

Université de Montréal

Tracing change in World Cultural Heritage: the recognition of intangible heritage

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Tracing change in World Cultural Heritage: the recognition of intangible heritage

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the crossover from and intersection between tangible and intangible heritage in the context of World Heritage. Since the start of the twenty-first century, intangible heritage has become increasingly important in international cultural heritage conservation theory and practice. In heritage literature, intangible heritage has been theorized in relation to tangible or built heritage, thereby extending the definition of cultural heritage to consider a holistic perspective. New heritage conservation instruments have been created for the protection of intangible heritage, such as most prominently the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. The changing conception of cultural heritage that goes beyond tangible heritage has also influenced existing instruments like the 1972 UNESCO *Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. The thesis studies how intangible heritage has been recognized and interpreted in implementing the concept of cultural heritage as defined by the World Heritage Convention. It examines the historical development of the concept of World Cultural Heritage with the aim of tracing the construction of intangible heritage in this context.

The thesis consists of six chapters. The introduction sets out the research problem and research question. In the literature review, international cultural heritage conservation is portrayed as the research context, the knowledge gap between World Heritage and intangible heritage is identified and an understanding of the research problem deepened, and methods from similar research in the subject area are presented. The methodology in the third chapter describes choices made concerning the research paradigm, research approach and strategy, the use of concepts and illustrative examples, as well as data collection and analysis methods. Knowledge is constructed using primarily a historical approach and related methods. Through the analysis of pertinent documents and heritage discourses, an understanding of the concept of intangible heritage is developed and the concept of World Cultural Heritage is investigated.

In the fourth chapter, intangible heritage is studied by looking at specific cultural heritage discourses, that is, a scientific, a UNESCO, and an ICOMOS discourse. Intangible heritage is theorized in relation to the concepts of tangible heritage, heritage value, and cultural heritage. Knowledge gained in this chapter serves as a theoretical lens to trace the recognition of and tease out interpretations of intangible heritage in the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage. The results are presented in chapter five. A historical development is portrayed in five time periods and for the concepts of cultural heritage, Outstanding Universal Value, the criteria to assess World Heritage value, and authenticity. The conclusion summarizes the main outcomes, assesses the thesis' contribution to scientific knowledge as well as its limitations, and outlines possible further research.

The main results include the identification of the term intangible heritage as an indicator for a paradigm shift and a new approach to conceiving cultural heritage in international cultural heritage conservation. By focusing on processes and the living relationship between people and their environment or place, intangible heritage emphasizes the anthropological. In the context of this conception, intangible heritage takes on two meanings. First, value is attributed by people and hence, is inherently immaterial. Secondly, place is constituted of a tangible-intangible continuum in terms of attributes. A paradigm shift and increasing recognition of an anthropological approach to cultural heritage were identified for all discourses, that is, UNESCO, ICOMOS, the scientific field, and World Heritage.

For World Heritage, intangible heritage was recognized indirectly in terms of historical associations during the 1970s and 1980s. The anthropological shift occurred in the early 1990s. The term intangible was introduced and the meaning of intangible heritage was extended to include cultural associations. The subsequent decade is characterized by a process of internalization and implementation of the new approach to cultural heritage. The 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention created momentum. By the early 2010s, while not explicitly recognizing the immaterial character of values, a holistic approach to cultural heritage was fully endorsed that considers the idea of intangible attributes as carriers of values.

An understanding of the recognition of intangible heritage through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and scientific research in general provide an important knowledge base for implementing the Convention in a more coherent, objective, and well-informed way.

Keywords: international cultural heritage conservation, heritage studies, UNESCO conventions, World Heritage, intangible heritage, tangible heritage, history of ideas

Résumé

Cette thèse étudie le croisement et l'intersection entre le patrimoine matériel et immatériel dans le contexte du patrimoine mondial. Depuis le début du vingt-et-unième siècle, le patrimoine immatériel est devenu de plus en plus important dans la théorie et la pratique de la conservation internationale du patrimoine culturel. Dans la littérature, le patrimoine immatériel a été théorisé par rapport au patrimoine matériel ou bâti et la définition du patrimoine culturel a été envisagée dans une perspective holistique. De nouveaux instruments de conservation du patrimoine ont été créés pour la protection du patrimoine immatériel, comme notamment la *Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel* de l'UNESCO de 2003. La conception du patrimoine culturel, qui va au-delà du patrimoine matériel, a également influencé des instruments existants comme la *Convention concernant la protection du patrimoine mondial, culturel et naturel* de l'UNESCO de 1972. La thèse étudie comment le patrimoine immatériel a été reconnu et interprété dans la mise en œuvre du concept du patrimoine culturel, tel que défini par la Convention du patrimoine mondial. Dans ce contexte, elle examine le développement historique de la notion du patrimoine mondial culturel dans le but de retracer la construction du patrimoine immatériel.

La thèse se compose de six chapitres. L'introduction expose la problématique et la question de recherche. La revue de littérature dépeint la conservation internationale du patrimoine culturel comme contexte de recherche, identifie l'écart de connaissances entre le patrimoine mondial et le patrimoine immatériel en approfondissant une compréhension de la problématique, tout en présentant des méthodes de recherche similaires dans le domaine. La méthodologie du troisième chapitre décrit les choix faits concernant le paradigme de recherche, l'approche et la stratégie de recherche, l'utilisation des concepts et des exemples, ainsi que les méthodes de collecte et d'analyse des données. La connaissance est construite principalement en utilisant une approche historique et des méthodes qui lui sont reliées. La

compréhension de la notion de patrimoine immatériel et l'étude du concept du patrimoine mondial culturel se basent sur l'analyse de documents pertinents et de discours du patrimoine. Le quatrième chapitre examine le patrimoine immatériel en regardant des discours spécifiques au patrimoine culturel, soit le discours scientifique, de l'UNESCO et de l'ICOMOS. Le patrimoine immatériel est théorisé par rapport aux concepts du patrimoine matériel, de la valeur du patrimoine et du patrimoine culturel. Les connaissances acquises dans ce chapitre servent de perspective théorique pour retracer la reconnaissance et clarifier les interprétations du patrimoine immatériel dans le contexte de la mise en œuvre du concept du patrimoine mondial culturel. Les résultats de cette analyse sont présentés dans le chapitre cinq. À travers cinq périodes différentes, une analyse historique retrace l'interprétation des concepts de patrimoine culturel, de valeur universelle exceptionnelle, ainsi que les critères d'évaluation de la valeur du patrimoine mondial et de l'authenticité. La conclusion résume les principaux résultats, évalue la contribution de la recherche à la connaissance scientifique, ainsi que ses limites, tout en décrivant d'autres avenues de recherches ultérieures.

Les principaux résultats comprennent l'identification du terme de patrimoine immatériel comme l'indicateur d'un changement de paradigme et d'une nouvelle approche de la conception du patrimoine culturel dans la conservation internationale du patrimoine culturel. En se concentrant sur les processus et la relation continue entre les personnes et leur environnement ou le lieu, le patrimoine immatériel en souligne l'aspect anthropologique. Dans le cadre de cette conception, le patrimoine immatériel prend deux significations. Tout d'abord, la valeur est attribuée par les gens et par conséquent, est intrinsèquement immatérielle. Deuxièmement, le lieu est constitué d'un continuum matériel-immatériel en termes d'attributs. Un changement de paradigme et la reconnaissance croissante d'une approche anthropologique de patrimoine culturel ont été identifiés dans tous les discours, c'est-à-dire, ceux de l'UNESCO, de l'ICOMOS, le discours scientifique, et le patrimoine mondial.

Dans le contexte du patrimoine mondial, le patrimoine immatériel a été reconnu indirectement en termes d'associations historiques durant les années 1970 et 1980. Le

changement anthropologique se manifeste au début des années 1990. Le terme de patrimoine immatériel a été introduit dans le discours et sa signification a été élargie pour inclure les associations culturelles. La décennie suivante est caractérisée par un processus d'internalisation et de mise en œuvre de la nouvelle approche du patrimoine culturel. La Convention du patrimoine culturel immatériel de 2003 a créé une dynamique. Au début des années 2010, même si le caractère immatériel des valeurs n'est pas reconnu explicitement, une approche holistique du patrimoine culturel a été mise en œuvre, laquelle considère l'idée d'attributs immatériels comme porteurs de valeurs. Une compréhension de la reconnaissance du patrimoine immatériel à travers la mise en œuvre de la Convention du patrimoine mondial et de la recherche scientifique en général fournit une base de connaissances importante pour la mise en œuvre de la Convention d'une manière plus cohérente, objective, et mieux informée.

Mots-clés : conservation internationale du patrimoine culturel, études du patrimoine, conventions de l'UNESCO, patrimoine mondial, patrimoine immatériel, patrimoine matériel, histoire des idées

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Acronyms

ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHIPCOE	World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is concerned with two concepts, their crossover and changing interpretations, that is, World Cultural Heritage and intangible heritage.¹ The 1972 *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, also known as the World Heritage Convention, continues to be the most popular international cultural heritage instrument. Over the past twenty-five years, a growing interest in intangible heritage can be noted in international cultural heritage conservation, which reached a climax in the early twenty-first century. This development has also left its mark on the implementation of the concept of World Cultural Heritage. The following subchapters establish what this thesis looks at more specifically in this regard. First, the research question and research problem are presented. Then, an overview over the chapters of this thesis is given. A short paragraph captures the essence of each chapter. And finally, important issues are clarified to better position the present research.

1.1. Research question

With the turn of the millennium, intangible heritage has become increasingly important in international cultural heritage conservation practice, that is, in the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). This not only led to the establishment of new instruments, such as most prominently the 2003 UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, but has also influenced the interpretation of existing instruments like the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention. The interpretation of the

¹ Though acknowledging the close link between culture and nature, preference was given to cultural heritage in this thesis. The terms cultural heritage and heritage are therefore used synonymously. Given the focus on cultural heritage, also the terms World Heritage and World Cultural Heritage are used synonymously if not otherwise indicated.

concept of World Cultural Heritage has in fact changed throughout the Convention's implementation to consider stimuli coming from new approaches to cultural heritage in the international conservation arena.

Cultural heritage as defined by the 1972 Convention essentially refers to “monuments, groups of buildings, and sites” of so-called Outstanding Universal Value.² The Convention is place-based and aims to protect the material and immovable, that is, built evidence of a defined property of exceptional and international importance. It has thus been considered as tangible heritage. In the course of the Convention's implementation, however, the concept of cultural heritage has expanded to consider intangible heritage. The present thesis is based on this premise.

The thesis is interested in investigating the crossover from and intersection between tangible and intangible heritage in the context of World Heritage. For this purpose, the following research question was identified:

How has intangible heritage been recognized and interpreted in implementing the concept of cultural heritage as defined by the World Heritage Convention?

This question pinpoints the historical development of the concept of World Cultural Heritage with a view to tracing the construction of intangible heritage in its context. The subsequent presentation of the research problem illustrates the changing interpretation of World Heritage more in detail and justifies the identified research question.

² UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art. 1, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

1.2. Research problem

To facilitate the reader's understanding, the research problem is derived by anticipating results from the critical literature review and information gained from data collection and analysis. It is moreover illustrated by inscriptions on the World Heritage List.

As mentioned previously, the World Heritage Convention aims to protect mainly the material and immovable, that is, built heritage of places of exceptional and international importance. This notion was established through the Convention text and early interpretations of the concepts of cultural heritage and Outstanding Universal Value. An example of an inscription that reflects the early interpretation is the pyramids in the Giza Necropolis in Egypt, which was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979 (fig. 1).³ It is a unique artistic realization of one of the greatest civilizations of human history that was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World.⁴



Figure 1. Memphis and its Necropolis –the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur (Egypt, 1979). © Aure-Anne de Coniac/Aure-Anne de Coniac

While not explicitly referred to as intangible heritage, an intangible dimension was also recognized early in the process of implementing the Convention. In the context of establishing criteria for the assessment of Outstanding Universal Value, criterion (vi) addresses associations with place and its built heritage:

...each property nominated should...be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers

³ UNESCO, "Report on the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Arab Republic of Egypt, 23-27 October 1979," CC-79/CONF.003/13, 11 para.46, Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-13e.pdf>.

⁴ ICOMOS, "World Heritage List No. 86," April 1979, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/086.pdf.

that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstance or in conjunction with other criteria).⁵

The criterion's relevance for the thesis can be best demonstrated by presenting one of the rare cases when criterion (vi) was used alone to justify inscription. As early as 1979, the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland was considered for its importance as a “witness to the depth of



Figure 2. Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940–1945) (Poland, 1979).
© Nathalie Valanchon/
Nathalie Valanchon

horror and of suffering, and the height of heroism” (fig. 2).⁶ The property's importance was not to be found in the material remains, but exclusively in the associated historical and symbolic meaning connected to the property. It was the lack of meaningful built evidence that posed problems with the criterion's application and resulted in the changeable history of its wording and the adding of a limiting amendment as shown in the above citation.⁷ In the case of Auschwitz, however, significant material remains are present on the site even though not themselves being considered of Outstanding Universal Value.

In the early 1990s, a shift took place with regard to this understanding of cultural heritage. The recognition of an associated dimension was no longer tied to the existence of built heritage. In 1993, the natural World Heritage property of Tongariro National Park in New Zealand was re-nominated and inscribed additionally as cultural heritage (fig. 3). The mountains in the centre of the park were recognized for their religious importance

⁵ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC./2 Revised, 5 para. 18, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>.

⁶ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 21, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>. On the inscription of Auschwitz, see chapter 5.1.3.2.

⁷ Criterion (vi) is the only criterion that is restricted in its use alone. On the establishment of the criteria to assess cultural heritage, see chapter 5.1.3.

to the indigenous Maori people.⁸ With the acknowledgment of the spiritual link between the local community and its environment, a change in conceiving cultural heritage was initiated that considered human beings and local values. Living traditions were officially recognized through criterion (vi) which was accordingly reformulated.



Figure 3. Tongariro National Park
(New Zealand, 1990, 1993).
© UNESCO/S. A. Tabbasum

With the growing recognition of intangible heritage as a distinct heritage category that saw its first peak in the late 1980s and culminated in the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, World Heritage came to be considered as tangible heritage.⁹ At the same time, the term intangible heritage entered the World Heritage debate.¹⁰ However, confusion persists as to its position. Neither the Convention text nor the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, the flexible working tool in World Heritage matters, provide guiding principles on the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage with regard to cultural heritage. While the term intangible appears three times in the recent version of the Operational Guidelines, it is used in three different ways and without further explanation as to the expressions' meanings.¹¹ Along the 2011 resource manual on *Preparing World Heritage Nominations*, compiled jointly by ICOMOS, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), the

⁸ UNESCO, "Report on the seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Cartagena, Colombia, 6–11 December 1993, WHC-93/CONF.002/164, 39, Feb. 4, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1993/whc-93-conf002-14e.pdf>. On the re-nomination of Tongariro National Park and changes to the criteria, see chapter 5.3.3.

⁹ The World Heritage Convention does not mention the term tangible heritage. On a brief overview of tangible and intangible heritage recognition in international instruments, see chapter 2.1.1.

¹⁰ On the first mentioning of intangible heritage in the context of World Heritage, see chapters 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.4.

¹¹ The expression intangible heritage is mentioned in the context of defining authenticity, the term intangible attribute is used in relation to serial properties and the expression intangible dimension appears with reference to guidelines on the inscription of cultural routes. UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention," WHC.13/01, 22 para. 82, 36 para. 137.b, annex 3, para. 24.v, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the World Heritage Centre, recognizes intangible heritage as an integral part of World Cultural Heritage and attempts to explain the tangible-intangible relationship.¹² The researcher's experience at the World Heritage Centre in 2008 and 2009 as well as during the 2012 international *World Heritage Expert Meeting on Criterion (vi) and Associative Values*, held in Warsaw, confirmed, though, that there is continuing ambiguity and uncertainty about the nature and position of intangible heritage in World Heritage.

While the recognition of an intangible dimension to cultural heritage through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention can thus easily be demonstrated, it is the extent to which intangible heritage has been recognized in relation to conceiving World Cultural Heritage that remains unexplored and thus little understood. Pertinent research literature provides little insight into the crossover and intersection between intangible heritage and World Heritage but seems to further obscure its understanding. Information is not only fragmented, but intangible heritage is also understood differently according to the various interpretations of intangible heritage that have been considered through criterion (vi) over time, such as associative value and living traditions.¹³ The term is used ambiguously both in public documents and research literature. An insufficient understanding of relevant concepts and their interrelations seems to be at the basis of these shortcomings. The 2012 Warsaw meeting on criterion (vi) highlighted the importance of a common knowledge base and understanding of concepts to define adequate guidelines for their implementation.¹⁴ The process of communication and exchange is paramount. This thesis has therefore to be understood as a contribution to shared comprehension.

¹² UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN, "Preparing World Heritage Nominations (Second edition, 2011)," *World Heritage Resource Manuals*, 31 (Paris: UNESCO, 2011), Pdf file available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/643/>. On the resource manual, see also chapter 5.5.2.2.

¹³ On the researched interpretations of intangible heritage in the World Heritage context, see chapter 2.2.2.

¹⁴ UNESCO, "Report of the international World Heritage expert meeting on criterion (vi) and associative values, Warsaw, Poland, 28–30 March 2012," 6 para. 32, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-827-15.pdf>.

1.3. Thesis outline

It has to be noted that understanding the recognition and interpretation of intangible heritage in World Heritage requires an understanding of intangible heritage. The author did not want to limit herself to one interpretation of the term but explore the complexity of the phenomenon from a conceptual and historical perspective. Researching the concept of intangible heritage therefore preceded the analysis of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. A historical perspective enabled the carving out of possible stimuli coming from the intangible heritage movement. The presentation of results reflects this research process. To give credit to the richness of data and complexity of the two phenomena, results are presented in two distinct chapters. The discussion of results, which identifies important markers and considers stimuli coming from the intangible movement, is then presented in the conclusion. The ambitious scope certainly leads to limitations of this research, which will be addressed later in this chapter as well as in the methodology chapter and conclusion. In the following, the content of each chapter is briefly summarized.

Chapter two not only presents the critical **literature review**, but also provides insight and knowledge from the subject area. First, it portrays conceptual changes in the research context, that is, in international cultural heritage conservation. A shift has taken place beyond tangible to consider intangible heritage and beyond universal to recognize representative value. The 1972 and 2003 Conventions exemplify this shift. Second, the knowledge gap is identified which aims at deepening the understanding of the research problem and justifying the research question. It builds on World Heritage-related literature and the intersection between intangible heritage and World Cultural Heritage in terms of portraying a historical development, various interpretations of intangible heritage in World Heritage concepts and the intersection between World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage as defined in the 2003 Convention. For the most part, the existing sources do not build on each other so that information is fragmented. In addition, intangible heritage is often not theorized and there is

no coherent understanding of it. And third, the chapter presents possible methods from other, similar research in the subject area to provide a basis for its own methodological choices. Doctoral theses with a similar scope of looking at the international conceptual and operational level of the 1972 Convention provide inspiration for choosing an appropriate research approach and methods as well as for the use of cases, that is, nominations and inscriptions to the World Heritage List. Historical and qualitative approaches and methods are favored. Cases are used differently, ranging from an adaptation of case studies to illustrative examples.

In chapter three the thesis' **methodology** is set out. It describes choices made concerning the research paradigm, research approach, and research strategy. Knowledge in terms of research findings is constructed and documents analyzed using interpretative techniques. Historical and qualitative research aim at obtaining an information-rich description. As mentioned previously, the specific research strategy has three steps: the theorization of intangible heritage in a first step, the analysis of the recognition and interpretation of intangible heritage in the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention in a second, and the discussion of results and highlighting of ideas and markers in a third and last step. Then, the use of concepts, that is, of intangible heritage and World Cultural Heritage, and illustrative examples is explained. While the concept of intangible heritage serves as a theoretical lens, the concept of World Cultural Heritage represents the main object of study within which change is traced. Illustrative examples, that is, World Heritage nominations and inscriptions, serve to support the portrayal of specific events, interpretations, or arguments. And finally, the data collection and analysis methods are presented. Texts are the main means of data collection. The thesis distinguishes between literature, documents, and grey zone literature. The notion of heritage discourse is used to organize the material. The World Heritage discourse is defined as being characterized by a general debate among its main actors, definitions that are stipulated in the Convention text and the various versions of the Operational Guidelines, as well as the interpretation of concepts through inscription and the adoption of value statements. Finally, a text-based analysis method, that is, historical method is established to be the essential means to analyze data and

obtain research findings. It allows for the writing of a story to explore the crossover from and intersection between intangible heritage and World Cultural Heritage.

In the fourth chapter, the **theorization of intangible heritage** is presented as a theoretical framework or lens. First, the concept of intangible heritage is deconstructed historically and conceptually in relation to international cultural heritage conservation. Five time periods are identified that speak of a growing recognition in the UNESCO, the ICOMOS, and the scientific discourses, with an anthropological shift in the late 1980s and early 1990s and a peak in recognizing intangible heritage in the early 2000s. Second, various interpretations of intangible heritage are portrayed to gain a comprehension of the complexity of the concept. Terms used to describe intangible heritage are, amongst others, associative value, memory, traditional knowledge, practices, and spirituality. Third, the concept of heritage value is analyzed. A historical perspective on the changing role and definition of heritage value reveals a shift beyond a focus on the conservation of the material fabric to values-based conservation. Two perspectives exist on the nature of heritage value. While the idea of intrinsic value is linked to the materiality of place and can therefore be interpreted to be universal, extrinsic value is dependent on human beings who give meaning to heritage. In this case, value becomes relative and representative of a specific context. Moreover, value classifications and pertinent value types were investigated, including historical, scientific, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, and social value. A shift is noted beyond a past-oriented interpretation to consider present-day values. And fourth, based on the results of the previous subchapters, intangible heritage is theorized taking into account the concepts of tangible heritage, heritage value, and cultural heritage. The increasing recognition of intangible heritage is linked to an anthropological shift in international cultural heritage conservation which is characterized by the introduction of the human component into the theorization of cultural heritage as well as heritage value. At the basis of this shift lies a change in conceiving knowledge and reality. It is thus demonstrated that intangible heritage functions as an indicator for a paradigm shift. In addition, intangible heritage is viewed as an approach to defining cultural heritage that goes beyond the dichotomy of the tangible and the

intangible. It thus provides a conceptual frame for drawing an inclusive picture of cultural heritage. In its context, the concept of intangible heritage takes on different meanings. It refers to the values that people ascribe to heritage places, which are inherently intangible, as well as to attributes of sites such as associated knowledge or traditions.

Chapter five shows the recognition and interpretation of **intangible heritage in the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage**. It presents the research findings that answer the research question in a descriptive way. A large number of statutory documents were analyzed for this purpose. The chapter draws also on existing literature and establishes an understanding of World Heritage as tangible heritage in its context. It is structured ~~first of all~~ chronologically and according to the four concepts that constitute the study object of World Cultural Heritage, that is, cultural heritage, Outstanding Universal Value, the criteria to assess the Outstanding Universal Value of cultural heritage, and authenticity. Five time periods are identified: the late 1970s and early 1980s for the indirect recognition of intangible heritage in terms of associated historical and art historic values; the 1980s as precursors of change, with discussions on the living character of rural areas and landscapes; the first half of the 1990s for a major change taking place, that is, the recognition of an anthropological approach through the introduction of the cultural landscape concept and cultural associations like living traditions as well as the introduction of the idea of intangible attributes in the context of the debate on authenticity; the second half of the 1990s and first half of the 2000s for the continuation of discussions and the implementation of concepts, which concerns most prominently the revised definition of authenticity and the recognition of intangible attributes in the application of criteria other than criterion (vi); and the second half of the 2000s up to 2014 for a consolidation as well as stagnation of conceptual discussions, probably due to the politicization of the World Heritage Committee, with the full integration of the idea of attributes in the Operational Guidelines, as well as the opening of new directions, such as the importance of finding methods to assess the tangible-intangible relationship and its authenticity.

Chapter six, the **conclusion**, discusses and summarizes the main outcomes considering results from chapters four and five to highlight links between the discourses. It does so in two ways. An appendix portrays the main ideas and events in all four discourses over the course of time. Based on this illustration, results are discussed and markers pulled out to highlight the main ideas that have been identified to answer the research question. In this context, three aspects are presented: first, time as a factor and the implementation of the anthropological approach to cultural heritage; second, the relationship among Outstanding Universal Value, representative value, and the intangible nature of value; and third, the implementation of the idea of intangible attributes through the criteria and the concept of authenticity. The chapter also assesses the thesis' contribution to knowledge and its limitations, and outlines possible further research. While the ambitious scope of this thesis restricts the research's results, particularly with regard to the scientific discourse and the use of literature, a comprehensive understanding of the recognition of intangible heritage through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention provides an important knowledge base for implementing the Convention in a coherent, objective, and well-informed way.

1.4. Issues and rationale

In this section, two issues are addressed. First, the nature of the term legal and the legal status of UNESCO cultural conventions is clarified so as to demonstrate that this thesis aims at contributing to shared understanding of the World Heritage system as reflecting evolving conceptual and policy dynamics. And second, the present research is positioned within heritage scholarship in a wider sense and particularly with regard to the current debate on 'critical' heritage studies. In so doing, the choice of scientific literature for the theoretical framework is established.

Behind the terms legislative text and legal instrument used in this thesis is a certain notion of legality which is not concerned with the question of the binding character of international law, but with international instruments as reflections of evolving conceptual and policy dynamics. While UNESCO conventions have a certain binding status, in contrast to recommendations and declarations, the legal enforcement power at the international level is limited given the sovereignty of the nation states.¹⁵ To date, one hundred ninety-one states have ratified the World Heritage Convention, thereby becoming States Parties to the Convention.¹⁶ With UNESCO having one hundred ninety-five members and nine associate members, the Convention is almost universal.¹⁷ Article four of the Convention establishes that the duty to ensure the identification, conservation, and transmission of a World Heritage property rests primarily with the State Party to which the site belongs.¹⁸ The sovereignty of the State Party is acknowledged as well as the need for implementation on a national level for the Convention to be effective.¹⁹ At the same time, international instruments provide a formal setting and international platform for defining concepts. A system of international decision-making and protection is established through the Convention. The World Heritage idea and related concepts that are stipulated in the Convention text and defined in the revised versions of the Operational Guidelines, but are ultimately also interpreted through the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List, are the result of a complex interplay between the international, national, and transnational level in terms of the work of non-governmental organizations.²⁰

¹⁵ The question of legality does not apply to ICOMOS as it is a non-governmental organization.

¹⁶ “States Parties: Ratification Status,” World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/>.

¹⁷ “Member States,” UNESCO, <http://en.unesco.org/countries/member-states>.

¹⁸ UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art. 4, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

¹⁹ UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art. 5 and 6.1, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

²⁰ Sarah Titchen, “On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: Unesco’s World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List” (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 1995), 3. On a more detailed presentation of the World Heritage system, see chapter 3.6.3.

Intangible heritage is studied and used as a particular lens on the World Heritage Convention within a broader heritage discourse that has evolved over the course of time, for several reasons.²¹ When working as a Carlo Schmid fellow at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, the author repeatedly encountered remarks about the fact that World Heritage would not deal with the intangible heritage. While this statement might be valid from a legal standpoint with regard to the 1972 and 2003 Conventions, it also obscures the interrelationship between the tangible and the intangible as well as possible synergies between the two instruments. The increased interest in intangible heritage at the turn of the millennium has profoundly influenced not only the development and interpretation of international instruments, but also the debate in heritage scholarship. The recognition of intangible heritage seems to be rooted in intellectual changes in the 1990s and the rise of post-colonial criticism. The latter argues that heritage, and particularly World Heritage, is used as a vehicle for cultural hegemony. Scholars embracing an early post-colonial critique have become associated with critical heritage interventions in the early 2010s.²² At the time, an initiative emerged that criticizes institutional, and particularly UNESCO's attempts to theorize and protect heritage. A network of scholars and researchers based in Australia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom initiated 'critical' heritage studies. Heritage is understood as a social construct ruled by "conservative cultural and economic power relations" that need to be broken down and heritage rebuilt from the ground up.²³ The critical perspective intends to integrate the interests of the marginalized and excluded into the heritage discourse. Intangible heritage is part of this perspective. The notion of critical heritage studies remains however unclear. While it is undeniably important to open the heritage debate, to consider a diversity of views on heritage, and to draw attention to the marginalized and excluded, a swing of the pendulum in the other direction or criticism for its own sake cannot be the answer, as has already been noted by other

²¹ On the development of heritage scholarship between 1980 and 2014, see Lynn Meskell, "Introduction: Globalizing Heritage," in *Global Heritage: A Reader*, ed. Lynn Meskell, 1–21 (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2015).

²² Meskell, "Introduction," 4.

²³ "History," Association of Critical Heritage Studies, <http://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/history/>. A critical turn in heritage studies is also portrayed by Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

scholars.²⁴ Change is most sustainable when it comes from within and builds on reality. While the implementation of intangible heritage in World Heritage is far from being perfect, the present thesis can be seen as a contribution to understanding an institutionalized reality, that is, World Heritage, that has changed to consider the previously marginalized in terms of intangible heritage.

World Heritage-related literature often lacks a sound theoretical basis and is self-referential.²⁵ Importance has therefore been given in this research to develop a theoretical framework in terms of theorizing the concept of intangible heritage. Given the study of heritage draws on a variety of disciplines, such as architecture, art history, and history, and the researcher's own multidisciplinary background in fields like archaeology, geography, cultural studies, and the interdisciplinary field of environmental planning, it was no easy task to settle on a disciplinary frame for this research.²⁶ Literature speaking explicitly about cultural heritage in terms of place was therefore chosen to establish the theoretical perspective. In addition, given the focus on intangible heritage as both concept and term, the expressions intangible and intangible heritage were used as selection criteria for relevant literature.²⁷ They emerged and spread in heritage scholarship in the early 2000s.²⁸ It has to be highlighted, however, that this was certainly not the beginning of the idea behind the term. As will be established later, the term points towards a holistic heritage conception in terms of approaching place beyond its materiality.²⁹ In abstract terms, it links to the re-theorization of materiality to consider a human component. The relationship between humans and material things has already been recognized and theorized before in other scholarship and disciplines,

²⁴ Andrea Witcomb and Kristal Buckley, "Engaging with the future of 'critical heritage studies': looking back in order to look forward," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 6 (2013): 562–578.

²⁵ On this lack in literature that deals with the intersection between World Heritage and intangible heritage, see chapter 2.2.

²⁶ On the field of heritage conservation or heritage studies, see chapter 3.6.1.

²⁷ On a more detailed presentation of how the term was used to identify and analyze data, see chapters 3.4.1 and 3.7.

²⁸ On the emergence of the term intangible heritage in scientific literature, see chapter 4.1.5.1.

²⁹ On the theorization of intangible heritage as approach, see chapter 4.4.2.

without necessarily using the term intangible.³⁰ In heritage-related literature, other concepts linked to intangible heritage, such as associative value, memory, and traditions, had already been used and discussed before 2000.³¹ Also various national and regional contexts are important for understanding the origins of the term and related expressions on an international level, as will be shown in the further course of this research. To trace the expressions' origins and conceptual development before their spread in heritage literature would have therefore constituted a research project in its own right.³²

³⁰ Amongst them are, for example: Jörg Dünne and Stephan Günzel, *Raumtheorie–Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften [Theory of space–Basic texts from philosophy and cultural studies]* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961); Henri Lefebvre, “Space: Social Product and Use Value (1979),” in *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, eds. Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, 185–195 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960); Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius loci : Paysage, ambiance, architecture* (Brussels: Pierre Mardaga, 1981).

³¹ On the various interpretations of intangible heritage, see chapter 4.2. Lowenthal, for example, acknowledges memory and oral traditions—here understood as intangible dimensions—as part of the emerging heritage discourse. David Lowenthal, *The past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

³² In contrast, it is less complex to trace the idea of value. Literature dating prior to 2000 was therefore taken into account when researching the definition and nature of value.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter serves to elaborate how the research problem and methods have been identified. Where did the problem come from? What is already known about the problem? What methods have been used in related research literature to deal with similar problems? In so doing, the chapter aims at delineating the scope of this thesis.

Relevant information is grouped into three subchapters. First, the context of the research problem is established by looking at the changing conception of cultural heritage in international cultural heritage conservation practice. Secondly, an understanding of what is known about the research problem is deepened. The knowledge gap is identified by examining the literature that addresses the intersection between World Heritage and intangible heritage. And finally, an appropriate methodology is outlined by assessing the approaches and methods used in research literature that deal with similar problems and questions.

2.1. Cultural heritage in international conservation

Over the past fifty years, the concept of cultural heritage has changed considerably in international cultural heritage conservation practice. Cultural heritage is no longer viewed only as tangible, but also as intangible heritage. Also the notion of value has undergone a shift, beyond universal towards considering representative value. The present subchapter aims at reviewing the literature that provides evidence of and documents these developments. It does so in order to give contextual information on the research problem.

2.1.1. Tangible and intangible heritage

The development of conceiving cultural heritage beyond tangible to consider intangible heritage can be best traced in UNESCO cultural heritage conservation instruments. While the protection of what was later to be termed tangible heritage had been considered within several instruments since the 1950s, an interest in various forms of intangible heritage has grown from the early 1970s onwards. The two movements culminated in the World Heritage Convention in 1972 and the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention in 2003. Numerous authors document this development.¹

The massive destruction of entire cities during the two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century and events like the safeguarding campaign of the Nubian monuments in Egypt starting in the late 1950s led to a new international awareness of and concern for the protection of cultural heritage as built heritage.² A new approach to cultural heritage emerged, rooted in European thought on architectural conservation and resulting in the foundation of organizations and the creation of instruments that reflect a Western conservation ethic, amongst them most prominently ICOMOS and the 1972 Convention.³ Titchen as well as Cameron and Rössler provide a detailed portrayal of the Convention's origins and beginnings.⁴

¹ For example Yahaya Ahmad, "The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 3 (2006): 292–300; Hilde Naurath, "Looking for Values: The UNESCO Heritage Conventions Concerning Tangible and Intangible Heritage," in *Constructing World Heritage*, eds. Marie-Theres Albert and Sieglinde Gauer-Lietz, 121–30 (Frankfurt am Main: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2006); Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, "From Tangible to Intangible Heritage," in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, eds. Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, 1–14 (New York: Springer, 2009); Marilena Vecco, "A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11, no. 3 (2010): 321–24.

² Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, *Many Voices, One Vision: The Early Years of the World Heritage Convention* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 1–2 and 11–12; Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), 245 and 287–88.

³ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 2; Jokilehto, *History*; Sarah Titchen, "On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: Unesco's World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 1995), 1 and 4.

⁴ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, chapter 1; Titchen, "Construction," chapters 1 and 3.

The idea of protecting what was later to be called tangible heritage can already be found in UNESCO's Constitution. The terminology and conception of built heritage underwent a shift before the adoption of the World Heritage Convention. In 1945, one of UNESCO's purposes was the maintenance of knowledge by means of the "conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of...monuments of history and science" through the establishment of international conventions.⁵ Since then, several UNESCO instruments aimed at architectural conservation. Among the most important are the 1954 UNESCO *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, also known as The Hague Convention, and the 1972 Convention. The Hague Convention defines "cultural property" as "movable or immovable property..., such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest."⁶ The World Heritage Convention treats tangible heritage in a similar way. As already mentioned, "cultural heritage" is defined as monuments, groups of buildings, and sites.⁷ An evolution can however be distinguished from the recognition of the single monument and groups of buildings to consider a building's surroundings and sites in general. By referring to "the combined works of nature and man," the concept of site acknowledges moreover the close link between culture and nature.⁸ The World Heritage Convention is in fact the first international instrument to reflect a global concern about both architectural and environmental conservation.⁹ Yusuf observes that it is probably through this confluence that a shift in employing the term 'heritage' instead of 'property' took place, which had a number of implications.¹⁰ Amongst them is the possibility

⁵ "UNESCO Constitution," UNESCO, art. I para. 2.c, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

⁶ UNESCO, "Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property on the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention 1954," art. 1.a, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

⁷ UNESCO, "Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," art. 1, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

⁸ UNESCO, "Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," art. 1, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

⁹ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 1.

¹⁰ Abdulqawi A. Yusuf, "Definition of Cultural Heritage," in *The 1972 World Heritage Convention: A Commentary*, ed. Francesco Francioni, 26–27 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

to envisage intangibility in the context of the 1972 Convention. Although not explicitly intended at the time, Yusuf observes that “the use of the word ‘heritage’ widens the scope of the subject matter to be protected, opening it up to the possibility of encompassing not only physical elements of culture, but also its intangible elements, as well as the relationship of humans to cultural objects.”¹¹

Since its foundation in 1965, ICOMOS has also been concerned with the protection of tangible heritage. The 1964 *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, the founding instrument of ICOMOS also known as The Venice Charter, defines the “historic monument...[as] the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting.”¹² In 1978, the scope was broadened to consider “monuments,” “groups of buildings,” and “sites” in correlation with the World Heritage Convention’s terminology.¹³

In 1982, for the first time in an international instrument, UNESCO acknowledged that cultural heritage was constituted of the tangible and the intangible. The *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies* states that “the cultural heritage of a people includes...both tangible and intangible works through which the creativity of that people finds expression: languages, rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries.”¹⁴ Through geo-political and economic developments alternative views on cultural heritage, particularly in African and Asian states as well as among indigenous groups, crystallized through international dialogue.

¹¹ Yusuf, “Cultural Heritage,” 27.

¹² ICOMOS, “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964),” art. 1, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

¹³ ICOMOS, “ICOMOS Statutes adopted by the Vth General Assembly in Moscow on May 22nd, 1978,” art. 3, http://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Secretariat/StatutesAmendments_R2_20130325/st1978-statutes-en.pdf.

¹⁴ UNESCO, “Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, Mexico, 26 July–6 August 1982”, para. 23, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/12762/11295421661mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf.

The historical development of recognizing intangible heritage in UNESCO is well documented.¹⁵ An increased interest in intangible heritage can be traced back to the 1970s. It took however more than thirty years and various instruments before an international convention was adopted. Intangible heritage was given different names over time, ranging from “folklore (or traditional and popular culture)” in 1989 and “living human treasures” in 1993 to “oral and intangible heritage” in 1998 and finally “intangible cultural heritage” in 2003.¹⁶ Despite variations in their terminology and interpretations, these concepts share an emphasis on the living and human element of cultural expressions that are continuously recreated and not necessarily tied to a distinct place.

An increased consideration of intangible heritage also emerged in ICOMOS charters.¹⁷ The *Declaration of the Kimberley Workshop on the Intangible Heritage of Monuments* of 2003 and the 2008 *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* recognize the close relationship between place and intangible heritage.¹⁸

¹⁵ For example Noriko Aikawa, “The Conceptual Development of UNESCO’s Programme on Intangible Cultural Heritage,” in *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Approaches*, ed. Janet Blake, 43–72 (Builth Wells: Institute of Art and Law, 2007). On the historical development of recognizing intangible heritage in UNESCO, see chapter 4.1.

¹⁶ “Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, adopted by the General Conference at its twenty-fifth session, Paris, 15 November 1989,” A, <http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/unesco/1989Recommendation.htm>; UNESCO, “Establishment of a system of ‘living cultural properties’ (living human treasures) at UNESCO” (document presented at the one hundred forty-second session of the Executive Board, Paris, France, 11 October–15 November 1993), 142 EX/18, 1, Aug. 10, 1993, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000958/095831eo.pdf>; UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the one hundred fifty-fifth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 19 October–5 November 1998, Tashkent, 6 November 1998,” 155 EX/Decisions, 10, Dec. 3, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001142/114238e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003,” MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, art. 2.1 and 2.2, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>.

¹⁷ Ehab Kamel, Jonathan Hale, and Laura Hanks, “The ‘Conflict of Interpretations’: Physical Conservation Versus Storytelling and Meaning—an Analytical Study of WH Convention and ICOMOS Charters,” in *Sharing Cultures 2009: International Conference on Intangible Heritage*, eds. Sérgio Lira, Rogério Amoêda, Cristina Pinheiro, João Pinheiro, and Fernando Oliveira, 204 (Barcelos: Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, 2009). On a more detailed presentation of recognizing intangible heritage through ICOMOS, see chapter 4.1.

¹⁸ ICOMOS, “Report on the workshop held from 24–26 October in Kimberley, South Africa, prior to the Zimbabwe General Assembly: Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites,” 5, preamble, 2005, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/kimberley.pdf>; ICOMOS, “Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted at Quebec City, Canada, October 4, 2008,” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf.

2.1.2. Universal and representative value

Over the past forty years the question of value has come to play an increasing role in heritage conservation.¹⁹ Heritage value or significance, two terms that are often used interchangeably, mainly refer to the importance of what is to be conserved. This importance has been thought of most commonly in terms of geocultural and temporal scale. In international cultural heritage instruments a shift can be traced from universal or international value towards considering representative and local value. Evidence of this shift may be found in the differences between the 1972 and 2003 Conventions.

The idea of value is at the heart of the World Heritage Convention. Given the historical context, a special notion of value was introduced. The cultural heritage under consideration should be of Outstanding Universal Value.²⁰ Considerable literature exists on the history and interpretation of World Heritage value.²¹ From the beginning, the Convention was not expected to protect all properties of great value, “but only...a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint.”²² The Convention has to be understood in the context of the spirit of the era and stands in the tradition of the concept of common heritage of humanity and international cooperation that had developed primarily in Europe

¹⁹ On the definition of value, see chapter 4.4.

²⁰ UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art.1, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

²¹ For example Christina Cameron, “The Evolution of the Concept of Outstanding Universal Value,” in *Conserving the Authentic: Essays in Honour of Jukka Jokilehto*, eds. Nicholas Stanley-Price and Joseph King, 127–36 (Rome: ICCROM Conservation Studies, 2009); Henry Cleere, “The Concept of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’ in the World Heritage Convention,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 1 (1996): 227–33; Jukka Jokilehto, ed., *The World Heritage List—What Is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties*, with contributions from Christina Cameron, Michel Parent, and Michael Petzet (Paris: ICOMOS, 2008); Jukka Jokilehto, “World Heritage: Defining the Outstanding Universal Value,” *City & Time* 2, no. 2 (2006): 1–10; Sarah Titchen, “On the Construction of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’: Some Comments on the Implementation of the 1972 Unesco World Heritage Convention,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 4 (1996): 235–42. Bernd von Droste, “The Concept of Outstanding Universal Value and Its Application: ‘From the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World to the 1000 World Heritage Places Today’,” *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 1, no. 1 (2011): 26–41.

²² UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” CC-77/CONF. 001/8 Rev., 2 para. 5(ii), Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>.

during the 1920s and 1930s.²³ Titchen notes that the “codification of cultural heritage protection relied upon a distinctive form of universalism founded on the concept of common heritage—heritage belonging to all peoples—as the rationale for collective internationally coordinated protection of cultural heritage.”²⁴ The concept of universality, however, was soon to be questioned. Cleere reports that it had been argued to be paradoxical in relation to cultural heritage.²⁵ He explains that the approach to universality is in contradiction with anthropological theory which sees diversity as a manifestation of universality in the sense that human interaction with its environment takes various forms. In fact, national and local perspectives are reported to have found their way into World Heritage in the process of implementing the Convention.²⁶

The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention does not mention the term value. The earlier idea of universal heritage of humanity given in the preamble of the 1989 Recommendation was re-interpreted and the criterion of outstanding value that can be found in relation to proclaimed Masterpieces was abandoned.²⁷ Since the Intangible Cultural Heritage was considered relevant for the identity of a local community and by acknowledging the idea of common concern, the 2003 Convention did not create a hierarchy among heritage expressions.²⁸ The concept of significance was established in relation to the Representative

²³ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 1; Titchen, “Construction,” 12–24.

²⁴ Titchen, “Construction,” 13.

²⁵ Henry Cleere, “The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage,” in *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*, eds. Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas, 24 (London: Routledge, 2001).

²⁶ Sophia Labadi, “Representations of the Nation and Cultural Diversity in Discourses on World Heritage,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7, no. 2 (2007): 147–70.

²⁷ “Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, adopted by the General Conference at its twenty-fifth session, Paris, 15 November 1989,” preamble, <http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/unesco/1989Recommendation.htm>; UNESCO, “Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity—Guide for the Presentation of Candidature Files,” 28, 2001, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124628eo.pdf>.

²⁸ UNESCO, “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003,” MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, preamble and art. 2.1, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>.

List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.²⁹ Hafstein provides a detailed account of the development from the Masterpieces towards the idea of representivity.³⁰

The notion of representivity developed in relation to the growing recognition of cultural diversity. Postcolonial developments, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the increasing socio-cultural impact of globalizing processes called attention to the diversity of cultural expressions worldwide.³¹ These events contributed not only to the creation of the 2003 Convention, but also to the establishment of two other UNESCO instruments, the 2001 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* and the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*.³² In the context of the World Decade for Cultural Development from 1988 to 1997 and at the request of the twenty-sixth UNESCO General Conference, a World Commission on Culture and Development was established that prepared a report on existing cultural needs in the context of development.³³ The report entitled *Our Creative Diversity* concluded that it was “essential to understand the values and aspirations that drove its makers, without which an object is torn from its context and cannot be given its proper meaning.”³⁴ An anthropological view of cultural heritage was emphasized and importance given to the context within which valuing takes place. This argument was reiterated during the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development held

²⁹ UNESCO, “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003,” MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, art. 16.1, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>.

³⁰ Valdimar T. Hafstein, “Intangible Heritage as a List: From Masterpieces to Representation,” in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 93–111 (London: Routledge, 2009).

³¹ Aikawa, “Conceptual Development,” 69.

³² Christina Cameron, “Why did the last two conventions appear?” (paper presented at the international conference on UNESCO 1972, 2003, and 2005 Conventions: Synergies for development: using natural and cultural heritage in sustainable development, Bergen, Norway, 24–26 March 2014); UNESCO, “Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2 November 2001,” http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html; UNESCO, “Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions 2005,” <http://www.un.org/en/events/culturaldiversityday/pdf/142919e.pdf>.

³³ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its twenty-sixth session, Paris, 15 October–7 November 1991: Volume 1, Resolutions,” 26 C/Resolution 3.1, 52, Resolution 3.4, 1992, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000904/090448e.pdf>.

³⁴ Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, ed., *Our Creative Diversity: Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), 31.

in Stockholm in 1998 which aimed at translating the ideas contained in the report into practice. The conference's action plan noted that the policy to protect cultural heritage, which included both tangible and intangible heritage, should be reinforced.³⁵ In addition, local participation was emphasized to promote cultural diversity.³⁶ The international recognition of cultural diversity thus highlighted the cultural relativity of heritage significance and the need to consider the heritage as being representative of various cultures as well as of humanity as a whole.

2.1.3. Establishment of the research context

The thesis has to be understood in the context of the changing conception of cultural heritage in international heritage conservation policy and particularly in relation to UNESCO instruments. Over the past forty years, global political developments and developmental pressures have raised international concern for alternative views on cultural heritage and the protection of cultural diversity. A shift has taken place beyond tangible to consider intangible heritage and beyond universal to recognize representative values. The 1972 and 2003 Conventions exemplify this shift. The retrospective attribution of the terms tangible and intangible heritage to the two movements, however, tends to disguise existing links. The growing recognition of intangible heritage has resulted not only in the establishment of new policy, but has also influenced the interpretation of existing instruments like the World Heritage Convention.

³⁵ UNESCO, "Final report of the intergovernmental conference on Cultural policies for development, Stockholm, Sweden, 30 March–2 April 1998)," CLT-98/Conf.210/5, 16, objective 3, Aug. 31, 1998, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001139/113935eo.pdf#xml=http://unesdoc.unesco.org/Ulis/cgi-bin/ulis.pl?database=&set=53359A10_2_14&hits_rec=4&hits_lng=eng.

³⁶ UNESCO, "Final report of the intergovernmental conference on Cultural policies for development, Stockholm, Sweden, 30 March–2 April 1998)," CLT-98/Conf.210/5, 15, objective 2, Aug. 31, 1998, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001139/113935eo.pdf#xml=http://unesdoc.unesco.org/Ulis/cgi-bin/ulis.pl?database=&set=53359A10_2_14&hits_rec=4&hits_lng=eng.

2.2. Intersection between intangible heritage and World Heritage

This subchapter aims at portraying the knowledge gap in relation to the intersection between intangible heritage and World Heritage as well as at specifying the focus of this thesis in response to this gap. Various researchers with different disciplinary backgrounds and professionals working in the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention have contributed to the knowledge base concerning World Heritage. Those writing explicitly on intangible heritage in its various forms and in relation to World Cultural Heritage remain limited. Related information is therefore fragmented and leaves considerable room for potential research.³⁷

Research findings are grouped into three subchapters. First, the historical development of the idea of World Cultural Heritage and the recognition of intangible heritage in its context are assessed. Then, different interpretations of intangible heritage that can be found in connection with various World Heritage tools and concepts are presented. And finally, literature on the conceptual and legal intersection between the World Heritage Convention and the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention is examined. In conclusion, the knowledge gap is summarized.

2.2.1. Historical development of recognizing intangible heritage in World Heritage

A development beyond tangible to consider intangible heritage is documented with regard to implementing the World Heritage Convention. However, relevant literature lacks a sound theoretical basis and authors do not build their knowledge on each other's findings.

³⁷ This section also provides a reference point for further research in the area; see also chapter 7.4.

Also, in most cases, the focus is not on intangible heritage but its recognition is demonstrated in the context of other World Heritage-related questions.

The starting point for any historical or conceptual analysis of the notion of World Heritage is the research undertaken by Titchen in 1995.³⁸ In her doctoral thesis, she investigates the construction of Outstanding Universal Value over time as well as “the intellectual and administrative tools used to...assess this value.”³⁹ Titchen identifies the introduction of “a new anthropological...approach to the establishment of the List” in the early 1990s, amongst others, by means of the introduction of the cultural landscape category.⁴⁰ She reports that the idea of intangible heritage has appeared at the intersection between culture and nature, and demonstrates “the ability of the Convention, and particularly the Operational Guidelines, to provide a breadth of definition of heritage to include the associative values of intangible cultural heritage.”⁴¹ It is the only time that she explicitly refers to intangible heritage.

The increasing need to consider properties for World Heritage listing in their broad social and anthropological context is also the subject of a thoroughly researched article by Labadi who analyzes one decade of implementing the *Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List*.⁴² This context consists of the recognition of local and indigenous communities’ perceptions of heritage and heritage value. Labadi notes that “the tangible and intangible heritage of indigenous peoples...is under-represented on the World Heritage List.”⁴³ She also observes that reports from Global Strategy meetings recommended a holistic approach to the implementation of the Convention, which included

³⁸ Titchen, “Construction.”

³⁹ Titchen, “Construction,” v.

⁴⁰ Titchen, “Construction,” vi.

⁴¹ Titchen, “Construction,” 139 and 245 [citation].

⁴² Sophia Labadi, “A Review of the Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List 1994–2004,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 2 (2005): 89–102.

⁴³ Labadi, “Global Strategy,” 97.

“the protection of the tangible features of cultural and/or natural heritage but also the protection of their intangible components, including languages and traditions.”⁴⁴

Equally important for understanding the history of the World Heritage Convention is the book by Cameron and Rössler.⁴⁵ By adding information gained from interviews with World Heritage pioneers to the findings obtained through the analysis of statutory documents, the authors portray the period leading to the creation of the Convention and its implementation until 2000. The investigation also considers the “evolving notion of cultural heritage..., leading to measures that encouraged the inscription of non-monumental sites as well as greater recognition of intangible values and cultural diversity” in the early 1990s.⁴⁶

Another author who addresses the change, particularly in taking a legal perspective on the definition and interpretation of cultural heritage without making intangible heritage the main subject of investigation, is Yusuf.⁴⁷ He observes that the expansion of the scope and content of cultural heritage “was basically due to the fact that questions were raised, and gaps and imbalances were identified, through the effective implementation of the Convention and the establishment of the World Heritage List.”⁴⁸ He identifies three major shortcomings in the application of the notion of cultural heritage: first, the isolation of the physical dimension from the non-physical; second, an inadequate consideration of the spatial, temporal, and social dimensions; and third, the emphasis on cultural products at the expense of processes and associated values.⁴⁹ These shortcomings led to the establishment and implementation of the Global Strategy. His assumptions remain however general, without the presentation of detailed evidence.

⁴⁴ Labadi, “Global Strategy,” 98.

⁴⁵ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*.

⁴⁶ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 82.

⁴⁷ Yusuf, “Cultural Heritage,” 23–50.

⁴⁸ Yusuf, “Cultural Heritage,” 29.

⁴⁹ Yusuf, “Cultural Heritage,” 29.

Rössler, who has been working at the World Heritage Centre for more than 20 years, provides a short historical overview of pertinent events in the process of recognizing intangible heritage in the context of UNESCO and particularly in relation to World Heritage.⁵⁰ She links the growing recognition to a “change of paradigm” that happened not only in relation to the crossover from the tangible to the intangible, but also at the intersection between cultural and natural heritage protection.⁵¹ This move is characterized by the recognition of “non-material, intangible cultural heritage values,” the introduction of new heritage categories such as rituals, belief systems, and oral traditions, as well as the consideration of local communities and indigenous people in the protection of heritage.⁵² However, in another article on the tangible-intangible relationship in World Heritage, Rössler notes that the World Heritage Convention would not deal with intangible heritage.⁵³ While this statement has to be understood in the context of distinguishing World Heritage and its intangible dimension from Intangible Cultural Heritage as defined by the 2003 Convention, it also shows the confusion about the understanding of intangible heritage and its role in the context of conceiving World Heritage.

2.2.2. Interpretations of intangible heritage in World Heritage concepts

Another dimension of the intersection between intangible heritage and World Heritage are the different interpretations of intangible heritage that exist in World Heritage-related literature and that can be linked to the historical development of various World Heritage concepts. In relation to the wording of certain criteria for assessing Outstanding Universal

⁵⁰ Mechtild Rössler, “Enhancing Global Heritage Conservation: Links between the Tangible and Intangible,” *World Heritage Review*, 32 (2003): 64–67.

⁵¹ Rössler, “Tangible and Intangible,” 66.

⁵² Rössler, “Tangible and Intangible,” 64-66.

⁵³ Mechtild Rössler, “World Heritage Sites: Towards Linking the Tangible and the Intangible,” in *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible* ed. David Harmon and Allen Putney, 199 (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003).

Value, the cultural landscape category, and the notion of authenticity, intangible heritage has been mainly addressed as associative or intangible cultural heritage value and living traditions. However, these interpretations provide a rather fragmented picture of intangible heritage and its relation to tangible heritage and heritage value. They favor the compartmentalization of cultural heritage instead of emphasizing the links that exist among them.

The idea of associative or intangible cultural heritage value in connection with criterion (vi) is the most prominent and discussed interpretation of intangible heritage in World Heritage. At the same time, it is the most confusing. As already mentioned in the portrayal of the research problem, an intangible dimension to World Heritage has been officially recognized in one of the six cultural criteria for assessing Outstanding Universal Value. Criterion (vi) addresses not the material evidence of place, but associations with properties. Beazley, Pinkerton, and Titchen document the change of the criterion's wording and use over time.⁵⁴ Criterion (vi) was described as referring to “intangible cultural heritage value,” “associative value,” “non-material value,” or “non-tangible value,” particularly in relation to properties based on the use of criterion (vi) alone.⁵⁵ All of these terms convey the same idea.

⁵⁴ Olwen Beazley, “Drawing a Line Around a Shadow? Including Associative, Intangible Cultural Heritage Values on the World Heritage List” (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 2006), 42–61; Olwen Beazley, “Protecting Intangible Heritage Values Through the World Heritage Convention?” *Historic Environment*, 22, no. 3 (2009): 8–13; John Pinkerton, “Evolution of World Heritage Criteria to Address Intangible Dimensions of World Heritage Values,” in *Proceedings of the Round Table (14–17 March 2007) organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage on Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions*, eds. Christina Cameron and Christine Boucher, 89–107 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2007), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2007_Proces-verbaux.pdf; Sarah Titchen, “The Intangible Dimension of the 1972 World Heritage Convention,” in *Proceedings of the Round Table (14–17 March 2007) organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage on Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions*, eds. Christina Cameron and Christine Boucher, 63–67 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2007), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2007_Proces-verbaux.pdf.

⁵⁵ Rössler, “Tangible and Intangible,” 64; Rössler “World Heritage Sites”; Olwen Beazley, “Five Feet from Heaven: The World Heritage Convention, Mountains of Meaning and Inspirational Landscapes: Identifying and Protecting Their Intangible Values,” *Historic Environment* 18, no. 2 (2005): 3–10; Beazley, “Drawing a Line”; Olwen Beazley and Harriet Deacon, “Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage Values under the World Heritage Convention: Auschwitz, Hiroshima and Robben Island,” in *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Approaches*, ed. Janet Blake, 93–107 (Builth Wells: Institute of Art and Law, 2007); Beazley, “Protecting Intangible Heritage”; Christina Cameron, “World Heritage Sites of Conscience and Memory,” in *World Heritage and Cultural Diversity*, eds. Dieter Offenhäuser, Walther Ch. Zimmerli, and Marie-Theres Albert, 112–19 (Bonn: German Commission for UNESCO, 2010); Christina Cameron, “Finding the Spirit of Place: A World Heritage Perspective,” in *The Spirit of Place: Between Tangible and Intangible Heritage / L'esprit du lieu: entre le patrimoine matériel et immatériel*, ed. Laurier Turgeon, 15–22 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2009).

Properties were inscribed based on their historical, commemorative, or symbolic values instead of aesthetic or architectural values. A most thorough and comprehensive study in this respect was undertaken by Beazley, who dedicated her doctoral thesis and various articles to the subject.⁵⁶ She draws on literature of memory and investigates the history of the mechanisms that allowed the inclusion of such properties in the World Heritage List.⁵⁷ Beazley analyzed yet two other heritage types in relation to their intangible qualities, namely “mountains of meaning” and “inspirational landscapes.”⁵⁸ In so doing, she not only addresses other associations recognized through criterion (vi), that is, literary and artistic associations, but also extends her research to consider criteria combinations. However, the introduction of the term intangible value seems to have obscured the understanding of the tangible-intangible relationship as well as the role of the idea of value in its context. Rudolff observes in this respect:

...the irony of the formulation [of] intangible values lies in the lack of a logical antonym which would be tangible values. Values considered mental constructs hardly exist tangibly; they can only be attributed to something tangible.⁵⁹

Stovel explains that “the identification of intangible values is a key part of the system of analysis for selecting tangible cultural heritage; what we designate...is generally the tangible expression of intangible values.”⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Olwen Beazley, “World Heritage and Places of Memory: Preserving Intangible Values through the World Heritage Convention” (unpublished paper, 2002); Olwen Beazley, “Drawing a Line around a Shadow? Preserving Intangible Cultural Heritage Values through the World Heritage Convention,” *Historic Environment* 19, no. 1 (2005): 25–29; Beazley, “Five Feet from Heaven”; Beazley, “Drawing a Line”; Beazley and Deacon, “Safeguarding”; Beazley, “Protecting Intangible Heritage”; Olwen Beazley, “Politics and Power: The Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) as World Heritage,” in *Heritage and Globalisation*, eds. Sophia Labadi and Colin Long, 45–65 (London: Routledge, 2010).

⁵⁷ Beazley, “Drawing a Line,” 5 and 29–30.

⁵⁸ Beazley, “Five Feet from Heaven.”

⁵⁹ Britta Rudolff, *‘Intangible’ and ‘Tangible’ Heritage: A Topology of Culture in Contexts of Faith* (Bonn: Scientia Bonnensis, 2010), 43–44.

⁶⁰ Herb Stovel, “How the 1972 and 2003 Conventions Define Heritage: Overlaps and Differences,” in *Proceedings of the Round Table (14–17 March 2007) organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage on Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions*, eds. Christina Cameron and Christine Boucher, 75 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2007), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2007_Proces-verbaux.pdf.

Another interpretation of intangible heritage was confirmed not only for criterion (vi), but also criterion (iii), that is, living traditions. In the context of the *Round Table on Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions* held in 2007, Titchen and Pinkerton pointed out that next to criterion (vi) other criteria referred to intangible heritage in terms of living traditions associated with properties, particularly in relation to cultural landscapes.⁶¹ Also Buggy and Rössler highlight the recognition of living traditions in the context of introducing the cultural landscape category.⁶² Both investigate so-called associative cultural landscapes, that is, landscapes that lack substantial material evidence, and emphasize the importance of the anthropological context in respect to these landscapes.⁶³ Buggy notes that the continuing involvement of local people with the landscape “is integral to the maintenance of its traditions. Respect for their knowledge, traditions, and associations is the starting point in approaching such landscapes.”⁶⁴ In a similar way, Rössler addresses the recognition of oral traditions and rituals as a means to combine tangible and intangible heritage protection and stresses the role of traditions for the management of cultural landscapes.⁶⁵

The idea of living traditions also found its way into the definition of authenticity.⁶⁶ In 1994, in the context of an international conference on authenticity, the concept was enlarged to reflect a diversity of heritage perceptions and to include intangible heritage, such as living

⁶¹ Titchen, “Intangible Dimension,” 64; Pinkerton, “Evolution,” 95.

⁶² Susan Buggy, “Associative Values: Exploring Nonmaterial Qualities in Cultural Landscapes,” *APT Bulletin* 31, no. 4 (2000): 21–27; Rössler, “World Heritage Sites.”

⁶³ Buggy, “Associative Values,” 23.

⁶⁴ Buggy, “Associative Values,” 25–26.

⁶⁵ Rössler, “World Heritage Sites.”

⁶⁶ Heike Alberts and Helen Hazen, “Maintaining Authenticity and Integrity at Cultural World Heritage Sites,” *The Geographical Review* 100, no. 1 (2010): 56–73; Christina Cameron, “Conservation in Changing Societies: World Heritage Indicators,” in *Conservation in Changing Societies: Heritage and Development*, eds. Teresa Patricio, Koen van Balen, and Krista De Jonge, 39–47 (Leuven: Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation, 2006); Sophia Labadi, “World Heritage, Authenticity and Post-Authenticity: International and National Perspectives,” in *Heritage and Globalisation*, eds. Sophia Labadi and Colin Long, 66–84 (London: Routledge, 2010); Herb Stovel, “Effective Use of Authenticity and Integrity as World Heritage Qualifying Conditions,” *City & Time* 2, no. 3 (2007): 21–36.

traditions.⁶⁷ Cameron observes that authenticity has been redefined to mean “the traditional material aspects like form and design, materials and substance, location and setting, as well as more intangible aspects, such as use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems, language, spirit and feeling.”⁶⁸

Another observation that makes it even more necessary to provide a comprehensive understanding of the tangible-intangible relationship with respect to conceiving World Heritage is that all cultural criteria seem to address intangible heritage in some way.⁶⁹ Stovel identifies intangible ideas that are linked to the other criteria for assessing Outstanding Universal Value of cultural heritage: the conceptual idea behind a masterpiece, exchanged ideas that first leave an imprint in the minds of human beings before they become tangible, and properties as representations of typological models.⁷⁰

2.2.3. Intersection between Intangible Cultural Heritage and World Cultural Heritage

Another important aspect is the conceptual and legal intersection between the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention and the World Heritage Convention. Considerable

⁶⁷ Knut Einar Larsen, ed., *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention: Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1–6 November 1994* (Paris/Tokyo: UNESCO World Heritage Centre/Japan Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1995). On the Nara Conference on Authenticity, see also chapter 5.3.4.

⁶⁸ Cameron, “Conservation,” 42.

⁶⁹ Kristal Buckley, “An Overview of the Round Table,” in *Proceedings of the Round Table (14–16 March 2007) organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage on Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions*, eds. Christina Cameron and Christine Boucher, 165 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2007), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2007_Proces-verbaux.pdf.

⁷⁰ Stovel, “1972 and 2003 Conventions,” 74–75. On the presentation and illustration of the six cultural criteria, see also chapter 5.1.3.

research exists concerning this subject matter.⁷¹ While existing differences foster the categorical and dichotomous thinking about cultural heritage, the overlap provides potential for better understanding the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage. A comprehensive study on the influence of recognizing Intangible Cultural Heritage not only on the interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value, but also on the understanding of World Cultural Heritage in general seems to be missing.

Some authors have emphasized the differences between the two Conventions and their respective cultural heritage concepts. Taking a legal perspective, Yusuf notes that “the main objective of the 2003 Convention is to ensure that intangible cultural heritage is considered and safeguarded in its own right, as defined in the Convention, and not only as associative elements of tangible heritage.”⁷² The tangible and the intangible in this context are understood as distinct heritage categories, that is, the materiality of place on one hand and knowledge, skills, and practices on the other.⁷³ A main difference between the two Conventions that was already mentioned earlier is the omission of the idea of Outstanding Universal Value in relation to the 2003 Convention. Naurath observes that the Conventions have different scopes in that there is “a distinction between outstanding properties and representative customs.”⁷⁴ While World Heritage is intended to be of value beyond national boundaries, Intangible Cultural Heritage is grounded in local context and therefore representative. While this and other differences can be justified from a legal and administrative point of view, the

⁷¹ For example Janet Blake, “Relationship to 1972 World Heritage Convention,” in *Commentary on the 2003 Unesco Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 5–7 (Leicester: Institute of Art and Law, 2006); Guido Carducci, “The 1972 World Heritage Convention in the Framework of Other Unesco Conventions on Cultural Heritage,” in *The 1972 World Heritage Convention: A Commentary*, eds. Francesco Francioni and Federico Lenzerini, 374–75 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Craig Forrest, “The Tangible and Intangible Relationship,” in *International Law and the Protection of Cultural Heritage*, 384–85 (London: Routledge, 2010).

⁷² Yusuf, “Cultural Heritage,” 42.

⁷³ Rössler “Tangible and Intangible,” 65 and 67.

⁷⁴ Naurath, “Looking for Values,” 121.

fragmentation of the concept of cultural heritage obscures the interrelations between the tangible and the intangible.⁷⁵

Other authors have stressed the overlap that exists between the two concepts. Stovel in the context of the 2007 Round Table observes that although “the two Conventions are spoken of as the ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’..., each deals exhaustively with both the tangible and the intangible cultural heritage.”⁷⁶ The participants of the Round Table noted moreover that overlap occurred “in the area of human creative activities that are expressed in association with specific locations.”⁷⁷ This mostly concerns the intersection between criterion (vi) and the idea of cultural spaces associated with Intangible Cultural Heritage. Skounti investigated the links between World Heritage sites and Intangible Cultural Heritage expressions and notes that these links can be very different, “in some cases [referring to] a simple spatial cohabitation and in others a very strong cultural link.”⁷⁸

Another important aspect of the intersection is the influence of the 2003 Convention and other UNESCO conventions on the conception of Outstanding Universal Value. As already mentioned previously, various authors have written about the history or interpretation of World Heritage value. However, only one text was found that explicitly links the question of understanding Outstanding Universal Value to intangible heritage. In an article published in 2006, Rudolff investigates the crossover from and intersection between Outstanding Universal Value and cultural diversity.⁷⁹ She describes the debate of the World Heritage Committee on World Heritage value in 2004 and 2005, and speculates on stimuli coming from the 2003

⁷⁵ Ahmad Skounti, “The Lost Ring. Unesco’s World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” *Milli Folklor* 23, no. 89 (2011): 39.

⁷⁶ Stovel, “1972 and 2003 Conventions,” 71.

⁷⁷ Christina Cameron and Christine Boucher, eds., *Proceedings of the Round Table (14–16 March 2007) organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage on Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions*, 185 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2007), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2007_Proces-verbaux.pdf.

⁷⁸ Skounti, “The Lost Ring,” 36.

⁷⁹ Britta Rudolff, “Between ‘Outstanding Universal Value’ and ‘Cultural Diversity’: Heritage Values in Transition,” in *Constructing World Heritage*, eds. Marie-Theres Albert and Sieglinde Gauer-Lietz, 109–20 (Frankfurt am Main: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2006).

Convention and the 2005 UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Rudolff discusses the difficulty of reconciling Outstanding Universal Value with cultural diversity, which has become increasingly important since the early 1990s. She argues for interpreting Outstanding Universal Value as cultural diversity while acknowledging that the World Heritage value would thus lose its benchmark character.⁸⁰

2.2.4. Identification of the knowledge gap

Identifying the knowledge gap of the intersection between intangible heritage and World Heritage is a complex matter. For the most part, the existing sources do not build on each other so that information is fragmented. Most texts remain descriptive and lack a sound theoretical basis. A major reason for the complexity is therefore that there is no coherent understanding of intangible heritage, or rather that intangible heritage is often not theorized. In addition, a comprehensive portrayal of the recognition and interpretations of intangible heritage in the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention is missing.

2.3. Diverse methodologies in research literature

Since heritage has been studied from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, there is no concerted set of research approaches or methods. Stig Sørensen and Carman observe that for a long time there has been little awareness and dialogue about how heritage could be studied.⁸¹ Methodological choices have rarely been made explicit in heritage literature. The author

⁸⁰ Rudolff, "Heritage Values in Transition," 115.

⁸¹ Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and John Carman, "Making the Means Transparent: Reasons and Reflections," in *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, eds. John Carman and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, 4 (London: Routledge, 2009).

considers it therefore useful to examine theses with similar research problems and questions to identify an appropriate methodology.

For this purpose, the methodological choices of doctoral theses in the subject area, that is, in relation to World Heritage were assessed. Most research in this field addresses specific cases studies, that is, World Heritage inscriptions and their particular contexts. Only a limited number of theses deals with broader, conceptual issues relating to the implementation of the Convention. Given the similar scope of this research, only the latter were examined.

Three aspects were looked at to determine the thesis' methodology: the research approaches chosen by authors to answer their respective research questions; the manner in which cases, that is, World Heritage nominations and/or inscriptions, were used; and the data collection and analysis methods employed to obtain results. In conclusion, the various approaches and methods are summarized.

2.3.1. Research approaches

Beazley, Labadi, and Titchen all aim at better understanding the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. While Titchen and Beazley take a historical perspective, Labadi focuses on quantitative and qualitative analyses.

In her thesis, Titchen aims at understanding the historical development of the construction of the idea of Outstanding Universal Value:

This thesis asks what are the origins of the concept of World Heritage, how were these ideas drafted into the *Convention* and how has that *Convention* been implemented, with a particular focus being placed on the identification and assessment of cultural places? Has the concept of World Heritage or 'outstanding universal value' developed and changed during the drafting and implementation of the *Convention*, or is it a fixed and static concept? What opportunities exist to bring the implementation of the *World*

Heritage Convention into line with current, changing, conservation theory and practice?⁸²

Correspondingly, a historical approach was preferred.⁸³ By looking at “the history of the policy, practice and initiatives that have been developed by the World Heritage Committee,” Beazley also takes a historical perspective.⁸⁴ She explores a specific idea in the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention, that is, intangible cultural heritage value:

[The thesis]...examines the way in which the Convention, since its inception in 1972, has facilitated the recognition and accommodation of associative, intangible cultural heritage values on the...World Heritage List.⁸⁵

Labadi studies the interpretation and implementation of World Heritage value, particularly at the national level. She focuses on the effectiveness of implementing the World Heritage Convention and poses the following main question:

How and to what extent [have] the values and standards established by the World Heritage Committee...been understood and implemented at national and local levels[?]⁸⁶

To understand the values and their evolution, Labadi analyzes the World Heritage List both quantitatively and qualitatively.⁸⁷ A historical portrayal of the implementation of the Convention serves as background to contextualize the interpretation of obtained results.⁸⁸

⁸² Titchen, “Construction,” 5.

⁸³ Titchen, “Construction,” 9.

⁸⁴ Beazley, “Drawing a line,” 1.

⁸⁵ Beazley, “Drawing a line,” 1.

⁸⁶ Sophia Labadi, “Questioning the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: A Value-Based Analysis of Purposefully Sampled Nomination Dossiers” (PhD diss., University College London, 2005), 26.

⁸⁷ Labadi, “Implementation,” 26.

⁸⁸ Labadi, “Implementation,” 28.

2.3.2. Use of cases

The term case is used here to mean nominated and/or inscribed properties to the World Heritage List. The use of cases aims to complement the information gained from the general debate of the World Heritage Committee and other relevant meetings on the implementation of the Convention. Two main types of using cases were identified from the research literature: case studies and a sample. In addition, the notion of illustrative example is introduced which is considered useful to better distinguish the various ideas.

Instead of focusing on one or more case studies as a main research method, Titchen and Beazley both employ them as part of a historical study to better understand the studied phenomenon. According to Yin, in social science research, a case study is a research method that “investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.”⁸⁹ Beazley and Titchen transpose the idea to historical research. Titchen limits the application of case study research within her thesis by stating that the selected “places are not presented...as formal case studies.”⁹⁰ Instead, she uses them to illustrate the development and implementation of ideas within the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention. Selected sites are used to comprehend the process of identifying and assessing cultural heritage, in particular the transformation of local and national significance into Outstanding Universal Value.⁹¹ Titchen focuses on a number of cultural landscape nominations and inscriptions in the United States and South America as well as selected World Heritage sites in Australia and Europe. Beazley uses key case studies in a similar way to investigate the motives for inscribing sites linked to intangible cultural heritage value on the World Heritage List.⁹² She studies two World Heritage inscriptions based on criterion (vi), that is, Hiroshima

⁸⁹ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009), 18.

⁹⁰ Titchen, “Construction,” 8.

⁹¹ Titchen, “Construction,” 8–10.

⁹² Beazley, “Drawing a line,” 7.

in Japan and Robben Island in South Africa.⁹³ She is not only interested in the interpretation of values for criterion (vi) inscriptions, but also in understanding the history of the inscription process of these sites.

A similar use of case studies can be found in the context of another doctoral thesis. Inanloo Dailoo refers to selected World Heritage inscriptions as “illustrative examples.”⁹⁴ Rather than representing the main subject of her research, they serve to “illustrate points, where appropriate, to provide detail[ed] support for particular questions.”⁹⁵ She investigates the complexity of assessing, inscribing, and conserving cultural landscapes at national and international levels by looking at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump in Canada and Takht-e-Soleyman in Iran. Again, case studies are not used as a research method, but rather as a frame of reference that offers the opportunity to better understand and illustrate certain aspects or arguments.

The other use of cases, in contrast, purposefully selects a sample of a larger number of inscriptions to gain comprehensive insight into the various interpretations of a specific concept in the context of implementing the Convention. Also traditionally employed in social science research, a sample originally refers to a random or purposeful selection of members from a population which is analyzed for statistical reasons and which provides information about the population.⁹⁶ Labadi purposefully selected one hundred six World Heritage inscriptions to gain an understanding of the various values communicated in the sample.⁹⁷ The sampling strategy aimed at obtaining extensive information that allowed comparison and identification of patterns.⁹⁸

⁹³ Beazley, “Drawing a line,” 6, chapters 6 and 7.

⁹⁴ Shabnam Inanloo Dailoo, “Takht-E-Soleyman and Head-Smashed-in Buffalo Jump: The Recognition and Conservation of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes” (PhD diss., University of Calgary, 2009), 20.

⁹⁵ Inanloo Dailoo, “World Heritage Cultural Landscapes,” 20.

⁹⁶ John W. Creswell, *Research Design, Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009), 217; Anton J. Kuzel, “Sampling in Qualitative Inquiry,” in *Doing Qualitative Research*, eds. Benjamin F. Crabtree and William L. Miller, 31–44 (Newbury Park: SAGE, 1992).

⁹⁷ Labadi, “Implementation,” 2 and chapter 3.3.

⁹⁸ Labadi, “Implementation,” 109.

2.3.3. Pertinent methods

The surveyed theses employ largely the same data collection methods. All of them build their results on documentary research in the form of UNESCO statutory documents such as World Heritage Committee documents and nomination dossiers.⁹⁹ Stig Sørensen and Carman observe that “a category of ‘heritage’ can...be described as the result of the production of texts.”¹⁰⁰ Soderland explains:

Written records and textual documents attest to how knowledge was created and chronicled, embodying and assimilating the particular values of the time when the history was recorded. Thus, text as an historical resource sheds light on how it was incorporated into the historical canon. It is in this way that the history of heritage illuminates the interplay among knowledge, text and value.¹⁰¹

Beazley and Titchen also made use of other archival sources and complemented their data collection with field investigations and/or interviews with key stakeholders.¹⁰²

While researchers do not specify the treatment of data in relation to the historical approach, for the quantitative and qualitative analyses of nomination dossiers Labadi identifies and thoroughly discusses an appropriate technique.¹⁰³ Data is obtained and processed employing a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software to code the nomination dossiers. Labadi develops a conceptual framework that guides the identification of categories for coding.¹⁰⁴ Codes identified from the sample of nomination dossiers are then interpreted making in return reference to the conceptual framework.

⁹⁹ Beazley, “Drawing a line,” 9; Labadi, “Implementation,” 26; Titchen, “Construction,” 10.

¹⁰⁰ Stig Sørensen and Carman, “Making the Means Transparent,” 6.

¹⁰¹ Hilary A. Soderland, “The History of Heritage: A Method in Analysing Legislative Historiography,” in *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, eds. John Carman and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, 55 (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁰² Beazley, “Drawing a line,” 9; Titchen, “Construction,” 9.

¹⁰³ Beazley, “Drawing a line”; Labadi, “Implementation,” 123–31; Titchen, “Construction.”

¹⁰⁴ Labadi, “Implementation,” 76 and 131.

2.3.4. Outline of possible methods

Beazley, Labadi, and Titchen all aim at better understanding the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Open-ended research questions aim to explore the development and/or interpretation of specific ideas or concepts. To answer the respective research questions and thus respond to the particular perspective taken on the Convention's implementation, three principal research approaches were identified in the doctoral theses: historical, quantitative, and qualitative research. While the historical approach results in a historical description or "story," with quantitative and qualitative research, interpretations are identified and discussed against a historiographical background.¹⁰⁵

While case studies or illustrative examples focus on the in-depth exploration and illustration of a specific idea in its context, a sample provides insight into the way a certain concept is interpreted as well as into associated temporal and spatial dynamics.

Written texts in the form of documents or transcribed interviews represent the main means of data collection which consequently require textual analysis and interpretation. However, data analysis methods are not always described in the surveyed theses, particularly with regard to historical research. In the context of qualitative and quantitative research, qualitative data analysis is used.

2.4. Summary

The literature review revealed that the research is situated in the context of a changing conception of cultural heritage in international cultural heritage conservation and particularly in relation to UNESCO instruments. This change is characterized by an increasing recognition

¹⁰⁵ Beazley, "Drawing a line," 12.

of the notion of intangible heritage and representative value. It resulted in the creation of new instruments, but has also influenced the interpretation of existing policy on tangible heritage like the World Heritage Convention.

Knowledge on the intersection between intangible heritage and tangible heritage in terms of World Cultural Heritage remains fragmented. The thesis therefore aims to bring together existing knowledge and to push it further with regard to understanding how intangible heritage has been considered in the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention. Given that intangible heritage is conceived differently in heritage literature, the development of a coherent terminology and theoretical framework in relation to the concept of intangible heritage forms part of the research.

Since there is no established set of research approaches or methods in the field of heritage, the researcher looked at similar research in the subject area, that is, doctoral theses that aimed at understanding the implementation of concepts or ideas in World Heritage and thus the international conceptual and operational level of the Convention, to identify an appropriate methodology.

3. METHODOLOGY

The present chapter sets out the methodology that was applied to answer the research question. The doctoral research aimed at drawing together existing information so as to further investigate the crossover from and intersection between tangible or cultural heritage in terms of World Heritage and intangible heritage in the process of implementing the 1972 Convention. An appropriate research approach, use of World Heritage nominations and inscriptions, and adequate methods were identified. These and other methodological choices are presented in this chapter. Strengths and limitations of chosen approaches, techniques, and methods, as well as the question of validity are addressed in each section individually.

3.1. Research paradigm

In response to the thesis' underlying assumption about the nature and production of reality and knowledge, it can be concluded that the research has to be understood in the light of a constructivist research paradigm. This conclusion is anticipated here, but could only be determined at the end of the research process and when assessing how knowledge had been obtained to answer the research question.

According to Guba and Lincoln and other researchers, constructivism is a research paradigm, an ontological, epistemological, and methodological positioning:

[A paradigm] may be viewed as a set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the 'world,' the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts.... The beliefs are basic in the sense that they must be

accepted simply on faith (however well argued); there is no way to establish their ultimate truthfulness.¹

An inquiry or research paradigm consequently defines the limits of a research project. It determines the guiding principles in terms of what is the nature of reality (ontology), what is the relationship between research and what can be known (epistemology), and how does the researcher produce knowledge (methodology).² Constructivism assumes relativist ontology, a subjectivist epistemology, and interpretive methodological procedures.³ A constructivist approach means that the perceived reality, which is studied, represents an intellectual construct that depends for its interpretation on theoretical preconceptions taken as references or intellectual lenses.⁴ Realities are understood as multiple, mental constructions that are socially and experientially based and that depend for their nature on those holding the constructions.⁵ The researcher and the object of investigation are linked. Thus, research findings are not only created, but also subjective. They are analyzed using interpretive techniques.⁶ Guba and Lincoln observe that knowledge “consists of those constructions about which there is relative consensus (or at least some movement toward consensus).”⁷ A constructivist paradigm is thus linked to understanding and reconstruction.

Given that the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, the research process and findings may be influenced by the researcher’s biases. The quality and scientific rigor of the research depends therefore on the researcher’s sensitivity and integrity,

¹ Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research,” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 117 (London: SAGE, 1994); Jean-Louis Le Moigne, *Les épistémologies constructivistes* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007); Alex Mucchielli, “Constructiviste (Paradigme),” in *Dictionnaire des méthodes qualitatives en sciences humaines et sociales*, ed. Alex Mucchielli, 30–35 (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004).

² Guba and Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms,” 108.

³ Guba and Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms,” 109.

⁴ Mucchielli, “Constructiviste,” 30.

⁵ Guba and Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms,” 110–11; Le Moigne, *Les épistémologies*, 120–22.

⁶ Guba and Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms,” 114.

⁷ Guba and Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms,” 113; also Mucchielli, “Constructiviste,” 31.

her intuition and interpretive abilities.⁸ Understanding the researcher’s experiential knowledge in relation to the subject of study helps to increase the validity of the research.⁹ She has gained a thorough understanding of the World Heritage system and the working of the 1972 Convention when she was a fellow at the World Heritage Centre in 2008 and 2009, as observer at two World Heritage Committee sessions in 2009 and 2011, and by participating in an international World Heritage expert meeting in 2012. To minimize bias and secure the validity of the research process and findings the methodology and theoretical framework are moreover presented thoroughly and references are given carefully so that conclusions can be understood and the process remains transparent.

In addition, two notions of construction underpin this thesis. One understanding indicates that it is the intellectual and administrative tools that are constructed as already noted by Titchen.¹⁰ The other links to constructivism in the sense that knowledge in terms of research findings is built by interpreting documents. The term paradigm is used in two meanings. First, it refers to the notion of research paradigm presented above and secondly, it means the changing approach to the concept of value and cultural heritage, that is, a paradigm shift.¹¹

⁸ Miguel Bedolla, “Historical Method: A Brief Introduction,” in *Doing Qualitative Research*, eds. Benjamin F. Crabtree and William L. Miller, 167–68 (Newbury Park: SAGE, 1992); Sharan B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass/Wiley, 2009), 107 and 109; Alex Mucchielli, “Intuition,” in *Dictionnaire des méthodes qualitatives en sciences humaines et sociales*, ed. Alex Mucchielli, 131–32 (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004).

⁹ Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2005), 37.

¹⁰ Sarah Titchen, “On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: Unesco’s World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List” (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 1995), 4.

¹¹ On the changing approach to the concept of value, see chapter 4.3.2. On the link between the idea of paradigm and the concept of cultural heritage, see chapter 4.4.2.

3.2. Research approach

The approach taken to answer the research question is situated between qualitative and historical research. Qualitative research refers to empirical research in the social and human sciences, which, according to Paillé, responds to the following five characteristics: research is designed largely from a comprehensive perspective; it addresses the object of study in an open and broad way; it uses qualitative methods to collect data, such as interviews, observations, and the collection of texts; it gives rise to a qualitative analysis of data where words are analyzed directly through other words; and it leads to a story or theory and not to the demonstration or proof of previously set hypotheses.¹² It can be said to aim at the comprehensive understanding of a subject matter by following an inductive approach; an exploratory investigation strategy allows for the exploration of an idea and aims at a rich description to answer the research question.¹³ The research question is in fact reworked during the research process.¹⁴ Reviewing literature as well as collecting and analyzing data represent concurrent activities.¹⁵ Qualitative research is therefore iterative and constructed progressively, thereby reflecting a constructivist paradigm.¹⁶ The present thesis aims at the exploration of an idea, that is, the intersection between intangible heritage and World Heritage.

Although qualitative research has mainly developed in relation to the social sciences, some authors consider historical research to be a part of it and explicitly deal with questions of

¹² Pierre Paillé, “Recherche qualitative,” in *Dictionnaire des méthodes qualitatives en sciences humaines et sociales*, ed. Alex Mucchielli, 226 (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004).

¹³ Jean-Pierre Deslauriers and Michèle Kérisit, “Le devis de recherche qualitative,” in *La recherche qualitative—enjeux épistémologiques et méthodologiques*, eds. Jean Poupard, Jean-Pierre Deslauriers, Lionel-Henri Groulx, Anne Laperrière, Robert Mayer, and Alvaro P. Pires, 88 (Montréal: Gaëtan Morin, 1997); Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design*, 22; Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 39.

¹⁴ Maxwell, *Qualitative Research*, 65; Paillé, “Recherche qualitative,” 227.

¹⁵ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, “The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research,” in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 21 (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2005); Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 8 and 169; Paillé, “Recherche qualitative,” 227.

¹⁶ Benjamin F. Crabtree and William L. Miller, *Doing Qualitative Research* (Newbury Park: SAGE, 1992), xv; Deslauriers and Kérisit, “Le devis,” 92; Steven Eric Krauss, “Research Paradigms and Meaning Making: A Primer,” *The Qualitative Report* 10, no. 4 (2005): 760.

historical data collection and analysis methods.¹⁷ Bedolla argues that historical research is qualitative research and Carbonnel states that history uses qualitative methods.¹⁸ Without going into depth on the question of the relation between the two approaches, it can be noted that qualitative and historical research are linked. Historical research aims at critically examining and analyzing the records of the past and creating meaning from them.¹⁹ Like qualitative research it is characterized by a flexible and open design, which aims at obtaining an information-rich description in response to a particular problem and corresponding research question.²⁰ Since the thesis at hand is interested in the implementation and interpretation of concepts over time, a historical perspective was given prevalence in the sense that a historical development was traced and a story told. The understanding of concepts is presented in terms of a dynamic or history of ideas.

3.3. Research strategy

The strategy that was developed to answer the research question consists of two main parts (fig. 4). The first part establishes the ontological, epistemological, and methodological basis of the research in terms of formulating the problem, question, and methods. The second part relates to the specific objectives to investigate the research problem and answer the research question. It is important to note that the two parts and their individual elements have

¹⁷ Jean Poupart, Jean-Pierre Deslauriers, Lionel-Henri Groulx, Anne Laperrière, Robert Mayer, and Alavro P. Pires, eds., *La recherche qualitative—enjeux épistémologiques et méthodologiques* (Montréal: Gaëtan Morin, 1997); Madeleine Grawitz, *Méthodes des sciences sociales* (Paris: Dalloz, 2001); Alex Mucchielli, ed., *Dictionnaire des méthodes qualitatives en sciences humaines et sociales* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2009).

¹⁸ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 168; Charles-Olivier Carbonnel, “Histoire et méthodes qualitatives,” in *Dictionnaire des méthodes qualitatives en sciences humaines et sociales*, ed. Alex Mucchielli, 105–7 (Paris: Armand Colin, 2009).

¹⁹ Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969 [1950]), 44.

²⁰ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 163 and 168.

been constructed and re-worked in a spiral way and by continuously working back and forth among their various elements.

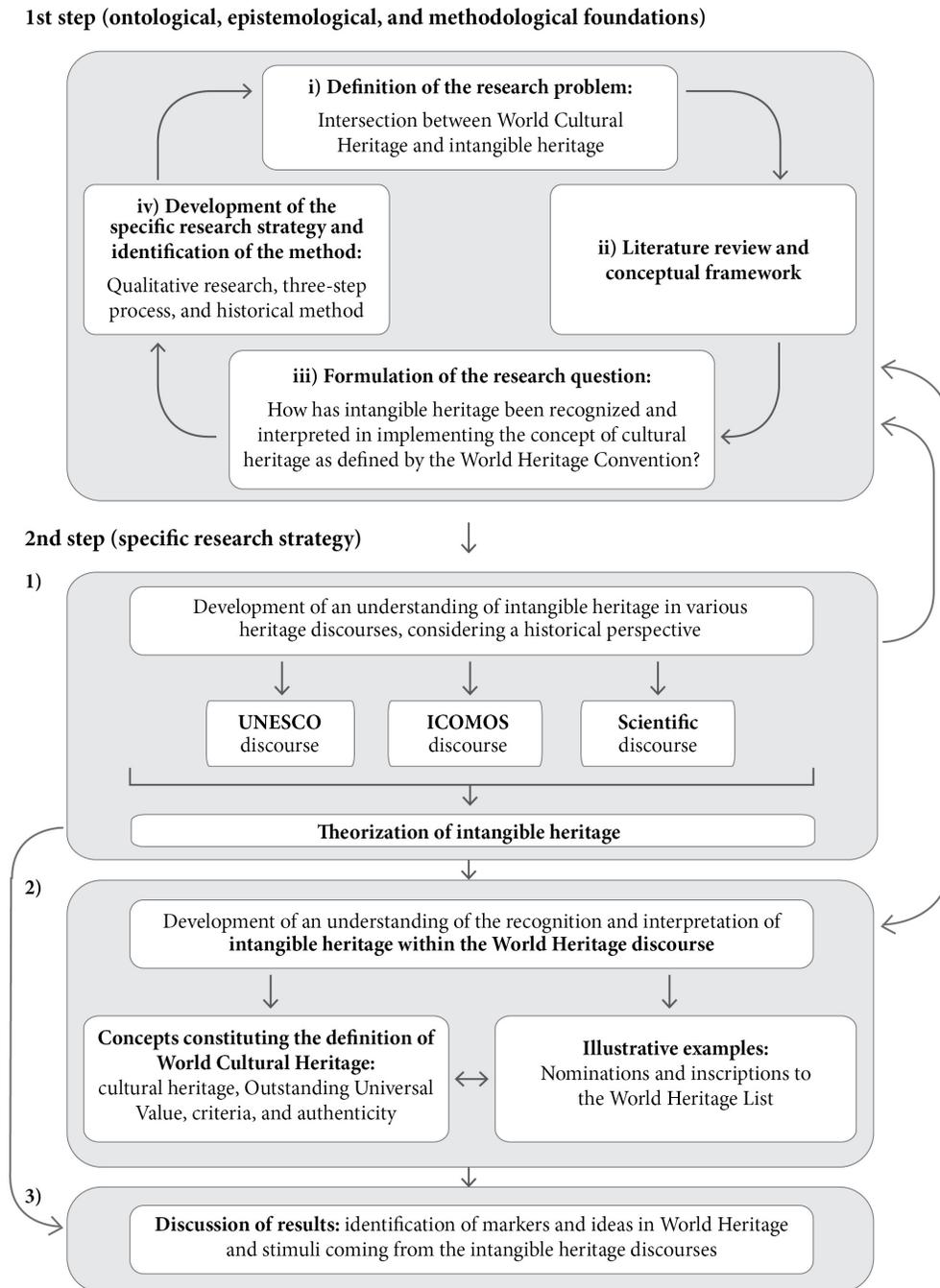


Figure 4. Research strategy

Part one of the research strategy reflects general knowledge about the construction of a research project.²¹ It considers the following elements:

- i) definition and contextualization of the research problem;
- ii) critical literature review and development of an understanding of important concepts and their relationships;
- iii) formulation of the research question; and
- iv) development of the specific research strategy and identification of appropriate methods.

Information was gathered and processed until saturation was reached, that is, until the research problem and question were specified, a substantial part of the literature review was completed and an understanding of the main concepts was gained, an adequate research strategy was developed and appropriate methods were identified. Results of this part of the research process are presented in chapters one to three of this thesis.

Part two of the research strategy intends to answer the research question. As outlined previously, this doctoral research aimed at understanding how intangible heritage has been recognized and interpreted in the context of implementing the 1972 Convention and how this recognition has changed the conception of World Cultural Heritage. Three strategic objectives were identified:

- 1) develop an understanding of intangible heritage and formulate a theory;
- 2) develop an understanding of the recognition and interpretation of intangible heritage with respect to implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage by using the understanding of intangible heritage gained in step one;
- 3) identify markers and ideas in World Heritage by analyzing and discussing the results of steps one and two.

The author considered it paramount to de-construct the concept of intangible heritage as a prerequisite to investigating the intersection between intangible heritage and World

²¹ André-Pierre Contandriopoulos, François Champagne, Louise Potvin, Jean-Louis Denis, and Pierre Boyle, *Savoir préparer une recherche : la définir, la structurer, la financer* (Montréal: Gaëtan Morin, 2005).

Cultural Heritage. The first strategic objective therefore aimed at developing an understanding of the concept of intangible heritage that was then used in the further research process as what has been termed a theoretical lens. Results are both part of the original work of this thesis and complement the critical literature review. They are presented in chapter four.

Then, a comprehensive study of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention from 1972 to 2014 was conducted. The second strategic objective aimed at tracing the historical development of recognizing intangible heritage and in the process identifying various interpretations of intangible heritage with reference to implementing the 1972 Convention. It aimed at understanding how the concept of World Cultural Heritage has changed to accommodate the idea of intangible heritage. It required the study of the second, main concept investigated in this thesis, that is, World Cultural Heritage. The data obtained through the second strategic objective are presented in chapter five.

In a final step, main ideas and markers were identified and discussed that demonstrate the increasing recognition of intangible heritage in the context of World Heritage. Stimuli coming from the international intangible heritage movement were considered here, as well. Results of the third strategic objective are presented in the conclusion. An appendix summarizes the main outcomes and ideas in a chronological and synthesized way.

3.4. Use of concepts

Two main concepts were identified as important for this research: intangible heritage and World Cultural Heritage. The present subchapter explains how these concepts were employed for data collection and processing. While the concept of intangible heritage was used as a theoretical lens, the concept of World Cultural Heritage represents the main object of study or reference frame within which analysis took place.

3.4.1. Intangible heritage as theoretical lens

Given the fragmented interpretation of intangible heritage and the unclear conceptual relationship to the notions of tangible heritage and heritage value, the concept of intangible heritage was investigated and theorized in relation to the ideas of heritage value, tangible heritage, and ultimately cultural heritage. For this purpose, the concept was deconstructed historically and conceptually in relation to the research context, that is, international cultural heritage conservation. Within this context, three discourses were considered pertinent: a scientific discourse, a UNESCO discourse, and an ICOMOS discourse.²² A historical perspective aimed at carving out possible stimuli coming from the international intangible heritage movement.

The understanding and theorization of intangible heritage then served as theoretical lens to trace the recognition of intangible heritage in the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage. The idea and use of the term theoretical lens was inspired by Creswell.²³ It refers to a selected perspective that guides the researcher as to what issues are important to examine. For the purpose of this research it was employed to tease out interpretations of and trace the recognition of intangible heritage. To do so, the theory of intangible heritage served as object of investigation in relation to historical method.²⁴

The main challenge with using the concept of intangible heritage as theoretical lens was that the resulting theory has several conceptual dimensions.²⁵ It represents an indicator for a changing approach to cultural heritage and paradigm shift in heritage conservation. It is thus linked to a variety of other complex concepts and ideas, such as the concept of value or the idea of anthropological context. In addition, the definition considers traditional intangible

²² On the idea of discourse in this thesis and the justification of the three discourses, see chapter 3.6.2.

²³ John W. Creswell, *Research Design, Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009), 62.

²⁴ On a more detailed presentation of the use of intangible heritage as theoretical lens with respect to historical analysis, see chapter 3.7.

²⁵ The theory of intangible heritage is summarized in chapter 4.4.

heritage types, such as traditional knowledge and practice. Instead of focusing on one specific interpretation of intangible heritage, the researcher dealt with the complex nature of the phenomenon of intangible heritage, which sets the intangible in relation to the tangible and questions the compartmentalization of cultural heritage. In this way, various interpretations of the term were subsumed.

3.4.2. World Cultural Heritage as object of study

The implementation of the World Heritage Convention and more specifically of the concept of World Cultural Heritage represents the principal object of study. It is the reference frame within which change and interpretation were investigated, data collection and analysis took place to answer the research question. For the purpose of this thesis, four concepts were identified to be pertinent that constitute the definition of World Cultural Heritage: cultural heritage, Outstanding Universal Value, criteria to assess Outstanding Universal Value of cultural heritage, and authenticity. As can be seen in the literature review, they are particularly relevant for understanding the recognition of intangible heritage.²⁶

As mentioned previously, this thesis is particularly concerned with World Heritage as defined in article one of the 1972 Convention:

For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as ‘cultural heritage’:

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;

²⁶ See chapter 2.2.2. The term intangible heritage entered the discourse on integrity, the other qualifying condition, only later. It is less significant to the historical and conceptual development of recognizing intangible heritage and was therefore not considered in this research.

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.²⁷

Two ideas constitute World Heritage, that is, cultural heritage in terms of monuments, groups of buildings, and sites, and Outstanding Universal Value as main distinguishing feature. With the changing notion of cultural heritage also other heritage categories or types were considered over time, such as cultural landscapes, which are particularly important in the context of acknowledging intangible heritage. Looking at the concept of cultural heritage also involved the endeavour to find a common theoretical approach to World Heritage in terms of the Global Strategy which had a major impact on the Convention's implementation.²⁸ The Convention text moreover establishes the interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value via the use of criteria.²⁹ Six criteria were developed to assess the value of cultural heritage.³⁰ That the criteria's wording is subject to continuing revision shows the mutability of the concept of Outstanding Universal Value.³¹ Criterion (vi) is particularly important in the context of this research as it was recognized to refer to intangible heritage.³² Yusuf notes that, next to the development and application of the criteria, it is also through the subsidiary requirement of authenticity that the notion of cultural heritage has evolved over the years to take into account the development of knowledge and scientific thought.³³ The fourth concept is therefore authenticity.

²⁷ UNESCO, "Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," art. 1, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

²⁸ Christina Cameron, "The Evolution of the Concept of Outstanding Universal Value," in *Conserving the Authentic: Essays in Honour of Jukka Jokilehto*, eds. Nicholas Stanley-Price and Joseph King, 132 (Rome: ICCROM Conservation Studies, 2009).

²⁹ UNESCO, "Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," art. 11.2, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

³⁰ On the establishment of the six cultural criteria, see chapter 5.1.3.

³¹ Sarah Titchen, "On the Construction of 'Outstanding Universal Value': Some Comments on the Implementation of the 1972 Unesco World Heritage Convention," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 4 (1996): 237.

³² On the importance of criterion (vi) for this research, see also the elaboration of the research problem in chapter 1.3 and the presentation of related literature in chapter 2.2.2.

³³ Abdulqawi A. Yusuf, "Definition of Cultural Heritage," in *The 1972 World Heritage Convention: A Commentary*, eds. Francesco Francioni and Federico Lenzerini, 30 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

3.5. Use of illustrative examples

The World Heritage List represents the main means to ensure the protection of sites and their Outstanding Universal Value.³⁴ To date, the List counts one thousand seven inscriptions.³⁵ These include seven hundred seventy-nine cultural and thirty-one mixed properties, that is, those that “satisfy a part or the whole of the definitions of both cultural and natural heritage.”³⁶ Each time a site is inscribed or not inscribed on the World Heritage List, the concept of World Heritage is defined and fleshed out.³⁷ Nominations and inscriptions to the List were therefore considered paramount to this research. In contrast to the use of cases in other research, a wider range of nominations and inscriptions was employed and the object of analysis mainly referred to the sites’ evaluations and value statements.³⁸ They were used as key examples to illustrate specific events, discussions, or decisions. Their selection has to be understood from the context of the respective argument made. This selection strategy can be defined as qualitative sampling, which is purposeful and may consist of single cases.³⁹

As illustrative examples, inscriptions were selected by reviewing the World Heritage List and value statements on the website of the World Heritage Centre.⁴⁰ Only sites using criteria to assess the value of cultural heritage were analyzed. Given the importance of criterion (vi) for this research, all inscriptions using criterion (vi) alone were taken into

³⁴ UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art. 11.2, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

³⁵ “World Heritage List,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>.

³⁶ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 13 para. 46, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

³⁷ Cameron, “Evolution,” 128 and 135.

³⁸ On the use of cases in other research literature, see chapter 2.3.2. On the description of various document types, see chapter 3.6.3.

³⁹ Crabtree and Miller, *Doing Qualitative Research*, 33; Maxwell, *Qualitative Research*, 88; Michael Q. Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (Newbury Park: SAGE, 1990), 169.

⁴⁰ The World Heritage List can be searched using various criteria, such as by region, criteria, theme, or year. “World Heritage List,” UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>.

account. This concerns so far eleven properties.⁴¹ In addition, mixed properties were considered when appropriate and with respect to their cultural criteria.⁴² The selection of all other illustrative examples has to be understood from the context of the respective argument made. A more detailed and systematic description of choosing illustrative examples is given in the section on the data analysis method.

3.6. Data collection method

This subchapter introduces the use of written sources or texts as data collection method, a consolidated technique in qualitative and historical research.⁴³ Material was gathered only from English-language texts. To understand the body of written sources employed, the following aspects are looked at in depth. First, the thesis distinguishes between documents and literature as well as introduces the idea of grey zone literature. Second, the idea of heritage discourse is explained, which was used to organize the material. And third, the World Heritage statutory documents are presented which reflect definitions, the general debate, and value statements.

⁴¹ “World Heritage List: result by criteria: (vi),” UNESCO, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=on&c6=on&type=&media=&order=country&description=.

⁴² “World Heritage List: result by category: mixed properties,” UNESCO, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/&searchsites=&criteria_restriction=&type=mixed®ion=&x=4&search=&order=&search_by_country=&y=9&media=&order=year.

⁴³ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 163–73; Anne Cellard, “L’analyse documentaire,” in *La recherche qualitative—enjeux épistémologiques et méthodologiques*, eds. Jean Poupart, Jean-Pierre Deslauriers, Lionel-Henri Groulx, Anne Laperrière, Robert Mayer, and Alavro P. Pires, 251–71 (Montréal: Gaëtan Morin, 1997); Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 20; Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, chapter 7. Despite the fact that oral sources in terms of interviews would represent a valuable contribution to this thesis, the author decided to leave them for further research. In the course of the exploratory and organic research process large amounts of data were gathered that allowed the drawing of a coherent argument and the answering of the research question.

3.6.1. Literature and documents

The research distinguishes between different types of texts. Two main types are literature and documents. In making this distinction, the thesis adopts the differentiation between primary and secondary sources, whereby documents are primary and literature secondary texts.

Literature means scientific books, journal articles, and other scholarly texts taken mainly from the field of heritage conservation or heritage studies. As mentioned previously, the researcher is aware that the conceptualization of intangible heritage communicated in this thesis had already existed in similar forms in other disciplinary contexts before its emergence in heritage literature.⁴⁴ The potential body of literature, however, might have soon become unmanageable. Relevant literature was therefore limited to texts explicitly addressing cultural heritage and intangible heritage. The field of heritage conservation does not have a long-standing tradition, but is fueled by various other disciplines and their theoretical ideas and methods. In the 1980s, an increased interest in the past led to the emergence of heritage literature.⁴⁵ It draws on the expertise of disciplines, such as history, geography, archaeology, anthropology, and architecture, yet also reflects a distinct set of academic practices that led to the emergence of heritage studies.⁴⁶ Its main distinguishing feature is the explicit use of the terms heritage or cultural heritage, tangible heritage and/or intangible heritage. As the underlying premise for most of the literature chosen, texts should deal with the idea of place in its widest sense given the thesis' focus on the concept of World Cultural Heritage.

⁴⁴ On a more detailed explanation of the disciplinary perspective taken in this thesis and choice of literature, see chapter 1.4.

⁴⁵ David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 319–38; David C. Harvey, "The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, eds. Brian J. Graham and Peter Howard, 19–36 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Peter Howard, "The Heritage Discipline," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 1, no. 1 (1994): 3–5.

⁴⁶ John Carman and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, "Heritage Studies," in *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, eds. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and John Carman, 11 (London: Routledge, 2009); Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and John Carman, "Making the Means Transparent: Reasons and Reflections," in *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, eds. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and John Carman, 3 (London: Routledge, 2009).

The concept of document refers to what Creswell and Merriam call “public documents.”⁴⁷ As official archival or statutory records, they reflect the memory of an institution. For a historical study these documents are the best source of information as they can offer historical and conceptual understanding, track development and change, and furnish descriptive information.⁴⁸ In the context of this doctoral research, data collection of documents was based on an extensive study of UNESCO statutory documents which provided detailed information on the development of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention from the standpoint of the World Heritage Committee and other important actors, such as ICOMOS and the World Heritage Centre. Documents included, amongst others, reports, background and information documents, and value statements. Next to public documents from World Heritage statutory meetings, documents associated with the implementation of the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention and related UNESCO documents were considered. Together with ICOMOS documents, such as the ICOMOS Newsletters, charters and other doctrinal texts, they were mainly used as a basis for tracing the historical development of recognizing intangible heritage in international cultural heritage conservation. Public documents are stable and non-reactive as they exist independently of the research process as well as being easily accessible and free.⁴⁹ UNESCO and ICOMOS documents are available from the organizations’ online databases.⁵⁰ At the same time, public documents have no uniform quality. They might be fragmentary, incomplete, and/or unrepresentative. Accordingly, information provided may not be understandable or accurate, and may entail built-in biases.⁵¹ Cameron and Rössler, for example, report on limitations of early ICOMOS evaluations, which had been done

⁴⁷ Creswell, *Research Design*, 180; Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 140.

⁴⁸ Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 155.

⁴⁹ Cellard, “L’analyse documentaire,” 251–71; Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 156.

⁵⁰ “Documentation Center,” ICOMOS, <http://www.icomos.org/en/documentation-center>; “Documents,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/>; “ICOMOS Documentation Center,” ICOMOS, <http://www.icomos.org/en/about-the-centre/publicationsdoc>; “ICOMOS Open Archive,” ICOMOS, <http://openarchive.icomos.org>; “Meetings on intangible cultural heritage (co-)organized by UNESCO,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00015>; “Newsletter archives,” ICOMOS, <http://www.icomos.org/en/newsletters-archives>; “UNESDOC,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/resources/online-materials/publications/unesdoc-database/>.

⁵¹ Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 153–54.

retrospectively.⁵² Also the reliability of so-called retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value, which summarize the value of sites inscribed on the World Heritage List prior to 2005, remains questionable. As an administrative tool, Statements of Outstanding Universal Value have only been required for World Heritage nominations since 2005. In 2007, the Committee decided that they should be done retrospectively for all World Heritage inscriptions.⁵³ Value statements may thus not originate from the year of inscription. Their analysis may result in flawed data as two time frames apply, that is, the time of inscription and the time when formulating the Statement retrospectively. To secure the validity of results, that is, the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account, priority was given to the use of primary sources from the relevant time period.⁵⁴

A third text type was identified. In international cultural heritage conservation, theory and practice are closely intertwined. This phenomenon resulted in the emergence of what is here called grey zone literature. Scholars have participated in international meetings, creating vocabulary for international instruments, and professionals have contributed to the scientific knowledge base concerning the background and development of concepts.⁵⁵ This phenomenon has produced a body of literature that is informed by practical experience of professionals working in the contexts of UNESCO and ICOMOS. First-hand practical experience is combined with the analysis of public documents. The recognition of intangible heritage through UNESCO and the term's appearance in scientific texts represents an excellent

⁵² Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, *Many Voices, One Vision: The Early Years of the World Heritage Convention* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 188–90.

⁵³ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007,” WHC-07/31.COM/24, 6–7, decision 31 COM 7.3, July 31, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-24e.pdf>.

⁵⁴ Maxwell, *Qualitative Research*, 106.

⁵⁵ Among them are Noriko Aikawa-Faure (former Director of the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Section and actively involved in advancing the intangible heritage initiative in UNESCO since 1992), Lourdes Arizpe (Assistant Director-General for Culture at UNESCO from 1994 to 1998, she is currently a Professor at the National University of Mexico), Christina Cameron (previously an executive with Parks Canada for thirty-five years and involved with World Heritage since 1987, she carries out research on the 1972 Convention's history and directs the World Heritage Oral Archives program), and Mechtild Rössler (as international civil servant more than twenty years experience with the World Heritage Convention and its implementation).

example of the influence of national and international heritage conservation practice on the scientific discourse, and vice versa.⁵⁶ Although the scientific rigor of published texts remains sometimes questionable, this type of text offers valuable insight and understanding.

3.6.2. Heritage discourses

Given the variety of texts used, the question of organizing the material arose. To structure the analysis of complex knowledge, the idea of discourse was introduced. This is meanwhile common practice in heritage literature. Smith, for example, whose usage of the term heritage discourse has informed this research, describes different contexts within which heritage has been addressed, directly as well as indirectly.⁵⁷ In contrast to this thesis, however, her idea of discourse incorporates the notion advanced by critical discourse analysis and considers questions of power. The method of discourse analysis focuses on understanding the functioning of a discourse, that is, the structure and organization of language as well as the relationship between a text and the conditions of its production.⁵⁸ The present thesis uses the idea of heritage discourse, instead, as a means to organize communication. Distinct yet interactive units of interpretations of concepts relate to specific international heritage communities and are expressed in various literature and documents. Since the members of these communities might belong to different discourses at the same time, the units are not self-contained. Pertinent texts and text passage were analyzed as manifestations of the different heritage discourses.

Heritage discourses were defined according to various communities and different concepts. The communities were understood to refer to those professionals who are active in

⁵⁶ On the emergence of the term intangible heritage in scientific literature, see chapter 4.1.5.1.

⁵⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006).

⁵⁸ Emma Waterton, Laurajane Smith, and Gary Campbell, "The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies: The Burra Charter and Social Inclusion," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 4 (2006): 342–343.

heritage conservation on an international level and involved in three main discourses, that is, in the scientific, a UNESCO, and an ICOMOS discourse. The scientific discourse refers to the field of heritage conservation or heritage studies, described in the previous subchapter. ICOMOS was chosen as it advises on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and provides professional expertise on evaluating nominations to the World Heritage List.⁵⁹ It thus influences the interpretation of concepts.⁶⁰ Preference was given to the horizontal level of an international dialogue or conversation in these discourses. It has to be highlighted, however, that concepts do not simply emerge within an international arena, but rather international arenas provide a context in which different understandings and applications of concepts meet in varying ways. National, regional, and local influences or those by individual people on the emergence and development of concepts as well as precursors of concepts in various disciplinary contexts, despite being of great importance, played a subordinate role in this thesis. Influences are mentioned in the course of the presentation of results and, where appropriate, pulled out in the discussion so as to provide material for further research. With reference to UNESCO it was moreover distinguished between an intangible heritage and a World Heritage discourse. Other discourse units were constituted by looking at other concepts and related discussions within these communities, such as the debate on cultural landscapes or authenticity in World Heritage.

⁵⁹ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 8–9 para. 30–31 and 9–10 para. 35, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>; UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art. 8.3 and 13.7, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

⁶⁰ ICCROM, the other advisory body on cultural heritage, was not considered in this research as its specific role in relation to the World Heritage Convention is less influential with regard to the development and interpretation of concepts. UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 9 para. 33, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

3.6.3. Definitions, general debate, and value statements

This subchapter takes a closer look at the World Heritage discourse. Titchen observes that behind the definition and interpretation of concepts in World Heritage lies a complex interplay between the international, national, and transnational level.⁶¹ While UNESCO constitutes the international institutional administrative setting of the 1972 Convention, its implementation depends on the collaboration of nation states, and more precisely of States Parties adhering to the Convention, in association with international organizations that function as advisory bodies. The most important body in charge of implementing the Convention on an international level is the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, also called the World Heritage Committee.⁶² It consists of the representatives from twenty-one States Parties. Being the principal decision-making body, the Committee has the final say on the definition of concepts, which manifest in the various versions of the Operational Guidelines. In its annual meetings, it also decides on the inclusion of properties on the World Heritage List.⁶³ When deliberating on a nomination the Committee may decide to inscribe or not to inscribe the property, to refer or to defer it.⁶⁴ When a nomination is referred back to the State Party minor changes are required before the property can resubmit it for examination the following Committee session. In case of deferral a substantial revision of the nomination is necessary as well as a new assessment by ICOMOS. In the case of inscription, the Committee approves the value descriptions or value statements of the nomination concerned. The Bureau of the World Heritage Committee coordinates the work of the Committee and prepares discussions and decisions.⁶⁵ The Committee is moreover

⁶¹ Titchen, “Construction,” 3.

⁶² UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” section III, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

⁶³ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, section III, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

⁶⁴ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 40–41 para. 153–60, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

⁶⁵ “The World Heritage Committee,” UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/committee/>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 5 para. 19, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

supported by advisory bodies and a secretariat. ICOMOS and ICCROM advise on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in the field of culture.⁶⁶ In technical seminars and workshops, international experts discuss pertinent World Heritage concepts and operational mechanisms. As mentioned previously, ICOMOS also evaluates nominations to the World Heritage List and presents evaluation reports to the Committee.⁶⁷ It thus influences the interpretation of concepts. Since 1992, the World Heritage Centre is the coordinator of World Heritage matters within UNESCO.⁶⁸ It functions as secretariat to the World Heritage Committee and ensures the day-do-day management of the Convention. Together with the Advisory Bodies, it organizes technical seminars and workshops, as well as publishes reports and other informational material on World Heritage. Decisions and the definition or interpretation of concepts are thus the result of scientific and political negotiation processes.⁶⁹

This thesis focuses on an international perspective and dialogue in terms of a horizontal level that involves most of all the general debate of the Committee. Committee decisions are representative of an international consensus and are thus authoritative. National or individual perspectives and the influence of ICOMOS became certainly apparent in the discourse. While they were not the focus of attention, they offer potential for further research. Documents reflecting the general debate are statutory documents presented to World Heritage sessions. These include, amongst others, reports and summary records, background and information documents, as well as ICOMOS evaluations. Final decisions on the interpretation of concepts are reflected in the various versions of the Operational Guidelines, the dynamic working tool in World Heritage matters. The temporal scope of this research is determined by

⁶⁶ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, section I.G, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>; UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art. 13.7, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

⁶⁷ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 9–10 para. 35, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

⁶⁸ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 204–5; “World Heritage Centre,” UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/world-heritage-centre/>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, section I.F, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

⁶⁹ See also Thomas Schmitt, “Global Cultural Governance: Decision-Making Concerning World Heritage between Politics and Science,” *Erdkunde* 63, no. 2 (2009): 103–21.

the interest in the historical development of concepts. As timeframe, the entire period of implementing the World Heritage Convention was considered, that is, from the mid-1970s when the Convention entered into force until the thirty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee held in June 2014.

With reference to nominations and inscriptions to the World Heritage List one text type is of particular importance, that is, value statements. These contain information on the Outstanding Universal Value of a property in terms of, amongst others, the criteria for which it is nominated or inscribed as well as the condition of authenticity. Their format and content has changed considerably over time, from the simple notification of criteria to the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value requested since 2005.⁷⁰ Once developed by the State Party or States Parties concerned and evaluated by ICOMOS, value statements are adopted by the Committee in case of inscription.⁷¹ They are thus reflective of a national or transnational as well as international perspective. The varied quality of value statements certainly represents a limitation. In particular the validity of those done retrospectively is questionable.⁷² Together with ICOMOS evaluations, nomination dossiers and other documents relating to World Heritage inscriptions, value statements can be found on the website of the respective property.⁷³

⁷⁰ UNESCO, “Evaluation of Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006), WHC-06/30.COM/9, 3–4, table, June 23, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-09e.pdf>. The Statement of Outstanding Universal Value has a fixed format and includes a summary description of the property’s Outstanding Universal Value, an identification of the criteria under which a property is nominated, an assessment of the qualifying conditions of authenticity and/or integrity, and a description of the strategies for protection and management in force. UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 40 para. 155, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

⁷¹ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 40 para. 154 and annex 5, 102, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

⁷² On the validity of retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value, see chapter 3.6.1.

⁷³ To consult the documents section of individual World Heritage inscriptions, see “World Heritage List,” UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>.

3.7. Historical analysis as data analysis method

Influenced by similar research in the subject area, historical method was chosen to analyze the data. It aims at understanding a text in qualitative terms, that is, the meaning of words by using words to obtain a comprehensive and detailed description or narrative. As such, it is particularly qualified for implementing the principles of a constructivist paradigm.

Historical method means the process of critically examining and analyzing the records of the past and creating meaning from them. Gottschalk explains:

The historian deals with the dynamic or genetic (the becoming) as well as the static (the being or the become) and he aims at being interpretive (explaining *why* and *how* things happened and were interrelated) as well as descriptive (telling *what* happened, *when* and *where*, and *who* took part).⁷⁴

Bedolla specifies that historical method represents “an adaptation of the procedures for learning.”⁷⁵ At the beginning stands a question. The researcher learns about this question by consulting historical documents until he or she obtains an explanation that answers the question. In principle, all the existing data needs to be explained to come to an answer that reflects reality as correctly as possible. This answer is then communicated. Based on these learning procedures, Bedolla developed four fundamental steps of historical method:

(a) research on the remnants of the past that are available in the present; (b) interpretation of the results of the research; (c) judgment on the correctness of the interpretations; (d) the communication of the interpretation judged to be correct, usually in writing.⁷⁶

Investigation, the first step in historical method, makes available the sources from the past. It is a selective process according to what the researcher already knows and believes.⁷⁷

Interpretation, which follows investigation, aims at understanding these sources:

⁷⁴ Gottschalk, *Understanding History*, 44.

⁷⁵ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 164.

⁷⁶ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 164.

⁷⁷ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 169.

The function of interpretation is to grasp meaning and intention in their appropriate context, in accordance with the proper mode and level of thought and expression, and in light of the circumstances and intentions of the author of the source.⁷⁸

Via the idea of judgment, historical method is linked to hermeneutics. Bedolla explains:

In order to judge the correctness of one's understanding of a text or a physical object, one must be aware of the context of whatever one happens to be researching. One must be aware of the hermeneutic circle....⁷⁹

Heidegger and Gadamer highlighted the circular structure of interpretation.⁸⁰ Known as hermeneutic circle, it refers to the dialectic between preconception and expertise. Gadamer explains that any interpretation starts with preconceptions.⁸¹ These have to be constantly revised finding more suitable interpretations. The process of interpretation means the constant re-designing which accounts for the movement of meaning between understanding and interpretation. Coreth moreover observed that the dialectic of preconception and expertise takes place in a spiral movement instead of a circular one; one element required and further developed the other one at the same time.⁸²

Historical method was selected given the large amount of documents and data concerned as well as their heterogeneous format and quality. It supports the tracing of a continuous flow of events and interpretations. However, the imaginative reconstruction of the past, the writing of history is by definition incomplete and represents merely “approximate portrayals of an enormously complex reality constructed by persons whose awareness has reached varying levels of differentiation.”⁸³ Transparency of procedures as well as detailed description and referencing aimed at securing coherence and the trustworthiness of results.

⁷⁸ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 169.

⁷⁹ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 171.

⁸⁰ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* [in German] (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1965), 151–52; Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* [in German] (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1957), 152–53 and 314–16.

⁸¹ Gadamer, *Wahrheit*, 251–52.

⁸² Emerich Coreth, *Grundlagen der Hermeneutik: Ein Philosophischer Beitrag* [in German] (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1969), 116.

⁸³ Bedolla, “Historical Method,” 169.

In the following, the research process is outlined for the analysis of the World Heritage discourse (fig. 5). Over the course of several months hundreds of UNESCO documents were researched. As mentioned previously, these documents are available from the World Heritage Centre website. They are organized according to statutory meetings of the World Heritage Committee, the World Heritage Bureau, and the General Assembly. All statutory meetings from 1977 until 2014 were considered. Documents concerning World Heritage inscriptions can be found on the websites of individual sites. Many of the documents had to be converted into readable documents. Due to the inconsistent quality of documents and the need to convert older texts into searchable documents, relevant text passages might have escaped the researcher's attention. The research process developed organically and was characterized by a constant back and forth. To identify pertinent texts and text passages, the material was researched with regard to relevant agenda items of statutory meetings and the concept of intangible heritage. Agenda items and related documents were identified using knowledge from literature and researching the list of statutory documents by year. These documents as well as reports were searched for key words, such as most importantly intangible and intangible heritage. As mentioned previously, defining intangible heritage was a complex matter. The multidimensionality of the definition affected the identification and use of keywords. These needed to remain flexible as they had to be adapted to the respective heritage discourses which themselves do not have consistent terminologies. The corresponding vagueness of keywords represents a limitation to this research as it may have an adverse effect on the thesis' reliability, that is, the reproducibility of research findings.⁸⁴ Relevant information from texts and text passages was then set into a historical and thematic context, that is, understood and interpreted in relation to relevant data in the same or a similar agenda item in other statutory meetings. In such a way, an argument, idea, or interpretation was traced over time. Then, a rationale was made that captured the essence of this idea and its development. The data was organized according to each World Heritage concept. Overriding events and trends in all concepts allowed the grouping into the five time periods. In this way,

⁸⁴ Merriam, *Qualitative Research*, 27; Stefan Titscher, Michael Meyer, Ruth Wodak, and Eva Vetter, *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis* (London: SAGE, 2000), 9.

important markers, concepts, and events emerged. A similar process was also used for the analysis of the other discourses.

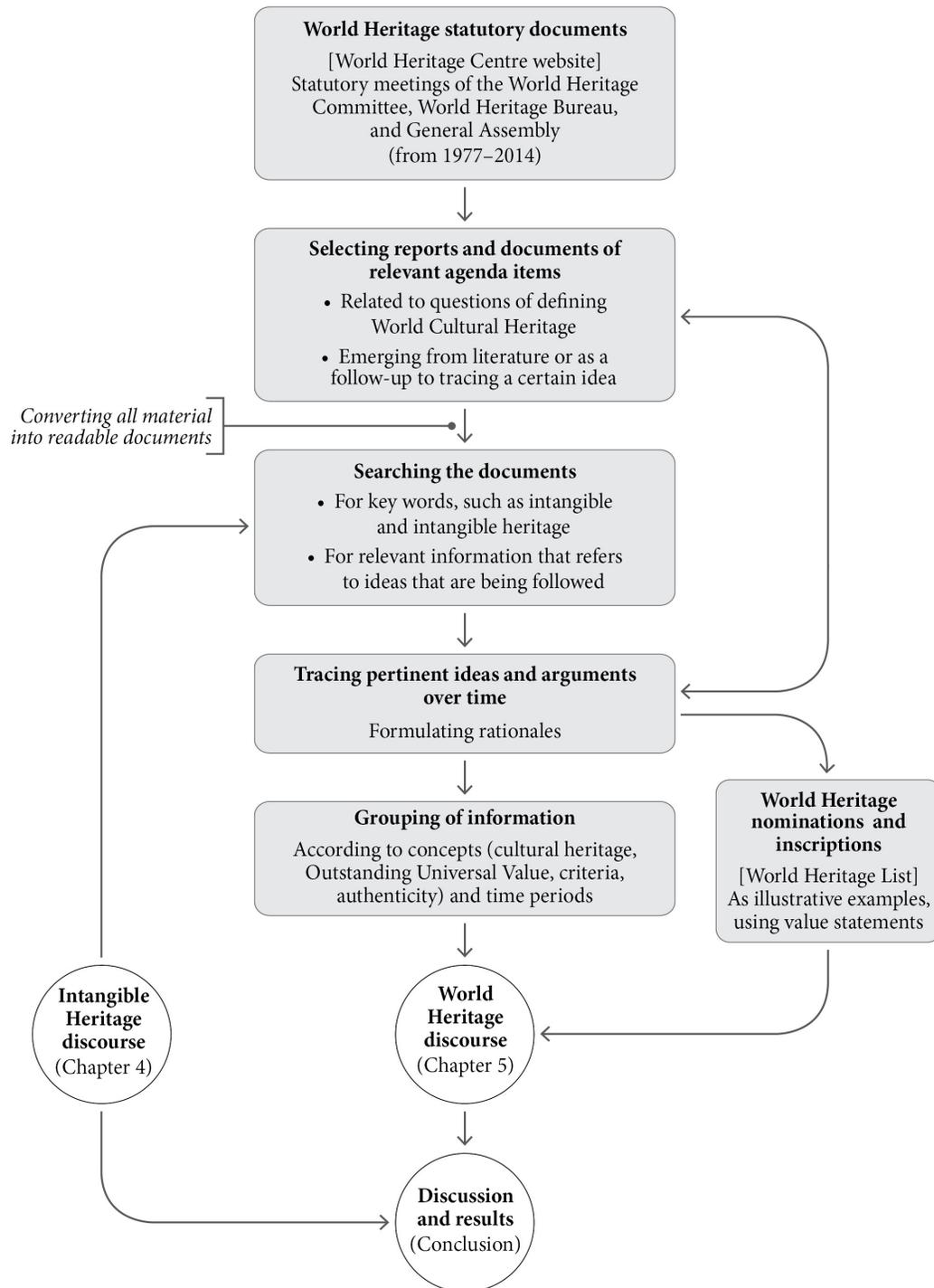


Figure 5. Research process for identifying and analyzing World Heritage statutory documents

Illustrative examples were selected in various ways as mentioned previously. Their selection has to be understood from the context of the argument that emerged from the data. Thus, they illustrate specific concepts, events, discussions, or decisions. The Taj Mahal, Speyer Cathedral, SGang Gwaay, Wieliczka and Bochnia Royal Salt Mines, and Asante Traditional Buildings are examples for early interpretations of criteria (i) to (v), based on the respective criterion alone. All inscriptions based on criterion (vi) alone were chosen for their exceptional status and obvious link to an intangible or associative dimension. These are the Island of Gorée, L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site, Auschwitz Birkenau, Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions, Independence Hall, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site in Puerto Rico, Rila Monastery, Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar, and Aapravasi Ghat. Auschwitz, Hiroshima, and Mostar as well as the Historic Centre of Warsaw, Robben Island, and the nomination of Darwin's Landscape Laboratory are linked to discussions on the role and application of criterion (vi) with regard to the other criteria. Discussions on the Historic Centre of Warsaw and Mostar are also connected with the question of immaterial truthfulness. Tongariro National Park and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park were chosen as they represent the earliest inscriptions based on the revised cultural criteria and the associative cultural landscape category. The Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area are connected with the debate on authenticity in the early 1990s and the tradition of regularly dismantling wooden structures in Japan. The site was selected by reading through the value statements of Japanese inscriptions at the time and choosing the most unambiguous example. The Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras, often referred to in relevant World Heritage-related literature, represents an early example of a living cultural landscape where the interrelationship between the tangible and the intangible is paramount for the survival of the site. Some sites emerged from researching the statutory documents for the term intangible. The term as well as other dimensions of intangible heritage can be found in the value statements of criteria other than criterion (vi). The sites include Jongmyo Shrine, Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi, Royal Hill of Ambohimanga, and Vegaøyan–The Vega Archipelago. In the context

of the growing influence of African countries in the late 1990s, Sukur Cultural Landscape and Great Zimbabwe National Monument emerged from researched documents. African rock art sites were found to be associated with living traditions; Matobo Hills was selected as an obvious example of this theme. The Medina of Marrakesh and the Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato, finally, were chosen for their apparent overlap with the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Discussions on protecting the cultural space of Place Djemaa Al Fna in Marrakesh, and the intangible heritage associated therewith, represent an important step in UNESCO's intangible heritage movement. The Traditional agricultural practice of cultivating the 'vite ad alberello' (head-trained bush vines) of the community of Pantelleria and the Piedmont vineyard landscape are recent inscriptions on the respective Lists that belong to the same State Party. On the whole, many inscriptions were searched and value statements read to identify the most pertinent examples. Importance was given to the clarity of language and clear link with intangible heritage. A more extensive research of the World Heritage List could complement this research.

3.8. Summary

The thesis' methodology builds on existing research in the field of World Heritage which deals with similar research questions. First, the research paradigm of constructivism was defined to guide the general research approach. Knowledge in terms of research findings was constructed and documents analyzed using interpretative techniques. Then, the research approach was established as being situated between historical and qualitative research which both aim at obtaining an information-rich description. In a third step, the general and specific research strategies were outlined and individual elements of these strategies explained. While the general strategy aimed at developing the research question and identifying an appropriate methodology, the specific strategy was intended to answer the research question. It involved the theorization of intangible heritage in a first step, the analysis of the recognition and

interpretation of intangible heritage in the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention in a second, and the identification of important markers and ideas in a third. Then, the two main concepts and their uses were presented. While the concept of intangible heritage served as a theoretical lens, the concept of World Cultural Heritage represented the main object of study within which change was traced. Illustrative examples, that is, World Heritage nominations and inscriptions, were determined to support the portrayal of specific events, interpretations, or arguments. After that, texts were established to be the main means of data collection. The thesis distinguished between literature, documents, and grey zone literature. The notion of heritage discourse was used to organize the material. The World Heritage discourse was defined to be characterized by a general debate of its main actors, definitions that are stipulated in the Convention text and the various versions of the Operational Guidelines, as well as the interpretation of concepts through inscription and the adoption of value statements. Finally, a text-based analysis method, that is, historical method was established to be the essential means to analyze data and obtain research findings. It allows for the writing of a story to explore the crossover from and intersection between intangible heritage and World Cultural Heritage. The results of the three-step strategy are presented in the following chapters.

4. THEORIZATION OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

This chapter aims at portraying how intangible heritage has been constructed and understood within a scientific, a UNESCO, and an ICOMOS discourse. Information is presented according to the main themes that have emerged from the analysis and that are important for understanding and subsequently theorizing intangible heritage. First, the historical development of recognizing intangible heritage in international cultural heritage conservation is portrayed. Secondly, the various interpretations of intangible heritage found in heritage literature are presented. A historical perspective was not considered as interpretations incorporate earlier perspectives that can be found in the UNESCO and ICOMOS discourses. Thirdly, given the ambiguity about the ideas of intangible heritage and heritage value, the concept of heritage value is investigated. And fourthly, the results of the previous subchapters are discussed and intangible heritage is theorized in relation to the concepts of tangible heritage, heritage value, and cultural heritage. In conclusion, the main outcomes are summarized.

4.1. Historical development of recognizing intangible heritage

The present subchapter aims at outlining the emergence, growing recognition, and conceptual development of intangible heritage in international cultural heritage conservation. It intends to highlight various terms and interpretations used to denote intangible heritage. The subchapter is organized chronologically. In view of the complexity of the discourses, the absence of distinct ideas across the discourses, and given the fact that UNESCO has been the most important driver for recognizing intangible heritage internationally, the chronological structure was mainly determined by developments in the UNESCO discourse. Five time

periods were identified: early traces from the 1950s to the 1970s; the 1980s, when interest in intangible heritage for the first time found expression in an international instrument; the anthropological change in the early 1990s; the conceptual debates of the late 1990s, with the establishment of a program to consider an enlarged view of intangible heritage; and the 2000s, which saw the rapid formalization of the anthropological approach by means of a new normative instrument. The subchapter is then divided according to the discourses and main interpretations or ideas linked to intangible heritage that are pertinent for each time period.

4.1.1. From the 1950s to the 1970s

From the 1950s to the 1970s, although not explicitly named as such and still being of marginal importance given the lack of dedicated institutional and political support, ideas can be found in the UNESCO and ICOMOS discourses that relate to intangible heritage. These are, for example, knowledge, folklore, associative value, and traditions. They are early traces of later trends. In ICOMOS, ideas of intangible heritage were moreover closely linked to the concepts of conservation and authenticity. The influence of African and Asian countries is already visible at the time.

The international community expressed an interest in people's knowledge in 1945, when UNESCO was founded. The *UNESCO Constitution* recognizes as one of the organization's overarching aims the maintenance of knowledge.¹ Also the issue of cultural diversity constituted one of UNESCO's core concerns. The Constitution acknowledges the preservation of the "fruitful diversity of the cultures."² It conveys an interest in the various forms culture can take. As culture was however narrowly conceived in terms of high arts and

¹ UNESCO, "UNESCO Constitution," art.I para. 2.c, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

² UNESCO, "UNESCO Constitution," art.I para. 3, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

literature, activities related to intangible heritage were carried out under various headings and UNESCO programs.³

Intangible heritage was mainly referred to in terms of folklore, music, and languages. As early as 1948, research was undertaken on “the native cultures in Africa.”⁴ In 1950, an interest in folklore and popular art as well as in its educational and cultural use was expressed.⁵ In the following two decades, the study of cultures to promote mutual understanding was continued and continuously enlarged to consider not only African, but also South and South-East Asian as well as Arab cultures.⁶ In the context of studying African culture the notion of national culture and cultural heritage included a consideration of “oral and other traditions.”⁷

The 1970s saw the increasing importance of cultural policies and cultural heritage as a major field of intellectual and political interest which culminated in a broadened definition of culture and cultural heritage in 1982. Aikawa reports that many formerly colonized countries expressed their interest not only in national identities, but also in traditional cultures and spiritual expressions.⁸ In 1972, during the seventeenth session of the UNESCO General Conference, which also saw the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, several Member States emphasized the importance of oral traditions and folk art.⁹ One year later, the Bolivian

³ Noriko Aikawa, “The Conceptual Development of Unesco’s Programme on Intangible Cultural Heritage,” in *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Approaches*, ed. Janet Blake, 69 (Builth Wells: Institute of Art and Law, 2007).

⁴ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its third session, Beirut, Lebanon, 1948: Volume 2, Resolutions,” 26, Resolution 5.6, Feb. 1949, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001145/114593e.pdf>.

⁵ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its fifth session, Florence, Italy, 1950: Resolutions,” 20, 33, Resolution 1.21113, and 41, Resolution 4.1113, July 1950, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001145/114589e.pdf>.

⁶ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its eleventh session, Paris, 1960: Resolutions,” 48, Resolution 4.12, 1961, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001145/114583e.pdf>.

⁷ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its eleventh session, Paris, 1960: Resolutions,” 48, Resolution 4.13, 1961, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001145/114583e.pdf>.

⁸ Aikawa, “Conceptual Development,” 46.

⁹ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its seventeenth session, Paris, 17 October–21 November 1972: Volume 2, Resolutions,” 93 para. 115, 1974, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0001/000122/012254eb.pdf>.

government at the Intergovernmental Copyright Committee's twelfth session proposed to regulate the conservation and promotion of intangible heritage as a form of intellectual property by establishing a convention and an *International Register of Folkloristic Cultural Property*:

[UNESCO's instruments so far were]...aimed at the protection of tangible objects, and not of forms of expression such as music and dance, which are at present undergoing the most intensive clandestine commercialization and export, in a process of commercially oriented transculturation destructive of the traditional cultures, which do not even have the benefit of statements of provenance.¹⁰

Although the attempt failed, it drew attention to intangible heritage in terms of folklore and as a distinct heritage category.

In ICOMOS, traces of an intangible heritage discourse are scarcer. ICOMOS' conception of cultural heritage is based on the idea of historic monument as defined in the Venice Charter:

Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions.¹¹

What is hidden behind the term historic monument is a special relationship to the conception of time. Choay explains that the historic monument is constituted either "as an object of knowledge and integrated into a linear conception of time...or as a work of art."¹² It is understood as a witness of an architectural tradition from the past or a historical message. In the definition of the historic monument the origins of the idea of associative value in terms of associated historical knowledge and memory can be found. The Venice Charter was however largely understood to concern itself with physical fabric.¹³ Although the definition of the

¹⁰ UNESCO, "Proposal for international instrument for the protection of folklore" (document presented at the twelfth session of the Intergovernmental Copyright Committee, Paris, France, December 1973), IGC/XII/12, annex A, 1 [citation] and 5, Oct. 1, 1973, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000058/005845eb.pdf>.

¹¹ ICOMOS, "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)," preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

¹² Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 13.

¹³ ICOMOS, "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)," art. 5, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

historic monument contains thus an intangible dimension, the tangible evidence remains the focus of conservation and dominated the interpretation of cultural heritage at the time.

In the 1970s, the conservation of ephemeral building materials such as mud brick and wood came into focus. The importance and survival of traditional techniques and skills were discussed to ensure the continued existence of the material evidence of mud brick and wooden architecture.¹⁴ In the late 1970s and early 1980s, discussions on the conservation of ephemeral materials and particularly of traditions in dismantling wooden structures in Japan raised the question of authenticity.¹⁵ Since then, it has been a recurring theme in ICOMOS debates.¹⁶

In 1978, moreover, ICOMOS broadened its scope of cultural heritage to consider monuments, groups of buildings, and sites.¹⁷ The definition was modeled on the World Heritage Convention. The idea of value was however more broadly applied as the concept of Outstanding Universal Value or special value was left out. In addition, the notion of social value was added, one year prior to the establishment of *The Australia ICOMOS Guidelines for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*, also known as the Burra Charter, which most prominently features the concept of social value.¹⁸

¹⁴ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS Newsletter*, no. 6–7, Winter 1975–Spring 1976, 8, www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news67eng.pdf; ICOMOS, *ICOMOS Newsletter*, no. 13, Autumn 1978, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news13eng.pdf>; ICOMOS, *ICOMOS Newsletter*, no. 16, Autumn 1979, 4, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/newseng16.pdf>.

¹⁵ Bunji Kobayashi, “The Case of the Ise Grand Shinto Temple in Japan,” in *Report of the sixth ICOMOS General Assembly on Nessun futuro senza passato, Rome, Italy, 25–31 May 1981*, 185–91, <http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/ro13.pdf>.

¹⁶ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS Newsletter*, no. 26, February 1983, 4, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/newseng26.pdf>; ICOMOS, *ICOMOS Newsletter*, no. 28, November 1983, 2–3, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/newseng28.pdf>; Knut Einar Larsen and Nobuo Ito, “Dialogue on the Protection of Architectural Monuments in Japan,” *ICOMOS Newsletter*, no. 3, 1990, 12–21, http://www.icomos.org/publications/ICOMOS_Information/1990-3.pdf; Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, “Principles in Practice: Reflecting on the Conservation of Wooden Architecture,” *ICOMOS Newsletter*, no. 4, 1985, 18–24, http://www.icomos.org/publications/ICOMOS_Information/1985-4.pdf.

¹⁷ ICOMOS, “ICOMOS Statutes adopted by the Vth General Assembly in Moscow on May 22nd, 1978,” art. 3, http://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Secretariat/StatutesAmendments_R2_20130325/st1978-statutes-en.pdf.

¹⁸ On the idea of social value and the , see chapter 4.3.3.6.

4.1.2. The 1980s

The overriding theme of the 1980s for both discourses is the continuation of the early interpretations. In UNESCO, intangible heritage in terms of language, rites, and beliefs was included in the concept of cultural heritage and the idea of folklore became the subject matter of an international instrument. While still linked to architecture, first traces of an anthropological change and the separation of intangible from tangible heritage can be found. In ICOMOS, again no significant and coherent intangible heritage discourse could be identified. The idea of associative meaning is mentioned in connection with cultural landscapes and natural sites.

4.1.2.1. Folklore and the 1989 Recommendation

In UNESCO, intangible heritage became part of cultural heritage in the early 1980s. At the *World Conference on Cultural Policies* held in Mexico City in summer 1982, the concept of culture was no longer exclusively viewed as fine arts but as “the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group.”¹⁹ Cultural heritage was accordingly defined as “both tangible and intangible works through which the creativity of that people finds expression: language, rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries.”²⁰ For the first time, the term intangible was used in a UNESCO instrument. The Mexico meeting is thus a key benchmark in the evolution of ideas.

¹⁹ UNESCO, “Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, Mexico, 26 July–6 August 1982”, preamble, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/12762/11295421661mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf.

²⁰ UNESCO, “Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, Mexico, 26 July–6 August 1982”, para. 23, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/12762/11295421661mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf.

As a consequence to this development, the UNESCO General Conference at its fourth extraordinary session held in October and November 1982 encouraged “the drawing up of inventories of, and study of, the cultural heritage in its various forms, especially its non-physical aspects.”²¹ This non-physical heritage included “signs and symbols transmitted through the arts, literature, languages, oral traditions, handicrafts, folklore, myths and beliefs, values, customs, rites and games.”²² In 1983, the General Conference decided that a typology of the non-physical heritage should be established.²³ One year later, an expert meeting was convened. The meeting was characterized by a controversy between a folkloristic and an anthropological approach, that is, between the prevalence of forms or products versus systems or processes. While the folkloristic point of view focused on the “performance of items of folklore or traditional culture...[,] a cultural anthropology perspective...stressed the social and cultural relations in any society.”²⁴ Another cause of debate was the importance of tangible heritage for the preservation of non-physical heritage in some regions of the world. One delegate stressed that land was the key issue in the conservation of traditional forms of culture in the South Pacific area: “without land and access to water, the traditional lifestyle was impossible.”²⁵ As a result, the inseparability of the physical and non-physical heritage was stressed.

Both approaches found expression in an international instrument on folklore adopted in the late 1980s. In 1985, the General Conference decided that “the question of safeguarding

²¹ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its twenty-third session, Sofia, Bulgaria, 8 October–9 November 1985: Volume 1, Resolutions,” 23 C/Resolution 15.1, 40, 1986, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000684/068427e.pdf>.

²² UNESCO, “Second medium-term plan (1984–1989),” 4 XC/4 Approved, 226 para. 11052 and 228 para. 11062, 1983, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0005/000546/054611eb.pdf>.

²³ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its twenty-second session, Paris, 25 October–26 November 1983: Volume 1, Resolutions,” 22 C/Resolution 15.1, 56, Resolution 11.2, 1983, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0005/000576/057611e.pdf>.

²⁴ UNESCO, “Final report of the meeting of experts to draw up a future programme concerning the non-physical heritage, Paris, 28–30 November 1984,” CLT-84/CONF.603, 4, 1985, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000649/064992eb.pdf>.

²⁵ UNESCO, “Final report of the meeting of experts to draw up a future programme concerning the non-physical heritage, Paris, 28–30 November 1984,” CLT-84/CONF.603, 4, 1985, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000649/064992eb.pdf>.

folklore could be the subject of an international instrument in the form of a recommendation to Member States.”²⁶ A special committee of governmental experts was convened to look into the question. The work culminated in the adoption of the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* by the General Conference in 1989.²⁷ Blake observes that the 1989 Recommendation represents “a significant conceptual development in that it was the first time that non-material aspects of cultural heritage were explicitly the subject matter of an international instrument.”²⁸ It defines “folklore (or traditional and popular culture)” as follows:

[It is]...the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts.²⁹

Despite the 1989 Recommendation’s importance in drawing international attention to the need for protecting intangible heritage, the definition of the term folklore evoked discussions.³⁰ Although being a European concept, folklore was not supported by all Western countries. Aikawa observes that it might have been different if it would have addressed opera performances and other fine arts.³¹ Instead, it was conceived as traditional heritage of indigenous groups, a concept not all Western countries did identify with.

²⁶ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its twenty-third session, Sofia, Bulgaria, 8 October–9 November 1985: Volume 1, Resolutions,” 23 C/Resolution 15.1, 81, Resolution 15.3, 1986, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0006/000684/068427e.pdf>.

²⁷ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its twenty-fifth session, Paris, 17 October–16 November 1989: Volume 1, Resolutions,” 25 C/Resolution 7.1, 238 B, 1990, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0008/000846/084696e.pdf>.

²⁸ Janet Blake, “Developing a New Standard-setting Instrument for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage—Elements for consideration,” CLT-2001/WS/8 Rev, v, 2002, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001237/123744e.pdf>.

²⁹ “Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, adopted by the General Conference at its twenty-fifth session, Paris, 15 November 1989,” A, <http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/unesco/1989Recommendation.htm>.

³⁰ Blake, “Standard-setting Instrument,” 7; Preston Thomas, “The 1989 UNESCO Recommendation and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples’ Intellectual Property Rights,” in *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment*, ed. Peter Seitel, 91 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, 2001).

³¹ Aikawa, “Conceptual Development,” 70.

4.1.2.2. The spiritual dimension of sites

In the 1980s, the very few traces linked to intangible heritage that can be found in the ICOMOS discourse evolved around the idea of associative meaning. The non-built environment was considered, which influenced the interpretation of associative meaning. The historical message was thus enlarged to also consider spiritual meaning.

The Florence Charter on the preservation of historic gardens, which in 1982 was registered as an addendum to the Venice Charter, stresses the associative dimension of “historic sites:”

A historic site is a specific landscape associated with a memorable act, as, for example, a major historic event; a well-known myth; an epic combat; or the subject of a famous picture.³²

By recognizing the idea of landscape, nature and the non-built environment were considered. In the context of the eighth ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium on *Old Cultures in New Worlds* held in Washington, D.C., in 1987, Cummings took up reflections on the “non-built environment” and more specifically on sacred sites:

Sacred sites become imbued with special meaning through formal teaching, history, myth, oral tradition, folklore or legend. They are often associated with magic and miracles and may have real or imagined powers.³³

She describes the visit of these sites as pilgrimage and spiritual tradition which create a spiritual connection between people and place.³⁴ These “intangible values,” according to her, are very subjective and often indefinable yet very important for the understanding of the place.³⁵ This marks an early mention of the term intangible.

³² ICOMOS, “Historic Gardens (The Florence Charter 1981),” art. 8, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/gardens_e.pdf.

³³ Patricia J. Cummings, “Sacred Sites in Contemporary Cultures,” in *Report of the eighth ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium on ‘Old Cultures in New Worlds,’ Washington, D.C., United States of America, 10–15 October 1987*, 551, <http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/wash74.pdf>.

³⁴ Cummings, “Sacred Sites,” 552.

³⁵ Cummings, “Sacred Sites,” 552.

A spiritual link between people and place was not limited to natural areas but applied to the built environment, as well. The *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas*, known as the Washington Charter, was adopted by the same General Assembly session in 1987. It acknowledges not only the material, but also the associated spiritual elements that express the historic character of towns and urban areas.³⁶

4.1.3. The early 1990s

In UNESCO, in the first half of the 1990s, intangible heritage received political support and was institutionally as well as conceptually further separated from tangible heritage. This anthropological shift is characterized most significantly by the recognition of human beings as tradition bearers. ICOMOS' interest in intangible heritage, on the other hand, shifted towards the World Heritage discourse. While intangible heritage traces remain limited, they can be mainly found in relation to the idea of living traditions and the question of revising the concept of authenticity.

4.1.3.1. The anthropological shift and Living Human Treasures

At UNESCO, the recognition of intangible heritage gained conceptual and political momentum in the early 1990s. In the context of the “‘intellectual turn’ in Culture,” as Arizpe calls it, people and the creation and transmission of meanings instead of objects gained importance.³⁷ A number of changes were made in relation to UNESCO's intangible heritage initiative with stimuli coming from Asian countries. In 1992, the sub-program on Intangible

³⁶ ICOMOS, “Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter 1987),” art. 2, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf.

³⁷ Lourdes Arizpe, “The Cultural Politics of Intangible Cultural Heritage,” in *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Approaches*, ed. Janet Blake, 33–34 (Builth Wells, Institute of Art and Law, 2007).

Cultural Heritage was established, which received substantial financial support from Japan.³⁸ Intangible heritage was deemed to deserve equal institutional standing as tangible heritage. In addition, the UNESCO *Living Human Treasures program* was launched in 1993. The idea stems from a proposal by the Republic of Korea on “living cultural properties.”³⁹ It was intended to address only those forms of cultural heritage that are “transmitted by oral or physical performance.”⁴⁰ As a result, the program should safeguard traditional knowledge and skills by protecting the tradition-bearers themselves.⁴¹ It recognized local people as the main actors in the creation and transmission of intangible heritage in terms of “performing music, dance, games, plays and rituals.”⁴² Following Korea’s proposal, the UNESCO Executive Board in 1993 invited Member States to establish systems of such living human treasures in their respective countries with the possible compilation of a world list in the future.⁴³

4.1.3.2. Living traditions and the question of authenticity

In contrast, only a few traces of an intangible heritage discourse can be found in the general debate of ICOMOS in the first half of the 1990s, among them the idea of living traditions. The *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage*,

³⁸ Aikawa, “Conceptual Development,” 55; UNESCO, “UNESCO/Japan Funds-in-Trust for Intangible Cultural Heritage,” 2001, http://www.unesco.emb-japan.go.jp/pdf/brochure_intangible_uk.pdf.

³⁹ UNESCO, “Establishment of a system of ‘living cultural properties’ (living human treasures) at UNESCO” (document presented at the one hundred forty-second session of the Executive Board, Paris, France, 11 October–15 November 1993), 142 EX/18, 1, Aug. 10, 1993, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000958/095831eo.pdf>.

⁴⁰ UNESCO, “Establishment of a system of ‘living cultural properties’ (living human treasures) at UNESCO” (document presented at the one hundred forty-second session of the Executive Board, Paris, France, 11 October–15 November 1993), 142 EX/18, 1, Aug. 10, 1993, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000958/095831eo.pdf>.

⁴¹ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its twenty-seventh session, Paris, 25 October–16 November 1993: Volume 2, Reports,” 38, 1994, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000977/097777eo.pdf>.

⁴² UNESCO, “Establishment of a system of ‘living cultural properties’ (living human treasures) at UNESCO” (document presented at the one hundred forty-second session of the Executive Board, Paris, France, 11 October–15 November 1993), 142 EX/18, 1, Aug. 10, 1993, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000958/095831eo.pdf>.

⁴³ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted by the one hundred forty-second session of the Executive Board, Paris, 11 October–15 November 1993,” 142 EX/Decisions, 22–23, decision 5.5.5, Dec. 10, 1993, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000958/095807e.pdf>.

which was approved by the ninth ICOMOS General Assembly held in 1990, acknowledges that archaeological heritage can “constitute part of the living traditions of indigenous peoples, and for such sites and monuments the participation of local groups is essential for their protection and preservation.”⁴⁴ The Charter’s focus of attention remains however the material evidence of archaeological sites.⁴⁵

With authenticity becoming the principal theme in 1993, the ICOMOS discourse was aligned with UNESCO’s World Heritage discourse. Debates on the question of authenticity culminated in a workshop held in Bergen, Norway, and in the *Nara Conference on Authenticity*, which were jointly organized by UNESCO and ICOMOS in 1994.⁴⁶ In addition, ICOMOS aimed at becoming “truly global” by consolidating the organization’s presence in other regions of the world.⁴⁷ As a consequence of these developments and in response to the growing international recognition of intangible heritage, ICOMOS reconsidered its role in 1993:

ICOMOS should be at the forefront of all matters related to cultural heritage and conservation, most obviously in identifying the key concepts themselves. Heritage conservation clamours for great attention in the world’s developing countries, calling for the adoption of a flexible concept of cultural heritage including intangible heritage and living cultures, reinforcing national and spiritual qualities. In this regard, ICOMOS must accept and build on the diversity of cultural heritage throughout the world.⁴⁸

These intentions, however, were not implemented immediately.

⁴⁴ ICOMOS, “Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990),” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/arch_e.pdf.

⁴⁵ ICOMOS, “Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990),” art. 1, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/arch_e.pdf.

⁴⁶ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 4, no. 2, July 1994, 20, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1994-4-2.pdf>; ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 7, no. 1, January 1997, 1, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1997-7-1.pdf>. On the 1994 Bergen workshop and Nara Conference, see chapter 5.3.4.

⁴⁷ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 3, no. 3, October 1993, 17–18, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1993-3-3.pdf>; ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 4, no. 2, July 1994, 4, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1994-4-2.pdf>.

⁴⁸ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 3, no. 3, October 1993, 17, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1993-3-3.pdf>.

4.1.4. The late 1990s

In the late 1990s, the recognition of intangible heritage gained momentum not only in the work of UNESCO, but also ICOMOS. While in UNESCO the discourse continued to be streamlined, in ICOMOS no consistent understanding of intangible heritage could however be identified. With the development of UNESCO's Proclamation of Masterpieces between 1996 and 1998, intangible heritage was linked once again to tangible heritage in terms of cultural space. In addition, the expression 'intangible heritage' was introduced as an official technical term. In ICOMOS, various interpretations continue to be found, such as intangible value and social dimension. The idea of living spaces discussed in 1999 appears to create a link between the UNESCO and ICOMOS discourses.

4.1.4.1. Cultural space and the Proclamation of Masterpieces

In UNESCO, the second half of the 1990s is characterized by conceptual debates and an intensification of discussions about the need for a new standard-setting instrument. In the search for a less biased and more flexible expression, 'folklore' was abandoned and 'traditional and popular culture' modified to relate to 'oral and intangible heritage.' In addition, tangible heritage was considered via the idea of cultural space and the notion of outstanding was introduced. The Proclamation of Masterpieces was developed, an important predecessor to the 2003 Convention which was intended to compensate for the imbalances on the World Heritage List. Furthermore, implementation of the 1989 Recommendation was assessed. Since the Proclamation of Masterpieces was not a normative text and the 1989 Recommendation did not reflect current political and conceptual ideas, the need for a standard-setting instrument gained momentum.

In June 1997, at the *International Consultation on the Preservation of Popular Cultural Spaces* organized by UNESCO and the Moroccan National Commission for

UNESCO, held in Marrakesh, the underlying concept of the Proclamation of Masterpieces was developed, which returned to the idea of tangible heritage in terms of cultural space. One event was of particular importance prior to this meeting. In 1996, an appeal was made to UNESCO's Director-General to save the cultural space of Jamaa'el-Fna Square in Marrakesh or rather the intangible heritage associated with it.⁴⁹ Aikawa-Faure, who developed and directed the Intangible Cultural Heritage section at UNESCO, reports that the Square, where artists had been performing since the Middle Ages, was threatened by modern urbanization.⁵⁰ In response to this appeal, various frameworks and mechanisms to consider intangible heritage were examined, amongst them the amendment of the World Heritage Convention to accommodate intangible heritage.⁵¹ The 1972 Convention was however considered not necessarily applicable to intangible heritage. A mechanism was proposed that would combine the World Heritage List and the UNESCO prize system as a framework, known as the *System to Honour Cultural Space with Remarkable Intangible Heritage*. This idea was presented to the 1997 Marrakesh meeting. Participants closely examined the proposal and came up with draft regulations relating to the proclamation by UNESCO of *Masterpieces of the Oral Heritage of Humanity*, which were then presented to the Executive Board in 1998. The instrument aimed to preserve cultural spaces and oral heritage.⁵² However, the draft caused debate. Aikawa-Faure reports that opponents, mostly highly contributing countries, did not see merit in the program.⁵³ Those who had indigenous peoples in their territory, moreover, found it problematic. Issues that had given rise to discussions were, amongst others, the notion of

⁴⁹ Thomas Schmitt, "The UNESCO Concept of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Its Background and Marrakechi Roots," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, no. 2 (2008): 98.

⁵⁰ Noriko Aikawa-Faure, "From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), 16.

⁵¹ Aikawa-Faure, "Proclamation," 16.

⁵² UNESCO, "Proposal by the Director-General concerning the criteria for the selection of spaces or forms of popular and traditional cultural expression that deserve to be proclaimed by UNESCO to be Masterpieces of the Oral Heritage of Humanity" (document presented at the one hundred fifty-fourth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 27 April–7 May 1998), 154 EX/13, annex III, April 28, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001111/111165e.pdf>.

⁵³ Aikawa-Faure, "Proclamation," 19–20.

masterpiece and universal value as well as the involvement of practitioners.⁵⁴ In addition, others thought that the concept of oral heritage should be broadened as this type of heritage was not part of all traditional cultural forms.⁵⁵ It was decided to use the term oral in conjunction with intangible heritage. The Executive Board approved the Proclamation of Masterpieces after the inclusion of the modifications.⁵⁶

The “oral and intangible heritage” was defined as “folklore (or traditional and popular culture)” in accordance with the 1989 Recommendation.⁵⁷ In addition, the anthropological concept of “cultural space” was included:

[It is]...a place in which popular and traditional cultural activities are concentrated, but also a time generally characterized by a certain periodicity (cyclical, seasonal, calendar, etc.) or by an event. Finally, this temporal and physical space should owe its existence to the cultural activities that have traditionally taken place there.⁵⁸

Although the tangible aspect plays a subordinate role, the close interrelation between the tangible and the intangible becomes apparent. The idea of cultural space also found its way into the 2003 Convention as will be explained later. Inspired by the success of the World Heritage List, the Proclamation of Masterpieces establishes the threshold of exceptionality for the selection of Masterpieces. Blake notes that the name Masterpieces reflected the idea of uniqueness.⁵⁹ Oral and intangible heritage needed to be “of outstanding value from a

⁵⁴ UNESCO, “Summary record on the one hundred fifty-fourth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 27 April–7 May 1998,” 154 EX/SR.1-7, 175, Aug. 7, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001129/112987mo.pdf>.

⁵⁵ UNESCO, “Report by the Director-General on the precise criteria for the selection of cultural spaces or forms of cultural expression that deserve to be proclaimed by UNESCO to be Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” (document presented at the one hundred fifty-fifth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 19 October–5 November 1998, Tashkent, 6 November 1998), 155 EX/15, 1, Aug. 25, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001131/113113e.pdf>.

⁵⁶ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the one hundred fifty-fifth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 19 October–5 November 1998, Tashkent, 6 November 1998,” 155 EX/Decisions, 9, Dec. 3, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001142/114238e.pdf>.

⁵⁷ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the one hundred fifty-fifth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 19 October–5 November 1998, Tashkent, 6 November 1998,” 155 EX/Decisions, 10, Dec. 3, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001142/114238e.pdf>.

⁵⁸ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the one hundred fifty-fifth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 19 October–5 November 1998, Tashkent, 6 November 1998,” 155 EX/Decisions, 9, Dec. 3, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001142/114238e.pdf>.

⁵⁹ Blake, “Standard-setting Instrument,” 48.

historical, artistic, ethnological, sociological, anthropological, linguistic or literary point of view.”⁶⁰ The six criteria to assess outstanding value closely resemble the World Heritage criteria.⁶¹

Next to the development and implementation of the Proclamation of Masterpieces, the assessment of the 1989 Recommendation as a parallel action is important for understanding the preparation of a new normative instrument. Between 1997 and 1999, a number of seminars were organized in various world regions to assess the application of the Recommendation.⁶² At the culminating conference in Washington, D.C., in June 1999, the need was expressed to develop a new standard-setting instrument.⁶³ The 1989 Recommendation was considered to be no longer adequate. In line with the conference’s proposal, the UNESCO General Conference in October 1999 requested that a preliminary study be conducted on the advisability of developing a convention that would safeguard the intangible heritage.⁶⁴

The strongest political impetus for the development of the 2003 Convention, however, was the arrival of the Japanese Koïchiro Matsuura as Director-General of UNESCO in November 1999.⁶⁵ Japan has a long tradition of recognizing the importance of intangible

⁶⁰ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the one hundred fifty-fifth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 19 October–5 November 1998, Tashkent, 6 November 1998,” 155 EX/Decisions, annex, 11 para. 6.a.ii, Dec. 3, 1998, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001142/114238e.pdf>.

⁶¹ On the presentation of the criteria to assess the value of World Cultural Heritage, see chapter 5.1.3.

⁶² “Meetings on intangible cultural heritage (co-)organized by UNESCO, 1999–1970,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00015&categ=1999-1970>.

⁶³ Peter Seitel, ed., *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Folklore and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 303.

⁶⁴ UNESCO, “Amendment to the draft programme and budget for 2000–2001 (30 C/5)” (document presented at the thirtieth session of the General Conference, Paris, 26 October–17 November 1999), 30 C/DR.84, Oct. 15, 1999, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001176/117605e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its thirtieth session, Paris, 26 October–17 November 1999: Volume 2, Reports,” 48, 2000, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001192/119216e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its thirtieth session, Paris, 26 October–17 November 1999: Volume 1, Resolutions,” 30 C/Resolution 31, 63, 2000, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001185/118514e.pdf>. The study was published in 2002. Blake, “Standard-setting Instrument.”

⁶⁵ Aikawa-Faure, “Proclamation,” 22.

heritage in terms of building techniques, crafts, and performing arts on a national level.⁶⁶ Matsuura chose the question of safeguarding intangible heritage to be one of the priority areas of UNESCO.⁶⁷ Arizpe reports that Matsuura's "genuine interest in philosophical thought and its flowering in cultural forms drove him to give priority to this programme."⁶⁸ He was of the opinion that while the World Heritage Convention should act as a model, a new normative instrument that considered a broad understanding of intangible heritage was the most appropriate way forward.⁶⁹

4.1.4.2. Intangible values, social dimension, and living spaces

Although intangible heritage had come to be a recurrent theme in ICOMOS in the second half of the 1990s, the intangible heritage discourse continued to be incoherent. It highlights various facets of the concept's meanings. A recurring interpretation is the link between people and place expressed through attachment. It is discussed, amongst others, by means of the ideas of living space and sense of place. In 1999, the recognition of intangible heritage gained momentum. Intangible heritage was included in one of ICOMOS' doctrinal texts and was chosen as the topic of an ICOMOS General Assembly meeting in order to tackle the question of how to integrate it into the organization's work.

It was pointed out that it would be possible to examine "the role of intangible values, of local and inherited cultures" in the context of the eleventh General Assembly and

⁶⁶ Harriet Deacon, Luvuyo Dondolo, Mbulelo Mrubata, and Sandra Prosalendis, "The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage: Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage" (Cape Town: HSRC Publishers, 2004), 1; Tsukasa Kawada and Nao Hayashi-Denis, "Cooperation between UNESCO and Japan in the Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage," *Museum International* 56, no. 1–2 (2004): 32–39.

⁶⁷ UNESCO, "Proposal by the Director-General on adjustments to the approved programme and budget for 2000-2001" (document presented at the one hundred forty-ninth session of the Executive Board, Paris, 15–26 May 2000), 159 EX/6, 1 and 7, April 18, 2000, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001195/119571e.pdf>.

⁶⁸ Arizpe, "Cultural Politics," 36.

⁶⁹ UNESCO, "Address by Mr Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, on the occasion of the information meeting with the permanent delegations on the project 'Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity,' 5 May 2000," NED/DG/2000/21, 1, May 5, 2000, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001196/119670E.pdf>.

International Symposium on *The Heritage and Social Changes* held in 1996.⁷⁰ Compared to the overall number of papers presented at the meeting, the number of contributors explicitly considering intangible heritage remained limited. Intangible heritage was addressed in terms of spiritual association and emotional attachment, associated practices and beliefs, and folklore in the context of African, Australian, and oral cultures.⁷¹ The Sofia Declaration, pronounced at the close of the Assembly meeting, considers the broadened understanding of cultural heritage in the light of diversity. As “evidence of the past, both tangible and intangible,” it has to be understood within its cultural context that varies from culture to culture.⁷² The definition strongly echoes the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity* which emphasizes the comprehension of heritage within its context of origin.⁷³ The historic monument “should extend to its physical environment and to its social dimension...[, that is, to] the part it plays in the multifarious aspects of contemporary social fabric and in the diversity of daily life, in association with popular know-how.”⁷⁴

At the twelfth ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium in 1999, intangible heritage was address in a similar way under the heading of “spirit of place.”⁷⁵ Through an integrated conservation approach importance should be given to local

⁷⁰ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 5, no. 1, April 1995, 13, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1995-5-1.pdf>.

⁷¹ Dawson Munjeri, “The Sacred Route to Archeology and Conservation in Africa: the Great Zimbabwe Case,” in *Symposium papers of the eleventh ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium on The Heritage and Social Changes, Sofia, Bulgaria, 5–9 October 1996*, 149–53 (Sofia: Bulgarian National Committee of ICOMOS, 1996); William J. Murtagh, “Do You Write or Do You Speak: A Commentary on the Preservation Values of Oral Cultures,” in *Symposium papers of the eleventh ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium on The Heritage and Social Changes, Sofia, Bulgaria, 5–9 October 1996*, 154–58 (Sofia: Bulgarian National Committee of ICOMOS, 1996); Linda Young, “‘Please, Sir, I Want Some More’: Changes in the Scope and Focus of Australian Heritage,” in *Symposium papers of the eleventh ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium on The Heritage and Social Changes, Sofia, Bulgaria, 5–9 October 1996*, 204–8 (Sofia: Bulgarian National Committee of ICOMOS, 1996).

⁷² ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 7, no. 1, January 1997, 5, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1997-7-1.pdf>.

⁷³ On the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, see chapter 5.3.4.

⁷⁴ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 7, no. 1, January 1997, 5, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1997-7-1.pdf>.

⁷⁵ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 8, no. 2, July 1998, 30, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1998-8-2.pdf>.

communities and “living spaces.”⁷⁶ These spaces would not simply concern the material fabric, but take into account “the values that local communities attach to these places,” thereby supporting a sense of belonging.⁷⁷ Two charters adopted by the General Assembly consider intangible heritage and the shifting conceptual approach to cultural heritage. The preamble of the *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* recognizes that vernacular heritage not only means “the physical form and fabric of buildings, structures and spaces, but the ways in which they are used and understood, and the traditions and the intangible associations which attach to them.”⁷⁸ Also the *International Cultural Tourism Charter—Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance* acknowledges that intangible heritage in terms of “past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences” forms part of cultural heritage.⁷⁹

In 1999, concerns were repeated about ICOMOS’ mandate with regard to intangible heritage, “which strictly speaking does not concern ICOMOS, as its name indicates.”⁸⁰ The recurrence of the idea of intangible heritage required ICOMOS to study it and consider its inclusion. At the request of African members and following the invitation of ICOMOS Zimbabwe it was decided to hold the upcoming General Assembly session in Zimbabwe on the theme of intangible heritage.⁸¹ Thus, credit was given to the fact that, “in particular in Africa and Oceania, only an anthropological approach allows...to understand the values of the cultural heritage and the interrelation between human societies and their environment.”⁸²

⁷⁶ Louise Noelle and Christina Cameron, “ICOMOS Mexico 99 General Report,” *ICOMOS News* 9, no. 3 and 18, December 1999, 16, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1999-9-3.pdf>.

⁷⁷ Noelle and Cameron, “ICOMOS,” 18.

⁷⁸ ICOMOS, “Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (1999),” principles of conservation, para. 5, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/vernacular_e.pdf.

⁷⁹ ICOMOS, “International Cultural Tourism Charter—Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999),” The Charter Ethos, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/tourism_e.pdf.

⁸⁰ Noelle and Cameron, “ICOMOS,” 16.

⁸¹ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 9, no. 3, December 1999, 20, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1999-9-3.pdf>.

⁸² Jean-Louis Luxen, “Secretary General’s Message,” *ICOMOS News* 9, no. 3, December 1999, 6–7, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/1999-9-3.pdf>.

4.1.5. The 2000s

The early 2000s are particularly significant for the recognition of intangible heritage in international cultural heritage conservation. The term was formally introduced into heritage literature in 2000, a new standard-setting instrument was drafted and subsequently adopted by UNESCO's Member States in 2003, and a more distinct intangible heritage discourse could be identified in ICOMOS documents that culminated in scientific symposia on intangible heritage in 2003 and 2008. While in UNESCO a process-oriented definition found implementation in the expression of Intangible Cultural Heritage, in the work of ICOMOS interpretations remain varied. Two themes are of particular importance for ICOMOS, the ideas of intangible values and sense of place.

4.1.5.1. Emergence in heritage literature

In the early 2000s, a change was taking place in literature on cultural heritage. The terms intangible heritage, intangible cultural heritage, and intangible cultural heritage value entered the scientific heritage discourse.⁸³ Two of the earliest articles found so far that mention intangible heritage date back to 2000.⁸⁴ While Blake traces the appearance of “intangible cultural heritage” in international cultural heritage policy, that is, with respect to the development of the 2003 Convention, Buggey explores “intangible qualities or values” in terms of associative value of World Heritage cultural landscapes.⁸⁵

⁸³ On the positioning of intangible heritage in scientific heritage discourses, see also Marilena Alivizatou, “Contextualising Intangible Cultural Heritage in Heritage Studies and Museology,” *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 3 (2008): 44–54.

⁸⁴ Titchen already mentions the term intangible cultural heritage in her Ph.D. dissertation, which dates 1995. Sarah Titchen, “On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: Unesco's World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List” (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 1995), 245. See also chapter 2.2.1.

⁸⁵ Janet Blake, “On Defining the Cultural Heritage,” *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (2000): 61–85; Susan Buggey, “Associative Values: Exploring Nonmaterial Qualities in Cultural Landscapes,” *APT Bulletin* 31, no. 4 (2000): 21–27.

The emergence of terms in the early 2000s can also be traced in two journals, the *International Journal of Cultural Property* and the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, first published in 1992 and 1994 respectively.⁸⁶ With their focus on cultural heritage as tangible heritage, the introduction of intangible heritage is particularly significant. The first articles mentioning intangible heritage date 2003 and 2005. In the context of examining community involvement in heritage management in Queensland, Australia, Smith et al. define “intangible heritage” as “the emotional responses to place, the histories and knowledge that are held about a landscape, place or site.”⁸⁷ Brown investigates “intangible cultural heritage” or “intangible cultural property” as resources in relation to the idea of information.⁸⁸

Since then, intangible heritage has been increasingly recognized in international cultural heritage literature. In 2004, an entire issue of *Museum International*, a journal concerning museums and cultural heritage published by UNESCO, was dedicated to intangible heritage.⁸⁹ The special issue focuses on various matters relating to the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention.⁹⁰ Two years later, a journal was created to deal with all facets of intangible heritage, the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* published by the National Folk Museum of Korea.⁹¹ Other journal articles, books, and book chapters that explicitly deal with intangible heritage date back to the same time period.⁹²

⁸⁶ “International Journal of Cultural Property,” Cambridge University Press (United Kingdom), <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayBackIssues?jid=JCP>; “International Journal of Heritage Studies,” Taylor and Francis Group (United Kingdom), http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjhs20?close=1&repitition=0#vol_1.

⁸⁷ Laurajane Smith, Anna Morgan, and Anita van der Meer, “Community-Driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: The Waanyi Women’s History Project,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 76.

⁸⁸ Michael F. Brown, “Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12, no. 1 (2005): 41.

⁸⁹ “Museum International,” UNESCO, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=2356&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

⁹⁰ “Museum International No. 221–222: Views and Visions of the Intangible,” UNESCO, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=21739&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

⁹¹ “International Journal of Intangible Heritage,” The National Folk Museum of Korea (Korea), <http://www.ijih.org/volumeMgr.ijih?cmd=volumeView&volNo=1&manuType=02>.

⁹² For example Janet Blake, ed., *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Approaches* (Builth Wells: Institute of Art and Law, 2007); Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, eds., *Intangible Heritage Embodied* (New York: Springer, 2009); Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, eds., *Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2009).

The content of the first texts as well as that of many others suggest that the idea of intangible heritage had emerged in the context of UNESCO's efforts to protect cultural heritage and in particular in response to the drafting of the 2003 Convention. Many texts, in fact, either deal with the 2003 Convention or explicitly build their understanding of intangible heritage on it.⁹³ Munjeri notes that "any serious discussion of intangible heritage must be influenced by...[the Intangible Cultural Heritage] Convention."⁹⁴

4.1.5.2. Intangible Cultural Heritage and the 2003 Convention

The early 2000s saw another important conceptual change. A process-oriented understanding of intangible heritage was developed which laid the ground for the definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage. In addition, the decision was taken to establish a new normative instrument that was directed to consider the revised approach. In a series of expert meetings and negotiations at the intergovernmental level, the conceptual shift was formalized within two years. The 2003 Convention not only recognizes human processes and with them the idea of a living and dynamic intangible heritage, but also abandons the ideas of outstanding and uniqueness previously used and replaces them with the notion of representative, thereby emphasizing the increasing importance of cultural diversity.

The process for developing a new normative instrument was set in motion in 1999. Before the decision was finally taken to prepare a new instrument, another expert meeting was instrumental in defining the broadened view of intangible heritage. In March 2001, UNESCO organized an international round table in Turin, Italy, focused on *Intangible Cultural Heritage—Working Definitions*. The expert meeting aimed at clarifying the definition, scope,

⁹³ A number of texts dealing with the 2003 Convention are presented in chapter 2.1.1. Texts relating their understanding of intangible heritage to the 2003 Convention are, for instance, Rosabelle Boswell, "Say What You Like: Dress, Identity and Heritage in Zanzibar," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 5 (2006): 440–57; Lyndel V. Prott, "Hunting as Intangible Heritage: Some Notes on Its Manifestations," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 14, no. 3 (2007): 385–98.

⁹⁴ Dawson Munjeri, "Following the Length and Breadth of the Roots: Some Dimensions of Intangible Heritage," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 131 (London: Routledge, 2009).

and relevant terminology of intangible heritage for the new convention. The conceptual framework should respect the role intangible heritage plays in promoting cultural diversity.⁹⁵ Definitions used by member states, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, and other institutions were considered in order to find a common approach.⁹⁶ Participant Carneiro da Cunha observes with respect to the working definitions:

Significant changes have occurred in the notions of cultural heritage since 1972 and of intangible cultural heritage since the UNESCO Recommendation of 1989. Some elements are now firmly established:

A shift from focus solely on products (e.g. traditional songs, monuments) to living production which encompasses producers, products and the sustainability of production. That perspective entails that cultural heritage is not a static and ready-made product but rather a permanent production.⁹⁷

Arizpe in her presentation to the meeting also emphasizes the dynamic character of intangible heritage.⁹⁸ In her view, “the notion of heritage is constituted of meanings, shaped by people’s perceptions, whether as objects, knowledge or practices.”⁹⁹ Intangible heritage only exists and is sustained through enactment. Blake anticipates the definition of intangible heritage

⁹⁵ UNESCO, “Address by Mr Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, on the occasion of the international round table on Intangible cultural heritage: working definitions, Turin, Italy, 14 March 2001,” DG/2001/33, 1, 2001, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001222/122219e.pdf>.

⁹⁶ UNESCO, “Consultation with Member States on Identification (inventory) and documentation of folklore” (document presented at the International Round Table on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Working Definitions, Piedmont, Italy, 14–17 March 2001), <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05303.pdf>; UNESCO, “Definitions in use by various Member States” (document presented at the International Round Table on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Working Definitions, Piedmont, Italy, 14–17 March 2001), <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05299.pdf>; UNESCO, “Working definitions in use by intergovernmental organizations” (document presented at the International Round Table on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Working Definitions, Piedmont, Italy, 14–17 March 2001), March 8, 2001, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05305.pdf>; UNESCO, “Working definitions in use by non-governmental organizations” (document presented at the International Round Table on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Working Definitions, Piedmont, Italy, 14–17 March 2001), March 7, 2001, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05307.pdf>.

⁹⁷ Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, “Notions of intangible cultural heritage: towards a UNESCO working definition” (document presented at the International Round Table on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Working Definitions, Turin, Italy, 14–17 March 2001), 1, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05357-EN.pdf>.

⁹⁸ Lourdes Arizpe, “Intangible cultural heritage: perceptions and enactments” (document presented at the International Round Table on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Working Definitions, Turin, Italy, 14–17 March 2001), <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05356-EN.pdf>.

⁹⁹ UNESCO, “Final report of the international round table on Intangible cultural heritage: working definitions, Turin, Italy, 14–17 March 2001,” 2, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00077-EN.pdf>.

developed by the expert meeting.¹⁰⁰ She observes that intangible heritage has to be understood through the dynamic of creation and oral transmission, the importance of context, its contribution to collective identity and cultural diversity, and its spiritual significance.¹⁰¹ With regard to the question of universality, furthermore, Blake argues that there seems to be “a conceptual difficulty in valuing intangible heritage as a ‘universal heritage’ in view of its role in the construction of identity of a specific people or group in opposition to other identities.”¹⁰² She proposes an interpretation as ‘universal interest’ and the use of the expression ‘universal heritage of humanity’ in the preamble to secure the international recognition of intangible heritage while respecting the specific value it has for the communities concerned. The question of involving local communities as experts stimulated some debate. Participants were hesitant to give status to practitioners equal to scholars but they equally stressed that a legal instrument should work with and not on people.¹⁰³ Community participation in determining approaches to preserving, developing, and enacting intangible heritage should therefore be facilitated, while the instrument should be prescriptive at the international level and encourage national and local interaction.¹⁰⁴

In the end, the meeting agreed on a number of elements that were important for the scope of a new instrument. Among them were “the importance of practitioners and of their agency,...the significance of the creative process as well as the product,...the transmission of skills and know-how [and]...the context of creation and transmission.”¹⁰⁵ In addition,

¹⁰⁰ Janet Blake, “Introduction to the draft preliminary study on the advisability of developing a standard-setting instrument for the protection of intangible cultural heritage” (document presented at the International Round Table on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Working Definitions, Piedmont, Italy, 14–17 March 2001), <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05358-EN.pdf>.

¹⁰¹ Blake, “Introduction,” 9.

¹⁰² Blake, “Introduction,” 9–10.

¹⁰³ UNESCO, “Final report of the international round table on Intangible cultural heritage: working definitions, Turin, Italy, 14–17 March 2001,” 6–7, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00077-EN.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ UNESCO, “Final report of the international round table on Intangible cultural heritage: working definitions, Turin, Italy, 14–17 March 2001,” 15, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00077-EN.pdf>.

¹⁰⁵ UNESCO, “Final report of the international round table on Intangible cultural heritage: working definitions, Turin, Italy, 14–17 March 2001,” 11, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00077-EN.pdf>.

hierarchical approaches should be avoided.¹⁰⁶ Intangible heritage was accordingly defined as follows:

[It is]...peoples' learned processes along with the knowledge, skills and creativity that inform and are developed by them, the products they create, and the resources, spaces and other aspects of social and natural context necessary to their sustainability; these processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations and are important to cultural identity, as well as to the safeguarding of cultural diversity and creativity of humanity.¹⁰⁷

This definition was included in the Proclamation of Masterpieces in 2001 and provides the basis for the definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage.¹⁰⁸ The conclusions of the Turin meeting together with the preliminary feasibility study prepared by Blake were endorsed by the Executive Board in May 2001.¹⁰⁹ After two years of study and discussions, the UNESCO General Conference at its session in October and November 2001 decided that a convention for the safeguarding of intangible heritage should be added to the policy framework for cultural heritage.¹¹⁰ This decision was supported by the adoption of the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* the same year.¹¹¹ Although the conceptual ground was thus laid for a new instrument, political momentum was still needed to further the process.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ UNESCO, "Final report of the international round table on Intangible cultural heritage: working definitions, Turin, Italy, 14–17 March 2001," 19, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00077-EN.pdf>.

¹⁰⁷ UNESCO, "Report on the preliminary study on the advisability of regulating internationally, through a new standard-setting instrument, the protection of traditional culture and folklore" (document presented at the one hundred sixty-first session of the Executive Board, Paris, 28 May–13 June 2001), 161 EX/15, annex, 3 para. 7, May 16, 2001, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001225/122585e.pdf>.

¹⁰⁸ UNESCO, "Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity—Guide for the Presentation of Candidature Files," 5 para. 6, 2001, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124628eo.pdf>.

¹⁰⁹ UNESCO, "Decisions adopted at the one hundred sixty-first session of the Executive Board, Paris, 28 May–13 June 2001," 161 EX/Decisions, 14, decision 3.4.4, June 2001, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001229/122959e.pdf>.

¹¹⁰ UNESCO, "Records of the General Conference at its thirty-first session, Paris, 15 October–3 November 2001: Volume 1, Resolutions," 31 C/Resolutions 15, 152, 2002, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124687e.pdf>.

¹¹¹ On the growing importance of cultural diversity in UNESCO, see chapter 2.1.2.

¹¹² UNESCO, "Address by Mr Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, on the occasion of the international meeting on the Intangible cultural heritage: UNESCO's role and priority fields of action, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 22 January 2002," DG/2002/03, 3, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001248/124868e.pdf>.

In January 2002, an international meeting on *Intangible Cultural Heritage: Priority Domains for an International Convention* was organized in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Participants confirmed the definition developed in Turin the year before.¹¹³ A flexible concept should be given preference that considered the dynamic nature of intangible heritage, that is, a people- and process-centered understanding. Also the close link between intangible heritage and cultural diversity was repeated.¹¹⁴ This link was further strengthened at the *Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture on Intangible Cultural Heritage—Mirror of Cultural Diversity* held in Istanbul, Turkey, in September 2002. In its final document, the *Istanbul Declaration*, participants stressed that intangible heritage is an essential factor in the preservation of cultural diversity.¹¹⁵ Aikawa-Faure observes that this link was central for the rapid adoption of the 2003 Convention.¹¹⁶

Between May 2002 and June 2003, three intergovernmental meetings, one informal inter-sessional working group of government experts, and one expert meeting on *Intangible Cultural Heritage—Establishment of a Glossary* convened to define the scope and further the work on the preliminary draft of an international convention.¹¹⁷ Despite debates over the scope of the concept of intangible cultural heritage and the rapid adoption of a convention, the General Conference at its thirty-second session in October 2003 adopted the new convention “without a dissenting vote [and] two years before schedule,” although eight countries

¹¹³ UNESCO, “Final report of the international expert meeting on Intangible cultural heritage: priority domains for an international convention, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 22–24 January 2002,” 14, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00074-EN.pdf>.

¹¹⁴ UNESCO, “Final report of the international expert meeting on Intangible cultural heritage: priority domains for an international convention, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 22–24 January 2002,” 2–3, 8, 11–12, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00074-EN.pdf>.

¹¹⁵ “Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage—a Mirror of Cultural Diversity’: Istanbul Declaration,” UNESCO, para.1, last modified September 24, 2002, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=6209&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

¹¹⁶ Aikawa-Faure, “Proclamation,” 35.

¹¹⁷ “Meetings on intangible cultural heritage (co-)organized by UNESCO: 2005-2000,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00015&categ=2005-2000>.

abstained.¹¹⁸ As of May 2014, one hundred sixty-one states have ratified it.¹¹⁹ The “intangible cultural heritage” is defined as follows:

[It is]...the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.¹²⁰

The definition conveys the idea of intangible heritage as a set of contemporary manifestations, people’s learned and evolving capacities necessary for the performance of these manifestations as well as the movable associated elements and built or natural surroundings, may they be permanent or temporary, that are indispensable for their realization.¹²¹ These elements represent the cornerstones of the definition. The Convention text goes on to state that the Intangible Cultural Heritage is manifested, amongst others, in the following domains:

- (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language...;
- (b) performing arts;
- (c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
- (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;

¹¹⁸ UNESCO, “General comments received from Member States” (document presented at the second session of the intergovernmental meeting of experts on the preliminary draft convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, Paris, 24 February–1 March 2003), CLT-2003/CONF.205/5, 2, 6, 12, and 15, January 2003, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?meeting_id=00051; Rieks Smeets, “Intangible cultural heritage and its link to tangible cultural and natural heritage,” 139 [citation], 2004, www.jpj.go.jp/e/culture/new/0412/img/pdf/report20.pdf; UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its thirty-second session, Paris, 29 September–17 October 2003: Proceedings,” 537 para. 105.1, 2005, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001399/139984m.pdf>. Eight Member States abstained from voting: the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Russia, the United States of America, Canada and Switzerland. UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its thirty-second session, Paris, 29 September–17 October 2003: Proceedings,” 537 para. 103.2, 2005, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001399/139984m.pdf>.

¹¹⁹ “The States Parties to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003),” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00024>.

¹²⁰ UNESCO, “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003,” MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, art. 2.1, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>. The ideas of compatibility with international human rights instruments and mutual respect, as well as sustainable development were not considered in the context of this thesis as they require a different conceptual framework.

¹²¹ Smeets, “Intangible cultural heritage,” 140.

(e) traditional craftsmanship.¹²²

Altogether, the Intangible Cultural Heritage not only involves products in terms of heritage domains, but more importantly the processes within and among people. The human element—the knowledge and skills of people—represents the central element of the concept. The human being becomes the main actor in creating, recreating, and transmitting the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Smeets explains:

The depository of the knowledge required for enacting or recreating intangible cultural heritage elements, and the regulatory system from where the necessary skills are activated, are located in the human mind, and the main means of expression of the intangible cultural heritage is the human body.¹²³

Intangible Cultural Heritage therefore literally is embodied, as also observe Ruggles and Silverman.¹²⁴ The references “transmitted from generation to generation” and “constantly recreated by communities and groups” convey this ephemeral nature. Any sense of static, unchanging, or decontextualized is avoided.¹²⁵ And while the enactment of Intangible Cultural Heritage requires tangible elements in terms of objects, artefacts, or cultural spaces, the latter is subordinate to the intangible.

In line with the 2001 definition, moreover, any reference to the ideas of outstanding or universal value was left out. Instead, the international List created to safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage was called “representative.”¹²⁶ The convention text does not provide a definition of the term. Expert meetings held in 2005 and 2007, which aimed at developing criteria for identifying Intangible Cultural Heritage, addressed the question of what constituted

¹²² UNESCO, “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003,” MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, art. 2.2, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>.

¹²³ Smeets, “Intangible cultural heritage,” 146.

¹²⁴ Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, “From Tangible to Intangible Heritage,” in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, eds. Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, 1 (New York: Springer, 2009).

¹²⁵ Janet Blake, *Commentary on the 2003 Unesco Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Leicester: Institute of Art and Law, 2006), 35.

¹²⁶ UNESCO, “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003,” MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, art. 16, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>.

representativeness.¹²⁷ The experts were of the opinion that an indirect definition was given in article two of the 2003 Convention.¹²⁸ The elements provided in the definition would thus serve to test representativeness. In addition, the experts considered that it should be used in opposition to the concept of Outstanding Universal Value in the sense that “no hierarchies should be established among elements of the intangible heritage on the basis of their intrinsic qualities.”¹²⁹ After the 2003 Convention entered into force in April 2006, ninety formerly proclaimed Masterpieces were incorporated into the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* in 2008.¹³⁰ Since then, two hundred twenty-four new cultural expressions have been inscribed. The List thus counts today altogether three hundred fourteen Intangible Cultural Heritage elements.

4.1.5.3. Integrative attempts—intangible values and sense of place

The events of the late 1990s evoked a more pronounced articulation of an intangible heritage discourse within ICOMOS at the beginning of the new millennium, which culminated in scientific symposia on intangible heritage in 2003 and 2008. 2003 saw the adoption of a declaration specifically on intangible heritage in terms of intangible values. In 2008, the idea of sense of place was taken up and an integrative vision of cultural heritage was formulated which considers the relationship between the tangible and the intangible. In between and after

¹²⁷ UNESCO, “Summary report of the expert meeting on the lists established in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, New Delhi, India, 2–4 April 2007,” 4, May 18, 2007, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00186-EN.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report of the expert meeting on criteria for inscription on the lists established by the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 5–6 December 2005,” <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00035-EN.pdf>.

¹²⁸ UNESCO, “Report of the expert meeting on criteria for inscription on the lists established by the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 5–6 December 2005,” 5, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00035-EN.pdf>.

¹²⁹ UNESCO, “Report of the expert meeting on criteria for inscription on the lists established by the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 5–6 December 2005,” 5, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00035-EN.pdf>.

¹³⁰ “The States Parties to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003),” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00024>; “Lists of intangible cultural heritage and Register of best safeguarding practice,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00559>.

these events intangible heritage returned to be of marginal importance and a variety of interpretations continue to be found up to the present.

With the decision to hold the 2002 ICOMOS General Assembly on the intangible dimension of heritage, a debate on the topic was launched.¹³¹ Intangible heritage was declared the central theme of the 1999 to 2002 triennium.¹³² Particularly in 2000 and 2001, several authors contributed to the discussion through the organization's newsletter. Truscott outlines the nature of intangible values for different communities in Australia and highlights their growing importance in practice.¹³³ Bumbaru addresses various intangible dimensions: the sacred, the trades, and memory.¹³⁴ Nurmi-Nielsen reviews the intangible heritage of Northern Europe in terms of traditional skills and building techniques.¹³⁵ The intangible dimension of cultural heritage was also discussed in relation to the World Heritage List. Luxen defines intangible heritage as techniques and know-how whose transmission is essential for the conservation of tangible heritage.¹³⁶ Petzet moreover reflects on the spirit of monuments and sites in terms of memory. According to him, monuments are “an archive of authentic sources for cultural history, social history, industrial history, etc...[that] ‘should evoke remembrance of something’.”¹³⁷ While the discourse on intangible heritage became richer, interpretations of it remained as manifold as before. In addition, the dichotomy of the tangible and the intangible came to the fore. Munjeri, who was also actively involved in the preparation of the 2003

¹³¹ ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 10, no. 1, March 2000, 4, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2000-10-1.pdf>.

¹³² Dinu Bumbaru, “Tangible and Intangible—The Obligation and Desire to Remember,” *ICOMOS News* 10, no. 1, March 2000, 26, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2000-10-1.pdf>.

¹³³ Marilyn Truscott, “Intangible Values as Heritage in Australia,” *ICOMOS News* 10, no. 1, March 2000, 4–11, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2000-10-1.pdf>.

¹³⁴ Bumbaru, “Tangible and Intangible.”

¹³⁵ Anna Nurmi-Nielsen, “The Intangible Heritage of Northern Europe,” *ICOMOS News* 10, no. 1, March 2000, 28–30, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2000-10-1.pdf>.

¹³⁶ Jean-Louis Luxen, “The Intangible Dimension and the World Heritage List,” *ICOMOS News* 10, no. 2, July 2000, 6, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2000-10-2.pdf>. The newsletter text is a summary of a document presented by Luxen at the World Heritage expert meeting on Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context held in Zimbabwe in May 2000; see chapter 5.4.4.1.

¹³⁷ Michael Petzet, “The Spirit of Monuments and Sites,” *ICOMOS News* 11, no. 1, March 2001, 31, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2001-11-1.pdf>.

Convention, discusses the duality of cultural heritage as understood at the time and criticizes the fact that the intangible had become subordinate to the tangible, that is, the “built heritage,” in the ICOMOS discourse.¹³⁸ After 2001, newsletter contributions on intangible heritage become markedly fewer.

The thirteenth ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium did not take up the theme of intangible heritage as had been announced in 1999. The Zimbabwe meeting was postponed for one year.¹³⁹ Instead, the meeting was held on *Strategies for the World’s Cultural Heritage—Preservation in a Globalised World—Principles, Practices, Perspectives*. While participants agreed that the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage were equally important and that ICOMOS should play a more active role in the conceptualization and conservation of intangible heritage, the papers and discussions focused heavily on the physical fabric.¹⁴⁰ In the context of the symposium’s debate only a few contributions were made on intangible heritage. It was mostly referred to as value.¹⁴¹ In relation to the discussions in the various ICOMOS international scientific committees, only the outcomes of the one on cultural routes are of interest here.¹⁴² The meeting noted that “a cultural route [was]...not just a sum of its many elements, i.e., historic towns, cultural landscapes, sites, etc., but really incorporate[d]

¹³⁸ Dawson Munjeri, “Intangible Heritage in Africa: Could it Be a Case of ‘Much Ado About Nothing’?,” *ICOMOS News* 10, no. 2, July 2000, 7, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2000-10-2.pdf>.

¹³⁹ Michael Petzet, “President’s Message,” *ICOMOS News* 12, no. 1, March 2002, 2, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2002-12-1.pdf>.

¹⁴⁰ “International Scientific Symposium (Madrid, Spain, December 2002): Scientific Symposium Section 5 on Training, Conclusions,” ICOMOS Spain, http://www.esicomos.org/Nueva_carpeta/simpo_seccion5_ingl.htm; “International Scientific Symposium (Madrid, Spain, December 2002): Scientific Symposium Section 6, Awareness,” ICOMOS Spain, http://www.esicomos.org/Nueva_carpeta/simpo_seccion6_ingl.htm; “International Scientific Symposium (Madrid, Spain, December 2002): Scientific Symposium Section 1, Documentation Report to Plenary Session,” ICOMOS Spain, http://www.esicomos.org/Nueva_carpeta/simpo_seccion1_A_ingl.htm.

¹⁴¹ “Proceedings of the thirteenth ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium on Strategies for the World’s Cultural Heritage,” ICOMOS, <http://www.international.icomos.org/madrid2002/actas/index.html>; Brian Egloff, “National and International Heritage Management Principles: A Perspective from Australia,” ICOMOS, 146, <http://www.international.icomos.org/madrid2002/actas/145.pdf>; Danuta Klošek-Kozłowska, “The Protection of Urban Heritage: The Social Evaluation of the Space in Historic Towns—Local Intangible Values in a Globalised World,” ICOMOS, <http://www.international.icomos.org/madrid2002/actas/87.pdf>.

¹⁴² “Meetings of International Scientific Committees. December, 2002. Madrid (Spain),” ICOMOS Spain, http://www.esicomos.org/Nueva_carpeta/COMCIsumario_ingl.htm.

the intangible historic spirit that ties these elements into a single whole.”¹⁴³ This observation was formalized in the *Charter on Cultural Routes* adopted six years later in 2008.¹⁴⁴ Also the General Assembly’s resolutions show only one intangible heritage reference. Resolution seventeen, proposed by ICOMOS Canada and ICOMOS South Africa, acknowledges the inclusive nature of cultural heritage and its role as “primary carrier of cultural diversity.”¹⁴⁵ Reference is made to UNESCO’s work on instruments dealing with intangible heritage and cultural diversity.

In October 2003, the fourteenth General Assembly and Scientific Symposium was finally held on *Place–Memory–Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites* in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. Some days prior to the Assembly meeting, ICOMOS South Africa together with other South African institutions organized a workshop that aimed at preparing a declaration draft on the management of sites with “intangible values” for discussion at the Zimbabwe meeting.¹⁴⁶ It resulted in the *Declaration of the Kimberley Workshop on the Intangible Heritage of Monuments and Sites*.¹⁴⁷ The Kimberley Declaration recognizes the indivisible nature of tangible and intangible heritage.¹⁴⁸ Intangible heritage is conceived to refer to the values and significance of a site. Values include “those of symbolism, identity, culture, living traditions, remembrance and memories, the environment and

¹⁴³ “Scientific meeting of the International Committee on Cultural Routes (CIIC) on ‘The conceptual and substantive independence of cultural routes in relation to cultural landscapes’ (Madrid, Spain, 4 December 2002),” ICOMOS Spain, http://www.esicomos.org/Nueva_carpeta/CIIC_ingl.htm.

¹⁴⁴ ICOMOS, “The ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes,” http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/charters/cultural_routes/pdf/GA16_Charter_Cultural_Routes_20081004_FR+EN.pdf.

¹⁴⁵ “Resolutions of the thirteenth ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium,” ICOMOS, http://www.international.icomos.org/madrid2002/eng/resol_eng.htm.

¹⁴⁶ ICOMOS, “Report on the workshop held from 24–26 October in Kimberley, South Africa, prior to the Zimbabwe General Assembly: Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites,” 1, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/kimberley.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷ ICOMOS, “Report on the workshop held from 24–26 October in Kimberley, South Africa, prior to the Zimbabwe General Assembly: Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites,” 5, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/kimberley.pdf>.

¹⁴⁸ ICOMOS “Report on the workshop held from 24–26 October in Kimberley, South Africa, prior to the Zimbabwe General Assembly: Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites,” 5, preamble, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/kimberley.pdf>.

nature.”¹⁴⁹ It becomes clear from the workshop report, however, that working groups understood the concept of intangible heritage differently.¹⁵⁰ The symposium addressed the following interpretations of intangible heritage: spirit of place, memory, and history; ceremony and ritual in relation to religious and sacred sites; traditional craftsmanship and specialist knowledge; and traditional practices.¹⁵¹ The meeting moreover differentiated between an intangible dimension and intangible values without providing any further clarification on this distinction.¹⁵² Each of the four keynote speakers highlighted a different aspect of intangible heritage. Yaï, for example, stressed the indivisibility of the tangible and the intangible and questioned the idea of historic monument in the African perspective.¹⁵³ Instead, attachment would be more appropriately traced through, for example, sacred forests. Bouchenaki highlighted the increasing international recognition of intangible heritage by focusing on the history of the 2003 Convention and the recognition of the intangible through other instruments like the 1972 Convention.¹⁵⁴ He observes that today, “an anthropological approach to heritage leads us to consider it as a social ensemble of many different, complex and interdependent manifestations.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ ICOMOS “Report on the workshop held from 24–26 October in Kimberley, South Africa, prior to the Zimbabwe General Assembly: Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites,” 5, preamble, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/kimberley.pdf>.

¹⁵⁰ ICOMOS “Report on the workshop held from 24–26 October in Kimberley, South Africa, prior to the Zimbabwe General Assembly: Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites,” 1–2, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/kimberley.pdf>.

¹⁵¹ ICOMOS, “General report of the scientific symposium on Place–memory–meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites, 28–31 October 2003,” 3–5, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/finalreport-rapporteurs.pdf>.

¹⁵² ICOMOS, “General report of the scientific symposium on Place–memory–meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites, 28–31 October 2003,” 3, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/finalreport-rapporteurs.pdf>.

¹⁵³ Olabiyi Babalola Joseph Yaï, “Odo Layé–Eloge de la vie–fleuve : perspectives africaines sur le patrimoine culture!” (paper presented at the fourteenth ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 27–31 October 2003), 3, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/papers/1%20-%20Allocution%20Yai.pdf>.

¹⁵⁴ Mounir Bouchenaki, “The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage” (paper presented at the fourteenth ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 27–31 October 2003), <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/papers/2%20-%20Allocution%20Bouchenaki.pdf>.

¹⁵⁵ Bouchenaki, “Interdependency,” 1.

The 2003 meeting, moreover, formulated attempts to integrate intangible heritage into the work of ICOMOS. First, the meeting discussed the implications of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, which had been adopted only a few days before.¹⁵⁶ ICOMOS welcomed the Convention and stated the intention “to work to integrate the purposes of the Convention to improve the Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention by expanding them to include intangible heritage values.”¹⁵⁷ Second, the experts proposed to establish a scientific committee to encourage the identification and conservation of intangible heritage wherever relevant to places.¹⁵⁸ This committee was not constituted until two years later. In 2005, the International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage was created to promote the conservation of intangible heritage.¹⁵⁹ It should advise ICOMOS on the 2003 Convention and other UNESCO conventions such as the 1972 Convention. Thirdly, based on a recommendation in the Kimberley Declaration, the Zimbabwe Symposium proposed that an international charter be developed “for better recognition of traditional architecture and the associated intangible heritage values.”¹⁶⁰ While in 2005 the intent was repeated to complete ICOMOS’ doctrinal texts with a charter specifically dedicated to the intangible heritage of monuments and sites,

¹⁵⁶ ICOMOS, “General report of the scientific symposium on Place–memory–meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites, 28–31 October 2003,” 1, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/finalreport-rapporteurs.pdf>.

¹⁵⁷ ICOMOS “Report on the workshop held from 24–26 October in Kimberley, South Africa, prior to the Zimbabwe General Assembly: Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites,” 5, preamble, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/kimberley.pdf>.

¹⁵⁸ ICOMOS, “General report of the scientific symposium on Place–memory–meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites, 28–31 October 2003,” 7, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/finalreport-rapporteurs.pdf>.

¹⁵⁹ “Statutes of the ICOMOS International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage,” art.1 and 2, <http://icich.icomos.org/index.php/about-icich/statutes>.

¹⁶⁰ ICOMOS, “General report of the scientific symposium on Place–memory–meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites, 28–31 October 2003,” 7, <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/finalreport-rapporteurs.pdf>.

and in 2008 stated that ICOMOS was currently considering the adoption of such a document, until now no such charter exists.¹⁶¹

Between 2003 and 2008, intangible heritage became part of the definition of cultural heritage and was no longer the sole focus of attention. The 2005 *Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas*, the outcome of the fifteenth General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, considered intangible heritage in the context of the idea of setting:

Beyond the physical and visual aspects, the setting includes...past or present social or spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge, use or activities and other forms of intangible cultural heritage aspects that created and form the space as well as the current and dynamic cultural, social and economic context.¹⁶²

Papers referring to the intangible often mention the term in conjunction with the tangible. By 2005, in fact, the expression 'tangible and intangible heritage' had become a formula.¹⁶³

In 2008, the theme of intangible heritage became the subject of another assembly meeting. The sixteenth General Assembly and Scientific Symposium was held in Quebec City, Canada, on *Finding the Spirit of the Place*. The outcomes were summarized in the *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* which defines "spirit of place" as follows:

[It is]...the tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and the intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional

¹⁶¹ Dinu Bumbaru, "The ICOMOS Action Plan—Defining Our Work in this 40th Anniversary Triennium," *ICOMOS News* 16, no. 2, December 2006, 14, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2006-12-2.pdf>; ICOMOS, "Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted at Quebec City, Canada, 4 October 2008," preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf; "Charters and other doctrinal texts," ICOMOS, <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts>.

¹⁶² ICOMOS, "Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas, adopted in Xi'an, China by the fifteenth General Assembly of ICOMOS on 21 October 2005," 2 para. 1, <http://www.international.icomos.org/xian2005/xian-declaration.pdf>.

¹⁶³ For example ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 17, no. 1, June 2008, 5 and 7, central supplement 6 and 10, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2008-06-1-EN.pdf>; ICOMOS, *ICOMOS News* 16, no. 2, December 2006, 4–5, 13 and 21, <http://www.international.icomos.org/newsicomos/news1991/2006-12-2.pdf>.

knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.), that is to say the physical and the spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place.¹⁶⁴

The concept of spirit of place is used to combine the ideas of tangible and intangible heritage. The experts recognized the fact that the tangible and the intangible “interact and mutually construct each other.”¹⁶⁵ They contribute to the significance of a place. In addition, the human component was acknowledged. The spirit of place “is constructed by various social actors, its architects and managers as well as its users.”¹⁶⁶ It thus highlights the relational character of cultural heritage that “takes on a plural and dynamic character.”¹⁶⁷

After 2008, authors often make use of the formula ‘tangible and intangible’ or refer to one of the existing interpretations of intangible heritage.¹⁶⁸ The term also found its way into doctrinal texts on various themes, such as the *Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver of Development* and the *Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values* adopted at the General Assembly meetings in 2011 and 2014 respectively.¹⁶⁹ The Florence Declaration “reflects the aims of ICOMOS and its work with UNESCO in assessing tangible

¹⁶⁴ ICOMOS, “Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted at Québec, Canada, 4 October 2008,” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf.

¹⁶⁵ ICOMOS, “Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted at Québec, Canada, 4 October 2008,” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf.

¹⁶⁶ ICOMOS, “Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted at Québec, Canada, 4 October 2008,” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf.

¹⁶⁷ ICOMOS, “Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted at Québec, Canada, 4 October 2008,” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/quebec2008/quebec_declaration/pdf/GA16_Quebec_Declaration_Final_EN.pdf.

¹⁶⁸ For example “Advisory Committee 2009, Scientific Symposium ‘Changing World, Changing Views of Heritage: the Impact of Global Change on Cultural Heritage–Technological Change,’” ICOMOS, <http://www.icomos.org/adcom/malta2009/symposium.htm>; Andrew Hall, “Using Technology to Monitor and Counter the Impacts of Global Change on Traditional Management Systems for Cultural Landscapes” (paper presented at the ICOMOS Scientific Symposium on Changing World, Changing Views of Heritage: the Impact of Global Change on Cultural Heritage–Technological Change, Valetta, Malta, 7 October 2009), http://www.icomos.org/adcom/malta2009/pdf/ADCOM_200910_SYMP_2_Intangible_Andrew_Hall.pdf.

¹⁶⁹ ICOMOS, “The Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver of Development, adopted at Paris, UNESCO headquarters, on Thursday 1 December 2011,” http://www.international.icomos.org/Paris2011/GA2011_Declaration_de_Paris_EN_20120109.pdf; ICOMOS, “The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (2014),” http://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Secretariat/2015/GA_2014_results/GA2014_Symposium_FlorenceDeclaration_EN_final_20150318.pdf.

and intangible values associated with World Heritage properties.”¹⁷⁰ It moreover defines “creative spaces” as the close interrelation between tangible and intangible heritage.¹⁷¹

4.2. Interpretations of intangible heritage

Ruggles and Silverman observe that the question of defining intangible heritage is vastly complex.¹⁷² As can be seen in the previous subchapter, intangible heritage has been interpreted differently in international cultural heritage conservation. It has been described using terms such as associative value, tradition, knowledge, experience, traditional skills, beliefs, myths, narratives, and dance. The present subchapter intends to deconstruct the concept of intangible heritage and to identify patterns in its understanding. For this purpose, a considerable amount of pertinent literature was analyzed that reflects the scientific discourse. Identified interpretations were grouped into the following five themes:

- 1) associative value;
- 2) memory and remembrance;
- 3) traditional knowledge and practices;
- 4) practices, memory, and associative value; and
- 5) spirituality and connectivity.

These themes are not intended to represent yet another heritage classification, but as a means to organize and understand the various interpretations of intangible heritage that exist in heritage literature. They demonstrate a lack of coherence and overlap in the use of terms.

¹⁷⁰ ICOMOS, “The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (2014),” preamble, http://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Secretariat/2015/GA_2014_results/GA2014_Symposium_FlorenceDeclaration_EN_final_20150318.pdf.

¹⁷¹ ICOMOS, “The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (2014),” art. 1.3 para. c, http://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Secretariat/2015/GA_2014_results/GA2014_Symposium_FlorenceDeclaration_EN_final_20150318.pdf.

¹⁷² Ruggles and Silverman, “Intangible Heritage,” 1.

4.2.1. Associative value

The idea of associative value appears mostly in World Heritage-related literature. As already noted, an intangible dimension of World Heritage was officially recognized in criterion (vi) to assess Outstanding Universal Value.¹⁷³ World Heritage inscriptions based on criterion (vi) that have been the subject of analysis mostly relate to the criterion's interpretation as site of memory. "Intangible (cultural) heritage values," as Deacon and Beazley call these associative values, do not refer to architectural characteristics and the materiality of place, but to the historical meanings and memories places embody.¹⁷⁴

The interpretation as associative or intangible value has been extended to also apply to other conceptions of place, such as natural sites and cultural landscapes. Beazley identifies two World Heritage types in relation to their intangible qualities, namely "mountains of meaning" and "inspirational landscapes."¹⁷⁵ As associative cultural landscapes these "can have special meanings or spiritual values attributed to them, or are places that inspire creative works or thoughts."¹⁷⁶ Buggey also discusses the concept of associative value in relation to cultural landscapes.¹⁷⁷ She distinguishes between material and nonmaterial values:

Recognition of the intangible values of cultural landscapes approaches the meaning of place. Historical and political associations, literary and artistic associations, and cultural associations with natural resources provide three examples for understanding landscapes through nonmaterial values.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ On the interpretation of intangible heritage as associative value in World Heritage literature, see also chapter 2.2.2.

¹⁷⁴ Olwen Beazley, "Drawing a Line Around a Shadow? Preserving Intangible Cultural Heritage Values Through the World Heritage Convention," *Historic Environment* 19, no. 1 (2005): 25–29; Harriet Deacon, "Intangible Heritage in Conservation Management Planning: The Case of Robben Island," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, no. 3 (2004): 309–19.

¹⁷⁵ Olwen Beazley, "Five Feet from Heaven: The World Heritage Convention, Mountains of Meaning and Inspirational Landscapes: Identifying and Protecting Their Intangible Values," *Historic Environment* 18, no. 2 (2005): 3–10.

¹⁷⁶ Beazley, "Five Feet," 3.

¹⁷⁷ Buggey, "Associative Values."

¹⁷⁸ Buggey, "Associative Values," 26.

These immaterial aspects of place are embodied in human creative activity and memory.¹⁷⁹ Deacon confirms the idea that these values are attributed by people, that they are constructed and negotiated.¹⁸⁰

4.2.2. Memory and remembrance

Closely linked to the idea of associative value in terms of site of memory is the theme of memory and remembrance. When examining a mining community's heritage in the Upper Burnett in Australia, Prangnell and Mate noticed that the physical remnants provide insight into the way people constructed and still construct meanings in their lives.¹⁸¹ The continued attachment to these places, which is expressed in stories and diaries, in oral and written histories, plays an important role in people's remembering. Reeves et al. give a similar account of intangible heritage in the context of the industrial heritage of Broken Hill in Australia:

The theme of 'people and place' is clearly revealed in oral history interviews.... This 'remembered' intangible heritage has an important cultural presence in the town....¹⁸²

Research from the other side of the globe comes to the same conclusion. Robertson, who investigated island landscapes in the Outer Hebrides, off the West coast of Scotland, observes that intangible heritage is the collective memory expressed in language, oral traditions, and local narratives.¹⁸³ She also notes that "memories of place may depend in some degree upon landscape, but the sense of home as a place may be grounded more in human relationships

¹⁷⁹ Buggey, "Associative Values," 23.

¹⁸⁰ Deacon, "Intangible Heritage," 317.

¹⁸¹ Jonathan Prangnell and Geraldine Mate, "Kin, Fictive Kin and Strategic Movement: Working Class Heritage of the Upper Burnett," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17, no. 4 (2011): 322.

¹⁸² Keir Reeves, Erik Eklund, Andrew Reeves, Bruce Scates, and Vicki Peel, "Broken Hill: Rethinking the Significance of the Material Culture and Intangible Heritage of the Australian Labour Movement," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17, no. 4 (2011): 308.

¹⁸³ Màiri Robertson, "Àite Dachaidh: Re-Connecting People with Place—Island Landscapes and Intangible Heritage," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 2–3 (2009): 155–56.

than solely upon the memory of a landscape.”¹⁸⁴ Intangible heritage is therefore also the complex relationship between people with place. It is the memory people cherish as well as the active process of remembering.¹⁸⁵

4.2.3. Traditional knowledge and practices

Closely linked to the idea of memory expressed in oral traditions is what Deacon calls “living heritage.”¹⁸⁶ It refers to rituals, music, language, traditional know-how, oral and other practices. The traditional knowledge of hunting can be considered an example of this interpretation.¹⁸⁷ Its practice can be found worldwide. Prott specifies that it has maintained its ritual importance especially in traditional cultures.¹⁸⁸ Another example of defining intangible heritage as skills and practices is linked to draft cattle. By looking at the long history of the use of these animals in Europe, Griffin-Kremer investigates the “development of people’s relation with working animals” and associated changing techniques.¹⁸⁹

The interpretation of intangible heritage as traditional knowledge and practices is influenced by UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. As mentioned earlier, a high number of texts either deal with the 2003 Convention or explicitly build their understanding of intangible heritage on it.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ Robertson, “Àite Dachaidh,” 155.

¹⁸⁵ Mary Lorena Kenny, “Deeply Rooted in the Present: Making Heritage in Brazilian Quilombos,” in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 151–68 (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁸⁶ Deacon, “Intangible Heritage,” 310.

¹⁸⁷ Patrick J. O’Keefe, “Hunting as Heritage: ‘Save a Whale, Harpoon a Makah’,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 14, no. 3 (2007): 280.

¹⁸⁸ Lyndel V. Prott, “Hunting as Intangible Heritage: Some Notes on Its Manifestations,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 14, no. 3 (2007): 385–98.

¹⁸⁹ Cozette Griffin-Kremer, “Dynamics of Informal Networking: Two Studies of Cattle Draft in the Perspective of Deeper Time,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 2–3 (2009): 204.

¹⁹⁰ On this observation, see chapter 4.1.5.1.

The idea of traditional skills and practices in terms of living traditions can also be found in texts dealing with World Heritage.¹⁹¹ Buggey as well as Rössler highlight the importance of traditions and rituals as a means to protect World Heritage cultural landscapes.¹⁹² Using the World Heritage property and cultural landscape of Champaner-Pavagadh in India as case study, Ruggles and Sinha stress the importance of the traditional knowledge base and skills, which produced the built remains, for site conservation in order to support a living heritage tradition.¹⁹³

Next to associated rituals and stories as well as the active use of buildings, craftsmanship producing tangible heritage is also addressed as intangible heritage.¹⁹⁴ Another example of the interpretation as knowledge and practices that bring tangible, artistic expressions into existence is fresco painting. According to Hoekstra it is “a traditional craft relying on knowledge passed down from generation to generation, and based on a knowledge of nature.”¹⁹⁵

4.2.4. Practices, memory, and associative value

As already indicated in the previous subchapters, the ideas of associative value, memory, and practices are closely intertwined. Several authors have in fact highlighted their

¹⁹¹ On the idea of living tradition in a World Heritage context, see chapter 2.2.2.

¹⁹² Buggey, “Associative Values”; Mechthild Rössler, “World Heritage Sites: Towards Linking the Tangible and the Intangible,” in *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*, eds. David Harmon and Allen Putney, 197–210 (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

¹⁹³ Dede F. Ruggles and Amita Sinha, “Preserving the Cultural Landscape Heritage of Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India,” in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, eds. Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, 79 (New York: Springer, 2009).

¹⁹⁴ On associated rituals and stories Phillip Segadika, “Managing Intangible Heritage at Tsodilo,” *Museum International* 58, no. 1–2 (2006): 31–40. On the active use of buildings Frank Salomon and Renata Peters, “Governance and Conservation of the Rapaz Khipu Patrimony,” in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, eds. Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, 101–25 (New York: Springer, 2009).

¹⁹⁵ Daan Hoekstra, “Fresco: Intangible Heritage as a Key to Unlocking the Links Between the Conservation of Biological and Cultural Diversity in Alamos,” *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 5 (2010): 63.

interdependence.¹⁹⁶ Garduño Freeman, for example, argues that the socio-visual practices involved in using Flickr, a photosharing website, constitute intangible heritage, which is linked to the broader cultural and social value of heritage sites displayed on the website.¹⁹⁷ Using the World Heritage property Sydney Opera House as case study, the author stresses that the website facilitates new public engagements with heritage sites and “inform[s] our understanding of community sentiment towards places of cultural significance.”¹⁹⁸ The link between real and virtual places poses a challenge to the definition of community and adds a new layer to the understanding of global or universal value.

According to Taylor, intangible heritage as understood in Asia involves human experience, which is interwoven with place value and the importance of physical fabric:

The past lives on in memory of people, of events and of places through time rather than concentrating on the material fabric which can change or be replaced. Thus the traditional skills employed in replacement are also integral to heritage value.¹⁹⁹

Conan in relation to gardens and landscapes in China and Japan makes a similar observation:

...they give rise to habitual and ritual uses some of which are traditional, others modernized versions of a tradition, and still others quite new;...they imbue nature with meanings attached to the past and the present, and they invite flights of imagination either to the past or the future.²⁰⁰

In the context of pointing to a lack of recognizing community perceptions of cultural heritage in the UK, Turnpenny describes the relationship between the different interpretations as follows:

¹⁹⁶ Kumi Kato, “Prayers for the Whales: Spirituality and Ethics of a Former Whaling Community—Intangible Cultural Heritage for Sustainability,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 14, no. 3 (2007): 283–313; Ken Taylor, “Cultural Heritage Management: A Possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, no. 5 (2004): 417–33; Michael Turnpenny, “Cultural Heritage, an Ill-Defined Concept? A Call for Joined-up Policy,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10, no. 3 (2004): 295–307; Cristina Garduño Freeman, “Photosharing on Flickr: Intangible Heritage and Emergent Publics,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 4–5 (2010): 352–68.

¹⁹⁷ Freeman, “Photosharing,” 356.

¹⁹⁸ Freeman, “Photosharing,” 353.

¹⁹⁹ Taylor, “Cultural Heritage Management,” 423.

²⁰⁰ Michel Conan, “Gardens and Landscapes: At the Hinge of Tangible and Intangible Heritage,” in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, eds. Dede F. Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, 73 (New York: Springer, 2009).

These [oral traditions] can be understood as having historical, social and spiritual value and are often incorporated into group perceptions of cultural heritage in an attempt to create a position for the community within time and space. This can provide a group with a sense of cohesion, commonality and authenticity, as the ability to recall and identify with ‘our own past’ can give existence meaning, purpose and value.²⁰¹

Intangible heritage is understood as the values, memories, and practices linked to place.

4.2.5. Spirituality and connectivity

The ideas of spirituality and connectivity describe intangible heritage as the link between people and place. Kato defines this link in terms of commitment.²⁰² Using the natural World Heritage property Shirakami-Sanchi in Japan as case study, he argues that the local community’s spiritual connection and place-based identity are an integral part of nature:

Land-based knowledge of a community, which has sustained interaction with the environment, rituals and customs, their sensitivity, emotive expressions, and narratives, all inform how we may reconstruct the relationship. By recognising connectivity and commitment as intangible cultural heritage and an essential ingredient for conservation, the conservation of cultural and natural heritage starts to merge, addressing the inseparable and mutual...dependence of each.²⁰³

The theme of spirituality in terms of “being in place” was also taken up by Kato in an article published in 2007.²⁰⁴ Using community-based coastal whaling in a village in Japan as case study, he defines intangible heritage as both associated practice and the meaning places and practices have for the present community. The idea of a spiritual connection with place thereby

²⁰¹ Turnpenny, “Cultural Heritage,” 301.

²⁰² Kumi Kato, “Community, Connection and Conservation: Intangible Cultural Values in Natural Heritage—the Case of Shirakami-Sanchi World Heritage Area,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 5 (2006): 458–73.

²⁰³ Kato, “Community,” 460–61.

²⁰⁴ Kato, “Prayers.”

connects the tangible and the intangible. By referring to emotional responses to place and the past, Byrne as well as Smith et al. draw similar pictures of intangible heritage.²⁰⁵

4.3. Heritage value

De la Torre and Mason observe that “no society makes an effort to conserve what it does not value.”²⁰⁶ Heritage has been more and more viewed as a process with values placed at the heart of this process and heritage conservation as a social activity that is influenced by values and in return influences them.²⁰⁷ At the same time, the understanding of value, that is, its definition and nature, remains vague and controversial. The introduction of the term intangible value has moreover obscured the understanding of the concept of value as well as the relationship between the tangible and the intangible.²⁰⁸ The present subchapter aims at looking into the concept of value. It does so in order to prepare the ground for the subsequent discussion. The idea of heritage value is examined with respect to its changing definition and role over time, its nature, as well as value classifications and various value types.

4.3.1. Definitions of heritage value

Over time, heritage value has come to play an increasing role in defining and conserving cultural heritage. While in the nineteenth century value was considered only

²⁰⁵ Denis Byrne, “A Critique of Unfeeling Heritage,” in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 229–52 (London: Routledge, 2009); Smith et al., “Community-driven Research.”

²⁰⁶ Marta de la Torre and Randall Mason, “Introduction,” in *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, ed. Marta de la Torre, 3 (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2002).

²⁰⁷ Erica Avrami, Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre, eds., *Values and Heritage Conservation* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2000), 7.

²⁰⁸ On intangible heritage and value, see chapter 2.2.2.

indirectly in terms of a taken-for-granted appreciation of a specific aspect of architecture, a first systematic definition and description of the role of value in the context of conservation was given in the early twentieth century. From the 1980s onwards, its central position was increasingly recognized and by 2000 the idea of values-based conservation was endorsed. The conceptual development of heritage value is closely linked to the idea of conservation, which will be considered here as well.

The concept of value has not always played a central role in heritage conservation. In the nineteenth century, Western conservation theories were concerned more with the question of how to conserve the tangible, that is, built evidence of the past and the formulation of a distinct view of conservation.²⁰⁹ Viollet-le-Duc, for example, advocated a stylistic restoration, that is, the reinstatement of a building not necessarily as it originally was, but the way it was supposed to look like.²¹⁰ Important is the completeness of architecture even though the desired physical state may never have existed before. Ruskin, who described seven principles that good architecture must meet, communicates a different view of conservation. In contrast to Viollet-le-Duc, he conceives it as the retention of a status quo, the preservation of architecture in its present state, and condemns the restoration of architecture.²¹¹ For Ruskin the traces of time and the age of a building are important:

For, indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, or in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.²¹²

The meaning of a building, its value, is contained in this idea of voicefulness.

²⁰⁹ Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), chapters 6 and 7.

²¹⁰ Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, "Restauration," in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, 14 (Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1866).

²¹¹ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 2011 [1849]), 184, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/35898/35898-h/35898-h.htm>.

²¹² Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, 177.

With the articulation of the term value at the beginning of the twentieth century the concept of value has become increasingly important in the conservation field. As early as 1903, Riegl investigated the role of different values in the context of conservation interventions. Like Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin, Riegl was interested in the past. The core concept of his conservation theory was therefore age.²¹³ Unlike Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin, however, who focused on a specific epoch and appreciated above all medieval ecclesiastical architecture, Riegl is interested in the monument in general:

In its oldest and most original sense a monument is a work of man erected for the specific purpose of keeping particular human deeds or destinies (or a complex accumulation thereof) alive and present in the consciousness of future generations.²¹⁴

Importance is given to the human element. He further distinguishes between deliberate or intentional and unintentional monuments. A deliberate monument is a memorial, a monument that has been created intentionally for the purpose of commemoration. An unintentional monument on the other hand is a building or other material construction that was built for another purpose than commemoration, but that was given meaning later.²¹⁵ Starting from this definition Riegl describes different value types, which serve to guide action for specific conservation interventions. While Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc emphasize a specific approach to conservation based on a taken-for-granted importance of age and completeness respectively, Riegl theorizes conservation systematically based on the idea of value. He asks what values guide our actions in conservation. The type of value that is given prevalence in a monument decides whether a monument is to be preserved in its present state or restored. The idea of value thus predominantly serves to explain why certain interventions are preferred over others. At the same time it conveys the “meaning and significance” of a monument, the reasons why a

²¹³ Alois Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development,” in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, eds. Nicholas Stanley Price, Mansfield Kirby Talley Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, 72–74 (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 1996).

²¹⁴ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 69.

²¹⁵ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 72.

monument is appreciated and important enough to be conserved.²¹⁶ The concept of value thus refers to a complex dynamic that combines the questions what, why, and how to conserve.

In the first half of the 1980s, Tainter and Lucas as well as Lipe took up the question of importance in the context of research on cultural resource management.²¹⁷ They highlighted the idea of quality in relation to “significance” and “value and meaning,” that is, the notion of value as guide to selection. At the same time, a number of synonymous terms were introduced, which obscured the understanding of the concept of value. Tainter and Lucas observe that some cultural properties are more “significant” than others and therefore need protection.²¹⁸ Significance seems to work as an umbrella term that refers to the quality of importance and worth. The term value, in contrast, is used in relation to various types of significance that convey the different meanings assigned to cultural heritage. Tainter and Lucas moreover stress the vagueness of the concept of significance and raise the problem of how to draw the line between significant and less significant properties.²¹⁹ Lipe also addresses the problem of selection. By exploring “the ways in which cultural materials from the past can function as resources—that is, be of use and benefit—in the present and future,” he contributes to developing a framework for making choices about what to conserve.²²⁰ His starting point is the idea of resource. Value is accordingly defined in relation to some end or use. In order to decide what to preserve we have to look at the worth of cultural material.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, a series of workshops and reports on value and economics of cultural heritage commissioned by the Getty Conservation Institute highlighted

²¹⁶ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 72.

²¹⁷ William D. Lipe, “Value and Meaning in Cultural Resource,” in *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: A Comparative Study of World Cultural Resources Management Systems*, ed. Henry Cleere, 1–11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Joseph A. Tainter and John G. Lucas, “Epistemology of the Significance Concept,” *American Antiquity* 48, no. 4 (1983): 707–19.

²¹⁸ Tainter and Lucas, “Epistemology,” 707.

²¹⁹ Tainter and Lucas, “Epistemology,” 710.

²²⁰ Lipe, “Value,” 1–2.

fundamental issues in the conservation field.²²¹ Building on a definition of terms based on previous research, they advanced knowledge in terms of developing methodologies for the assessment of values and confirmed the central role values have come to play. Values-based conservation was endorsed:

The ultimate aim of conservation is not to conserve material for its own sake but, rather, to maintain (and shape) the values embodied by the heritage—with physical intervention or treatment being one of many means toward that end.²²²

The idea of quality in the sense of importance and guide to selection was taken up in relation to understanding heritage value:

Values give some things significance over others and thereby transform some objects and places into ‘heritage.’²²³

Mason adds that value suggests usefulness and benefits:

Heritage is valued not as an intellectual enterprise but because (as one aspect of material culture) it plays instrumental, symbolic, and other functions in society.²²⁴

Value is basically understood to refer to “the qualities and characteristics seen in things.”²²⁵

These characteristics range widely from the aesthetic or symbolic to the economic:

A heritage building or site has several different kinds of value all at once. Simply, they are the different qualities that motivate the labeling of some object or place as ‘heritage’ and, further, they motivate conservation of that object or place.²²⁶

In addition, a distinction is made between the ideas of value and significance. Significance or “cultural significance” is understood as a comprehensive term for the aggregate of values

²²¹ Avrami et al., *Values*; Marta de la Torre, ed., *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2002); Randall Mason, ed., *Economics and Heritage Conservation: A Meeting Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1999).

²²² Avrami et al., *Values*, 7.

²²³ Avrami et al., *Values*, 7.

²²⁴ Randall Mason, “Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices,” in *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, ed. Marta de la Torre, 8 (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2002).

²²⁵ Mason, “Assessing Values,” 7.

²²⁶ Randall Mason and Erica Avrami, “Heritage Values and Challenges of Conservation Planning,” in *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites: An International Workshop Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and Loyola Marymount University, 19–22 May 2000, Corinth, Greece*, eds. Jeanne Marie Teutonico and Gaetano Palumbo, 15 (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2002).

ascribed to a site that give it its quality.²²⁷ The complexity of the value language becomes even more pronounced.

A development has taken place away from the focus on the material and the formulation of specific conservation interventions towards the identification and conservation of values. The role of value has thus changed. It has become increasingly important in relation to a re-theorization of the concept of conservation, away from a mere focus on material interventions towards the management of values. At the same time, the idea of value is not new in conservation. Significance and meaning have always been important with regard to conserving the built environment.

4.3.2. Nature of heritage value

Another important question in relation to understanding heritage value is where do values come from. Two important perspectives exist. One says that heritage has value in its own right and that values are intrinsic, that is, objective and embodied in the heritage object; the other states that values only exist in relation to something else, and that they are extrinsic, that is, subjective and attributed by people. These two perspectives are linked to the ideas of universal and representative value. With the growing recognition of cultural diversity, the conceptualization of heritage value has moved beyond the intrinsic and universal to consider the extrinsic and relative nature of values. The fact that both values exist simultaneously requires a theoretical framework that goes beyond the dichotomy. The central role of people in defining heritage and heritage value has raised moreover the question of whose values and consequently the definition of community.

²²⁷ Avrami et al., *Values*, 7–8; de la Torre, *Assessing the Values*, 3.

The Venice Charter states that historic monuments are “[i]mbued with a message from the past.”²²⁸ Historic monuments embody meaning. The understanding of the nature of values as communicated in this instrument reflects what Tainter and Lucas call an empiricist-positivist perspective and links to the idea of universal value.²²⁹ It refers to the influence of the Western philosophical tradition known as empiricism or positivism which states that any knowledge about reality has its roots in sense experience. Meaning is accordingly observable in the physical world. Tainter and Lucas further note that “the qualities of physical phenomena that give rise to meaning must...be intrinsic, and the knowledge to be derived must be immutable.”²³⁰ Knowledge or meaning becomes an objective truth. Based on this perspective, value has been interpreted to be inherent in heritage:

Cultural properties are seen as possessing or lacking an inherent, immutable quality, significance, that gives rise to our understanding of their importance. Thus, significance, in the empiricist-positivist view, will be present in a cultural property, rather than in the mind of the observer.²³¹

This understanding seems to have been encouraged by reading authors like Viollet-le-Duc, Ruskin, and Riegl in a certain way. The object of interest was seen to be the tangible heritage, the architecture or physical evidence of the building. It seemed obvious that values can be found in the materiality of the object. But although Ruskin was concerned with the material truth of the building and its conservation, he also acknowledges that the value lies not in a building’s stones or gold, but in its age and voicefulness, “which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.”²³² The human being is introduced. It is we who feel the voicefulness and discern the age of a building. Riegl goes on in stating that while historical and age value can be read directly from the tangible evidence of the monument, deliberate commemorative value, which together with historical and age value

²²⁸ ICOMOS, “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964),” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

²²⁹ Tainter and Lucas, “Epistemology,” 711–12.

²³⁰ Tainter and Lucas, “Epistemology,” 712.

²³¹ Tainter and Lucas, “Epistemology,” 712.

²³² Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, 177.

forms commemorative value, “is to keep a moment from becoming history, to keep it perpetually alive and present in the consciousness of future generations.”²³³ The monument Riegl defines exists in fact in the awareness of people:

We modern viewers, rather than the works themselves by virtue of their original purpose, assign meaning and significance to a monument.²³⁴

He thus also considers the subjectivity of contemporary values, which serves another epistemological basis.

With the growing importance of disciplines like anthropology and the increasing interest in other forms of heritage, another philosophical tradition and conception of value became central. Tainter and Lucas as well as Lipe stress the extrinsic nature of values.²³⁵ Both articles challenge the empiricist-positivist perspective and advocate a constructivist approach to reality and the production of knowledge.²³⁶ Any knowledge about reality is always a construct of our mind. Even if an objective reality exists independently of us, we can only know what is within our experience. Tainter and Lucas assert that since experience cannot be objective, meaning cannot be either but is instead subjective:

If meaning is assigned rather than fixed to inherent properties, then it is subject to variation between individuals, and to change through time. Here, as we shall see, lies the flaw in the historic significance concept. We cannot speak of significance as an inherent attribute of cultural properties, waiting only to be discerned... Significance, rather, is a quality that we assign to a cultural resource based on the theoretical framework within which we happen to be thinking.²³⁷

Lipe comments in a similar way:

Value is not inherent in any cultural items or properties received from the past, at least not in the same sense as, say, size or colour or hardness. Value is learned about or

²³³ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 77.

²³⁴ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 72.

²³⁵ Lipe, “Value”; Tainter and Lucas, “Epistemology.”

²³⁶ Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, “Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research,” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 110–11 (London: SAGE, 1994). On the definition of the constructivist paradigm, see also chapter 3.1.

²³⁷ Tainter and Lucas, “Epistemology,” 713–14.

discovered in these phenomena by humans, and thus depends on the particular cultural, intellectual, historical, and psychological frames of reference held by the particular individuals or groups involved.²³⁸

Value is thus determined by human cognition and context. It is relational. This constructivist perspective was confirmed in the research commissioned by the Getty Conservation Institute in the second half of the 1990s. Mason and Avrami note:

For the most part, heritage values are not intrinsic but rather subjective, context-bound, changeable, and malleable. This is not to say that heritage objects have no objective qualities: age, size, and other factors are some of these. The values we speak of here, however, are the opinions about characteristics—not separable from someone ascribing and describing the value.²³⁹

With the recognition of the subjective nature of value, it was asserted that values may compete and change over time as heritage may have different significance and meanings for different people.²⁴⁰

It is not merely the expert anymore who identifies heritage value, but the whole spectrum of various stakeholders that is involved and takes an interest in heritage.²⁴¹ Clavir comments:

The designation of ‘importance’ may be the result of, and result in, broad public or institutional recognition. Significance may also come from local community or smaller-group collective recognition, and it may come from individual experience and life-histories.²⁴²

The question of whose values is however controversial. This can be seen, for example, in the context of developing an understanding of the ideas of community, group, and individual in the context of implementing the 2003 Convention. Linked to the fact that the Intangible

²³⁸ Lipe, “Value,” 2.

²³⁹ Mason and Avrami, “Heritage Values,” 16.

²⁴⁰ Erica Avrami, “Heritage, Values, and Sustainability,” in *Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*, eds. Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker, 179 (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2009); Lipe, “Value,” 2.

²⁴¹ Avrami, “Heritage,” 178–79.

²⁴² Miriam Clavir, “Conservation and Cultural Significance,” in *Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*, eds. Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker, 140 (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2009).

Cultural Heritage is enacted and representative, one of the most significant aspects of the Convention is the central role it gives to people.²⁴³ In 2006, an expert meeting discussed the definition of terms and came up with a definition of the concepts of communities, groups of people, and individuals.²⁴⁴ Difficulties involved the fact that people belong to more than one community, as was also recognized in a definition developed during another expert meeting held in 2002.²⁴⁵ Communities are not static but fluid entities and relationships and roles are not always clear. This is particularly the case in the context of global communications where communities may be constituted by virtual realities and not geographical space.

The coexistence of both representative and universal value necessitates a theoretical framework that considers both perspectives. Labadi describes such a framework.²⁴⁶ She proposes to use the concept of reiterative universalism which takes into account the notions of universal as well as relative value.²⁴⁷ It acknowledges that concepts are interpreted and translated according to one's own cultural frame of reference.²⁴⁸ Also Connor attempts to go beyond the traditional binarism between absolute or universal and relative value, and establishes the inextricable linkage between the two.²⁴⁹ Neither of the two opposed perspectives can hold the claim for truth. Connor notes that “the assertion of absolute value always brings with it a vulnerability to critique in terms of the value proposed.”²⁵⁰ The idea of relativity, on the other hand, also always conveys an absolute claim, the claim for subjectivity. He calls this phenomenon “performative self-contradiction” as with all attempts to declare the

²⁴³ UNESCO, “Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 17 October 2003,” MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14, art. 2.1, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>.

²⁴⁴ UNESCO, “Report of the expert meeting on Community involvement in safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: towards the implementation of the 2003 Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 13–15 March 2006,” 12–13, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00034-EN.pdf>.

²⁴⁵ UNESCO, “Glossary, intangible cultural heritage, prepared by an international meeting of experts at UNESCO, 10–12 June 2002,” 4, August 2002, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00265.pdf>.

²⁴⁶ Sophia Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value: Value-Based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions* (Plymouth, UK: AltaMira Press, 2013), 11–23.

²⁴⁷ Labadi, *Value-Based Analyses*, 18.

²⁴⁸ Labadi, *Value-Based Analyses*, 19.

²⁴⁹ Steven Connor, *Theory and Cultural Value* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 1.

²⁵⁰ Connor, *Theory*, 17.

absolute absence of absolutes.²⁵¹ Connor concludes that it is paramount to acknowledge the paradoxical structure of value, “involving the simultaneous desire and necessity to affirm unconditional values and the desire and necessity to subject such values to continuous, corrosive scrutiny.”²⁵² An attempt to conceptually combine the notions of universal and local was also made at an international conference on *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage* in 2003. The participants acknowledged that “it is not viable to identify or manage universal value without acknowledging and maintaining value of place to the local people.”²⁵³ Like tangible and intangible heritage, universal and local values were understood as the opposite ends of a continuum.

4.3.3. Classification of heritage value

As already mentioned different types of heritage values exist. Avrami et al. note that the classification of value is an attempt “to grapple with the many emotions, meanings, and functions associated with the material goods.”²⁵⁴ A development was identified in terms of classifying value that reveals a change beyond a temporal towards a contextual approach. Also with regard to specific value types a change is visible beyond a past-oriented interpretation to consider the present context.

The earliest systematic classification in the conservation field known to the author was made by Riegl in the early twentieth century. By distinguishing between commemorative and contemporary values, he established groups by using the idea of time.²⁵⁵ While

²⁵¹ Connor, *Theory*, 26 and 28–29.

²⁵² Connor, *Theory*, 17.

²⁵³ Eléonore de Merode, Rieks Smeets, and Carol Westrik, eds., *Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage—A Conference organized by the Netherlands National Commission for UNESCO, in Collaboration with the Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 22–24 May 2003*, World Heritage papers 13 (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2004), 166.

²⁵⁴ Avrami et al., *Values*, 8.

²⁵⁵ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 72.

commemorative values, that is, age value, historical value, and deliberate commemorative value, concern the past, contemporary or present-day values, such as use value and newness value reflect the present. Another classification done by Lipe identifies economic, aesthetic, associative/symbolic, and informational value. The classification is based on the idea of context. Lipe distinguishes between four value contexts and their associated value types: the economic potential is expressed in economic value; stylistic tradition, human psychology and other factors influence aesthetic standards and thus, aesthetic value; traditional knowledge, which manifests, for example, in historical documents, oral traditions, and mythology, determines associative or symbolic value; and research in various disciplines shapes informational value.²⁵⁶ In the framework of the research commissioned by the Getty Conservation Institute the idea of context was taken up and advanced. Any classification should remain flexible and depend on setting and project.²⁵⁷

Heritage conservation instruments showcase the existence and broadening of value classifications. The Venice Charter, for example, considers historical, archaeological, and aesthetic value.²⁵⁸ The World Heritage Convention states that the cultural heritage considered should be of value from a historical, artistic, scientific, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.²⁵⁹ Hereafter the value types mentioned in article one of the World Heritage Convention are looked at. In addition, social value is considered as it reflects the changing approach to cultural heritage.

²⁵⁶ Lipe, “Value,” 3.

²⁵⁷ Mason, “Assessing Values,” 10–11.

²⁵⁸ ICOMOS, “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964),” art. 11, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

²⁵⁹ UNESCO, “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” art. 1, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>.

4.3.3.1. Historical value

Riegl records that the most common heritage value concerns a monument's historical past.²⁶⁰ Pearson and Sullivan state that "all heritage places have some historic value."²⁶¹ Mason confirms that historical value is at the root of the very notion of heritage:

The capacity of a site to convey, embody, or stimulate a relation or reaction to the past is part of the fundamental nature and meaning of heritage objects.²⁶²

By analyzing the relation between the past, history, and heritage, Lowenthal observes that the past "has become an ever more foreign realm, yet one increasingly suffused by the present."²⁶³ In this context, two ideas are important with regard to understanding historical value. First, a change has occurred with respect to the notion of time. And secondly, it has come to be understood as an interpretation of the past from a present-day perspective.

The idea of heritage has been described as Western-centric and a reference to a linear conception of time.²⁶⁴ Riegl, for example, defines historical value as based on the idea of development:

Everything that succeeds was conditioned by what came before and would not have occurred in the manner in which it did if not for those precedents.²⁶⁵

Historical value and heritage have generally been understood to refer to a more or less remote past. Lowenthal notes, however, that this "distinction between the historical past and the present is not innate but acquired, and often uncertain or absent:"

Where knowledge of the past is orally transmitted, for example, or where no records exist, the past is perceived entirely in terms of present accounts.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ Riegl, "Modern Cult," 72.

²⁶¹ Michael Pearson and Sharon Sullivan, *Looking after Heritage Places—the Basics of Heritage Planning for Managers, Landowners and Administrators* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1999), 139.

²⁶² Mason, "Assessing Values," 11.

²⁶³ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xix.

²⁶⁴ Lowenthal, *Past*, 220.

²⁶⁵ Riegl, "Modern Cult," 70.

²⁶⁶ Lowenthal, *Past*, 231.

This understanding relates to a circular or spiral conception of time, which is characterized by repetition and which is linked to the cycle of the seasons and the rhythm of nature.²⁶⁷ With the recognition of traditional societies' points of view the idea of continuity was introduced into the notion of historical value.

Historical value, moreover, concerns historical knowledge about a place and the selection and interpretation of this knowledge in the present. Mason as well as Marquis-Kyle and Walker observe that a place can be of historical value because of its associations with important people or events.²⁶⁸ Lowenthal with reference to history states that it is both less than the past and more than the past at the same time.²⁶⁹ A historical narrative is thus “not a portrait...of what happened but a story about what happened.”²⁷⁰ Our understanding of the past “is filtered through present-day mental lenses.”²⁷¹ A historical account is therefore not only created and selective, but also subjective and polyphonic.

4.3.3.2. Scientific value

Pearson and Sullivan observe that the potential of heritage places to provide information about past societies and their environment is called scientific value, also referred to as archaeological, informational, or research value.²⁷² This research potential is determined by the place's capacity to help answer current or future research questions by means of further

²⁶⁷ Jean-Pierre Boutinet, “Bipartition du temps,” in *Anthropologie du projet*, 48 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005 [1990]).

²⁶⁸ Peter Marquis-Kyle and Meredith Walker, *The Illustrated Burra Charter: Making Good Decisions About the Care of Important Places* (Sydney: Australia ICOMOS, 1992), 73; Mason, “Assessing Values,” 11.

²⁶⁹ Lowenthal, *Past*, 214–19.

²⁷⁰ Lowenthal, *Past*, 215.

²⁷¹ Lowenthal, *Past*, 216.

²⁷² Pearson and Sullivan, *Heritage Places*, 147.

studies.²⁷³ It may also depend on the importance of the data involved, its rarity, quality, or representativeness.²⁷⁴ Like historical value, scientific value concerns the information and knowledge about a place gained through, for example, archaeological methods, but also as Mason explains through “an artist’s creative interpretation of the historical record.”²⁷⁵ In contrast to historical value, though, where a place is appreciated for already existing knowledge, with scientific value the potential for knowledge and information is stressed.

4.3.3.3. Artistic value

Artistic value cannot be presented without speaking about historical, aesthetic, and architectural value. In his definition of artistic, Riegl links art to history:

...it is important to realize that every monument of art is, without exception, a historical monument as well, since it represents a particular stage in the development of the fine arts for which no entirely equivalent replacement can be found. Conversely, every historical monument is also a monument of art...²⁷⁶

A monument is thus an “art-historical monument.”²⁷⁷ A definition of architectural value as understood in the context of the discipline of architectural history in the 1960s links the historical interpretation of artistic value to aesthetics. Pearson and Sullivan report that “historic building” was understood as “architecturally beautiful building:”

...a building’s architectural value is usually dealt with as a *part* of the building’s historical significance. It is usually a taxonomic approach to history, dealing with the way the building fits into the characteristics that define a style, or how it is evaluated

²⁷³ Michael B. Schiffer and George J. Gumerman, “Assessing Significance,” in *Conservation Archaeology: A Guide for Cultural Resource Management Studies*, eds. Michael B. Schiffer and George J. Gumerman, 241 (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

²⁷⁴ Marquis-Kyle and Walker, *Illustrated Burra Charter*, 73.

²⁷⁵ Mason, “Assessing Values,” 11.

²⁷⁶ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 70.

²⁷⁷ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 71.

among the works of a particular architect, or how it utilized design or materials to achieve an innovative solution to a particular problem facing the architect.²⁷⁸

Mason takes a similar approach when basing artistic value on “an object’s being unique, being the best, being a good example of, being the work of a particular individual, and so on.”²⁷⁹ By referring to materials and techniques as well as the specific rules an architect follows in the construction of a building, also craft-related aspects have been taken into consideration.²⁸⁰ Mason in relation to another value type, that is, cultural value, explains in a similar way that “[a] building embodies the methods used to design and make it.”²⁸¹ He goes on in stating that “the values relating to the process of making and building are often separate from (or lost among) more static historical or aesthetic values.”²⁸² It may in fact be said that the techniques to construct a building and the knowledge associated therewith are barely recognized in traditional tangible heritage conservation. Artistic value has thus been mainly understood in its close link to the history of architecture and art, and consequently to a value type that has an epistemological framework reaching well back in the discipline of art, namely aesthetic value.

4.3.3.4. Aesthetic value

Aesthetic value refers to the visual qualities of heritage and depends on the interpretations of beauty that were formulated over time and that are valid in different places.²⁸³ Like Ruskin, Riegl observes that the fundamental aesthetic principle of the time relates to age value. The sublime lies in “the dissolution of completeness as a symbol of an equally necessary and lawful decay.”²⁸⁴ Pearson and Sullivan observe that, while the beauty of

²⁷⁸ Pearson and Sullivan, *Heritage Places*, 138–39.

²⁷⁹ Mason, “Assessing Values,” 11.

²⁸⁰ Sophia Labadi, “Questioning the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: A Value-Based Analysis of Purposefully Sampled Nomination Dossiers” (PhD diss., University College London, 2005), 91.

²⁸¹ Mason, “Assessing Values,” 12.

²⁸² Mason, “Assessing Values,” 12.

²⁸³ Barry H. Slater, “Aesthetics,” Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/aestheti/>.

²⁸⁴ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 73.

the old appeals particularly to the Western spectator, for Aboriginal people the beauty lies in the strangeness of the art object.²⁸⁵

Aesthetic evaluation starts with the tangible elements of the object as well as the ensemble of these elements.²⁸⁶ Riegl observes that in contrast to historical value, which requires factual knowledge, the aesthetic of a monument is experienced through sensory perception and emotional reactions.²⁸⁷ Not only form, scale, color, and material of the fabric are considered, but also the smells and sounds associated with the place.²⁸⁸ As an important contributor to a sense of well-being the aesthetic experience creates a link between the human being and place, an emotional connection.²⁸⁹ It is thus one of the most subjective value types.²⁹⁰

4.3.3.5. Ethnological or anthropological value

Ethnological or anthropological value presents a tricky case. With reference to archaeological sites, “anthropological significance” overlaps with historical and above all scientific value:

Here investigators must discern the extent to which study of specific resources might be expected to contribute to testing general anthropological principles, especially those relating to processes of long-term culture change and ecological adaptation.²⁹¹

Anthropological value is understood on the basis of existing or potential knowledge about the origins, development, and customs and beliefs of societies. Bearing in mind the historical

²⁸⁵ Pearson and Sullivan, *Heritage Places*, 138.

²⁸⁶ Pearson and Sullivan, *Heritage Places*, 135.

²⁸⁷ Riegl, “Modern Cult,” 74.

²⁸⁸ Marquis-Kyle and Walker, *Illustrated Burra Charter*, 73; Mason, “Assessing Values,” 12.

²⁸⁹ Mason, “Assessing Values,” 12; Pearson and Sullivan, *Heritage Places*, 135.

²⁹⁰ Labadi, “Implementation,” 91; Lipe, “Value,” 7; Mason, “Assessing Values,” 12.

²⁹¹ Michael B. Schiffer and John H. House, “An Approach to Assessing Scientific Significance,” in *Conservation Archaeology: A Guide for Cultural Resource Management Studies*, eds. Michael B. Schiffer and George J. Gumerman, 253 (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

character of archaeological sites, it could be considered a sub-theme of historical and scientific value.

Moratto suggests another interpretation of “ethnic value” that emphasizes the present-day religious, mythological, social or other importance of an archaeological site for a distinct, particularly local group of people.²⁹² The methodological approach to discern anthropological value is enlarged:

Determination of ethnic significance requires consultation with groups who occupied a site, descendants of such groups, and also groups who presently own or live near the sites under consideration. The latter criterion should be taken seriously; sometimes an archaeological site is an appreciable source of pride for a nearby community.²⁹³

This interpretation not only expands authority of knowledge beyond the expert, but also touches the connection between people and place in the present. Understood in this way, anthropological value overlaps with another value type, namely social value as it has come to be understood today.

4.3.3.6. Social value

The term social value does not appear in classifications like Riegl’s or Lipe’s.²⁹⁴ It may be assumed that it has found its way into heritage literature mainly due to the impact of one document. The Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter of 1979 most prominently mentions social value, next to aesthetic and historical value, in its first article.²⁹⁵ Labadi comments that this demonstrates the originality of the Charter’s typology.²⁹⁶ Since then, social value has been increasingly recognized in heritage conservation.

²⁹² Moratto cited in Schiffer and Gumerman, “Assessing Significance,” 244.

²⁹³ Schiffer and Gumerman, “Assessing Significance,” 244–45.

²⁹⁴ Lipe, “Value”; Riegl, “Modern Cult.”

²⁹⁵ ICOMOS Australia, “The Australia ICOMOS Guidelines for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (‘Burra Charter,’ 1979),” art. 1.

²⁹⁶ Labadi, “Implementation,” 86.

With reference to the Burra Charter's 1999 revision, Truscott and Young offer an interpretation of social value as "the value of a place to the present."²⁹⁷ Johnston explains:

Social value is about collective attachment to places that embody meanings important to a community. These places are usually community owned or publicly accessible or in some other ways 'appropriated' into people's daily lives. Such meanings are in addition to other values, such as the evidence of valued aspects of history or beauty, and these meanings may not be obvious in the fabric of the place, and may not be apparent to the disinterested observer.²⁹⁸

Social value encapsulates the connection between people and place, a sense of belonging and identity, particularly at a local level. Johnston suggests that the idea of "sense of place" is a useful starting point for exploring social value.²⁹⁹ It refers not so much to the physical evidence, but rather the spiritual or visual experience of a place. As with aesthetic value the evocation of emotions creates a sense of attachment to place. Since each individual may experience a place differently, social value is equally subjective, dynamic, and polyphonic.

Social value not only overlaps with aesthetic, but also historical value and other value types. Johnston observes:

As social value may often be based on a continuity of historical attachment to place, it may be difficult in practice to always distinguish it from historical value. The continuity of associations over time creates shared community perceptions that may be regarded as evidence of its social value. And it is likely that one of the major sources of meaning will be historical events associated with a place.³⁰⁰

The notion of cultural/symbolic value as defined by Mason can also be linked to the idea of social value:

Cultural values are used to build cultural affiliation in the present and can be historical, political, ethnic, or related to other means of living together (for instance, work- or craft-related). ...cultural/symbolic value refers to those shared meanings associated

²⁹⁷ Marilyn Truscott and David Young, "Revising the Burra Charter: Australia ICOMOS Updates Its Guidelines for Conservation Practice," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 4 (2000): 103.

²⁹⁸ Chris Johnston, "What is Social Value?: A Discussion Paper" (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1992), 10, http://www.contextpl.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/What_is_Social_Value_web.pdf.

²⁹⁹ Johnston, "Social Value," 10.

³⁰⁰ Johnston, "Social Value," 16.

with heritage that are not, strictly speaking, historic (related to the chronological aspects and meanings of a site).³⁰¹

Also spiritual or religious value is linked to social value. Mason defines the former as “the beliefs and teachings of organized religion, but...also...secular experiences of wonder, awe, and so on, which can be provoked by visiting heritage places.”³⁰²

An interpretation of social value proposed in 2003 considers these overlaps.³⁰³ The idea of “social significance” is based on a critique of the canonical four-in-a-line model put forward by the Burra Charter and illustrated by Johnston. Byrne et al. note that setting aesthetic, historical, scientific, and social value on equal grounds as stipulated in article one of the Charter does not reflect the changing approach to cultural heritage beyond the material base. They propose that the social, that is, society and its various social groupings, becomes the container of aesthetic, historical, and scientific value. It is seen “as constituting the environment in which heritage is conceived and managed.”³⁰⁴

4.4. Intangible heritage, tangible heritage, heritage value, and cultural heritage

In the following, the material presented in the previous subchapters is discussed with a view to theorize the concept of intangible heritage in relation to the ideas of tangible heritage, heritage value, and ultimately cultural heritage. First, the conceptual role of intangible heritage is presented, that is, its role as indicator for a paradigm shift in international cultural heritage conservation. And secondly, conceptual repercussions of introducing the anthropological

³⁰¹ Mason, “Assessing Values,” 11.

³⁰² Mason, “Assessing Values,” 12.

³⁰³ Denis Byrne, Helen Brayshaw, and Tracy Ireland, “Social Significance: A Discussion Paper” (Hurstville: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2003), <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/cultureheritage/socialsignificance.pdf>.

³⁰⁴ Byrne et al., “Social Significance,” 8.

dimension are presented. Intangible heritage is viewed as an approach to re-thinking cultural heritage. The terms tangible heritage, intangible heritage, and heritage value take on specific meanings.

4.4.1. Intangible heritage as indicator for a paradigm shift

The growing recognition of intangible heritage and the changing conception of heritage value are closely related to what has been called an anthropological turn in international cultural heritage conservation, marked by the introduction of a human-centered understanding of cultural heritage.³⁰⁵ It can be traced especially in the UNESCO discourse. In its context, the 1984 meeting on a future program concerning the non-physical heritage is specifically important as it introduced an anthropological in contrast to a folkloristic approach. This approach focuses on processes, on social and cultural relations in societies rather than on objects or products. It found full implementation in the 1993 Living Human Treasures program, which aims at protecting knowledge and skills by addressing human beings as tradition-bearers themselves. In its context, the idea of tangible heritage in terms of architecture or place in general was abandoned. In the late 1990s, with the concept of cultural space the idea was reintroduced and the relationship between people and place emphasized. The recognition of processes instead of objects finally reached its climax in the early twenty-first century with the development of the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage. While the 2003 Convention aims to safeguard intangible heritage expressions as an independent heritage category, its underlying theoretical conception reflects a re-theorization of cultural heritage. The Intangible Cultural Heritage is created and transmitted by human beings and may exist in relation to place. It is grounded in the local context. This understanding has also found its way into the ICOMOS discourse. First traces can be found in the late 1980s with the ideas of sacred sites and the non-built environment as well as the mention of the term intangible; a

³⁰⁵ On the intellectual turn, see Arizpe, “Cultural Politics,” 33–34.

spiritual connection between people and place results in intangible values. Particularly since the late 1990s, through the concepts of living space, spirit of place, and creative space, the notion of historic monument has been enlarged to consider the interrelationship between human beings and their environment and with it the tangible-intangible continuum.

The anthropological shift can also be traced in relation to the value discourse, which is characterized by a development beyond the past, material, object and expert-oriented interpretation of value towards recognizing the present and local context, processes, and the relational and relative character of value. First, the idea of value has taken a central role in heritage conservation over time. From an interest in specific conservation interventions over the first articulation of the concept of value and its core role in the dynamic of conservation to the consolidation of values-based conservation, heritage value has come to be understood as an analytical tool that deals with cultural heritage as a dynamic of why, what, how, and for whom to conserve. Second, in relation to value classifications a shift can be observed beyond a temporal towards a contextual approach that considers a variety of values. With regard to the broadening of value types a development can be traced beyond an interest in the materiality of the past to recognize the present context of attributing value and with it other forms of heritage and the perspectives of local communities. This has major methodological implications as it is not only the expert who identifies value, but more generally speaking various social groups who attach meaning to a certain place. This change can be traced, for example, in the interpretation of historical value. In Western thought, traditionally focused on the past and a linear conception of time, the notion of history has in heritage literature come to be acknowledged for its close link to the present, particularly in relation to societies where knowledge and meaning are transmitted orally and time understood to work in a circular or spiral way. Most importantly, however, the shift is found in the recognition and interpretation of social value, starting in the late 1970s. As “the value of a place to the present,” social value goes beyond the past and emphasizes collective attachment or meaning attributed to place by often, but not exclusively, local communities.³⁰⁶ The pervasiveness of the human dimension is

³⁰⁶ Truscott and Young, “Burra Charter,” 103.

also expressed in the concept of social significance in the early 2000s. Social value is interpreted as the social context of value, that is, as the various social groupings of society that attribute meanings. It is grounded in society. A similar interpretation can already be found in ICOMOS in late 1990s, with the idea of living space. And third, the conceptualization of heritage value has moved beyond the intrinsic to consider the extrinsic nature of value. This shift is particularly relevant as it is directly linked to the changing understanding of how reality and knowledge are constituted, which in turn reflects a paradigm shift. According to Kuhn, the history of science is characterized by “scientific revolutions,” which means a reorientation toward the field “to ask new questions about and to draw new conclusions from old data.”³⁰⁷ It involves the application of questions and concepts, which either did not exist before or were restricted to another field. It is characterized by a shift in the problems and problem-solving strategies, in the rules governing the prior practice, that is, in the prior paradigm.³⁰⁸ Based on a positivist paradigm, international cultural heritage conservation value was understood to be intrinsic in the materiality of monuments, groups of buildings and sites. It may thus be conceived to be universal. The view opposed to this understanding, which has found increasing support since the early 1980s, considers value to be extrinsic and to be attributed by people. Values or meanings are constructed in social interaction and in response to place. This constructivist conception of knowledge emphasizes the process-character of value and heritage. Value has become relative and in the case of the 2003 Convention representative. The development beyond the intrinsic to consider the extrinsic nature of values thus reflects a paradigm shift in international cultural heritage conservation. In this context, it is important to note that the new paradigm does not necessarily replace the old one.³⁰⁹ On the contrary, the old paradigm may have been modified to accommodate the new one. This leads to the question of finding a framework that overcomes the binarism between universal and relative values. In this regard, a theoretical solution was introduced that acknowledges the

³⁰⁷ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 139.

³⁰⁸ Kuhn, *Scientific Revolutions*, 6–7.

³⁰⁹ Kuhn, *Scientific Revolutions*, 149.

paradoxical structure of value, that is, the simultaneous desire to affirm objective values and the necessity to continuously question them.

With the pervasiveness of the anthropological or human dimension, focus shifted to consider the present, relational, relative, and living character of heritage. The intangible heritage thus functions as an indicator for a paradigm shift in international cultural heritage conservation. Its growing recognition is also closely linked to a changing approach to cultural heritage, that is, it has triggered the re-theorization of cultural heritage.

4.4.2. Intangible heritage as approach

The concept of intangible heritage can be used not only to denote a heritage category in contrast to tangible heritage or as a means of identifying various interpretations of the term and associated themes, but also to describe an approach to cultural heritage which puts people at the heart of cultural processes. In 2010, the participants of the *Round Table on Conserving Cultural Landscapes*, organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage of the Université de Montréal, concluded that the concept of cultural landscape could be viewed not only as a heritage category, but also as a theoretical approach:

If treated as an approach, cultural landscape thinking assumes dynamic values in a landscape without clear boundaries; it challenges the way one thinks about the environment, allowing for the enhancement of existing values.³¹⁰

Cultural landscapes are constructed in peoples' minds and refer to concepts associated with place.³¹¹ As in the case of intangible heritage, with cultural landscapes people were put at the heart of cultural processes. Like the concept of cultural landscape, intangible heritage can be

³¹⁰ Christina Cameron and Shabnam Inanloo Dailoo, eds., "Proceedings of the Round Table organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage: Conserving Cultural Landscapes (Montréal, 10–12 March 2010)," 174 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2010), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2010_Proces_verbaux.pdf.

³¹¹ Cameron and Inanloo Dailoo, "Proceedings," 158.

viewed as an intellectual framework or theoretical approach to draw an inclusive picture of cultural heritage.³¹²

Many authors describe the link between the tangible and the intangible in the context of defining cultural heritage. Smith et al. observe, for example:

The significance of heritage does not lie in its materiality or its fabric, but in the cultural and historical processes that give it meaning. ...heritage may also be identified as an experience, not just a physical place or object.³¹³

Byrne, moreover, argues:

...the approach to heritage conservation that treats materiality as an end in itself... effects a deformation of place. The excision of the material past from its social context, past and present, hollows it out and deforms it. What you are left with are things minus feeling.³¹⁴

The anthropological context of place is paramount. Meanings and values as well as knowledge and skills associated with place are experienced, performed, and transmitted in the present and are essentially relational. With people being the creators, receivers, and transmitters of these processes, cultural heritage becomes a dynamic composition of the tangible and the intangible, which is embedded in the respective socio-cultural, economic, and political context.

Other authors have formulated similar holistic theories. Rudolff, for instance, proposes a revised conceptual approach to tangible and intangible heritage to overcome established international heritage classifications. What she calls “cultural topology” aims at understanding how heritage takes place in space and time:

Topological analyses approach heritage from a pre-categorical perspective - which negates all existing heritage and value typologies - and encourages involvement of multi-disciplinary analysts.... The analyst’s focus shifts from heritage expressions towards ideas or concepts of heritage, which are defined as logos.... These concepts are localised in place, topos, which again in this context overcomes the restrictions of

³¹² Alivizatou, “Intangible Cultural Heritage,” 51.

³¹³ Smith et al., “Community-driven Research,” 75.

³¹⁴ Byrne, “Unfeeling Heritage,” 231.

place dictated by Euclidian space and geometry. Summarized and simplified, heritage is approached as ideas taking place or as logoi manifested in topoi.³¹⁵

To resolve the dichotomy of the tangible and the intangible she perceives the two “as extremes on a gradual scale.”³¹⁶ Smith offers a similar theory to reconcile the international classification of heritage. She redefines “all heritage as inherently intangible in the first place.”³¹⁷ According to Smith, heritage is not an object, but “a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing.”³¹⁸ In the context of describing authorized and dissenting heritage discourses in response to questions of power, heritage is understood as “a multilayered performance...that embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating and constructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present.”³¹⁹ What makes things and places valuable and meaningful, according to her, are

the present-day cultural processes and activities that are undertaken at and around... [places and things], and of which they become a part. It is these processes that identify them as physically symbolic of particular cultural and social events, and thus give them value and meaning.³²⁰

The idea of embodied thought and emotion in terms of meanings and memories thereby links the physical sense of place with traditional conceptualizations of intangible heritage as performances or traditions.³²¹ Based on this conceptualization of intangible heritage, former categories, such as skills, practices, and rituals, become intangible attributes of heritage. The tangible and the intangible may thus be understood as attributes of cultural heritage, that is, as observable characteristics which occur in various combinations and which constitute a tangible-intangible continuum. In this context, Deacon’s distinction between material and non-material values may be interpreted to refer to tangible and intangible attributes of place and

³¹⁵ Britta Rudolff, *‘Intangible’ and ‘Tangible’ Heritage: A Topology of Culture in Contexts of Faith* (Bonn: Scientia Bonnensis, 2010), 281.

³¹⁶ Rudolff, *Topology of culture*, 279.

³¹⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 56.

³¹⁸ Smith, *Uses*, 54.

³¹⁹ Smith, *Uses*, 3.

³²⁰ Smith, *Uses*, 18.

³²¹ Smith, *Uses*, 57.

their values.³²² The concept of spirit of place, formulated in 2008 in the context of an ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, also reflects this continuum. Place and its spiritual dimension are constituted of tangible elements, such as buildings and objects, and intangible elements, including memories, rituals, traditional knowledge, colors, and values.

It is in fact useful to set the idea of value in relation to the idea of attribute. A suitable starting point for this discussion is the idea of why something is given importance above something else. Here, the comparative character of value becomes apparent as a means to make a selection. In addition, it is important to ask where do values come from. While an intrinsic understanding of the nature of value equates the ideas of value and attribute, a constructivist perspective of heritage value separates the two. According to the constructivist paradigm, values are created by people in social interaction. They are extrinsic, subjective, relational, and relative. Value is thus something inherently intangible as it refers to a concept or idea, as also observed by Rudolff.³²³ This interpretation is confirmed by considering the value types. Historical, scientific, artistic, anthropological, and social value may all be viewed as referring to some sort of knowledge about or link to a place. They constitute different reasons for valuing. Each value type points to the character of the meaning of a place, in other words to the type of knowledge or idea that is valued. This meaning can relate to the history of a place, its architecture, scientific content, or aesthetic appeal. With reference to aesthetic value, for example, not only the idea of beauty materialized in the appearance of a place may be addressed, but also the emotions created in experiencing a place, which are entirely intangible. Since it is difficult to conserve emotions, traditionally the tangible manifestation is protected that evokes these emotions. The relationship between value and attribute can thus be described as follows: values refer to the question *why* we conserve, attributes indicate *what* we conserve.

³²² Deacon, "Intangible Heritage."

³²³ Rudolff, *Topology of culture*, 73–74.

By conceiving intangible heritage as an approach to cultural heritage, the idea of intangibility assumes different conceptual dimensions. First, linked to the introduction of the anthropological dimension, heritage places have come to be understood to be permeated with social relations. The human dimension is central as it is people who give meaning to places. Heritage value thus refers to a concept or idea that links people with place. It relates to the idea of justification and describes the importance we attribute to heritage expressions, which is inherently immaterial. Secondly, intangible heritage refers to the attributes that convey heritage value and that are conserved to retain this value. Heritage places consist of tangible and intangible elements or attributes. Tangible attributes are, for example, built structures or the material objects that support traditions linked to a place. Intangible heritage in this context means former categories like skills, traditions, and rituals as specified, for example, in the 2003 Convention. It also refers to the historical knowledge or spiritual content as cultural association. The idea of place may accordingly be said to refer to a tangible-intangible continuum that ranges from the material evidence of a place to associated ideas.

4.5. Summary

The idea of intangible heritage has come to play an important role in the twenty-first century. At the same time it remains a complex concept that has been used to mean different things in international cultural heritage conservation. The present chapter aimed at deconstructing the idea of intangible heritage historically and conceptually with respect to a scientific, a UNESCO, and an ICOMOS discourse. The main purpose in so doing was to theorize intangible heritage based on a discussion of the results obtained through the analysis.

First, the emergence and growing recognition of intangible heritage in international cultural heritage conservation was outlined according to each discourse. In so doing, various terms and their interpretations used to denote intangible heritage were highlighted. Five time

periods were considered: (1) early traces from the 1950s to the 1970s (combined UNESCO and ICOMOS discourses); (2) the 1980s, when the interest in intangible heritage for the first time found expression in an international instrument (UNESCO discourse) and the spiritual dimension of sites was addressed (ICOMOS discourse); (3) the early 1990s, with its anthropological focus that is characterized by the recognition of human beings as Living Human Treasures (UNESCO discourse) and with a growing interest in the question of authenticity and the consideration of traditions (ICOMOS discourse); (4) the conceptual debates of the late 1990s, with the establishment of a program to consider an enlarged view of intangible heritage that acknowledges cultural spaces (UNESCO discourse) and discussions on intangible values, the social dimension of sites, and living spaces (ICOMOS discourse); (5) and finally the 2000s, which saw the appearance of the term intangible heritage in heritage literature (scientific discourse), the rapid formalization of an anthropological approach and process-oriented interpretation of cultural heritage through the 2003 Convention (UNESCO discourse), and other attempts to formulate a holistic heritage conception using the ideas of intangible value and sense of place (ICOMOS discourse).

Second, recurring interpretations of intangible heritage in the scientific discourse were identified and presented: (1) associative value; (2) memory and remembrance; (3) traditional knowledge and practice; (4) practice, memory, and associative value; (5) and spirituality and connectivity. They have to be seen as a means to deconstruct the concept of intangible heritage and to facilitate its understanding. The idea of associative value was developed in relation to tangible heritage and raises the question of the intangible-value relationship. The theme of traditional knowledge and practice is strongly linked to the 2003 Convention. And the notion of spirituality or connectivity points to a holistic heritage conception, that is, the link between people and place in terms of the intangible and the tangible.

Third, the concept of heritage value was analyzed with a view to providing a basis for the subsequent discussion. A historical perspective was considered in the context of the analysis. The changing role and definition of heritage value were looked at initially. A shift

was traced beyond a focus on the conservation of the material fabric to values-based conservation. The analysis indicated that value has come to play an increasing role in heritage conservation and the definition of cultural heritage. At the same time, different understandings of the term exist, testifying to the concept's complexity. Then, the changing nature of heritage value was traced by examining the origin of values. Two main perspectives exist. While intrinsic values are linked to the materiality of place and can therefore be interpreted to be universal, extrinsic values are dependent on human beings who give meaning to heritage. In this case, value becomes relative and representative of a specific context. A third perspective aims at combining these two views and acknowledges the paradoxical structure of value. And lastly, value classifications and pertinent value types were investigated, including historical, scientific, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, and social value. A move from a temporal to a contextual approach of classifying value was detected. A change was also observed with regard to understanding the value types. It is characterized by going beyond a past-oriented interpretation to consider present-day values. The change was exemplified by social value which is grounded in society.

Finally, intangible heritage was discussed and theorized against the backdrop of presented results. It was conceptually set in relation to tangible heritage, heritage value, and ultimately cultural heritage. First, the increasing recognition of intangible heritage was linked to an anthropological shift in international cultural heritage conservation which is characterized by the introduction of the human component into the theorization of cultural heritage. At the basis of this shift lies a change in conceiving knowledge and reality. It was thus demonstrated that intangible heritage functions as an indicator for a paradigm shift. And secondly, intangible heritage was addressed as an approach to defining cultural heritage that goes beyond the dichotomy of the tangible and the intangible. It thus provides a conceptual frame for drawing an inclusive picture of cultural heritage. In its context, the concept of intangible heritage takes on different meanings. It refers to the values that people ascribe to heritage places, which are inherently intangible, as well as to attributes of sites such as associated knowledge or traditions.

In the next chapter, knowledge gained in this chapter, that is, the understanding and theorization of intangible heritage, was used as the chosen perspective or theoretical lens to trace the recognition of and tease out interpretations of intangible heritage in the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage.

5. INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF IMPLEMENTING THE CONCEPT OF WORLD CULTURAL HERITAGE

In this chapter, the recognition of intangible heritage over time and its various interpretations will be traced within the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage. The chapter is structured first of all chronologically. Five time periods have been identified to be relevant: the late 1970s and early 1980s for the indirect recognition of intangible heritage; the 1980s and precursors of change; the first half of the 1990s for the introduction of an anthropological approach to cultural heritage and the direct recognition of intangible heritage; the second half of the 1990s and first half of the 2000s for the continuation of discussions and the implementation of concepts; and the second half of the 2000s up to 2014 for a stagnation of conceptual discussions. These periods have been determined in accordance with major transformations in the wording and consequently character of concepts as well as the appearance of certain pertinent debates. Each subchapter is then structured according to the concepts that define World Cultural Heritage, that is, cultural heritage, Outstanding Universal Value, the inscription criteria, and authenticity. In conclusion, the general trends and main results are summarized.

5.1. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s (indirect recognition)

In the early debate, intangible heritage was only indirectly addressed. After the World Heritage Convention entered into force on 17 December 1975, UNESCO organized two preparatory expert meetings that brought together the advisory bodies ICOMOS, ICCROM, and IUCN to discuss the implementation of the Convention.¹ The informal consultation

¹ “States Parties: Ratification Status,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/>.

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meetings took place in the Swiss Morges in May 1976 and in Paris in March 1977. In 1979, Michel Parent, at the time head of the Delegation of France and Rapporteur for the World Heritage Committee, was invited by the Bureau to reflect on clarifying the criteria in light of nominations and decisions taken so far. The two expert meetings and the report prepared by Parent were instrumental in the wording and early interpretation of concepts.

5.1.1. Cultural heritage, heritage typology, and the idea of immovable heritage

The concept of cultural heritage was addressed in two ways. First, the three heritage categories, that is, monuments, groups of buildings, and sites, were examined as a means to finding an appropriate typological approach to cultural heritage. From these attempts the endeavor developed to establish a global conceptual framework that was based on the idea of typology. This discussion is relevant for this research insofar as it provides the basis for the later shift towards considering a thematic and anthropological approach to cultural heritage. In addition, it represents a frame for identifying new heritage types, such as cultural landscapes, which in turn present a setting for recognizing intangible heritage. Second, the focus on immovable objects was affirmed. This is particularly relevant for understanding the associative dimension expressed through criterion (vi) and its role in relation to the other criteria.

During the preparatory expert meetings in 1976 and 1977, attempts were made to understand the categories of monuments, groups of buildings, and sites and their relation to the proposed criteria to assess Outstanding Universal Value. ICOMOS in its technical paper for the Morges meeting observed that it was not easy to determine the affiliation of properties to one of the categories by highlighting the interrelationship between a group of buildings and its surrounding landscape.² Nevertheless, in 1979, Parent considered it paramount to clarify the

² UNESCO, "Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976," CC-76/WS/25, annex III, 4, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>.

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overall typology of the Convention.³ The Committee at its third session held in 1979 decided to continue studying the question of finalizing an appropriate typology.⁴

The limitation of cultural heritage to immovable properties was introduced into the *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* following a recommendation made by Parent in 1979. The Italian nomination of the Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci had raised the discussion whether the wall painting in itself represented an example of cultural heritage as defined under the Convention.⁵ Parent emphasized that this interpretation of cultural heritage would result in an unreasonable number of nominations and that the link between the wall painting and the immovable monument was paramount for inscription.⁶ Following the recommendation by Parent, the Committee adopted the decision to “not take into consideration nominations of immovable property which are likely to become movable.”⁷ This principle was included in the *Operational Guidelines* in 1980 and has remained there to this day.⁸

³ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 25–26, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979,” CC-79/CONF.003/13, 9, Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-13e.pdf>.

⁵ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 10, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁶ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 10, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁷ UNESCO, “Report on the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979,” CC-79/CONF.003/13, 9 para. 35.iii, Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-13e.pdf>.

⁸ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 14 para. 52, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 19.b, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>.

5.1.2. Outstanding Universal Value and representative value

By introducing the concept of Outstanding Universal Value the Convention establishes a highly selective approach to cultural heritage. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, a paradox was noted that weakened the idea of Outstanding Universal Value. From the beginning, the Committee had difficulties in translating particularly the notion of universal into something that is both internationally significant and representative of the different cultures of the world.

Of particular interest during the experts meetings in 1976 and 1977 was the term universal. ICOMOS in its technical paper presented to the 1976 meeting commented on the word that the Committee “should avoid restricting its choices to the best known properties, but should also include those other properties, perhaps little known, but with great potential for aesthetic, educational and scientific value if made known to a wide public.”⁹ In the meeting’s discussion participants cautioned that “only those properties which were, without doubt of true international significance,” should be considered for inscription.¹⁰ The idea of universal was interpreted to refer to a property’s ability to “represent or symbolise a set of ideas or values which are universally recognized as important, or as having influenced the evolution of mankind as a whole at one time or another.”¹¹

The background document presented to the Committee at its first session in June 1977 introduced the paradox of universal versus representative. While the idea of a select list of the most outstanding sites from an international perspective was reiterated, the idea was

⁹ UNESCO, “Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, annex III, 2, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>.

¹⁰ UNESCO, “Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, 2 para. 5, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>.

¹¹ UNESCO, “Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, 2 para. 6, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>.

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weakened.¹² With regard to the notion of universal the document observes that “different peoples and cultures may have differing views, and the term...must therefore be interpreted as referring to a large or significant segment of humanity.”¹³

These ideas found their way into the first version of the Operational Guidelines. In line with the Convention’s preamble, the international instrument was “not intended to provide for the protection of all properties and areas of great interest, importance, or value, but only for a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint.”¹⁴ This idea can still be found in the Operational Guidelines today.¹⁵ In addition, a paragraph was added on the understanding of universal:

The definition of ‘universal’ in the phrase ‘outstanding universal value’ requires comment. Some properties may not be recognized by all people, everywhere, to be of great importance and significance. Opinions may vary from one culture or period to another. As far as cultural property is concerned the term ‘universal’ must be interpreted as referring to a property which is highly representative of the culture of which it forms part.¹⁶

The paragraph was however removed from the Operational Guidelines in 1980.¹⁷ This suggests that despite acknowledging the representative character of World Heritage, as will be

¹² UNESCO, “Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/4, 6 para. 16, June 9, 1977, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0003/000309/030934eb.pdf>.

¹³ UNESCO, “Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/4, 6 para. 17, June 9, 1977, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0003/000309/030934eb.pdf>.

¹⁴ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/8 Rev., 2 para. 5.ii, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>.

¹⁵ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.13/01, 14 para. 52, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

¹⁶ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/8 Rev., 3 para. 6, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>.

¹⁷ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>.

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shown in the subsequent paragraph, the Committee did not want to lower the threshold of Outstanding Universal Value.

Based on the experience with the first evaluations of nominations and inscriptions, the Bureau at its second session in May 1979 noted that while the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) had interpreted universal value in terms of “the best of its kind,” such a selection was more difficult in the culture field “where several properties of the same family might have intrinsic universal value.”¹⁸ This has led to the inscription of sites later described as “representative of the best.”¹⁹ The idea of representative or relative value can also be found in the 1979 Parent report. He observes that the Outstanding Universal Value of cultural heritage is “hard to justify objectively” and that it is important to reflect about “the relative importance of the properties.”²⁰ To make Outstanding Universal Value as objective as possible he emphasizes the importance of comparative assessments.²¹ The Bureau at its third session in October 1979 examined Parent’s report and noted that careful selection of cultural heritage was desirable to make it “representative of the different cultures of the world.”²²

Despite the apparent relational character of value, the idea of intrinsic value also found its way into the first version of the Operational Guidelines. The document stipulated that “the criteria for the inclusion of properties in the List... shall enable the World Heritage Committee

¹⁸ UNESCO, “Report on the second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 28–30 May 1979,” CC-79/CONF.005/6, 2 para.13, July 20, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf005-6e.pdf>.

¹⁹ UNESCO, “Keynote speech by Ms Christina Cameron and presentations by the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies” (document presented at the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005), WHC-05/29.COM/INF.9B, 1, June 15, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-inf09Be.pdf>.

²⁰ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 17 [first citation] and 26 [second citation], Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

²¹ As a nomination requirement comparative assessments are still important today. UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC. 13/01, 32–33 para. 132.3, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

²² UNESCO, “Report on the third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Cairo and Luxor, Egypt, 22–26 October 1979,” CC-79/CONF.003/12 Rev., 3, Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-12reve.pdf>.

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to act with full independence in evaluating solely the intrinsic merit of a property.”²³ Other paragraphs mentioning the term were added in 1980.²⁴ The use of intrinsic can still be found in the latest version of the Guidelines.²⁵

5.1.3. Criteria

The wording and character of criteria were fundamentally shaped by the 1976 ICOMOS proposal. After intensive consultation, six cultural criteria were adopted in 1977. An analysis of the application of criteria by Parent in 1979 led to their revision in 1980. While criteria (i) to (v) officially addressed the physical fabric and its value, criterion (vi) was conceived to refer to associations with monuments, groups of buildings, and sites. It has therefore taken a special position from the beginning.

5.1.3.1. Recognition of material evidence through criteria (i) to (v)

Between 1976 and 1983, criteria (i) to (v) went through a number of changes (tables 1 and 2). As mentioned earlier, an intangible dimension can be demonstrated to be part of their interpretation and implementation from today’s perspective.²⁶ Although not directly being

²³ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” CC-77/CONF. 001/8 Rev., 2 para. 5.i, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>.

²⁴ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 2 para. 6.ii, 4 para. 16, and 7 para. 24.b, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>.

²⁵ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC. 13/01, 28 para.116 and 53 para.192.b, July 2013, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>.

²⁶ On the intangible dimension of criteria (i) to (v), see chapter 2.2.2 and in particular Herb Stovel, “How the 1972 and 2003 Conventions Define Heritage: Overlaps and Differences,” in *Proceedings of the Round Table (14–17 March 2007) organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage on Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions*, eds. Christina Cameron and Christine Boucher, 73 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2007), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2007_Proces-verbaux.pdf.

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considered for their Outstanding Universal Value through these criteria, the intangible elements are closely linked to the tangible as will be demonstrated in the following.

	Criterion (i)	Criterion (ii)
1976 ICOMOS	Properties which represent a unique artistic achievement, including the masterpieces of internationally renowned architects and builders.	Properties of outstanding importance for the influence they have exercised over the development of world architecture or of human settlements (either over a period of time or within a geographical area).
1977 draft	...the property should represent unique artistic achievements, masterpieces of the human creative spirit ;....	...the property should be of outstanding importance owing to its influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on subsequent developments in architecture, monumental sculpture, gardens and landscape design , related arts, or human settlements;....
1977	represent a unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius ;	have exerted considerable influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on subsequent developments in architecture, monumental sculpture, garden and landscape design, related arts, or human settlements;
1978	—	—
1980	represent a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius;	have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscaping ;
1983	—	—

Table 1.Changes to the wordings of criteria (i) and (ii) between 1976 and 1983²⁷

²⁷ UNESCO, “Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, annex III, 3, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>; UNESCO, “Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/4, 7 para. 20.i–ii, June 9, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-4e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” CC-77/CONF.001/8 Rev., 3 para. 7.i–ii, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2, 3 para. 7.i–ii, 1978, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide78.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 18.a.i–ii, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 7 para. 21.a.i–ii, Nov. 1983, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide83.pdf>. Relevant changes are highlighted in boldface.

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The fundamental idea communicated through criterion (i) is that of an artistic masterpiece or an iconic representation of creative genius. While the notion of masterpiece established in the 1976 ICOMOS proposal was retained, in the subsequent revisions the mentioning of architects and builders was replaced by the more general expression of “human creative spirit” and later substituted by “genius.”²⁸ The earliest inscription based on the use of criterion (i) alone is the Taj Mahal in India which was put on the List in 1983 (fig. 6).²⁹ ICOMOS in its evaluation notes:

The Taj Mahal is one of the most famous monuments in the world and no doubt partially owes its renown to the moving circumstance of its construction: the Mogul Emperor Shah Jahan in order to perpetuate the memory of his favorite wife, Mumtaz Mahal, who died in 1631, had this funeral mosque built.³⁰



Figure 6. Taj Mahal (India, 1983).
© Vincent Ko Hon Chiu/
Vincent Ko Hon Chiu

Its fame and uniqueness make it iconic and an excellent illustration of the early interpretation of World Heritage. As stated in the description, however, this uniqueness not only lies in the monument’s materiality, but also in the associated architectural conception as well as associated story, its intangible dimension.

²⁸ UNESCO, “Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/4, 7 para. 20.i, June 9, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-4e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Final report on the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977,” CC-77/CONF.001/9, 5 para. 32, Oct. 17, 1977, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9_en.pdf.

²⁹ UNESCO, “Report on the seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Florence, Italy, 5–9 December 1983,” SC/83/CONF.009/8, 8 para. 29, Jan. 1984, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1983/sc-83-conf009-8e.pdf>.

³⁰ “World Heritage List: result 3; by criteria (i); displayed by year,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=on&c1=on&type=&media=&order=year&description=; ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 252,” 1, May 1983, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/252.pdf.

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Criterion (ii) addresses properties that have had an impact on the development of spatial design or the fine arts in space and time. In 1977, the term geographical area was replaced by the idea of cultural regions.³¹ Changes to the criterion's wording occurred also with respect to the disciplinary domains. In 1977, the ideas of garden and landscape design were introduced which were replaced by the more general expression of landscaping in 1980. In 1979, the difficulties of translating Outstanding Universal Value into something that is representative of a cultural region was addressed. Parent in his report highlighted the importance of comparative assessment for this criterion and pointed out the challenges of



Figure 7. Speyer Cathedral
(Germany, 1981).
© Judith Herrmann

reading history and applying a regional approach.³² He drew attention to the fact that something that was considered regional before may not be conceived as such today but may instead be representative of a smaller area thus indicating particularities within regions. The earliest inscription using only criterion (ii) is Speyer Cathedral in Germany which was put on the List in 1981 (fig. 7).³³ The Cathedral is a major monument of Romanesque art and owes its extraordinary value to its dimensions and historical importance. It has influenced not only “the development of Romanesque architecture in the 11th and 12th centuries, but as well...the evolution of the principles of restoration in Germany, in

³¹ UNESCO, “Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/4, 7 para. 20.ii, June 9, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-4e.pdf>; Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, *Many Voices, One Vision: The Early Years of the World Heritage Convention* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 35.

³² UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 17 G, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

³³ “World Heritage List: result 7; by criteria (ii); displayed by year,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=on&c2=on&type=&media=&order=year&description=; UNESCO, “Report on the fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Sydney, Australia, 26–30 October 1981,” CC-81/CONF/003/6, 4 para. 15, Jan. 5, 1982, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1981/cc-81-conf003-6_e.pdf.

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Europe and in the world from the 18th century to the present.”³⁴ Intangible heritage finds expression in the monument’s historical meaning, in the ideas and principles of Romanesque architecture and restoration that are linked to or embodied in the physical evidence of the building.

Today’s criterion (iii) is based on criterion four of the 1976 ICOMOS proposal which combined the ideas of uniqueness and rarity with the notion of vulnerability (table 2). In the 1976 and 1977 meetings the idea of antiquity was added which had formerly been addressed by criterion five. In the process of revising the criteria during the Committee’s first session, the idea of vulnerability became a separate criterion, that is, criterion (v). The first version of criterion (iii) thus relates to the ideas of uniqueness, rarity, and antiquity. It was soon noted, though, that this criterion created an overlap with criterion (i). Parent observed that the two criteria were variations of the same theme, one focusing on the idea of uniqueness, the other on rarity.³⁵ While the essence of criterion (i) stayed the same, with respect to criterion (iii) the idea of antiquity was reinterpreted to refer to past civilizations. While retaining its historical dimension, Cameron and Rössler observe that criterion (iii) thus evolved “from a focus on antiquity, with its European overtones, to a more anthropological view of civilizations,” opening it up to other regions of the world.³⁶

³⁴ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 168,” 2, April 1981, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/168.pdf.

³⁵ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 17–18, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

³⁶ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 35.

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	Criterion (iii)	Criterion (iv)	Criterion (v)
1976 ICOMOS	Properties which are the best or most significant examples of important types or categories representing a high intellectual, social or artistic achievement.	Properties which are unique or extremely rare (including those characteristic of traditional styles of architecture, methods of construction or forms of human settlements which are threatened with abandonment or destruction as a result of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change).	Properties of great antiquity.
1977 draft	...the property should be the most characteristic or the most significant example of a type of structure, the type representing an important cultural, intellectual, social, artistic, technological or industrial development;....	...the property should be unique, or extremely rare or of great antiquity including characteristic examples of traditional styles of architecture, methods of construction, or human settlements, particularly when they are by nature fragile and likely to disappear as a result of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change;....	N/A
1977	be unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity;	be among the most characteristic examples of a type of structure , the type representing an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development;	be a characteristic of example of a significant, traditional style of architecture, method of construction, or human settlement , that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change;
1978	—	—	be a characteristic of example of a significant style of architecture, method of construction or form of town-planning or traditional human settlement that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change;

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	Criterion (iii)	Criterion (iv)	Criterion (v)
1980	bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared;	be an outstanding example of a type of structure which illustrates a significant stage in history;	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which is representative of a culture and which has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
1983	—	be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history;	—

Table 2. Changes to the wordings of criteria (iii) to (v) between 1976 and 1983³⁷

An early inscription based on criterion (iii) alone is SGang Gwaay in Canada that was put on the List in 1981 under the name of Anthony Island (fig. 8).³⁸ The property includes the “abandoned village of Ninstints...[that] bears a unique testimony to the vanished civilization of the Haida Indians.”³⁹ Especially the thirty-two totemic and mortuary columns on the edge of the village that were considered for their artistic value contribute to its world fame. The property is particularly interesting as it illustrates the shift in conceiving cultural heritage. A

³⁷ UNESCO, “Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, annex III, 3, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>; UNESCO, “Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/4, 7 para. 20.iii–iv, June 9, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-4e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” CC-77/CONF.001/8 Rev., 3 para. 7.iii–v, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2, 3 para. 7.iii–v, 1978, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide78.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 18.a.iii–v, October 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 7 para. 21.a.iii–v, Nov. 1983, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide83.pdf>. Relevant changes are highlighted in boldface.

³⁸ “World Heritage List: result 37; by criteria (iii); displayed by year,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=on&c3=on&type=&media=&order=year&description=; UNESCO, “Report on the fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Sydney, Australia, 26–30 October 1981,” CC-81/CONF/003/6, 4, Jan. 5, 1982, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1981/cc-81-conf003-6_e.pdf.

³⁹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 157,” 1, April 1981, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/157.pdf.

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much larger area that includes SĠang Gwaay World Heritage site is part of Canada’s current tentative list. The State Party intends to renominate the property as a mixed site considering the old growth forest and the marine conservation area as well as the “rich and living culture of the Haida people [that] permeates the area.”⁴⁰



Figure 8. Former Haida village: SĠang Gwaay (C. Baertsch/2002). 20 February 2008. Photograph by Grizzly01en in der Wikipedia auf Englisch, available from Wikimedia Commons

Criterion (iv) is based on criterion three of the 1976 ICOMOS proposal, retaining the initial concept of typologies. In 1980, the idea of representing “an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development” was replaced by the more general expression of illustrating “a significant stage in history.”⁴¹ Like criteria (ii) and also (v), criterion (iv) calls for a comparative assessment and the use of resources of history and art history, as pointed out by Parent in 1979.⁴² One of the first inscriptions using only criterion (iv) is Wieliczka and Bochnia Royal Salt Mines in Poland which was put on the List in 1978 (fig. 9).⁴³ In its evaluation ICOMOS notes that “the salt mines of Krakow furnish the example of a large industrial establishment..., the existence of which has been assured by the process

⁴⁰ “Tentative Lists: Gwaii Haanas,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1938/>.

⁴¹ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” CC-77/CONF.001/8 Rev., 3 para. 7.iv, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 18.a.iv, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>.

⁴² UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 17 G, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁴³ “World Heritage List: result 47; by criteria (iv); displayed by year,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=on&c4=on&type=&media=&order=year&description=; UNESCO, “Final report on the second session of the World Heritage Committee, Washington D.C., USA, 5–8 September 1978,” CC-78/CONF.010/10 Rev., 8 para. 38, Oct. 9, 1978, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf010-10rev_e.pdf.

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of adaptation since the Middle Ages.”⁴⁴ The property exemplifies the wide range of types of cultural heritage recognized through the Convention right from the beginning. The technological and administrative knowledge linked to subterranean salt exploitation can be understood as intangible associated knowledge.



Figure 9. Wieliczka and Bochnia Royal Salt Mines (Poland, 1978).
© Rafal Stachurski/Rafal Stachurski

In 1977, criterion (v) was redesigned based on the notion of vulnerability contained in criterion four of the 1976 ICOMOS proposal. An architectural perspective was abandoned in favor of a more anthropological one which focused on traditional human settlements from different cultures.⁴⁵ The criterion was thus opened to non-European contexts and perceptions



Figure 10. Asante Traditional Buildings (Ghana, 1980).
© CRAterre/Thierry Joffroy

of cultural heritage. The earliest inscription based on criterion (v) alone is Asante Traditional Buildings in Ghana which was put on the List in 1980 (fig. 10).⁴⁶ These buildings are “the last remaining material testament of the great Ashanti civilization” and extremely vulnerable.⁴⁷ The majority of Ashanti villages were destroyed during colonial occupation in the nineteenth century. While the List has been opened to non-monumental forms of housing in

⁴⁴ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 32,” 2, June 1978, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/32ter.pdf.

⁴⁵ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 35–36.

⁴⁶ “World Heritage List: result 10; by criteria (v); displayed by year,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=on&c5=on&type=&media=&order=year&description=; UNESCO, “Report on the fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 1–5 September 1980,” CC-80/CONF.016/10, 3 para. 12, Sept. 29, 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1980/cc-80-conf016-10e.pdf>.

⁴⁷ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 35,” 1, May 1980, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/035.pdf.

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regions other than Europe, the historical interpretation is retained. Associated colonial history can be considered part of the property's intangible dimension.

5.1.3.2. Criterion (vi) and historical associations

While not explicitly recognized as such at the time, from the beginning, criterion (vi) officially addressed an intangible dimension in terms of historical associations of Outstanding Universal Value. The most significant change in its wording concerns its position in relation to the other criteria (table 3).

	Criterion (vi)
1976 ICOMOS	Properties associated with and essential to the understanding of globally significant persons, events, religions or philosophies.
1977 draft	...the property should be most importantly associated with persons, events, philosophies or religions of outstanding historical significance ;....
1977	be most importantly associated with ideas or beliefs , with events or with persons , of outstanding historical importance or significance.
1978	—
1980	be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria);
1983	—

Table 3.Changes to the wordings of criterion (vi) between 1976 and 1983⁴⁸

⁴⁸ UNESCO, "Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976," CC-76/WS/25, annex III, 3, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>; UNESCO, "Issues arising in connection with the implementation of the World Heritage Convention" (document presented at the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977), CC-77/CONF.001/4, 8 para. 20.v, June 9, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-4e.pdf>; UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention," CC-77/CONF.001/8 Rev., 3 para. 7.vi, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>; UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention," WHC/2, 3 para. 7.vi, 1978, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide78.pdf>; UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention," WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 18.a.vi, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>; UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention," WHC/2 Revised, 7 para. 21.a.vi, Nov. 1983, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide83.pdf>. Relevant changes are highlighted in boldface.

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The ICOMOS proposal of 1976 established the associative character of criterion (vi). ICOMOS suggested that some properties were “associated with and essential to the understanding of globally significant persons, events, religions or philosophies.”⁴⁹ Focus shifted to associations with sites. The wording of the proposed criterion (vi) was revised during the expert meetings in 1976 and 1977 and the idea of outstanding historical significance introduced. What was referred to as “historical associations” can be understood as associated historical knowledge and its value, limiting itself to a more or less distant past in the tradition of the idea of historic monument and the Western conservation ethos.⁵⁰ What is implicit in the other criteria but not recognized for its extraordinary value was given separate status here. The working group established during the first Committee session reformulated the criterion.⁵¹ After considering the comments made in plenary on the reworked proposal, the criterion was unanimously adopted by the Committee.⁵² Minor modifications rendered the wording more generic and less biased in regard to the grand world religions.

The 1979 Parent report was paramount for the interpretation of criterion (vi) and its role in relation to the other criteria, and thus also for the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage within the conception of World Cultural Heritage. The Bureau at its second session in 1979 drew attention to the difficulties of using criterion (vi). The nomination of Edison National Historic Site in the United States had evoked the question of whether to consider important people as associations with properties. The Bureau stated that the

⁴⁹ UNESCO, “Final report of the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, annex III, 3, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>.

⁵⁰ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 17 [citation], Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>; Jukka Jokilehto, ed., *The World Heritage List—What Is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties*, with contributions from Christina Cameron, Michel Parent, and Michael Petzet (Paris: ICOMOS, 2008), 7. On the idea of associative value, see also chapter 4.2.1.

⁵¹ UNESCO, “Report on the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977,” CC-77/CONF.001/9, 5 para. 31, Oct. 17, 1977, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9_en.pdf.

⁵² UNESCO, “Report on the first session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 27 June–1 July 1977,” CC-77/CONF.001/9, 6 para. 33, Oct. 17, 1977, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9_en.pdf.

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criterion's wording "could lead to an unreasonably large number of nominations."⁵³ Parent in his report explains that there was the worry that the World Heritage List could become "a sort of competitive Honours Board for the famous men of different countries."⁵⁴ He goes on to state that the List should instead focus on the great works they have created. A primary reason for reformulating criterion (vi) was therefore of a technical nature and concerned the feasibility of handling the List. Connected therewith was the desire to avoid a nationalistically influenced personality cult. Another concern expressed by Parent relates to the application of criterion (vi) alone, that is, to areas without tangible evidence but scenes of important historical events:

...in principle, we may accept 'properties' which are empty spaces, without distinctive natural or architectural features; but the fact that the Convention fails to establish any principle for the exclusion of this or that 'battlefield' suggests that the Committee's own criteria should be applied in the strictest manner.⁵⁵

Preference should be given to concrete properties "whose historical importance depends on tangible features of self-evident quality."⁵⁶ Parent concluded that while a broad interpretation was possible a strict understanding should be applied.⁵⁷ He recommended an extremely selective approach towards this kind of heritage. Properties with tangible evidence yet no architectural interest should be treated in a similar way. Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland, whose inscription was favored, should remain an isolated case. As mentioned previously, the property's significance was not to be found in the material remains but

⁵³ UNESCO, "Report on the second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 28–30 May 1979," CC-79/CONF.005/6, 3 para. 14, July 20, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf005-6e.pdf>.

⁵⁴ UNESCO, "Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List" (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 22, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁵⁵ UNESCO, "Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List" (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 8 [citation] and 21, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁵⁶ UNESCO, "Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List" (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 24, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁵⁷ UNESCO, "Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List" (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 21–23, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

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exclusively in the symbolic meaning connected to the property.⁵⁸ The inclusion of associative properties with tangible aspects “of some artistic merit,” by contrast, seem not to have posed controversies as in the case of the Island of Gorée in Senegal that had been inscribed under criterion (vi) in the Committee’s first listing in 1978 (fig. 11).⁵⁹ The property’s associated historical meaning seemed to depend on a certain degree of tangibility that in the best case also had artistic value.



Figure 11. Island of Gorée (Senegal, 1978).
© UNESCO/Richard Veillon

Based on Parent’s report and the results of the working group that was set up during the Committee’s third session in 1979, the Committee decided the following:

Particular attention should be given to cases which fall under criterion (vi) so that the net result would not be a reduction in the value of the List, due to the large potential number of nominations as well as to political difficulties. Nominations concerning, in particular, historical events or famous people could be strongly influenced by nationalism or other particularisms in contradiction with the objectives of the World Heritage Convention.⁶⁰

The text of criterion (vi) was revised and inserted into the 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines, reflecting the comments made. First, the reference to persons was deleted. Secondly, the specification of “directly or tangibly associated with” was meant to strengthen the place-based approach, the primacy of materiality, and the importance of the link between the associations and the property. Thirdly, the replacement of “historical” with “universal”

⁵⁸ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 21, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>. On the presentation of Auschwitz, see chapter 1.1.

⁵⁹ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 21, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁶⁰ UNESCO, “Report on the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979,” CC-79/CONF.003/13, 9 para. 35.v and 3 para. 12 [citation], Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-13e.pdf>.

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might be a formal matter so as to align the wording with the Convention's terminology, yet it can also be seen as an opening of the criterion's application to contemporary associations other than of historical importance. And lastly, given the special character of criterion (vi) and to avoid flooding the List an amendment was added, restricting and subordinating the criterion to the other criteria.⁶¹

Eight of the eleven inscriptions using criterion (vi) alone date back to the period between 1978 and 1983.⁶² They illustrate not only the historical, symbolic, and commemorative character of criterion (vi) as well as the diverse character of properties, including single monuments and archaeological sites, but also the incoherence of Committee decisions.⁶³ Five properties were included in 1978 and 1979. The high number can be explained through the unrestricted use of criterion (vi) at the time. While the Island of Gorée in Senegal and l'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site in Canada were among the first inscriptions, Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945) in Poland, Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions in Ghana, and Independence Hall in the United States of America were put on the List in 1979 under criterion (vi) alone.⁶⁴ They were recognized for associated historical events or symbolic meaning. Despite its unspectacular appearance, the archaeological site located near l'Anse aux Meadows was considered "a precious and...unique milestone in the history of human

⁶¹ UNESCO, "Report on the fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 1–5 September 1980," CC-80/CONF.016/10, 8 para. 19.g, Sept. 29, 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1980/cc-80-conf016-10e.pdf>.

⁶² "World Heritage List: result 11; by criteria (vi); displayed by year," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/?search=&searchSites=&search_by_country=®ion=&search_yearinscribed=&themes=&criteria_restriction=on&c6=on&type=&media=&order=year&description=

⁶³ Léon Pressouyre (*The World Heritage Convention, twenty years later* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), Pdf file available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/564/>), professor of medieval art at the Université de Paris 1–Sorbonne, who retrospectively documented the 1978 and 1979 cultural inscriptions on the World Heritage List on behalf of ICOMOS, complained about these and other inconsistencies.

⁶⁴ UNESCO, "Final report on the second session of the World Heritage Committee, Washington DC, United States of America, 5–8 September 1978," CC-78/CONF.010/10 Rev., 7–8 para. 38, Oct. 9, 1978, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf010-10rev_e.pdf; UNESCO, "Report on the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979," CC-79/CONF.003/13, 11–12 para. 46, Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-13e.pdf>.

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migration and the discovery of the universe: it is the oldest settlement of European origin in America” (fig. 12).⁶⁵ The remains of fortified trading-posts in Ghana, built between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, represent “an early evidence of the joint activity of the Africans and the Europeans” (fig. 13).⁶⁶ Independence Hall was evaluated favorably by ICOMOS “by virtue of... ‘important historical events’ relating to a great nation” (fig. 14).⁶⁷ Here, national history was declared to be of Outstanding Universal Value.



Figure 12. L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site in Canada (Canada, 1978).

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Vincent Ko Hon Chiu



Figure 13. Fort Saint Sebastian. January 2000. Photograph by Loek Tangel, attributed to Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, and distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 NL license

Figure 14. The clocktower at Independence Hall. Philadelphia, PA. 22 September 2010. Photograph by Captain Albert E. Theberge, NOAA Corps (ret.) - NOAA Photo Library: amer0024, and distributed under a CC BY 2.0 license



Also, despite the restriction of the criterion’s use in 1980 three more sites were included in the World Heritage List in the early 1980s based on criterion (vi) alone, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump in Canada, La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site in Puerto Rico in the United

⁶⁵ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 4,” 3, 1978, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/004.pdf.

⁶⁶ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 34,” April 1979, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/034.pdf. Cameron and Rössler (*Many Voices*, 190) observe that the site was probably incorrectly identified as criterion (vi) given the rudimentary evaluation system during that period.

⁶⁷ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 78,” April 1979, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/078.pdf.

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States of America, and Rila Monastery in Bulgaria. Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump and La Fortaleza and San Juan National Historic Site were inscribed in 1981 and 1983 respectively, without debate and based on historical associations.⁶⁸ Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump is a remarkable site as it anticipates and illustrates the idea of associative cultural landscape, which was introduced in the early 1990s (fig. 15).⁶⁹ ICOMOS recommended inscription as the site is “associated with the survival of the human race during the prehistoric period.”⁷⁰ It was used for the slaughter of buffalo that were stampeded over a precipice. The Historic Site in Puerto Rico was a stopping place for the explorers and colonists of the New World, thus bearing witness “to its long military history” (fig. 16).⁷¹ Only the nomination of Rila Monastery evoked discussion linked to the question of authenticity. It will be looked at in the subsequent subchapter.



Figure 15. Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (Canada, 1981).
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Maureen J. Flynn



Figure 16. The residence of the Governor of Puerto Rico, La Fortaleza in San Juan - the oldest executive mansion in the New World. 21 July 2010. Photograph by Jano Ťažký, distributed under CC BY-SA 3.0 license

⁶⁸ UNESCO, “Report on the fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Sydney, Australia, 26–30 October 1981,” CC-81/CONF/0093/6, 4 para. 15, Jan. 5, 1982, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1981/cc-81-conf003-6_e.pdf; UNESCO, “Report on the seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Florence, Italy, 5–9 December 1983,” SC/83/CONF.009/8, 6 para. 29, Jan. 1984, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1983/sc-83-conf009-8e.pdf>.

⁶⁹ On Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump as World Heritage cultural landscape, see also Shabnam Inanloo Dailoo, “Takht-e-Soleyman and Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump: The Recognition and Conservation of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes” (PhD diss., University Calgary, Canada, 2009).

⁷⁰ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 158,” 1 [citation] and 2, Avril 1981, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/158.pdf.

⁷¹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 266,” 1, May 1983, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/266.pdf.

5.1.4. Authenticity as material and immaterial truthfulness

Authenticity entered World Heritage in the late 1970s. The World Heritage Convention does not use the term authenticity. Nor do the ICOMOS and ICCROM recommendations of 1976 or the subsequent UNESCO report, which followed the informal consultation meeting in Morges. The latter proposes that properties considered for inscription should meet the criteria of integrity and unity.⁷² These criteria are based on the ICOMOS proposal, which links them to “setting, function, design, materials, workmanship and condition.”⁷³ Except for function and condition these aspects can be found in the first definition of authenticity included in the Operational Guidelines. The term authenticity, in fact, entered “through the back door, as a replacement word for ‘integrity’.”⁷⁴ During its first session in 1977, the Committee decided that cultural properties “should meet the test of authenticity in design, material, workmanship and setting” when considered for inscription on the World Heritage List.⁷⁵

In line with the Venice Charter of 1964, authenticity predominantly referred to the genuineness of a property’s physical fabric. According to the Charter’s Preamble, the historic monuments should be handed on “in the full richness of their authenticity.”⁷⁶ Restoring a building aims at preserving the “aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on

⁷² UNESCO, “Final Report on the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the implementation of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, 2 para. 8, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>.

⁷³ UNESCO, “Final Report on the informal consultation of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations on the implementation of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Morges, Switzerland, 19–20 May 1976,” CC-76/WS/25, annex III, 3, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000213/021374eb.pdf>.

⁷⁴ Herb Stovel, “Working Towards the Nara Document,” in *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention: Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994*, ed. Knut Einar Larsen, xxxiii (Paris/Tokyo: UNESCO World Heritage Centre/Japan Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1995). Stovel (“Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity,” *APT Bulletin* 39, no. 2/3 (2008): 12) also comments on the historical circumstances of replacing the term integrity by authenticity in 1977.

⁷⁵ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” CC-77/CONF. 001/8 Rev., 3 para. 9, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>.

⁷⁶ ICOMOS, “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964),” preamble, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

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respect for original material and authentic documents.”⁷⁷ The Charter states moreover that restoration must respect the “valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument.”⁷⁸ Physical modifications of historical or artistic value were also recognized in an amendment to the test of authenticity in the Operational Guidelines of 1977:

Authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values.⁷⁹

The amendment, however, immediately became the focal point of controversy in the Committee and led to the introduction of what is called here immaterial truthfulness.⁸⁰

In 1978, when Poland nominated the historic center of Warsaw for inscription on the World Heritage List, ICOMOS expressed its doubts on the site’s authenticity as it was basically a reconstruction (fig. 17).⁸¹ One year later, ICOMOS recommended inscription on the basis that the historic center was “an exceptional example of reconstruction” and “a symbol [made] by the patriotic feeling of the Polish people.”⁸² This argument was taken up by Parent in his 1979 report. Parent generally refused the inscription of



Figure 17. Historic Centre of Warsaw (Poland, 1980). © Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa/Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa

⁷⁷ ICOMOS, “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964),” art. 9, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

⁷⁸ ICOMOS, “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964),” art. 11, http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

⁷⁹ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” CC-77/CONF.001/8 Rev., 3 para. 9, Oct. 20, 1977, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77b.pdf>.

⁸⁰ Christina Cameron, “From Warsaw to Mostar: The World Heritage Committee and Authenticity,” *APT Bulletin* 39, no. 2/3 (2008): 20.

⁸¹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 30,” 1, June 1978, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30/documents/>. On a more comprehensive summary of the discussion on Warsaw and other inscriptions as well as the relationship between authenticity and reconstructions, see Cameron (“From Warsaw to Mostar”).

⁸² UNESCO, “Report on the second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 28–30 May 1979,” CC-79/CONF.005/6, annex II, 5, July 20, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf005-6e.pdf>.

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reconstructions regardless of their quality.⁸³ He acknowledged, however, that Warsaw could be an exception based on “the exceptional historical circumstances surrounding its resurrection.”⁸⁴ Following a recommendation of the third Bureau session, the Committee in 1979 did not inscribe the site.⁸⁵ Some Committee members obviously still had doubts. The ICOMOS evaluation presented to the Committee in 1980 again proposed inscription based on criteria (ii) and (vi), stating that the site’s authenticity was associated with the unique “global reconstruction of a sequence of history.”⁸⁶ Following this recommendation, the Committee at its fourth session included the property on the List.⁸⁷ The site’s authenticity did not refer to the genuineness of the physical fabric, but the truthfulness of an associated meaning. As to the question of implementing the test of authenticity with respect to an immaterial truthfulness, the ICOMOS evaluation does not provide any information.⁸⁸

To avoid future inscriptions of reconstructed sites, the Committee decided to make authenticity a condition sine qua non as well as to drop the second part of the definition and to replace it by the following amendment in parenthesis:

The Committee stressed that reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture.⁸⁹

⁸³ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, 19–20, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁸⁴ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, 19, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

⁸⁵ UNESCO, “Report on the third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Cairo and Luxor, Egypt, 22–26 October 1979,” CC-79/CONF.003/12 Rev., 3 para. 13.B, Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-12reve.pdf>.

⁸⁶ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 30,” 2, May 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30/documents/>.

⁸⁷ UNESCO, “Report on the fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 1–5 September 1980,” CC-80/CONF.016/10, 4, Sept. 29, 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1980/cc-80-conf016-10e.pdf>.

⁸⁸ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 30,” June 1978/May 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30/documents/>.

⁸⁹ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 18.b, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>.

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It was intended to ensure that nominated properties responded to the concept of authenticity mostly in a material sense.⁹⁰

A similar application of authenticity in relation to criterion (vi) can however be found in the case of another inscription, thus demonstrating the inconsistent application of the test of authenticity.⁹¹ While in an evaluation dated June 1983, ICOMOS expressed the opinion that

“Rila Monastery, nearly entirely reconstructed during the contemporary period, does not answer the criterion of authenticity” and recommended to defer its inscription, an ICOMOS evaluation dated September 1983 proposed inscription on the basis of criterion (vi) as a symbol of the nineteenth century Bulgarian Renaissance (fig. 18).⁹²



Figure 18. Rila Monastery (Bulgaria, 1983). © Vincent Ko Hon Chiu/
Vincent Ko Hon Chiu

ICOMOS did not comment on the site’s authenticity. The documents do not provide any

insight into this change in position. Though acknowledging that some criteria and the test of authenticity posed problems of interpretation, the Committee in 1983 followed the second ICOMOS recommendation and inscribed Rila Monastery, making the following comment:

This property was not considered as a testimony of medieval civilisation but rather as a symbol of the [nineteenth]...[c]entury Bulgarian Renaissance which imparted Slavic cultural values upon Rila in trying to re-establish an uninterrupted historical continuity. The reconstruction of Rila (1834–1962) thus illustrates cultural criterion (vi) of the Operational Guidelines.⁹³

⁹⁰ Bernd von Droste and Ulf Bertilsson, “Authenticity and World Heritage,” in *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention: Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994*, ed. Knut Einar Larsen, 4 (Paris/Tokyo: UNESCO World Heritage Centre/Japan Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1995).

⁹¹ Pressouyre (*World Heritage Convention*, 11–14) documented the inconsistent application of authenticity by the Committee. For further information, see also Cameron, “From Warsaw to Mostar,” 21.

⁹² ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 216,” 2, Sept. 1983, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/216/documents/>; ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 216,” 2, June 1983, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/216/documents/>.

⁹³ UNESCO, “Report on the seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Florence, Italy, 5–9 December 1983,” SC/83/CONF.009/8, 5 and 6 [citation], Jan. 1984, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1983/sc-83-conf009-8e.pdf>.

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The decision was taken despite the fact that criterion (vi) had been tightened up in 1980. The documents do not provide information on why the Committee had made another exception on applying the test of authenticity shortly after the inscription of Warsaw.

5.1.5. Concluding remarks

The 1976 and 1977 meetings and 1979 Parent report were instrumental in the early interpretation of the World Heritage Convention. The period of the late 1970s and early 1980s is characterized by the continuation of a Western conservation ethos that was particularly influenced by ICOMOS, the idea of historic monument, and the conception of cultural heritage as the materiality of place and its mostly historical and art-historical values. The terms intangible and intangible heritage do not appear in the early documents, nor does the idea of conceiving value as something inherently immaterial. Nevertheless, value was considered to be relational and representative. From the beginning, the Committee had difficulties in translating the notion of universal into something that is both internationally significant and representative of the different cultures of the world. Assessing value on a comparative basis was introduced to overcome this paradox. Intangible heritage was indirectly recognized through what was later to be called associative value. While criteria (i) to (v) were interpreted as referring to the tangible representation of a property, criterion (vi) officially addressed historical associations, such as associated historic events and symbolic meaning. In this way, an intangible dimension was acknowledged indirectly. From today's perspective, though, all criteria consider some sort of associated historical knowledge, concepts, or ideas that are closely linked to the physical fabric. However, only criterion (vi) officially recognizes historical associations from the point of view of Outstanding Universal Value. At the time, the position of associations was moreover restricted because criterion (vi) was to be used alone only in exceptional circumstances. The materiality of place was thus given priority. At the same time, the idea of truthfulness of an associated historical or symbolic meaning was used to justify inscription of exceptional cases. The associative or intangible dimension was thus

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sometimes recognized through the application of the test of authenticity, particularly in conjunction with criterion (vi) alone.

5.2. The 1980s (precursors of change)

In the 1980s, intangible heritage was still not openly recognized. However, discussions prepared for the conceptual change that took place in the early 1990s. Two discourses are of particular interest as precursors of change. First, the period is characterized by attempts to find a global approach to conceiving World Heritage. The Global Study, a precursor of the Global Strategy, analyzed existing tentative lists, World Heritage inscriptions, and potential cultural properties of Outstanding Universal Value by means of thematic and comparative studies as well as regional workshops. The global reference frame reflected varied combinations of temporal, geographical, cultural, typological, and thematic classifications. Secondly, the conceptual change of the early 1990s was anticipated by considering a new heritage type. While the Global Study still focused on classifications as well as mostly historical and art-historical values, the debate on rural areas and landscapes that intensified in the mid-1980s introduced a different approach to cultural heritage which emphasized people and their continuing interaction with the environment. In its context, the idea of associated practices entered the discourse.

Already in 1981, the Committee emphasized that the “World Heritage List should be as representative as possible of all cultural...properties which meet the Convention’s requirement of outstanding universal value.”⁹⁴ In 1987, it decided to set up a working group to reconsider the number and types of nominations to the World Heritage List. The group recommended

⁹⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Sydney, Australia, 26–30 October 1981,” CC-81/CONF/003/6, 8 para. 22, Jan. 5, 1982, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1981/cc-81-conf003-6_e.pdf.

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drawing up a reference list that should be based upon a global approach, the “Global Study.”⁹⁵ The frame of reference should be two-dimensional with chronology on one axis and cultural entities on the other, that is, factors such as artistic or architectural styles or schools as well as historical periods and geo-cultural groupings.⁹⁶ In addition, the group recommended a number of complementary studies to develop guidelines for identifying eligible properties.⁹⁷ The Committee in 1988 examined the report of the working group.⁹⁸ The representative of ICCROM stressed the need “to conceive an evolutive list, which, in particular, should take into account recent progress in the field of conservation doctrines.”⁹⁹ One year later, at the thirteenth session of the Committee, the representative of ICOMOS formulated a similar concern by highlighting the need to consider global political changes and approaches to culture in the past twenty years. He highlighted that “new tendencies were appearing, especially as concerns the relationship of man to his environment, and new themes were emerging such as anthropised landscapes.”¹⁰⁰

Given the combined protection of cultural and natural heritage through the World Heritage Convention as well as inscriptions based on both cultural and natural criteria, the notions of mixed property as well as landscape became subject to ongoing debate in the

⁹⁵ UNESCO, “Report of the working group set up by the Committee at its eleventh session” (document presented at the twelfth session of the World Heritage Committee, Brasilia, Brazil, 5–9 December 1988), SC-88/CONF.001/2, 14 para. 39, Oct. 19, 1988, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1988/sc-88-conf001-2e.pdf>.

⁹⁶ UNESCO, “Report of the working group set up by the Committee at its eleventh session” (document presented at the twelfth session of the World Heritage Committee, Brasilia, Brazil, 5–9 December 1988), SC-88/CONF.001/2, 14 para. 41, Oct. 19, 1988, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1988/sc-88-conf001-2e.pdf>.

⁹⁷ UNESCO, “Report of the working group set up by the Committee at its eleventh session” (document presented at the twelfth session of the World Heritage Committee, Brasilia, Brazil, 5–9 December 1988), SC-88/CONF.001/2, 15 para. 42, Oct. 19, 1988, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1988/sc-88-conf001-2e.pdf>.

⁹⁸ UNESCO, “Report on the twelfth session of the World Heritage Committee, Brasilia, Brazil, 5–9 December 1988,” SC-88/CONF.001/13, 3 para. 13, Dec. 23, 1988, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1988/sc-88-conf001-13_e.pdf.

⁹⁹ UNESCO, “Report on the twelfth session of the World Heritage Committee, Brasilia, Brazil, 5–9 December 1988,” SC-88/CONF.001/13, 4 para. 16, Dec. 23, 1988, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1988/sc-88-conf001-13_e.pdf.

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO, “Report on the thirteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 11–15 December 1989,” SC-89/CONF.004/12, 10 para. 40, Dec. 22, 1989, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1989/sc-89-conf004-12e.pdf>.

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Committee.¹⁰¹ The latter concept is of particular importance for this research. With it, the evolutive character of sites gained importance as well as associated practices and traditions. In 1984, the Committee discussed the living character of landscapes.¹⁰² The representative of Italy mentioned the “difficulty of maintaining the traditional agricultural practices of the land around a given cultural monument.”¹⁰³ A task force was established to look into the question of elaborating guidelines for the identification of rural landscapes. The group’s report was presented to the Committee the following year. It concluded that there were sites in which natural and cultural elements were combined.¹⁰⁴ The group encouraged the submission of “properties which derive their outstanding universal value from a particularly significant association of cultural and natural features, including areas where man has modified the natural landscape.”¹⁰⁵ The task force recommended modifying the criteria to assess Outstanding Universal Value and adding a paragraph on rural landscapes:

Such properties may wholly comprise man-made or man-modified landscapes or contain a mixture of such landscapes. They may demonstrate longstanding land-use patterns and practices which are in harmony with the landform and natural plant cover of the area. There may be small settlements and individual buildings provided that these are in scale and associated with the traditional land use and in keeping with the cultural traditions.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ UNESCO, “Report on the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairo and Luxor, Egypt, 22–26 October 1979,” CC-79/CONF.003/13, 12, Nov. 30, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-13e.pdf>.

¹⁰² UNESCO, “Report on the eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 29 October–2 November 1984,” SC/84/CONF.004/9, 7 para. 21, Nov. 2, 1984, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1984/sc-84-conf004-9e.pdf>.

¹⁰³ UNESCO, “Report on the eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 29 October–2 November 1984,” SC/84/CONF.004/9, 8 para. 23, Nov. 2, 1984, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1984/sc-84-conf004-9e.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ UNESCO, “Elaboration of guidelines for the identification and nomination of mixed cultural and natural properties and rural landscapes” (document presented at the ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 2–6 December 1985), SC/85/CONF.008/3, 4 para. 3.2, Nov. 19, 1985, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1985/sc-85-conf008-3e.pdf>.

¹⁰⁵ UNESCO, “Elaboration of guidelines for the identification and nomination of mixed cultural and natural properties and rural landscapes” (document presented at the ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 2–6 December 1985), SC/85/CONF.008/3, 6 para. 5.1, Nov. 19, 1985, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1985/sc-85-conf008-3e.pdf>.

¹⁰⁶ UNESCO, “Elaboration of guidelines for the identification and nomination of mixed cultural and natural properties and rural landscapes” (document presented at the ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 2–6 December 1985), SC/85/CONF.008/3, 7 para. 5.4, Nov. 19, 1985, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1985/sc-85-conf008-3e.pdf>.

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The proposed changes were however not accepted by the Committee which “felt that more time was required to fully examine the implications of these proposals.”¹⁰⁷ Between 1987 and 1990, the Committee tried to find out how to deal with rural landscapes. It used the nomination of the Lake District National Park, a rural landscape put forward by the United Kingdom, as a test case.¹⁰⁸ While ICOMOS supported the inscription of the Lake District, IUCN had difficulties with the application of the natural heritage definition and associated criteria to humanized landscapes.¹⁰⁹ The Committee could not find a solution to the question and, in 1990, reached an impasse. At its fourteenth session, the Committee was divided over the nomination of the Lake District and the debate resulted in not inscribing the landscape. The Committee concluded that “it did not have sufficiently clear criteria to allow it to rule on this type of property.”¹¹⁰ It asked the secretariat to develop guidance on the matter. Cameron and Rössler report that Pressouyre described the failure to inscribe the Lake District “as an ‘historic error’ and proof that the Convention [was] an archaic instrument which [had]...a narrow perception of culture rooted in architectural monuments.”¹¹¹ The impasse was however ultimately one of the drivers of the upcoming expert meetings on cultural landscapes.

¹⁰⁷ UNESCO, “Report on the ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 2–6 December 1985,” SC-85/CONF.008/9, 6 para. 27, Dec. 1985, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1985/sc-85-conf008-9_e.pdf.

¹⁰⁸ UNESCO, “Report on the tenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 16–19 June 1986,” CC-86/CONF.001/11, 11 para. 11, Sept. 15, 1986, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1986/cc-86-conf001-11e.pdf>. On the rural landscape debate between 1987 and 1990, see also Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 64–67.

¹⁰⁹ UNESCO, “Nominations of natural properties to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the eleventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 7–11 December 1987), SC-87/CONF.005/3, 5, Nov. 5, 1987, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1987/sc-87-conf005-3e.pdf>.

¹¹⁰ UNESCO, “Report on the fourteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Banff, Canada, 7–12 December 1990,” CLT-90/CONF.004/13, 8, Dec. 12, 1990, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1990/cc-90-conf004-13e.pdf>.

¹¹¹ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 67.

5.3. The first half of the 1990s (major change)

In the early 1990s, a major change was taking place. With the recognition of an anthropological approach to cultural heritage, the term intangible entered the World Heritage discourse. In 1992, Director-General of UNESCO Federico Mayor in his opening address to the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee noted that the “World Heritage Convention affirm[ed] the importance of intangible values, of the human aspiration to beauty and meaning as well as to the satisfaction of material needs and wants.”¹¹²

5.3.1. Cultural heritage

Repeated reference was made to the changing notion of cultural heritage and the need to recognize the relationship between human beings and their environment thereby considering an anthropological approach to cultural heritage. Two discourses are of particular relevance, one on cultural landscapes and the other on the Global Strategy.

5.3.1.1. Cultural landscapes and associated traditions

At the Committee session in 1991, concerns were raised about the Eurocentrism and possible rigidity of the proposed global approach to cultural heritage:

One delegate emphasized that [the Global Study]...should not result in a rigid list of the cultural values of World Heritage, especially at a time when the very notion of heritage is undergoing rapid changes.¹¹³

¹¹² UNESCO, “Report on the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992,” WHC-92/CONF.002/12, annex, 21, Dec. 14, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-12e.pdf>.

¹¹³ UNESCO, “Report on the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991,” SC-91/CONF.002/15, 17 para. 39, Dec. 12, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-15e.pdf>.

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Another member of the Committee stressed that the Study “should not result in a sort of encyclopaedia of the history of world art.”¹¹⁴ The early 1990s are in fact characterized by a general acceptance of the World Heritage List as more than “a catalogue of monuments or a simple history of architecture:”

The vision and choice of properties to inscribe, far from being purely aesthetic, are more clearly historical, and even anthropological, in that they attach greater importance to the significance of the properties than to their physical aspect.¹¹⁵

In this atmosphere and with a view to a less restrictive interpretation of cultural heritage, the category of cultural landscape was developed.

At the request of the Committee, the Secretariat proposed an entirely new cultural criterion on cultural landscapes to be integrated into the existing criteria.¹¹⁶ A first draft was presented to the Bureau in June 1991:

Each property nominated should...be an example of exceptional associations of cultural and natural elements such as a cultural landscape which is a testimony of an outstandingly harmonious balance between nature and human beings over a long period of time....¹¹⁷

In addition, a suggestion was made to include a new paragraph with more detailed information on cultural landscapes. An explanatory note stated that “the area nominated must include adequate examples of landforms and land-uses associated with traditional life styles.”¹¹⁸ The provisions would no longer be related to natural criteria or mixed sites as proposed in the

¹¹⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991,” SC-91/CONF.002/15, 17 para. 39, Dec. 12, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-15e.pdf>.

¹¹⁵ UNESCO, “Global study” (document presented at the seventeenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cartagena, Colombia, 6–11 December 1993), WHC/93/CONF.002/8, 3–4, Oct. 20, 1993, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1993/whc-93-conf002-8e.pdf>.

¹¹⁶ UNESCO, “Report on the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991,” SC-91/CONF.002/15, 25 para. 58, Dec. 12, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-15e.pdf>.

¹¹⁷ UNESCO, “Elaboration of criterion or criteria for cultural landscapes” (document presented at the fifteenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–21 June 1991), SC-91/CONF.001/10, 3–4 para. 8.a.vi, May 15, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf001-10e.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ UNESCO, “Elaboration of criterion or criteria for cultural landscapes” (document presented at the fifteenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–21 June 1991), SC-91/CONF.001/10, 9 para. 9, May 15, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf001-10e.pdf>.

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mid-1980s, but represent a distinct cultural heritage category. The Bureau members welcomed the proposal. Concerns were raised however with regard to the restrictive expression of traditional life-styles that would exclude modern ways of life.¹¹⁹ Considering the comments made by the Bureau and the exchange of ideas among ICOMOS experts and the Secretariat, a revised version of the draft criterion was presented to the Committee in December 1991:

Each property nominated should...be an outstanding example of a cultural landscape resulting from associations of cultural and natural elements....¹²⁰

The Committee noted, however, that the elaboration of a new criterion was premature.¹²¹ The representative of ICOMOS highlighted moreover the importance of first defining the concept.¹²² The Committee decided therefore that work should be continued to finalize the definition of criteria relating to cultural landscapes.¹²³

An Expert Group on Cultural Landscapes that met in the Parc Naturel Régional des Vosges du Nord, La Petite Pierre, in October 1992, came up with a new draft that only slightly changed the existing cultural criteria and proposed new interpretative paragraphs relating to cultural landscapes.¹²⁴ These recognized the people-environment relationship as a continuing process as well as various cultural associations with the property. Cultural landscapes were conceived as “the ‘combined works of nature and of man’ designated in Article 1 of the

¹¹⁹ UNESCO, “Elaboration of criterion or criteria for cultural landscapes” (document presented at the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991), SC-91/CONF.002/11, 3 paras. 7–9, Nov. 6, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-11e.pdf>.

¹²⁰ UNESCO, “Elaboration of criterion or criteria for cultural landscapes” (document presented at the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991), SC-91/CONF.002/11, annex, 1 para. a.vi, Nov. 6, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-11e.pdf>.

¹²¹ UNESCO, “Report on the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991,” SC-91/CONF.002/15, 25 para. 58, Dec. 12, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-15e.pdf>.

¹²² UNESCO, “Report on the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991,” SC-91/CONF.002/15, 25 para. 60, Dec. 12, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-15e.pdf>.

¹²³ UNESCO, “Report on the fifteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Carthage, Tunisia, 9–13 December 1991,” SC-91/CONF.002/15, 26 para. 65, Dec. 12, 1991, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1991/sc-91-conf002-15e.pdf>.

¹²⁴ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 1, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

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Convention.”¹²⁵ With respect to the existing cultural criteria, cultural continuity and the survival of traditions were emphasized by including appropriate terms into the wording of relevant criteria.¹²⁶ In addition, new paragraphs were proposed that defined cultural landscape categories, that is, the designed landscape, the organically evolved landscape that is either a relic or a continuing landscape, and the associative cultural landscape. With respect to recognizing intangible heritage, the notions of continuing and especially associative cultural landscape are particularly relevant:

A continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.¹²⁷

Ideas like ‘active social role’ or ‘associated with the traditional way of life’ point towards associated intangible heritage and the living character of place. The close relation to criterion (vi) in terms of considering cultural associations is evident in the idea of associative cultural landscape:

The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 4 para. 35, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

¹²⁶ On the changes of criteria, see chapter 5.3.3.

¹²⁷ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 5 para. 40, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

¹²⁸ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 4–5 paras. 40–41, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

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The Committee at its sixteenth session in 1992 adopted the proposal.¹²⁹ It was implemented with the inscription of Tongariro National Park in New Zealand in 1993 and made official in the 1994 version of the Operational Guidelines.¹³⁰

Also in 1994, heritage routes as a specific cultural landscape type were discussed in the context of an expert meeting. The term intangible was explicitly mentioned. Following the inscription of the pilgrims' Route of Santiago de Compostela in Spain in 1993, an expert meeting was held on *Routes as a Part of our Cultural Heritage* in November 1994. ICOMOS had commented on the nomination that the "Route of St James differ[ed] from all the existing properties on the List in that it...[was] essentially a communications route, with the structures and settlements associated with it, and as such...[was] difficult to evaluate according to the criteria set out in the Operational Guidelines."¹³¹ The meeting concluded that the concept of cultural route was "based on the dynamics of movement and the idea of exchanges, with continuity in space and time[,]. . . where the route ha[d] a worth over and above the sum of the elements making it up and through which it gain[ed] its cultural significance."¹³² Heritage routes, like the silk or slave routes, were thus based on a view that included "material, cultural and spiritual [exchanges]... , combining tangible and intangible elements, culture and nature."¹³³

¹²⁹ UNESCO, "Report on the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992," WHC-92/CONF.002/12, 55 para. XIII.2.3, Dec. 14, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-12e.pdf>.

¹³⁰ UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention," WHC/2/ Revised, 13–15 paras. 35–42, Feb. 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide94.pdf>. On the inscription of Tongariro National Park under the revised cultural criteria and as associative cultural landscape, see chapter 5.3.3.

¹³¹ ICOMOS, "World Heritage List No. 669," 63, Oct. 1993, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/669.pdf.

¹³² UNESCO, "Report on the expert meeting on Routes as a part of our cultural heritage, Madrid, Spain, November 1994" (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF-003/INF.13, 2, Nov. 30, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf13e.pdf>.

¹³³ UNESCO, "Report on the expert meeting on Routes as a part of our cultural heritage, Madrid, Spain, November 1994" (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF-003/INF.13, 2, Nov. 30, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf13e.pdf>.

5.3.1.2. The Global Strategy and the anthropological approach

In 1992, the Committee asked for the finalization of the Global Study.¹³⁴ It was not until 1994, however, that consensus was reached. In June 1994, the World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS jointly organized an expert meeting in Paris to review once more the different approaches concerning the definition of a conceptual framework and methodology for a representative World Heritage List. One of the meeting's objectives was "to integrate the international scientific community's most recent findings and ideas on the content and concept of cultural heritage."¹³⁵ The experts observed:

...the development of knowledge and the process of reflection within the international scientific community over the past twenty years has led to an evolution in the content and the extension of the concept of cultural heritage, and to the abandon of a basically 'monumental' vision for a far more anthropological and global conception of material evidence of the different cultures of the world. This material evidence is no longer considered out of context, but in its multiple relationships to its physical and non-physical environment.¹³⁶

This meant that cultural heritage did not simply refer to aesthetic and architectural values, but to the "multiple meanings in the use of materials, technology, work, organization of space, and, more generally, life in society."¹³⁷ The expert group identified a number of geographical, temporal, and spiritual gaps and imbalances on the World Heritage List:

...all living cultures—and especially the 'traditional' ones—, with their depth, their wealth, their complexity, and their diverse relationships with their environment, figured

¹³⁴ UNESCO, "Report on the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992," WHC-92/CONF.002/12, annex II, 2 B.1, Dec. 14, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-12e.pdf>.

¹³⁵ UNESCO, "Progress report on the preparation of Global Strategy for a representative World Heritage List" (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/15, 2, Oct. 20, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-15e.pdf>.

¹³⁶ UNESCO, "Progress report on the preparation of Global Strategy for a representative World Heritage List" (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/15, 2, Oct. 20, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-15e.pdf>.

¹³⁷ UNESCO, "Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy' and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994" (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 4, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

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very little on the List. Even traditional settlements were only included on the List in terms of their ‘architectural’ value, taking no account of their many economic, social, symbolic, and philosophical dimensions or of their many continuing interactions with their natural environment in all its diversity.¹³⁸

To respond to these observations and to ensure a representative and balanced World Heritage List, the experts decided to not only increase the number of underrepresented types, regions, and periods, but also to take into account the changing idea of cultural heritage. The typological approach was abandoned in favor of a thematic approach, which was perceived to be more universal. Thematic areas were identified that focus on human beings and the anthropological context and which should be considered through time:

HUMAN COEXISTENCE WITH THE LAND

- Movement of peoples (nomadism, migration)
- Settlement
- Modes of subsistence
- Technological evolution

HUMAN BEINGS IN SOCIETY

- Human interaction
- Cultural coexistence
- Spirituality and creative expression.¹³⁹

In accordance with this approach, the group recommended the modification of the cultural criteria to reflect cultural exchange and to consider living cultures.¹⁴⁰ To echo the dynamic and complex notion of cultural heritage and the evolutionary nature of the proposed approach, the working group finally suggested renaming the project ‘Global Strategy.’

¹³⁸ UNESCO, “Expert Meeting on the ‘Global Strategy’ and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 3–4, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

¹³⁹ UNESCO, “Expert Meeting on the ‘Global Strategy’ and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 6, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

¹⁴⁰ On the change of the wording of selected criteria, see chapter 5.3.2.

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The Bureau in July 1994 welcomed the recommendations. Members explicitly appreciated the better recognition of living cultures and the move beyond monumentality.¹⁴¹ The Delegate of Senegal called special attention to the importance of these aspects as they would permit nominations of African heritage, underrepresented on the World Heritage List.¹⁴² In line with the Bureau's recommendation, the Committee at its session held in December 1994 approved the proposed approach.¹⁴³ Regional and thematic meetings should address various types of cultural properties not represented or underrepresented on the List and place discussions "in the wider framework of current scientific thought concerning the concept of cultural heritage."¹⁴⁴

5.3.2. Outstanding Universal Value and the local perspective

One aspect that had a lasting impact on the interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value was the recognition of the local perspective in the identification of World Heritage sites in the early 1990s. As previously demonstrated with UNESCO's 1993 *Living Human Treasures program*, an important outcome of the anthropological shift of this period was the recognition of tradition bearers in heritage conservation.¹⁴⁵ Labadi observes that with "the adoption of the notion of cultural landscapes and the Global Strategy, the need to empower

¹⁴¹ UNESCO, "Report on the eighteenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 4–9 July 1994," WHC-94/CONF.001/10, 53–57, Aug. 19, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf001-10e.pdf>.

¹⁴² UNESCO, "Report on the eighteenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 4–9 July 1994," WHC-94/CONF.001/10, 54 para. XII.6, Aug. 19, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf001-10e.pdf>.

¹⁴³ UNESCO, "Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994," WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 43 para. X.6, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>.

¹⁴⁴ UNESCO, "Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994," WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 42 para. X.4, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>.

¹⁴⁵ On the anthropological turn in UNESCO's intangible heritage discourse, see chapter 4.1.3.

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indigenous communities has been increasingly emphasized” in World Heritage.¹⁴⁶ The experts at La Petite Pierre had stressed the importance of involving local communities in the identification of cultural landscapes.¹⁴⁷ The idea of community participation was accordingly included in the 1994 version of the Operational Guidelines which stated that “participation of local people in the nomination process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility.”¹⁴⁸

The local perspective has since been recognized also in terms of associations and their values. Tongariro National Park in New Zealand serves as illustration. Its inscription in 1993 was a landmark decision. The ICOMOS evaluation acknowledges that “the natural landscape plays a fundamental role through oral tradition in defining and confirming the cultural identity of the Maori people,” the indigenous Polynesian people of New Zealand.¹⁴⁹ For the first time indigenous living cultural heritage values were recognized on the World Heritage List. The inscription of Tongariro thus marks a turning point in acknowledging not only the living character of place and its associated traditions, but also local and indigenous perspectives.

5.3.3. Criteria, people-environment relationship, and cultural associations

Between 1980 or 1983 in case of criterion (iv) and 1992, the criteria remained unchanged. In the first half of the 1990s, they were revised in response to the introduction of the cultural landscape category and the launch of the Global Strategy (tables 4 and 5).

¹⁴⁶ Sophia Labadi, “A Review of the Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List 1994–2004,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites 2* (2005): 97.

¹⁴⁷ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 5 para. 43, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

¹⁴⁸ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2/ Revised, 8 para. 14, Feb. 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide94.pdf>.

¹⁴⁹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 421rev,” 138, Oct. 1993, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/421rev.pdf.

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	Criterion (i)	Criterion (ii)	Criterion (iii)
1980	represent a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius;	have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscaping;	...bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared;
1994	—	—	... bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization or cultural tradition which has disappeared;
1996	...represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;	exhibit an important interchange of human values , over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;	...bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

Table 4. Changes to the wordings of criteria (i) to (iii) between 1980 and 1996¹⁵⁰

	Criterion (iv)	Criterion (v)	Criterion (vi)
1980	—	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which is representative of a culture and which has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;	be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria);
1983	be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history;	—	—

¹⁵⁰ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 18.a.i–iii, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2/Revised, 10 para. 24.a.i–iii, Feb. 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide94.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2/Revised, 7 para. 24.a.i–iii, Feb. 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide96.pdf>. Relevant changes are highlighted in boldface.

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	Criterion (iv)	Criterion (v)	Criterion (vi)
1994	be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;	be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions , with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria);
1996	be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;	—	be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural);

Table 5. Changes to the wordings of criteria (iv) to (vi) between 1980 and 1996¹⁵¹

The revision of the Operational Guidelines in 1994, which concerned criteria (iii) to (vi), was a direct response to the introduction of the cultural landscape category in 1992. The meeting at La Petite Pierre had proposed minor modifications to the existing cultural criteria to accommodate the new concept. Criterion (iii) was amended to address cultural traditions as the term was considered culturally more neutral.¹⁵² With respect to criterion (iv) the term

¹⁵¹ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 5 para. 18.a.v–vi, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 7 para. 21.a.iv, Nov. 1983, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide83.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2/Revised, 10 para. 24.a.iv–vi, Feb. 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide94.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2/Revised, 7 para. 24.a.iv–vi, Feb. 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide96.pdf>. Relevant changes are highlighted in boldface.

¹⁵² UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 3 para. 24.a.iii and 4 para. iii, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

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landscape was introduced and the acknowledgement of several historical stages was added to “avoid the adoption of a linear view of history.”¹⁵³ By adding the word land-use and amending the concept of culture to the plural in the wording of criterion (v), the experts “emphasized the existence at times of multi-layered landscapes where several cultures are superimposed.”¹⁵⁴ In accordance with the category of associative cultural landscape the expert group suggested consideration of living traditions as well as artistic and literary works in the wording of criterion (vi).¹⁵⁵ In so doing, cultural continuity and the survival of traditions were emphasized and the concept of associative value broadened.¹⁵⁶ The Committee at its sixteenth session in December 1992 adopted the proposed changes and the revised wording was included in the 1994 version of the Operational Guidelines.¹⁵⁷

The first sites to be inscribed under the revised criteria for cultural landscapes were Tongariro National Park in New Zealand in 1993 and Uluru–Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia in 1994.¹⁵⁸ Both are examples of peoples’ spiritual relations to nature recognized

¹⁵³ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 3 para. 24.a.iv and 4 para. iv [citation], Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

¹⁵⁴ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 3 para. 24.a.v and 4 para. v [citation], Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

¹⁵⁵ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 3 para. 24.a.vi and 5 para. 41, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

¹⁵⁶ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992), WHC-92/CONF.002/10/Add, 4 para. vi, Nov. 2, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-10adde.pdf>.

¹⁵⁷ UNESCO, “Report on the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992,” WHC-92/CONF.002/12, 55 para. XIII.2.3, Dec. 14, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-12e.pdf>.

¹⁵⁸ On the renomination of the two sites under the revised cultural criteria, see also Sarah Titchen, “On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: Unesco’s World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List” (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 1995), 227–35.

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Figure 19. Tongariro National Park (New Zealand, 1990, 1993).
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through criterion (vi).¹⁵⁹ To date, Tongariro remains the only property to combine natural criteria with the use of criterion (vi) as the only cultural criterion. Inscribed in 1990 as natural heritage, Tongariro National Park was re-nominated under criterion (vi) as an associative cultural landscape in 1993. The Committee decided that the restriction to use criterion (vi) “in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria” referred also to

natural criteria.¹⁶⁰ The mountains at the heart of the park are “of great cultural and religious significance to the Maori people and are potent symbols of the spiritual connections between this human community and its natural environment” (fig. 19).¹⁶¹ In 1994, Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, also already inscribed as natural heritage, was successfully renominated on the basis of cultural criteria (v) and (vi).¹⁶² The ICOMOS evaluation states that the “dramatic monoliths of Uluru and Kata Tjuta form an integral part of the traditional belief system of one of the oldest human societies in the world” (fig. 20).¹⁶³ Both inscriptions not only strengthened the recognition of the culture-nature continuum, but more importantly in this



Figure 20. Uluru–Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia, 1987, 1994).
© Ève Wertheimer

¹⁵⁹ Nora Mitchell, Mechtild Rössler, and Pierre-Marie Tricaud, eds., *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Handbook for Conservation and Management*, World Heritage papers 26 (Paris: UNESCO, 2009), 19.

¹⁶⁰ UNESCO, “Report on the seventeenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cartagena, Colombia, 6–11 December 1993,” WHC-93/CONF.002/14, 39, Feb. 4, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1993/whc-93-conf002-14e.pdf>.

¹⁶¹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 421rev,” 139, Oct. 1993, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/421rev.pdf.

¹⁶² UNESCO, “Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994,” WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 52, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>.

¹⁶³ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 447rev,” 105, Oct. 1994, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/447rev.pdf.

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context are the first examples to officially acknowledge intangible heritage in terms of associated living traditions and beliefs, and thus the tangible-intangible continuum.

The Global Strategy meeting also proposed revisions to the criteria. In line with the anthropological approach and in order to encourage nominations that would fill gaps on the World Heritage List, the group recommended the modification of criteria to reflect cultural exchange and to consider living cultures.¹⁶⁴ With respect to criterion (i) the experts proposed to “remove ‘unique artistic achievement’ from the English version so that it correspond[ed] with the French.”¹⁶⁵ While the insertion of the term human into the English version seems to have equally been a formal decision with a view to aligning the two language versions, Cameron notes that the deletion of ‘unique artistic achievement’ was also based on the grounds “that it encouraged high-style European sites.”¹⁶⁶ More neutral wording was intended to encourage other interpretations of the concept of masterpiece. In 2001, in fact, the inscription of the Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi in Uganda was considered to demonstrate such an interpretation.¹⁶⁷ The recognition of an interchange of human values through criterion (ii) was intended to better reflect “the interaction of cultures, instead of the present formulation, which suggested that cultural influences occur in one direction only.”¹⁶⁸ With regard to criterion (iii) the meeting recommended the removal of the words “which has

¹⁶⁴ UNESCO, “Expert Meeting on the ‘Global Strategy’ and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 3–4, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

¹⁶⁵ UNESCO, “Expert Meeting on the ‘Global Strategy’ and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 7 para. 7.i, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

¹⁶⁶ UNESCO, “Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994,” WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 64 para. XIV.3, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>; Christina Cameron, “The Evolution of the Concept of Outstanding Universal Value,” in *Conserving the Authentic: Essays in Honour of Jukka Jokilehto*, eds. Nicholas Stanley-Price and Joseph King, 132 (Rome: ICCROM Conservation Studies, 2009).

¹⁶⁷ On the inscription of the Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi in 2001, see chapter 5.5.3.2.

¹⁶⁸ UNESCO, “Expert meeting on the ‘Global Strategy’ and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 7 para. 7.ii, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

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disappeared” since this expression excluded living cultures.¹⁶⁹ By including the term living instead, the Committee took on the idea brought forward by the expert group.¹⁷⁰ In this way “the continuing presence of indigenous peoples at some sites” was recognized.¹⁷¹ Criterion (iii) was thus modified to consider associated living traditions in the way they have influenced and continue to influence a place and its physical appearance.

With regard to criterion (vi), the Global Strategy meeting encouraged a less restrictive interpretation in order to support inscriptions of properties that would fill gaps in the List.¹⁷² The experts noted that the criterion referred to “a much more subjective appreciation and [was] therefore far more liable to different interpretations.”¹⁷³ In this way, it would encourage the nomination of a variety of heritage properties. At the same time, however, it involved the risk of regionalization and the weakening of the idea of Outstanding Universal Value. The Delegations of Thailand and the United States later repeated this concern during the Bureau session in July 1994 by stating that criterion (vi) “should be studied with care so that the idea of outstanding universal value which [was] expressed here, [was] not just a simple tautology of what [had] previously been affirmed.”¹⁷⁴ The experts considered that the criterion did not require any reinforcement in this respect and that its wording was justified exactly by

¹⁶⁹ UNESCO, “Expert meeting on the ‘Global Strategy’ and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 7 para. 7.iii, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

¹⁷⁰ UNESCO, “Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994,” WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 65 para. XIV.3, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>.

¹⁷¹ Cameron, “Evolution,” 132.

¹⁷² UNESCO, “Expert meeting on the ‘Global Strategy’ and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List, UNESCO Headquarters, 20–22 June 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.003/INF.6, 7–8 III, Oct. 13, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf6e.pdf>.

¹⁷³ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 9–10 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.001B/5, 2 para. A.1, Oct. 24, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf001b-5e.pdf>.

¹⁷⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the eighteenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 4–9 July 1994,” WHC-94/CONF.001/10, 55 para. XII.9, Aug. 19, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf001-10e.pdf>.

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emphasizing the need for “outstanding universal significance.”¹⁷⁵ The issue was taken up by the Committee in December 1994. The Delegate of Senegal proposed replacing “universal” by “regional” in order to support a more open interpretation.¹⁷⁶ This would however be contradictory to the scope of the Convention. As a compromise, the Committee decided to add “cultural or natural” at the end of the amendment.¹⁷⁷ This decision had most probably been favored by the successful renominations of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks. In line with the Bureau’s recommendation, the Committee adopted the revised criteria.¹⁷⁸ The decision was formalized in the 1996 version of the Operational Guidelines. Since then, criteria (i) to (iv) have remained unchanged.

5.3.4. The Nara Document, the diversification of authenticity, and the recognition of the intangible

Particularly important for the recognition of intangible heritage is the development of the notion of authenticity. It is in this context that intangible heritage was first conceived as an attribute of cultural heritage that carries the truthfulness of place.¹⁷⁹ With the recognition of

¹⁷⁵ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 9–10 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF.001B/5, 2 para. A.1, Oct. 24, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf001b-5e.pdf>.

¹⁷⁶ UNESCO, “Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994,” WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 64 para. XIV.3, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>.

¹⁷⁷ UNESCO, “Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994,” WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 65 para. XIV.3, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>.

¹⁷⁸ UNESCO, “Report on the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994,” WHC-94/CONF.003/16, 64 para. XIV.3, Jan. 31, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-16e.pdf>.

¹⁷⁹ UNESCO, “Nara Document on Authenticity. Expert meeting, 1–6 November 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC/94/CONF.003/INF.008, 2 and Nara Document on Authenticity, para. 7, Nov. 21, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf8e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report on the expert meeting on Routes as a part of our cultural heritage, Madrid, Spain, November 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC-94/CONF-003/INF.13, 3 para. 3.e, Nov. 30, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf13e.pdf>.

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cultural landscapes in 1992, the definition of authenticity was modified. The authenticity of cultural landscapes was to be found in “their distinctive character and components.”¹⁸⁰ While thereby indirectly considering intangible heritage, the definition remained vague and its application unclear. While the statement on authenticity in the ICOMOS evaluation of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, for example, continues to address the physical evidence of the property, the passage referring to the authenticity of Tongariro National Park acknowledges the importance of communication and education in securing the continued existence of values.¹⁸¹ Cameron observes that the “fundamental issue of the materials-based definition of authenticity remained.”¹⁸²

Due to the vagueness of the concept the World Heritage Committee and States Parties continued to meet problems in applying the test of authenticity.¹⁸³ In addition, several driving forces in the international conservation context fostered the reexamination of authenticity. According to Herb Stovel, ICOMOS Secretary General from 1990 to 1993, one of the authors of the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, and strong supporter of the idea, two major forces existed: the broadening of the definition of heritage over time and a growing desire to clarify universal principles.¹⁸⁴ With the concern for different materials, types, and characteristics of heritage, the focus had shifted towards maintaining dynamic processes, which gave form to the physical fabric. The *Nara Conference on Authenticity* is inscribed in the dynamic, in line with the Global Strategy, of making the World Heritage List more representative.¹⁸⁵ Another important event, which had stimulated the global discussion on the question of authenticity,

¹⁸⁰ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2/ Revised, 10 para. 24.b.i, Feb. 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide94.pdf>.

¹⁸¹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 447rev,” 103–4, Oct. 1994, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/447rev.pdf; ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 421rev,” 138, Oct. 1993, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/421rev.pdf.

¹⁸² Christina Cameron, “Context of the World Heritage Convention: Key Decisions and Emerging Concepts” (unpublished paper, 2009).

¹⁸³ Christina Cameron and Nobuko Inaba, “The Making of the Nara Document on Authenticity” (forthcoming); Larsen, *Nara*, xi.

¹⁸⁴ Stovel, “Nara Document,” xxxiv.

¹⁸⁵ von Droste and Bertilsson, “Authenticity,” 7.

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was Japan becoming signatory to the 1972 Convention in 1992.¹⁸⁶ Stovel reports that “the Japanese feared that their practice in periodically dismantling significant wooden structures would possibly be seen as unauthentic if judged from within a Western framework.”¹⁸⁷ At the Committee session in 1992, in fact, two World Heritage properties and their state of conservation brought attention to this approach to authenticity; Japan’s conservation work at Kathmandu Valley in Nepal, which involved dismantling and rebuilding, was criticized and the deterioration of the wooden church structures at Kizhi Pogost in the Russian Federation raised reflection on how to properly deal with their conservation.¹⁸⁸ A remark made by Parent in his 1979 report, which anticipated the revised conception of authenticity of the early 1990s, seems to have remained unheard at the time. He emphasized that “authenticity [was]...relative and depend[ed] on the nature of the property involved”:

A wooden temple in Kyoto which has been perfectly maintained, and whose timbers have been replaced regularly as and when they decayed—without any alteration of the architecture or the look of the material over ten centuries—remains undeniably authentic.¹⁸⁹

In response to the Japanese concerns and at the suggestion of ICOMOS, the Committee recommended that the test of authenticity should be critically evaluated in view of its possible revision.¹⁹⁰ This was supported by the fact that in 1993, the Japanese approach to authenticity was accepted when the Committee inscribed the Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area as masterpieces of wooden architecture and the earliest Buddhist monuments in Japan

¹⁸⁶ “States Parties: Ratification Status,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/>.

¹⁸⁷ Stovel, “Nara Document,” xxxiv. On the Japanese tradition of conserving wooden structures by replacing decayed components with new material, see also Nobuo Ito, “‘Authenticity’ Inherent in Cultural Heritage in Asia and Japan,” in *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention: Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1–6 November 1994*, ed. Knut Einar Larsen, 35–45 and 333–35 (Paris/Tokyo: UNESCO World Heritage Centre/Japan Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1995).

¹⁸⁸ Cameron and Inaba, “Nara Document.”

¹⁸⁹ UNESCO, “Principles and criteria for inclusion of properties on World Heritage List” (document presented at the third session of the World Heritage Committee, Luxor, Egypt, 23–27 October 1979), CC-79/CONF.003/11, annex, 19, Oct. 11, 1979, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-11e.pdf>.

¹⁹⁰ Stovel, “Nara Document,” xxxv; UNESCO, “Report on the sixteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Santa Fe, United States of America, 7–14 December 1992,” WHC-92/CONF.002/12, annex II, 8 para. 19, Dec. 14, 1992, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-12e.pdf>.

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(fig. 21).¹⁹¹ The ICOMOS evaluation notes that conservation interventions of wooden structures involved dismantling and reconstruction and that authenticity in workmanship was secured by paying special attention to “the use of traditional tools and techniques in conservation work.”¹⁹² The Japanese government agreed to host an expert meeting on authenticity scheduled for fall 1994.¹⁹³



Figure 21. Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area (Japan, 1993).
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In November 1994, forty-five international experts in the field of cultural heritage conservation from twenty-six countries and various disciplines met in Nara to discuss authenticity against the backdrop of acknowledging diversity.¹⁹⁴ Despite a difficult debate and remaining inconsistencies between the English and French versions, the Conference endorsed the *Nara Document on Authenticity*. Discussions took the Venice Charter as the starting point. The Charter had been accused of bias “in favor of monumental stone architecture only” and had “therefore been criticized for being too ‘Eurocentric,’ and not sufficiently open and applicable to cultures in other regions in the world.”¹⁹⁵ The Nara Document now aimed at recognizing “the expanding scope of cultural heritage concerns and interests” and making authenticity “the essential qualifying factor concerning values” in international conservation policies.¹⁹⁶ The experts thus gave special attention to “exploring the

¹⁹¹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 660,” 5, Oct. 1993, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/660.pdf.

¹⁹² ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 660,” 4, Oct. 1993, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/660.pdf.

¹⁹³ UNESCO, “Nara Document on Authenticity. Expert meeting, 1–6 November 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC/94/CONF.003/INF.008, 1, Nov. 21, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf8e.pdf>.

¹⁹⁴ The participants’ papers and discussion reports together with the Nara Document, which was prepared in a working group of twelve participants and edited by Raymond Lemaire and Herb Stovel, are published in Larsen (*Nara*). Cameron and Inaba (“Nara Document”) give insight into the writing process.

¹⁹⁵ von Droste and Bertilsson, “Authenticity,” 14.

¹⁹⁶ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” paras. 3 and 10, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

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diversity of cultures in the world and the many expressions of this diversity, ranging from monuments and sites through cultural landscapes to intangible heritage.”¹⁹⁷

The Document addresses two major outcomes of the meeting: the relationship among culture, heritage, and diversity, and the relationship between authenticity and values. First, heritage is acknowledged “in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression.”¹⁹⁸ The Nara Document distinguishes between the people who generate and thus, own the cultural heritage concerned and those who care for it according to international charters and conventions.¹⁹⁹ The use of authenticity must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which the heritage belongs. According to the Nara Document it is “not possible to base judgments of value and authenticity on fixed criteria” because they depend on “the nature of cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time.”²⁰⁰ Larsen explains that while “the search for authenticity is universal, ... the ways and means to preserve the authenticity of cultural heritage are culturally dependent.”²⁰¹ This view reflects a relativist perspective. Second, conserving cultural heritage “is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage.”²⁰² These values respond to the “original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning.”²⁰³ They lie at the very heart of heritage and manifest in tangible and/or intangible “information sources.”²⁰⁴ A preparatory workshop, which was held in Bergen, Norway, early in 1994 had suggested the replacement of the four aspects of authenticity as described in the Operational Guidelines by “‘clusters’ of aspects of

¹⁹⁷ UNESCO, “Nara Document on Authenticity. Expert meeting, 1–6 November 1994” (document presented at the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Phuket, Thailand, 12–17 December 1994), WHC/94/CONF.003/INF.008, 2, Nov. 21, 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1994/whc-94-conf003-inf8e.pdf>.

¹⁹⁸ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” para. 7, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

¹⁹⁹ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” para. 8, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

²⁰⁰ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” paras. 11 and 13, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

²⁰¹ Larsen, *Nara*, xiii.

²⁰² ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” para. 9, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

²⁰³ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” para. 9, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

²⁰⁴ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” para. 9, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

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authenticity.”²⁰⁵ Five clusters were identified: design or form; material or substance; techniques or tradition; aims or intentions that reflect function; and context or setting that reflect spirit.²⁰⁶ These were discussed and further developed during the Nara Conference. According to the Nara Document, information sources include:

form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors.²⁰⁷

They consist moreover of “all material, written, oral and figurative sources which make it possible to know the nature, specifications, meaning and history of the cultural heritage.”²⁰⁸ Authenticity as defined by the Nara Document refers not simply to the physical fabric, but also to intangible aspects such as “function, use, tradition, spirit.”²⁰⁹ It refers to the truthfulness or credibility of these information sources about values. In order to assess both authenticity and the “specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined,” it is essential to know and understand these sources.²¹⁰ Although certainly groundbreaking, the principles of the Nara Document were not immediately integrated in a revised test of authenticity.

5.3.5. Concluding remarks

The conceptual shift visible in the early 1990s in UNESCO’s intangible heritage discourse also found expression in the context of World Heritage. It affected the interpretation

²⁰⁵ Knut Einar Larsen and Nils Marstein, eds., *Conference on Authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention: Preparatory Workshop, Bergen, Norway, 31 January–2 February 1994* (Directorate for Cultural Heritage, Norway, 1994), 132–33.

²⁰⁶ Larsen and Marstein, *Conference*, 133.

²⁰⁷ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” para. 13, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

²⁰⁸ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” appendix 2, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

²⁰⁹ Natalia Dushkina, “Authenticity: Towards the Ecology of Culture,” in *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention: Proceedings, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994*, ed. Knut Einar Larsen, 310 (Paris/Tokyo: UNESCO World Heritage Centre/Japan Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1995).

²¹⁰ ICOMOS, “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994),” para. 13, <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>.

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of all concepts. Through the cultural landscape category and the Global Strategy, an anthropological approach to cultural heritage was introduced by recognizing the present-day relationship between human beings and their environment and with it, intangible heritage in terms of cultural associations such as most importantly associated living traditions. Criteria were revised accordingly and an associated intangible dimension not only considered through the broadening of criterion (vi), but the tangible-intangible continuum also addressed in the wording of other criteria. With the focus on the anthropological, that is, human component, the local perspective found its way into the concept of Outstanding Universal Value. The recognition of local, cultural associations of Outstanding Universal Value was first implemented with the inscription of Tongariro National Park in 1993, initially listed as a natural site. In the context of rethinking the definition of authenticity, which was to a great extent driven by ICOMOS Secretary General Stovel, various intangible elements were acknowledged to be carriers of truthfulness, such as construction techniques and the spirit of place. Thus, credit was given to different approaches to authenticity, coming at the time mostly from Asian countries, like Japan and Korea. It is also in the conceptual debate on authenticity that the term intangible was introduced into World Heritage.

5.4. The second half of the 1990s to the early 2000s (implementation)

The period of the early 1990s was followed by almost ten years of intensive debate and internalization of concepts that resulted in the revision of the Operational Guidelines in the first half of the 2000s. In the late 1990s, two experts meetings were particularly relevant for the discourses on Outstanding Universal Value, the criteria, and authenticity. An *Expert Meeting on the World Heritage Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage* was held in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, in March 1998. It brought together both cultural and natural experts. The second one was a consultative body, established in 1996, that examined technical

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issues, such as the implementation of the Global Strategy and the application of certain cultural criteria.²¹¹ In 1999, four groups were established that prepared the 2000 Cairns reform agenda, among them the task force on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, the working group on the representivity of the World Heritage List, and the *Expert Meeting on the Revision of the Operational Guidelines* held in Canterbury, the United Kingdom, in April 2000.²¹² The revision process continued in the early 2000s and included several experts meetings, drafting groups, and circular letters; it culminated in the adoption of changes in 2003 and their formalization in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines.

5.4.1. Cultural heritage

With regard to implementing the concept of cultural heritage, intangible heritage appeared mainly in two discourses. First, it continued to be addressed through the Global Strategy and the exploration of various themes and heritage types. And second, it shows in discussions on the relationship between World Heritage and the increasing importance of intangible heritage as an independent category within UNESCO.

²¹¹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Naples, Italy, 1–6 December 1997,” WHC-97/CONF.208/17, 49–50 para. VIII.11 and 69 para. XVI.3.1, Feb. 27, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1997/whc-97-conf208-17e.pdf>.

²¹² UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 6 paras. VI.15–16 and 6–7 para.VII.8, March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000,” WHC-2000/CONF.204/21, 5–12 Section VI, Feb. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-21e.pdf>.

5.4.1.1. Global Strategy meetings, thematic studies, and the exploration of intangible heritage

In discussions on cultural landscapes different forms of intangible heritage were recognized to be component parts of place. During the *Asia-Pacific Regional Workshop on Associative Cultural Landscapes* held in Australia in April 1995, the term associative cultural landscape was defined as “large or small contiguous or non-contiguous areas and itineraries, routes or other linear landscapes[, which]...may be physical entities or mental images embedded in a people’s spirituality, cultural tradition and practice.”²¹³ Attributes of such landscapes included “the intangible, such as the acoustic, kinetic (eg. air movements) and olfactory, as well as the visual (eg. patterns of light, colours and shapes in the landscape).”²¹⁴ At the *Expert Meeting on European Cultural Landscapes of Outstanding Universal Value* in Vienna, Austria, in 1996 and in relation to organically evolved landscapes it was noted that “cultural landscapes consist of tangible and intangible components.”²¹⁵ With respect to associative cultural landscapes the meeting observed that associations of intangible heritage may include “music, poetry, philosophy or science,” yet only if the values of this intangible heritage were universal.²¹⁶ Intangible heritage was also mentioned in expert meetings on

²¹³ UNESCO, “Report of the Asia-Pacific regional workshop on associative cultural landscapes, Australia, 27–29 April 1995” (document presented at the nineteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Berlin, Germany, 4–9 December 1995), WHC-95/CONF.203/INF.9, 4, Sept. 25, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1995/whc-95-conf203-inf9e.pdf>.

²¹⁴ UNESCO, “Report of the Asia-Pacific regional workshop on associative cultural landscapes, Australia, 27–29 April 1995” (document presented at the nineteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Berlin, Germany, 4–9 December 1995), WHC-95/CONF.203/INF.9, 9, Sept. 25, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1995/whc-95-conf203-inf9e.pdf>.

²¹⁵ UNESCO, “Report of the expert meeting on European cultural landscapes of Outstanding Universal Value, Vienna, Austria, 21 April 1996” (document presented at the twentieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Merida, Mexico, 2–7 December 1996), WHC-96/CONF.201/INF.9, 3, Sept. 25, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf201-inf9e.pdf>.

²¹⁶ UNESCO, “Report of the expert meeting on European cultural landscapes of Outstanding Universal Value, Vienna, Austria, 21 April 1996” (document presented at the twentieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Merida, Mexico, 2–7 December 1996), WHC-96/CONF.201/INF.9, 5, Sept. 25, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf201-inf9e.pdf>.

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cultural landscapes between 1998 and 2001.²¹⁷ It was understood as “the associative,” which included cultural traditions, rituals, beliefs, music, poetry, dance, and traditional festivals.²¹⁸ The Delegation of New Zealand at the Committee’s seventh extraordinary session in December 2004 noted that “in describing cultural landscapes it was not possible to separate the tangible from the intangible, as those two aspects were interconnected.”²¹⁹

The Global Strategy was implemented by means of more than twenty-five regional and sub-regional meetings as well as over thirty thematic and comparative studies.²²⁰ Global Strategy meetings aimed at identifying themes and types of cultural properties with little or no representation on the World Heritage List and initiating the preparation of nominations. In the context of the *First Global Strategy Meeting on African Cultural Heritage and the World Heritage Convention* held in Harare in 1995, the idea of intangible appears in relation to the definition of religious and spiritual heritage:

- Sites or structures which had been built intentionally for worship or ritual purposes e.g. shrines, stone cairns, tombs or enclosures

²¹⁷ UNESCO, “Report of the regional thematic meeting on Cultural landscapes in the Andes, Arequipa/Chivay, Peru, 17–22 May 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.8, 4 and 6, Oct. 26, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf8e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the expert meeting on African cultural landscapes, Tiwi, Kenya, 9–14 March 1999” (document presented at the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999), WHC-99/CONF.209/INF.8, 13–14, 16, and annex I, 17, Oct. 20, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-inf8e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Synthesis report of the regional expert meeting on Cultural landscapes in Central America” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/WEB.4, 1–2, 4, and 19, Oct. 30, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-web4e.pdf>; UNESCO, “World Heritage thematic expert meeting on Vineyard cultural landscapes, Tokai, Hungary, 11 to 14 July 2001” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.7, 5, Aug. 15, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf7e.pdf>.

²¹⁸ UNESCO, “Report of the secretary on the activities undertaken by the secretariat since the twenty-first session of the Committee” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/INF.4, 3, June 18, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-inf4e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Synthesis report of the regional expert meeting on Cultural landscapes in Central America” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/WEB.4, 2 and 19, Oct. 30, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-web4e.pdf>.

²¹⁹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004,” WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.17, 73, July 10, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-17e.pdf>.

²²⁰ For activities related to the Global Strategy, see the World Heritage Centre website. “Global Strategy,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy>.

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- Existing sites or structures which had, through association with an event or person or belief, acquired a religious or spiritual significance...
- Intangible aspects such as trance, rituals, ceremonies, rights of passage and taboos; Natural features and landscapes e.g. Mountains, lakes and pools, individuals and groups of trees, forests, rocks, termite hills etc.²²¹

The notions of historical and cultural association permeate this definition. The participants confirmed moreover that “the anthropological approach...emphasise[d] both the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage.”²²² Another meeting on *African Cultural Heritage and the Convention for the Sudano-Sahelian Region and the Horn of Africa*, which was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1996, recalled the two approaches to heritage:

...the historical approach for monuments and human settlements, and the anthropological approach for the numerous African Populations whose link with the environment as well as cultural and social practices are that of an occupation of the space without monumental traces.²²³

The meeting emphasized the importance of “the symbolic, spiritual, and social values of certain natural features and landscapes for ancient and living cultural traditions.”²²⁴ Another Global Strategy meeting for West Africa held in 1998 highlighted the importance of traditions and living cultures for African heritage:

This category includes sacred sites, cultural and religious itineraries, commercial trade routes. Oral tradition...bears witness to the living traditions and could justifiably find a place in this dimension of intangible heritage.²²⁵

²²¹ Dawson Munjeri, Webber Nodoro, Catherine Sibanda, Galia Saouma-Forero, Laurent Levi-Strauss, and L. Upwishi Mbuyamba, eds., “African cultural heritage and the World Heritage Convention—First Global Strategy meeting, Harare, 11–13 October 1995,” 106, Pdf file available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/594/>.

²²² Munjeri et al., “African cultural heritage,” 20.

²²³ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the second meeting on Global Strategy of the African cultural heritage and the World Heritage Convention, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 29 July–1 August 1996” (document presented at the twentieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, 2–7 December 1996), WHC-96/CONF.201/INF.7, 6, Oct. 14, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf201-inf7e.pdf>.

²²⁴ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the second meeting on Global Strategy of the African cultural heritage and the World Heritage Convention, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 29 July–1 August 1996” (document presented at the twentieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, 2–7 December 1996), WHC-96/CONF.201/INF.7, 12, Oct. 14, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf201-inf7e.pdf>.

²²⁵ UNESCO, “Report of the fourth Global Strategy meeting for West Africa, 16–19 September 1998, Porto Novo, Republic of Benin” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.9, 11–12, Nov. 9, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf9e.pdf>.

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The meeting recommended that intangible and spiritual aspects be considered for evaluating proposed inscriptions on the List.²²⁶ In the following years, similar ideas were also discussed in relation to other heritage types and world regions. Participants of the third Global Strategy meeting held in Fiji in 1997 noted, for example:

...the Pacific region contains a series of spectacular and highly powerful spiritually valued natural features and cultural places rather than an extensive range of monuments and human built permanent features. These places are related to the origins of peoples, the land and sea, and other sacred stories. These places are often linked and are interpreted and understood only through cultural traditions.²²⁷

Cultural heritage concerns the close interrelationship between people and their environment. In September 2001, moreover, a *Thematic Expert Meeting on Asia-Pacific Sacred Mountains* met in the Japanese Wakayama. The experts observed that “cultural heritage values attributable to sacred mountains may be manifested in the form of either or both tangible or intangible heritage.”²²⁸ Cultural intangible heritage values were considered to be expressed through the following forms of intangible evidence:

- Continuity.....of oral or performing traditions or festivals related to the use and/or reverence of the sacred mountain, communication with the deity(ies) associated with the sacred mountain;
- Fame.....how well the sacred mountain is known or visited;
- Identity.....the sacred mountain represents a nation, religion, group(s) of people;
- Manifestation..of centre of the cosmos, deity(ies), paradise, spirit(s), universe, power;
- Myth.....there are myths related to the creation or presence or importance of the sacred mountain;

²²⁶ UNESCO, “Report of the fourth Global Strategy meeting for West Africa, 16–19 September 1998, Porto Novo, Republic of Benin” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.9, 20, Nov. 9, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf9e.pdf>.

²²⁷ UNESCO, “Findings and recommendations of the third Global Strategy meeting, Suva, Fiji, 15–19 July 1997” (document presented at the twenty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Naples, Italy, 1–6 December 1997), WHC-97/CONF.208/INF.8, 2 V, Oct. 17, 1997, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1997/whc-97-conf208-inf8e.pdf>.

²²⁸ UNESCO, “Report of the thematic expert meeting on Asia-Pacific sacred mountains, Wakayama, Japan, 5–10 September 2001” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.9 Rev, 15 para. 2.2.4, Dec. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf9reve.pdf>. On an analysis of sacred mountains on the World Heritage List, see also chapter 2.2.2 and in particular Olwen Beazley, “Five Feet from Heaven: The World Heritage Convention, Mountains of Meaning and Inspirational Landscapes: Identifying and Protecting Their Intangible Values,” *Historic Environment* 18, no. 2 (2005).

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Practice.....activities of ascetic practice, enlightenment, meditation, pilgrimage, purification, teachings, reverence to god(s), worship of ancestors;
Presence..... permanently or temporarily of a deity or deities or a holy person(s);
Source.....for healing, inspiration.²²⁹

It was moreover noted that while in some cultural traditions “the existence of intangible cultural heritage values need[ed] to be established through physical evidence such as documentation (codes of conduct, texts, records of rites, etc),” in others, material evidence was not permitted.²³⁰ Where tangible evidence existed, it was often difficult to distinguish intangible from tangible or natural assets.²³¹

In the late 1990s, the desire emerged to accelerate the implementation of the regional and thematic approach to interpreting World Heritage. Several shortcomings of the List were presented to the 1999 General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, such as “the fact that [it]...does not yet include all the categories of properties, notably living traditions and modes of land-use—which determine the material and spiritual life of human groups and their relationships with their environment.”²³² The General Assembly concluded that further active work was needed to ensure the representativity of the List.²³³ Following the Assembly’s resolution, the Committee in 2000 commissioned the Advisory Bodies to continue

²²⁹ UNESCO, “Report of the thematic expert meeting on Asia-Pacific sacred mountains, Wakayama, Japan, 5–10 September 2001” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.9 Rev, 16 para. 2.2.8, Dec. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf9reve.pdf>.

²³⁰ UNESCO, “Report of the thematic expert meeting on Asia-Pacific sacred mountains, Wakayama, Japan, 5–10 September 2001” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.9 Rev, 16 para. 2.2.9, Dec. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf9reve.pdf>.

²³¹ UNESCO, “Report of the thematic expert meeting on Asia-Pacific sacred mountains, Wakayama, Japan, 5–10 September 2001” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.9 Rev, 16 para. 2.2.10, Dec. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf9reve.pdf>.

²³² UNESCO, “Summary record on the twelfth General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, Paris, France, 28–29 October 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.206/7, 1 para. 5, Nov. 8, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf206-7e.pdf>.

²³³ UNESCO, “Summary record on the twelfth General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, Paris, France, 28–29 October 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.206/7, 6–10 para. 30–48 and annex II, E, Nov. 8, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf206-7e.pdf>.

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studying the List and tentative lists while taking into account the diversity of heritage in each region.²³⁴

In 2002 and 2004, ICOMOS presented its approach of identifying cultural categories to the Committee.²³⁵ The analysis of 2004 was based on the ICOMOS study *Filling the Gaps*.²³⁶ The World Heritage List and tentative lists had been analyzed on the basis of three complementary approaches, a typological, chronological, and thematic approach. The third approach took into account the broader anthropological context and “the definition of sites...in a holistic way, reflecting tangible as well as intangible qualities..., as the latter [were]... becoming increasingly important,” most notably through the adoption of the 2003 Convention.²³⁷ Six themes were identified: cultural associations, expressions of creativity, spiritual responses, utilizing natural resources, movement of peoples, and developing technologies.²³⁸ The theme most explicitly linked to intangible heritage is cultural associations. It “refers to intangible values of monuments and sites” and includes the following sub-themes:

- a. Interacting in society: language, oral traditions, myths, song-lines; music, dance, sports; literature, artistic references, theatre, social systems
- b. Forming cultural and symbolic associations; cultural and political identity; significant personalities; memorials

²³⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000,” WHC-2000/CONF.204/21, 9–10 para. 3.2.ii–iii, Feb. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-21e.pdf>.

²³⁵ UNESCO, “Progress report on the analyses of the World Heritage List and tentative lists and the identification of underrepresented categories of natural and cultural heritage” (document presented at the twenty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Budapest, Hungary, 24–29 June 2002), WHC-02/CONF.202/9, May 21, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2002/whc-02-conf202-9e.pdf>; UNESCO, “ICOMOS analysis of the World Heritage List and tentative lists and follow-up action plan” (document presented at the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004), WHC-04/28.COM/INF.13A, May 10, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-inf13ae.pdf>.

²³⁶ ICOMOS, “The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps—an Action Plan for the Future,” February 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-590-1.pdf>.

²³⁷ ICOMOS, “The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps—an Action Plan for the Future,” 6, February 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-590-1.pdf>.

²³⁸ ICOMOS, “The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps—an Action Plan for the Future,” 30, February 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-590-1.pdf>.

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- c. Developing knowledge; education; philosophy and science; human health; law and justice.²³⁹

ICOMOS concluded that in total ten categories or themes were underrepresented on the World Heritage List, providing focus for follow-up. Among them is the sacred and symbolic significance of natural places.²⁴⁰ The Committee in 2004 discussed the document.²⁴¹ Problems persisted such as the need for regional workshops to identify cultural heritage for each region. The Committee also stressed the importance of giving consideration to local perspectives and to a bottom-up approach for identifying cultural heritage.²⁴²

5.4.1.2. Relation to UNESCO's intangible heritage initiative

With the establishment of the Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in the late 1990s, the need emerged to look at the overlap between the World Heritage Convention and the new movement in UNESCO on protecting intangible heritage in its own right. In 1998, the issue was addressed in the context of the Committee debate on the implementation of the Global Strategy. The Director of the Division of Cultural Heritage emphasized that “humankind’s oral and intangible masterpieces should not be confused with the establishment of the World Heritage List, stemming from the implementation of an international convention..., even if, as in the case of the Place Djemaa Al Fna of Marrakesh, it may be complementary.”²⁴³ The square had been inscribed on the

²³⁹ ICOMOS, “The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps—an Action Plan for the Future,” 31, February 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-590-1.pdf>.

²⁴⁰ ICOMOS, “The World Heritage List: Filling the Gaps—an Action Plan for the Future,” 42, February 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-590-1.pdf>.

²⁴¹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004,” WHC-04/28.COM/INF.26, 175–180 paras. 92–147, March 13, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-inf26e.pdf>.

²⁴² UNESCO, “Summary record on the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004,” WHC-04/28.COM/INF.26, 179 paras. 138 and 142, March 13, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-inf26e.pdf>.

²⁴³ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998,” WHC-98/CONF.203/18, 38 para. X.14, Jan. 29, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-18e.pdf>.

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World Heritage List as part of the Medina of Marrakesh in 1985 (fig. 22).²⁴⁴ In so doing, the tangible or built environment of the place was acknowledged. As described earlier, discussions surrounding this cultural space in the second half of the 1990s had led to the underlying concept of the Proclamation of Masterpieces.²⁴⁵ In 2001, the Square was proclaimed a Masterpiece in recognition of the cultural traditions of musical, religious, and artistic expressions performed there (fig. 23).²⁴⁶



Figure 22. Medina of Marrakesh (Morocco, 1985).
© UNESCO/Maria Gropa



Figure 23. Cultural space of Jemaa el-Fna Square (Morocco, Masterpiece in 2001).
© UNESCO/Jane Wright

The new initiative still became a source of confusion. In 1998, the Palm Grove of Elche and its traditions, the Elche Mystery Play, in Spain were proposed for inscription as a continuing organic cultural landscape. The nomination comprised “the only palm grove of its type anywhere on the European continent” and “the only medieval religious dramatic performance that has taken place without interruption within a Christian church from its origins to the present day.”²⁴⁷ While ICOMOS acknowledged each of the two components to be exceptional, it pointed out that a convincing connection between the landscape and the tradition was missing:

²⁴⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 2–6 December 1985,” SC-85/CONF.008/9, 9, Dec. 1985, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1985/sc-85-conf008-9_e.pdf.

²⁴⁵ On the idea of cultural space and the Proclamation of Masterpieces, see chapter 4.1.4.

²⁴⁶ “Cultural space of Jemaa el-Fna Square,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00014>.

²⁴⁷ UNESCO, “Evaluations of cultural properties prepared by ICOMOS” (document presented at the twenty-third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 5–10 July 1999), WHC-99/CONF.204/INF.7, 158, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf204-inf7e.pdf>.

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It should be drawn to the attention of the State Party that the Convention cannot be used to give recognition to intangible property. It is impossible to interpret Article 1 of the Convention so as to permit consideration being given to the Elche Mystery Play. It is perhaps also relevant to add that the only link between the palm groves and the Mystery Play is the fact that both are connected with the town of Elche. The association of the two in a single nomination is not logical, and would be so only in the context of a nomination of the entire urban area of Elche.²⁴⁸

Following this recommendation, the State Party withdrew the nomination of the Elche Mystery Play.²⁴⁹ Instead, this sacred musical drama around the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was proclaimed a Masterpiece in 2001.²⁵⁰

Since the early 2000s, UNESCO's Director-General Matsuura in his speeches before World Heritage sessions repeatedly mentioned the growing importance of intangible heritage.²⁵¹ As noted earlier, he was an important promoter of UNESCO's intangible heritage initiative.²⁵² In 2001, for example, Matsuura noted that "intangible cultural values associated with sites...[were] increasingly recognized as an integral component of their world heritage values."²⁵³

After the proclamation of the first list of Masterpieces in May 2001, the need to look at the overlap between the World Heritage Convention and UNESCO's intangible heritage

²⁴⁸ UNESCO, "Evaluations of cultural properties prepared by ICOMOS" (document presented at the twenty-third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 5–10 July 1999), WHC-99/CONF.204/INF.7, 160, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf204-inf7e.pdf>.

²⁴⁹ UNESCO, "Report on the twenty-third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 5–10 July 1999," WHC-99/CONF.204/15, 37 para. V.3, Sept. 16, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf204-15e.pdf>.

²⁵⁰ "Mystery Play of Elche," UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00018>.

²⁵¹ UNESCO, "Summary record on the twenty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Budapest, Hungary, 24–29 June 2002," WHC-02/CONF.202/INF.15, 18, March 11, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2002/whc-02-conf202-inf15e.pdf>; UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 8 para. 1.12, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>; UNESCO, "Summary record on the fourteenth General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, Paris, France, 14–15 October 2003," WHC-03/14.GA/10, annex I, 38, Feb. 2, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-14ga-10e.pdf>.

²⁵² On the importance of Director-General Matsuura for the recognition of intangible heritage in the context of UNESCO, see also chapter 4.1.4.

²⁵³ UNESCO, "Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001," WHC-01/CONF.208/24, annex 3, 93, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

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initiative was raised in the context of discussing the application of criterion (vi) at the Bureau's twenty-fifth session:

[The Proclamation of Masterpieces]..., and the possibility of establishing an international standard-setting instrument to protect intangible cultural heritage, demonstrates the current importance of international protection and recognition of intangible values. The implementation of the World Heritage Convention, and in particular the application of cultural criterion (vi) to recognise intangible or associative values, could be examined to ensure complementarity with the new intangible cultural heritage list and possible international instrument.²⁵⁴

The relationship between criterion (vi) and the new instrument was also addressed at the sixth extraordinary session of the Committee in March 2003. The Delegation of Zimbabwe, which was involved in the preparation of the new convention, noted that “the World Heritage Convention does not deal with intangible heritage in its own context but in the context of tangible heritage.”²⁵⁵ In a similar way, the Delegation of Thailand emphasized that since article one of the Convention referred to cultural properties in terms of “physical and not intangible entities[,]. . . criterion (vi) had to be associated with physical, and not intangible, entities.”²⁵⁶ While the difference between tangible and intangible heritage was considered evident, Committee members acknowledged the risk of duplication.²⁵⁷ With the adoption of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention in October 2003, reviewing the relationship between the two instruments became a necessity.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ UNESCO, “Discussion paper on the application of cultural criterion (vi)” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001), WHC-2001/CONF.205/INF.8, 11 para. 35.e, June 19, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-inf8e.pdf>.

²⁵⁵ UNESCO, “Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003,” WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 44 para. 5.268, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

²⁵⁶ UNESCO, “Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003,” WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 44 para. 5.269, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

²⁵⁷ UNESCO, “Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003,” WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 44 paras. 5.275, 5.277–5.278, and 5.280, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

²⁵⁸ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004,” WHC-04/28.COM/26, decision 28 COM 12, 9–10 para. 9, Oct. 29, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-26e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Summary record on the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004,” WHC-04/28.COM/INF.26, 280 paras. 1661 and 1667, March 13, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-inf26e.pdf>.

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In October 2004, an international conference was held in Nara, Japan, on *The Safeguarding of Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards an Integrated Approach*. Forty-two international experts with backgrounds in tangible and intangible heritage met to discuss possible integrated approaches to protecting cultural heritage. The conference also addressed the definitions of cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage as expressed in the 1972 and 2003 Conventions respectively as well as the need to harmonize terminologies.²⁵⁹ The meeting's results were summarized in the *Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Previously established overlaps and differences were reiterated. Despite acknowledging that “the elements of the tangible and intangible heritage of communities and groups are often interdependent,” it was noted that “there are countless examples of intangible cultural heritage that do not depend for their existence or expression on specific places or objects, and that the values associated with monuments and sites are not considered intangible cultural heritage as defined under the 2003 Convention when they belong to the past and not to the living heritage of present-day communities.”²⁶⁰ The importance of recognizing Intangible Cultural Heritage in its own right was reaffirmed. The experts observed, moreover, that intangible heritage in terms of the World Heritage Convention meant “the values associated to tangible heritage.”²⁶¹ A background document prepared by the World Heritage Centre in November 2004 explained that intangible heritage was recognized through the 1972 Convention in terms of, amongst others, living traditions, ideas, and beliefs, to the extent that their “Outstanding Universal Value justifie[d] the inscription on the World Heritage List of the tangible properties they are

²⁵⁹ UNESCO, “Co-operation and coordination between UNESCO conventions concerning heritage: The Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage” (document presented at the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004), WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.9, 1 para. 4, Nov. 25, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-inf09e.pdf>.

²⁶⁰ UNESCO, “Co-operation and coordination between UNESCO conventions concerning heritage: The Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage” (document presented at the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004), WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.9, 1 paras. 9–10, Nov. 25, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-inf09e.pdf>.

²⁶¹ UNESCO, “Proceedings of the international conference on The safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage: Towards an integrated approach, Nara, Japan, 20–23 October 2004,” CLT/CIH/MCO/2006/PRO/H/1, 222, 2006, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001470/147097m.pdf>.

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associated with.”²⁶² The importance of identifying Outstanding Universal Value by means of comparison was emphasized in contrast to the representative character of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and its value for the local community.²⁶³ In order to enhance an integrative approach to heritage protection the proposed revised Operational Guidelines “provide[d] the increased possibility to take into consideration elements of the intangible cultural heritage for inscription on the World Heritage List.”²⁶⁴ This concerned not only criterion (vi), but also revised criterion (v) as will be shown later.²⁶⁵

Together with the outcomes of the 2004 Nara Conference, the background document was presented to the Committee’s seventh extraordinary session in December 2004. The Committee discussed the issue at length noting that there was an evident interaction between the two conventions.²⁶⁶ Based on a proposal by New Zealand, the Committee recognized “the primacy of the World Heritage Convention in relation to tangible heritage and where the tangible heritage has a clear link with intangible cultural heritage.”²⁶⁷ The Delegation of the United Kingdom reminded the Committee, however, that “the division between tangible and

²⁶² UNESCO, “Co-operation and coordination between UNESCO conventions concerning heritage” (document presented at the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004), WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/9, 5–6 para. 12, Nov. 25, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-09e.pdf>.

²⁶³ UNESCO, “Co-operation and coordination between UNESCO conventions concerning heritage” (document presented at the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004), WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/9, 8 para. 17, Nov. 25, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-09e.pdf>.

²⁶⁴ UNESCO, “Co-operation and coordination between UNESCO conventions concerning heritage” (document presented at the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004), WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/9, 6–7 para. 13, Nov. 25, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-09e.pdf>.

²⁶⁵ On the recognition of intangible heritage through various criteria, see chapter 5.5.3.2.

²⁶⁶ UNESCO, “Summary record on the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004,” WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.17, 95–104 and 109–112, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-17e.pdf>.

²⁶⁷ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004,” WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/17, decision 7 EXT.COM 9, 20 para. 6 [citation], 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-17e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Summary record on the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004,” WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.17, 96, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-17e.pdf>.

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intangible was unhelpful since all values attaching to a place depended on people's beliefs and perceptions."²⁶⁸ The comment seems however to have remained unnoticed.

5.4.2. Outstanding Universal Value

The discourse on Outstanding Universal Value is a continued endeavor to define the concept and to find a balance between the ideas of universal and representative or local in response to the implementation of the Global Strategy. The most coherent debate concerns the formulation of a definition in the context of revising the Operational Guidelines. In addition, attempts continued to recognize indigenous and local communities' perspectives in the identification and conservation of World Heritage.

5.4.2.1 Transnational and thematic approach to Outstanding Universal Value

In the late 1990s, an attempt was made to make the ideas of Outstanding Universal Value and cultural diversity more workable. One meeting is of particular importance in this regard. The 1998 *World Heritage Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage Expert Meeting* held in Amsterdam discussed "the notion of outstanding universal value and its application in different regional and cultural contexts."²⁶⁹ According to participants, interpretations of the term existed within IUCN and ICOMOS "which ranged from 'the best of

²⁶⁸ UNESCO, "Summary record on the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004," WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.17, 99, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-17e.pdf>.

²⁶⁹ UNESCO, "Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy natural and cultural heritage expert meeting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 25–29 March 1998" (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.7, 1, Oct. 20, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf7e.pdf>.

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the best’, ‘the representative of the best’ to ‘the best of the representative’.”²⁷⁰ The experts noted that every site had some uniqueness.²⁷¹ It was therefore necessary to translate the concept into practice. The experts recommended the following:

The requirement of outstanding universal value characterising cultural...heritage should be interpreted as an outstanding response to issues of universal nature common to or addressed by all human cultures. ...such issues are seen...in relation to culture in human creativity and resulting cultural diversity.²⁷²

In thematic studies “the most outstanding representatives of a kind in a cultural or physical region” should be identified based on a global or regional comparison.²⁷³ The notions of universal and representative should thus be combined by a common global framework that could be interpreted regionally.

The transnational perspective also found its way into the Operational Guidelines. In 1999, an expert meeting was formally constituted to discuss and combine proposals for revising and reorganizing the Operational Guidelines.²⁷⁴ The meeting took place in Canterbury in April 2000. The meeting’s proposals were mainly structural to streamline the document and

²⁷⁰ UNESCO, “Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy natural and cultural heritage expert meeting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 25–29 March 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.7, 2, Oct. 20, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf7e.pdf>.

²⁷¹ UNESCO, “Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy natural and cultural heritage expert meeting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 25–29 March 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.7, 13, Oct. 20, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf7e.pdf>.

²⁷² UNESCO, “Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy natural and cultural heritage expert meeting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 25–29 March 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.7, 15, table 6 para. 2, Oct. 20, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf7e.pdf>.

²⁷³ UNESCO, “Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy natural and cultural heritage expert meeting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 25–29 March 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.7, 15, table 6 para. 5, Oct. 20, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf7e.pdf>.

²⁷⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 5–10 July 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.204/15, 55 para. VIII.7(2), Sept. 16, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf204-15e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 6 para. VI.16, March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>.

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make it more user-friendly.²⁷⁵ A new paragraph on Outstanding Universal Value was to be added referring to national or regional importance.²⁷⁶ In the further process of discussions, the definition was changed in the way that the notion of national was substituted by the idea of transnational importance.²⁷⁷

‘Outstanding universal value’ is taken to mean cultural...significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole.²⁷⁸

This definition was included almost verbatim in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines.²⁷⁹

5.4.2.2. Universal and local value

Against the backdrop of the growing interest in recognizing cultural diversity and the intangible cultural heritage of local tradition holders an idea was presented to the Committee session in 2000, to establish a World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts

²⁷⁵ UNESCO, “Report of the international expert meeting on the revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, Canterbury, UK, 10–14 April 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.10, 3 B, Oct. 12, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf10e.pdf>.

²⁷⁶ UNESCO, “Report of the international expert meeting on the revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, Canterbury, UK, 10–14 April 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.10, 12, Oct. 12, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf10e.pdf>.

²⁷⁷ UNESCO, “Preliminary draft of the proposed revision of the Operational Guidelines prepared by Australia” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.18, 9 para. 8, Nov. 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf18e.pdf>.

²⁷⁸ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention: Third draft annotated revised Operational Guidelines prepared by the March 2002 drafting group” (document presented at the twenty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Budapest, Hungary, 24–29 June 2002), WHC-02/CONF.202/14B, 8 para. I.C.3, May 28, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2002/whc-02-conf202-14be.pdf>.

²⁷⁹ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.05/2, 14 para. 49, Feb. 2, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>.

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(WHIPCOE) as a consultative body to the Committee. An Indigenous Peoples Forum on World Heritage had met some days prior to that year's Committee session. Representatives from that meeting asked the Committee to strengthen the protection of "indigenous knowledge systems, values and traditions in World Heritage areas, asserting that these sites were 'ancestral lands' that had to be treated with respect."²⁸⁰ The Committee was asked to give credit to the fact that "the holistic, natural and cultural values and traditions of Indigenous peoples and traditional local communities are dynamic living values rather than static historic ones."²⁸¹ The WHIPCOE was intended to "bring Indigenous competencies and expertise to complement other expert groups, in order to support the objectives of the World Heritage Convention."²⁸² One year later, some Committee members questioned "the definition of indigenous peoples and the relevance of such a distinction in different regions of the world."²⁸³ States Parties seemed to feel threatened with a loss of control by giving indigenous groups this type of participation. While stressing the need to further exchange views on the matter, the Committee abandoned the proposal. ICOMOS at its thirteenth General Assembly in 2002 took up the matter and proposed "that the ICOMOS Executive Committee investigate opportunities for indigenous people to participate in ICOMOS."²⁸⁴ While no documentation was found, a possibility to put this into practice certainly is the ICOMOS International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage, created in 2005.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ UNESCO, "Report on the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000," WHC-2000/CONF.204/21, 2 para. I.12, Feb. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-21e.pdf>.

²⁸¹ UNESCO, "Report on the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000," WHC-2000/CONF.204/21, annex V, 99 para. 2.d, Feb. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-21e.pdf>.

²⁸² UNESCO, "Progress report on the proposed World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE)" (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-2001/CONF.208/13, 9 para. II.2.ii, Nov. 22, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-13e.pdf>.

²⁸³ UNESCO, "Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001," WHC-2001/CONF.208/24, 57 para. XV.5, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

²⁸⁴ "Resolutions of the thirteenth ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: Resolutions Committee Report, 5 December 2002," ICOMOS, para. B.16, http://www.international.icomos.org/madrid2002/eng/resol_eng.htm.

²⁸⁵ On the ICOMOS International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage, see chapters 4.1.5.2 and 5.6.3.3.

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In 2002, another decision aimed at strengthening the role of local perspectives in the context of World Heritage. On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention and as part of the revision of the strategic objectives, the *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* was formulated and adopted which promoted the recognition of heritage in all its diversity and emphasized the need to actively involve local communities at all levels in the identification, conservation, and management of World Heritage properties.²⁸⁶ The implementation of this perspective not only shows in the continuing recognition of local and indigenous heritage through inscriptions on the World Heritage List, but also in its acknowledgment as strategic objective in its own right.²⁸⁷ In 2007, the Committee added ‘communities’ as the fifth C to the objectives set out in the Budapest Declaration thereby recognizing the “critical importance of involving indigenous, traditional and local communities in the implementation of the Convention.”²⁸⁸

5.4.3. Criteria

With regard to criteria, the period between 1995 and 2005 is mostly characterized by debates on their application in line with the implementation of the Global Strategy, in particular the position of (vi) in relation to the other criteria. In addition, the term intangible appears in relation to inscriptions to the World Heritage List, yet also in the context of implementing criteria other than criterion (vi).

²⁸⁶ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted by the twenty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Budapest, Hungary, 24–29 June 2002,” WHC-02/CONF.202/25, decision 26 COM 9, 6 para. 3.1 and 7 para. 3.3.f, Aug. 1, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2002/whc-02-conf202-25e.pdf>.

²⁸⁷ On inscriptions to the World Heritage List at the time, see chapter 5.5.3.2.

²⁸⁸ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007,” WHC-07/31.COM/24, decision 31 COM 13A, 193 para. 5, July 31, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-24e.pdf>.

5.4.3.1. Criteria changes and the varied history of the position of intangible heritage

In 1996, the inscription of Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) in Japan led to the restriction of applying criterion (vi).²⁸⁹ Cameron reports that “the listing process was controversial and divisive.”²⁹⁰ China expressed strong reservations with regard to the nomination and the United States dissociated itself from the decision.²⁹¹ The site was nevertheless put on the List exceptionally based on criterion (vi) alone as a “stark and powerful symbol of the achievement of world peace for more than half a century following the unleashing of the most destructive force ever created by humankind” (fig. 24).²⁹² Despite the fact that Auschwitz was intended to remain an isolated case, the inscription of Genbaku Dome followed its example as an exclusively symbolic site, using a similar argument. Both sites are linked to a negative historic event that was reinterpreted as a positive symbol thereby making the property a “site of conscience.”²⁹³ Recalling several debates on the application of criterion (vi), the Committee in 1996



Figure 24. Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) (Japan, 1996).
© UNESCO/Giovanni Boccardi

²⁸⁹ On a detailed presentation of the inscription of Hiroshima, see Olwen Beazley and Harriet Deacon, “Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage Values under the World Heritage Convention: Auschwitz, Hiroshima and Robben Island,” in *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Approaches*, ed. Janet Blake, 93–107 (Builth Wells: Institute of Art and Law, 2007); Olwen Beazley, “Politics and Power: The Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) as World Heritage,” in *Heritage and Globalisation*, eds. Sophia Labadi and Colin Long, 45–65 (London: Routledge, 2010).

²⁹⁰ Christina Cameron, “World Heritage Sites of Conscience and Memory,” in *World Heritage and Cultural Diversity*, eds. Dieter Offenhäuser, Walther Ch. Zimmerli, and Marie-Theres Albert, 115 (Bonn: German Commission for UNESCO, 2010).

²⁹¹ UNESCO, “Report on the twentieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Merida, Mexico, 2–7 December 1996,” WHC-96/CONF.201/21, 96 and annex V, March 10, 1997, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf201-21e.pdf>.

²⁹² ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 775,” 117 [citation], Oct. 1996, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/775.pdf; UNESCO, “Report on the twentieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Merida, Mexico, 2–7 December 1996,” WHC-96/CONF.201/21, 69, March 10, 1997, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf201-21e.pdf>.

²⁹³ Cameron, “World Heritage Sites,” 112–19.

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decided to further restrict the criterion by replacing “or” with “and” in the additional clause in parenthesis:

...the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inscription in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural.²⁹⁴

Inscription under criterion (vi) alone was thus eliminated and the official associative or intangible dimension lost even more ground compared to the other criteria.

One year later, in 1997, the limited use of criterion (vi) was criticized. During the Committee debate, the Delegation of Zimbabwe observed that the extensive use of criterion (i) emphasized the idea of monumentality, thus undermining the Global Strategy. It noted that a “major achievement of the Global Strategy was that it sought the extension of the Convention to include the intangible heritage: in particular, criterion (vi).”²⁹⁵ A Consultative Body was formed and invited to re-examine criteria (i) and (vi).²⁹⁶ The Body recommended a more precise interpretation of criterion (i) to enhance inscription of sites that address other themes linked more to the non-material or intangible in terms of criterion (vi).²⁹⁷ A ‘masterpiece of human creative genius’ should be understood as “an outstanding example...of a style evolved within a culture, having a high intellectual or symbolic endowment, and a high level of artistic,

²⁹⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twentieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Merida, Mexico, 2–7 December 1996,” WHC-96/CONF.201/21, 105 para. XVII.5, March 10, 1997, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1996/whc-96-conf201-21e.pdf>. The decision was formalized in 1997. UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC-97/2, 6 para. 24.a.vi, Feb. 1997, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide97.pdf>.

²⁹⁵ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Naples, Italy, 1–6 December 1997,” WHC-97/CONF.208/17, 50 para. VIII.12, Feb. 27, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1997/whc-97-conf208-17e.pdf>.

²⁹⁶ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Naples, Italy, 1–6 December 1997,” WHC-97/CONF.208/17, 50 para. VIII.11 and 69 para. XVI.3, Feb. 27, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1997/whc-97-conf208-17e.pdf>.

²⁹⁷ UNESCO, “Discussion papers prepared for the consultative body meeting, 29–30 April 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/INF.11, 5, June 24, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-inf11e.pdf>.

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technical or technological skills.”²⁹⁸ The Committee in 1998 decided that work on a possible revision of the criteria should be continued as a better understanding of their application was still needed.²⁹⁹

Repercussions of the restricted use of criterion (vi) were also felt in July 1999 at the twenty-third Bureau session. While South Africa had nominated Robben Island and its prison buildings based on criteria (iii) and (vi), Cameron reports that “the ICOMOS recommendation brought into focus the issue of using criterion (vi) alone.”³⁰⁰ The site “symbolize[d] the triumph of the human spirit, of freedom, and of democracy over oppression” (fig. 25).³⁰¹



Figure 25. Robben Island
(South Africa, 1999).
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Given the limitation of criterion (vi), the State Party expressed its concern that the nomination would be rejected.³⁰² This led to the resurrection of criterion (iii), which recognized that the buildings on Robben Island “bear eloquent testimony to its sombre history.”³⁰³ At the Committee session in November and December 1999, the Delegate of Thailand pointed out “that criterion (vi) could be amended during the session so that the inscription of the site

²⁹⁸ UNESCO, “Discussion papers prepared for the consultative body meeting, 29–30 April 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/INF.11, 21, June 24, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-inf11e.pdf>.

²⁹⁹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998,” WHC-98/CONF.203/18, 33 para. IX.14 and 34 para. IX.22.5, Jan. 29, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-18e.pdf>.

³⁰⁰ “Robben Island Nomination File,” 11 (Western Cape: Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1998), <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/916.pdf>; Cameron, “World Heritage Sites,” 115 [citation]. The ICOMOS evaluation document recommends inscription based on criteria (iii) and (vi). ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 916,” 104, Sept. 1999, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/916.pdf.

³⁰¹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 916,” 104, Sept. 1999, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/916.pdf.

³⁰² Cameron, “World Heritage Sites,” 115.

³⁰³ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 916,” 104, Sept. 1999, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/916.pdf.

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would be possible only under this criterion.”³⁰⁴ It would thus be recognized that the importance of the property lay mainly in its associated meaning. The Committee acknowledged the need to discuss the revision of criterion (vi), yet did not adopt the proposal.³⁰⁵ Following the Bureau’s recommendation, the Committee inscribed the property on the basis of both criteria.³⁰⁶

The African influence on the World Heritage discourse and the inscription of Robben Island in 1999 revived the debate on the role of criterion (vi) in relation to the other criteria. A lengthy debate followed that ultimately led to the revision of criterion (vi). The issue was addressed in various meetings and different ways of dealing with the criterion were proposed.³⁰⁷ A summary of positions was presented to the Bureau in June 2001.³⁰⁸ While restricting the use of criterion (vi) could “create a bias in favour of monumental heritage and limit the criterion’s application to heritage related to living traditions, ideas and beliefs,” its

³⁰⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 17, March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>.

³⁰⁵ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 17, March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>.

³⁰⁶ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 5–10 July 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.204/15, 45, Sept. 16, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf204-15e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 17, March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>.

³⁰⁷ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the meeting on Authenticity and integrity in an African context, Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe, 26–29 May 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.11, 32 and annex III, 34, Oct. 9, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf11e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report of the thematic expert meeting on Asia-Pacific sacred mountains, Wakayama, Japan, 5–10 September 2001” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.9 Rev, 18 para. 2.6.5, Dec. 16, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf9reve.pdf>; UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/6, annex IV, 13 para. 48.v, Nov. 30, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-6e.pdf>.

³⁰⁸ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001,” WHC-2001/CONF.205/10, 58–62 paras. VI.7–VI.51, Aug. 17, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-10e.pdf>.

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opening could result in “too many inscriptions using cultural criterion (vi).”³⁰⁹ Although it was recognized that other criteria, like criterion (iii), assisted in accommodating living traditions, the present wording of criterion (vi) was contradictory to the aims of the Global Strategy.³¹⁰

The Bureau considered the following four options for a revised wording:

1. delete the words within parentheses after ‘exceptional circumstances’...;
2. make all the words in parentheses only relevant to ‘living heritage’...;
3. add the word ‘preferably’ after ‘exceptional circumstances and...’ in parentheses...;
4. delete all the wording in parentheses....³¹¹

Most Bureau members were in favor of the fourth option. The Delegations of Canada and Thailand expressed their preference for the third option.³¹² The Delegation of Thailand noted that it was not the intention of the Convention to discriminate against other cultures and their perceptions of heritage, but to use criterion (vi) alone without any limitation would be to disregard the provision of article one of the Convention.³¹³ It continued by stating that “intangible cultural heritage should not come under the World Heritage Convention” and that criterion (vi) should therefore continue to be applied in conjunction with other criteria.³¹⁴

The next substantial debate took place in March 2003, at a time when the new

³⁰⁹ UNESCO, “Discussion paper on the application of cultural criterion (vi)” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001), WHC-2001/CONF.205/INF.8, 1 para. 4, June 19, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-inf8e.pdf>.

³¹⁰ UNESCO, “Discussion paper on the application of cultural criterion (vi)” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001), WHC-2001/CONF.205/INF.8, 10 paras. 33 [citation] and 34, June 19, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-inf8e.pdf>.

³¹¹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001,” WHC-2001/CONF.205/10, 61–62 para. VI.44, Aug. 17, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-10e.pdf>.

³¹² UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001,” WHC-2001/CONF.205/10, 62 para. VI.45, Aug. 17, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-10e.pdf>.

³¹³ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001,” WHC-2001/CONF.205/10, 61 para. VI.33, Aug. 17, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-10e.pdf>.

³¹⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001,” WHC-2001/CONF.205/10, 61 para. VI.33, Aug. 17, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-10e.pdf>.

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Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage was on its way. The item was taken up by the sixth extraordinary session of the Committee. The Committee was divided regarding the wording of criterion (vi). While a majority was in favor of liberating the criterion's application in accordance with the initial intention of equal treatment of criteria, a small group of opponents insisted on its use in conjunction with other criteria.³¹⁵ The Delegation of Thailand, playing again a leading role, based its argument for a restrictive use on the required association "with physical, not intangible entities."³¹⁶ In response, the Delegation of the United Kingdom observed that some properties were of Outstanding Universal Value "because they are associated with intangible values" and that these associations had to be of outstanding universal significance.³¹⁷ It believed therefore that criterion (vi) could stand alone. The Delegate of Zimbabwe supported the United Kingdom argument by referring to the inscription of Robben Island, which "could never stand on physical criteria alone," but on criterion (vi).³¹⁸ Given that a majority of votes seemed to be in favor of an autonomous application, a compromise was put forward by the Delegation of Thailand supported by China. The revised wording of the amendment proposed to remove "in exceptional circumstances" and retain "preferably in conjunction with other criteria."³¹⁹ The Committee members accepted the proposal.³²⁰ The Committee in December 2003 adopted the revision, which was incorporated

³¹⁵ UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 43–45 paras. 5.282–5.290, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

³¹⁶ UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 44 para. 5.269, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

³¹⁷ UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 44 paras. 5.270 and 5.276, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

³¹⁸ UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 44 para. 5.271, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

³¹⁹ UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 45 para. 5.283, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

³²⁰ UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 45 para. 5.290, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>; UNESCO, "Decisions adopted by the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/8, decision 6 EXT.COM 5.1, 6 para. 7, May 27, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-conf08e.pdf>.

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into the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines.³²¹

	Criterion (v)	Criterion (vi)
Last versions: 1994/97	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; [1994]	...be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural); [1997]
2005	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;	...be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

Table 6. Changes to the wordings of criteria (v) and (vi) in 2005³²²

The revised Guidelines saw another criteria change with regard to criterion (v) (table 6). The 1998 Amsterdam Global Strategy meeting had proposed consideration of the idea of “human interaction with the environment” in one of the natural criteria.³²³ In 1998 and 1999, IUCN repeatedly raised the concern that bringing the human element into the natural criteria would create confusion and suggested that criteria relevant to cultural landscapes should

³²¹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 30 June–5 July 2003,” WHC-03/27.COM/24, decision 27 COM 10, 125 paras. 3–4, Dec. 10, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-27com-24e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.05/2, 20 para. 77.vi, Feb. 2, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>.

³²² UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2/ Revised, 10 para. 24.a.v, Feb. 1994, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide94.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC-97/2, 6 para. 24.a.vi, Feb. 1997, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide97.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.05/2, 20 para. 77.v–vi, Feb. 2, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>. Relevant changes are highlighted in boldface.

³²³ UNESCO, “Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy natural and cultural heritage expert meeting, 25–29 March 1998, Theatre Institute, Amsterdam, The Netherlands” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.7, 11 and 13, table 4, Oct. 20, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf7e.pdf>.

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accommodate the idea.³²⁴ In 2001, the Operational Guidelines drafting group proposed to include it in the definition of criterion (v).³²⁵ Because this idea had appeared seven years earlier, inscriptions based on the revised idea occurred before the formal rewording in 2005, as will be shown in the subsequent subchapter.

5.4.3.2. Recognizing intangible heritage through various criteria

From 1995 onwards, the term intangible appears in discussions on nominations to the World Heritage List and criteria statements other than criterion (vi). Jongmyo Shrine in the Republic of Korea was inscribed in 1995 based on criterion (iv) “as an outstanding example of the Confucian royal ancestral shrine,...the importance of which is enhanced by the persistence there of an important element of the intangible cultural heritage in the form of traditional ritual practices and forms” (fig. 26).³²⁶ The Delegate of Japan highlighted the fact that this inscription contributed “to enhancing the representative nature of the List.”³²⁷



Figure 26. The ancestral rites at Jongmyo Shrine, Seoul. 2 May 2008. Photograph by ShalRath, distributed under CC BY-SA 3.0 license

³²⁴ UNESCO, “Proposed revisions to section I of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999), WHC-99/CONF.209/INF.12, 9 fn.5 and annex I, 2, Sept. 27, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-inf12e.pdf>.

³²⁵ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/6, annex IV, 13 para. 48.v, Nov. 30, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-6e.pdf>.

³²⁶ UNESCO, “Report on the nineteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Berlin, Germany, 4–9 December 1995,” WHC-95/CONF.203/16, 49, Jan. 31, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1995/whc-95-conf203-16e.pdf>.

³²⁷ UNESCO, “Report on the nineteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Berlin, Germany, 4–9 December 1995,” WHC-95/CONF.203/16, 49, Jan. 31, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1995/whc-95-conf203-16e.pdf>.

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The modification of criteria in the early 1990s also paved the way for sites like the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras in 1995 and later Sukur Cultural Landscape in Nigeria. In 1995, at a regional thematic study meeting in the Philippines, experts examined landscapes of terraced pond fields for the cultivation of rice in mountainous terrain throughout the Asia-Pacific region as well as the importance of the traditional practices that shaped and still shape the sites:

They are monuments to life itself. These landscapes celebrate the traditional lifestyle of the Asian people. It is this particular regional culture's special imprint on and relationship with nature manifested with aesthetic and harmonic values. It is a landscape that is being renewed daily and will continue its existence for as long as the unbroken line of this lifestyle continues. Asians celebrate rice as an important staple and as the basis for many of their traditional practices, myths and beliefs.³²⁸

That same year, the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras were inscribed on the basis of criteria (iii), (iv), and (v) as an outstanding example of a living cultural landscape that



Figure 27. Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras (Philippines, 1995).
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“illustrates the traditional techniques and a remarkable harmony between humankind and the natural environment” (fig. 27).³²⁹ Even though the living tradition of cultivating rice was not itself considered to be of Outstanding Universal Value, its continued existence is paramount for the conservation of the physical appearance of the landscape.³³⁰ The inscription of Sukur Cultural Landscape in 1999, based on criteria (iii), (v), and

³²⁸ UNESCO, “Report of the regional thematic study meeting on Asian rice culture and its terraced landscapes, Manila, Philippines, 28 March–4 April 1995” (document presented at the nineteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Berlin, Germany, 4–9 December 1995), WHC-95/CONF.203/INF.8, 2, Sept. 25, 1995, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1995/whc-95-conf203-inf8e.pdf>.

³²⁹ UNESCO, “Report on the nineteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Berlin, Germany, 4–9 December 1995,” WHC-95/CONF.203/16, 46, Jan. 31, 1996, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1995/whc-95-conf203-16e.pdf>.

³³⁰ On the recognition of intangible heritage in the context of the changing notions of conservation and management, see Mechthild Rössler, “World Heritage Sites: Towards Linking the Tangible and the Intangible,” in *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*, eds. David Harmon and Allan Puttney, 197–210 (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003).

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(vi), was considered by the Committee to be a reflection of the growing international recognition of African heritage and a significant step in achieving the goals of the Global Strategy.³³¹ The organically evolved landscape of Sukur with its villages, terraced fields, and remains of iron industry was considered under criterion (vi) an “eloquent testimony to a strong and continuing spiritual and cultural tradition that has endured for many centuries” (fig. 28).³³² The agricultural terraces are endowed with a spiritual meaning expressed in the sacred trees and ritual sites on them.³³³



Figure 28. The people and cultural landscape of Sukur, since 1999 a World Heritage site in Nigeria. Between 1984 and 2004. Photograph by Nicholas David - The comprehensive site sukur.info, by Nicholas David and Judith Sterner, distributed under Wikimedia Commons OTRS license

In 2001, the Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi in Uganda were inscribed under criteria (i), (iii), (iv), and (vi), following recommendations by ICOMOS and the Bureau stating that “the most important value associated with the Kasubi Tombs site are the strong elements of intangible heritage.”³³⁴ A late nineteenth century palace converted into a burial ground with agricultural land that is still farmed traditionally, “the site’s main significance lies...in its

³³¹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 15, March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>.

³³² UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 15 [citation], March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>; ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 938,” 91, Sept. 1999, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/938.pdf.

³³³ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 938,” 89, Sept. 1999, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/938.pdf; Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, “Nomination of Sukur Cultural Landscape,” 4 and 7 (National Commission for Museums and Monuments, 1998), <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/938.pdf>.

³³⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 46, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001,” WHC-2001/CONF.205/10, 52, Aug. 17, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-10e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Discussion paper on the application of cultural criterion (vi)” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001), WHC-2001/CONF.205/INF.8, annex V, 24, June 19, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-inf8e.pdf>.

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Figure 29. Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi (Uganda, 2001). © UNESCO/Lazare Eloundou Assomo

intangible values of belief, spirituality, continuity and identity” (fig. 29 and 30).³³⁵ Criterion (iii) acknowledges that the “Kasubi Tombs site bears eloquent witness to the living cultural traditions of the Baganda,” the local people.³³⁶ Through criterion (vi) the spiritual and religious values of the site were recognized in that it “is a major spiritual centre for the Baganda and is the most active religious place in the kingdom.”³³⁷ The close link between the tangible

and the intangible is also evident in the other criteria. Criterion (i) states that the “Kasubi Tombs site is a masterpiece of human creativity both in its conception and in its execution.”³³⁸ At the twenty-fifth Bureau session, the Delegates of Thailand and Zimbabwe had highlighted the appropriateness of using criterion (i) that demonstrated a different perspective on the idea of masterpiece.³³⁹ Criterion (iv) addresses the spatial organization of the site and the fact that it was built “in the finest traditions of Ganda architecture and



Figure 30. Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi (Uganda, 2001). © UNESCO/Lazare Eloundou Assomo

³³⁵ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties prepared by ICOMOS” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.11 Rev, 84, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf11reve.pdf>.

³³⁶ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 46, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

³³⁷ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 46, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

³³⁸ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 46, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

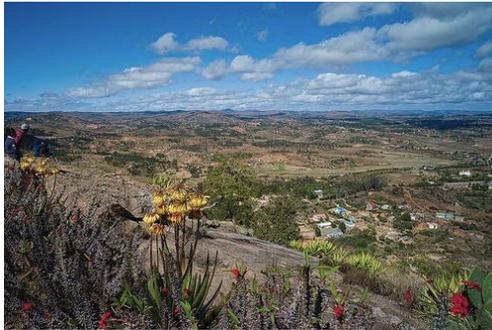
³³⁹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 25–30 June 2001,” WHC-2001/CONF.205/10, 52, Aug. 17, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf205-10e.pdf>.

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palace design.”³⁴⁰ Both criteria address intangible dimensions in terms of architectural and spatial design ideas.

Another significant inscription is the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga in Madagascar inscribed under criteria (iii), (iv), and (vi) the same year.³⁴¹ The Committee emphasized “that the site is a classic example of an associative cultural landscape, which fully justifies the

application of criterion (vi), linking the tangible and intangible values.”³⁴² Being both a historic and a holy place, the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga consists of a



Figures 31 and 32. Royal Hill of Ambohimanga (Madagascar, 2001).
© Vincent Ko Hon Chiu/
Vincent Ko Hon Chiu



royal city, a royal burial site, and an ensemble of sacred places (fig. 31 and 32). It is a place of continuing worship and pilgrimage.³⁴³ The symbolic character of the

place, which is usually captured using criterion (vi), is recognized through criterion (iii) by stating that the Royal Hill “is the most significant symbol of the cultural identity of the people of Madagascar.”³⁴⁴ Criterion (vi) acknowledges that the site “is an exceptional example of a place where, over centuries, common human experience has been focused in memory, ritual,

³⁴⁰ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 46, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

³⁴¹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 44, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

³⁴² UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 44, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

³⁴³ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 950,” 79, Sept. 2001, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/950.pdf.

³⁴⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 44, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

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and prayer.”³⁴⁵

The experts of the 2000 Zimbabwe meeting on *Authenticity and Integrity in an African context* suggested considering the possibility to use not only criterion (iii), but also (v) in relation to intangible heritage.³⁴⁶ In 2003 and 2004, a number of cultural landscape inscriptions, mostly in African States Parties, used the revised criterion (v) to reflect human interaction with the environment and the link between the tangible evidence and cultural associations with the site.



Figures 33 and 34. Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe, 2003).
© Graciela Gonzalez Brigas/
Graciela Gonzalez Brigas

In 2003, for example, Matobo Hills in Zimbabwe was inscribed based on criteria (iii), (v), and (vi).³⁴⁷ While criterion (iii) makes reference to an exceptional concentration of rock art, (v) and (vi) refer to associated religious traditions and beliefs:

Criterion (v): The interaction between communities and the landscape, manifested in the rock art and also in the long standing religious traditions still associated with the rocks, are community responses to a landscape.

³⁴⁵ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001,” WHC-01/CONF.208/24, 44, Feb. 8, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-24e.pdf>.

³⁴⁶ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the meeting on Authenticity and integrity in an African context, Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe, 26–29 May 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.11, 32, Oct. 9, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf11e.pdf>.

³⁴⁷ Other examples are the Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka in India, inscribed in 2003, and The cultural landscape of Koutammakou, the Land of the Batammariba in Togo, which was put on the List in 2004. UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 30 June–5 July 2003,” WHC-03/27.COM/24, decision 27 COM 8C.21, 110, Dec. 10, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-27com-24e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004,” WHC-04/28.COM/26, decision 28 COM 14B.21, 26, Oct. 29, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-26e.pdf>.

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Criterion (vi): The Mwari religion, centred on Matobo, which may date back to the Iron Age, is the most powerful oracular tradition in southern Africa.³⁴⁸ (Fig. 33 and 34)

Another example mentioning the strong link between people and their environment through the tangible and the intangible from a different world region is the cultural landscape of Vegaøyen–The Vega Archipelago in Norway, which was inscribed based on criterion (v) alone in 2004:

The Vega Archipelago reflects the way generations of fishermen/farmers have, over the past...1500 years, maintained a sustainable living in an inhospitable seascape near the Arctic Circle, based on the now unique practice of eider down harvesting, and it also celebrates the contribution made by women to the eider down process.³⁴⁹ (Fig. 35 and 36)

Based on the ICOMOS recommendation, the Committee decided moreover that it was important for the conservation

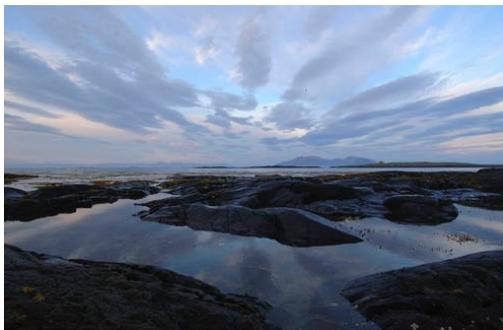


Figure 36. Vegaøyen–The Vega Archipelago (Norway, 2004).
© TTF/Casper Tybjerg



Figure 35. Vegaøyen–The Vega Archipelago (Norway, 2004). © TTF/Casper Tybjerg

and management of the site “to formalise the collection of traditional, intangible knowledge of the islands’ cultural processes and traditions, in order to monitor their survival.”³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 30 June–5 July 2003,” WHC-03/27.COM/24, decision 27 COM 8C.38, 119 para. 1, Dec. 10, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-27com-24e.pdf>.

³⁴⁹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004,” WHC-04/28.COM/26, decision 28 COM 14B.45, 42 para. 1, Oct. 29, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-26e.pdf>.

³⁵⁰ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004,” WHC-04/28.COM/26, decision 28 COM 14B.45, 43 para. 4, Oct. 29, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-26e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Nominations of properties to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the twenty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Suzhou, China, 28 June–7 July 2004), WHC-04/28.COM/14B REV, 27–28, June 25, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-28com-14Breve.pdf>.

5.4.4. Authenticity

The 1994 *Nara Conference on Authenticity* had given rise to a new dynamic in World Heritage. It took however almost ten years for the *Nara Document on Authenticity* to be formally recognized by the World Heritage Committee. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the conceptual debate on culturally specific applications of authenticity continued and was deepened in the context of many regional and sub-regional meetings. Authenticity was also addressed at the 2004 *Nara Conference on Integrated Approaches to Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Heritage*. Heritage professionals were divided over the application of authenticity with regard to intangible heritage.

5.4.4.1. Implementing the Nara Document on Authenticity and recognizing intangible attributes

The Committee in 1997 proposed revision of the test of authenticity.³⁵¹ The 1998 Amsterdam Global Strategy meeting addressed the application of authenticity and recommended that it “be linked and related to each criterion as appropriate in the Operational Guidelines.”³⁵² The 1998 April consultative body meeting also discussed the question of authenticity at length. It reiterated the ideas of the Nara Document in the sense that some sites did not meet authenticity as derived from the Venice Charter and new approaches were needed that depended on the perspectives and values of the respective cultures. Discussions revolved essentially around two approaches to authenticity, one linked to the European conservation ethos and the other representing other cultural views, such as those from Japan, Australia, and the Pacific region. While the first is “indissolubly linked to the fact that the state of that

³⁵¹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Naples, Italy, 1–6 December 1997,” WHC-97/CONF.208/17, 49 para. VIII.11, Feb. 27, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1997/whc-97-conf208-17e.pdf>.

³⁵² UNESCO, “Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy natural and cultural heritage expert meeting, 25–29 March 1998, Theatre Institute, Amsterdam, The Netherlands” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/INF.7, summary and 13, table 4 para. 4, Oct. 20, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-inf7e.pdf>.

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society in which [historic monuments]...were born...has ceased to exist and will never recur again,” the other “relates to the many other different places, of World Heritage value, which are living sites, with great spiritual value...and which may require non-traditional treatment (or lack of it) to conserve their value.”³⁵³ Munjeri, for instance, portrayed the notion of authenticity in an African context using the World Heritage site of Great Zimbabwe as case study.³⁵⁴ Great Zimbabwe National Monument, a city of ruins from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries that is linked to biblical stories and legendary figures, was inscribed on the List in 1986 (fig. 37).³⁵⁵ It was noted already at the time that special measures should be taken to safeguard the site whose stone walls had collapsed.³⁵⁶ Munjeri in his treatise of 1998 explains that since “Great Zimbabwe is an embodiment of the spiritual heritage of the country at large and of spirit mediums in particular,” the collapse of a wall is considered “an expression of the spirits’ anger at developments that [are]...taking place at that site” in the form of the use of cement for reconstructions.³⁵⁷ This anger implied that the use of foreign material was unacceptable. In line with the recommendations of the Amsterdam meeting, the consultative body proposed to



Figure 37. Great Zimbabwe National Monument (Zimbabwe, 1986).

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³⁵³ UNESCO, “Discussion papers prepared for the consultative body meeting, 29–30 April 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/INF.11, 8, June 24, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-inf11e.pdf>.

³⁵⁴ UNESCO, “Discussion papers prepared for the consultative body meeting, 29–30 April 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/INF.11, attachment 1, June 24, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-inf11e.pdf>.

³⁵⁵ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 364,” 1–2, April 1986, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/364.pdf; UNESCO, “Report on the tenth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 24–28 November 1986,” CC-86/CONF.003/10, 8, Dec. 5, 1986, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1986/cc-86-conf003-10e.pdf>.

³⁵⁶ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 364,” 3, April 1986, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/364.pdf.

³⁵⁷ UNESCO, “Discussion papers prepared for the consultative body meeting, 29–30 April 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/INF.11, attachment 1, 15–16, June 24, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-inf11e.pdf>.

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continue working on the concept and to redefine it “so that it fits more closely with the particular criteria for which a place is being listed.”³⁵⁸

The Bureau at its session in June 1998 endorsed the recommendations and asked that a draft revision of the relevant section in the Operational Guidelines be presented to the next Committee session.³⁵⁹ The test of authenticity was to be reconsidered in the light of the different criteria.³⁶⁰ It should also be relevant to living cultures or when continual rebuilding was part of the actual significance of a site. The newly developed paragraphs were based on the Nara Document. The qualifying condition of authenticity should “ensure that the values for which nomination is proposed are genuinely manifested through the site’s significant attributes,” including intangible aspects like traditions, use, spirit, and feeling.³⁶¹ These intangible attributes found their way into the authenticity descriptions of criteria (ii) to (vi) (table 7). With regard to criterion (i), authenticity was mostly understood through the survival of the material fabric. The Committee did not however have time to fully consider the revised draft.³⁶² The interruption of discussions at the Committee level are probably due to the fact that a proposed uranium mine within the compounds of Kakadu National Park in Australia took up a lot of the Committee’s time and even forced the Committee to hold a special

³⁵⁸ UNESCO, “Discussion papers prepared for the consultative body meeting, 29–30 April 1998” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/INF.11, 9 [citation], June 24, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-inf11e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report on the work of the consultative body of the Committee” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998), WHC-98/CONF.201/4Corr., 4 para. 21, June 24, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-4corre.pdf>.

³⁵⁹ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998,” WHC-98/CONF.201/9, 21 paras. VI.8 and VI.12, Aug. 11, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-9e.pdf>.

³⁶⁰ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-second session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 22–27 June 1998,” WHC-98/CONF.201/9, 21 para. VI.9, Aug. 11, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf201-9e.pdf>.

³⁶¹ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/16, 6 para. b, Oct. 23, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-16e.pdf>.

³⁶² UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998,” WHC-98/CONF.203/18, 56 para. XIV.2, Jan. 29, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-18e.pdf>.

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session.³⁶³ Thus, momentum was lost to recognize the articulated link between the criteria and authenticity attributes, and thus to improved scientific methods.

Criteria	Authenticity
(i) represents a masterpiece of the human creative genius; or	(i) The sites inscribed under this criterion should be considered authentic if they are credible and genuine demonstrations of the creative values for which inscription is proposed. For example: the authenticity of a designed building or landscape, or an engineered structure proposed under this criterion would be evident in the degree to which its particular design qualities (aesthetic or technological excellence/innovation, etc.), may be identified and understood, particularly through surviving material (fabric) and form.
(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscape design ; or	(ii) The sites described under this criterion should be considered authentic if they are credible and genuine demonstrations of the type of interchange of human values for which inscription has been proposed. For example: the authenticity of the buildings, landscapes or urban layouts proposed under this criterion would be evident in the degree to which the interchanges (interactions, exchanges, influences, etc.) of human values, from which they result, may be identified and understood, particularly through their surviving material (fabric), form and traditions .
(iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared ; or	(iii) The sites under this criterion should be considered authentic if they are credible and genuine demonstrations and testimonies to a cultural tradition or civilization for which inscription has been proposed. For example: the authenticity of archaeological sites or landscapes proposed under this criterion would be evident in the degree to which the qualities of their testimonies (particularly in surviving material (fabric), form and setting) may be identified and understood. The authenticity of living communities proposed under this inscription criterion would be evident in the degree to which the qualities of their testimonies may be identified and understood, particularly through the continuity of use of culturally meaningful materials, forms, traditions and functions , and in relation to their setting and spirit .

³⁶³ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 229–31.

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Criteria	Authenticity
(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history ; or	(iv) The sites inscribed under this criterion should be considered authentic if they are credible and genuine demonstrations of the building, architectural or landscape typologies for which nomination has been proposed. For example: the authenticity of the buildings, ensembles or landscapes proposed under this criterion would be evident in the degree to which the qualities relating to their type (excellence, uniqueness, representativeness, prototypicality, etc.) may be identified and understood, particularly through their surviving form, material (fabric) and use .
(v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change ; or	(v) The sites inscribed under this criterion should be considered authentic if they are credible and genuine demonstrations of the representative qualities of a culture (or cultures) for which inscription has been proposed. For example: the authenticity of the traditional human settlements or land-use proposed under this criterion would be evident in the degree to which their qualities (excellence, representativeness, etc.) may be identified and understood, particularly through their surviving material (fabric), form, traditions , setting, use and spirit .
(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural) ;...	(vi) The sites inscribed under this criterion should be considered authentic if they are credible and genuine demonstrations of the associative values for which inscription has been proposed. For example: the authenticity of the sites proposed under this criterion would be evident in the degree to which their associative qualities may be identified and understood, particularly in the spirit and feeling that they manifest.

Table 7. Application of the qualifying condition of authenticity for criteria (i) to (vi)³⁶⁴

Encouraged by the Bureau, ICOMOS meanwhile presented the Nara Document and a summary of subsequent debates on authenticity to its General Assembly in 1999. The

³⁶⁴ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Kyoto, Japan, 30 November–5 December 1998), WHC-98/CONF.203/16, 7–9 para. 24.i–vi, Oct. 23, 1998, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1998/whc-98-conf203-16e.pdf>. The blocking out of text is taken from the original document. Intangible attributes are highlighted in boldface.

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Assembly meeting approved the Document and it was subsequently included in ICOMOS' corpus of reference texts.³⁶⁵

The meeting on *Authenticity and Integrity in an African context* held in Zimbabwe in 2000 was considered a culmination of African cultural heritage meetings.³⁶⁶ In its context, Secretary General of ICOMOS Luxen observed that with the Nara Document the prevalence of value or significance in heritage conservation was introduced and with it, the questions why and for whom to conserve.³⁶⁷ The intent to protect involved the quest for the message of cultural properties, which was deemed to be intangible. Luxen observed that “the concept or social representation of the cultural property is more important than the object itself: the intangible dimension prevails.”³⁶⁸ He continued:

...the distinction between physical heritage and intangible heritage is now seen as artificial. Physical heritage only attains its true significance when it sheds light on its underlying values. Conversely, intangible heritage must be made incarnate in tangible manifestations, in visible signs, if it is to be conserved. This dialectic may prove particularly fruitful in providing greater representation for living cultures.³⁶⁹

The meeting recommended broadening the definition of authenticity by integrating the following paragraph into the Operational Guidelines:

³⁶⁵ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 5–10 July 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.204/15, 55 para. VIII.7.3, Sept. 16, 1999, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf204-15e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Marrakesh, Morocco, 29 November–4 December 1999,” WHC-99/CONF.209/22, 39 para. XIII.6, March 2, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1999/whc-99-conf209-22e.pdf>.

³⁶⁶ Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 92.

³⁶⁷ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the meeting on Authenticity and integrity in an African context, Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe, 26–29 May 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.11, 4, Oct. 9, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf11e.pdf>.

³⁶⁸ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the meeting on Authenticity and integrity in an African context, Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe, 26–29 May 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.11, 4, Oct. 9, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf11e.pdf>.

³⁶⁹ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the meeting on Authenticity and integrity in an African context, Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe, 26–29 May 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.11, 4, Oct. 9, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf11e.pdf>.

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Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, and its cultural context, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems, location and setting, language, and other forms of intangible heritage, spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined.³⁷⁰

The meeting particularly highlighted “the importance of language and other forms of intangible heritage,” which were ultimately integrated into the revised test of authenticity.³⁷¹

In 2001, the drafting group discussing the revision of the Operational Guidelines decided to separate the criteria from the qualifying condition of authenticity. It removed the table established in 1998 which it considered “potentially limiting as the criteria are broader than the factors contained in the qualifying condition.”³⁷² The March 2002 drafting group, moreover, agreed that the text on authenticity “should only present the general notion of authenticity to avoid being too restrictive.”³⁷³ The Nara Document, finally, should not be

³⁷⁰ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the meeting on Authenticity and integrity in an African context, Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe, 26–29 May 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.11, 31, Oct. 9, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf11e.pdf>.

³⁷¹ UNESCO, “Synthetic report of the meeting on Authenticity and integrity in an African context, Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe, 26–29 May 2000” (document presented at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Cairns, Australia, 27 November–2 December 2000), WHC-2000/CONF.204/INF.11, 1, Oct. 9, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf204-inf11e.pdf>.

³⁷² UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/6, 6 para. 37, Nov. 30, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-6e.pdf>.

³⁷³ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention: Report of the March 2002 drafting group” (document presented at the twenty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Budapest, Hungary, 24–29 June 2002), WHC-02/CONF.202/14A, 9 para. 51.d, May 23, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2002/whc-02-conf202-14ae.pdf>.

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referred to in the text of the Guidelines but included in an annex.³⁷⁴ The revised test of authenticity prepared by the group was adopted almost verbatim in 2003.³⁷⁵

Over ten years of debate finally found expression in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines. The two ideas mentioned previously, that is, the truthfulness of attributes and the evaluation of these attributes within their cultural context, were paraphrased from the Nara Document:

The ability to understand the value attributed to the heritage depends on the degree to which information sources about this value may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, are the requisite bases for assessing all aspects of authenticity.

Judgments about value attributed to cultural heritage, as well as the credibility of related information sources, may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. The respect due to all cultures requires that cultural heritage must be considered and judged primarily within the cultural contexts to which it belongs.³⁷⁶

In addition, a number attributes were listed taken mostly from the Nara Document:

Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural value...are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including:

- form and design;
- materials and substance;
- use and function;
- traditions, techniques and management systems;
- location and setting;
- language, and other forms of intangible heritage;
- spirit and feeling; and

³⁷⁴ UNESCO, "Revision of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention: Report of the March 2002 drafting group" (document presented at the twenty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Budapest, Hungary, 24–29 June 2002), WHC-02/CONF.202/14A, 9 para. 51.e, May 23, 2002, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2002/whc-02-conf202-14ae.pdf>.

³⁷⁵ UNESCO, "Summary record on the sixth extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 17–22 March 2003," WHC-03/6 EXT.COM/INF.8, 69–70 paras. 5.522–5.527, June 1, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-6extcom-inf08e.pdf>.

³⁷⁶ UNESCO, "Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention," WHC.05/2, 21 para. 80–81, Feb. 2, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>.

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- other internal and external factors.³⁷⁷

As mentioned before, ‘language and other forms of intangible heritage’ was added by the 2000 Zimbabwe meeting. Thus, the term intangible heritage entered the Operational Guidelines.

Despite the fact that at the time reconstructions were still justified only “in exceptional circumstances,” the revision of the test of authenticity facilitated the inscription of the Old



Figure 38. Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2005). © UNESCO/Sinisa Sesum

Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar on the basis of criterion (vi) alone.³⁷⁸ Originally built during the fifteenth to twentieth centuries, the site had been destroyed in the 1990s (fig. 38).³⁷⁹ The World Heritage property for the most part represents a reconstruction, which was undertaken under the auspices of UNESCO and the World Bank.³⁸⁰

Previous nominations of the site had been deferred by the Committee, based on the fact that the State Party had not suggested any criteria and an ICOMOS evaluation that gave voice to the concern that the physical fabric was rebuilt and essentially a product of the twenty-first century.³⁸¹ With regard to the possible use of criterion (vi) ICOMOS referred to the inscription of Warsaw that “was seen as an exception and was not to

³⁷⁷ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.05/2, 21 para. 82, Feb. 2, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>.

³⁷⁸ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.05/2, 22 para. 86, Feb. 2, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>.

³⁷⁹ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 946 rev.,” 178, April 2005, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/946rev.pdf.

³⁸⁰ Cameron, “From Warsaw to Mostar,” 22.

³⁸¹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 30 June–5 July 2003,” WHC-03/27.COM/24, decision 27 COM 8C.33, 116, Dec. 10, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-27com-24e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Nominations of properties to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the twenty-seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 30 June–5 July 2003), WHC-03/27.COM/8C, 24 para. C.2, June 26, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-27com-08ce.pdf>.

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form a precedent.”³⁸² The site’s renomination in 2005, however, was evaluated more favorably. ICOMOS welcomed inscription based on criteria (iv) and (vi). Similar to the use of criterion (ii) in the case of Warsaw, criterion (iv) should serve to justify inscription appealing to the high quality of the reconstruction.³⁸³ Criterion (vi) addressed the symbolic dimension of the site.³⁸⁴ ICOMOS stated furthermore that in the light of the new qualities for testing authenticity, as stipulated in the 2005 Operational Guidelines, the conclusive assessment of the site’s authenticity was more positive.³⁸⁵ Attributes not only included material evidence but also intangible elements, such as spirit and feeling. ICOMOS noted with regard to the property’s associated historical significance:

...this reconstruction of fabric should be seen as being in the background compared with restoration of the intangible dimensions of this property, which are certainly the main issue concerning the Outstanding Universal Value of this site.³⁸⁶

At the Committee debate in 2005, the Delegation of the United Kingdom doubted the use of criterion (iv) based on the fact that the site was a reconstruction.³⁸⁷ Given the site’s primary symbolic value, it proposed inscription exceptionally based on criterion (vi) alone. The Committee accepted the proposal and inscribed Mostar for its intangible value:

With the ‘renaissance’ of the Old Bridge and its surroundings, the symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar—as an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds—has been

³⁸² UNESCO, “Nominations of properties to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the twenty-seventh session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 30 June–5 July 2003), WHC-03/27.COM/8C, 24 para. C.2, June 26, 2003, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2003/whc03-27com-08ce.pdf>.

³⁸³ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 946 rev.,” 182, April 2005, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/946rev.pdf.

³⁸⁴ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 946 rev.,” 183, April 2005, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/946rev.pdf.

³⁸⁵ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 946 rev.,” 181, April 2005, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/946rev.pdf.

³⁸⁶ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 946 rev.,” 181, April 2005, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/946rev.pdf.

³⁸⁷ UNESCO, “Summary record on the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005,” WHC-05/29.COM/INF.22, 192, April 25, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-inf22.pdf>.

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reinforced and strengthened, underlining the unlimited efforts of human solidarity for peace and powerful co-operation in the face of overwhelming catastrophes.³⁸⁸

The broadening of the concept of authenticity to include intangible attributes and the strengthened position of criterion (vi) encouraged this decision. Nevertheless, the property's authenticity was addressed in terms of its architectural features. Although criterion (iv) was finally dropped, the Committee recognized “the high quality, the skill and the technical refinement of the restoration of the ancient constructions.”³⁸⁹ While the inscription of Mostar reflects an increased appreciation of an associated intangible dimension and its value, it certainly also provides evidence of the incoherence of Committee decisions.

5.4.4.2. The 2004 Nara Conference on Integrated Approaches to Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Heritage, the divide over authenticity, and the question of continuity

The 2004 Nara Conference on *The Safeguarding of Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards an Integrated Approach* was intended to mark the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Venice Charter and the tenth anniversary of the *Nara Conference on Authenticity*. Some participants expressed the view that the notion of authenticity as used in the context of identifying World Heritage was considered unsuitable when safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage as defined by the 2003 Convention.³⁹⁰ Buckley, who participated in the conference, describes the situation as follows:

As a group we struggle at times to find an appropriate and commonly understood language to support the conversation. For example, the term ‘authenticity,’ as it is used

³⁸⁸ UNESCO, “Summary record on the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005,” WHC-05/29.COM/INF.22, 193 [first citation], April 25, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-inf22.pdf>; UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005,” WHC-05/29.COM/22, decision 29 COM 8B.49, 141 para. 3 [second citation], Sept. 9, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-22e.pdf>.

³⁸⁹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005,” WHC-05/29.COM/22, decision 29 COM 8B.49, 141 para. 4, Sept. 9, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-22e.pdf>.

³⁹⁰ UNESCO, “Proceedings of the international conference on The safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage: Towards an integrated approach, Nara, Japan, 20–23 October 2004,” CLT/CIH/MCO/2006/PRO/H/1, 222 and 224, 2006, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001470/147097m.pdf>.

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in relation to the conservation of the tangible and intangible values of heritage places, is considered to be inappropriate for the consideration of intangible cultural heritage.³⁹¹

The Yamato Declaration reflects this view:

...considering that intangible cultural heritage is constantly recreated, the term ‘authenticity’ as applied to tangible cultural heritage is not relevant when identifying and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage.³⁹²

Extensive discussions, which preceded the adoption of the paragraph, highlighted two different understandings of authenticity. Intangible heritage experts associated the term with “something fixed in time and place” as opposed to the “historical continuity (transmitted from generation to generation) [that] is among the most important distinctive features of intangible cultural heritage together with the fact that intangible cultural heritage is constantly recreated (living).”³⁹³ Moreover, they considered authenticity to refer to “the idea of good versus bad, or false versus true manifestations.”³⁹⁴ The experts in the field of tangible heritage, in contrast, stressed the following:

...the idea of historical continuity includes that of authenticity while expressing the view that authenticity does not necessarily imply identical or frozen manifestation, but loyalty to the original, being rooted in history and continuity.³⁹⁵

The tangible heritage experts based their claim for an integrated conservation approach on the argument that “the division between tangible and intangible heritage is of an academic nature”

³⁹¹ Kristal Buckley, “The safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage: Towards an integrated approach, Nara, Japan, 20–23 October 2004,” Australia ICOMOS, 2, <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/nara-report.pdf>.

³⁹² UNESCO, “Co-operation and coordination between UNESCO conventions concerning heritage: The Yamato Declaration on Integrated Approaches for Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage” (document presented at the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004), WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.9, annex I, 4 para. 8, Nov. 25, 2004, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-inf09e.pdf>.

³⁹³ UNESCO, “Proceedings of the international conference on The safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage: Towards an integrated approach, Nara, Japan, 20–23 October 2004,” CLT/CIH/MCO/2006/PRO/H/1, 90, 92, and 222, 2006, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001470/147097m.pdf>.

³⁹⁴ UNESCO, “Proceedings of the international conference on The safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage: Towards an integrated approach, Nara, Japan, 20–23 October 2004,” CLT/CIH/MCO/2006/PRO/H/1, 222, 2006, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001470/147097m.pdf>.

³⁹⁵ UNESCO, “Proceedings of the international conference on The safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage: Towards an integrated approach, Nara, Japan, 20–23 October 2004,” CLT/CIH/MCO/2006/PRO/H/1, 222, 2006, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001470/147097m.pdf>.

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and that “communities have one heritage that is manifested in a tangible and an intangible form.”³⁹⁶ While the idea of continuity is thus not opposed to truthfulness, genuineness in an absolute sense does not exist and the question arises when an evolving, intangible heritage expression has lost its authentic character. The fact that all heritage, by definition, is evolving challenges the assessment of authenticity as Cameron also observes.³⁹⁷

The concept of authenticity was used differently in the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage discourses. While it was not integrated in the *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, the equivalent to the World Heritage Operational Guidelines, the authenticity of intangible heritage has been addressed through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.³⁹⁸ This divide was criticized at the time. At the seventh extraordinary session of the Committee in 2004, ICOMOS remarked with concern that there were inconsistencies with regard to the Yamato Declaration as it “did not reflect the spirit of the original Nara meeting.”³⁹⁹ It stressed that “the world could not be split into two parts, tangible and intangible,” and that places and their values depended on links between the tangible and the intangible.⁴⁰⁰ The 2004 Nara Conference has therefore to be seen as a reflection of the currents shaping international

³⁹⁶ UNESCO, “Proceedings of the international conference on The safeguarding of tangible and intangible cultural heritage: Towards an integrated approach, Nara, Japan, 20–23 October 2004,” CLT/CIH/MCO/2006/PRO/H/1, 222, 2006, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001470/147097m.pdf>.

³⁹⁷ Cameron, “Authenticity,” 283.

³⁹⁸ “Operational Directives for the implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00026>.

³⁹⁹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004,” WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.17, 101, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-17e.pdf>.

⁴⁰⁰ UNESCO, “Summary record on the seventh extraordinary session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 6–11 December 2004,” WHC-04/7 EXT.COM/INF.17, 101, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2004/whc04-7extcom-17e.pdf>.

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thinking at the time.⁴⁰¹ The Yamato Declaration correspondingly represents a starting point rather than the conclusion of the dialogue.⁴⁰²

5.4.5. Concluding remarks

The time period is characterized by a growing desire to acknowledge intangible aspects in the context of implementing the concept of World Heritage and the term intangible appears more frequently. It ultimately led to the revision of the Operational Guidelines in 2003 and the formalization of changes in 2005.

Implementation in terms of internalization happened through Global Strategy meetings that addressed the concept of cultural landscape and authenticity as well as identified other themes and types. Next to the historical, the anthropological approach to cultural heritage was reaffirmed and intangible heritage addressed in terms of various cultural expressions that shape or are associated with the environment, built or natural. This approach was mostly linked to non-European contexts like Africa and the Asia and Pacific region as well as local, traditional communities that continue to live in close interaction with their environment. Intangible heritage was thus closely related to the spiritual and social values of sites. The discourse on Outstanding Universal Value in this period recalled the need to examine new themes and heritage types in terms of comparative studies; the best examples representing universal themes were to be identified using a regional comparison. Criterion (vi) became the official intangible criterion. Following the controversy over the inscription of Hiroshima in 1996, application of criterion (vi) was restricted. This opened a debate on its revision as the limited use was considered to be against the intent of the Global Strategy and a representative

⁴⁰¹ Buckley, "Safeguarding," 3.

⁴⁰² Kristal Buckley, "An Overview of the Round Table Discussions," in *Tangible and Intangible Heritage: Two UNESCO Conventions—Proceedings of the Round Table organized by the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage, University of Montreal, 14–16 March 2007*, eds. Christina Cameron and Christine Boucher, 164 (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2007), http://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/documents/Table_ronde_2007_Proces-verbaux.pdf.

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List. Restricting criterion (vi) was considered to discourage the inscription of sites with predominantly intangible attributes and values. It is important to note, moreover, that since the revision of criteria in the early 1990s intangible elements had not only been recognized through criterion (vi), but also through the application of other criteria by emphasizing the close relationship between the material evidence and cultural associations that are linked to or shape the physicality of place. The authenticity discourse aimed at building on the outcomes of the early 1990s. A revised test of authenticity was intended to reflect the 1994 Nara Document. In addition, the concept was set in relation to criteria, that is, tangible and intangible attributes were identified for each criterion as carriers of a site's truthfulness. Unfortunately, this idea was not implemented.

In the early 2000s, the development and adoption of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention created momentum. The 1994 Nara Document was finally adopted by the Committee. As a result, the idea of attributes and the term intangible were introduced in the Operational Guidelines. In addition, the use of criterion (vi) was unrestricted, and more and more properties, in particular cultural landscapes, were inscribed in recognition of intangible heritage and the close relationship between the tangible and the intangible using various criteria, such as criteria (iii) and (v). Criterion (v) was in fact revised to better accommodate the cultural landscape concept. In addition, the development of the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage can be said to have contributed to further clarifying the role and nature of intangible heritage within the conceptualization of World Heritage. Intangible heritage is understood as associative values as well as historical and cultural associations of Outstanding Universal Value. At the same time, overlap between the two Conventions created confusion. Overlap was recognized mostly with regard to criterion (vi) and the idea of cultural space. In addition, confusion was created by the intersection between the representative character of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the weakening of World Heritage value through the strengthening of local and indigenous values. The need to define the relationship between universal and local or representative value was repeatedly raised to establish a threshold and ensure the credibility of Outstanding Universal Value. A division among heritage professionals

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over the application of the concept of authenticity also reflects the confusion. Intangible experts rejected the inclusion of authenticity for the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention exactly because it was a qualifying condition for World Heritage. They linked the concept to the static and product-like quality of tangible heritage.

5.5. The second half of the 2000s up to 2014 (consolidation and new directions)

Since the mid-2000s, recognition of various forms of intangible heritage has become an integral part of the cultural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value. At the same time, the terms intangible and intangible heritage appear less frequently in relevant discourses. Instead, the focus has shifted towards ideas like attribute, associative value, and various forms of intangible heritage. For the most part discussions have moved out of the Committee debates and into the work of ICOMOS and other expert meetings. This period is in fact characterized by an increasing politicization of the World Heritage Committee and an interest in administrative matters. At times, it is therefore difficult to draw a coherent discourse given the absence of data or the appearance of single ideas in various contexts.

5.5.1. Cultural heritage and the intangible becoming common language

While a future challenge of the Global Strategy remains to “acknowledge intangible aspects of heritage with linkages to World Heritage and to encourage co-operation between the...[1972 and 2003] Conventions,” the debate becomes less conceptual and terms are used

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more habitually.⁴⁰³ The terms intangible and intangible heritage become part of the heritage vocabulary. They appear, for example, in the discourses on historic urban landscapes, serial properties, as well as scientific and technological sites.

Already in 2000, urban heritage was considered to include “all those features, spatial patterns, functions, traditions and skills that contribute to and define the sense of character of historic places.”⁴⁰⁴ Sources of significance could therefore be tangible and intangible. In the context of preparing a new recommendation on the historic urban landscape, the “intangible values associated to urban historic areas, and the role they play...in the social perception and understanding of the function of historic areas” were taken into consideration.⁴⁰⁵ The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, which was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 2011, recognizes that urban heritage includes tangible and intangible components and that the historic urban landscape is the “result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes.”⁴⁰⁶ The ideas of landscape and layers of perception are applied to an urban context.

The term intangible also found its way into the discourse on serial sites, that is, properties with component parts in one or several countries where the series as a whole is of Outstanding Universal Value.⁴⁰⁷ These parts may belong to the same historical-cultural group or type of property characteristic of a geographical zone. Cultural serial sites play an important

⁴⁰³ UNESCO, “Progress in the implementation of the Global Strategy for a representative, balanced, and credible World Heritage List” (document presented at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, Paris, France, 24–25 October 2007), WHC-07/16.GA/9, 8 para. 25.g, Oct. 15, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-16ga-9e.pdf>.

⁴⁰⁴ UNESCO, “Report on the twenty-fourth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 26 June–1 July 2000,” WHC-2000/CONF.202/17, 79, annex III, Aug. 18, 2000, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2000/whc-00-conf202-17e.pdf>.

⁴⁰⁵ UNESCO, “Proposal for the preparation of a new recommendation relating to historic urban landscapes” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Convention, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/7.2, 6 para. 17, June 4, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-72e.pdf>.

⁴⁰⁶ UNESCO, “Records of the General Conference at its thirty-sixth session, Paris, France, 25 October–10 November 2011: Volume 1, Resolutions,” 50, Resolution 41 and annex, 51–52 paras. 3 and 8 [citation], 2012, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002150/215084e.pdf#page=52>.

⁴⁰⁷ UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC/2 Revised, 4 para. 14, Oct. 1980, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide80.pdf>.

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role in the implementation of the Global Strategy as they unite significant properties within one theme in contrast to the early focus of the Convention on icons.⁴⁰⁸ In 2008 and 2009, the Committee requested that an international World Heritage expert meeting be held on serial nominations and properties.⁴⁰⁹ The meeting took place in Switzerland in February 2010. The results of the meeting were presented to the Committee at its thirty-fourth session in July and August the same year. The experts recommended that the Operational Guidelines be revised. They proposed that for serial sites “each component part should contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value of the property as a whole in a substantial, scientific, readily defined and discernible way, and may include, inter alia, intangible attributes.”⁴¹⁰ The proposal was adopted by the Committee at its thirty-fifth session and included in the 2011 version of the Operational Guidelines.⁴¹¹

The term intangible also appears in relation to the discourse on scientific and technological heritage. The members of an expert workshop held in the United Kingdom in January 2008 noted that “there is often a strong link between the tangible and intangible heritage of scientific and/or technological sites of possible Outstanding universal value.”⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸ On a similar observation with regard to natural serial sites, see Barbara Engels, “Serial Natural Heritage Sites: A Model to Enhance Diversity of World Heritage?” in *World Heritage and Cultural Diversity*, eds. Dieter Offenhäuser, Walther Ch. Zimmerli, and Marie-Theres Albert, 79 (Bonn: German Commission for UNESCO, 2010).

⁴⁰⁹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008,” WHC-08/32.COM/24Rev, decision 32 COM 10B, 228–29, March 31, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-24reve.pdf>; UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Seville, Spain, 22–30 June 2009,” WHC-09/33.COM/20, decision 33 COM 10A, 229, July 20, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2009/whc09-33com-20e.pdf>.

⁴¹⁰ UNESCO, “Report on serial nominations and properties” (document presented at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010), WHC-10/34.COM/9B, 2 para. ii, May 31, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34Com-9Be.pdf>; UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines” (document presented at the thirty-fifth session of the World Heritage Convention, Paris, France, 19–29 June 2011), WHC-11/35.COM/13, 20 para. 137.b, May 6, 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-13e.pdf>.

⁴¹¹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 19–29 June 2011,” WHC-11/35.COM/20, decision 35 COM 13, 272 para. 4, July 7, 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-20e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.11/01, 35 para. 137, Nov. 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide11-en.pdf>.

⁴¹² UNESCO, “Science and technology, an expert workshop within the framework of the Global Strategy for the global, balanced, and representative World Heritage List” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Convention, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/INF.10A, 3 para. 13, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-inf10Ae.pdf>.

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The theme came up in connection with a nomination that evoked intense debate on criterion (vi) and associative value. It is discussed in detail later.⁴¹³

5.5.2. Outstanding Universal Value

The discourse on Outstanding Universal Value during this period is an immediate result of the *Special Meeting of Experts on the concept of Outstanding Universal Value* held in Kazan, Russia, in April 2005. In its context, the questions of threshold and credibility of the World Heritage List were raised. As a consequence, the Committee asked for guidance on defining World Heritage value. The Advisory Bodies were commissioned with the task of preparing corresponding guidance. First a draft compendium and then the *Compendium on Standards for the Inscription of Cultural Properties to the World Heritage List* were prepared and presented to the Committee. Questions relevant to this research that were raised in the course of the discourse are the incorporation of the perspectives of local and indigenous people into World Heritage processes and interpretations while maintaining the credibility of the List, and the application of the concept of Outstanding Universal Value with regard to the criteria, which involved studying the relationship among value, the criteria, and attributes.

5.5.2.1. The unresolved question of credibility

The Kazan meeting on Outstanding Universal Value reaffirmed the need for “wide participation by stakeholders including local communities and indigenous people” in identifying Outstanding Universal Value, but also raised the questions of threshold and clear

⁴¹³ On the heritage of science, criterion (vi), and associative value, see chapter 5.5.3.1.

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measures to monitor credibility of the World Heritage List.⁴¹⁴ Cameron in her keynote presentation observes that the Global Strategy with its thematic and regional approach has opened the door to a “representative selection of the best” and asks “where the cut off is or should be to meet the benchmark of outstanding universal value.”⁴¹⁵ When discussing the outcomes of the Kazan meeting, the Committee took up the question of credibility.⁴¹⁶ The Committee decisions had not always been consistent in assessing the proposed Outstanding Universal Value of nominations. At the same time, the concept of cultural heritage was evolving and would continue to do so.

At the Committee session in 2006, discussion on the difficulty of defining the concept and the recognition of local and indigenous perspectives continued. Committee members emphasized that there was no monopoly on defining the term but a shared understanding was nevertheless required although difficult to obtain.⁴¹⁷ The Delegation of Morocco observed that Outstanding Universal Value was based on both local and global values. It had “pass[ed] from the ‘superlative’ of a monumental heritage to that of the simpler, closer to mankind and representative of local values.”⁴¹⁸ The Delegation of New Zealand emphasized the importance of indigenous perspectives.⁴¹⁹ The Committee recognized that Outstanding Universal Value

⁴¹⁴ UNESCO, “Assessment of the conclusions and recommendations of the special meeting of experts, Kazan, Russian Federation, 6–9 April 2005” (document presented at the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005), WHC-05/29.COM/9, 4 para. 7.k, June 15, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-09e.pdf>.

⁴¹⁵ UNESCO, “Keynote speech by Ms Christina Cameron and presentations by the World Heritage Centre and the advisory bodies” (document presented at the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005), WHC-05/29.COM/INF.9B, 4 and 6, June 15, 2005, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-inf09Be.pdf>.

⁴¹⁶ UNESCO, “Summary record on the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005,” WHC-05/29.COM/INF.22, 26–29, 32–37, and 245, April 27, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-inf22.pdf>.

⁴¹⁷ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 210–11, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

⁴¹⁸ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 210, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

⁴¹⁹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 210 and 213, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

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was “a concept that shall embrace all cultures, regions and peoples, and does not ignore differing cultural interpretations...because they originate from minorities, indigenous groups and/or local peoples.”⁴²⁰

The *Compendium on Standards for the Inscription of Cultural Properties to the World Heritage List*, prepared by the Advisory Bodies and presented to the Committee in 2008, considered the issue of minorities, indigenous, and local values and how they were referenced or omitted in Committee decisions mostly with regard to conservation and management strategies.⁴²¹ During the Committee debate, several Delegations emphasized again the evolutive character of Outstanding Universal Value and the importance of involving people as World Heritage value was a reflection of how people saw themselves.⁴²² The Observer Delegation of Japan noted, for example, that “different cultures could apply criteria for the justification of Outstanding Universal Value differently according to their individual cultural expressions of admiration and emotion and how those feelings were translated into physical expression.”⁴²³

Despite continuous efforts to combine the ideas of local and universal value, the questions of threshold and credibility remain. In view of the fortieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, the General Assembly at its seventeenth session in 2009 requested an independent evaluation of the effectiveness of the Global Strategy from its inception in 1994

⁴²⁰ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/19, decision 30 COM 9, 165 para. 3, Aug. 23, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-19e.pdf>.

⁴²¹ UNESCO, “Discussion on Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/9, 28–29, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-9e.pdf>. The work of the Advisory Bodies on the compendium was intended to clarify the relationship between Outstanding Universal Value and the criteria, which will be looked at in chapter 5.6.2.2.

⁴²² UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008,” WHC-08/32.COM, 149–50, June 22, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32COM-summary.pdf>.

⁴²³ UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008,” WHC-08/32.COM, 151, June 22, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32COM-summary.pdf>.

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to 2011 by UNESCO's external auditor.⁴²⁴ The 2011 final report observes that the concept of Outstanding Universal Value remains a subject of debate, particularly with regard to cultural properties where the values are closely tied to regional cultural identity and are therefore subjective.⁴²⁵ Some States Parties, moreover, discarded the monumental approach to heritage, while others had difficulties in acknowledging the sacred dimension of sites. In addition, the report stated that, with the refinement of heritage types, Outstanding Universal Value has become perceptible only to specialists.⁴²⁶ The concept has been also weakened with the recognition of regional, national, or local instead of global values.⁴²⁷ The audit concludes that economic and political interests outside the World Heritage arena often influence dynamics in the Committee and decisions are taken against the recommendation of ICOMOS.⁴²⁸

5.5.2.1. Outstanding Universal Value, criteria, and attributes

In the context of reflecting on the concept of Outstanding Universal Value, the Committee in 2006 also recognized that “in some instances, the tangible and intangible

⁴²⁴ UNESCO, “Resolutions adopted by the seventeenth session of the General Assembly of States Parties, Paris, France, 23–28 October 2009,” WHC-09/17.GA/10, resolution 17 GA 9, 7 para. 16, Nov. 27, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2009/en-whc09-17ga-10.pdf>.

⁴²⁵ UNESCO, “Final report of the audit of the Global Strategy and the PACT initiative” (document presented at the thirty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 19–29 June 2011), WHC-11/35.COM/INF.9A, 9 para. 24, May 27, 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-INF9Ae.pdf>.

⁴²⁶ UNESCO, “Final report of the audit of the Global Strategy and the PACT initiative” (document presented at the thirty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 19–29 June 2011), WHC-11/35.COM/INF.9A, 31 para. 123, May 27, 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-INF9Ae.pdf>.

⁴²⁷ UNESCO, “Final report of the audit of the Global Strategy and the PACT initiative” (document presented at the thirty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 19–29 June 2011), WHC-11/35.COM/INF.9A, 31 para. 123, May 27, 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-INF9Ae.pdf>.

⁴²⁸ UNESCO, “Final report of the audit of the Global Strategy and the PACT initiative” (document presented at the thirty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 19–29 June 2011), WHC-11/35.COM/INF.9A, 40 para. 172, May 27, 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-INF9Ae.pdf>. On the politicization of the World Heritage Committee, see Thomas Schmitt, “Global Cultural Governance. Decision-making concerning World Heritage between Politics and Science,” *Erdkunde* 63, no. 2 (2009): 103–21; Cameron and Rössler, *Many Voices*, 165–74. See also chapter 5.5.3.3.

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interpretations cannot be separated” when identifying World Heritage value.⁴²⁹ The question arose about how to interpret and apply Outstanding Universal Value and the criteria when nominating and inscribing sites.⁴³⁰ The draft compendium prepared by the Advisory Bodies and presented to the Committee in 2007 observes that some criteria changes have brought about issues that have become increasingly critical, such as “the introduction of the intangible dimension of heritage into the World Heritage Convention.”⁴³¹ While some criteria descriptions in value statements of World Heritage inscriptions are very general, others reuse parts of the criteria wordings as attributes.⁴³² It is not always explained, moreover, how the justification of criteria relates to attributes on the site. The Agave Landscape and Ancient Industrial Facilities of Tequila in Mexico inscribed in 2006 is used as example. The draft compendium observes that the criterion (ii) statement “is related to tangible attributes such as fine haciendas and distilleries and to intangible attributes such as pre-Hispanic traditions of fermenting mescal juice, local and imported technologies.”⁴³³ The document concludes that “work needs to be undertaken to begin to set out how criteria might be justified in such a way that there is a clear understanding of how the fulfillment of the criteria is related to specific tangible and intangible attributes of the property.”⁴³⁴

⁴²⁹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/19, decision 30 COM 9, 165 para. 4, Aug. 23, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-19e.pdf>.

⁴³⁰ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/19, decision 30 COM 9, 165–166 paras.6 and 7, Aug. 23, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-19e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 210, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

⁴³¹ UNESCO, “Discussion on the Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/9, 17, May 23, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-9e.pdf>.

⁴³² UNESCO, “Discussion on the Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/9, 18–19, May 23, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-9e.pdf>.

⁴³³ UNESCO, “Discussion on the Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/9, 19, May 23, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-9e.pdf>.

⁴³⁴ UNESCO, “Discussion on the Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/9, 19, May 23, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-9e.pdf>.

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The finalized Compendium, presented to the Committee in 2008, explains that the starting point for defining Outstanding Universal Value “is to define the [site’s] meaning, i.e. what it signifies, what is its story.”⁴³⁵ Already in 2005, one of the Committee Members had highlighted that “the World Heritage List in its entirety should be a means to narrate stories of humankind.”⁴³⁶ The Compendium links the idea of story to the notions of theme and type which should be more than the sum of a site’s qualities:

To achieve O[utstanding] U[niversal] V[alue] it is necessary to strike a reasonable balance in the definition of the ‘story’ so that it is not too broad (such as freedom or memory) nor too narrow (such as a specific type of hospital or sanatorium), that O[utstanding] U[niversal] V[alue] is not put forward merely [as] a list of qualities that are brought together and that it is not justified in terms of national interest alone.⁴³⁷

Then, authenticity of the tangible and intangible attributes should be established that express Outstanding Universal Value.⁴³⁸ The value-criteria-attributes distinction was included in the revised draft Operational Guidelines presented to the Committee in 2009. In an annex on the format of a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, the idea of attribute was linked to the general description of a nominated site and the proposed criteria.⁴³⁹ The Statement should commence by giving a brief synthesis of a site’s factual information and qualities. The summary of qualities should address the Outstanding Universal Value of the proposed property and “should also set out the attributes that manifest that value and need to be protected.”⁴⁴⁰ For

⁴³⁵ UNESCO, “Discussion on Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/9, 20, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-9e.pdf>.

⁴³⁶ UNESCO, “Summary record on the twenty-ninth session of the World Heritage Committee, Durban, South Africa, 10–17 July 2005,” WHC-05/29.COM/INF.22, 27, April 27, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-29com-inf22.pdf>.

⁴³⁷ UNESCO, “Discussion on Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/9, 20, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-9e.pdf>.

⁴³⁸ UNESCO, “Discussion on Outstanding Universal Value” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/9, 21, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-9e.pdf>.

⁴³⁹ On the concept of Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, see chapter 3.5.3.

⁴⁴⁰ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines” (document presented at the thirty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Seville, Spain, 22–30 June 2009), WHC-09/33.COM/13, 13, May 11, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2009/whc09-33com-13e.pdf>.

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each criterion the values and related attributes should then be described in more detail.⁴⁴¹ With minor modifications, the proposed annex was adopted by the Committee in 2011.⁴⁴² The value-criteria-attributes relationship was also included in the *Resource Manual on the Preparation of Nominations* prepared by the Advisory Bodies and the World Heritage Centre:

Cultural value may relate to intangible qualities such as social structure, economic needs and political context, in space as well as time. It may relate to famous events, persons or works of art, literature, science or music. However, the World Heritage Convention is a property-based convention—properties themselves are inscribed on the List, not ideas or people as such, however great their global influence. Listed properties are required to demonstrate Outstanding Universal Value through their attributes.⁴⁴³

Intangible attributes may also be cultural processes that shape the physicality of place. The recognition of this understanding of cultural heritage completes the exercise of linking the individual criteria with the application of authenticity abandoned a decade earlier.

5.5.3. Criteria

The predominant debate on criteria after 2005 concerns the application of criterion (vi) and associative value. In the context of a nomination addressing scientific values, the question of the role of the associative dimension was raised again. In addition, persistent confusion about the overlap with the Intangible Cultural Heritage brought back the issue on the relationship with the 2003 Convention. Intangible heritage also continues to appear in debates

⁴⁴¹ UNESCO, “Revision of the Operational Guidelines” (document presented at the thirty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Seville, Spain, 22–30 June 2009), WHC-09/33.COM/13, 13, May 11, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2009/whc09-33com-13e.pdf>.

⁴⁴² UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Paris, France, 19–29 June 2011,” WHC-11/35.COM/20, decision 35 COM 13, 272 para. 4, July 7, 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-20e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention,” WHC.11/01, annex 5, Nov. 2011, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide11-en.pdf>.

⁴⁴³ UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN, “Preparing World Heritage Nominations (Second edition, 2011),” *World Heritage Resource Manuals*, 59 (Paris: UNESCO, 2011), Pdf file available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/643/>. A first edition of the document was published in 2010.

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on nominations and inscriptions to the World Heritage List. In this context, the role of ICOMOS and the tools to assess intangible heritage have repeatedly been questioned.

5.5.3.1. The heritage of science, criterion (vi), and associative value

In 2006, the United Kingdom submitted the nomination of Darwin at Downe, “a country villa and its grounds, together with the surrounding natural and agricultural landscape” (fig. 39).⁴⁴⁴ For four decades, the scientist Charles Darwin lived and worked there.

The work led to his theory of evolution by natural selection and his treatise *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*.⁴⁴⁵ The property was nominated based on criteria (iii) and (vi). The



Figure 39. Darwin's Landscape Laboratory (United Kingdom).

© The London Borough of Bromley

State Party justified criterion (iii) on the basis that the property substantially influenced Darwin's theory of evolution and scientific achievements as

“it was his main workplace and open-air laboratory.”⁴⁴⁶ ICOMOS, however, considered this criterion not applicable. Given that criterion (iii) referred to properties bearing testimony to a cultural tradition or civilization, “using this criterion to scientific discoveries would be a new interpretation with far-reaching implications, especially since the nominated property as such does not possess the necessary quality in monumental or landscape terms for inscription on the

⁴⁴⁴ UNESCO, “Nominations of properties to the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger” (document presented at the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Convention, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006), WHC-06/30.COM/8B, 28, June 20, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-08Be.pdf>; ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/INF.8B1, 221 [citation], 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf8b1e.pdf>.

⁴⁴⁵ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/INF.8B1, 221, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf8b1e.pdf>.

⁴⁴⁶ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/INF.8B1, 225, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf8b1e.pdf>.

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World Heritage List.”⁴⁴⁷ The association with Darwin’s theory of evolution and scientific achievements, and their implications for present scientific understandings were used to justify criterion (vi).⁴⁴⁸ In response to this, ICOMOS noted that “while the intellectual significance of the property and of Charles Darwin are not in question, the importance of the property lies [in] its educational rather than its heritage context.”⁴⁴⁹ The use of criterion (vi) was therefore equally discarded. ICOMOS recommended not to inscribe the property.⁴⁵⁰ As a result, the State Party withdrew the nomination before its examination by the Committee in 2007.⁴⁵¹

In the context of discussing Outstanding Universal Value at the same Committee session, the Observer Delegation of the United Kingdom commented on the values of intangible heritage and offered to host an expert meeting on the role of scientific history with regard to World Heritage.⁴⁵² The outcomes of the *Expert Workshop on Science and Technology* held in January 2008 were presented to the Committee in July the same year. The experts concluded that with scientific heritage “the link to the intangible nature of ‘great ideas’ may be particularly strong.”⁴⁵³ Following the repeated request of the Delegation of the United States

⁴⁴⁷ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/INF.8B1, 225, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf8b1e.pdf>.

⁴⁴⁸ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/INF.8B1, 225, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf8b1e.pdf>.

⁴⁴⁹ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/INF.8B1, 225, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf8b1e.pdf>.

⁴⁵⁰ UNESCO, “Nominations to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/8B, 5, May 11, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-8be.pdf>.

⁴⁵¹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 648, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>.

⁴⁵² UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Convention, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007,” WHC-07/31.COM/INF.24, 70 para. 579, Dec. 20, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf24.pdf>.

⁴⁵³ UNESCO, “Science and technology, an expert workshop within the framework of the Global Strategy for the global, balanced, and representative World Heritage List” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Convention, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2007), WHC-08/32.COM/INF.10A, 3 para. 13, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-inf10Ae.pdf>.

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of America, the Committee decided that guidance on scientific and technological heritage sites should be incorporated into the revised draft Operational Guidelines.⁴⁵⁴

The issue was taken up again in 2010 in two ways. First, an amendment to the Operational Guidelines was submitted by the United Kingdom. Based on the results of the 2008 workshop, the proposal promoted scientific and technological heritage by interpreting criterion (vi) to cover scientific values.⁴⁵⁵ In addition, a revised nomination of Darwin's Landscape Laboratory was presented to the Committee. While the property was given a new name and different boundaries, and was presented under the cultural landscape category, the nomination was again based on criteria (iii) and (vi) using similar justifications. They highlighted the influence of observations in the landscape on the development of an important theory and the impact of this theory on scientific thought.⁴⁵⁶ ICOMOS repeated that "the nominated property alone...[did] not exhibit the imprint of Darwin's thinking in a visible and tangible way."⁴⁵⁷ It pointed out, moreover, that in terms of comparative analysis the natural property of Galapagos Islands already makes reference to Darwin and his work.⁴⁵⁸ In line with the conclusions of the 1979 Parent report on biographical associations, ICOMOS raised the concern that the inscription of a property on the basis of such an association may not only

⁴⁵⁴ UNESCO, "Draft summary record on the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Convention, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008," WHC-08/32.COM, 260–61, June 22, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32COM-summary.pdf>; UNESCO, "Revision of the Operational Guidelines amended by the Committee" (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Convention, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/13.Rev, 7–8 para. 21, June 27, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-13reve.pdf>.

⁴⁵⁵ UNESCO, "Revision of the Operational Guidelines" (document presented at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010), WHC-10/34.COM/13, 27–28, June 18, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-13e.pdf>.

⁴⁵⁶ ICOMOS, "Evaluations of cultural properties" (document presented at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010), WHC-10/34.COM/INF.8B1, 281–282, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf.8B1e.pdf>.

⁴⁵⁷ UNESCO, "Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010," WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 649 [citation], <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>; ICOMOS, "Evaluations of cultural properties" (document presented at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010), WHC-10/34.COM/INF.8B1, 281, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf.8B1e.pdf>.

⁴⁵⁸ UNESCO, "Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010," WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 649, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>.

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result in the uncontrolled expansion of the List, but also “in a shift of the comparison from the level of the property associated with the scientific or artistic contribution, to the contribution itself, implying a sort of ‘ranking’ among intangible cultural influences that...is not the focus or purpose of the World Heritage Convention.”⁴⁵⁹ ICOMOS repeated its recommendation not to inscribe the property.⁴⁶⁰ A long debate ensued at the Committee’s thirty-fourth session. The Committee members were divided on the matter. Those in favor of the nomination drew on similar sites already on the List, such as Robben Island, which had been inscribed mainly for their associative values.⁴⁶¹ Those speaking against the property’s inscription highlighted the need for a physical link or tangible exceptionality at the site.⁴⁶² After two secret ballots, the Committee decided to defer the nomination by one vote.⁴⁶³ The property has not yet been resubmitted.

The nomination of the Darwin site raised the question of the meaning of associative value.⁴⁶⁴ The Committee therefore requested a meeting to look at properties illustrating Outstanding Universal Value on an associative basis.⁴⁶⁵ Two years later, in March 2012, an

⁴⁵⁹ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010), WHC-10/34.COM/INF.8B1, 278, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf.8B1e.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁰ UNESCO, “Nominations to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010), WHC-10/34.COM/8B, 26, May 31, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-8Be.pdf>.

⁴⁶¹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 654 and 656, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>.

⁴⁶² UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 652–53 and 655, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>.

⁴⁶³ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/20, decision 34 COM 8B.31, 224 para. 2, Sept. 3, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-20e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 664, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁴ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 663, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁵ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Convention, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/20, decision 34 COM 8B.31, 224 para. 2, Sept. 3, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-20e.pdf>.

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international World Heritage expert meeting was held on *Criterion (vi) and Associative Values*. In view of the ongoing confusion and in light of the Darwin discussion, the experts observed that Outstanding Universal Value needed to be demonstrated for the cultural associations themselves as well as their direct or tangible link with the site being nominated.⁴⁶⁶ The place should be essential to understanding the cultural association. With regard to acknowledging cultural associations through other criteria, the experts noted that there was an essential difference with criterion (vi). While criterion (vi) addresses cultural associations of Outstanding Universal Value, the other criteria recognize that Outstanding Universal Value lies in tangible manifestations on the site, which may be the result of an association.⁴⁶⁷ While the meeting acknowledged that the current wording of criterion (vi) might lack clarity, it concluded that “no changes to the Operational Guidelines were needed at this stage.”⁴⁶⁸ In the end, the interpretation of criterion (vi) established previously was reaffirmed. At the same time, the experts recommended to further investigate the recognition of cultural associations as part of Outstanding Universal Value of properties under all criteria, based on a holistic approach, and to include relevant guidance in the Resource Manual.⁴⁶⁹ Other aspects requiring attention and further study were highlighted, such as the assessment of Outstanding Universal Value of cultural associations for criterion (vi), the definition of authenticity for cultural associations, comparative analyses of sites with cultural associations, and the clear definition of attributes when drafting Statements of Outstanding Universal Value.⁴⁷⁰ The Committee in

⁴⁶⁶ UNESCO, “Report of the international World Heritage expert meeting on criterion (vi) and associative values, Warsaw, Poland, 28–30 March 2012,” 3 para. 13, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-827-15.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁷ UNESCO, “Report of the international World Heritage expert meeting on criterion (vi) and associative values, Warsaw, Poland, 28–30 March 2012,” 3 para. 17, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-827-15.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁸ UNESCO, “Report of the international World Heritage expert meeting on criterion (vi) and associative values, Warsaw, Poland, 28–30 March 2012,” 3 para. 16 and 6 para. 34 [citation], 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-827-15.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁹ UNESCO, “Report of the international World Heritage expert meeting on criterion (vi) and associative values, Warsaw, Poland, 28–30 March 2012,” 5 para. 30, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-827-15.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁰ UNESCO, “Report of the international World Heritage expert meeting on criterion (vi) and associative values, Warsaw, Poland, 28–30 March 2012,” 5 para. 30, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/events/documents/event-827-15.pdf>.

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2012 took note of the meeting's conclusions.⁴⁷¹ So far, no action has been undertaken as a follow-up to the meeting's results.

5.5.3.2. Overlap with the Intangible Cultural Heritage and blurring of lines

In 2008, in the context of analyzing the application of criterion (vi), a background document presented to the Committee noted that the criterion's use was "a challenge considering the current ever broadening definition of the concept of cultural heritage in its tangible and intangible dimensions."⁴⁷² The document explains that the overlap created by the identification of cultural spaces accommodating living traditions in the 2003 Convention "demonstrates the inseparability of tangible cultural expression and its intangible inspiration and manifestations, and also the difficulties in defining properties with strong intangible value (as expressed in the use of criterion vi) for possible World Heritage inscription."⁴⁷³ Due to persistent confusion over the links between criterion (vi) and the objective of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, the Committee at its thirty-third session in 2009 requested the World Heritage Centre to study again the relationship between the two Conventions.⁴⁷⁴

The document presented the subsequent year stated that while associated living traditions, ideas, and beliefs "can correspond to the scope of the 2003 Convention,...they will

⁴⁷¹ UNESCO, "Decisions adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the World Heritage Convention, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation, 24 June–6 July 2012," WHC-12/36.COM/19, decision 36 COM 13.I, 236 para. 5, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2012/whc12-36com-19e.pdf>.

⁴⁷² UNESCO, "Discussion on the Outstanding Universal Value" (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Convention, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/9, 16, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-9e.pdf>.

⁴⁷³ UNESCO, "Discussion on the Outstanding Universal Value" (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Convention, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/9, 30–31, May 22, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-9e.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁴ UNESCO, "Decisions adopted at the thirty-third session of the World Heritage Committee, Seville, Spain, 22–30 June 2009," WHC-09/33.COM/20, decision 33 COM 5A, 5 para. 6, July 20, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2009/whc09-33com-20e.pdf>.

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not be selected for their Outstanding Universal Value.”⁴⁷⁵ During the Committee debate, the Director of the World Heritage Centre acknowledged however that the common point of the two concepts of cultural heritage was the link between value and the local dimension:

...the Intangible Heritage Convention links its definition of values to be protected to the life of the communities. This point has become in the World Heritage Convention an important one and we have been discussing up to now on this issue. You remember the inclusion of the communities as an additional strategical objective...is clearly linked to the life of the communities.⁴⁷⁶

As the World Heritage List becomes more representative, the difference between the concepts of World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage has become more blurred than ever.

Recent inscriptions on the two Lists demonstrate the fine line to walk between the two concepts of cultural heritage. In 2014, the Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato in Italy was recognized as a World Heritage site on the basis of criteria (iii) and (v). Nominated previously in 2012 and deferred by the Committee, the nomination was brought forward again in 2014.⁴⁷⁷ Already in 2001, the World Heritage thematic expert meeting on *Vineyard Cultural Landscapes* held in Tokai, Hungary, had highlighted that vineyard landscapes were “linked with tangible heritage (vernacular architecture, settlement systems, cellars etc.), as well as with intangible elements, including cultural traditions and

⁴⁷⁵ UNESCO, “The World Heritage Convention and the other UNESCO conventions in the field of culture” (document presented at the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010), WHC-09/34.COM/5E, 9 para. 43, July 9, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-5Ee.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁶ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee, Brasilia, Brazil, 25 July–3 August 2010,” WHC-10/34.COM/INF.20, 74, Sept. 3, 2010, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2010/whc10-34com-inf20.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁷ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, 24 June–6 July 2012, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation,” WHC-12/36.COM/19, decision 36 COM 8B.32, 198 para. 2.a, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2012/whc12-36com-19e.pdf>; UNESCO, “Nominations to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the thirty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation, 24 June–6 July 2012), WHC-12/36.COM/8B, 29–30, May 11, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2012/whc12-36com-8B-en.pdf>.

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harvest rituals.”⁴⁷⁸ The property was inscribed on the World Heritage List without debate using the following justifications:

Criterion (iii): The cultural landscapes of the Piedmont vineyards provide outstanding living testimony to winegrowing and winemaking traditions that stem from a long history, and that have been continuously improved and adapted up to the present day. They bear witness to an extremely comprehensive social, rural and urban realm, and to sustainable economic structures. They include a multitude of harmonious built elements that bear witness to its history and its professional practices.

Criterion (v): The vineyards of Langhe-Roero and Monferrato constitute an outstanding example of man’s interaction with his natural environment. Following a long and slow evolution of winegrowing expertise, the best possible adaptation of grape varieties to land with specific soil and climatic components has been carried out, which in itself is related to winemaking expertise, thereby becoming an international benchmark. The winegrowing landscape also expresses great aesthetic qualities, making it into an archetype of European vineyards.⁴⁷⁹ (Fig. 40)

While not considered for their Outstanding Universal Value, intangible attributes can be read from the criteria statements. The intangible dimension is recognized in terms of winegrowing and winemaking traditions and expertise, social and economic structures, as well as aesthetic principles that have shaped the landscape. It is also part of the site’s authenticity:

The use of the soils, the built structures and the social organisation of all the stages of the winemaking process, from tending and harvesting the grapes to vinification, are an expression of continuity of ancient practices and expertise to form authentic ensembles in each component of the serial property.⁴⁸⁰

The tangible and intangible are thus closely intertwined.

⁴⁷⁸ UNESCO, “World Heritage thematic expert meeting on Vineyard cultural landscapes, Tokai, Hungary, 11–14 July 2001” (document presented at the twenty-fifth session of the World Heritage Committee, Helsinki, Finland, 11–16 December 2001), WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.7, 5, Aug. 5, 2001, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2001/whc-01-conf208-inf7e.pdf>.

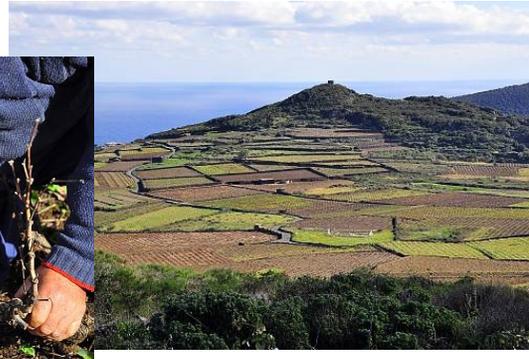
⁴⁷⁹ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Doha, Qatar, 15–25 June 2014,” WHC-14/38.COM/16, decision 38 COM 8B.41, 236 para. 3, July 7, 2014, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2014/whc14-38com-16en.pdf>; UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Doha, Qatar, 15–25 June 2014,” WHC-14/38.COM/INF.16, 171, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2014/whc14-38com-inf16-201412.pdf>.

⁴⁸⁰ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Doha, Qatar, 15–25 June 2014,” WHC-14/38.COM/16, decision 38 COM 8B.41, 237 para. 3, July 7, 2014, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2014/whc14-38com-16en.pdf>.

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Figure 40. Image of vineyards near the Italian commune of Barbaresco, Piedmont. 11 September 2004. Photograph by David Haberthür - originally posted to Flickr as barbaresco, distributed under a CC BY 2.0 license



Figures 41 and 42. Traditional agricultural practice of cultivating the ‘vite ad alberello’, the head-trained bush vines, of the community of Pantelleria (Italy, Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2014). © 2010 Graziella Pavia/Pantelleria Agronomist, with the permission of UNESCO

In the same year, another winegrowing practice and its associated vineyards in Italy were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the Traditional agricultural practice of cultivating the ‘vite ad alberello’, the head-trained bush vines, of the community of Pantelleria.⁴⁸¹ While the inscription focuses on the living practice and knowledge of winegrowing itself, the close relationship to the land and vineyards of Pantelleria is evident:

Knowledge and skill in cultivating the ‘head trained bush vines’ (‘vite ad alberello’)... was and still is handed down from father to son by oral and practical instructions in local dialect all year round in the vineyards of Pantelleria, wiped by the winds and in blazing sun. The young apprentice vine-grower learns the technique whilst working alongside the master, from whom he picks up small secrets.⁴⁸² (Fig. 41 and 42)

The tradition is rooted in the land and learned by going through the vineyards. The Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage inscribed the cultural expression based amongst others on the following criterion:

⁴⁸¹ “Traditional agricultural practice of cultivating the ‘vite ad alberello’ (head-trained bush vines) of the community of Pantelleria,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00720>.

⁴⁸² UNESCO, “Nomination file no. 00720 for inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2014” (document presented at the ninth session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, France, November 2014), 4, Feb. 25, 2014, Microsoft Word file available at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00720>.

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Recognized by the community of Pantelleria as part of its identity, this agricultural practice is linked with nature and the environment; its knowledge and skills are transmitted through time by the islanders.⁴⁸³

While the focus of the two interpretations of cultural heritage is inverse, they are essentially the same from a conceptual point of view. What distinguishes them is the recognition of the aesthetic appeal of the vineyard landscape of the Piedmont and the fact that for World Heritage designation, Outstanding Universal Value has to be demonstrated through comparative assessment. A technical requirement has thus become a distinguishing feature.

5.5.3.3. Inscriptions, intangible heritage, and the role of ICOMOS

The opening of criterion (vi) in the early 2000s led to another exceptional case immediately after the inscription of Mostar. In 2006, Aapravasi Ghat in Mauritius was inscribed solely on the grounds of its exceptional memorial value:

Aapravasi Ghat, as the first site chosen by the British Government in 1834 for the ‘great experiment’ in the use of indentured, rather than slave labour, is strongly associated with memories of almost half a million indentured labourers moving from India to Mauritius to work on sugar canes plantations or to be transhipped to other parts of the World.⁴⁸⁴ (Fig. 43)

Initially, the site had been nominated on the basis of criteria (iv) and (vi).⁴⁸⁵ While the site had more tangible evidence of indentured labourers than



Figure 43. Aapravasi Ghat (Mauritius, 2006). © Vincent Ko Hon Chiu/Vincent Ko Hon Chiu

⁴⁸³ “Traditional agricultural practice of cultivating the ‘vite ad alberello’ (head-trained bush vines) of the community of Pantelleria,” UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00720>.

⁴⁸⁴ UNESCO, “Decisions adopted at the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/19, decision 30 COM 8B.33, 145 para. 2, Aug. 23, 2006, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-19e.pdf>.

⁴⁸⁵ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 1227,” 26, April 2006, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1227.pdf.

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many others, ICOMOS was the opinion that the theme was looked at too narrowly in terms of its worldwide relevance.⁴⁸⁶ The theme of diaspora could be treated similarly to slave routes using criterion (vi) and considering a serial nomination.⁴⁸⁷ ICOMOS concluded that for both criteria not enough information was available to properly assess the site.⁴⁸⁸ It therefore proposed deferral of the nomination and the establishment of a global framework. The majority of Committee members was however in favor of immediate inscription disregarding the importance of further research.⁴⁸⁹ The Delegation of Madagascar, for example, noted that the Committee “had already reacted favourably towards the inscription of places of memory, and sites linked to slavery.”⁴⁹⁰ The Delegation of Kenya highlighted moreover that it was “a question of memory versus monument.”⁴⁹¹ Alone the Delegation of Norway raised the concern that “it had the impression that the Convention and the demands of the Operational Guidelines were not in focus.”⁴⁹² In the end, the site’s intangible dimension was used to facilitate inscription. For the time being, Aapravasi Ghat remains the last exceptional case. As can also be seen from the debate on the nomination of the Darwin site, in spite of opening the wording of criterion (vi), the Committee has been reluctant to use it alone. The inscription of Aapravasi Ghat also illustrates the trend to overrule ICOMOS recommendations and speaks of the increasing politicization of the World Heritage Committee.

⁴⁸⁶ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 1227,” 25, April 2006, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1227.pdf.

⁴⁸⁷ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 176, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

⁴⁸⁸ ICOMOS, “World Heritage List No. 1227,” 26, April 2006, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1227.pdf.

⁴⁸⁹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 174–77, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁰ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 174, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

⁴⁹¹ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 174, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

⁴⁹² UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirtieth session of the World Heritage Committee, Vilnius, Lithuania, 8–16 July 2006,” WHC-06/30.COM/INF.19, 176, April 25, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2006/whc06-30com-inf19e.pdf>.

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During this period, the role of ICOMOS and the tools to assess intangible heritage were also questioned in other contexts. In 2007, when discussing the nomination of the Batanes Cultural Landscape in the Philippines the concern was raised that ICOMOS may not be adequately equipped to evaluate intangible heritage. ICOMOS had recommended deferral of the nomination in order for the State Party to do further research on, amongst others, “the intangible associations between people and their surroundings, practices, rituals, belief systems and occupations, in order to understand better how the landscape is a physical reflection of a culture.”⁴⁹³ ICOMOS believed that intangible cultural associations should be better integrated into the articulation of the property’s Outstanding Universal Value.⁴⁹⁴ During the Committee debate, the Delegation of Japan noted “that the evaluation of this property by the Advisory Body showed that ICOMOS does not understand local culture” and asked “how intangible associations of people to their surroundings could be proved, and what the applicable methodology for doing so would be.”⁴⁹⁵ ICOMOS in its response explained that “the continuation of cultural traditions [was]...the important factor in linking intangible aspects of culture to the living cultural landscape of the Batanes archipelago.”⁴⁹⁶ ICOMOS’ ability to assess “intangible universal values” was also questioned by the Delegation of Brazil during the discussion of another nomination in 2008.⁴⁹⁷ In 2014, moreover, the Delegation of Turkey raised the concern that “the current tools for mapping tangible and intangible elements [were]...not sufficient.” The suggestion was made that “where criterion (vi) is included, an

⁴⁹³ UNESCO, “Nominations to the World Heritage List” (document presented at the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007), WHC-07/31.COM/8B, 18, May 11, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-8be.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁴ UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007,” WHC-07/31.COM/INF.24, 164 para. 1607, Dec. 20, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf24.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁵ UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007,” WHC-07/31.COM/INF.24, 164 para. 1611, Dec. 20, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf24.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁶ UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-first session of the World Heritage Committee, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June–2 July 2007,” WHC-07/31.COM/INF.24, 164 para. 1611, Dec. 20, 2007, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-inf24.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁷ UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008,” WHC-08/32.COM, 225, June 22, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32COM-summary.pdf>.

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expert on intangible heritage might be included, and that anthropological data be included in the nomination dossier to represent the significance of the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage attributes.”⁴⁹⁸ Although no documentation could be found on the nature of the activity, it can be reported that at least since 2008, ICOMOS has been consulting with its International Scientific Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage on matters concerning intangible heritage as can be read from evaluation documents.⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore, ICOMOS was among the non-governmental organizations accredited by the General Assembly of States Parties to the 2003 Convention in 2010, to provide advisory services to the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.⁵⁰⁰

5.5.4. Authenticity, intangible attributes, and Nara+20

After the formalization of the 1994 *Nara Document on Authenticity* in the mid-2000s and the inclusion of guidance on how to assess attributes conveying potential Outstanding Universal Value in the resource manual for preparing World Heritage nominations, the next significant discourse on authenticity took place in the context of the twentieth anniversary of the 1994 Nara Document.⁵⁰¹ In 2008, when discussing the nomination of River Island of Majuli in midstream of Brahmaputra River in Assam, India, the Delegation of Israel expressed the need to look again at the concept of authenticity. The River Island was put forward as a

⁴⁹⁸ UNESCO, “Summary record on the thirty-eighth session of the World Heritage Committee, Doha, Qatar, 15–25 June 2014,” WHC-14/38.COM.INF.16, 127, 2014, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2014/whc14-38com-inf16-201412.pdf>.

⁴⁹⁹ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/INF.8B1.Add, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-inf8B1ADDe.pdf>; “Welcome to the International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage Website,” ICOMOS International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage, <http://icich.icomos.org>.

⁵⁰⁰ UNESCO, “UNESCO conventions in the field of culture” (document presented at the thirty-sixth session of the World Heritage Committee, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation, 24 June–6 July 2012), WHC-12/36.COM/INF.5A.1, 3 para. 10, May 11, 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2012/whc12-36com-inf5A1-en.pdf>.

⁵⁰¹ UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and IUCN, “Preparing World Heritage Nominations (Second edition, 2011),” *World Heritage Resource Manuals*, 61–64 (Paris: UNESCO, 2011), Pdf file available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/643/>.

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spiritual-cultural landscape with so-called Sattras or monasteries “in which local art forms such as dance, drama, painting and poetry were used as the medium to propagate religion,” uniting both tangible and intangible elements.⁵⁰² With regard to authenticity ICOMOS noted the following:

The authenticity of the complex Majuli cultural landscape is related to the processes which shaped the landscape as much as to the physical manifestation of people’s interaction with their environment. To sustain the authenticity of the landscape would mean sustaining social and religious systems, communal use of resources, traditional building techniques, traditional farming techniques, the Sattras and their architectural features, intangible heritage such as dance drama, traditional knowledge and spatial organisation—in fact all the qualities that when combined make up the cultural distinctiveness of the island and the way people live in harmony with nature.⁵⁰³

This observation recognizes the complexity of conserving the authentic expression and interrelationship between the tangible and the intangible. ICOMOS recommended deferring the nomination as Outstanding Universal Value was not clearly demonstrated. The Committee debate was highly politicized; while some members favored immediate inscription, others raised the question of the credibility of the List and integrity of the Convention.⁵⁰⁴ During the debate, the Delegation of Israel observed that “the understanding of different cultures was at the heart of the matter and referred to the conclusions of the Nara meeting that more work was needed to understand authenticity.”⁵⁰⁵ The Delegation also suggested the Operational Guidelines be completed in this respect and that an expert workshop be organized to look into the matter.

⁵⁰² ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/INF.8B1.Add, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-inf8B1ADDe.pdf>.

⁵⁰³ ICOMOS, “Evaluations of cultural properties” (document presented at the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008), WHC-08/32.COM/INF.8B1.Add, 2008, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32com-inf8B1ADDe.pdf>.

⁵⁰⁴ Following a vote by secret ballot, the Committee deferred the nomination. UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008,” WHC-08/32.COM, 223–29 and 232, June 22, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32COM-summary.pdf>.

⁵⁰⁵ UNESCO, “Draft summary record on the thirty-second session of the World Heritage Committee, Quebec City, Canada, 2–10 July 2008,” WHC-08/32.COM, 228, June 22, 2009, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2008/whc08-32COM-summary.pdf>.

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After that, the discourse on authenticity moved out of the World Heritage context. Nevertheless, international experts that had been active in World Heritage for years were involved in further discussions.⁵⁰⁶ Three preparatory expert meetings aimed at assessing the practical experience with the application of the Nara Document gained over the past twenty years. In November 2012, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, the Agency for Cultural Affairs of the Government of Japan and Himeji City, Japan, organized an expert meeting on *Heritage and Societies—Towards the 20th Anniversary of the Nara Document on Authenticity, and Beyond*. The experts identified five areas of discussion, among them, the relationship between values and authenticity and the credibility of information sources.⁵⁰⁷ At the second and third expert meetings held in Fukuoka, Japan, in September 2013 and in February 2014, a draft document on Nara+20 was developed and revised as well as case studies identified that illustrated concepts.⁵⁰⁸ At the invitation of the Agency for Cultural Affairs of the Government of Japan, Nara Prefecture, and Nara City, the twentieth anniversary of the 1994 Nara Document was held in Nara, Japan, in October 2014. The meetings' outcomes were summarized in the document *Nara+20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values, and the Concept of Authenticity*. With regard to the diversity of heritage processes, the document observes that over the past twenty years, “heritage management and conservation practices have increasingly taken into consideration the social processes by which cultural heritage is produced, used, interpreted and safeguarded.”⁵⁰⁹ As a future action, methodologies need to be identified “for assessing this broader spectrum of cultural forms and

⁵⁰⁶ Christina Cameron, “Nara+20: Sur les pratiques du patrimoine, les valeurs culturelles, et le concept de l’authenticité” (lecture, University of Montreal, March 26, 2015).

⁵⁰⁷ The Himeji Recommendations are available at “Expert Meeting ‘Heritage and Societies: toward the 20th anniversary of the Nara Document on Authenticity, and beyond’,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/929/>.

⁵⁰⁸ Christina Cameron, “Nara+20: Sur les pratiques du patrimoine, les valeurs culturelles, et le concept de l’authenticité” (lecture, University of Montreal, March 26, 2015).

⁵⁰⁹ “Nara+20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values, and the Concept of Authenticity,” Academia, http://www.academia.edu/8972643/NARA_20_ON_HERITAGE_PRACTICES_CULTURAL_VALUES_AND_THE_CONCEPT_OF_AUTHENTICITY.

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processes, and the dynamic interrelationship between tangible and intangible heritage.”⁵¹⁰ By recognizing the evolutive nature of cultural heritage and the changing heritage concept, Nara+20 also expresses the need for a better understanding of how authenticity can be periodically reviewed. Thus, it aims at incorporating the idea of continuity as previously addressed during the 2004 Nara Conference on *Integrated Approaches to Safeguarding Tangible and Intangible Heritage*.⁵¹¹ While intangible heritage has come to be conceptually firmly grounded in cultural heritage, Nara+20 calls for the establishment of identification and conservation methods that consider the living and complex nature of cultural heritage. The document’s reception in the World Heritage Committee remains to be seen.

5.5.5. Concluding remarks

The period between 2005 and 2014 is characterized by a more fragmented discourse on intangible heritage that has moved out of the Committee debates and into the work of ICOMOS and other international expert meetings. The terms intangible and intangible heritage are used less frequently and it is difficult at times to trace a coherent conceptual discussion. As can be seen from the discourse on cultural heritage, the use of terms has become common language. With regard to the interpretation of Outstanding Universal Value the need to combine the ideas of local and universal value have been consolidated. At the same time, an official report published in 2011 asserted that World Heritage value has been weakened through the introduction of local values. It also noted an increased politicization of the World Heritage Committee, which is undermining the credibility of the World Heritage List.

⁵¹⁰ “Nara+20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values, and the Concept of Authenticity,” Academia, http://www.academia.edu/8972643/NARA_20_ON_HERITAGE_PRACTICES_CULTURAL_VALUES_AND_THE_CONCEPT_OF_AUTHENTICITY.

⁵¹¹ On the question of authenticity and continuity in the context of the 2004 Nara Conference, see chapter 5.4.4.2.

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A major contribution to the recognition of a holistic cultural heritage concept is the distinction between the ideas of value, criteria, and attributes that was included in the 2011 revised version of the Operational Guidelines. It marks the completion of the task abandoned a decade earlier on the correlation of criteria with the condition of authenticity via the idea of attributes. One of the reasons that the investigation of the value-criteria-attribute relationship was brought back was the unclear and incoherent formulation of criteria statements, particularly with regard to the mention of intangible attributes and associative values. The nomination of a site with associated scientific values, that is, the Darwin Landscape Laboratory in the United Kingdom in 2007 and 2010, raised again the question of the role of associative values. Although the result over inscription was tight, the Committee reaffirmed the interpretation of criterion (vi) of 1979 not to recognize sites for their biographical associations. Until this day, the Committee has in fact been very reluctant to put sites on the List based on criterion (vi) alone. The last exceptional case was inscribed in 2006. A World Heritage expert meeting held in Warsaw in 2012 followed the discussions on the Darwin site. It looked into associative values under all criteria. The meeting highlighted that for criterion (vi) to apply, Outstanding Universal Value had to be demonstrated for both the association and its link to the site. The other criteria considered intangible attributes to the extent that these shape the materiality of the site and its Outstanding Universal Value.

Another topic that reappeared was the overlap with the 2003 Convention. A background document presented to the Committee recognized that with the consideration of local values, the distinction between World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage has become less apparent. When looking at inscriptions under the respective Lists, the blurring of concepts becomes evident. Italian vineyard landscapes and the practices of winegrowing that were inscribed on the World Heritage List and Representative List in 2014 respectively illustrate the case. Comparative assessment to demonstrate Outstanding Universal Value as a formal tool becomes a main distinguishing feature between the two cultural heritage concepts.

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And finally, towards the end of the 2000s, focus has shifted beyond an interest in fully recognizing intangible heritage in the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage towards looking into the question on how to properly evaluate intangible heritage and its living character. In the context of discussing nominations to the World Heritage List, the Committee questioned the role of ICOMOS and the tools to assess intangible heritage. The increasing consideration of the complexity of place, with its tangible and intangible elements, also raised the need to evaluate the implementation of the concept of authenticity. Building on discussions on continuity at the 2004 Nara Conference and a series of international expert meetings that went beyond the World Heritage arena, another conference held in Nara in 2014 highlighted the importance of finding methods to regularly assess the dynamic relationship between the tangible and the intangible and its authenticity.

5.6. Summary

The chapter presented the recognition of intangible heritage over time and its various interpretations within the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage. Five time periods were examined: in the late 1970s and early 1980s, intangible heritage is recognized indirectly; the 1980s are characterized by precursors of change; in the first half of the 1990s, with the introduction of an anthropological approach to cultural heritage, intangible heritage is recognized directly; the second half of the 1990s and first half of the 2000s show a continuation of discussions and the implementation of ideas; and from the second half of the 2000s up to 2014 broad recognition of intangible heritage has been accepted and new directions of conceptual reflection are opening up.

From the late 1970s until the early 1990s, the term intangible heritage was not used but an intangible dimension was nevertheless considered indirectly. The period is characterized by the predominance of the idea of historic monument influenced by a Western conservation

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ethos, which focuses on an architectural, art-historical, and historical approach to the physicality of place. At the same time, it was already acknowledged that absolute value does not exist but that values, or Outstanding Universal Value, are relative and representative of different cultures. An associative dimension in terms of associated historical events and associated symbolic or commemorative meaning was recognized through criterion (vi) and the application of authenticity. In a few cases, immaterial truthfulness was used to justify inscription on the World Heritage List. This intangible dimension was however subordinate to the material evidence addressed by the other criteria as can be seen from the limitation to the application of criterion (vi).

The 1980s show precursors of change. The Global Study was developed to find a global reference frame for identifying potential cultural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value. It ultimately led to the Global Strategy in the early 1990s. Through the idea of rural areas and landscapes, moreover, a different approach to cultural heritage was introduced which emphasized the people and their continuing interaction with the environment. In its context, the idea of associated practices entered the discourse.

Similar to UNESCO's intangible heritage discourse, in the early 1990s, a major change happened with regard to conceiving World Heritage. The human component took center stage and an anthropological approach to cultural heritage was added. In the context of the cultural landscape and Global Strategy discourses, ideas were introduced that suggest that place was the result of human interaction with the environment and that associated practices were processes that are closely linked to or shape the physicality of place. Changes to the wording of criteria at the time reflect this approach and favored the inscription of cultural associations like living traditions. Particularly revolutionary was the recognition of local spiritual beliefs and practices linked to Tongariro National Park. It is the first and even now the only site to consider associative values as the only cultural component of a natural site. The early 1990s also saw the introduction of the term intangible into the World Heritage discourse. Particularly important in this regard is the debate on authenticity. At the time, the ICOMOS discourse on

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intangible heritage merged with the World Heritage discourse. In the context of ICOMOS and since the late 1970s, Asian countries and in particular Japan had repeatedly raised concerns about a different approach to authenticity that highlighted living traditions. With Japan becoming signatory to the World Heritage Convention in 1992, the moment had arrived to rethink also the concept of authenticity. The 1994 *Nara Conference on Authenticity* and its outcome, the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, reflect the anthropological approach. The Nara Document is thus very innovative. Value was perceived to be created by human beings and therefore diverse. Tangible and intangible sources provided information about place and its values and were perceived to be the carriers of a site's truthfulness.

The subsequent ten years are characterized by a process of intense conceptual debate, internalization, and implementation of the new approach. Discussions continued and the nature and role of intangible heritage within World Heritage was explored. The use of the term intangible and various related expressions increased considerably, particularly with regard to the implementation of the Global Strategy and the identification of different heritage types. Africa became a major driver for recognizing the anthropological approach to cultural heritage. And criterion (vi) became the official intangible criterion. In the early 2000s, the development and adoption of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention created momentum. The 1994 Nara Document was finally implemented and with it, the idea of attributes and the term intangible introduced into the Operational Guidelines. In addition, the use of criterion (vi) was opened and more and more properties, in particular cultural landscapes, were inscribed recognizing intangible heritage and the close relationship between the tangible and the intangible through various criteria. The development of the concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage can moreover be said to have contributed to further clarifying the role and nature of intangible heritage within the conceptualization of World Heritage. At the same time, overlaps between the two Conventions created confusion, which showed in a division among heritage professionals over the application of the concept of authenticity. Intangible heritage experts were of the opinion that the idea should not apply to the intangible heritage as it was continuously evolving.

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The period between 2005 and 2014 is characterized by a more fragmented discourse on intangible heritage which, in many cases, has moved out of the Committee debates and into the work of ICOMOS and other international expert meetings. However, some results and trends have been detected. Intangible heritage has become common language and conceptually an integral part of cultural heritage. The exercise of distinguishing and relating the notions of value, criteria, and attributes started a decade earlier was completed and included in the 2011 version of the Operational Guidelines. At the same time the term intangible heritage is used less frequently and focus has shifted to consider other terms and ideas linked to intangible heritage, such as associative value. The question of the role of intangible attributes and associative values was raised again, this time in relation to all criteria. The 2012 Warsaw meeting confirmed that only through criterion (vi) cultural associations were recognized for their Outstanding Universal Value and significant link with the property. With the increasing recognition of the complexity of place, which is constituted by a dynamic relationship between tangible and intangible attributes, focus finally shifted towards the identification of methods to adequately assess intangible heritage, its values and authenticity, on a continuing basis. The recent Nara+20 Document is evidence of this development. Its implementation in the World Heritage context remains to be seen.

Altogether, intangible heritage has increasingly been considered in the context of implementing the concept of World Cultural Heritage. The following general development was traced: from an indirect recognition in terms of historical associations in the 1970s and 1980s; via a major anthropological shift in the early 1990s that introduces the term intangible, reflects a holistic approach to cultural heritage as established in chapter four, and can be linked to UNESCO's intangible heritage discourse; to the internalization of the changed approach over the subsequent decade and its implementation in the Operational Guidelines in the 2000s, substantially fostered by the establishment and adoption of the 2003 Convention. While not explicitly recognizing the immaterial character of values, by 2011, a holistic approach to cultural heritage that considers the idea of intangible attributes as carriers of values was officially endorsed. Particularly since the late 2000s, moreover, focus has started to shift

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beyond conceptual deliberations to find methods to adequately assess the dynamic complexity of place and the values and authenticity of its intangible attributes. Tracing the recognition of intangible heritage in the World Heritage discourse therefore shows an increasing awareness and shifting approach to cultural heritage. It indicates a paradigm shift in the context of implementing the World Heritage Convention. In this chapter, general trends and overarching ideas were presented and detailed information on selected events and discussions was given. Knowledge presented is not exhaustive. The chapter provides potential for further research to support and enhance the ideas presented here as well as to investigate related questions.

6. CONCLUSION

The doctoral research aimed at understanding how intangible heritage has been recognized through the World Heritage Convention and how this recognition has changed the conception of World Cultural Heritage. The crossover from and intersection between tangible and intangible heritage were investigated. The conclusion discusses and summarizes the main outcomes, highlights the contribution to knowledge and limitations to the research, and outlines possible further research avenues.

6.1. Discussion and main outcomes

Although its recognition and position remain inconsistent, intangible heritage in its various forms has increasingly been recognized through the implementation of the concept of World Cultural Heritage. This subchapter aims at pulling out more clearly the events, turning points, and ideas that contributed to change and an increasing recognition. It takes into account all discourses that were looked at, that is, UNESCO, ICOMOS, the scientific field, and World Heritage, as well as the concept of World Cultural Heritage and its elements—cultural heritage, Outstanding Universal Value, the criteria, and authenticity. The results are presented in two ways. A chronology of ideas and markers is attached to this thesis (appendix). It provides both a reference for readers and a means to prioritize and organize the most influential events and ideas that were identified through this research. The results are discussed and summarized in the sections below. As an answer to the research question, three aspects were identified that

reflect not only all World Heritage concepts and stimuli coming from the other discourses, but also the theorization of intangible heritage in terms of an indicator for a paradigm shift and new approach to cultural heritage with the term containing two conceptual dimensions, that is, value is inherently immaterial and sites are constituted of a tangible-intangible continuum in terms of attributes. These aspects are: first, time as a factor and the implementation of the anthropological approach to cultural heritage; second, the relationship among Outstanding Universal Value, representative value, and the intangible nature of value; and third, the implementation of the idea of intangible attributes through the criteria and the concept of authenticity.

6.1.1. Time, intangible heritage, and the anthropological approach to cultural heritage

Time is an important factor in recognizing intangible heritage and an enlarged view of place on an international level. The term intangible heritage was identified to represent an indicator for a paradigm shift and new approach to conceiving cultural heritage in international heritage conservation. Changing global cultural, socio-economic, and political conditions have led to a re-theorization of cultural heritage to consider the intangible in all four discourses, that is, UNESCO, ICOMOS, the scientific field, and World Heritage. By focusing on processes and the living relationship between people and their environment or place, the new paradigm emphasizes the anthropological. Five time periods were identified that speak of the growing recognition of intangible heritage and the realization of the anthropological approach. They are summarized below and demonstrate the ways in which World Heritage is constantly evolving within a broader, ever-changing heritage paradigm, with

intangible heritage being a case in point. The new paradigm does, however, not replace the old one; it has both changed the old one and co-exists with it at the same time. This can be deduced from the growing recognition of intangible heritage and its link to an anthropological approach, next to the persisting historical approach. Also while peaks of recognition could be identified for the early 1990s and early 2000s, the shift has been implemented differently within the various discourses. What can be observed with regard to World Heritage, moreover, is that most ideas have been implemented first through inscriptions on the World Heritage List, followed by a change of the wording of definitions in the Operational Guidelines.

Until the early 1980s, a Western conservation ethos and the idea of historic monument prevail in UNESCO, ICOMOS, and World Heritage. This idea focuses on the material fabric of a historically significant building or site. Definitions and their interpretations are shaped by it. In World Heritage, intangible heritage is recognized indirectly in terms of associative values or associated historical or art-historical meaning. Early traces of intangible interpretations, such as traditions and folklore, and an interest in African cultural expressions can be found in the UNESCO discourse. They remained however of marginal importance given the lack of dedicated institutional and political support. In ICOMOS, ideas of intangible heritage in terms of the Japanese tradition of regularly dismantling wooden structures to conserve architecture were closely linked to questions of authenticity since the late 1970s.

The 1980s show precursors of change. In 1982, the term intangible, together with the term tangible, were introduced in the definition of cultural heritage of the Mexico City Declaration. The anthropological approach appeared in the context of an expert meeting on the non-physical heritage organized by UNESCO in 1984. It found its way into the 1989 *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*. In ICOMOS and World Heritage, traces of an intangible dimension appear in connection with discussions on

landscapes and natural sites and their associative meaning or associated practices that shape a place's physicality. In 1987, the term intangible value was introduced in the ICOMOS discourse by an American contributor to the organization's eighth General Assembly held in Washington, D.C.

In the first half of the 1990s, a major change was taking place. In UNESCO, intangible heritage received political support and was institutionally as well as conceptually further separated from tangible heritage. In 1993, human beings were recognized as tradition bearers through the *Living Human Treasures* program, based on a Korean proposal. Momentum was also created in World Heritage. With the anthropological shift in approaching cultural heritage, living processes in terms of human interaction with place have been acknowledged. A cultural dimension was added to an historical one and an indirect application was made explicit. More specifically, the concept of cultural heritage changed to go beyond the materiality of place and the notion of historic monument, which recognizes the idea of historical associations, to add an anthropological perspective in terms of processes that shape place. The Global Strategy, the introduction of the cultural landscape category, and the revision of criteria are particularly important in this respect. The new approach was first implemented with the re-nomination and inscription of Tongariro National Park in New Zealand as mixed site and associative cultural landscape, adding criterion (vi) and recognizing local traditions and beliefs associated with the natural site. Particularly important for the recognition of intangible heritage in World Heritage at the time is also the debate on authenticity, which had been present in ICOMOS since the late 1970s. In the context of the 1994 Nara Conference, jointly organized by the World Heritage Centre and the Japanese authorities, the question of authenticity was discussed to consider different approaches to conservation. In the resulting *Nara Document on Authenticity*,

the term intangible appeared and intangible heritage was theorized to be an ‘information source’ about the truthfulness of place.

Over the next five to ten years, a process of internalization and implementation of concepts ensued. The notion of place was explored and theorized considering the anthropological approach to cultural heritage and the tangible-intangible relationship. The influence of African countries increased considerably. The term intangible entered criteria descriptions of inscriptions to the World Heritage List. Other interpretations of intangible heritage, such as associated traditions, traditional knowledge, or religious beliefs, can also be found in value statements of the time. In UNESCO, with the development of the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* between 1996 and 1998, intangible heritage was linked once again to tangible heritage in terms of cultural space. In addition, the expression intangible heritage was introduced as an official technical term. In ICOMOS, the link between place and an intangible dimension was discussed using the idea of living space in 1999.

At the turn of the millennium, the recognition of intangible heritage gained momentum. With the Japanese Koïchiro Matsuura becoming Director-General of UNESCO in 1999, the intangible heritage movement got an important supporter. UNESCO’s initiative to establish a standard-setting instrument specifically for intangible heritage starting in the late 1990s was rapidly realized. The anthropological approach and process-oriented perspective on cultural heritage were formalized in the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. In its context, intangible heritage is theorized as cultural expressions that are constantly recreated by communities in response to their environment. These expressions are representative of the group to which they belong. The development and adoption of the 2003 Convention created momentum in all other discourses. In ICOMOS, an interest in

intangible heritage increased considerably. Intangible heritage became its central theme from 1999 to 2002 and the 2003 ICOMOS General Assembly, held in Zimbabwe, was dedicated to intangible values of monuments and sites. The term intangible heritage also entered and rapidly spread in heritage scholarship. While journals are certainly not the beginning of the scientific discourse on the international level, as already mentioned before, many of the articles are linked to or base their understanding of intangible heritage on the UNESCO discourse. In World Heritage, the 1994 Nara Document was finally made official and the position of the intangible or associative dimension of Outstanding Universal Value was strengthened.

Since the mid-2000s, discussions have consolidated and new directions are opening up. The use of the terms intangible and intangible heritage has become part of the normal debate in all discourses. The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention entered into force in 2006. Three hundred fourteen Intangible Cultural Heritage elements have been included on the Representative List so far. In ICOMOS and World Heritage, conceptual discussions have declined. In ICOMOS, the 2008 General Assembly was dedicated to formulating an holistic theory of cultural heritage that considers the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage, using the concept of sense of place. No material was found on the International Committee on Intangible Cultural Heritage, created in 2005 to promote the conservation of intangible heritage. Also the idea to develop a charter specifically dedicated to the intangible heritage of monuments and sites remains intentional so far. In World Heritage, discussions have stagnated probably due to the politicization of the World Heritage Committee. Conceptual debates have moved to the work of the Advisory Bodies and other expert groups. An interest in assessing the credibility of the List and in developing nomination guidelines, however, has led to fully considering a holistic approach to cultural heritage in the Operational

Guidelines. Focus has shifted to use other terms linked to intangible heritage like associative value and attributes. In addition, new avenues are opening up, such as the question on how to periodically assess the complex and living interplay between the tangible and the intangible. In its context, the Committee has questioned ICOMOS' capacity to properly evaluate intangible heritage. Another area for possible change is the overlap created through UNESCO's intangible heritage initiative, which resulted in the blurring of concepts. This raises the question of how to deal with the two Conventions in the future. And finally, holistic theories of heritage continue to be formulated in the scientific discourse. With regard to the recent critical heritage movement, it has to be highlighted that intangible heritage has been used as a lever to promote alternative views on cultural heritage. Following the example of Korea and Japan in the early 1990s, African State Parties, Australia, and the Pacific region, with their spiritual sites that have little or no physical evidence, promoted intangible heritage and the anthropological approach, starting in the second half of the 1990s. While the Convention's implementation lacks coherence and questions still remain open, World Heritage has organically evolved to adapt to changing conditions and to incorporate the consciousness of the time and the people involved in terms of a new paradigm that considers the marginalized and formerly excluded.

6.1.2. Outstanding Universal Value, representative value, and the intangible nature of value

Two conceptual dimensions were determined for the understanding of intangible heritage. One refers to the observation that value is attributed by people and hence, relative or representative as well as relational and inherently immaterial. In the following, Outstanding

Universal Value is looked at in this regard. First, the ambiguous nature of World Heritage value is summarized, that is, the tension between the notions of universal and representative. Then, the overlap created through the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* is addressed. And finally, there is a brief examination of the degree to which Outstanding Universal Value is understood to be intangible.

The concept of Outstanding Universal Value has been ambiguous from the start. While some sites were considered to have intrinsic value, based on a Western conservation ethos, it was also acknowledged that value was attributed and thus, relative early on. Since the beginning, ‘universal’ was meant to be both internationally significant and representative of the different cultures of the world. A balance between universal and representative, that is, an objectification of value, was meant to be reached by means of comparative assessment. With the introduction and implementation of the Global Strategy, the idea of international or transnational importance came to mean the most outstanding examples of a theme in a region. The formal act of inscription by international consensus renders the property’s value then universally outstanding. With the introduction of the anthropological approach to cultural heritage, current local and formerly marginalized perspectives and values have been considered through inscription on the World Heritage List. Tongariro National Park and the Tombs of Buganda Kings at Kasubi in Uganda, included in 2001, are but two examples. While World Heritage value has thus become more and more representative, in accordance with the Global Strategy, the increasing representativeness has also been perceived as a challenge to the credibility of the List. The weakening of Outstanding Universal Value through the introduction of values other than global was officially acknowledged in a report in 2011. It can be noted, however, that Outstanding Universal Value has come to be a reflection of a global-local continuum as defined by a group of experts in 2003. World Heritage value thus reflects both a

positivist and constructivist approach to reality, and the paradoxical structure of value and reality as described by Connor. It is an expression of both the human desire for a universal, unconditional truth and the need to subject values to continuous reflection. The change in interpreting Outstanding Universal Value to consider present-day values and those reflecting the interaction between humans and their environment can moreover be linked to the shift that was demonstrated for value types in heritage literature. The recognition of social value was particularly important in this regard.

Since the late 1990s, not only criterion (vi) and the concept of cultural space, but also the increasing representativeness of Outstanding Universal Value and the idea of representative enshrined in the 2003 Convention and implemented in inscriptions to the Representative List created an overlap, which resulted in the blurring of concepts. The vineyard landscape and associated winemaking traditions of the Piedmont and the winemaking traditions and associated area on the island of Pantelleria exemplify this overlap. Both are located in Italy and were inscribed in the respective Lists in 2014. Next to the aesthetic quality of the Piedmont landscape, comparative assessment as a formal tool remains the main distinguishing feature for cultural World Heritage. With a move towards holistic approaches in both theory and practice, the question arises of how to go from here with the two instruments. Creating closer institutional links and merging the various UNESCO cultural conventions in order to profit from their synergy is but one possibility.

More recently, the notion of value has been looked at in relation to the criteria and the idea of attributes. The need for a more credible World Heritage List and clear guidelines on how to assess Outstanding Universal Value have led to respective considerations in the Advisory Bodies since the mid-2000s. While not explicitly acknowledging the intangible

character of value and hence, Outstanding Universal Value, the notion of value was perceived to refer to meaning, a theme, and the telling of a story.

6.1.3. Criteria, authenticity, and intangible attributes

The other conceptual dimension linked to the theorization of intangible heritage is that place is constituted of a tangible-intangible continuum in terms of attributes, such as the material evidence of buildings and living traditions. The introduction and implementation of the idea of attribute is linked to the discourses on the criteria to assess Outstanding Universal Value and the concept of authenticity. Criteria establish elements that carry Outstanding Universal Value and authenticity refers to information sources that contribute to the truthfulness of a site and its Outstanding Universal Value. The criteria have been mostly linked to the ideas of association and associative value, that is, the value of associations. Associative value has moved beyond an interpretation as historical associations in terms of associated historical events or symbolic and commemorative ideas to consider intangible heritage as cultural associations, such as traditions, music, traditional knowledge, religious beliefs and practices, but also spirit and feeling. In addition, it has been applied beyond criterion (vi) to other criteria over time. The authenticity discourse is particularly important for the introduction of the idea of attribute. It has only recently been fully implemented. It can be noted, moreover, that often inscriptions to the World Heritage List preceded the formalization of thoughts and concepts in the Operational Guidelines.

Based on the influence of the idea of historic monument and reading authors like Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc, and Riegl in a certain way, an intangible dimension was initially

recognized indirectly through the idea of historical association and the truthfulness of these associations. Criterion (vi) addressed historical associations and their values, that is, associative value. At the beginning, the criterion could stand alone and was thus given equal status compared to the other criteria. Eight out of eleven exceptional cases altogether, that is, inscriptions based solely on criterion (vi), originate from the period between 1978 and 1983. Early on, however, conceptual discussions led to its restriction in use. The nomination of Auschwitz in 1979, for example, had raised the fear of flooding the List using only the idea of historical association as selection criterion. This confirmed the supremacy of and need for enough tangible evidence on the site to justify Outstanding Universal Value. While the test of authenticity equally asked for the truthfulness of the material fabric, immaterial authenticity has also been recognized from the start in combination with the use of criterion (vi). The symbolic nature of reconstructions and their truthfulness, such as in the case of the Historic Centre of Warsaw in 1980 and Rila Monastery in 1983, were used to justify inscription on the List. From today's perspective, however, all criteria included an intangible dimension in terms of associated or underlying meanings, ideas, or knowledge from the start.

With the anthropological change in the first half of the 1990s, living, cultural associations and the close interaction between local people and place as well as the concept of information source or attribute and the intangible were recognized. The term living traditions was introduced in criterion (vi). The first inscription using the revised idea of associations was Tongariro National Park, which considered local traditions and beliefs associated with the natural environment. To date, no exceptional case in terms of cultural heritage exists with associated living traditions or traditional knowledge. All sites based on criterion (vi) alone address historical associations, making the mixed site of Tongariro National Park truly unique. With the discourses on the Global Strategy and cultural landscape concept, the human

component, landscape and living character of sites were also introduced in the wording of criteria (i) to (v). Thus, the living character of value types was established as mentioned previously. With Japan becoming signatory in 1992 and the increasing influence of the ICOMOS discourse, where ideas of intangible heritage had been closely linked to questions of authenticity since the late 1970s, discussions on a revised concept of authenticity entered the World Heritage discourse. In 1994, influenced by the Japanese perspective on cultural heritage and the importance of intangible heritage in terms of the living tradition of regularly dismantling wooden structures to conserve a site, authenticity was re-theorized. In the context of the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, the term intangible and the idea of tangible and intangible ‘information sources’ was introduced. While it took another ten years and the momentum created in the early 2000s to integrate the Nara Document into a revised test of authenticity, the new conception was implemented immediately through inscriptions on the World Heritage List. The process of replacing wooden structures of the Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area in Japan, included in 1993, for example, follows traditional techniques.

With the exploration of the anthropological approach in the second half of the 1990s and early 2000s, the theorization of cultural heritage as tangible-intangible continuum has increasingly been implemented through inscriptions on the World Heritage List. While only criterion (vi) officially acknowledges intangible associations of Outstanding Universal Value and was referred to as ‘the intangible criterion,’ with the implementation of changes in the subsequent ten years, the difference between criteria (i) to (v) and criterion (vi) has become blurred. Since the second half of the 1990s, the term intangible can be found in value statements other than criterion (vi). Criterion (iv) of Jongmyo Shrine in the Republic of Korea, inscribed in 1995, for example, recognizes that the ‘intangible cultural heritage’ in terms of traditional ritual practices enhances the importance of the shrine. Various interpretations of

intangible heritage were also considered through African cultural landscapes. A more systematic search of the List could complement these findings. While thus, intangible heritage has increasingly been strengthened within the context of identifying and protecting properties of Outstanding Universal Value, making World Heritage ever more representative, the World Heritage Committee remained reluctant with regard to the use of criterion (vi) alone. Only three sites have been inscribed after 1983, two of them in 2005 and 2006 after momentum had been created through the development and adoption of the 2003 Convention. As a consequence also the limiting amendment of criterion (vi) was opened. The changing history of criterion (vi) reflects the ambiguity and uncertainty of the Committee with regard to the role of intangible heritage within World Heritage. It may also be seen as a lack of understanding.

In the late 1990s, an attempt was made to conceptually set attributes carrying authenticity in relation to the criteria. The understanding of intangible heritage as attribute and carrier of value was however fully realized only in the early 2010s. In 1998, tangible and intangible attributes were identified for each criterion as carriers of a site's truthfulness. The proposal was abandoned in 2002, probably due to the fact that the Committee was concerned with other issues. Instead, the Nara Document was officially recognized and integrated in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines. Thus, intangible information sources or attributes were considered in the revised test of authenticity. These include traditions and techniques, spirit and feeling, language, and 'other forms of intangible heritage.' The exercise to set authenticity in relation to the criteria was taken up again and extended after 2005. A distinction between the notions of value, criteria, and attribute, which considers the complex and dynamic interplay between tangible and intangible attributes, their values and authenticity in a site, was fully acknowledged in a resource manual for preparing nominations and through revising the format of the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value in the Operational Guidelines in 2011.

In recent years, a need for further research and a new direction is opening up in terms of assessing the relationship between the tangible and the intangible. The nomination of the Darwin Landscape Laboratory in the United Kingdom had raised the question of the role of criterion (vi) again. In the context of ensuing debates and particularly the 2012 World Heritage expert meeting on criterion (vi) and associative values held in Warsaw, associative value was discussed with regard to all criteria. The experts confirmed that only with criterion (vi) the associations or attributes themselves and their link to the site needed to be of Outstanding Universal Value. Given the incoherent implementation in terms of inscriptions, which speaks of a continued lack of understanding, they also noted that further research was still needed with regard to associative values in all criteria. The Committee repeatedly questioned not only the assessment of the intangible dimension in nominations, but also ICOMOS' role with regard to evaluating intangible heritage. In the course of recent discussions on authenticity, the question of assessment was also taken up. The complexity of the tangible-intangible continuum and its authenticity in a nomination from India had raised the issue. In 2004, ten years after the 1994 Nara meeting, intangible heritage experts had considered authenticity not to be applicable to the intangible heritage, particularly as defined by the 2003 Convention. Yet again ten years later, the discourse on authenticity, happening outside of World Heritage so far, considers the truthfulness of the intangible dimension. The document *Nara+20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values, and the Concept of Authenticity*, summarizing the debate's results, highlights the importance of finding methods to assess the complex and dynamic relationship between the tangible and the intangible. While the paradigm shift has been implemented conceptually, a lack of understanding and methodological questions remain. The politicization of the World Heritage Committee and a weakening of the role of experts represent a challenge in this respect. To find problem-solving strategies that consider the new paradigm it might again be useful to look for synergies from various disciplines as well as other cultural heritage

instruments. Also a process of internalization similar to the one following the changes of the early 1990s might be useful to enhance the understanding of concepts, problems, and strategies as well as to create a platform for exchange and growth.

6.2. Contribution and limitations

The thesis contributes to the knowledge base in international cultural heritage conservation theory and practice in different ways. By revisiting and building on existing information from literature and by pushing knowledge further, the doctoral thesis aimed at making latent knowledge explicit. It developed a sound methodology and added to the understanding of the concept of intangible heritage in relation to the notions of tangible heritage, heritage value, and cultural heritage. The thesis represents one of the few contributions to analyzing the ICOMOS discourse. It did so in combination with revisiting the UNESCO and exploring parts of the scientific discourses. This provided a basis for looking for possible stimuli coming from these discourses. Ultimately, the research developed a comprehensive understanding of the consideration of intangible heritage in the context of World Cultural Heritage. It carefully documented the paradigm shift in the early 1990s. The thesis thus adds to the limited research that studies the overall implementation of the 1972 Convention. In addition, this thesis has to be understood as a contribution to shared comprehension. With the development of the 2003 Convention a divide became apparent among heritage professionals. Also the critical perspective on heritage studies took an extreme position. This thesis contributes to the current heritage debate by highlighting how the tangible and the intangible intersect within an instrument that was created in the spirit of the Western

conservation ethos and that has been viewed as part of a dominant heritage discourse. World Heritage is looked at in the context of a changing paradigm with intangible heritage being a case in point.

This work may be useful for researchers and practitioners alike. In fact, the thesis not only contributes to overcoming the tangible-intangible divide among heritage professionals, but may also serve as a knowledge base for identifying measures to adequately consider intangible heritage in the context of implementing the Convention. Titchen and Labadi identify a similar relevance for their respective research. Titchen states that “an understanding of the construction of ‘outstanding universal value’ seeks to explain inadequacies, strengths, innovations and opportunities for change.”¹ In highlighting the problems in States Parties’ implementation of the 1972 Convention, Labadi claims her research “has led to practical changes to official discourses on World Heritage and suggestions for procedural improvements.”² While this thesis is not concerned with formulating recommendations, it identifies possible avenues how the discourse might change in the future in light of the results. A better understanding of the tangible-intangible continuum in sites and its assessment with regard to Outstanding Universal Value, the criteria, and authenticity as well as in relation to the Intangible Cultural Heritage is needed. It might be useful to take advantage of closer institutional links and increased dialogue among the various UNESCO cultural conventions in order to profit from their synergy in a holistic way. Through a process of internalization worldwide, moreover, a platform of exchange could be created that involves practitioners and

¹ Sarah Titchen, “On the Construction of Outstanding Universal Value: Unesco’s World Heritage Convention (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the Identification and Assessment of Cultural Places for Inclusion in the World Heritage List” (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 1995), 5.

² Sophia Labadi, “Questioning the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: A Value-Based Analysis of Purposefully Sampled Nomination Dossiers” (PhD diss., University College London, 2005), 2.

scientists alike. With regard to ICOMOS, it might be useful to strengthen the role of intangible experts in its context.

Limitations are primarily linked to the broadness of the theoretical framework and the scope of the thesis. These factors made it impossible to go as far into depth as would have been useful at times. In addition, the complexity of the theory of intangible heritage and the ambiguous use of terms presented a challenge to remain coherent. Literature was moreover mostly limited to the anglophone field as well as heritage-related scholarship that directly addresses intangible heritage in relation to place. Limitations are due to the organic nature of the research, the process of learning and maturing. They provide however fertile ground for further research, which is presented in the following subchapter.

6.3. Further research

A variety of aspects may be investigated for further research. These include the influence of heritage scholarship and different disciplinary perspectives on the emergence and development of intangible heritage and/or the implementation of the concept of World Heritage before 2000 as well as an investigation of selected concepts related to intangible heritage. It might also be useful to look at how events of the early 2000s might have influenced disciplines like archaeology in recent years. Problem-solving strategies and methods to assess the tangible-intangible continuum could be found here. For World Heritage, further research could be historical follow-up in terms of looking into specific events and might include interviews with professionals in the field. Regional and/or national influences as

well as those of individuals may be another focus, such as the impact of Japanese national legislation on the international discourse on intangible heritage or the intersection between the notion of associative value in American law and international policy practice. Next to Asian as well as Pacific State Parties like Australia, the influence of African countries was important. Individual people, such as Dawson Munjeri from Zimbabwe, who was active across discourses, contributed considerably to the manifestation of an intangible heritage recognition. In-depth research of this kind would allow a full understand of the links between the phenomena that often involve the same protagonists and events. Another possibility is to study the influence of ICOMOS on the interpretation of concepts using World Heritage evaluations and examining how the organization has been dealing with assessing intangible heritage. The research may also be complemented by a systematic, qualitative and quantitative analysis of nomination dossiers and/or value statements using the same theoretical framework or aspects of it. By means of a statistical analysis, temporal and regional distribution patterns might be identified. More specific questions could involve how Outstanding Universal Value is justified for intangible heritage in terms of looking at comparative analyses or to what extent the authenticity of intangible heritage is manifested in value statements. Questions like these are practice-oriented and reflect aspects requiring further investigation that were identified by the 2012 *International World Heritage Expert Meeting on Criterion (vi) and Associative Values*.³ An understanding of the recognition of intangible heritage through the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and scientific research in general provide an important knowledge base for implementing the Convention in a coherent, objective, and well-informed way.

³ On a list of these aspects, see chapter 5.5.3.1.

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Appendix

Important markers and ideas of recognizing intangible heritage in the World Heritage, the ICOMOS, the UNESCO, and the scientific discourses

