Heritage Regimes and the State

ed. by Regina F. Bendix,
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Göttingen Studies in
Cultural Property, Volume 6

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Universitätsverlag Göttingen
2012

Address of the Editors

Prof. Dr. Regina F. Bendix
Institut für Kulturanthropologie/Europäische Ethnologie
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen
Humboldtallee 19
D-37073 Göttingen

Contents

Layers of Preservation Regimes and State Politics

States and their 'Thing': Selection Processes, Administrative Structures, and Expert Knowledge

Closing Commentaries

A Comparative Assessment

Preface

Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert and Arnika Peselmann

The present volume is the result of two conferences, both focused on the interface of international heritage regimes and their implementation at the state level. One event was held at the University of Göttingen within the framework of the multi-year interdisciplinary research group 772, "The Constitution of Cultural Property," from June 17–19, 2011, supported with funds from the German Research Foundation (DFG), and also co-organized by the Göttingen Center for Modern Humanities. The other set of papers, focusing on the same overall concerns, was initially presented within the framework of the French–German–Italian trilateral inquiry on the impact of Intangible Cultural Heritage under the title "Institutions, territoires et communautés: perspectives sur le patrimoine culturel immatériel translocal." Held at Villa Vigoni in Loveno di Menaggio, Italy, from June 30–July 3, 2011, participants were supported by the Maison des Sciences Humaines, the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Villa Vigoni, respectively.

In addition to our thanks for the financial support which made these meetings and the present publication possible, we also thank the many students who assisted in carrying out the Göttingen event, and the wonderful staff of Villa Vigoni for the luxurious workshop held in Italy. We would like to express our appreciation furthermore to Don Brenneis, Rosemary Coombe and Laurajane Smith who were present as commentators at the Göttingen event and willing to turn their oral comments into written contributions, as well as to Chiara De Cesari, who was not present at either event and was thus capable of offering a concluding, commenting chapter from an outside perspective. A number of individuals participated in the

Contributors

Nicolas Adell, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toulouse Le Mirail, is currently conducting research on the anthropology of "heritage knowledge" in a culturally comparative perspective.

Katia Ballacchino holds a PhD in Ethnology and Ethno-anthropology from the Sapienza University of Rome. She is an Adjunct Professor at the University of Molise and at the Academy of Human and Social Sciences, and also works as a *cultrice della materia* at the University Suor Orsola Benincasa of Naples and the Sapienza University of Rome. Her research focuses on popular traditions, the inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in central and southern Italy, visual ethnography, migration, social and cultural mediation, and human rights.

Regina F. Bendix is Professor of Cultural Anthropology/European Ethnology at the University of Göttingen and leads the Göttingen Research Group on Cultural Property. Her research focuses on the intersection of culture, economics and politics.

Caroline Bodolec is a junior researcher with the French National Scientific Research Center (CNRS) at the Centre d'études sur la Chine moderne et contemporaine (UMR 8173 Chine, Corée, Japon), Paris, France. Her fields of research are Intangible Cultural Heritage in China, especially in the Shaanxi province, and the history of construction and anthropology of techniques during late-imperial and contemporary China.

Chiara Bortolotto is a Marie Curie Fellow at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (Laboratoire d'Anthropologie des Mondes Contemporains). Her research investigates the development of global policies of Intangible Cultural Heritage within UNESCO and their implementation in France and Italy.

Donald L. Brenneis is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz. His current research involves an ethnographic study of peer review, scholarly publication, assessment practices, higher education policy, and the ongoing shaping of scholarly and scientific knowledge within and beyond anthropology.

Alessandra Broccolini is an anthropologist and researcher at the Sapienza University of Rome, Italy. Her current research focuses on Intangible Cultural Heritage and UNESCO Conventions in Italy, Inventories of Intangible Cultural Heritage, traditional fishing in Bolsena Lake (Viterbo, Central Italy) as Intangible Cultural Heritage, and Urban Ecomuseums and participation.

Rosemary J. Coombe is the Tier One Canada Research Chair in Law, Communication and Culture at York University in Toronto, Canada, and works on issues pertaining to cultural property, cultural rights, indigeneity, intellectual property, and human rights.

Chiara De Cesari is an anthropologist and Assistant Professor of European Studies and Cultural Studies at the University of Amsterdam. Her new research focuses on the making of a European memory in relation to its blind spots, with particular reference to the carceral heritage of Italian colonialism in Libya.

Aditya Eggert is a PhD candidate in Social and Cultural Anthropology within the Research Group on Cultural Property at the University of Göttingen. Her research focuses on the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the politics of heritage implementation in Cambodia.

Laurent Sébastien Fournier is a French social anthropologist, Assistant Professor at the University of Nantes and researcher at the CNRS (IDEMEC, UMR 7307, Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme, Aix-en-Provence). As an anthropologist of Europe, he works on the revival of local festivals, traditional games and sports as Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Florence Graezer Bideau is Deputy Director and lecturer at the Center for Area and Cultural Studies (CACS), College of Humanities, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne (EPFL) and SNSF post-doctoral researcher at the Anthropology Institute, University of Neuchâtel. Her research interests include cultural policy in China, heritage processes in Malaysia and the implementation of the

UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Switzerland.

Ullrich Kockel is Professor Emeritus of Ethnology, University of Ulster, Professor of Culture and Economy, Heriot Watt University, Edinburgh, and Visiting Professor of European Ethnology at Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas. His current research focuses on cultural resource development, place memory and human ecology, especially in Germany, the Baltic region and the British Isles.

Kristin Kuutma is Professor of Cultural Research at the University of Tartu, Estonia. Her research and teaching focus on cultural theory, cultural history and anthropology, ethnographic studies and knowledge production, and critical studies of cultural heritage and representation. She is the head of the UT program of the Graduate School of Culture Studies and Arts.

Anaïs Leblon completed a PhD in anthropology at Aix-Marseille University focused on the process of heritagization of Fulani pastoral institutions in Mali. She is currently a postdoctoral fellow at Lahic (Laboratoire d'Anthropologie et d'Histoire de l'Institution de la Culture) in Paris, within the framework of a French research consortium: the "Labex CAP" (Créations, Arts et Patrimoines).

Gabriele Mentges is a Professor at the Institute of Art and Material Culture, at the Technical University of Dortmund. Her current research interests include the Uzbek textile culture as a cultural and economic resource.

Máiréad Nic Craith is Professor of European Culture and Heritage at Heriot Watt University in Edinburgh. Her research interests include cultural translation, cultural policy and Intangible Cultural Heritage in a European context.

Arnika Peselmann is a PhD candidate in the field of cultural anthropology within the Research Group on Cultural Property at the University of Göttingen. Her research interests include a comparative approach to the implementation of UNESCO conventions (Czech Republic, Germany), civil society in post-socialist states, and border studies.

Adelheid Pichler is currently working as a lecturer at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna, Austria. Her research covers memories of slavery in Afro-Cuban religions, education and adaptive capacity to climate change and the comparative study of social vulnerability patterns to hurricanes in Cuba and the Dominican Republic (within the IIASA – International Institute for Applied System Analysis, Laxenburg–Vienna).

Cristina Sánchez-Carretero has been a tenured researcher in anthropology at the Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), since August 2008. Her areas of interest include processes of traditionalization, heritagization and memorialization, the intersection of migration and cultural heritage, and the politics of cultural heritage in conflict situations.

Philip W. Scher is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oregon. He is currently conducting research on the politics of heritage in the Caribbean.

Maria Cardeira da Silva is a Professor at the New University of Lisbon and senior researcher at the CRIA – Center for Research in Anthropology, Lisbon. Mainly focused on Arabic and Islamic contexts, her research interests include cultural displays and political uses of culture, especially regarding international cooperation and diplomacy.

Laurajane Smith is an Australian Research Council Future Fellow at the School of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Australian National University, Canberra. Her research covers the area of heritage and museum studies.

Markus Tauschek is Assistant Professor of European Ethnology at Christian-Albrechts-University in Kiel, Germany. His main research interests concern the emergence of Intangible Cultural Heritage, tradition and performative culture in late-modernity and competitive logics and practices in everyday life.

Jean-Louis Tornatore is a social anthropologist and Professor at the Institute Denis Diderot, University of Burgundy, Dijon, France. He explores two main issues together: The relationship with the past and the ways of living within time according to a pragmatist approach. He emphasizes the involvement of the researcher in a radical and non-authoritarian perspective.

Introduction:
Heritage Regimes and the State

Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert and Arnika Peselmann

What happens when UNESCO heritage conventions are ratified by a state? How do UNESCO's global efforts interact with preexisting local, regional and state efforts to conserve or promote culture? What new institutions emerge to address the mandate? The contributors to this volume – which builds on two conferences devoted to heritage regimes and the state – focus on the work of translation and interpretation that ensues once heritage conventions are ratified and implemented. Framed by introductory reflections and concluding assessments, the seventeen case studies provide comparative evidence for the divergent heritage regimes generated in states that differ in history and political organization. The gaze here is thus on the layered metacultural operations that constitute heritage in the first place – the host of regulatory steps, actors and institutions that transform a cultural monument, a landscape or an intangible cultural practice into certified heritage. Placed next to each other, the cases illustrate how UNESCO's aspiration to honor and celebrate cultural diversity diversifies itself. The very effort to adopt a global heritage regime forces myriad adaptations to particular state and interstate modalities of building and managing heritage.

Heritage research has grown into a large, multidisciplinary field of scholarship. Variously concerned to document the local impact of heritage nominations, improve heritage preservation and management, assess the economic potential of heritage's intersection with tourism and leisure, or offer critical perspectives on

heritage-making's history and present, heritage scholarship is proliferating in tandem with its object of study. Dozens of national and international journals have been initiated, some as multidisciplinary as the field itself, others with a disciplinary specialization. International organizations participate in this scholarly endeavor, with UNESCO – as the United Nations agency responsible for bringing the global heritage listings into the world – and advisory bodies such as the International Council of Museums (ICOM) or the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) keenly interested to see their respective activities continually supported with sound scholarly research.

The Interdisciplinary Research Group on Cultural Property at Göttingen University, created in 2008, devotes several projects to the actors, contexts and dynamics of heritage-making. Ongoing case studies include the German-Czech border region *Erzgebirge*, Cambodia, and Indonesia, with some of the work already in print (cf. volume 1 and 2 of the present book series). Our group assembles expertise from cultural and social anthropologists, folklorists, and economists as well as scholars in economic and international law. The present volume has its origins particularly in the fruitful cooperation of the ethnographic disciplines with international law. While our cultural and social anthropologists confronted highly divergent outcomes of heritage measures within their respective field sites, the participating specialists in international law registered the cultural and political specificities ensuing once a state has ratified the UNESCO's World Heritage Convention or its Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Convention. In particular with regard to the ICH convention, we were startled to realize that ratification can give states new power over the dynamic resource of intangible culture – a "good" that even without international regulatory attention shows complex ownership and attendant rights structures. An international convention, we realized, meets not only with highly divergent state-based politics, but also with the corresponding bureaucracies, which may or may not have their own existing practices of heritage selection and management. This area has thus far seen no comparative research. Comparison of state implementation raises further questions of form-function relationships in cultural policy: similar bureaucratic forms across nation-states may have very different uses and effects, while the same purpose may be served by a wide range of formal strategies. We made it therefore our task to invite scholars with ethnographic experience on the heritage regime in states with divergent historical experiences and different political systems. Though European states (France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Lithuania, Russia, Spain, Switzerland) are over-represented in our sample, Africa (Mali, Mauretania, Morocco), Asia (China, Uzbekistan), and the Caribbean (Barbados, Cuba) are represented in this assembly of cases: together they offer rich insights into the interplay of states and heritage regimes.

In framing this volume, we use the concept of regime as it has been developed in international regulatory theory. If 'regime' in classical terms refers to a set of rules and norms regulating the relations between a state-government and society, international regimes come about through negotiations among actors on an inter-

national level. In issues such as trade and labor, information technology, public health, and others where international regulation is widely seen as beneficial, states and non-state actors will engage in negotiations aimed at producing conventions or treaties. To accompany the implementation of such outcomes, new institutions are typically formed. Dedicated organizations and standardized governance procedures are created in response to the recurrent and repetitive need to make decisions and generate rules. These institutions, such as the intergovernmental committees charged with promoting UNESCO's heritage conventions, also review progress towards the convention's goals and identify new concerns as they arise.

The United Nations do not constitute an international government, nor are they the only regulatory body on the international level. We thus rely on the broader concept of governance, which opens a view toward processes involving extra-state actors. In this way, we can fathom the web of systems of deliberation and regulation emanating from the UN, its subsidiary bodies and the other actors who populate the international scene with ever-growing density in the post-colonial and post-socialist era. International networking hardly undoes the inequalities of history and economics, and empirical work such as the case studies assembled here contributes to the continuing critical reappraisal of a UN ideology that seeks to be globally inclusive toward interested states, regional associations and interest groups.

While global governance of a given policy construct does not constitute a government, it generates a bureaucratic apparatus with actors responsible for interpreting and applying procedures emanating from conventions and treaties. Once state actors ratify an international convention, they face the challenge of implementing it. This entails acts of interpretation or translation into the local system. It is the interface of international governance with state governance that is the focal interest of this volume. We are primarily interested in this dynamic with regard to heritage as one arena of cultural propertization – that is, how heritage-making intersects with the uncovering and utilizing of culture's resource potential and the ensuing questions of ownership rights and responsibilities. It may, however, be worthwhile asking what, if anything, is different about international conventions addressing cultural goods and areas of cultural practice as opposed to conventions dealing with the environment, security, trade, traffic and so forth. All conventions, once ratified, result in administrative procedures with attendant bureaucratic measures. Most will generate new offices and officers in charge of implementing new norms in complex social systems. Taking in account the broader landscape of international norm setting would be helpful to put the UNESCO heritage regime into the context of overall international governance.

In the post-WWII era, state parties in the international organization UNESCO negotiated a series of heritage conventions, the first one on world heritage adopted in 1972 followed by the underwater and intangible heritage conventions in 2001 and 2003. Each of these sets rules for the nomination and selection of cultural

goods and practices to be placed on global lists, with the overall aim of encouraging the preservation and safeguarding of humanity's collective cultural riches. Each convention is accompanied by operational guidelines. And each convention requires its own administrative body which advises applicants, processes nominations, and identifies problems and concerns for the intergovernmental committees in charge of deciding on the worthiness of nominations. Once they have ratified a heritage convention, member states in turn need to devise administrative structures and regulatory frameworks on the national level that will permit both the generation of heritage application dossiers and, if successful, the implementation of heritage management plans.

In planning the two conferences reflected in this volume, we pursued the intuitions that 1) a great deal of UNESCO's agenda is "lost in translation" or invariably transformed, as heritage conventions enter the level of state governance, and 2) the implementation of the international heritage regime on the state level brings forth a profusion of additional heritage regimes, endowing actors at state, regional and local levels with varied levels of power over selective aspects of culture that prior to the UNESCO initiatives had rarely seen attention or control on the part of the state.

To assemble evidence to substantiate these assumptions, we approached the contributors to this volume with questions that would generate comparable case studies on the implementation of the heritage regime in diverse state systems. We list these questions here as well, not least to sensitize others working within the realm of heritage research and heritage practice to the ways in which heritage regimes emerge and what impact this in turn has on actors on all levels of the heritage-making process --in particular those who are the caretakers of tangible monuments, cultural landscapes, and intangible "excerpts of culture."

The first set of questions concerned the application for heritage nomination, the selection procedures (and the potential exclusion from the list), the groups of actors and institutions legitimated to participate in the process and the unfolding components of heritage governance:

How was the object/practice selected for UNESCO candidature? Do local ideals about cultural heritage exist that may have influenced the choice for a specific cultural feature? What is the relationship of this concept to the cultural heritage concept propagated by the UNESCO? How and by whom is the selection legitimated? Which rules and policies can be identified in this process?

What actors and actor groups can be identified in the nomination process? What kinds of (competing) interests do they represent in connection with the UNESCO nomination? How and by what means are the respective interests advertised, if necessary? Who took the initiative to launch the nomination? Can negotiation processes be identified and who is involved? Can bottom-up initia-

tives be realized in them? Can non-state actors be involved in the procedure? Can exclusion mechanisms be identified?

What form does the interplay and interaction between local/national and international levels in the constitution process take? Are there discrepancies between international organizations and member states?

What legally (and/or socially) binding institutions have been created to shape the nomination procedure? Are local legal practices taken into consideration?

Who carries the costs of a nomination? Is assistance available and if so, from whom?

What professions have emerged in the development of nomination procedures for tangible and intangible cultural heritage?

What knowledge resources exist and who holds them with regard to the nomination process on the meaning of UNESCO World Heritage status and the obligations which come with it? How is this knowledge disseminated (print, training, etc.)? What role do experts and expert knowledge have in the nomination process?

A second set of questions concerned the implementation of a successful UNESCO nomination, drawing attention again to actors and institutions admitted to participation, as well as issues concerning user rights, and observations on the impact of heritage-making on the cultural elements selected and those in charge of them:

Which institutions, agencies and actors are responsible for the implementation? Do state criteria exist for regulating responsibility for the implementation of UNESCO World Heritage rules structures?

Who "owns" a certified ICH, World Heritage monument, cultural landscape or memory? Who defines the rights of use and how does this take place?

Which groups and individuals are involved in the valuation and development of a cultural heritage object/practice and with what interests? Can forms of competition or cooperation be observed in these processes? How is this competition managed or controlled? Who may use an ICH and for what purposes?

What kinds of programs are developed and what ideological perspective on culture do these programs reveal? How do pre-existing structures of valuing cultural pasts and traditions figure in generating new institutions?

What is the impact of certification on the further development of the listed objects and practices – in terms of their definition and commoditization?

Following up on all these questions goes beyond what a lone ethnographer can reasonably document and query, and hence each author chose particular aspects to illustrate and elaborate within their particular case study. Yet in placing the cases next to each other, we see our initial assumptions confirmed and find ample evidence for the conflicting powers of heritage regimes. Indeed, it is worthwhile emphasizing that it is not simply human actors seeking or wielding power and holding control: the regimes themselves, as realized in unfolding bureaucratic institutions and processes, discipline both actors and their cultural practices into (perhaps) unforeseen dynamics.

The concluding commentaries of Don Brenneis, Rosemary Coombe and Laurajane Smith as well as the summarizing chapter by Chiara De Cesari each uncover diverging facets of heritage governance depending on the political setting within which they unfold. Our own comparative insight, which also draws on the aforementioned project case studies, finds the following issues worthy of critical reflection and relevant to heritage policy-making. These issues are intertwined and further illustrate how and why the international heritage regime turns into multiple, unequal heritage regimes: the diversity of bureaucracy, political history, precursor value regimes, heritage strategies from the local to the international level, and the power of go-betweens and interpreters.

Diversity of Bureaucracy

The UNESCO heritage regime originated in the effort to celebrate cultures in all their diversity, yet what is in the limelight in the day to day heritage-making business is the diversity of bureaucratic cultures, the actors enacting them, the tools employed for the purpose, and the comparable functions they are meant to fulfill. Generating and administering regulations that facilitate the composition of heritage nomination dossiers has grown into a cultural practice of its own. Councils, temporary or permanent decision-making bodies take shape – but they will differ from state to state, and the functions they are to carry out in the implementation of heritage conventions will thus also be differently parsed, not least depending on what prior institutions of heritage governance are (re-)activated for this new task. Actors within these institutions will devise paper and digital forms and formats to streamline the work. Yet the shape they will take, what actors have access to them, and which ones are empowered as a result will differ and thus tell us something about how the benefits and burdens of achieving international heritage recognition are distributed from national to regional to local levels. The Italian parsing of an intangible tradition into its constituent components for the sake of a normative application form invokes as distinct a bureaucratic tradition as does the Chinese redoing of a dossier compilation under different administrative auspices or the Swiss reli-

ance on micro-federalist principles ensuring the participation of all who wish to do so. Similarly, the implementation of a successful heritage nomination engenders bureaucratic procedures enacted by new or pre-existing actors and institutions. There are states where the bureaucratic implementation of preservation and safeguarding measures is upheld by state police; there are others, where local or non-state actors find themselves practically unencumbered in carrying out whatever management plan they have devised.

We are not claiming that these differences are entirely independent of the UNESCO heritage conventions and their respective operational guidelines. UNESCO's intergovernmental heritage committees continually monitor the results of heritage application and implementation procedures and deliberate on how to improve them. There may even be an incremental rapprochement between state-specific bureaucratic practice and international regulatory intent. But this does not alter the fact that states are free to interpret and implement UNESCO conventions: there are but few tools available to UNESCO to interfere – in supporting application processes with staff expertise for instance, or in threatening to take a successfully nominated item off a heritage list if management plans are not executed as proposed.

Intersecting Political Histories

As is particularly evident in post-colonial and post-socialist states, a state's political history leaves a mark on all heritage regimes and this not only due to the fact that bureaucratic infrastructures tend to survive changes in political systems. In post-colonial and similarly in post-socialist situations (which in some cases conflate), such bureaucracies may still maintain the language and habits of a former political era. Initiatives – including those concerning heritage – may be viewed with suspicion not least due to the idiom in which they are represented. Such states are also more thickly layered with cultural and political pasts and presents than states with a longer, autonomous history. Different sets of actors will opt to bring into play or disregard these valued, contested or even detested layers vis-à-vis the opportunities presented by heritage lists, as evident for instance in the quite different cases of Cuba and Barbados. In some instances, such as the Portuguese example, the international heritage regime offers a chance to polish the former colonial reach, not least by offering know how and resources – for such complex and fractured histories also contribute to present economic infrastructures and the social capacity or lack thereof even to consider participation in the heritage competition.

Value-Regime Precursors

The heritage regime did not invent the valuing and valorizing of culture. Ever since the Enlightenment many Western states have developed regimes thatselect and foster appreciation for aspects of culture, in particular cultural monuments. In

other global regions (e.g. Japan and Korea), systems safeguarding intangible heritage go back to the late nineteenth century, and were influential in the shaping of the devising of UNESCO's ICH regime. Tourism, furthermore, has been a powerful motor for maintaining cultural resources. Such pre- and co-existing valorization systems wield their own power structures and are, in many cases, endowed with bureaucratic subsystems and political as well as administrative actors to enact them. This can lead to competing or contradictory enactments of heritage policies, as illustrated in the German case study. In some instances, pre-existing heritage regimes may be utilized as stepping stones toward the selection for a UNESCO application; in other cases, competition may arise between different heritage goals and associated financial support structures, as evident in the case of the Curonian Spit.

Heritage Strategies

Heritage-making is never pursued simply for the sake of preserving and safeguarding. Many actors of different persuasions are needed to pull off a successful heritage nomination, and those with a "pure" interest in protecting a rare archeological site, a landscape or a unique cultural testimony will invariably mingle with actors pursuing goals for which heritage holds strategic potential. Heritage nominations can be mobilized for purposes of economic development and nation-building, as seen in both the tentative Uzbek efforts and the Barbadian plan to draw on heritage in its nation branding. States may use heritage listings to enforce plans for urban renewal and touristic "clean-up" by removing inhabitants from their homes and land, such as in the Cuba case as well as the Cambodian Angkor. Development incentives play a role in the Portuguese-African co-operations, though here the donor institution's hope to build cultural and political capital as well as economic influence is not to be underestimated. Economic development is an heritage-making incentive for many actors also in industrial nations, especially in depopulated areas and/or sites unable to attract other economic investors.The heritage card holds a promise that successful nomination might bring tourism and associated private and public investors.

Not unlike international sports championships, heritage listings bring out competitive aspirations among states. Thus while industrial nations initially refrained from the ICH regime, which had been expressly devised through UNESCO to afford the global South more opportunities to participate, Western ICH nominations – as illustrated for instance by the case studies from France and Italy, but also in the emerging efforts of Switzerland – now exhibit crafty and unusual approaches by state actors. Local actors, in turn, recognize in the heritage regime a global value system that might silence internal critique –as in the Italian Siena's (still unsuccessful) effort to silence animal rights protests regarding the treatment of horses in the Palio. The French *compagnons* employ the heritage regime in an effort to improve

the prestige and thus pay of craftsmanship. Other local groups, as in the Spanish case study, may use heritage instruments to strengthen their own position. On a larger scale, social groups may seek empowerment through the heritage regime, seeking to jostle the power balance within the state, as is the case – not represented in this volume – with Indonesian groups' efforts to revive traditional legal structures.

The Power of Go-Betweens and Interpreters

Depending on the agency that can be negotiated within a given political system, and depending on the viscosity of an established heritage regime, powerful individual actors may move mountains where an army of administrators slog through the swamp of rules and regulations. An individual expert can circumvent a march through various local and regional levels and negotiate directly with the state, as the Irish case illustrates. Without the efforts of individual interpreters and go-betweens, many heritage nominations would never get off the ground. Expertise in regional culture and history as well as thorough familiarity with UNESCO instruments and protocol are required. One might go as far as to say that successful nominations are often led by skillful individuals, capable of navigating a given state's governmental and bureaucratic structure and of interpreting the present – and shifting – "spirit" of UNESCO conventions.

These analytic insights have guided the grouping of the individual contributions in this volume. We begin with Kristin Kuutma's opening plenary at the Göttingen conference. As one of the foremost European heritage scholars and simultaneously a long-time participant in Estonian national as well as in international heritage decision making, her admonition to temper deconstructionist scholarship offers a thoughtful entry into the volume. Critical analysis ought not to disable the positive potential inherent to heritage-making but rather support the infusion of reflexivity in heritage decision-making processes. A first set of papers is then grouped under the heading "The Reach of (Post-)Colonial Sentiment and Control" and assembles cases from Cuba, Barbados, Mali and – through the reach of Portugal – Mauretania and Morocco. The section "Layers of Preservation Regimes and State Politics" brings into focus West European cases from Italy, Spain, Ireland, France and Germany, the post-socialist example of Uzbekistan and the case of the Curonian Spit, contested between Russia and Lithuania. Detailed views of nomination procedures from within, finally, are assembled under the heading "States and their 'Thing': Selection Processes, Administrative Structures, and Expert Knowledge" and feature studies on China, Italy, Switzerland and three different takes on France. In this last section, the role of anthropologists, ethnologists and folklorists as both expert consultants within and researchers of the heritage-making process comes to the fore quite poignantly. These fields of research have contributed to the societal appreciation of cultural diversity and, inadvertently or not, they have

helped to shape some fundamental precepts of the heritage regime. The fact that heritage-making has now turned into a field of employment for practitioners in these fields presents both scholarly and ethical questions which, to echo again Kuutma's admonition, ought to be faced in productive rather than dichotomous ways.

Some of the authors in this volume rarely publish in English and one of the hopes we hold is that *Heritage Regimes and the State* may serve as an encouragement to engage seriously both with the power of these regimes and with the ethnographic work and theorizing of non-Anglophone scholars in the field.

Thinking Through Heritage Regimes

Chiara De Cesari

1   Introduction

In Palestine's West Bank, the context that I know best and have studied for several years, there are many local civil society organizations dedicated to heritage preservation that essentially take care of a lot of the country's heritage. They have an ambiguous and rather conflicted relationship with the local UNESCO office, which they see as allied to the Palestinian Authority (PA), the quasi-state that runs the administration of the (still occupied) Palestinian territories. These non-governmental organizations (NGOs) use a kinship metaphor to describe the alliance between UNESCO and the PA. At a conference on heritage conservation in Palestine, which was attended by many of the key players in the field, including representatives from the local Department of Antiquities, UNESCO, major donors, and various heritage NGOs, this alliance was repeatedly derided as a "marriage" that, tellingly, had received few blessings from civil society organizations. The latter, after all, were largely excluded from this union, or else subjected to stricter regulations as an indirect consequence thereof. UNESCO's response to such chiding tended to repeat itself. As one official put it, "[our] hands are tied [...] UNESCO is an intergovernmental organization. I cannot marry you [civil society heritage organizations], even though I would prefer to marry you rather than the

Department of Antiquities."[283] In other words, UNESCO is mandated to work with state institutions, and this mandate, though beneficial at the national level in terms of institution-building, is often an obstacle to community participation – another purported principle of UNESCO's heritage programs. It is my argument, substantiated by many of the essays collected in this volume, that this marriage metaphor, far from being an expression of the exceptional Palestinian situation, applies in fact to several other contexts where UNESCO is active and UNESCOi-zation is at work. I will argue below that UNESCO paradoxically empowers the state; however, it is important to specify that the opposite is also true, to a certain extent, especially given the supervisory function this international agency often carries out *vis-à-vis* the state.

2   Heritage as Regime?

It is good to think of heritage in terms of regime or regimes because this makes us focus on two aspects that I believe are crucial to understand how heritage works today. The first aspect concerns the relationship of heritage with government and the ways in which heritage conservation intersects with government, broadly conceived, in multiple ways. This development has to do, first and foremost, with the remarkable expansion of heritage conservation in terms of both the forms of culture and the practices it encompasses (heritage was essentially only about historic monuments and archaeology until twenty years ago) and the scope of its now global reach. A dimension of the *fin-de-siècle* memory boom, such expansion is deeply entangled with the growing role of culture as an economic factor (see Yudice 2003), and with the discovery of culture and particularly cultural heritage as a motor of socio-economic development. The end effect is that what we call heritage or heritagization has come to shape people's lives more and more – particularly by intervening in ways that make social regulation much more difficult to detect, because the latter looks, at least at first, very benign if not beneficial. Heritage defines a relatively recent way of talking about and organizing the relationship between people and significant aspects of their culture, and between people and their environments. As a transnational discourse with its own set of attached practices, heritage is developed, supported and promoted by a network of powerful institutions, among which UNESCO is at present most influential. As a body of ideas and practices, one of heritage's peculiar features is that, while deeply transnational, this discourse is intertwined with the history and logics of the nation-state. Thinking of heritage in terms of regime makes this tension immediately palpable and visible.

The politics of heritage tend to be understood as the misuse (often by undemocratic actors and authoritarian regimes) of something – the past – that should

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[283] My notes from the third day of the Conference on Cultural Heritage in Palestine, Jericho, February 22, 2006.

instead be kept neutral and under the strict purview of technocratic expertise. Saddam Hussein's use of Babylonian heritage to bolster his legitimacy is a perfect example of this notion. However, the new politics of heritage that this volume tackles concerns the subtle politics of the everyday. Heritage politics for most contributors to this volume can no longer be seen as a despicable exception opposed to a technocratic norm, because heritage makes politics precisely through expertise. From this perspective, heritage intersects with "government" in the broader sense of Foucauldian governmentality (Foucault 1991; see also Rose; O'Malley; Valverde 2006). For Michael Foucault, governmentality defines the "conduct of conduct" of populations – often not immediately circumscribed as "government" per se – achieved through the deployment of particular forms of knowledge by a multiplicity of different actors. Governmentality is to be located well beyond the traditional domains of political institutions (several allegedly non-political actors and bodies do indeed participate in this form of government), and encompasses many possible ways of shaping people's behavior by applying specialized bodies of knowledge. The contributions to this volume show that "heritage" constitutes one such unusual field of government.

The second meaning of "regime" as international regime points to one if not the key location of heritage politics today, namely, UNESCO, the United Nations agency responsible, among others, for cultural matters, and especially its heritage programs dealing with world (tangible) heritage and intangible heritage. Several essays in this volume investigate the work of this international agency and its growing role in shaping what it means to carry out heritage conservation all over the world. "Regime," in its international political meaning, refers to a set of "Implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures" that regulate areas of international relations (such as International Conventions). It also refers to the international regulatory agencies entitled to manage these international domains – agencies which typically lie outside the control of national governments and constrain them.[284] Instead, in the case of UNESCO, while frictions do indeed occur, what several essays of this volume delineate is a strong de facto alliance between national and international actors, similar to the situation captured by my initial vignette.

Clearly, UNESCO's action often ends up reinforcing the power and reach of the nation-state and its bureaucracy, and its ability to shape people's lives through heritage, for example, by empowering and expanding the state heritage infrastructure or reproducing national stereotypes (Askew 2010, De Cesari 2010b). This happens in spite of a strong participatory rhetoric emphasizing the necessity to involve local communities and a poorly defined "grassroots" in heritage decision-making – a principle which is the cornerstone of recent UNESCO policies, and particularly of the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention. In a previous essay, I have emphasized how, contrary to UNESCO's universalizing aim of establishing a

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[284] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regime<accessed August 9, 2012>.

common heritage for humanity, the World Heritage system not only draws upon the tradition of national heritages, but actually reproduces and amplifies this tradition's logic and its infrastructure (De Cesari 2010b). This, in turn, gives rise to numerous tensions in the universalist practices of the organization. I have also shown how the structural relation between World Heritage and the nation state – as inscribed in UNESCO's constitution as an intergovernmental agency and in its mandate – can hinder wider participation and local involvement in the heritage process.[285] Thus, despite the rhetoric of democratic participation, it is nation-states (and experts, see Smith 2006) that play the main part on the World Heritage stage and that are authorized as proper actors through the World Heritage process. Several essays in this volume detail these paradoxical dynamics.

Undeniably, UNESCO's action is characterized by a number of tensions or apparently contradictory features. UNESCO's rhetoric celebrates cultural diversity as its key value, and to be sure, this organization's interventions produce a rush for diversification since local and national actors tend to emphasize the specificity and exceptionality of their cultural practices in order to meet UNESCO's criteria. However, UNESCO is itself a powerful agent of homogenization of heritage practices all over the world, for it promotes a standardization of principles and procedures of conservation, as Chiara Bortolotto in this volume explains. This "UNESCOization" (Berliner 2012) could easily be seen as a form of cultural globalization.

A further tension is the one between centralization and decentralization of heritage management. This tension can be detected very clearly in the case of the Intangible Heritage Convention because the latter, when deployed in local contexts, both authorizes grassroots groups as legitimate stakeholders in heritage conservation and simultaneously produces an expansion of the cultural domains under the management of the state.[286] I will discuss the issue of centralization in more depth below; UNESCO itself is a good example to illustrate the opposing tendency towards decentralization (and transnationalization). Indeed, nowadays, we assist the growing outsourcing of some of the state's historical functions, including heritage management, to "non-governmental" sub-, supra- and especially trans-national entities, such as UNESCO, together with all kinds of mushrooming civil society associations and private groups devoted to heritage all over the world (De Cesari 2010a, 2011b).

Critical heritage scholars have tended to see only the first trends, particularly towards homogenization or cultural imperialism (e.g. Byrne 1991, Smith 2006). Several contributions to this volume show, however, that things are not so straightforward. We still do not know enough about the local impact of UNESCO's interventions and about what happens with the growing heritagization

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[285] For example, only officially recognized States Parties to the 1972 Convention can nominate sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List.

[286] This tension also relates to how UNESCO promotes what Timothy Mitchell (2002) has called the "rule of experts" (for heritage, see Smith 2006) by making experts into the subjects of heritage while simultaneously empowering "local communities" to take part in conservation.

of places, traditions and cultures worldwide. By calling attention to the ways in which the translation of UNESCO's policies into local contexts produces rather different effects, this volume demonstrates that this is a very important avenue for future research.

Given such shifting politics, it is legitimate to ask whether we should indeed talk about heritage regimes in the plural or not. Should we talk about one heritage regime as a rather Eurocentric discourse – one that is promoted by powerful institutions and increasingly appropriated by grassroots actors to advance their claims but that can ultimately be only detrimental to them, like a double-edged sword? Or should we rather, as anthropologists tend to do, think in terms of multiple overlapping and intersecting heritage regimes, related to the different scales and the actors that nurture and champion them?

3 The Heritage Regime at Work

Today, we observe a dramatic expansion of the heritage regime. Different actors, both national and grassroots, appropriate the language of heritage to advance their demands, as well as, increasingly, to gain access to funding and investments. In the context of the so-called creative economies, "culture" is being used today as a resource towards a variety of different ends, particularly to foster economic growth (Yudice 2003). Heritage as a peculiar kind of cultural practice is a very good example of this trend. Heritagization, especially for countries with scarce resources, is seen as a potential motor of socio-economic development and, as such, is promoted not only by UNESCO, but also by powerful development institutions, such as the World Bank (e.g. 2001), in the framework of tourism development schemes. Shared heritage is also understood as a means of reconciliation, particularly in post-conflict contexts. This serves to complete an imagination of heritage that assigns it something close to a thaumaturgic capacity in what Wiktor Stoczkowski (2009: 8) has called a "secular soteriology." In other words, heritage is imagined as a therapy to cure all evils, from poverty to ethnic conflict. While governments increasingly use heritage to attract international investments or obtain development aid, grassroots, minority or indigenous actors champion it in the name of the politics of recognition (e.g. Lowenthal 1996, Weiss 2007).

In this context, UNESCO is increasingly present throughout the world, especially in the global south, shaping heritage practices along similar lines. Heritage can be promoted as a tool to strengthen not only people's identities, but also democracy, participation and sustainable development: This is the mantra recited by UNESCO experts, in a way that Maria Cardeira da Silva compares to the repetitive call to prayer of the Muslim *almuezin*. Yet, does heritage truly foster democracy and local development? What is interesting is that UNESCO's intervention affects in particular the traditional areas of anthropological expertise. Gabriele Mentges recounts how while UNESCO initiatives were not the focus of her research in Uz-

bekistan, at least originally, she was forced to engage with it because she encountered "traces of UNESCO in all of the places I[she] visited." Thus, UNESCO's cultural work is something anthropologists can no longer ignore, even if heritage is far away from their concerns.

What is the meaning of this growing presence? How can we gauge its impact not only on national heritage infrastructures, but most importantly on people's lives, and crucially: What does it mean to rethink culture in terms of heritage? What happens when not only people's culture, but also their very lives (see Adell) are made into "heritage" and regimented by both national and transnational regimes? This is a matter of governmentality through culture and cultural heritage. These are the set of questions this volume begins to ask.

A related, interesting issue concerns the meaning of such developments for anthropology as a discipline and form of knowledge production. The proliferation of heritage undeniably coincides with the growing relevance of anthropology beyond its confines, and particularly of its understanding of culture as an everyday matter and a way of life. These developments, however, also imply a certain bureaucratization of anthropology, with its knowledge turned into itemized lists and standard formats (see Broccolini). For Jean-Louis Tornatore, the application of the Intangible Heritage Convention in Western countries constitutes a kind of "anthropological payback" forcing the objectification of the culture of those who used to objectify others in the past. At the same time, one could argue that the expansion of the heritage regime constitutes a kind of objectification of the discipline of anthropology itself. Following these introductory observations, I will now turn to the four main themes addressed by the contributions to this volume.

4   Imperfect Translations

Several contributors talk about the local deployments of the international heritage regime using a textual metaphor, that of translation. This use discloses the mainstay of several of the essays, which emphasize how the outcome of these processes of translation is neither homogeneous nor predetermined (see Bortolotto, da Silva, Tauschek). The etymological and semantic proximity in the original Latin roots between "translation" and "treason" (and, interestingly, "tradition" as well) points to an understanding of the local translation of the global language of heritage as a diverse and varied phenomenon that deserves careful inquiry. For Chiara Bortolotto, applied global policies are "domesticated" or "twisted" by local institutional structures and categories, resulting, in her view, in "different safeguarding approaches." Similarly, Markus Tauschek demonstrates that previous national and local institutions, as well as, in particular, older legislation, shape the implementation of new UNESCO policies in Belgium (see also Broccolini). For Tauschek, "national heritage policies can be seen as assemblages of different patrimonial paradigms, as creative contact zones between different heritage logics that compete

against one another or that are combined in synergetic ways." Maria Cardeira da Silva calls attention to the "eloquent dialogues [between local, national and international heritage cultures] that are in danger of remaining concealed behind apparent conformity." The concrete implementation of UNESCO's policies, in other words, is far from true to the letter.

Frictions, misunderstandings and negotiations appear to be the hallmarks of this complex process of making the international heritage regime work in local contexts. Anna Tsing, in her wonderful 2005 book embarking upon an "ethnography of global connection," complicates and redefines the relationship of the local and the global, and uses the notion of friction to investigate cultural productivity in globalized times. According to Tsing (2005: 1–18), both the local and the global are produced within cultural dialogues, and universals, that is, "knowledge that moves – mobile and mobilizing – across localities and cultures" (7) are always already engaged in cross-cultural encounters dominated by "awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative" frictions (4). Among the cases discussed in this volume, frictions and misunderstandings between the different actors and scales involved characterize in particular the implementation of UNESCO's intangible heritage policies in China, France and Uzbekistan. As Tsing suggests, such misunderstandings are perhaps unexpectedly but undoubtedly productive in that they move things forward and allow for the flexible adaptation and ultimately the success (in the sense of a diffusion) of the heritage regime at the local level. In China, for example, a focus on the "elements of excellence of national Chinese culture" (Bodolec) distinguishes this country's intangible heritage policies, and this is in contradiction to the spirit of the 2003 Convention which promotes rather representativity and equal recognition for diverse cultural practices. In the case of France and its intangible heritage listings, the strongly universalist tenets of this centralist state seem to clash with the chief values of the 2003 Convention and its promotion of cultural diversity (see esp. Fournier). The case of Uzbekistan clearly shows how UNESCO's initiatives to promote transnational values and shared, non-national heritages, such as the Silk Road, can easily translate into blatantly nationalist policies and images. Another interesting case of friction between the scales is the situation described by Anais Leblon for Mali, where local stakeholders' expectations of obtaining development and food security are not met by programs of inventorying and cultural promotion.

Finally, as Marcus Tauschek rightly emphasizes – echoed also in Graezer Bideau – negotiations, compromises and a good degree of contingency decide the outcomes of nominations and the ultimate organization of management structures. An interesting example is the gastronomic meal of the French: In this case, not only the interests of the agri-food sector and restaurant businesses, but also former president Nicolas Sarkozy's advantage in appeasing his famers' constituency played a role in the nomination procedure. Undeniably, the local translations of the global heritage language depend on how the latter articulates with local cultural logics and political dynamics, and in fact it varies. As Alessandra Broccolini shows, heritage can clash but also articulate with other transnational languages, such as the animal

rights discourse, in unexpected ways. For sure, a certain contingency and instability are hallmarks of this process of "vernacularization" (Merry 2006).

We tend to look at the workings of the international heritage regime from a top-down perspective, namely, by concentrating on what happens to the global heritage discourse once it is in action. It is crucial, however, to understand these processes from below as well, which means to understand the reasons why a group of people decides to appropriate the language of heritage to further their goals, and the kinds of imaginaries and expectations elicited by the heritage discourse. Heritagization for Mali villagers, for example, constitutes a potential means of achieving food security (cf. Leblon), while in other cases, it is used to negotiate "a place in the shadow of a would-be cosmopolitan modernity" (da Silva). The latter situation clearly applies in my own research on Palestinian heritage practices. Today, we are witness to a proliferation of heritage initiatives in the West Bank. They are carried out by a number of civil society organizations for whom "heritage" is a way to connect with transnational networks and culture flows. Speaking the global language of heritage bestows on practitioners a sense of being part of a broader transnational community with which they interact as equals, at least on the surface; it also bestows on practitioners a feeling of entitlement to a higher status in a cultural if not a quasi-moral sense.

I have used the term "appropriation" above to define the ways in which local stakeholders tactically approach the international heritage regime. This suggests that the heritage regime is something like a foreign language to most local stakeholders, ultimately impenetrable to impulses from below. In this regard, there is a rather hegemonic understanding in heritage studies. This, however, necessitates further scrutiny together with the vertical imaginary, so to speak, that grounds it – that of a global discourse free-floating above local contexts and left untouched by its multiple territorializations. The view that the universalization of heritage – as pursued by UNESCO heritage policies – represents a case of Western hegemony, was firstly put forward by Denis Byrne in 1991 and later reiterated by, for example, Michael Herzfeld (2005) and Laurajane Smith (2006). While I fully share these scholars' concern for the central role of power and postcolonial politics in the making of the international heritage regime, my fieldwork in Palestine has made me question the notion of traveling heritage practices as always already oppressive. In part, these kinds of arguments reproduce the logic of accusations that perceive globalization as being fundamentally about cultural imperialism. But, as several anthropologists have noted (e.g. Inda and Rosaldo 2008), globalization is not a one-way movement, and global forms are always localized and appropriated in culturally specific ways. Scholars have given different names to this encounter between the local and the global in an effort to overcome simplistic dichotomies, so as to highlight complex processes of back-translation. Sally Engle Merry (2006), for example, coined the term "vernacularization," debating human rights and the way in which this universalist discourse percolates and comes to be reconstituted by the local. Tom Boellstorff (2003) thinks instead in terms of "dubbing," by com-

paring the process of translation of globalizing cultures and subjectivities to the dubbing of movies. I believe with Anna Tsing (2005) that globally circulating discourses are produced within cross-cultural dialogues, and that even highly asymmetric ones change along with their movements. Thus, the investigation of the very making of a global language like heritage constitutes a promising avenue of future research. By inquiry into the making of the global heritage discourse, I mean looking at the myriad negotiations, compromises, unexpected events, and actors, and at the expectations and imaginations that go into the writing of, for example, an international convention; but I also mean investigating the ways in which local deployments change international policies.

5   Heritage Effects

What are the effects of the international heritage regime once it is deployed? What is its impact on people and institutions? The initial vignette taken from my own fieldwork signals a surprising development that is delineated in several contributions to this volume as well. Heritagization along the lines of UNESCO's directives and supervision produces more governmentality, that is, an expansion of the institutional dimension of the state apparatus and its potential to reach into previously unmapped cultural terrains.

First and foremost, UNESCOization triggers frictions and conflicts between the different scales and actors involved. This concerns diverse understandings of and stakes in heritage, and occurs between international and local experts and (what I call for the sake of clarity and brevity) the "grassroots," and also between the state and the grassroots (see Ballacchino, Broccolini, Graezer Bideau, Kockel, Leblon), between the different branches of the state (Broccolini, Tauschek) and between international experts and the state (see Nic Craith, also the cases of France as discussed by Fournier and Tornatore, and China as assessed by Bodolec).

Conflicts are known to be a regular occurrence in matters of heritage, as, for example, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) have elucidated with their notion of dissonance or dissonant heritage. What is peculiar about the international heritage regime, and especially the 2003 Convention, however, is a fundamental ambiguity concerning the very definition of one of its pillars, that is, the involvement of "local communities." It is this very ambiguity which is a major source of conflicts and misunderstandings. As several essays in this volume emphasize, "local community" is left undefined, and is, in fact, open to varied interpretations and to ideological manipulations (see also Smith and Waterton 2009). In my own fieldwork, for example, I have frequently noticed how the "local" is taken to refer, depending on the context, to both grassroots groups and professional heritage NGOs, who often have a stake themselves in this productive confusion.

What is also peculiar about the international heritage regime in relation to its impact on "local communities" is a paradox, namely, that the former both empowers and disempowers the latter. The great paradox of the international heritage regime, in spite of its rhetoric emphasizing transnational, shared values as well as democratic participation, is that, in fact, it ends up dramatically empowering the nation-state. As most contributions show, the implementation of UNESCO's policies often means not only reinforcing traditional national heritages and close to stereo-typical, hegemonic notions of national identity and national cultures –themselves frequently a product of colonial and postcolonial–nationalist authoritarian ideologies (as in the case of Uzbekistan described by Mentges; see also Bodolec, Graezer Bideau, Scher, Tornatore). UNESCO's intervention often leads to a reconfiguration and an expansion of the state infrastructure for heritage and cultural management, which also implies that domains of people's lives previously unregimented now pass under the state's purview. In cases of disputed or occupied territories, UNESCO's intervention also tacitly reconfirm a state's sovereignty over a disputed piece of territory, or else arouses expectations and tactics of self-determination depending on which actor, occupier or occupied it chooses to deal with (see da Silva; cf. De Cesari 2011a).

This seems like a curious twisting of UNESCO's stated aim of involving and empowering "local communities" (see Adell, Broccolini, Fournier, Mentges, Sánchez-Carretero). Marcus Tauschek rightly places a strong emphasis on the institutional productivity, so to speak, instigated by heritagization along UNESCO's lines, and he shows that the latter implies, first and foremost, an expansion of heritage legislation and a multiplication and restructuring of the governmental entities devoted to its enforcement. The case of China discussed by Bodolec also constitutes a very good case of the expansion and restructuring I have sketched above. In China, the ratification of the 2003 Convention provided an occasion for greater centralization because it triggered a reorganization and streamlining of the Chinese administrative structure for heritage management previously split between different local and national state departments. Anthropologist Jim Ferguson (1995) has convincingly argued that development projects most frequently fail to achieve their stated objectives; instead, more often than not, they contribute to expand the reach of the state into previously uncharted terrain. Championing what I call "heritage-as-development," or the conversion of heritage into a form of socio-economic development, UNESCO often, if unintentionally, achieves similar results.

The majority of the contributions to this volume demonstrate that UNESCOi-zation does not mean democratic involvement in heritage. Two essays, however, contend that in the cases of France and particularly Ireland (see Fournier and Nic Craith), UNESCO's and particularly ICOMOS's intervention has met its target of triggering more participation. What makes or could potentially make the difference? A possible answer is that the outcome of inscriptions and management plans depends ultimately on the experts who implement them and how knowledgeable they are of UNESCO's guidelines. It is true that, in spite of the participatory rheto-

ric, it is experts who are eventually given the greater role in the framework of UNESCO's policies and, therefore, have a lot of power in their implementation. Yet, a note of caution is in order. The hands of experts are tied by a set of structural constraints as sketched above, inscribed as they are into UNESCO's constitution as an intergovernmental agency with a specific, state-supporting mandate. Playing the devil's advocate, one could ask whether heritagization itself can be an effective vehicle of democratization at all.

What is the real meaning of participation? Is it a "mechanism of empowerment or is it a tool for management," as Chiara Bortolotto asks? In other words, does it entail empowerment or governmentality? If, indeed, we take a Foucauldian approach – grounded in an active notion of power as something that controls precisely by empowering – the two must not exclude one another. Alessandra Broccolini and Markus Tauschek draw attention to the growth of bureaucracy tied to heritagization. Heritagization triggers extended surveys and inventories of cultural sites and practices, as well as new regulations as to what is "authentic" and worth preserving, how this is to be done, and who are the legitimate stakeholders and tradition bearers. Being observed, studied, regimented, and often put on display and pushed to perform previously habitual cultural practices, becoming heritage subjects entails being subjected to the gaze and purview of the state as well as of other transnational actors. Discussing intangible heritage in France, Adell has cogently argued that recent heritage policies concerning intangible heritage generate a kind of "re-subjectivation" since it is people and their very lives – rather than objects and sites – that are turned into heritage. This process entails a form of objectification as well by making visible and tangible through the heritage gaze what was previously intangible and taken for granted.

Heritagization can also change the agents of heritage, at least to a certain extent. I remember well the anger of one of my Palestinian informants and civil society activist who had been involved from early on in a conservation project in the old part of his village, and then felt undermined and disempowered when the intervention of other national and transnational heritage actors turned him "from [active] planner to [passive in his view] stakeholder."[287]

In terms of tangible heritage, the "world-heritagization" of sites commonly acts as an obstacle to their use by local communities, who are subject to increased surveillance by state bureaucrats and experts. In fact it often leads to the outright suspension of everyday livelihood activities. This is exemplified by the situation in Salvador de Bahia (Collins 2008), where heritagization transformed once vibrant cultural spaces into what local inhabitants call *tombados* or "patrimonialized" but also "frozen" areas. When sites such as this fall under the strict control of experts and state bureaucracies, the result is not merely an extension of state power, but also the production and legitimation of expertise with its own domain of application, namely, fenced-off heritage sites.

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[287] Interview with the author, Jerusalem, September 15, 2011.

In some cases, and against the grain of UNESCO's stated objective of defending human rights, heritagization triggers the resurgence of traditional hierarchical and patriarchal structures, such as in Uzbekistan where such "retraditionalization" undeniably serves the state's authoritarian politics (see Mentges). In some other cases, patrimonialization produces, in the long-term, a form of dependency (De Cesari 2010c, Hodder 2012). The local communities affected might have been self-sufficient before UNESCOization, but tend to become reliant on development aid and tourist flows (cf. Leblon) in its aftermath.

Heritagization, by now a known phenomenon (e.g. Herzfeld 2010), often becomes associated with gentrification processes, especially in the case of large-scale projects of urban regeneration and requalification (see da Silva, Pichler). Turning Habana Vieja (Cuba) into a destination for cultural tourism resulted in a radical change of its social geography with the resettlement of 70% of the former inhabitants in the case of the old plaza studied by Pichler. In other cases (e.g. Meskell 2005, Herzfeld 2009), evictions rather than more consensual resettlements result from the intersection of heritage regulations with capital interests.

Undeniably, as already noted some time ago by Nezar Al-Sayyad (2001), we can observe an alliance between nationalist and capitalist interests and forces in promoting institutional heritages. These often convey power-laden, traditional ideas of national identity and culture which are easily deployed to attract tourists by evoking hegemonic transnational imaginaries. The stories told are veiled with colonial nostalgia, like Pichler suggests in the case of the renewal of Habana's Plaza Vieja (see also da Silva), or they represent the return of stratified, orientalist images: In Uzbekistan, for example, old orientalist stereotypes dating back from the time of 19th century colonialism are being recycled as symbols of a new national identity by an authoritarian regime, and this all with the blessing of UNESCO (see Mentges). Moreover, the relationship between nationalist and capitalist interests and forces goes two ways, because it is not simply a matter of nationalist images being used to promote investments and profit. Scher clearly delineates a phenomenon which intersects with heritage more and more, namely nation-branding. The latter defines the use of advertising techniques to promote nationalism; in this case, promoting the nation as a brand serves all kinds of interests, both political and economic, and is mobilized to attract investments and tourism, here in the case of Barbados, but evident also in the intersection of interests discussed by Tornatore for the French case.

Heritagization is increasingly being advocated as a tool of sustainable economic growth and socio-economic development, particularly in countries with scarce resources (many of us are familiar with narratives of heritage as "oil," especially valuable at times of otherwise greatly reduced economic growth). Yet, are such expectations of democratic development through heritage and UNESCOization corroborated by solid research? What happens under the cover of heritage-as-development? More often than not, such expectations are left unattended if heritage projects do indeed get funding and manage to be completed – which is not at

all always the case. Then, why do we insist on telling ourselves this tale of salvation through heritage? How can we come up with a more realistic story?

6 Why We Need Ethnography

To answer these questions – to gauge how heritage affects people's lives – we clearly need more ethnography. Several essays in this volume call for specificity and ethnographic detail and indeed we ought to continue along this path. In particular, we ought to unpack the rhetoric of democratic heritage and heritage-as-development, and to trace the real meanings of "involvement," "local communities" and "development." We ought to see the real people and the true stories that hide behind such terms.

The problem that I see is that heritage scholars tend to be prisoners of the very language they should dissect and criticize. This is the abstract, technical language of heritage experts and practitioners – made up of buzzwords such as environmental assessment and management plan, but also best practices, sustainability, outstanding value, and stakeholder, to mention but a few. Annelise Riles (2001, 2004) has convincingly argued that anthropologists are often too familiar, too close to the technocratic language of development – itself a derivative of anthropological knowledge – to be able to "unwind" it: Yet, this is precisely the ethnographer's task. Something similar can be argued for heritage. Often too close to policy-making, we as critical scholars have difficulties probing heritage's very form of knowledge and its language. At the same time, there are great advantages in being close to policy-making because this makes our critical task more effective. Analyses and critiques of UNESCOization and heritage as regime are helpful precisely because we can put them to use by feeding the fruits of our necessarily critical work back into policy-making.

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What happens when UNESCO heritage conventions are ratified by a state? How do UNESCO's global efforts interact with preexisting local, regional and state efforts to conserve or promote culture? What new institutions emerge to address the mandate? The contributors to this volume focus on the work of translation and interpretation that ensues once heritage conventions are ratified and implemented. With seventeen case studies from Europe, Africa, the Caribbean and China, the volume provides comparative evidence for the divergent heritage regimes generated in states that differ in history and political organization. The cases illustrate how UNESCO's aspiration to honor and celebrate cultural diversity diversifies itself. The very effort to adopt a global heritage regime forces myriad adaptations to particular state and interstate modalities of building and managing heritage.

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