the Slavonic world, Ignacy Baudoin de Courtenay, who did not support any nation, but referred objectively to two Slavic dialects "wielkoruski" or Russian and "maloruski" or Ukrainian. At an international congress of Slavists, held in St Petersburg in 1904, he pointed out that the use of any existing literary language should be permitted and therefore Ukrainian as well (Rothstein 1992). He also quite quickly turned to use the term ukrainski in Polish and ukrainskij in Russian in order to make indubitable distinctions.

Baudoin saw that the anti-Ukrainian attitudes among Poles and Russians could be derived from their respective "archeological psychology", representing a romantic orientation drawn from the cemetary of history. He criticized both Russians and Poles for simply seeing Ukrainians as "ethnographic material" to be colonized. Today, modern Poland personified by foreign minister Radoslaw Sikorski takes the opposite enlightened view, while Putin's Russia remains stuck with 19th century predatory propaganda. Since Baudoin clearly discerned the common interests between Slavic nations, he persistently promoted their peaceful and benevolent coexistence. Forced denationalization could only provoke national hyperestesthesia i.e. an abnormal sensitivity to the national question (Rothstein 1992). These issues are eerily repeated today in 2014.

A tug of war has perennially raged between Ukrainian national interests based on the heritage from Ruthenia and Galicia on one hand and on the other constantly preying Russian interests in irredentist control of Russo-phone areas in eastern and southern Ukraine. During the creative first half of the 1920s, when a free flow of innovative ideas and designs in art, literature and architecture in the USSR at large, daring creativity was especially outspoken and expressed in Kiev. Slowly, however, the Moscow regime under Stalin managed to get a hold of the Kharkiv region. Soviet style architecture began to dominate Kharkiv′s centre and the planning of making Kharkiv the new capital of the Ukraine SSR became increasingly advanced.

The collectivization of agriculture in 1929 implied a break with NEP and initiated the Five Year Plan policy with rapid industrialization; in particular of Kharkiv, which became a flagship for the new Soviet Union in Ukraine. Military parades and popular celebrations and demonstrations were transferred to the new government centre of Kharkiv that was connected by an electric tramway via Klochkivska Street to the historic core of the city. Kharkiv functioned as the capital of Ukraine until early 1934 when the capital was transferred back to Kiev.

When, during the 1930s, one engineer Oleksander Einhorn, and one architect Oleksander Kasianiv, were put in charge of developing a Masterplan for Kharkiv in becoming a dominating multi-million city. A more recent municipal document: "The 1984-2004 Master Plan", is a direct successor to the 1930s plan. At this local level, the ambitions to have Kharkiv once again take over the role of Kiev have never receded (Wilson 2002).

During the Second World War, the German war machine invaded Ukraine where many inhabitants saw the German army as liberators against the Moscow and CP ruled USSR. This initial enthusiasm among Ukrainians has been taken as testimony that they were indeed a bunch of Nazis themselves with some Ukrainian battalions fighting alongside the Germans and so it as remained until today; according to current Russian propaganda. In fact, the Ukrainian population very soon turned against the Germans since the latter saw everybody but themselves as nothing more than vermin. In fact, the Ukrainian population became so dismayed that they often chose to join the Red Army to fight the intruders. At the same time, Stalin forcibly exiled the Crimean Tatars to various remote places in Russia in order that the opposition of the Tatars would be broken. The Tatars remained exiled until after the failed coup against Gorbachev in August 1991. Then the Tatars were free to move wherever they preferred and symptomatically they all chose to retur to Crimea in spite of the fact that most of them had never set foot there before. The pull of their Crimean cultural heritage turned out to be overwhelmingly strong. Now that slightly more than 20 years later, when Russians invaded Crimea in order to reintegrate it with Russia, the Tatars feel strong anxiety as to what might happen to them; since they have no illusions about Putin's regime. It is symptomatic that young Russian families in Crimea in Ukraine often opt for a move to Kiev since they regard the new Ukraine as the only opportunity to develop a just and functioning democratic judicial system from scratch. They see Russia as ruled by corrupt criminals.

Politicians in the present Rada have in most cases been bought by interests with money and often power. After the shake-up of the Ukrainian political system at Maidan during the 2013-14 winter, a consensus developed among most Rada members irrespective of political party affiliation to bid farewell to the old corrupt system that had plagued the country, even to the extent where the ousted president, and his cronies, had stolen the equivalence of the national debt; only to whitewash these sums in western banks and with their complicity it seemed. Furthermore, the most important oligarch from eastern Ukraine, Mr. Achmetov, as well as the governor of the Kharkiv region, who both belong to what up to the 22nd February, 2014 used to be the ruling Party of the Regions, have interestingly enough come out as loyal to the new interim-government in Kiev. Both prefer stability and positive considerations from the West for the sake of growth and stability (The Economist, March 2014).

In 1997, a census was taken regarding use of language. It turned out that 56 percent spoke Ukrainian only, 11 percent spoke Russian only, while 27 percent spoke both languages; of which 14 percent spoke both equally well and 7 percent spoke more Ukrainian than Russian and 5 percent spoke more Russian than Ukrainian. About 11 million people were considered of Russian ethnic stock, but many of them had integrated with Ukraine and a substantial part of those had embraced Ukrainian identity (Wilson 2002). The problem of cultural heritage in this case resides in the violent ultra-nationalism represented by Svoboda, the right wing party, with seats in the Ukrainian interim cabinet and the structural features of the Soviet period manifested in the power of local oligarchs, who had picked the mainly Russophile Party of the Regions as preferred stooge.

Russia and above all Putin will not stop at Crimea but will go further to invade eastern Ukraine and in the western areas Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland for irredentist reasons. However, although this prospect may seem slim under normal circumstances, present conditions are no longer normal. The actual meaning of cultural heritage and identity do, like truth, get easily lost during ugly conflicts. Both features can be used and abused in the grossest and most brutal sense as they were during the Balkan Wars in the 1990s and which they have tended to become during the Ukrainian crisis. The agenda at Maidan, which incidentally created its own cultural heritage with, for instance, orange protection helmets, inevitably unfolded as impatience with corrupt politicians, who behave like big-time gangsters writ large; having stolen the money of the state. Ukraine's national debt equals the sums stolen by the ousted president and his cronies.

Conclusion

To sum up, historically two ways of perceiving human culture, cultural production and cultural heritage exists—either as an inseparable complementing whole, a result of collective doings, or solely as a matter for the individual, ultimately constrained by human biology. Such attitudes are evident in the field of science, like the differences between Durkheims' methodological collectivism and a weberian methodological individualism, and in art, literature and film.

What constitutes identity is also given to this duality: the question if identities are culturally determined or the outcome of individual achievements has been debated through history.

However, as I have pointed out, it is evident that culture and cultural heritage may vary and have very different effects and impacts on identity-making. Cultural marks are described in paintings, literature and films and they contribute to cement perceptions of the past as present, which may continue to be very divisive. Ideologies, like nationalism, both

shape and distort identities through the use of cultural heritage. The examples I have chosen in this context—Africa, Spain and Ukraine—do all testify to continuous divisiveness that to a large extent are due to competing interpretations of the past. Africans do not think that they have received enough recognition for their historical collaborative achievements as Africans; Spaniards are turning over all stones to find evidence of different distinct identities whether based on culture, as in shared history, language and religion, or founded in political ideologies, while Ukrainians are constantly struggling with what is seen as an imperial Russian expansion, threatening a new found national identity. And many more examples could be given—the most obvious contemporary ones are the conflict in former Yugoslavia during the 1990s and what is happening today in areas under ISIS control.

In this chapter I have through three distinct but at the same time similar examples pointed out the intrinsic values of culture and cultural heritage in shaping the present, and the sometimes cynical functionalistic use of those values to reach certain goals.

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CHAPTER EIGHT HERITAGE—ENTERTAINMENT, ADVENTURE OR ESCAPE FROM EVERYDAY LIFE

Introduction

Heritage plays an important roll in today's society. There are many people that consume different types of heritage within cities, museums and in the countryside. This chapter explores some of the factors that make heritage and archaeology important and interesting to a broader public—a discussion based on the archaeological research project *Varnhem before the Monks* undertaken in Varnhem by the Västergötland Museum between 2005 and 2008.[1] The aim was to gain additional knowledge on the tumultuous period in the Middle Ages when Västergötland was Christianized and became part of a kingdom with cities, bishops, laws and coins: an empire eventually known as Sweden. The excavations in Varnhem attracted thousands of visitors, all very eager to experience history, quite literally, being dug out of the earth.

The archaeological project at Varnhem had both a scientific and an educative component. Thus, undertaking excavations and at the same time making them accessible to the interested public for a close-up view of historic and archeological traces were equally important undertakings. Today, approximately ten years after the start of the project, public archaeology is an established academic genre with numerous publications and journals that

1. See Axelsson & Vretmark 2013a; Axelsson & Vretemark 2013b; Vretemark & Axelsson 2008

problematize and discuss the role of archaeology in relation to the public.[2] This development has had an impact on museums and contract archaeology in Sweden as well. Now, public archaeology is in one way or another part of all major archaeological excavations projects (Axelsson 2015) but when the Varnhem project started there were few examples of how to work with the public. In the following is an outline of how the communicative and public part of the project was carried out.

The project

Traces of human habitation in Varnhem date back for thousands of years. Farmers were present far back in the Iron Age, at a time when Roman emperors ruled over the Mediterranean and much of Europe. The Danish Vitsköl Chronicle informs us that a Lady Sigrid donated the large farm of Varnhem as a monastery in the middle of the 1100s (Vretemark & Axelsson 2008). We do not have much information about Sigrid other than she belonged to the aristocracy of Västergötland, perhaps even was part of King Inge the Elder's Stenkil dynasty. The reigning Queen Kristina—King Inge's grand-daughter—was opposed to the donation and through several sources we know she regained control of the estates for a period of time by expelling the monks. Traces of Lady Sigrid's farm are buried beneath the grass on the slope to the south-east of the ruined abbey. An early Christian graveyard occupied the hill-top and was later supplanted by a private farm church with a large surrounding cemetery. The foundations of the church remain below ground, as do thousands of graves. Even more graves lie beneath mounds and cairns in the pastures on the other side of a stone wall, but these date from the Iron Age and represent older burial traditions from times before Christianity arrived to the area in the 10th century (Axelsson & Vretmark 2013a, Axelsson & Vretemark 2013b).

In the summer and autumn weeks of 2005 to 2008 just over 20 000 visitors attended the guided tours of the archaeological excavations. Signs, leaflets and exhibition tents provided further information about the excavation and the compelling history of Varnhem; as did extensive coverage in the press and other media. Pupils from elementary and secondary schools from western Sweden travelled to Varnhem to experience how archaeologists conducted an excavation. In an exciting and hands-on environment, these pupils discussed the spread of Christianity, society, health and social structures during medieval times. Surrounded by the very real physical traces of medieval Varnhem, including walls and 1000-year-old graves, as a result pupils' interest in history awoke and a process of reflecting on how the basis of human life actually has changed started.

2. See for example: Skeates, McDavid & Carman 2012; Bonacchi & Moshenska 2015; Vilches, Garrido, Ayala & Cárdenas 2015; Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez 2015

Varnhem is situated in one of the richest areas of Västergötland in terms of ancient monuments dating from different periods. In Varnhem itself, the archaeology remains testifies to a community with contacts reaching far beyond Scandinavia: luxury items from the Roman Empire, such as wine pitchers, jewellery, fine swords, and even greyhound dogs, had reached Varnhem some 2000 years ago. This exclusive imports form part of the grave goods in the Iron Age cemeteries at Varnhem.

In the 1870s, a large treasure of coins was found at Varnhem, which included over 900 pieces of silver. Most of the coins were minted for King Ethelred of England in the early 11th century. Were the coins perhaps treasure brought home to Varnhem by someone serving the Danish King Canute (Knut) when he ruled England (Vretemark & Axelsson 2008)?

Minor excavations were conducted at the site during the restoration of the monastery ruins in the 1920s. Architect Axel Forssén noted that the hill was known popularly as Church Hill and therefore decided to undertake some small exploratory excavations. During those, he discovered a stone foundation of a building that he could not fully understand. The foundation formed the shape of a church, but he was uncertain since, somewhat contradictorily, this building had both a fireplace and a cellar. The hill-top building was the private church of the large farm known as Varnhem. The farm owners paid for the building of the church, the maintenance and salary of a priest. The remains of the church are complex and show several phases of building. There is little trace of the first church dating from about 1000 as it was built by timber throughout. This structure was soon replaced by a larger church, also constructed of wood, except for the stone-built chancel and foundation. A stone cellar lay under the nave and the interior cellar walls were later plastered. It is unclear for how long this building was in use but enough time passed for several individuals to be buried in graves near the church wall (Vretemark & Axelsson 2008).

According to written sources, the Cistercian Order received the donation of Varnhem around the year 1150. Archaeological finds shows that burials in the cemetery declined in number at around this time and ended completely around 1200. It is not clear what happened to the church itself immediately after the donation, but in the 1300s it was renovated and taken into secular use. Traces of foundry operations in the choir-area and domestic refuse—parts of combs, a chess piece, and other pieces found in the nave—suggests that the building was used as a workshop and residence. Some of the entrances were barricaded and the nave and the chancel were separated by a stone wall. One of the corners of the nave was made into a fireplace in order to provide heating for the building. The destruction of the old church walls most likely took place during the Reformation upon the expulsion of the monks and the closing of the monastery (Vretemark & Axelsson 2008).

Excavations in Varnhem show that Christianity was present in Västergötland by the 10th century, about a hundred years earlier than previously assumed (Vretemark & Axelsson 2008). New burial practices emerged under Christianity shortly after the year 900.

No longer were the dead cremated but instead were buried in the ground in an east-west orientation, without offerings aside of dress and associated items. Residents chose a new location for the Christian burial ground: next to the farm but close to the ancient pre-Christian burial mounds. The Christian farm cemetery at Varnhem perhaps served its purpose to a few generations before building a place of worship for the new religion—a church; first in wood and later in stone. Very likely, the owners of Varnhem were among the first church builders in the area. This private church was placed high in the landscape and was visible from all sides. The prominent placement showed that the landowners were people of high social standing, with considerable wealth, contacts and influence. For a couple of hundred years they continued to bury their dead in the surroundings of the church. The history of the large Varnhem estate took another turn with Lady Sigrid's donation, and the religious functions of the church were taken over by a new monastic church that was built below the hill. As a result, the original church was used for other purposes.

Communicating the past

The background of this project is special in many ways. In the late 1990s, the popular Swedish author Jan Guillou, published the first of three books about Arn, the Knight Templar from Sweden.[3] The books are fiction that rather freely uses historical events and characters, and large parts of the plot are set in Västergötland and Varnhem. As an example, in the books, it is Arn´s mother who makes the donation of the farm. The popularity of the trilogy led to a great increase in the number of visitors to the sites mentioned. However, in 2004, the number of visitors had started to decrease and the local tourism agency began to think about promoting other sites and creating new event to keep up the interest. At this point in time, Västergötlands museum was approached about the possibilities of "doing something on the authentic medieval period". When the Arn-tourism started, it was mainly a question for the marketing department at the museum (see Praesto 2008). By 2004 however, the priority was on working with the public, and as a result, a research project on the early medieval period and the transition from pre-Christian to Christian society, was formed.

One prominent feature of this project was that we, the archeologists, decided that the project should be as open and welcoming to the public as possible and that the communication of the results and the ongoing work should have sufficient funding. This resulted in that we allocated half of the budget to ways of communicating the site and the findings.

3. The story of Arn the Knight Templar consist of altogether four books, published between 1898 and 2001, all hugely successful, that tell the story of Arns life from his upbringing in Västergötland, his time spent in Palestine in the service of the Knights Order, and his homecoming and involvement in medevial politics. A motion picture, based on the books, was released in 2007

There were a number of factors that led to our decision to outline the Varnhem project as a combined research and communication project. *Firstly*, prior to the Varnhem project, there had been ongoing discussions within the Heritage sector in Sweden about how to make heritage more relevant and accessible to the public: the aims put forward were to involve the public more than previously in the practical work (Agenda Kulturarv 2004a, Agenda kulturarv 2004b). During those years, archaeology and the Heritage sector underwent changes, fueled by discussions concerning the use and value of archaeology and heritage in contemporary society: themes like "The importance of the past for the present", "Lessons from the past" and ideas on how archaeology/heritage had become an integrated part of popular culture and the emerging "Experience Economy" formed the basis of this new discourse,[4] as well as research on the educational benefits to heritage sites of a closer cooperation between education and entertainment through the hyper-realism possible to experience at such sites (Malcolm-Davis 2004). The Varnhem project was explicitly based on these trends within the Heritage and Museum sectors. *Secondly*, another important factor that made the project (and its outline) possible to go through with was the lively public interest in history present in large parts of Västergötland. This helped and prepared the archeologists working with the public. *Thirdly*, another key factor was the type of site we excavated; it has very well preserved graves and physical structures which made it easy to communicate. The *fourth* and last factor was that we from the beginning decided to actively meet the needs of the public, the press and the tourism authorities, a decision taken based on a feeling that this would not have a negative effect on our research and excavation work.

The Varnhem Case

In the project we decided early on that we should try to keep the excavation open to as many as possible and encourage dialogue and communication. To maintain this sense of "openess" we tried to communicate in different ways.

Every working day at 2 pm we had a guided tour of the excavation. Opening up an excavation to the public is certainly not anything new and probably all archeologists have to some degree experienced visitors. The guided tours were something that we could refer to when smaller groups or individuals wanted to hear a short presentation of the site. We also encouraged groups to book tours of the excavation. These groups were often school classes from various levels of the Swedish school system, many from the local area but also some from a radius of 150 km.

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4. See for example: Holtorf 2004, Holtorf 2007, Holtorf 2010, Little & Shackel 2007, Rockman & Flatman 2012, Sabloff 2008, Svanberg & Hauptman 2007 for a broad overview

Our experience from other excavations and our aim to make the site as open as possible also made us take the decision to let visitors walk around the site as they saw fit, with exception from areas where they could fall or hurt themselves. At the excavation, we were on average six archaeologists on a normal working day and the decision to let people wander around the site also meant great adjustments for the staff since we encouraged the visitors to ask questions and talk with the archaeologist. If you did not appreciate engaging with the public, this excavation was not for you.

We were excavating Monday-Friday from 8.30 in the morning to 5 pm. We soon realised that there were also needs for information outside working hours. In order to meet these demands we set up an information tent where we presented the background of the project and explained the latest finds. The site was also open to the visitors when we were not there but of course some features were covered up to protect it from rain and extreme sunshine.

We also made signs to help the visitors navigate and to encourage them to access the site. We experienced that most of the visitors initially were a bit anxious about how to move and act on an excavation site. We decided as well to keep the site open on a few selected Saturdays in order to be accessible to those who did not have a chance to visit during weekdays.

During all the four years the project was running, we did not once detect any vandalism or damage to artefacts or burials: every visitor walked very carefully around the site. When, in some cases, someone did step in the wrong place it was the archaeologists themselves that did this.

Good narratives / Language

From the beginning of the project we decided that we should try to avoid using the typical "archaeological lingo". In practice this meant that we avoided words such like "possibly", "likely", "we can't say for sure", "likelihood" etc. Instead we tried to use a narrative that stated how things were. All archaeologists know that such a conduct is difficult, if at all scientifically possible. What we instead opted to do was, as soon as our interpretations changed, alter the story we presented. We choose this way because most visitors are not interested in the standard deviation of a carbon 14 date or the difficulties with representation. This approach had an interesting effect—while many visitors just accepted the facts we presented, many indeed questioned them and simply asked: "How can you be sure of that?". Such questions started novel discussions that forced us archaeologists to be very precise in our interpretation. Our approach also had an effect on the dialog with frequent visitors: they noted that explanations had changed and through this fact they got a glimpse of how the excavation process is done and how interpretations may change.

We also tried to connect the results to situations in contemporary society. Since a large part of the archaeology was conducted at a burial site, with extremely well preserved skeletons, we had a lot of information about sex, age and diseases. For example, when discussing a female buried with an infant on her chest, we related this to the fact that there are more women killed giving birth than humans dying from cancer in the world today, or that the death rate among the younger individuals were so high, our data showed that approximately 3 of 4 children did not reach the age of seven. Those two cases gave us a possibility to discuss medicine in general, and more specifically in what places and under what circumstances similar death rates exist. The burial ground was socially stratified, which provided us with an opportunity to discuss societal differences as they were visible on the skeletons in form of injuries, worn out teeth and so on. Part of the population we excavated appeared to have been slaves, which led to a discussion on slavery today.

This open and direct communication was very stimulating to both the archaeologists and the visitors. There are of course a number of ethical questions that can be raised in relation to the fact that we were excavating human remains and were in some sense putting them on display. We decided early on that as long as we display them in the same way as other archaeologists would have, and as long as we treated them as an archaeological source material that could help inform the public about the past (and present), this was fine. Some visitors had questions about our approach and wanted to know what happened with the remains post excavation: one day a mother and her teenage daughter initiated a discussion along this line. I replied that the remains after post excavation processing were put in a box on a shelf in the storage at the museum. The mother asked me: "But what will happen on the day of resurrection?' There was a moment of silence before her daughter stopped chewing her gum and quite laconically said: 'No worries mom, God will fix that'". One observation we made was that depending on age, the attitude towards ethical questions varied.

However, it was not always without problems. As an archaeologist you are quite used to handling human remains in a detached sort of way; it is just archaeological material. But we realised the hard way that seeing skeletons could be a remainder of terrible things passed. We had visitors who had fled from war and for some of them, who had seen dead people along the road side, the sight of skeletons was a lot more emotional than for the archaeologist or visitors without those experiences.

Authenticity

Another important part of the project was that we at all times tried to be as authentic as possible. When, for example, we arranged for school children to try archaeology, their excavation area was always placed on the burial site. The only alteration from the archaeol-

ogists' trenches was that they only removed 10 cm of the topsoil, whereas the archaeologists remove at least 20 cm.

We never tried to hide any parts of the archaeological process from the public; even if it was at times quite stressful to unearth a fragile skeleton from a newborn with a lot of visitors looking on and talking to you.

As stated above, the visitors were allowed to walk freely on the site, as we did not want them to feel that they were directed or restricted in any way. But of course, we did this in a subtle manner: if there was an especially fragile feature on the site, we would mark it with a red and white stick and the public's reaction was to walk around it. Sometimes we also lured the visitors to move further in on the site or when a discussion had come to an end (or needed to end) we could say: "You must go to them over there, they are doing something extremely interesting".

Media

All archaeologists are bound to meet representatives of the press at some time. They can of course be in the way and handling them can be time-consuming. But we choose to look upon this as just a different way of communicating. We regularly invited the journalists to press meetings and we also frequently sent information. In order to get the most correct coverage as possible, we decided from the start to treat them as professionals and set aside enough time and accept their wishes for photographs. Such practice led to extensive media coverage, and we always noted an increase in visitors the days after a report was in the newspaper or on TV/radio.

Statistics / comments

To get to know our visitors somewhat better, we tried several things. In order to get more information, beside the number of visitors, we placed a guest book in the information tent. We encouraged everyone to write down their names and comments. Of the 20 000 visitors we had during 20 weeks of excavation, nearly 8 000 made some form of entry in the guest book.

From the entries we learnt that there were slightly more men than women visiting us, which was interesting as in Swedish museums, the trend is usually the opposite. The statistics also showed that most of the children visited as part of a school trip rather than during weekends or during school break.

Many of the entries also had information of where the visitors lived. During the duration of our excavation project there was strong focus from the regional tourist organizations

in central Västergötland on attracting tourists from other parts of the country, or even from abroad. We noticed that more than 80 percent of the visitors came from the local area and less than 2 percent were from other countries than Sweden. This highlights the question: "To whom is Swedish heritage relevant?"

The comments made in the guest book were mainly positive. A large part of them stated that this was exciting and interesting; the younger persons used words like cool, awesome and wicked. Another large group of comments focused on the archaeologist as an expert, where many were impressed that we could state so much by just looking at some bones and stones. Hence, the content of many of the comments related to the project gave us confirmation that our approach was spot on and very appreciated.

The working archaeologist

Everyone working on the excavation site was a professional archaeologist and all tours and information were managed by archaeologists. In a museum context, this is not common and usually interaction with the public is handled by trained guides. We soon realized that the working archaeologist and the process of carefully unearthing a skeleton or artefact were as interesting as the remains themselves. Archaeology was a form of entertainment. In combination with the possibility to talk to the archaeologist, this was a very powerful way of communicating.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has been a presentation of one way of communicating archaeological data and engaging with the public. In Sweden and in many other countries, lately there has been a huge change in attitudes towards the general public. In the project described, we tried to be as inviting as possible, but we did not directly ask the visitors to engage themselves in the practical work, or deliver alternative interpretations. In our many discussions, there have of course been discussions of alternative ways of looking at the results.

The project raised some important questions: is it possible for everyone to participate—can anyone do archaeology? Huge questions indeed! From our gained experience, the majority of the visitors appreciated "experts", they wanted someone who could present them with interesting facts and interpretations. This observation is part of the crucial balance: on the one hand, we have an ambition to let as many as possible take part through visits, inquiries and hands-on participation, and on the other hand, a large part of the fascination with archaeology lies in what the working archaeologist (the expert) does. So if we reach a point where archaeology can be performed by anyone, our conclusion is that we then

will lose some of the attraction associated with archaeology—a kind of *Entzauberung* in a Weberian sense.

How the visitors experienced us working at the site and the visit itself is, of course, not possible to account for in every single case. From the various comments in the guest book, we are rather certain that for some visitors it was a combination of (slow) entertainment to look at the working archaeologist and to learn about medieval health and society. For others, it was just exciting and an adventure, and perhaps for others a visit to the site might have been an escape from everyday life.

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CHAPTER NINE "GETTING ON THE LIST!" GRIMETON AND THE ROAD TO WORLD HERITAGE STATUS, CA. 1995–2004: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

Introduction

On July 2, 2004, the radio station at Grimeton became a World Heritage site. That day the central square at Varberg was filled with people eagerly awaiting news from the UNESCO meeting in Suzhou, China. Just before lunch local time (11.30 AM), the decision came through that UNESCO had designated the radio station at Grimeton a World Heritage site. A large cheer ripped the air: at last, mission accomplished![1]

The excitement persisted and two days later, at the annual "Alexander Day",[2] more than 1600 people visited the radio station to see and experience a transmission of the good news to radio amateurs around the world. And exactly on the day one year later (July 2, 2005), the World Heritage site at Grimeton was dedicated by a host of dignitaries, including the County Governor and several representatives from organizations such as the National Board of Heritage, Nordic World Heritage Foundation and the Swedish UNESCO Council.

1. Existing article is part of an ongoing project on World Heritage sites in Sweden, and has been generously supported by the Heritage unit of Region Halland, for which I am very thankful.

2. This day is a homage to the Swedish engineer and inventor Ernst F. W. Alexanderson, who through his technical work developed and designed powerful alternators and multiple tuned antennas for General Electrics. The transmitter and the towers at Grimeton are of his design.

The date chosen for the grand opening had a specific meaning—on the 2nd of July 1925, 80 years earlier, the then reigning monarch Gustav V had inaugurated the brand new radio station. In a photograph taken that day, he and his entourage are standing outside the main building, the king all dressed up in black overcoat and wearing an appropriate top hat, the sun reflecting in his glasses. He appears very jolly indeed, laughing and gesturing.

In his speech he looked forward, into the future, because Grimeton represented the opportunities inherent in innovative new technology. The king sincerely hoped that the improved communications provided by Grimeton would strengthen relations between peoples and nations and, as a consequence, make the world a little more peaceful.

Grimeton achieved its status as a World Heritage after a strenuous ten-year process. Even before the Swedish government submitted Grimeton's application for inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage list in 2003, a group of civil servants, academics, politicians and representatives of industry had since 1995 dedicated themselves to saving Grimeton from closure and ultimate destruction.

In this chapter I will use Grimeton as a case study of how the process of obtaining World Heritage status actually unfolds. I will then compare Grimeton's history with the histories of two other World Heritage sites: Visby (1995) and Laponia (1996). These sites fall into two categories: Visby is a typical cultural heritage site (UNESCO category cultural), and Laponia is a mixture of cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO category mixed). This comparative approach will allow me to discuss the more general role of individuals and organizations, and their structures and strategies, in the process of designating world heritage sites. But I will also study the kind of values referred to by individuals and organizations during the application processes. Those were carefully chosen to enhance the possibility of inclusion on the World Heritage list. From what heritage perspective did those values emanate? And who were the stakeholders that used them?

Also by dealing in values it is possible to study them from a perspective of *interpretation*. The values underpinning each of the three World Heritage sites carry meaning, but what kind of meaning, and for whom? It is well known within the heritage field, that opposing groups often tries to reshape interpretation of and at sites in order to reflect their specific cultural values and promote their own version of cultural heritage.

Theoretical points of departure

Values of some kind has always been important to conservation efforts—why preserve something society do not value? Traditionally, specialist and experts with in the heritage sector was the ones that decided what to consider heritage, and also decided on ways of preserving it. This prerogative was sanctioned by the funding bodies and other institutions.

Today though, the concept of heritage has changed: it has expanded in scoop and new stakeholders are involved in identifying and caring for heritage sites, but from different perspectives on what values are underpinning that heritage. An obvious democratization of the field, but a process that is making it more complex as well. Such a development has implications on both what priorities to make—what and how to conserve, and how to deal with combatant interests.

To include more stakeholders is important, especially when it comes to identifying and evaluating "social" values because then the traditional methods of assessment is hard to implement. New disciplines must be brought in to the heritage field, and new groups as well. At the same time, public participating open up the field to challenges, first to the conventional interpretations of traditional practitioners and decision makers, and secondly to find new ways of collaboration between stakeholders.

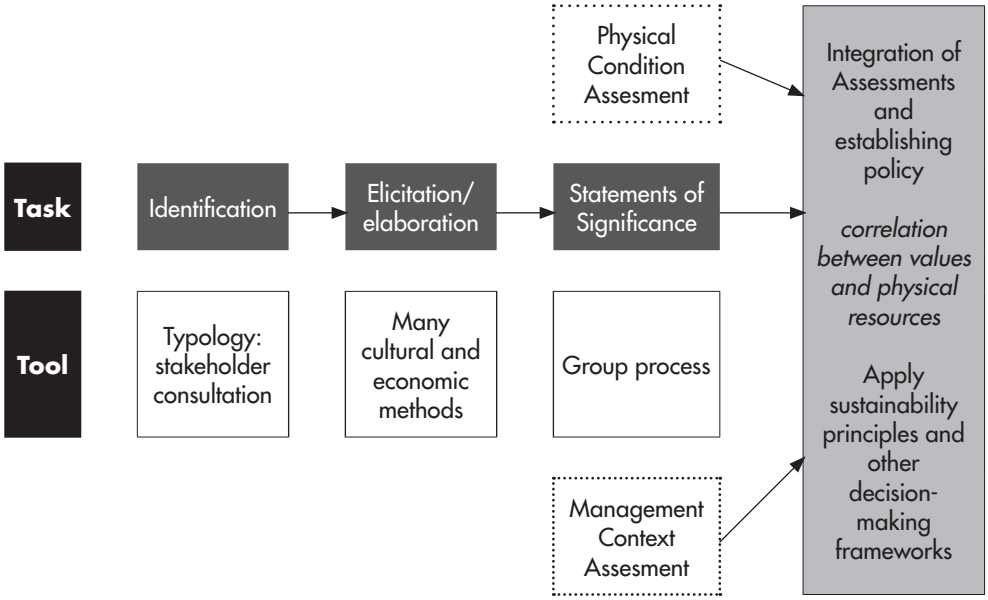
Some scholars point out that value elicitation will certainly be more open and including but that the traditional decision making process will stay as it always have been. They see that this transition will require a lot of soul searching in order to find the balance between old and new stakeholders. And in some cases, the same scholars see dangers with a democratic superstructure, where decisions in the name of democracy might go against the authority of conservation practitioners—if they feel certain resolutions concerning heritage matters are wrong and counterproductive, should they be free to intervene from a purely professional perspective? (del la Torres & Mason 2002, p 4).

My theoretical points of departure are two—theories on value and theories of interpretation. According to the American scholar Randall Mason, all decisions on heritage preservation are based on explicit statements of cultural significant values, attributed to heritage, and important since they form the basis of decisions made on conservation issues. But according to Mason, little is known about exactly how values should be assessed. Partly because the numbers of different heritage values (cultural, political, economical etc.), that the content of values tend to change over time, that values are contextual by nature, and that values are inherently conflictual. But also because different disciplines use their own methods and technics for evaluating values (Mason 2002, p 5).

Mason points out that values can be viewed in two different ways—as a set of moral guidelines, directing stakeholder actions, or as the qualities ascribed to things (artifacts, buildings, milieus and customs). In this chapter I will see values as both guidelines and ascribed qualities. Important is to move away from the normative processes of value evaluation, that puts certain values (artistic and historical) automatically above other values (Mason 2002, p 7).

In Figure 1, the so called Cultural significance/value assessment process is outlined. Via the process it is possible to identify tasks and the relevant tools needed to implement viable solutions.

Figure 9:1 The Culture significance/value assesment process



Source: After Mason 2002

Heritage is valuable to society because of its instrumental and symbolic validity. Mason writes that heritage is inherently multivalence—it consists of several possible meanings and appeals—which indicates an open and pluralistic take on how to value heritage. Very few of the heritage values are naturally given but rather contingent. In traditional conservation work, values are seen as mostly intrinsic and therefor unproblematic. Mason instead, points out that they are "produced out of the interaction of an artifact and its contexts (…). Values can thus only be understood with reference to social, historical, and even spatial contexts" (Mason 2002, p 8). Those extrinsic values are formed through a social process, decided by contextual factors. Mason does not exclude the possibility of universal values but inculcates that they are universal not because they are objectively true but because they are highly held by so many.

Others have made clear this position—they mean that the existence of universal values, so called Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), has been dominant in the field of preservation for long, and has influenced the way heritage sites are set up through a focus on a certain set of values at the expense of other sets. The notion of multiculturalism has made individuals, organizations and authorities realize the need to also consider the cultural values of other groups—hence the "value-based approach" meaning that "different cultural

groups will read their own meanings into the material fabric (…) and that those meanings should be recognized, understood, and accorded due respect and consideration in management decisions" (Scheld, Taplin & Low 2014, p 49).

That different groups seek to understand heritage and heritage sites according to different values is known as interpretation. Such interpretations are done by groups based on for instance class, ethnicity, gender or sexuality.

Often minority groups challenge the dominant interpretations because they feel like battlefields, war memorials and other historical sites only express the narratives of a dominant culture, and therefore are inauthentic, and based on badly informed and simplistic interpretations. Inclusive viewpoints are lacking due to the fact that the majority of heritage sites tend to have setups that legitimate current political values (Hurt 2010).

Laurajane Smith has a similar view on heritage in that she sees it as a distinct set of values and meanings—a constructed cultural practice, meant to regulate such values and meanings. This hegemonic discourse, rest on the opinions of experts and practitioners within the heritage field, and is about formulating Nation, Class and social consensus. Smith views this discourse as "self-referential" and with "a particular set of consequences" (Smith 2006, p 11).

World Heritage—a short presentation

The notion of World Heritage, meaning a place of cultural or natural significance to the "common heritage of humanity" was introduced by UNESCO in 1972. That same year, UNESCO created the World Heritage Convention, which would govern the protection and conservation of important cultural and natural heritage. Since then, an overwhelming majority of the world´s nations have ratified the convention.

According to article 11 of the convention, each member nation must take inventory of possible sites that might be included on the World Heritage list. This inventory process is not formalized, so it is possible for NGOs and different interest groups to suggest sites. The proposed sites are first included on a tentative list, and from this initial list, national candidates for World Heritage status are chosen.

Today, the international World Heritage Program, supported and organized by UNESCO through its World Heritage Committee, is accountable for keeping the list updated. Since 1992, the World Heritage Centre, is involved in the actual handling of the process, the Committee remains responsible for the selection and the decision making, as well as the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.[3]

3. http://whc.unesco.org/en/committee/

The application process is built on ten criteria. Up till 2004, the criteria were divided between the two categories culture and nature, but since 2005 there is just a single set of criteria, valid for both categories. The nominated sites must meet at least one of the criteria.

The decision to accept or reject applicants is made by the World Heritage Committee, with the help of its standing committee, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, at the annual meeting. The seven members of the Bureau are chosen from the 21 members of the Committee. These are the key persons to persuade about the importance of a specific candidacy.

The World Heritage Committee had their first annual meeting in Paris 1977. Aside from the members of the Committee and the Bureau, these meetings also include the representatives of relevant NGOs, who have no right to comment but may attend to their interests outside of the formal meeting. Others present are the UNESCO ambassadors, most of whom belong to nations involved in the nomination process.

But the most important participants are the officials from affiliated expert organizations. From UNESCO´s perspective, the practical side of the nomination process is mostly handled by "so-called" advisory bodies. These expert organizations—*ICOMOS* (International Council on Monuments and Sites; cultural aspects),[4] *IUCN* (International Union for Conservation of Nature; natural aspects[5]) and *ICCROM* (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property; conservation aspects)[6]—are responsible for conducting initial research and compiling a dossier on each of the candidates. They are also asked to present the content of their findings to the deciding committee members during the meeting. None of the organizations have any discretion. They are there only to present each case and to answer questions.

Their Presentations are highly formalized affairs. From a strictly alphabetical and categorical order—country, site and category (natural, mixed, cultural)—each application is presented by the advisory bodies with IUCN responsible for natural sites, ICOMOS for the cultural ones, and the mixed sites are presented by both bodies.

The presentation consists of a thorough description of the specific site, the opinions raised by the visit to the site, and the deliberation held within the advisory bodies. During the presentation, visual material, such as maps and photographs, play an important role for the decision making. The final assessment leads to a recommendation either to accept or reject the applicant.

The Swedish ethnologist Jan Turtinen points out that this seemingly objective and transparent process in fact is rather politicized. The advisory bodies have immense influ-

4. http://www.icomos.org/en/
5. http://www.iucn.org/
6. http://www.iccrom.org/

ence on whether the proposed sites are seen to define important values and unique qualities, worth preserving for all mankind. After presentations, a discussion follows, and in most cases also a decision. If no one from the Committee and the Bureau voice any objections, the recommendations of the advisory bodies are complied with. On rare occasions though, decisions are tabled for want of additional information.

According to Turtinen, the meetings were tense affairs, filled with expectations and hopes, but uncertainties and worries as well. Many perspectives competed: the candidates wanted a fair appraisal, the experts from the advisory bodies wanted to be able to get their opinions across, and the members of the Committee and the Bureau wanted a fair basis upon which they could make decisions.

During occasions when individual countries had applications under consideration, strengthened national delegations attended the meeting. Most commonly, people from municipalities concerned, as well as representatives of the County Administration, the Swedish National Heritage Board (SNHB) or the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) also made an appearance. Sometimes they attended as reward for good work, sometimes as a way of preparing the future administration of the World Heritage site. It is important not to forget that delegations are the extended arm of government, acting on behalf of their countries.

As Turtinen notices, the formal, and especially the informal rules, regulating procedures and guiding personal behavior are difficult to understand and learn. There is always a small nucleus that knows the rules better than most. With knowledge comes influence. Those that can use their practical know-how, their social networks and their acquired expertise are in great demand by several UNESCO organizations. Birgitta Hoberg from the Swedish National Heritage Board is one of those—Turtinen judges her to "know (…) how to create a world heritage" (Turtinen 2006, pp 77–91, quote p 87).

The total numbers of world heritage sites globally count today (2015) to 1031. However, the geographical distribution of those is somehow distorted, with the majority of all the sites located in Europe. Of countries with more than ten sites, altogether 26 nations, 15 of those are European (58 percent), five from Asia (19 percent). The rest is distributed between North and South America and Australia. No single country in Africa has such large numbers. Of the total sum (1031), 78 percent (802 sites) belong to the cultural category, 19 percent (197 sites) to the natural category while only 3 percent (32 sites) is a mix between the two categories.[7]

7. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat#s1

Swedish world heritage sites

Sweden currently has 15 sites on the UNESCO World Heritage list. The first one, the 17th century royal palace at Drottningholm, was accepted in 1991, and similar sites of cultural value were approved in the years after. UNESCO approved the first sites combining culture and nature values in 1996 (Laponia) and 2000 (Södra Ölands odlingslandskap). The first site chosen solely for its valuable natural qualities was Höga kusten in 2000.

The process for application is slightly different depending on whether the proposed site is of cultural or natural significance—those that want to consider applying for World Heritage status, contact either The Swedish National Heritage Board or the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency for help and advice. The organizations can also initiate the process themselves. Later on, the SNHB and/or the SEPA channel the request to the Swedish government, which in turn passes on cultural site proposals to the Department of Culture, or natural site proposals to the Department of the Environment. But it is always the Government who submits the final application to UNESCO.

The case of Visby, the Hanseatic city reborn

According to UNESCO, Visby is a "fine example of a walled north-European Hanseatic city, that in a unique way has preserved its medieval urban landscape and its valuable buildings (…)". Visby became a World Heritage site on the basis of two criteria, both under the cultural heading: (iv) as an exceptional example of a complete milieu that elucidate central phases in human history and (v) as a prominent example of a traditional settlement, representative of a threatened culture (Ronström 2008, pp 122–23).

Visby is a very illustrative example on how to conduct a hugely successful application campaign. But this work included a total "make over" of the inner city, resulting in Visby becoming the first Swedish "postmodern theme city", as the ethnologist Owe Ronström once put it. These renovations and alterations were an important prerequisite for the site´s approval by UNESCO. Uniqueness is a key word when it comes to marketing, and that goes for World heritage sites as well. In the arena of global tourism, each site has to stand out, to be unique, or it runs the risk of being left behind. Even though each World Heritage site highlights its own distinctness, the genuine local features tend to be marketed according to the same formula. Paradoxically, World Heritage status then becomes a brand that promises a standardized kind of authenticity (Ronström 2008, pp 123–27).

Regarding the nomination process in Visby, a brief account of occurrences goes like this: In late 1992 the first idea of Visby as a World Heritage was formulated in accordance with plans to start marketing Visby as the Hanseatic city. City officials wanted to prolong

the tourism season and to be able to market Visby on an international scene as a unique milieu in the Baltic region. For Visby to have World Heritage status would be a massive boost for those aims.

In early 1993, Marita Jonsson, head antiquarian of Gotland, travelled to Britain to meet the UNESCO coordinator for World Heritage questions, Henry Cleere. The initial contact went well: Jonsson briefed members of the municipality and the regional boards on the details of the meeting. Armed with this information, Visby representatives felt confident enough to send a request to the government about proposing Visby as a World Heritage to UNESCO. In August, a similar request was sent to the Swedish National Heritage Board. Later that year, municipal and regional civil servants together with Birgitta Hoberg, UNESCO coordinator at the National Heritage Board, commenced their work on the Visby proposal. Hoberg was positive about submitting a proposal to the government, and authorities set the date for October 1994.

In springtime that year both Cleere and Hoberg visited Visby—their advice was to get more houses declared as heritage in order to be able to adopt the medieval town center more in line with the intentions of the application. In August of 1994, an application was sent to the Swedish government through the National Heritage Board, based on the positive feedback given by both ICOMOST and independent experts. Marita Jonsson personally submitted the application to UNESCO in September of the same year. In the summer of 1995 Visby was approved as World Heritage at the Committee meeting, and in Berlin in December 1995, the final ratification was undertaken. Visby had gained World Heritage status (Ronström 2008).

Laponia—mixed heritage of the North

In 1996 Laponia was selected as a World Heritage site, but the process had started already in 1986. Authorities had proposed a number of initiatives, but ultimately, the 1992 application that combined cultural and natural arguments was the successful approach.

In 1986, the Swedish government assigned SEPA to suggest suitable areas for future nomination to World Heritage status. The area that SEPA proposed was Sjaunja, a nature reserve in Norrbotten. And Sjaunja was duly nominated under UNESCO's nature category in 1989. In 1990, officials from the IUCN arrived in Norrbotten to evaluate the area on behalf of UNESCO. The verdict, however, was negative, and it was suggested that the application either be improved or withdrawn. In late 1990, the Swedish government officially withdrew and gave instructions to SEPA to come up with an improved plan.

In discussions with IUCN, it was suggested that the proposed area be enlarged to incorporate adjacent reserves. The small size of Sjaunja had been one of the reasons for the failure

of the World Heritage proposal. The government and SEPA took IUCN's recommendations into consideration and, in 1994, started to work on a renewed application, also this time according to criteria of the nature category in spite of the introduction of the mixed category some years before.

All through 1994 work progressed, and in January 1995, SEPA submitted a proposal for the newly named Lapponian Wilderness Area. But according to critical voices, one of them Birgitta Hoberg of SNHB, not enough attention was paid to the Saamis and their tradition of reindeer herding. Instead, SEPA's focus on nature dominated. Although the title was changed to The Lapponian World Heritage Area (after protest from Saami representatives) in April's revised version, the content stayed the same.

The three municipalities included in the proposed area argued that World Heritage status would increase tourism and create job opportunities beyond reindeer herding. Two of these municipalities did, however, voice concerns about possible future restrictions to land usage hitting the local population. Meanwhile, the Saami parliament consented to the early proposal draft but voiced concerns that the future development of reindeer herding might be jeopardized. Concurring with Birgitta Hoberg, Saami representatives argued that the application should include aspects of both nature and culture in order to better reflect the area.

Now conflict began. Henry Cleere of ICOMOS complained that, despite the fact that the original idea was to have a joint nomination, SEPA had submitted an application based only on the nature criteria. According to Cleere, the National Heritage Board got "very angry about this and sent a supplementary nomination to cover the cultural aspects" (Nilsson Dahlström 2003, p 254).

This parallel strategy to incorporate Saami cultural values in the application was not actively blocked by either the government or the SEPA, and as a result, NHB started work on additional documentation for the nomination in conjunction with the Saamis.

Because of time limits, the nomination eventually consisted of two documents—the main one, where the nature aspects were presented, and the additional document, consisting of cultural aspects. From the onset, the culture argument was less developed. The section of the proposal emphasizing the cultural background of the Saami was delivered in September 1995, incorporated into the application and then submitted to UNESCO. The formal evaluation process, carried out by both ICOMOS and IUCN, started in June 1996, and resulted in a positive recommendation to the Committee. In December 1996, Laponia was officially appointed as a World Heritage site at the meeting in Merida, Mexico.

In hindsight, it might have been a mistake not to consider applying according to criteria of the new mixed category. Relying so heavily on the nature category caused setbacks along the way, and the application had to be rewritten on several occasions. The Swedish anthropologist Åsa Nilsson Dahlström points out that there seems to have been some

hesitation among government officials and especially SEPA to include the Saami heritage in the application. An argument about the importance of Saami heritage was only hastily included at the end of application process (Nilsson Dahlström, pp 261–62).

Grimeton—modern technology as World heritage

When Grimeton was accepted by the World Heritage Committee as World heritage in 2004, it was on the basis of two of the ten criteria. According to the *first* of those, the radio station at Grimeton was seen as "an outstanding monument representing the process of development of communication technology in the period following the First World War". The *second* criteria very straightforwardly stated that the radio station was "an exceptionally well preserved example of a type of telecommunication center, representing the technological achievements by the early 1920s, as well as documenting the further development over some three decades."

But the kind of radio technology that Grimeton represented had already after World War II begun its decline into obsolesence, and was therefore difficult to keep in commercial operation. The radio station was only still in use because the navy still needed the towers for submarine communication. But as a consequence of the end of the Cold War, Grimeton became vulnerable to closure.

In 1995, Swedish Telecom (Telia) finally decided to close the transmitter at Grimeton. Though Grimeton was still in working condition, rapid technological development made closure of the station seem inevitable.

In this moment, the initiative to preserve Grimeton started. An early breakthrough came from the vocal support given among radio amateurs and professionals in reaction to the last ever transmission from Grimeton by the last remaining Alexandersson alternator in the world. Soon after, support and interest in preserving Grimeton as a working station grew. Carl-Henrik Walde, a civil engineer who worked at FMV in various managing positions from 1958 to 2003, has stated that the generous support lent by various actors was "backed by very hard pressure from radio enthusiasts, radio engineers, radio officers and radio amateurs. Living in the outskirts of Stockholm, I became sort of SAQ ambassador to the Royal Academy of Sciences and similar organizations in the Swedish capital."[8]

Walde's recollections highlight the broad support for Grimeton amongst the grassroots radio community, as well as that community's link to the scientific community through Walde himself.

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8. SAQ it the call sign for Grimeton used by radio operators.

Work on preserving Grimeton had begun at roughly the same time that Swedish Telecom had announced its plans for closure. Mats Folkesson, at that time deputy head antiquarian of Halland, had some time earlier initiated a project to identify potential local heritage sites. He now decided to establish contact with Swedish Telecom in order to also include Grimeton. The first contacts were made during the summer of 1995. The process was supported by Sven Markström and Alf Urbath, executives at Swedish Telecom. They, especially Markström, became deeply involved for the whole duration of the process for world heritage status. The solution Swedish Telecom suggested was to donate the transmitting station to the World Heritage Foundation of Grimeton, and at the same time supply a substantial amount of money to be used for mainly maintenance (Walde 2006, pp 389–90, quote, p 389).

As a result of Folkessons work with future heritage sites, Grimeton Radio station was listed as a national industrial monument and was therefore protected by Swedish law beginning in the Fall of 1996. Around the same time, Grimeton was put on the tentative list of Swedish candidates for World Heritage status as well. The campaign to nominate Grimeton as a World Heritage site had momentum, but campaigners had bad timing. UNESCO had recently decided to level out the distribution of world heritage by concentrating on nominating non-European sites instead. As a result, Birgitta Hoberg, international secretary of the Swedish National Heritage Board, did not actively pursue the nomination of Grimeton during those years. But in early 2001, she asked an English industrial historian, Mr. Stuart Smith of *TICCIH* (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage) who happened to be in Sweden to evaluate the copper-mine at Falun, to visit Grimeton. A delegation of people including representatives of Varberg Municipality, Swedish Telecom, Folkesson and Hans Bergfast from the County administration met and worked with Smith for two days. Smith then wrote a report whole-heartedly supporting Grimeton for World Heritage status. From that moment on, the ice broke and permission was given to commence work on an application. Bergfast was tasked with this work and then submitting it to the Swedish National Heritage Board, which would then relay the report to the government and the Department of Culture.

During 2001, the small group under Bergfast worked hard to compose a solid application.[9] It was sent to the Swedish National Heritage Board in due time and then circulated for comments. The government needed to approve the application by January, because the UNESCO deadline was the 31st of January. But something came up—the Department of Defense opposed the plan because of pressure from the Swedish Navy, which used the towers for submarine communication and refused to ratify the application! A standoff ensued,

9. The process was also aided by the supporting non-profit society of Alexander, who provided expertise in telecom.

wasting valuable time, and the deadline passed meaning no application during 2002. Eventually, Swedish Telecom threatened to eliminate the Navy's access to the towers, and the Navy was forced to support the World Heritage site plan. The application was submitted a year later in January of 2003.

ICOMOS delegated to TICCIH, as an expert body, to evaluate Grimeton, and to prepare the necessary presentation for the Committee. This task was given to Mr. Smith, who arrived at Grimeton in August of 2003.

Yet it was not until spring 2004 news came from the Swedish National Heritage Board that Grimeton was one of 50 applicants to be discussed at the World Heritage Committee meeting in China that summer.

At the meeting, an extended Swedish delegation was present, led by Birgitta Hoberg and also including Folkesson, Bergfast and Markström. As the presentations happen in alphabetical order, Varberg Radio station (as it had been labeled in the application) was at the end of the day. Because of earlier delays, time was short, and each of the remaining presentation only had eleven minutes to persuade the committee members. The Grimeton case was presented by a representative of ICOMOS, who made a short briefing and showed slides. Then, the members of the Committee gave their opinions. Some European countries were in favor of the application but others were more hesitant. According to Folkesson, this split was caused by a misunderstanding as the representative from ICOMOS had focused on the architectural values instead of the intrinsic technological ones. Simultaneously, other members wanted to nominate more radio stations of the same type as Grimeton to create a cluster effect.

The Swedish delegation had no right to intervene and clarify the misunderstanding—"right then it felt like the whole thing was slipping out of our hands" as Folkesson later put it (Folkesson 2012, p 17). But observers were allowed to answer a direct question from the Committee. One committee member asked how many stations like Grimeton still existed. As the delegation could answer that no one was left, that Grimeton was unique and one of a kind. The Committee took notice, and after an additional discussion of 40 minutes, Grimeton was finally accepted as World Heritage (Folkesson 2012).

As a parallel strategy, the core group also worked to create a technology center at Grimeton, similar in type to a science center, to be named *Iternia*. Markström was one of the leading actors, especially in trying to secure funding. Iternia was meant not only to show the past but also to explain modern telecom as well as to give a glimmer of the future. When a promise of financial assistance from one of the Wallenberg funds fell through, the initial idea had to be downscaled. Instead Varberg Municipality and Varberg Sparbanksstiftelse jointly provided the money (10 million SEK) to construct a visitor´s lounge that also hosted a small exhibition on the history of telecom and Grimeton´s place within that history. The lounge was inaugurated in 2005.

Another important component in the campaign for nomination to World Heritage was the two official visits that the Royal couple paid Grimeton. On the first day of the new millennium, his royal highness the king sent a message via the original radio transmitter, relating to his great grandfather Gustav V speech at the inauguration of Grimeton in 1925. The king said that the message in 1925 was carried out "with the ultimate in modern radio technology at that time", and that "[t]oday the only existing Alexanderson transmitter is again sending a message around the world. Today the unique radio transmitter at Grimeton meets a new millennium." He continued to echo his great grandfather´s message that communications technology should be seen as a means of promoting a "deepened understanding, peace, democracy and free exchange of opinions between the peoples of the world…". His majesty ended his message wishing "A Happy New Year to all of you around the world, who are listening to this transmission!" (Walde 2007, p 20). The second visit took place on September 5, 2001. The king and queen then sent another message from Grimeton to the "people of the world", saying that "on our royal tour we send our best from saq" (Walde 2007, p 21).

In hindsight, one might state that the fact that the Royal couple visited and also used the technology at Grimeton was important, as it showed that the radio transmitter was significant enough to warrant a royal visit. From a media perspective, the royal visits were used to highlight Grimeton as a "worthy" heritage site. And the transmitted messages created a link to the past, both on a personal level as well as from a telecom perspective that well located Grimeton in history.

Conclusion: models for success?

In this section I will use the cases of Visby, Laponia and Grimeton to highlight the importance of the structures and strategies of individuals and organizations in the World Heritage approval process.

As has been stated earlier, the nomination process can be initiated from two directions—either by the government in a top-down approach, or by regional or locally anchored individuals or organizations (a bottom-up approach).

From the three cases, Laponia is a typical top-down process in accordance with obligations the government has of listing potential World Heritage sites while both Visby and Grimeton were initiatives that emanated from a lower level. Similarities between Laponia and Grimeton are evident—preservation aspects were the guiding principles; in Visby much more emphasis was placed on the marketing aspects of becoming a World Heritage site. Those differences can to a great extent be explained by the different conditions underpinning each site.

Motives, goals and expectations are important drivers but hard for actors to agree on. In Laponia the nature critera clashed with cultural aspects, causing a delay in the application process and pitting SEPA against advocates of culture (SNHB and the Saamis). In Grimeton´s case, only the preservation aspects have been mentioned so far, and in Visby, total unity behind a rational of preserving for progress in tourism and marketing opportunities, can be seen.

The three sites used World Heritage as a trademark in slightly different ways. In Visby, World Heritage status was used to justify the city's transition into a postmodern theme city. With Laponia and Grimeton, proponents of World Heritage status wanted to preserve the sites as markers of national values. Common for all three sites are that the brand of World Heritage is looked upon as something legitimizing.

It is important though to differentiate between preservation strategies. In Visby it was more about preserving the urban landscape by tending to buildings in order to create a complete milieu (the medieval city). Grimeton is similar in that the preservation efforts also went into (technological) artefacts and buildings, although on a smaller scale. In Laponia, the traditional Saami way of life was part of the project (as well as protecting the unique landscape).

In Visby's case it is clear that real enthusiasts were very important to the outcome. In particular Marita Jonsson emerges as the driving force of the whole project: Jonsson initiated it, and she held key positions during the duration of the whole process. At Grimeton, a small nucleus of individuals (officials from the county administration and people within Swedish Telecom) worked together. Regarding Laponia, the leading enthusiasts are harder to find. The initial impetus to promote Laponia as a World Heritage came from the government, who assigned SEPA officials to lead the procedure. Once again, this might have to do with if the process is top-down or bottom-up.

Local politicians are involved as well, but they tend to approach the World Heritage status from an instrumental point of view: they focus on the job opportunities created and the increased marketability of their locality. For these reasons, local politicians find it easy to support World Heritage initiatives.

Other actors are important to the process. Officials of both SEPA and SNHB worked in dialogue with individuals from the local level, often in a very successful way. But the most important contributions come from the advisory bodies, which prepare each case, often in collaboration with officials from the county administration or people employed by SEPA or SNHB. The advisory bodies have enormous power within this application process. In the case of Laponia, the government decided to revoke an initial application because IUCN had objections. For both Visby and Grimeton, the representatives from ICOMOs and affiliated organizations were very supportive, shared their expertise and gave helpful advice. In all of the cases, a very close cooperation existed between involved actors.

Successful campaigners had access to social, political and financial networks. In Visby, Marita Jonsson could tap into her personal network, which consisted of work-related connections gained over many years. The same goes for Grimeton, where Markström had influential contacts that could be used, whether it came to raising money or exercising political clout.

In conclusion, because these three sites had different qualifications for World Heritage status, they pursued different strategies to gain that status. But at the same time, they shared many common traits. Even so, it is not possible to single out just one way of achieving proposed goals. Instead, one must rather talk about several models for attaining World Heritage status, all adapted to a multifaceted reality.

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AUTHOR PRESENTATIONS

Staffan Appelgren

Staffan Appelgren is senior lecturer in Social Anthropology at the School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, and associated with the Center for Critical Heritage Studies, University of Gothenburg/University College London. He has undertaken research on cultural globalization focusing on themed environments in Japanese cities, preservation strategies in Tokyo's urban environment, and depopulation issues in the Japanese countryside. Staffan's research revolves around the dynamic relationships between transformation and stability, expressed in phenomena such as heritage, consumption, tourism, architecture and cities. Currently, he investigates the circulation of material culture through the second-hand markets as an alternative form of heritage in the research project Re:heritage—The Circulation and Marketization of Things With History (funded by the Swedish Research Council 2014–17).

Tony Axelsson

Tony Axelsson is a senior lecturer and researcher at the department of historical studies in Gothenburg and the director of the heritage studies program. His research interests are material culture, landscape, Neolithic, Heritage and communication, GIS and public archaeology. Current research projects are; Neolithic lifeways (financed by Swedish research council), Symbolism and local variation on Neolithic Falbygden (financed by the Berit Wallenberg Foundation) and Discourses of Conflict; An Archaeology of a Cold War site Axelsson previous research have included; chronology and symbolic features of Neolithic amber (Neolithic Amber—chronological and symbolic features), archaeological aspects of zoos (The archaeology of zoos), communication of archaeology and heritage (Varnhem—before the monks).

Lennart Bornmalm

Lennart Bornmalm is a senior lecturer within the subject areas of marine geology and environmental science at the University of Gothenburg. He earned a doctorate in marine geology in 1992 with a thesis on benthic foraminifera in the deep sea. His research interests include environmental changes in deep sea over geologic time, as well as natural and anthropogenic environmental change in coastal areas. In addition, he has conducted research and documentation of maritime heritage regarding the historical and societal aspects of fishing boat construction and the substantial changes in the fishing industry taking into

consideration the alterations of fishing communities along the western coast of Sweden and its archipelago. The documentations were carried out at the interface between the civic society and academic research.

Klas Grinell

Klas Grinell divides his time between being associate professor in History of Ideas at Gothenburg University, and curator of contemporary global issues at the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg. Grinell is also a board member of Cultural Heritage without Borders, web editorial board member Museum Ethnographers Group UK, Research Fellow at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Current research in the project Museological framings of Islam in Europe, funded by the Swedish Research Council. Published four monographs and over 50 academic articles and chapters on museums and the public sphere, ethnographic museums, fair tourism, Islamic history of Ideas, Turkish modernity, architecture, postcolonial theory et al.

Claudia Bauer-Krösbacher

Claudia Bauer-Krösbacher is a full-time lecturer and researcher at the IMC University of Applied Sciences Krems in Austria. She received her PhD from the Dublin Institute of Technology, holds an MA in Economics from the University of Innsbruck and Prof. (FH) from the IMC University of Applied Sciences Krems. Her research interests include cultural tourism, authenticity, tourism consumer behaviour, multivariate as well as qualitative research methods. Her research has been published in the Journal of Travel Research and several books. Claudia also has extensive experience as a lecturer and in didactics.

Bosse Lagerqvist

Bosse Lagerqvist is the Head of the Department of Conservation, University of Gothenburg. He received his doctorate in Conservation in 1997 with a thesis on photogrammetry and information management. His research interests today cover the industrial and maritime heritage, and the potential of heritage processes to bridge societal conflicts. During 2004–08 he combined university activities with an employment in the public organisation in the Västra Götaland Region for heritage management, working with industrial and maritime heritage and how to use such remains as assets for societal development. From 2008 to 2012 he was the coordinator for the University of Gothenburg's strategic initiative to develop critical heritage studies as an interdisciplinary field of research.

Tomas Nilson

Tomas Nilson got his PhD in history from Gothenburg University in 2004. Prior to his employment at Halmstad, he worked as lecturer and researcher at Chalmers Institute of Technology, Karlstad University and at the Department of Historical studies, GU. His research interests lies within the fields of Maritime history, where he has published extensively, and Business history. Now he is focusing on education and learning from an historical perspective.

Georg Christian Steckenbauer

Prof. (FH) Dr. Georg Christian Steckenbauer is a full-time professor at the IMC University of Applied Sciences Krems, Austria. His research focus is on health tourism, but his work also includes topics in the field of service design and experience design, and tourism research in general. His research projects are often conducted in close cooperation with Austrian tourism industry.

Kristina Thorell

Kristina Thorell is a PhD in Human geography at Halmstad University. Her research concerns landscape management and planning. She earned a doctorate 2008 at School of Business, Economics and Law, University of Gothenburg. She is interested in how local actors experience the landscape and how local capacities contribute management processes. Recent writing focuses landscape aesthetics, tourism planning and the creative economy. She has also done some work with relevance to urban planning and traffic safety. In 2016, she started a research project which elucidates how landowners, tourists and local actors appreciate the wind power landscape in Scandinavia.

Martin Peterson

Martin Peterson, historian and professor emeritus, received his PhD in 1979 from Gothenburg University. His dissertation was a study on the influence of International Interest Organizations post 1945. Peterson´s research interest lay within the field of contemporary history: he published extensively on nationalism and regional development as well as on identity making in Eastern Europe. He held various positions at the History Department at GU. Before his appointment as full professor at the University of Bergen, he was acting head of the joint faculty programme IER (Inter European Research) at GU. Peterson passed away in 2015.

Cultural Heritage Preservation: The Past, the Present and the Future

"Heritage comes in many shapes—in tangible forms such as sites, buildings, landscapes, or as intangibles, like memories, emotions, values and customs—as does the use of heritage, ranging from the purpose of building nations to marketing places. Heritage usually represents a phenomenon within a traditional historical discourse but have lately, more and more, come to take in peripheral appearances; often emanating from groups at the fringes of that traditional discourse as well. The use of heritage occurs in different arenas and takes on significance as a vehicle for political, cultural and entrepreneurial purposes, as well as educational and emancipatory, to name just a few. How to interpret heritage in order to understand its meaning to different groups is therefore a very important task."

This anthology describes heritage preservation, development and management from different theoretical views and disciplines. It integrates perspectives from history, human geography, archaeology, social anthropology and heritage conservation. The texts revolve around different dimension of culture and heritage via examples from varying contexts and locations.

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