

“When the Heritage Came”

World Heritage and local communities through the prism of Ironbridge Gorge

by

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Abstract

Exploring the role of local communities in the identification and subsequent management of World Heritage Sites (WHS) is particularly relevant, as it is not clear how to define local communities and how they can be included in the World Heritage process, which was initially designed for professionals.

This thesis adopts two concepts – cognitive ownership and Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) – as overarching frameworks in an attempt to address the gap in research on communities and World Heritage and to bring new knowledge to the field.

An overview of global representations of communities in the literature in the contexts of authenticity, integrity, management and OUV is complemented by a review of developments pertaining to the inclusion of communities within the World Heritage discourse, based on archival research at ICOMOS Paris, IUCN Gland, ICCROM Rome and on the study of World Heritage Centre decisions.

The thesis will proceed with an in-depth analysis of the implementation of the heritage process and World Heritage Convention (WHC) at the local level, with historical accounts and a review of archival documents outlining how the heritage process was initiated and has affected communities in the Ironbridge Gorge.

The aim of this research is two-fold. It explores global representations of communities through the prism of self-defined communities in Ironbridge Gorge. The application of the cognitive ownership model in identification of communities at the micro level bring new knowledge about the role of communities in the World Heritage process, both at the global and local level. The microcosm of Ironbridge gives an insight into how communities absorb, negotiate and transmit the concept of OUV.

The empirical research carried out at the site involved semi-structured interviews, survey, informal and formal observations. Archival research was conducted at ICOMOS Paris, IUCN in Gland and ICCROM in Rome. The study conceptualises a methodology for identifying local communities through the application of the concept of cognitive ownership. The research findings inform those tasked with the implementation of the WHC at site level, and national and international policy makers in particular, about the application of the provision of the fifth strategic objective of the convention: ‘C’ for communities.

In memory of Zofia Chimiak

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List of Abbreviations

ABS Advisory Bodies
GA General Assemblies
ICCROM International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS International Council on Monuments and Sites: Home
IGMT Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust
IUCN International Union for Conservation of Nature
MoU Memorandum of Understanding
OG The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention
OUV Outstanding Universal Value
PA Protected Areas
Severn Gorge Countryside Trust (SGCT)
SOUV Statement of Outstanding Universal Value
TICCIH The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage
WH World Heritage
WHC World Heritage Convention
WHL World Heritage list
WHS (s) World Heritage Site (Sites)
WHSMP- World Heritage Site Management Plan

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PREFACE

The idea of conducting a PhD on World Heritage and local communities was born in Poland while I was working for the national heritage agency. Various circumstances, political and personal, contributed to my decision to leave Poland for the second time to pursue this academic research in the UK, to explore concepts and ideas which need focused scholarly attention.

My interest in communities and the meanings they attach to their local places derives from my personal quest to understand that relationship. I was born in Poland in Gdynia, five decades after the city's foundation. In my teenage years in order to visit 'monuments' I travelled to neighbouring Gdansk, which boasts a history spanning over 1000 years. Neither of my parents had any personal links with the region I grew up in, and only later in life did I realise that being the first generation raised in my hometown affected the way I interacted and understood my local surroundings and their history. I lived in Poland through a period when history was presented as a national narrative rather than a local one, and it was taught from 'unified textbooks' until 1989, when my history as a Pole had to be adjusted to new political realities. I appreciate the opportunities I was given as a young woman growing up in Poland, as I was able to pursue my dream of becoming an archaeologist. This was only possible because my education was entirely subsidised by the state. My degree in Archaeology is very precious to me, as it opened doors and consequently led to this doctoral research.

Unlike my interest in communities, my concern with World Heritage stems from my professional experience. An internship at UNESCO Bangkok influenced my way of thinking about intergovernmental organisations and their impact on local communities in the so-called 'developing world'. However, the real impetus to combine the two themes

came from my direct experience working with the 1972 Convention. I was appointed Head of Heritage Policy at the National Heritage Board of Poland in 2012. My practical insight of the application of the convention within its different aspects came from assignments such as co-authoring and editing a nomination dossier, overseeing the preparation of a WHS management plan as well as retrospective statements of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV), and attending WH Committee meetings as part of a national delegation to the World Heritage Convention. These were my responsibilities amongst many other tasks which derive from the implementation of the Convention by a State Party. These direct experiences raised many questions which are addressed in this thesis. Thus, my professional and personal experience has determined the way I have collated and presented data in this thesis.

1. INTRODUCTION

World Heritage has become a global phenomenon with over a thousand sites now inscribed on the World Heritage List (WHL). State Parties to the Convention realised the potential of this UN programme, especially in terms of the soft power which it enables them to exercise (Meskell 2012, 2013, James and Winter 2017, Bertacchini et al. 2016). Millions of people live within WHSs or their immediate proximity and these communities can vary from those directly related to the original function of the site to those who do not hold this direct relationship, but are attached to such places in different ways. Since its inception, the World Heritage system has been evolving and adapting to changing socio-political demands and responding to changing political pressures, which relate not only to conservation issues but also to the inclusion of non-experts in the process of identification and management of World Heritage sites (WHSs). It was not until the 1990s that the focus shifted from the international community to local communities, as the latter had been increasingly portrayed as the guardians of WHSs. This shift brought about an ambiguous relationship between those who traditionally had the authority to define OUV and its attributes and those who were directly related to the original function of cultural places. In the case of indigenous peoples, who actually precipitated the inclusion of communities into the World Heritage system, their role has been regulated by international laws based on their rights to their lands. Those legal land rights were translated into intellectual and conceptual claims in the World Heritage system. There has been considerable research into the role of indigenous peoples in the World Heritage process, and the policy chapter demonstrates that. However, the dearth of research on how local communities who are not indigenous peoples are defined indicates that their incorporation in international, and

consequently national and local, policies reflects lip service rather than their meaningful inclusion.

There is also very little research that contributes to our knowledge of the relationship different communities develop with WHSs. This applies to heritage communities created through scholarship and the World Heritage process as well as to those that have direct links with a cultural place. This thesis is concerned with how those different relationships affect the way OUV is understood, absorbed, negotiated and transmitted. Two overarching concepts pertaining to the notion of local communities and World Heritage are disentangled and scrutinised at both macro and micro level. The frame of reference for unpicking the concept of World Heritage is the Statement of OUV, which is based on the notion of authenticity, integrity, management and universal value itself. In order to understand how the provisions concerning inclusion of local communities in the World Heritage system are applied, or can be potentially applied by those with authority to manage WHSs, this thesis seeks to build on earlier studies in the heritage discourse which have never been comprehensively examined in relation to communities and World Heritage. Through the case of Ironbridge, I try to disentangle arbitrary terms concerning communities and local communities. For this purpose, I use the cognitive ownership approach for the identification of local communities and the meanings they assign to a WHS. This thesis investigates the relationship between how cognitive ownership determines the way meanings assigned in OUV are absorbed, negotiated and transmitted by different communities. It also looks at whether communities can be active participants in the World Heritage process, as envisioned in both policy and doctrinal documents reviewed in chapter three in the context of research, governance, interpretation of sites and powers deriving from legal ownership. Cognitive ownership when applied to WHSs determines why and how transmission of OUV does or does not takes place. Through

understanding those relationships, issues concerning the management of WHSs and the role of local communities within them are addressed, as well as greater questions about the role of cultural places in the integration of local communities. The research programme designed for this PhD also aims to explain how, through the medium of cultural and immaterial attributes, intellectual boundaries are created amongst original and incoming communities and how the process of universalisation of heritage excludes and includes certain communities in World Heritage narratives. Most recent World Heritage policy documents (UNESCO 2011d, UNESCO 2017) present communities as an intrinsic part of the World Heritage process, from their identification and interpretation to their actual governance and management. This research scrutinises whether the World Heritage programme lives up to its aspirations.

The overarching research question addressed in this thesis is whether communities can contribute to the construction of statements of OUV and take an active part in the World Heritage process.

Subsidiary research questions are:

- 1) Identification of communities through the concept of cognitive ownership;
- 2) What powers communities are allowed in the World Heritage system;
- 3) World Heritage through the lens of local communities in the Ironbridge Gorge;
- 4) How the differing interests between the existing diversity of identities linked to heritage can create dissonance in contemporary local communities and what impact that has on the transmission of its meanings;

1.1 The research context: communities and local communities in World Heritage

The World Heritage programme has been gaining increasing attention in the academic discourse as well as in policy (Cameron and Rössler, 2013). Its popularity can be seen not only in the growing number of visitors to WHSs but also in the number of research centres which study and teach postgraduate courses on the subject. Thus, a concept exclusive to the privileged few - experts and government officials – has rising popularity. Consequently, a global phenomenon has created a global community with particular attachments to those sites (Di Giovine 2009). Communities who manifest themselves as non-State actors (UNESCO 2007b, 2) are approached in the growing body of literature as those subjected to the authority of experts (Smith 2006), those empowered in the heritage process (Jameson 2013, 2014, 2016) or as those who hold power in conservation decisions and the formulation of research questions, as well as in interpretation and governance of heritage sites (Schmidt 2014, Atalay 2006) and World Heritage Sites (see chapter three).

Despite examples where communities can decide how their past is interpreted and governed as opposed to those who are passive recipients of heritage programmes, the critical heritage discourse predominantly depicts communities as those who struggle with expert authority. There are also numerous ‘good practice’ case studies, with examples of the meaningful inclusion of local communities in the conservation, research and interpretation of their heritage. Those are often presented in isolation and the theme of local communities has never been comprehensively studied to scrutinise their global and local representations. In heritage conservation, an anthropological approach brought relativity which departed from the universalising way of understanding objects, structures and places through the prism of artistic and historical value. Social value was introduced in World Heritage discourse with a change in the management model of WHSs from

exclusive power held by experts to value-based management based on the stakeholder approach (de la Torre 2002). Since social value is defined in the literature as place attachment (Mason 2002), it is not clear whether it is the main value (alongside spiritual and symbolic values) which communities can bring to the World Heritage process and what weight social value, traditionally linked to relativity, will have with the well-established Western canons of artistic and historical significance. Global representations of communities are often problematised in relation to heritage sites from the perspectives of indigenous, diaspora or descendant communities. Those groups and their interests are often characterised by the use of binary opposites to evidence-based interpretation by heritage experts.

Although descendant communities and indigenous peoples are often also local communities, a review of the literature indicates that the term ‘local communities’ was introduced in the World Heritage discourse to differentiate communities who live within a cultural site or in its proximity from those who have direct – evidenced, personal connections with such sites. I contextualise existing global representations of communities into the case study of Ironbridge WHS to address the absence of knowledge about what constitutes a local community and how we define it. How do local communities interact with a WHS through their cognitive ownership? What lessons can we learn from global representations of communities in understanding diverse compositions of local communities in relation to the transmission of OUV?

1.2 Theoretical goals and practical goals

The goals of this research are both practical and theoretical, and these are reflected in research questions which address a logical evolution of critical assessment of

representations of different communities within heritage and the World Heritage process. The reason why the subject of identification of local communities has not been addressed in a more concrete manner is because it has been argued by scholars that there are no fixed rules for identifying communities (McGhee 2012, 216), as they are portrayed as fluid, and that “no community is itself homogeneous and self-referential” (Smith and Waterton 2009, 53). However, through speculative accounts, academics, and indeed practitioners, often contradict themselves and consequently create a binary: us (heritage experts) and them - indigenous communities, non-indigenous communities, diasporas, descendants, locals, core communities, the general public - which are then discussed as well-defined rather than fluid groups.

This theoretical inconsistency is evident across the field as well as in independent scholarly contributions. Smith and Waterton make the claim that no community is self-referential, and yet in the same publication they clearly consider archaeologists as a defined group (Smith and Waterton 2009, 53). Indeed, this theoretical divergence in defining communities (Doeser 2011, 517) impedes our understanding of the role of communities in the heritage process and disharmonises existing expertise on the subject.

One of the main objectives of this thesis is to address the inconsistency in the heritage literature relating to the definition of local communities and to generate new knowledge and understanding which will feed into the conceptual framework of how to address the complexity of local communities using the concept of cognitive ownership rather than the stakeholder model. Research based on fieldwork brings an assessment of how communities are engaged with the WHS and its concepts in a case where they were not included in the identification and nomination of the World Heritage property (according to provision 12 of

The OG for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (OG)) (UNESCO 2017).

Despite considerable scrutiny of the theme of communities in heritage, the main tendency in many publications (discussed in chapter three) is to deal with isolated cases that relate to community archaeology projects, community-based research, communities as descendants, diaspora or indigenous peoples and their role in heritage conservation, archaeology and World Heritage management. Although these publications have brought new understandings, at the same time they have also exposed how much more there is to learn about the role of communities in the World Heritage process more generally.

Traditional communities and indigenous peoples have been subjected to considerable scrutiny by academics and policy makers from various disciplines, and yet, there is a lack of empirical evidence on what inclusion of local communities in the World Heritage system means on a practical level in Western societies, where heritage is managed on the assumption of cultural discontinuation between local people and cultural places. There is a pressing need to address whether the current World Heritage system, conceptually and practically, allows meaningful inclusion of local communities. What does it mean when we talk about local communities in the World Heritage context?

This thesis will endeavour to build on the foundations provided by an in-depth analysis of the academic literature and archival data relating to relevant developments within advisory bodies to the Convention, and by my professional understanding of the World Heritage system to create a research programme which will provide a theoretical contribution to the field. There are three characteristics of this study that will ensure that it has the intended focus. The first feature is that it utilises the concept of cognitive ownership (identification of local communities), the second is the concept of OUV (World Heritage), and the third is

that it focuses on a specific location of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS, UK which is contrasted with global representations of communities from the non-Western world.

To date there has been very little research that comprehensively scrutinises the role of local communities in the Western heritage protection system, and in particular in the World Heritage process. The cognitive ownership concept has never been applied in the context of identification of local communities, nor has an inclusive comparison of representation of local communities in the context of World Heritage ever been made with global representations of communities. The benefit of my research programme is that it disentangles the generic term of local communities from indigenous peoples, descendant and diaspora communities. This approach enables triangulation of findings from the empirical research with international developments in the World Heritage process, thus providing a fruitful way of understanding the role of communities regardless of their geo-historical context.

Secondly, communities and local communities are contextualized within the theoretical frameworks of the World Heritage discourse and terms associated with values, OUV, authenticity and management. Those themes are presented and analysed throughout the academic literature and policy review and in the empirical research.

There has been a considerable number of research projects on community archaeology and community-led research in England, however, no comprehensive research has been conducted on communities and World Heritage. The majority of research on communities, indigenous peoples, descendants and diaspora has been conducted elsewhere. American and Australian academics have made a significant contribution to the field. Despite the fact that it may be possible to broadly apply the findings from international research in the UK, research that takes into account the particular cultural and social features of a

quintessentially Western society inhabiting “the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution” is particularly appealing. The research programme presented in this thesis is intentionally structured to move attention away from the critique of the incompatibility of the Western system of heritage protection with non-Western societies to instead focus on how the World Heritage system is applied in Western societies, thus adding to the existing body of research discussed in this thesis. Findings from this study deepen our theoretical understanding and knowledge of how local communities engage with a World Heritage Site and how they engage with heritage generally. The contribution of this research can be applied directly for some practical goals to be realised.

1.3 Practical Goals

The scope of this thesis is to generate new knowledge, bring greater understanding to the field and provide a foundation for development of new practical solutions based on evidence drawn from the empirical research on the role of local communities in the World Heritage process. This new knowledge will provide the background to suggestions on practical applications of the findings. As argued in the previous section of this chapter, through understanding how communities identify themselves in relation to a WHS important new research questions open up. They relate to better understanding of the role of descendant communities in the World Heritage process and better understanding of how the current system can be adjusted to truly reflect the input of local communities with and without direct relationships with WHSs. The World Heritage concept has infiltrated heritage practice in many parts of the world, therefore focused research into the actual input of local communities in the World Heritage process and application of the cognitive

approach can inform the basis of the development of practical methods for incorporating meanings attached to those sites by self-defined local communities and their particular role in the identification and management of their heritage.

Although it is clear that the theme of communities is complex, this does not lessen the need to develop new approaches to study whether the dissonance created by heritage experts concerning local value and universal value can be bridged. The research will hopefully provide an insight into how to approach different cognitive owners in the management of WHSs. It is anticipated that the cognitive approach will provide the conceptual underpinnings of a general framework for understanding how the inclusion of local communities within the World Heritage process can be operationalised.

1.4 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis has been divided into nine chapters, each starting with a short introduction and a summary which guides the reader through the narrative-supported discussion of the main findings and conclusions. Chapter two introduces theoretical frameworks, such as cognitive ownership, the concept of OUV, including authenticity and management, and a review of global representations of communities, including indigenous, descendant, diaspora and core communities. Through the application of existing knowledge this research brings numerous insights into the discussion on communities and World Heritage, and thus new intellectual understanding of the potential transmission of OUV by different communities.

Chapter three investigates the context of the study in the international, doctrinal, training and policy realms. It is structured chronologically to investigate parallel developments taking place within World Heritage through a review of WH Committee meetings and a systematic review of developments within the advisory bodies to the Convention: ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM. Data collected during archival research provides the evidential basis for historical developments explaining the political circumstances that changed the conceptualisation of the role of communities and their role in the World Heritage process. Discussions concerning communities within heritage doctrinal texts, training programmes, management strategies and policies are expanded by a review of more general representations of communities considered to be distinctive in the heritage literature.

The setting where the research is based is the Ironbridge Gorge WHS. This location is a reference point when it comes to the identification of local communities. The Ironbridge Gorge WHS can be studied from many angles; however, in this thesis Ironbridge is researched and presented as a case study from a particular angle outlined in the methodological approach in chapter four. The studied case is contained within the boundaries of the setting of the World Heritage inscription zone. Empirical data collection at the site was preceded by background research concerning the implementation of conservation rules and the WHC in the Ironbridge Gorge WHS.

Findings from the analysis of the empirical research are presented in three separate chapters. Chapter seven deals with the concepts surrounding identification of local communities. Chapter eight is concerned with cognitive landscapes and the physical as well as immaterial attributes of particular importance to local communities. These are contrasted with places and narratives communicated in the Statement of OUV. Chapter eight discusses intrinsic concepts in the World Heritage process, namely authenticity and

management. Findings from the fieldwork in Ironbridge are discussed in the context of academic literature and developments within the World Heritage discourse and they are presented in chapter nine.

1.5 Summary

This introductory chapter has set out the research questions. It then moved on to a presentation of the relationship between local communities and World Heritage by introducing two main research frameworks: OUV and cognitive ownership. Early on, a difference between indigenous peoples and local communities was described. Next, the chapter outlined research context and within it different representations of local communities within policies and academic discourse. The overall aim of the thesis is to generate new knowledge by which to address problems pertaining to inclusion of local communities in the World Heritage process.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW CHAPTER

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the research literature on what constitutes a local community and how their interests in heritage are represented in the academic discourse. It assesses the place of ‘communities’ in the wider academic discourse grounded in social sciences, anthropology, and archaeology. The aim of this chapter is to review the representation of communities in the heritage discourse as perceived by scholars in the field of cultural heritage and present how different communities through their associations with heritage influence the way heritage is identified, researched and managed. Those representations are confined within the themes of the heritage protection process embodied in the WHC, which includes authenticity and management. There are two distinctive realms in which the heritage system operates. It is set within the legal heritage protection framework concerning structures and elements identified by professionals as heritage. This system was conceived to serve a national community of a Nation State often referred to in the literature by the generic term ‘the wider society’ or ‘the general public’. The aim of such a heritage system where monuments undergo ever changing historical associations is depicted in the context of nationalism (Anderson 1983, 4, Lowenthal 1985), governmentality (Smith 2006, Waterton and Smith 2009), and heritage-scape (Di Giovine 2009); but regardless of its contexts, the ultimate aim is to provide citizens with a sense of common narrative, hence a sense of belonging to a nation or a globalised world. The other realm relates to communities and their associations with a local environment regardless of their heritage status. Those relationships are fluid and relate to personal direct encounters with one’s surroundings.

This literature review chapter sets a theoretical framework for establishing the relationship between two concepts – World Heritage and local communities. In the first part I focus on how we define local communities in both local and global contexts, after which I explore the realm of value formation conceptualised in the academic and professional sphere. In the second part of this chapter I discuss the concept of community and community representations in the academic discourse.

2.2 Assignment of values

Professionals trained in heritage preservation, such as archaeologists, art historians and architects, determine heritage significance within their ever-expanding disciplinary framework. In the WHC, values are defined by specific criteria through a comparative analysis and are expressed by their attributes and qualified by their authenticity and integrity (Turner and Tomer 2013, 193). The values ascribed by law have been related to physical components of heritage as a medium of ascribed values. In the case of the WHC these components will form parts of monuments, groups of buildings and sites (UNESCO 1972) and cultural landscapes (UNESCO 1994b). The WHC is based on the premise that value is intrinsic or inherent to a site, and this is demonstrated in the physical and intangible attributes of that site which have to be researched in order to be understood and appreciated by contemporary heritage professionals. Although this logic has been criticised as flawed (Byrne 2008, 160) it is an essential element of heritage legislations found around the world (Carman 2015).

The realm of values in the heritage discourse is a very broad area of research and its analysis can have a cultural or economic tendency. In-depth analysis of the subject has been carried out by Lipe (1984), Appadurai (1986), Carman (1996, 2002), Throsby (2001),

Mason (2002), Klamer (1996, 2014) and Greffe (1990), to name but a few. There are also published doctoral theses on the WHC by Labadi (2005) and Rudolff (2010). Each of these works has a chapter dedicated to the analysis of values in the World Heritage process. A wider philosophical analysis of the concept of value is beyond the scope of this text. I use the framework of values as identified in the Convention as the backdrop against which the findings from my analysis will be compared.

In the World Heritage system cultural heritage monuments and groups of buildings are identified for their OUV and included on the WHL from the point of view of history, art or science, and sites have to represent value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (UNESCO 1972§1). The heritage value in the case of a cultural World Heritage property derives from the authority of cultural experts supported by law and official agencies, which requires a high level of scholarly and technical expertise (ICOMOS 2008).

As explained in chapter three, the executive power is within the central heritage institutions which disseminate the final versions of statements of OUV on behalf of Government. This, of course, does not mean that it is always university-trained professionals who assign values within the heritage process. Later in this chapter I will demonstrate how non-professional interests have been represented in the academic literature. I would like to look in greater detail at this conflicting logic in the heritage preservation system based on the formal valuation of places in the heritage process and fluidity and relativity of value formation.

The concept of governmentality introduced by Foucault comprehends the state itself as a dynamic and contingent form of societal power relations which are regulated by “the general tactics of governmentality” (Foucault 1991, 103). Such tactics regulate, for example, what is within the competence of the state and what is not. The public versus the

private governmentality as a framework was applied in the work of Smith (2004, 68-74) in the context of the Authorised Heritage Discourse. Heritage protection is regulated by the state tasked with the protection of objects and places recognised to be of national importance. There is no time limit on how long they will remain on state registers. This is because the system is based on the assumption that the values assigned to them are timeless. The idea that objects do not have inherent values was put forward by Michael Thompson in the Rubbish Theory (Thompson 1979). Thompson argued that value is assigned to objects and places according to specific temporal and cultural contexts. Only through strictly maintaining this cultural boundary can one believe that the value of an object is defined by intrinsic physical properties. However, once we cross cultural boundaries what is considered of value or of no value can change according to social pressures (Thompson 1979, 11-12). Thompson distinguishes two categories into which objects fall: from the transient to the durable realm via the state of no value “rubbish” (Thompson 1979, 9). Objects fall into the durable category often due to scholarship and research, which can consequently change people’s perception of their value. This in turn can influence their commercial viability (Thompson 1979, 19). According to Thompson, the durable category is often accompanied by an increasing aesthetic and economic value (Thompson 1979, 32). Thus, values will vary not only according to different societies or communities, but the same object or an old place can have different meanings in the same society. Thomson gives an example where housing can be regarded as unsatisfactory accommodation for working-class tenants due to lack of modern standards, but when occupied by members of the middle class the very same building will constitute an old building rather than a slum (Thompson 1979, 35). A similar approach can be observed in indigenous cultures which reuse the same object with a new meaning. Byrne criticises the

formal heritage system for failing to acknowledge that the significance of a site can be updated (Byrne 2008).

The post-processual paradigm based on the premise that there is no single truth and reality is created by people who interpret it became influential in archaeology in the United Kingdom in the 1970s and early 1980s, pioneered by archaeologists such as Hodder (2003), Miller and Tilley (1984), who emphasized the subjectivity of archaeological interpretations. Hence if we apply this interpretative approach to the study of the past, value is never an inherent property of objects but is a judgement made about them by people (Lipe 1984, Carman 1996 and Mason 2002, Di Giovine 2009, 69).

How exactly values are constructed in the bureaucratic heritage process has also been demonstrated by Carman in his contribution on values in the context of law. He takes the Rubbish Theory further in its application in his detailed analysis of how the application of law can change and transform the status of archaeological remains in the public domain.

He demonstrates that the process of formal value formation is a three-stage process consisting of selection, categorization and, finally, valuation. The category in which an item is placed determines its value (Carman 1996, 149-165). What is clear from discussion is that the law provides no means to measure the value of the components of the heritage in question; however, applying the process of law to any material results in the ascription of a specific value to that material. The ascription of a specific kind and quantity of value to components of the archaeological heritage is the third and final stage in the application of law, which serves to transform archaeological material by promoting it in the public domain (Carman 1996, 149).

Carman contends that this formal categorisation of an object under the law influences its use and the value placed upon it. The two fields of value ascription – ‘amenity’ and

‘science’ – relate closely to the purposes to which the material is to be put. Amenity values relate to use now, while scientific values relate to current preservation (Carman 1996, 148). In this process, Carman describes the identification of values which are put on things by heritage professionals on the basis of significance and identified interests which correspond with the state’s legal requirements. Historic remains thus become a public good, and from the official point of view the state will attend to the preservation of physical attributes which correspond with the values outlined in the process. In this official process regulated by law, the concept of authenticity and integrity of physical fabric is of utmost importance.

These processes of ‘state driven’ categorisation of places of historical importance at a national level are also similarly at play in the World Heritage process, with some differences. Di Giovine describes the practice of nomination to become a WHS as a ‘ritual’ performed by numerous stakeholders (Di Giovine 2009, 69-117). When monuments and objects identified through the formal system mentioned above enter the category of World Heritage their meanings will be enriched by a narrative representing meanings attached by those proposing inscription (Di Giovine 2009, 68). The desired consequence of the inscription to the WHL is to create “peace in the minds of men” (UNESCO 1945). Di Giovine calls this re-appropriation of places in order to create a network of properties of OUV which instigate a worldwide imagined community: the heritage-scape (Di Giovine 2009, 67)

2.3 On the concept of OUV

The universalist concept has its roots in the 19th century, in the Enlightenment period, and is based on the premise that reason and science can be applied to any and every situation and that their principles are the same in every situation (Hamilton 1992, 21). As Cleere argues, the notion of the concept which is used in the Convention is “rooted in the European cultural tradition, combining historical and aesthetic parameters that derive from classical philosophy” (Cleere 2001, 24).

The construction of OUV is closely linked to the idea of creating common narratives between different cultures, where emphasis is placed on commonalities between cultures rather than differences between them (Cleere 2001, Smith 2004, Labadi 2005). This concept is reflected in the processual paradigm, which can be measured by applying scientific methods prevailing at the time when UNESCO was established (Logan 2007). Smith (2004) links universality of value to processual theory founded on the basis of logical positivism. She explains the influence of scholars such as Binford (1983), who employed a scientific approach derived from the natural sciences in archaeological discourse in order to “explain universal cultural ‘processes’” (Smith 2004). This theoretical perspective led to the idea of the universality of knowledge, produced by scholars in disciplines such as archaeology, which claimed that the meanings which are put on remains from the past by those who study them are objective and relevant because they are based on scientific methods and evidence (Binford 1983, Smith 2004). Binford asserts that only through intellectual quest can we learn how “material things came into being, about how they have been modified, and about how they acquired the characteristics we see today” (Binford 1983, 19).

The idea of universal importance was already embodied in the legislative text of Article 8 of the Hague Convention (UNESCO 1954), but despite existing legal provisions legitimising the concept of universal value, a UNESCO expert meeting in 1968 raised the issue of defining the “universal value” of the world’s cultural heritage, which was expected to derive from national heritage (UNESCO 1968, 19). Within the World Heritage system, the idea of universality was challenged right from the outset, as it was not clear what it meant and how the heritage of one culture can be equally important to all people in the world. Hence the term “universal” was interpreted as referring to a property which is highly representative of the culture of which it forms a part (UNESCO 1977). Interestingly, the concept of OUV was designed to be used as a tool to spread universal ideas across different cultures. So, confusingly, on the one hand members of the Advisory Body ICOMOS were supporting the idea of universal value and at the same time rejecting the very notion of universality of one culture.

Proponents of the European notion of universality expounded their views in the World Heritage debate. A Eurocentric perspective which claimed that the classical ideal from which Western civilisation developed is symbolically depicted in the UNESCO logo, can serve as an example (Tomaszewski 2002, 213). A dissonance between what constitutes universal value and what does not is omnipresent in the World Heritage discourse. This view was contested when ICOMOS experts confirmed that occidental philosophy does not hold universal value (ICOMOS, 1996, 141). Titchen, in her unpublished PhD thesis on the Construction of the OUV, presents in great detail the elitist origins and the historical development of this concept (Titchen 1995). To give an example, OUV was originally associated with places or monuments which were initially considered to meet the criteria of:

Historic and artistic groups and areas or "urban sites". These consist of groups of buildings offering an architectural character or environment which makes their protection desirable. Such areas may include monuments of the highest quality surrounded by more modest buildings which together give a particular character to the urban fabric. (b) Natural sites of aesthetic, picturesque or ethnographic value (UNESCO 1968, 21).

The concept of statements of significance, and indeed OUV, encourages balancing the relative value of one type against another, thus not giving them equal status. Therefore the very existence of the idea of significance assessment presumes that not all cultural heritage is of equal value (Dunnell 1984, 65). Cleere calls the problem of interpreting 'universality' particularly acute in relation to cultural landscapes, vernacular architecture and industrial heritage. He struggles to acknowledge that traditional settlements can be recognised as being of universal value:

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. There is no traditional way of life that may be deemed to be universal in the modern world: tradition is by definition regional, national or local rather than universal (Cleere, 1996, 229).

He concludes with a discussion of understanding the notion of 'universal' as relative rather than absolute (Cleere, 1996, 229). This relative understanding of universality is based on agreement between decision makers: the WH Committee (Cameron and Rössler 2013, 33). The WH Committee works within the frameworks of relatively fixed and unchanging definitions of cultural and natural heritage (Titchen 1995, 74) which have been offset by

the changing/expanding criteria in the Operational Guidelines (OG) (Cameron and Rössler 2013). Although OUV as a term has never been defined in the text of the Convention (Cameron 2009, 71; Cleere 1996, 228; Cleere 2001, 23), is defined in the OG (UNESCO 2017 art. 49). How the notion of OUV is understood changes according to the changing nature of the Committee and is personality variable.. As discussed in chapter three, the Committee has always been a political entity, often poorly representing regional interests and imbued with a politically driven agenda (Meskell 2013, Bertacchini et al. 2016).

So, in fact, the concept of what is of OUV, and indeed the understanding of OUV, has been evolving since the inception of the Convention, and it has been politically biased. This state of affairs contributes to our continuous difficulty in understanding the concept and how to operationalise it (Cleere, 2001, 24, Cameron and Rössler and 2013).

Nevertheless, every year new sites presented as of universal significance are being added to the WHL, and the notion that meanings presented in the SOUV transcend national borders distinguishes them in the field of cultural heritage management (Titchen 1995, 98).

The Advisory Bodies tasked with assessing whether sites meet the criteria to be classified as World Heritage, not only “encouraged the Committee to interpret the word ‘universal’ in a nuanced way” (Rössler and Cameron 2013, 29) but also debated conceptual and operational application of the OUV (ICOMOS 2008, Cameron 2009). There are also some ethical concerns with the practical application of universal value, and Smith points out some of those undesirable consequences. She uses an example of Sami culture which has been appropriated by the mainstream Norwegian nationalising narrative about prehistory (Smith 2009, 87). Thus the actual consequences of pursuing a universalising rationale can be exclusive and “marginalise the experiences of communities or groups, experiences that may need acknowledgment as part of political struggles for recognition and social justice” (Smith 2009, 87). In a similar context Labadi raises the issue of whether OUV has been

used to marginalize minorities and impose the “expert” opinion on the wider population (Labadi 2005, 78). Logan presents the aforementioned issue of cultural minorities in the context of human rights, which are often not respected by the WH Committee (Logan 2012, 241). Logan describes “the thorny conflict” between the two realms operating within the World Heritage process which inevitably influence who defines OUV: universalism and cultural relativism represent respectively modern and post-modern conceptions of the world. He points towards numerous legal documents issued by UNESCO which carry this contradiction of globalizing narratives and cultural relativity through diversity (Logan 2007).

2.4 Social value

I am not deliberating abstract and wishful application of the WHC, but am actually scrutinizing the existing system which is being implemented by the Intergovernmental Committee. Although the World Heritage process recently entered a new stage, in which governments are encouraged to include local communities and indigenous peoples in the identification of their heritage, the definition of heritage in the Convention puts certain limitations on what can be considered to have qualities of OUV. In this chapter I use an anthropological approach as defined by Mason (2002). The attractiveness of Mason’s value methodology lies in its departure from the traditional art history view taken by conservation professionals based on artistic and historical value. Another reason for employing anthropological methodology is that this research is focused on people and their representation in the academic and World Heritage discourse. Hence, I am looking for sources of value inscription which do not derive from expert knowledge of university - trained professionals but self-defined communities. Mason asserts that sources of heritage

value can derive from the community and other cultural groups, the market, the state, conservators, other experts and property owners (Mason 2002, 21). In the proposed typology of value he advocates for assessment of all the values in the heritage management process and identifies social value as ‘place attachment’, clarifying that: “Place attachment refers to the social cohesion, community identity or other feelings” (ibid).

From the outset, this raises the question of how feasible it is to develop a methodology which will include all the values in the management structure and will provide measures for their guardianship. Acknowledging social value in heritage statements of significance has been practised by some of the State Parties to the Convention for a number of years. Australia, for example, developed a national heritage standard based on the Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1979, updated 2013), which specifically deals with the inclusion of this value:

Groups and individuals with associations with the place as well as those involved in its management should be provided with opportunities to contribute to and participate in identifying and understanding the cultural significance of the place. Where appropriate they should also have opportunities to participate in its conservation and management (ibid).

Truscott’s research on the Tent Embassy in Canberra, Australia, critically assesses the representation of social values in the context of two contrasting structures, both recognised as heritage sites: the Tent Embassy and the Parliament House Vista. The former (which is located within the latter) is described as an important national meeting ground for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from many different communities. The Parliament House Vista’s social importance is in being a symbol of Australian Government and at the same time is also used as a space for demonstrations against government decisions (Truscott 2005). Truscott argues that management authorities privilege formal

design over social values, using this case to illustrate that political decisions contravene the application of the Burra Charter process in this particular case study (Truscott 2005).

In order for social value to be represented and taken into consideration by management authorities there need to be incentives for multiculturalism (Jameson 2016) and tolerance. But this is not always the case; numerous examples indicate that human rights considerations are not always respected in the World Heritage process (Logan 2012, Larsen and Buckley 2018).

From the conceptual perspective it is not clear how statements of OUV, grounded in the cultural and temporal understandings of things, can reflect ever changing social value assigned to different places by concerned communities, while focusing on ‘freezing’ the significant parts of heritage. As much as social values evolve, formal regimes of value formulation also change and they will reflect the different significance of the ‘frozen’ (Witcomb 2012, 68) physical attributes of the OUV. Different values derive from particular contexts of use and also depend on who is valuing heritage and how those values assigned to heritage represent the ‘outsider’ valuing systems (Lipe 1984, 3), which depends on specific cultural frameworks. Shared associations create a narrative which bonds individuals into a community, a society. The heritage literature often contextualises non-expert communities as disempowered recipients of knowledge derived from scholarship or passive recipients of top-down heritage related activities. This is in contrast to heritage experts who not only ‘govern’ cultural and social values, meanings and associations, but in effect manage and define people’s heritage experiences through the management process (Smith 2006, 2). By this assertion we rehearse the idea that the preservation system has been forced on different communities (Byrne 2008, 163).

What is not clear is why social value is often associated with individuals and groups of people who are not professionally trained in heritage valuation. Can communities be

allowed to assign historical value, aesthetic value or any other value assigned traditionally by professionally trained individuals? Logan and Nguyen’s work on war-related sites in Asia-Dien Bien Phu and Long Tan in Vietnam, the Thai-Burma Railway and Gapyong in Korea shows that it was the people involved in the events who first articulated the significance of the sites and started the process of memorialisation, with governments later being drawn into the heritage process (Logan and Nguyen 2012, Logan 2012, 236).

Regardless of whether heritagisation is a grass-roots endeavour or is imposed on local communities, once it enters the formal realm of heritage protection, due to purely bureaucratic reasons it conforms to procedures which Boyd summarised in the points below:

- (i) the cultural place is defined by reference to one cultural and often ethnic group, who claims or is attributed sole proprietary rights over cultural capital of the place;
- (ii) the place is identified in terms of a static history fossilizing meanings to a few single points in time; and
- (iii) the place is defined by its immediate surroundings (often pragmatically in land-tenure terms and physical fencing as an individual point unrelated to its landscape context (Boyd et al. 2005, 92).

Historical value	Cultural/symbolic value	Social Value	Spiritual/religious value	Aesthetic value
Educational, academic value, through archaeology (potential to gain knowledge about the past)	History and heritage are core elements of all cultures. Ideas, materials, and habits passed down through time. Shared meanings associated with heritage that are not strictly speaking historic.	Social values enable social connections, networks and other relations in a broad sense.	Can also encompass secular experiences of wonder which can be provoked by visits to heritage places.	Refers to visual qualities of heritage. This value contributes to our wellbeing.

Table 1. Mason’s (2002, 10) categorisation of values.

What this section on value formation demonstrated is that the same place or object can have different meanings for different people regardless of whether they live in the same or different cultural contexts. Later in this chapter I will discuss values identified by communities and whether they are ever likely to gain equal footing to those assigned by experts. I will also interrogate the dichotomy between non-expert and expert-assigned values and discuss what this means.

2.5 Communities

The field of heritage studies provides a critical reflection on the ways different communities express interest in heritage and how those interests are incorporated in official protection systems across the world. These interests and associations are often described by scholars on behalf of communities rather than by communities themselves, and they can be put into the category of social value (Mason 2002, Jones 2016), communal (Klamer 2014) or spiritual value (Mason 2002). Indeed, both World Heritage and academic discourses portray a dichotomy between values assigned by experts and communities (Smith 2006). This binary is exemplified by Lowenthal's dilemmas of preservation, where he argues that the general public can have very different views on what is important as opposed to the views on this subject held by specialists. Hence, personal and communal meanings which the public at large attach to the surviving past will "often involve forms of use and of interpretation which fly in the face of established canons of truth or beauty" (Lowenthal 1981, 172).

What emerges from the literature review on communities in the heritage discourse is that there are numerous case studies which illustrate different power relations between community groups, heritage management and political institutions.

2.6 Definition of Communities

Discussions on community in the heritage context often start with the question of what a community is and how it is defined. There are numerous theoretical definitions of a community. Zolberg defined it as:

a social group whose members reside in a specific locality; they may share some aspects of governance, and often they claim a common cultural and historical heritage. Geographic contiguity, however, is not a necessary feature for designating a group or community, since group members may live far apart yet they share similar characteristics and concerns (Zolberg 1992, 109).

Anderson (1983) and Cohen (1985) have constructed ideas of community around cognitive and symbolic processes, not simply by social intimacy or locality (Delanty 2003, 3). Cohen asserts that community exists in the minds of its members and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of 'fact' (Cohen 1985, 98). In the heritage discourse different communities have often been addressed according to their direct relationship with heritage. For example, prehistoric archaeology in Australia or North America has been linked to indigenous communities as opposed to settlers' heritage of the colonial period, which relates to 'historical archaeology' (Greer et al. 2002, 266). But should this be the case? Some scholars would argue that the distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous groups in terms of archaeology in Australia is ambiguous and based on assumptions rather than on an understanding of the whole spectrum of associations communities have with their historic environment (Greer et al. 2002). The authors further argue that: "This has produced differing circumstances under which archaeologists have been required to consider the 'community' and its involvement in the discipline" (Greer et al. 2002, 266). Consequently, communities are often categorised on the basis of traits such

as class, education and cultural identity, which seem to determine their associations with local heritage and consequent involvement in the discipline. Although there are self-defined groups in the literature, like for example indigenous peoples or diaspora, communities in relation to heritage have never been comprehensively discussed in the interests of their identification. The reason why the issue has not been addressed in a more concrete manner is because it has been argued by scholars that there are no fixed rules for identifying communities (McGhee 2012, 216).

Within the heritage protection sphere there are two realms for identification of communities of interest. One is controlled by legal requirements enshrined in respective monument protection legislations and local authority policies on consultations of policy documents. This, of course, applies in places which have consultation policies in place. In this case communities are identified by the respective governing bodies on the basis of administrative boundaries, referring to their legal rights of ownership of listed and designated properties; this also includes indigenous people's legal rights (McManamon et al. 2008, 22).

The second level of identification of communities is historically linked with the latter, the legal status of heritage properties and their upkeep or management as well as associated education initiatives, more recently referred to as heritage engagement or outreach. This engagement usually boils down to the implementation of governmental policies on supporting particular communities and excluding others (Schadla-Hall and Handley 2004). The word 'community' is often used in the context of heritage, especially in relation to heritage projects which receive external funding. In the case of the UK it is common for recipients of funding to demonstrate outreach activities aimed at raising the awareness of local communities. This is the result of a belief that preserving tangible evidence from the past can only be achieved by raising awareness, and this has to be accomplished by

explaining why cultural places or objects are important (Stone 1997, 27). Heritage is also used as a tool to shape people's sense of place and sense of ownership. This need to educate contemporary society is closely linked with preventing the loss of physical remains of the past, hence its aim is to encourage future generations to be more responsible and aware of the reasons for the preservation of the past (Ucko 1994a, 261–263). Archaeological research projects almost always use outside researchers who identify the work, the site, the nature of the heritage asset to be conserved and identify the aspects for development (Leventhal et al. 2014).

The following section will contextualise the notion of individual identities and, through using the concept of cognitive ownership, focusing on 'global' representations of communities.

2.7 Representations of communities

The role of individual identities is paramount in heritage interpretation. As Karp demonstrates in her research, people respond to heritage through their cultural experiences and developed identities. Their response is not passive but continuously created using prior experiences and culturally learned beliefs, values, and skills that are gained through membership of multiple communities (Karp, 1992, 3). Karp argues that our individual identities and experiences never derive entirely from a single segment of society (Karp, 1992, 3). Regardless of which part of the world we live in, as individuals we belong to different groups within a given society, and a key issue is whether these multiple individual identities are mutually exclusive and affect our interests and consequently decisions affecting heritage. In the scenario where a local community member is a shop owner living and working in a tourist town, when it comes to decisions concerning the

local historic environment, this individual might opt for new facilities and the general upkeep of the place, which will increase tourism and consequently spending in the local shops. This might not be the case with the remaining members of the town's community.

This raises the question of whether our personal identities can serve as a signifier which determines what elements of heritage are important to us and how we understand and absorb it and negotiate places which we value. Can heritage itself shape those different senses of identity? Or is it the other way around: do those identities shape the meaning of the cultural place we engage with? How do we garner the plurality of different cognitive engagement contemporary people have with prehistoric landscapes (Bender et al. 1997, 150)?

Greer and her colleagues use the concept of identity as a tool to underpin the development of research objectives which inform methodology and the way in which research is to be carried out. The definition of elements of a contemporary community's identity should be applied to the process which determines wider research interests. This is in contrast to the reactive approach, which provides opportunities for communities to react to a set agenda (Greer et al. 2002, 268).

In order to understand the dynamics between these multiple identities and their impact on decisions concerning the local heritage environment I apply the concept of cognitive ownership of heritage as an indicator of the relationship between communities and their heritage. "Cognitive ownership represents the link between people and place defined by the intellectual, conceptual, or spiritual meanings a group or individual attaches to the place. For each individual, the place is defined by some constructed meaning; that meaning may be articulated through a sense of the landscape within which the place has value" (Boyd et al. 2005, 93). Boyd argues that connections are made not only between individuals who form a community but also between individuals and a particular site.

“In studying or managing such places, values and owners shift: new values emerge as site significance is assessed or becomes more widely known, or existing values evolve, possibly becoming redundant or elevated in importance. New owners also emerge following changes in public perception of the place as active study or management draws attention to that place” (Boyd et al. 2005, 94).

Through this understanding, a sense of ownership is developed when people try to make associations with a site within a particular physical, social and political context. In order for a researcher to understand this process, mapping of the individual interests, landscapes and the relationship between different interested parties is crucial. Few components of that relationship will be static, and shifts in one necessarily affect all others (Boyd 2012, 184; Boyd et al. 2005, 103).

Communities’ engagement in meaningful dialogue with their environment is not new. It leads people to make common narratives, which in turn enable a sense of belonging – an integral part of one’s identity. This engagement with the past is constructed in the present (Gosden and Lock 1998, 4), and it makes heritage attractive to a local population because it has a personal dimension (Albert 2012, 38).

These personal dimensions, collective and individual memories are masterfully depicted in Herzfeld’s study (1991) of the complex social relations between different citizens of Rethemnos and their negotiation of the ownership of heritage which are displayed in every detail and neatly summed up in the question: “My house or our national monument?” (Herzfeld 1991, 12). These personal dimensions, collective and individual memories are often separated and detached from interpretations created by professionals and presented in different interpretation schemes. ‘Value systems’ can be attached to personal attitudes based on beliefs (personal wisdom), academic knowledge and on interest-based

arrangements. Herzfeld showcases two levels of valuing heritage: the state narrative and the social, human narrative, which often clash with one another. This argument can be developed further to show how state bureaucracy creates conflicts in which communities and heritage suffer, and in consequence everyone is a loser: the state, the community and heritage.

The notion of identity which shapes our cognitive ownership is a driving force for two types of communities to come forward in heritage projects. As Marshall (2002) pointed out, it is often the case that these two distinct groups tend to be people who live locally and descendant communities.

The main categories of communities identified in archaeology and heritage studies are: indigenous, descendant, diaspora, core and other communities who do not fall into the generic category of the 'local community' even if they live in the vicinity of a WHS. Above, I have outlined a general framework for identifying communities. The next part of the chapter will explore representations of communities.

2.8 Indigenous peoples

The European concept of what heritage means has increasingly been challenged with the introduction of new categories of sites, or rather areas. Academic contributions (mostly from non-European countries) address conflicts between those who worked within conventional archaeological or heritage principles on indigenous peoples' sites. In the 1960s indigenous people globally began publicly voicing criticism over the excavation, collection and public display of the human remains and objects they associated with (Atalay 2006, 288). In Australia, Aboriginal sites were initially protected for their research value. Hence, in the formal system of heritage protection in Australia, valuation of sites by

Aboriginal communities was simply not taken into consideration when making conservation or interpretation decisions. This changed by the end of the '70s, when places of significance to the Aboriginal people became the subject of legal protection so they could be accessible for research and tourists (McManamon 2008, 35-36). This change also influenced attitudes towards the formal valuation of these sites, in particular their social and symbolic importance (Truscott 1987, Truscott 1996). The process of incorporating Aboriginal rights into the formal protection system has been researched by many scholars and its analysis is not the focus of this review (Smith and Burke 2007, Smith 2004, Ucko 1983a, 1983b 1985, 2001). Principally, indigenous rights are legal rights to the land, and in Australia physical markers in the landscape, such as rock, cave and bark paintings, which are used as signifiers for traditional land ownership (Zarandona 2015). Zarandona explains that the Native Title Act (1993) is a legislative text based on the Western concept of ownership, which is used as the legal tool by which indigenous people can attempt to prove that their land is actually theirs (Zarandona 2015, 463). In this context archaeological expertise has been used as supporting evidence in contests over legal land and intellectual rights (Ucko 1983a, 1983b 1985).

Indigenous societies feel that they “have rights and responsibilities to the human and material remains and to the knowledge, memories and spiritual power that are intimately tied with the places and materials studied by archaeologists” (Atalay 2006, 280).

Examples from North America and Australia indicate that the indigenous peoples' movement came from the concerned communities themselves (Atalay 2006). It is “the pervasiveness of Indigenous control over Indigenous cultural heritage” that has changed the way archaeology is practised in Australia (Smith and Burke 2007, 13). Today, all indigenous archaeology in these countries is conducted in collaboration with indigenous peoples. The power of Aboriginal communities over their heritage is real, explains Smith,

as Aboriginal communities can actually veto all archaeological work (Ibid). Case studies from Australia indicate that collaboration between archaeologists and Aboriginal communities became more meaningful when they were involved concerned communities in the investigation of their past (McManamon 2008, 37, Byrne 2008, Truscott 1987, 1996, 2003, 2005). According to Australia's ICOMOS Statement on Indigenous Cultural Heritage (ICOMOS 2001).

The Indigenous cultural significance of places can only be determined by the Indigenous communities themselves.

Indigenous people must be effectively involved in decisions affecting their heritage, and in managing places significant to them. Land managers must respect the rights of Indigenous people to make decisions about their own heritage.

In addition to their direct link with remains from the past, another factor which clearly distinguishes indigenous communities in relation to their past from non-indigenous communities is that their discourse is portrayed in the colonial context. Atalay asserts that the Western system of heritage protection "disrupted the self-determination and sovereignty of indigenous populations with respect to their abilities to govern and practise their own traditional forms of cultural resource management" (Atalay 2006, 282). Byrne argues that changes which Aboriginal cultures underwent in the colonial context are depicted in contrast to Western societies. The latter are exposed to cultural changes whereas the former to cultural breakdown and collapse resulting in the loss of these cultures' 'authentic' pre-contact heritage. Their cultural adaptation and response to these new imposed realities is "almost never seen as an innovative response" (Byrne 2008, 163). Moreover, in the World Heritage process, indigenous peoples are defined by law and their intellectual and legal rights concerning their heritage are considered differently to those of

local communities (see chapter three). Rights-based approaches are a theme which has emerged in the World Heritage academic literature (Logan 2012, Logan 2007, Larsen and Buckley 2018, Larsen, 2012, Disko and Tugendhat 2014, Disko 2012). Although issues concerning indigenous communities usually apply to communities living in non-European contexts, there are also nations in Europe which “struggle to assert their cultural distinctiveness against the dominant majority” (Logan 2012, 238).

2.9 Descendant communities

Different conceptualizations of the past are demonstrated when descendant communities are involved in the interpretation of their heritage. Descendant communities are referred to as a distinctive group of communities in heritage literature and public archaeology projects. Within the World Heritage system descendant communities do not have the same status as indigenous peoples; the difference lies in the legal status of indigenous groups. Heritage literature, especially of the last two decades, has produced examples of projects which draw on descendent communities’ knowledge as opposed to science-driven academic enquiries. Descendant communities base their knowledge of a site on personal connections and their own stories. Thus, the contribution of descendant communities to any heritage project is to combine stories and knowledge which are often forgotten or even suppressed. The purpose of such projects is to enrich the existing narratives often told by dominant community groups (Burton 2017, 163). In certain cases such projects, through the creation of an interface between “oral traditions, life histories and archaeological record”, democratise archaeological practice (Arthur et al. 2017, 102). Researchers refer to those life histories and oral traditions as ‘alternative’ but “equally valid realms of knowledge” (Arthur et al. 2017, 102). These collaborations between researchers and

descendant communities are based on the premise that there is a “need to perform research on problems that are significant to the historical self-identity of living people, particularly those descendant from the prehistoric populations we study” (Schmidt 2014, 37). Schmidt’s presentation of what he calls “mutual research” in Tanzania reveals key benefits to emerge from such research practice. And these benefits can be achieved when different community groups participate “in the interpretation of their own past” (Schmidt 2014, 37). Schmidt, by using an example from Old Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, explains the power dynamic in a heritage reconstruction project which was initiated by the National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe. This collaborative project gave not only an equal footing to descendant communities as well as heritage workers and archaeologists when it came to conservation decisions, but in fact gave more power to descendant communities as their views prevailed even when they were made against documentary and archaeological evidence (Schmidt 2014, 46).

Projects such as these are often grass-roots driven, with communities seeking help amongst researchers or government officials to protect their ancestral landscapes. The premise of such projects is to re-focus interest from object-centred narratives to the living people (Arthur et al. 2017).

Research projects involving descendant communities demonstrate the contested nature of interpretation of their history. The Public Interpretation of the Archaeology of the Levi Jordan Plantation in Brazoria County was design to engage descendants of the plantation’s residents in the dialogue between African Americans and European Americans who still live in that county. This project reflects on the ways in which contemporary people, descendants of people who owned the plantation and involuntarily worked at the plantation, continue to negotiate social and political power (Mc David 1997). All these examples shift the focus from monuments to people.

2.10 Diaspora communities

The complexity of people's cognitive ownership is not confined to a single geographical location or indeed locality, as it relates to the constantly evolving construction of meanings concerning links between people and their ancestral lands. Control of power over the interpretation of sites which have symbolic meaning for diaspora communities is illustrated in the case study of the restoration of Ghana's slave castles. In the early 1990s, Ghanaian authorities collaborated with the United Nations Development Program and many other international organisations and NGOs to restore these World Heritage monuments. The authorities attempted to link these monuments of the evils of the slave trade to the collective memory of African Americans in search of their roots in Africa. Ghana's slave castles became shrines for many African Americans who had difficulty tracing their roots to Africa but who strongly believed that their ancestors passed through these monuments. Many African Americans were drawn to Ghana because of the controversial restoration of the castles. An African American expatriate community in Ghana voiced their concerns and involved African American diasporas. A petition of diaspora Africans from around the world was formally presented to the Ghanaian authorities in April 1998 (Osei-Tutu 2004, 196). The disaffected African Americans felt deliberately excluded from a project which they personally cared about. Brempong makes a point that the sense of heritage practised by diaspora communities may lead to a situation where they want their perspectives on the slave trade to prevail (Osei-Tutu 2004, 201).

Diaspora communities are by their definition displaced or located outside the places of their association. The case above provides an example of a diaspora community with a symbolic association with the actual site. There are also examples where diaspora communities have connections with places associated with their ancestors and these

connections are not alleged or symbolic but ‘direct’. What I mean by ‘direct’ is that they are based on both legal claims and cognitive ownership, as in the case of the Polish-Jewish diasporic community which after Shoah was reduced from over three million to less than ten thousand (World Jewish Congress, Bartosiewicz et.al. 2017). The synagogues and cemeteries and many other material remains of the extinct communities and their survivors were subject to deliberate policies during the communist regime which left Jewish heritage to decay. In 1997 a law regulating relations between the Polish state and Jewish religious communes was passed (Dz.U. z 1997 r. Nr 41, poz. 251). The claims of the diaspora communities had a direct impact on the drafting of the aforementioned legislation pertaining to the return of the property of pre-war Jewish communities to the current Jewish communities which take ownership (both legal and cognitive) of their heritage. This endeavour involved members of Poland’s Jewish community, represented by the Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Poland, as well as a delegation of Jews originating from Poland but living abroad (Litwin and Przybyło-Ibadullajev 2012, 7). The law regulates restitution of cemeteries and places which on 1 September 1939 served Jewish religious congregations. The purpose of this legal measure is to ensure that those places are maintained in keeping with the principles of Judaism. The example shows that it was the diaspora community which has a direct link with the Polish-Jewish heritage that instigated the legal restitution process (Litwin and Przybyło-Ibadullajev 2012, 10).

These two case studies indicate a commonality in the relationships of diaspora communities with their ancestral lands. Especially in those instances when ancestors of dispersed communities were forced to leave their homelands, narratives are structured as if their version of history should prevail because it is they who suffered on exile (Litwin and Przybyło-Ibadullajev 2012, Osei-Tutu 2004).

Orser's research on the Irish-American Ballykilcline diaspora poses an important question: Over how many generations can the heritage rights of diasporas extend in their homelands? This he addresses in the context of Irish diaspora communities being denied heritage rights in Ireland. What he does not clarify is whether heritage rights in such cases are a legal right to ownership of the ancestral land or an intellectual claim which would enable diaspora communities to express their version of history through their inclusion in formal interpretation. He makes an interesting point by saying that people expelled from Ireland lost their legal rights to the disposition of the land of their ancestors. However, when they were granted American citizenship they did not acquire heritage rights over native Indian lands and properties, or any heritage that had accumulated in the USA, which implies that cultural rights are spatially limited (Orser 2007, 102). His argument is based on the premise that it is a human right of diaspora communities to have better access to their heritage. He concludes that by inhabiting a region communities should not automatically be entitled to heritage rights.

2.11 Core communities

People-centred approaches to conservation, as advocated by ICCROM (Logan and Wijesuriya 2015, see also chapter three), have been scholarly interrogated (Wijesuriya, 2017 et al., Poullos 2014a, 2014b) Wijesuriya distinguishes from the generic term of stakeholder "the primary stakeholders" as communities "who cannot just be considered as another category of stakeholders but must be a sine qua non within the heritage discourse" (Wijesuriya et al., 2017, 38). Poullos (2014a, 2014b) discusses the notion of continuity of a community's original association with a site as a key concept in relation to a living heritage site. By giving examples of different types of continuity, from restricted to

imaginary and their respective impact on monuments, he argues that the nature of continuity determines prominence of certain categories of community over others. If we follow his logic, continuity should be primarily associated with the original function of a site, seen as the core/root of a living heritage site. A core community is historically linked with the traditional maintenance of a site in accordance with its original function.

In cases where the original function of a living heritage site cannot be retained, and the process of its definition cannot continue without the presence of the site's original community, continuity should be "linked to the permanent physical presence of this specific community" (Poulios 2011, 150). Poulios asserts that continuity is much more than the association of a local or dwelling community, it is the association of the original (and not changing or evolving) community, it is a historically valid (and not claimed) association, and can include modernisation (Poulios 2011, 151). Core communities, such as those associated with Meteora monastery, are given precedence in the conservation process as opposed to heritage workers, whose role is to provide technical guidance and assistance (Poulios 2014b, 130). In the case of Meteora, the aim of this symbiosis is to enable the preservation of material fabric (important to heritage workers) as well as the preservation of monastic functions (important to the core community, i.e. monks). This collaboration is performed in a way that will not collide with activities central to the original function of the site. This way the continuity of the monastic function of the site will be secured (Poulios 2014b, 129).

The position of core communities and values assigned by them is represented in the form of a hierarchy, formulated according to different connections different communities have with the site, giving priority to the core community. The indicator which helps to distinguish different communities from each other is "that heritage forms an integral part of the life of the specific community, in that it strengthens core-community identity, pride,

self-esteem, structure, and well-being” (Poulios 2014b, 115). In this process the core community has the ability to set the agenda, take decisions, and retain control over the entire process. Conservation professionals and the broader community are given a secondary role: that of providing an enabling framework of support and guidance. The core community performs its stewardship of the site within clearly demarcated boundaries, traditional parameters as defined by continuity, and in accordance with the original function of the site, also with the support and under the supervision of conservation professionals and the broader community. The core community is not treated as individuals who act on the basis of their personal views, desires and ambitions, but as a community that originally created and continues to create the site on the basis of continuity.

A living heritage approach attempts to mark the shift in heritage conservation from monuments to people, from the tangible fabric to intangible connections with heritage, and from discontinuity to continuity (Poulios 2014b, 139).

The review of the literature has sought to understand how communities are represented in the heritage discourse. The literature focuses on indigenous, descendant and diaspora communities and there is a relative absence of consideration of local communities and their role in the WH process.

2.12 On the concept of authenticity and integrity

Authenticity denotes the true as opposed to the false, the real rather than the fake, the original not the copy, the honest against the corrupt, the sacred instead of the profane. But these virtues pose a difficulty: they oblige us to regard authenticity as an absolute value, an eternal set of principles from which we ought never to

swerve. This compulsion defies the reality that authenticity is in constant flux. The criteria by which it is judged and valued change over time (Lowenthal 1999, 5).

Before the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter), written in 1964 (ICOMOS 1964), became a kind of constitution for professionals working under the aegis of ICOMOS, there was a wider trend in conservation amongst architects and archaeologists to create fictitious 'authentic' designs and forms. These methods aimed to preserve stylistic purity and unity of style, hence negated later alterations and evolution of heritage places over centuries (Petzet 1995, 89). The idea of preserving stylistic purity was overshadowed by the notion of age value, as advocated by Riegl (Petzet 1995, 92). The understanding of authenticity in restoration which preserves and reveals the aesthetic and historic value is expressed in the Venice Charter and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents (ICOMOS 1964, Art. 9). It was integrated in the WHC in 1972 and it represents values enshrined in Enlightenment rationality.

The test of authenticity communicated in the Venice Charter parallels the idea of intrinsic value (Mason 2002, 13), which can be examined and understood through the lens of physical attributes imbued with those values. "The credibility of the testimony" (Jokhileto 1995, 74) in attributes was seen as of critical importance in the process of transmitting values to future generations (Ibid). After 1964 the test of authenticity was broadened by the 1994 Nara document on authenticity, which moved beyond the Eurocentric modernist preservation discourse to the recognition of cultural relativism (Young 1996, 202). During the Nara Conference it was pointed out that the word 'authentic' derived from the Western concept, which was not universally understood and did not exist in certain languages (Jokhileto, 1995, 75). In the realm of scholarship, Silverman describes this new

understanding of authenticity “as dynamic and performative, culturally and historically contingent, relative” (Silverman 2015, 69). The notion of authenticity as embodiment of values remained in the OG and is demonstrated as “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. (UNESCO 2017, art. 22).

It also stipulates that “the use of all these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage” (UNESCO 2017 art. 84).

The post-processual scholarly research of the very notion of ‘original’ agrees that its interpretation is relative (Lowenthal 1995, Holtorf and Shadla Hall 1999, Ucko 2000, Silverman 2015). The modern understanding of the word – which is defined as authority and associated with cognate words such as aura, copy, fake, forgery, genuine (McGhie 2009, 353) – influenced the management of heritage places across the globe (see chapter three). There is a growing critical literature which examines the concept of authenticity through the lens of management and how it impacts directly on the relationship between a cultural site and local communities. Ucko argues that through the rigid protection of authenticity, understood as genuineness, we are focusing on the past of a site, not the present (Ucko 1994a and 1994b).

In Europe and elsewhere there are examples of sites where rigid protection policies led to specific ways of controlling monuments. In cases where the importance of protecting authenticity outweighs its recipients, historic structures and heritage objects are usually covered and have limited public access. This type of interpretation embraces the

“interpretative supremacy” (Gustafsson and Karlsson, 2008, 178) of heritage experts, who use a traditional scientific narrative to create a one-way communication with an unequal power dynamic between heritage workers and lay communities (Gustafsson and Karlsson, 2008, 193). The immediate disadvantage of such understanding of authenticity is when its preservation has to marry development and change. In such cases tensions are likely to arise. The historical City of Ayutthaya in Thailand illustrates conflicts between ancient monument conservation and economic development. The imposition of strict rules by heritage officials can result in conflicts over land use. The Conservation plan for Ayutthaya specifies the eviction of inhabitants from the WHS area. This extreme case, which aims to protect authenticity of the ancient Thai capital, illustrates the resistance from the local community which occupies parts of the historic city. They do not want to see the extension of the site’s boundaries, so there have been instances where archaeological remains have been destroyed by the local people fearing eviction (Bongsasilp 2016). Authenticity is negotiated and constructed by specific cultural processes and activities in the present. Heritage literature contradicts itself when it comes to the interpretation of the notion of authenticity because it portrays the subject from two perspectives simultaneously. For heritage professionals, historic places are a collection of documentary value, while for local communities the same landscape is a place to live imbued with personal memories and feelings (Bumbaru 1995, 280).

This binary is also present in the context of Western and non-Western understanding of authenticity. Charoenwongsa uses the example of Thai art when explaining the aforementioned dissonance. Thai religious art has a spiritual meaning connected with the aesthetics of religious art. In the Buddhist tradition, when a religious statue has a limb or head missing it brings a sense of ‘emptiness’. This is because to a religious community devotional objects are not museum pieces, thus, they are treated differently; missing limbs

have to be replaced (Charoenwongsa 1995, 289). Conservation and management of places of religious significance which are actively worshiped has proven to be challenging when professionals try to marry the notion of authenticity with the active use of the site (Wijesuriya, 2000, 108, Poullos, 2011). Active public involvement in the context of religious monuments in Sri Lanka was discussed by Wijesuriya in relation to the Tooth Relic temple. This case study presents a struggle between Western conservation practices carried out by Western-trained professionals and cultural demands on ownership of the past, control of cultural heritage and the articulation of values of the owners and the public (Wijesuriya, 2000, 108). Examples from the indigenous peoples of Canada illustrate that continuity of cultural tradition leads to the re-creation of symbolic objects (in this case totem poles). So, the very idea of authenticity as outlined in the Venice Charter is presented as irrelevant, and the idea of ‘freezing’ as alien in indigenous cultural contexts (Cameron 1995, 285).

Although the fact that authenticity should not be taken as an absolute value has been clearly recognised in the post-processual heritage literature and in the World Heritage discourse, as argued earlier, in the Nara proceedings on authenticity Michael Petzet outlines his rationale for the preservation of authenticity as “an attempt to preserve memory in a world that is changing as never before, and thus to ensure continuity” (Petzet 1995, 97). He reviews the notion of authenticity and feelings which it evokes. One of them is a feeling sparked by awe for a work of art – “monument feeling”. This feeling can also be accompanied by the “breath of history”, often complemented by the authentic “aura” and “trace” of a historic site or monument that serves as a memorial (Petzet 1995, 97). He then outlines what in his view is the most intrinsic monument feeling which is the feeling of “being at home”. “Monument feeling” according to his interpretation finds expression in the love of a monument, a feeling which can also be applied to the concept of homeland: a

place ingrained with features in the landscape of shared significance, an intrinsic part of people's sense of identity. For Tuan a homeland has its landmarks, "which may be features of high visibility and public significance... These visible signs serve to enhance a people's sense of identity, they encourage awareness of and loyalty to place" (Tuan, 2014, 158). Tuan links the notion of homeland with ancestral land, an ideal place in the ancient European cosmology. In antiquity (in ancient Greek and Roman times), such places were protected by ancestors providing that all necessary rituals were carried out (Tuan, 2014, 149-160). For Tuan, homeland as represented in Roman and Greek myths is a place of ancestral land, a local place, whilst it seem that a "monument feeling" encapsulates idea of homeland as a nation.

2.13 On the Concept of Management

The concept of heritage management has been evolving in the heritage studies discourse parallel to the idea of authenticity and the definition of heritage. The concept entails coordination of conservation efforts to preserve the authenticity and integrity of places considered to be of heritage value. This involves having legislative measures and policies in place which ensure managed change at cultural sites, and, if applicable, making them accessible to the general public and scholars by providing interpretation and educational schemes and making sure that funding is secured for their maintenance.

The traditional European approach to heritage management started with governance – a top-down method of heritage conservation, where experts decide what ought to be preserved. This preservation regime of the material fabric is still valid in the European context and is discussed earlier in this thesis in the context of governmentality (Smith 2006). However, heritage places which have the continuous presence of a community

attached to them, living heritage sites for example, are expected to have a different management structure, as noted, for example, at an archaeological site, recently discovered by archaeologists. We have to differentiate between places with which community groups have a direct association and places which have not been in use for thousands of years.

The reality is that communities themselves (at least in Europe) usually are not aware of the existence of archaeological deposits in their localities and their ‘importance’; it is the archaeologists who, through their research, start assessing the significance of a place for the local population (McGhee 2012, 216). How the site will be managed depends on its archaeological value (Carman 1996). There are instances where the initial history of a site is given precedence over later periods (Ucko 1994b) Poullos states that by preserving only those initial phases we do not allow the site to develop in the present and the future (Poullos 2014b, 13).

In the 1990s a new approach emerged in heritage conservation and its novelty was in its sociocultural aspect rather than conservation as a technical practice (de la Torre, 2002).

The authors of the value-based approach argue that this movement in heritage conservation, by engagement of various stakeholders’ values, “gives a site relevance and meaning to society” (Demas 2002, 49-50). Value-based planning gained popularity after the publication of a revised version of the Burra Charter in 1999. At the time, this new trend in heritage conservation stirred a debate in academic circles and numerous projects were developed in order to test this methodology (Vacharopoulou, 2005). The issue of how social values are represented and treated by heritage managers was scrutinised by the Getty Conservation Institute in different case studies (Clark 2014, 68). One of them was the Hadrian's Wall WHS case study which focused on how to balance the needs of conservation, access, economic development and the interests of the local community.

Indeed, this approach aspires to maximise enjoyment and use of the WHS while still preserving the values and fabric of the site and its setting (Mason et al. 2003).

This relatively new trend in heritage conservation set a slow shift which affected not only the process of formal valuation of places of significance and their management, but also museum collections. In the United Kingdom, for instance, a think tank – the Campaign for Learning through Museums and Galleries – challenged the existing system where museum professionals dictate what goes into museums and what gets displayed. The aim of such initiatives was to increase inclusiveness and democratization of heritage (Crooke 2010, 18). Scholars in the field of heritage studies critiqued the concept of values-based management and its claims of equal power share between heritage experts and the other stakeholders and demonstrated that, in practice, heritage experts are the managing authority (Smith and Waterton, 2009, Poulios 2014b, 21-24). In many cases heritage professionals as facilitators of the value identification are in control of the outcomes of that process.

A living heritage approach is a management model which can be implemented within national legal frameworks. It gives the core community a primary role in the conservation process and places heritage workers in the background with the secondary role of providing technical support, guidance and assistance within the framework of bureaucracy. According to a living heritage approach, the power in the conservation process is within the communities which focus on the maintenance of the immaterial connection with heritage, even if the material might be harmed (Poulios 2014 b, 8).

There are also examples where research is conducted ‘by and with’ communities (Atalay 2006, 419). The main characteristic of such projects is that the members of the community address their research interests. This kind of research model is called a participatory approach which relies on community core values (Chirkure et al. 2010, 31, Greer 2002).

Although some authors would state that such a model gives power to the local communities in all aspects of heritage, including research and management (Atalay 2006, 420), this change in paradigm allows power sharing rather than giving the power to communities.

It has been argued that the World Heritage process has some similarities with the colonial law system in which centralised power of colonial government is contrasted with the local government. This phenomenon of one power system embodied in the WHC resembles a colonial situation where a systematic misunderstanding occurs between two cultures within the single power system resulting from what is at best, a “working misunderstanding” (Bohannan 1965, 39).

2.14 Summary

This chapter proposes the cognitive ownership concept as a useful means of acknowledging the different associations individuals have with a WHS.

A growing body of literature has sought to present how indigenous peoples, descendant or diaspora communities seek to assert their heritage rights on the basis of a social value as opposed to knowledge which derives from scholarly enquiry connected to the notion of authenticity and integrity. The review of the literature has sought to understand what is the role of communities in the formal heritage process often represented in the non-European context. It has demonstrated that there is a need to undertake focused and evidence-based research which will address the questions of how we define local communities in relation to a WHS and what it means to incorporate local communities in the WH process.

Furthermore, the literature review helped to reach an understanding of what has already been researched and established in the field. It also informed the development of research

questions addressed in the fieldwork. A representation of communities in the policy discourse discussed in the next chapter gives us a narrow focus on the subject of communities from the perspective of policy and practitioners.

3. COMMUNITY IN THE HERITAGE POLICY DISCOURSE BY: UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM AND IUCN.

3.1 Introduction

This part of my research focuses on an analysis of the developments within the World Heritage system pertaining to the representations of ‘communities’ and the evolving thought on the theme concerning democratisation of the World Heritage process. This chapter will review the notion of ‘community’ and its representations within the World Heritage process and its Advisory Bodies. This will be based on an analysis of documents from the WH Committee meetings and on archival documents produced by the advisory bodies (ABs) to the WH Committee: ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites), a non-governmental organisation for experts who are engaged in the conservation and protection of cultural heritage places; ICCROM (The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), an intergovernmental organisation working in service to its Member States in the field of cultural heritage; and IUCN (the International Union for Conservation of Nature), a membership union composed of both government and civil society organisations. The differing nature of the three ABs have some influence on how they behave and how well they are resourced (Young, 2018). The aim of this chapter is to understand the relationships between the developments within World Heritage and these independent organisations. This chapter will scrutinise how views on communities have developed within ABs rather than within the UN system. Firstly, a comprehensive review will take stock of the representations of non-expert communities as perceived by professionals (a community of people with credentials, academic, and state-recognised diplomas).

Historically these individuals have included architects, town planners, historians, archaeologists, ethnologists or archivists (ICOMOS 2018a), and in certain cases other individuals interested in supporting the aims and objectives of ICOMOS. Both, ICOMOS and ICCROM, provided their technical expertise to respective governments tasked with the implementation of heritage protection laws. Secondly, this chapter is a review not an analysis of developments within the World Heritage system and is based solely on documents and discourse produced by Advisory Bodies and UNESCO, even when they appear as academic discourse.

3.2 The UNESCO Convention and the role of Advisory Bodies

The WHC, in article 5, puts a duty on each State Party to ensure that there is a policy in place which will give heritage a function in the life of the community. This top-down approach puts the responsibility on the governments of different nations to make sure that heritage is relevant in the life of communities. The role of the advisory bodies in the Convention is enshrined in its article 14 (UNESCO 1972).

The creation of the UNESCO WHC and its advisory bodies concerning cultural heritage (ICCROM and ICOMOS) is set in the Post-WWII socio-political context; it coincided with the emergence of newly independent countries and Post-WWII reconstruction. It was a period when many countries affected by colonial rule were starting the process of decolonisation, searching for their unifying national identities and adjusting their policies to regional realities. Europe, faced with the physical damage caused by WWII, had to engage in a process of reconstructing and restoring its architectural heritage. Those reconstructions, set in the context of a world divided into the capitalist West and the Soviet East, were carried out on an unprecedented scale. They reflected not only the ‘Cold War’

divide but also utilised nationalistic narratives. The political exploitation of monuments for nationalistic purposes was critiqued in professional heritage conservation circles and perceived as a threat to the integrity and credibility of the monument conservation discipline (ICCROM 1973, 26).

IUCN was instrumental in creating the 1972 WHC. It was at the 1966 IUCN General Assembly that the idea of a "World Heritage Trust" was first expressed on the international stage. IUCN was involved in drafting the Convention together with UNESCO, and it serves as the technical Advisory Body on nature to the WH Committee (IUCN 2018b). The WH Committee decided that ICCROM be accepted as the main partner for the implementation of the Convention on training of professionals, thus implementing the collaboration between both entities as defined in articles 13.7 and 14.2 of the Convention (UNESCO 1972). ICCROM's technical assistance programme was backed by the World Heritage Fund (ICCROM 1993, 3). An MoD between ICCROM, the World Heritage Centre and the WH Committee clearly defines the responsibilities of ICCROM as an autonomous, scientific intergovernmental organisation (ICCROM, 2000). ICOMOS's role within the World Heritage process is to evaluate inscription proposals, carry out missions, and –to a degree– to carry out monitoring in which the Council is allocated certain tasks (ICOMOS 1990, 1). ICOMOS, as an advisory body to the WH Committee, issues its independent opinions on heritage conservation matters which in principle should directly inform the decisions of the WH Committee.

The data set out in this analysis is based on meetings of the WH Committee (hereafter referred to as the Committee) which have taken place every year since 1977. The Committee is responsible for the implementation of the WHC and comprises representatives of 21 States Parties. Scholarly contribution to the World Heritage debates from ICCROM and ICOMOS are reviewed in the field of cultural heritage. IUCN's input

to the general implementation of the Committee's programme and project work is within the realm of technical and scientific advice on natural heritage.

It is not within the scope of this chapter to present detailed accounts of the influence the Advisory Bodies have had on the WH process relating to the theme of local communities. Instead, I will demonstrate how communities are represented in programmes, activities and overall policies within these organisations. Their role in the World Heritage process is pivotal as they advise on inscription of sites onto the WHL, monitoring issues of already inscribed properties, and are involved in capacity development and training of experts. Hence their decisions concerning World Heritage will be guided by their own organisational directions.

I have assessed each Advisory Body using a different data set; this is due to the varied organisational structures and workings of each of these bodies and because of the availability and applicability of relevant sources to the subject. For research methodology and data see section 5.3.

3.3 “Bread and stones”: the decade of promotional activities aimed at raising awareness of the 1972 Convention

During the early WH Committee meetings there was almost no concept of discussing the role of communities in the World Heritage process, with one exception: according to the main aims of the Convention the public were supposed to be educated on its scope in line with article 27 (UNESCO 1972, art. 27) Hence, the early discussions were concerned with public information activities and how to inform as wide an audience as possible about the concept of the Convention (UNESCO 1978a, 5). At this early stage, the strategy was to create an awareness-raising programmes dealing with the objectives of the Convention

through different media outlets (UNESCO 1978b, 2) and to promote the Convention through governmental machinery at the national level (UNESCO 1978c, 5). This was also the case with ICCROM, as education of the general public was seen as the solution to “awake awareness of the artistic and historical value of monuments and objects” (ICCROM 1973, 26). The force of public opinion was seen as crucial in the successful setting up of a new and dynamic policy in the protection of monuments. This interaction with the public was envisioned to flow one way: “training [of] public opinion” was seen as necessary to gain public support (ICOMOS 1990, 48). In the late 1980s the Committee reiterated that it is important to identify the target groups for information and promotional activities. It was particularly stressed that the target groups were the persons directly concerned with safeguarding World Heritage properties, notably voluntary conservation organisations working in the field, a second group being the people actually living within the WHS. Not only were communities considered as passive subjects in the World Heritage process but the system was designed to impede active involvement of community groups, which did not have the formal status of observers.

According to article 10 of the Convention, “The Committee may at any time invite public or private organisations or individuals to participate in its meetings for consultation on particular problems”. In fact, consultations with the Committee have not been that easy for the concerned groups. The earliest reference to the interaction of the Committee with the public is from 1982 (UNESCO 1982a, 2), when a request was made from organisations which did not have official observer status at meetings of the Committee to be allowed to address the Committee; they were advised that they could only communicate through their national delegations.

The early monument conservation programmes carried out by UNESCO, with the support of other UN agencies, were expected to integrate poverty alleviation with conservation

aims. A project undertaken by the Egyptian Government, in co-operation with UNESCO and the World Food Programme, for the preservation of the Philae temples can serve as an example of those early initiatives. In this case the programme had made a substantial contribution in the form of food assistance as part-payment of wages for workers engaged in the restoration of the monuments. During a WH Committee meeting, an observer from the World Food Programme referred to the success of the operation which, in that organisation, was known as "bread and stones" (UNESCO 1978d, 13). The early discussions during the Committee meetings were concerned with monuments rather than people. For example, historic towns could be considered for inclusion in the WH List if they possessed architectural interest, the organisation of space, structure, materials, forms and functions, with no reference to people as an integral part of the organic urban landscape (UNESCO 1984, 3).

The notion of spiritual value was introduced during the ICOMOS symposium which took place in Leningrad in 1978. During this meeting the delegates reflected on spiritual and material values of cultural heritage. The participants stressed the importance of cultural heritage in contemporary society as an important factor in the formation of the historical consciousness of nations and their economic and cultural development (ICOMOS, 1978). Indeed there was a notion being put forward that all nations should make efforts to preserve their past (Chanfon-Olmos 1981, 590). These efforts were based on the premise that knowledge of the past and awareness of one's identity are a key factor in achieving national maturity (Chanfon-Olmos 1981, 591).

This relationship between heritage and development of national identity was asserted by Lowenthal. He argues that antiquities have become prime symbols of collective identity all over the world. "Architecture and other heritage now enhance community and identity in

every state. A rich and representative patrimony promotes citizenship, catalyses creativity, attracts foreign sympathy and enhances all aspects of national life” (Lowenthal 1987, 685). During the period when ICOMOS members negotiated whether the world is divided in to the New and Old or industrialised and developing (Berrio and Munoz 1975, 86), the universal applicability of general principles, as set out in the Venice Charter (see p. 32), proved to be problematic. A decade after the foundation of ICOMOS, its members raised their concerns over lack of appropriate legislation, capacity on heritage preservation and public indifference towards heritage protection in their countries (Gazaneo 1975, 43). As a result of the outlined issue, there are numerous examples in the ICOMOS literature where the heritage preservation initiative was taken by “outsiders”. The case of the Virgin Islands, to which the Danish West Indian Society regularly sponsored visits by its members, focusing on historic buildings and sites, can serve as an example. Chapman asserts that despite historical preservation being within the competency of Virgin Islands government, the concept of something having value simply because of age was little understood locally (Chapman, 1987, 849). Consequently it was seen as an endeavour of “outsiders” and often opposed local interests. Historic buildings were viewed as “Danish”, a legacy of the colonial era in Virgin Islands’ history. Chapman portrays Virgin Islanders as a community with little sense of responsibility for historic buildings, where “value” was often translated into monetary terms only, in the form of financial incentives for restoration work (Chapman 1987, 849).

In the exchange of understandings on what constitutes heritage between former colonial countries and proponents of standards set out in the Venice Charter, a new development started emerging. This new phenomenon was based on the premise that existing criteria for identification of heritage places have elitist associations (Chapman 1987, 849). This was particularly true of aesthetic criteria and their application and validity in different cultures.

Listrum rejected the notion of their applicability, with exceptions where common heritage with similar building types and materials in ex-colonies, for example, is culturally linked with the countries which colonised them (Listrum 1981, 681). Meanwhile, Neuwirth proposed Alois Riegl's understanding of values based on two premises: the historic relativity of each creation of art, and monument and historic relevance. The former introduces the concept that there is no objective art value nor hierarchy of styles. The latter pertains to the forces of physical decay which affect monuments in their original form "thus reducing their initial identity" (Neuwirth 1987, 127). This understanding of physical decay can be contested in cases which occur as a consequence of a continuation of past functions, like for example religious buildings or living landscapes, in such cases physical decay would help to maintain their identity. Neuwirth furthered his argument on relativity of artistic values and its application in different cultures. He reiterated after Riegl that there are past values and current values which can contradict each other. He emphasised, that 'We' as experts are inclined to be interested in the age value, historical value and commemorative value (Neuwirth 1987, 127). This line of thinking is also illustrated in Lowenthal's argument that scholars' interests are intrinsically different from the popular interests of the general public (Lowenthal 1981, 172).

These debates demonstrated a slow disintegration of the modernist concepts originally enshrined in the Convention and the resistance of the core professional elite subscribing to the original rationale of those texts. The undermining critique came not only from non-European conservation professionals but also from non-professionals and the public at large. The critique was undermining the main pillars of the World Heritage concept and one of them was authenticity. The evolution of the notion of authenticity is discussed later in this chapter. ICCROM's stand on the issue was clear: the "romantic tendency to reconstruct instead of conserving" (ICCROM 1973, 26) was faking the very culture that

has to be safeguarded in its authenticity. This trend for reconstruction, which was seen especially amongst newly independent countries, was disregarded, as the “real national value [seen] in the authenticity of the tradition which has to be discovered, studied and safeguarded, not romanticized” (ICCROM 1973, 26). Fictitious reconstructions which took place in European cities after the war, often guided by a feeling of nostalgia, were also criticised during ICOMOS symposia (Hartung 1987, 55). Experts in conservation argued that using the same techniques and materials from the past does not make the reconstruction authentic because the traditional crafts were expressions of traditional societies from the past, and therefore they cannot be authentic expressions of the present. It was emphasized that they were nothing else than kitsch which “is encouraged by tourism” (ICCROM 1973, 26). It was argued that material remains from the past could be admired for their historical or aesthetic value if they lost their primary function and became disconnected from their original custodians. This logic was illustrated by the example of Latin, which is a dead language, and although we can understand it we cannot express ourselves in Latin (ICCROM 1981, 45). This meaning of authenticity was later undermined by a non-European conservation practice which was incorporated into the OG in the 1990s, discussed later in this chapter.

It was clear amongst professionals that restoration work had to be entrusted to those who are properly trained (Chanfon-Olmos 1981, 593). Nevertheless, there was a self-awareness amongst ‘experts’ that the craftsmen who are the surviving inheritors of historical technology may “suspect these conservators and their ability to reconcile arts, humanities, science and craft into practical action that saves cultural property” (ICCROM 1981, vi). ICCROM through its programmes tried not only to reconcile scientific and traditional methods in conservation but above all facilitated interdisciplinary collaboration where

various specialists trained in different parts of the world could find a common language and communicate reasons for applying certain conservation methods (ICCROM 1973, 18). There were heated discussions amongst ICOMOS members, expressing criticism and scepticism towards the superiority of a “respectable architectural man” (Linstrum 1981, 681) whose interest in conservation is purely academic and scientific. *And* even amongst experts it was not always clear what statement he was making when it came to conservation projects. Some experts questioned the very idea of preservation using historical evidence, as it was assumed that the public does not ask for preservation of historical structures of documentary value (Linstrum 1981, 681).

3.4 IUCN and Indigenous Peoples

Discussions amongst experts concerned with preservation of the natural environment took a different direction as opposed to ICCROM and ICOMOS. The notion of authenticity as understood by experts concerned with monument protection was not applicable in the context of natural sites. IUCN’s primary focus was to examine the impact of human activities on nature and raise the profile of natural environmental protection the international stage. Its focus was on the preservation of natural habitats and environmental diversity as a dynamic process, in contrast to fossilising ideas of strict heritage protection. Hence, IUCN’s approach to the subject of communities was comparably mature in the 1980s. The earliest resolution pertaining to communities was passed by the organisation in 1958. Protection of traditional ways of life was first mentioned during the 12th General Assembly of IUCN in 1975, which recognised the value and importance of traditional ways of life and the skills of the people which enable them to live in harmony with their environment; it also acknowledged the vulnerability of indigenous peoples and the great

significance they attach to land ownership (IUCN 1975 a). The relationship between traditional knowledge and conservation was first addressed during the 12th GA session and later during the 15th session of the IUCN GA in Christchurch in 1981 (IUCN 1981). The assembly advised governments, planners and conservationists to consider and incorporate in future management policies and plans the “still existing very large reservoir of traditional knowledge, philosophy and experience which derives from traditional communities” (Pitt 1983, 1). Managers were encouraged to seek continuous support and provide the means for local people to maintain ecologically sound practices. They were to benefit directly from those participatory management processes designed in a manner consistent with indigenous people’s values in decision-making processes. This recognition of not only legal claims but intellectual expertise of local traditional custodians was an integral part of the World Conservation Strategy (Pitt 1983, 1). In 1982, the Morges meeting recognised that there was a need to understand the still existing but disappearing relationship between “the ways in which behaviour, motivation and cultural patterns function and are transmitted in human societies” and how these relate to nature (Pitt 1983, 2). In the context of rapid development and advances in science which lead to drastic changes in traditional systems of resource use, IUCN looked to garner expertise from anthropological studies on how to incorporate the desirable elements of traditional practices into modern systems. The organisation could see a direct connection between the extinction of cultures and their ecosystems. Firstly, these threatened cultures were considered as an urgent focus for research. They were often minorities made up of socially, economically and politically deprived tribal people whom the World Bank viewed as the “poorest of the poor” and “endangered species” exposed to major health and environmental risks (Pitt 1983, 3). The aspiration of conservationists was to engage in a meaningful dialogue with indigenous and local people. The role of experts with their repositories of

knowledge was to raise consciousness among these communities and thus help them rediscover the cultural values which they had lost and to include them in planning (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 4).

The aforementioned World Conservation strategy published by IUCN in 1980 was much ahead in thinking when it comes to acknowledging the rights of communities in the planning process. Even though IUCN was directly involved in the drafting of the WHC, it acknowledged that the Convention interprets culture in a narrow sense and does not really address the problems of living traditional cultures (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 4). In the 1980s IUCN was searching for bottom-up approaches to conservation; it aspired to build on indigenous and traditional knowledge and to ensure its meaningful input in nature conservation (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 1). Hence the organisation was engaging in issues such as land rights in order to secure access to traditional lands which were seen as vital to the economic, social and philosophical well-being of their individual members as well as to the group's cultural stability (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 17).

The communities which were considered in these discussions usually had to exhibit the following characteristics:

- geographical isolation or semi-isolation;

- unacculturated or only partially acculturated into the national society;

- non-literate, or not possessing a written language;

- non-monetised, or only partially monetised; largely or entirely independent of the national economic system;

- ethnic distinctiveness from the national society;

- linguistic difference from the national society;

- possessed of a common territory;

- having an economic base chiefly dependent on their specific environment;

possessing leadership, but no national representation, and few, if any, political rights. (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 7).

IUCN was also concerned with issues surrounding the resettling of these communities by national governments in 'tribal reserves', which would be administered by law. The consequences of such actions were undesirable from the point of view of the Union, as they would lead to modification of traditional practices (McNeely and Pit 1985, 19). Enforced 'primitivism' inspired by tourism policies was seen as damaging to local cultures. IUCN opposed the idea of fossilisation of minority cultures and advocated for conditions for these cultures to thrive and develop in a natural and progressive manner. It voiced its concerns about the rights and needs of these groups and asserted that there was a need to provide a channel through which their voices could be heard (McNeely and Pit 1985, 19). In the early 1980s the idea was to encourage the flow of knowledge between traditional communities and Western science so that minority and national cultures could exchange their expertise. The intention was to create a setting where researchers and students from national cultures could undertake an apprenticeship with native peoples (McNeely and Pit 1985, 42).

Environmental degradation in indigenous areas was discussed during a meeting between the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the UN Environment Programme in 1980. The council was following the operation of the international agreements which considered the convergence between conservation and indigenes, like the 'Man and the Biosphere' Programme, an Intergovernmental Scientific Programme launched in 1971 resulting in a number of "biosphere reserves" created in various parts of the world (McNeely and Pit 1985, 57).

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples uses the following definition:

The term indigenous people refers to people living in countries which have a population composed of differing ethnic or racial groups who are descendants of the earliest populations living in the area and who do not as a group control the national government of the countries within which they live (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 61).

A Sub-commission of the UN Human Rights Commission commissioned a report which adopted the following working definition of the term ‘indigenous peoples’:

the existing descendants of the people who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial condition, who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs or traditions than with the institutions of the country of which they now form part, under a State structure which incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the populations which are predominant (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 62).

This new management model advocated by IUCN was based on the idea of ‘ethno-development’. IUCN Recommendations arising from the San Jose GA (IUCN 1988) appealed to governments for “the inclusion of indigenous peoples in the preparation of national and regional conservation strategies where this is appropriate” (IUCN 1988, art.2), and requested “that IUCN establish an Inter-commission Task Force to deal with issues especially relevant to indigenous peoples and to make sure that indigenous concerns are incorporated in the overall work of IUCN and its Commissions” (IUCN 1990 art 4).

This innovative management model was based on anthropological and ethnographical research oriented specifically towards conservation. It was considered that ‘outsiders’ involved in planning did not always understand well enough the relationship between local indigenous peoples and their environment, especially when they prepared conservation plans. In order to achieve conservation goals it was accepted that planners have to work with local communities (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 63) and that local interests cannot be compromised (McNeely and Pitt 1985, 68). As operational definitions of indigenous peoples suggest, there should be a distinction made between local communities and indigenous peoples or traditional societies. The confusing application of these terms was explained by using contrasting examples of “industrial society whose intellectual, cultural and scientific property rights are not linked to genetic and natural resources [in contrast to] indigenous peoples, traditional societies and local communities [who] have holistic views that make these inextricable” (Flanders 1988, 79).

It seems that although indigenous peoples are clearly defined, the local communities are less so. And it became apparent that in the early 1980s local industrialised communities were not subject to considerations in those environmental policies. What IUCN meant by ‘local community’ were communities in the developing world which did not fall in to the legal category of indigenous peoples and were not industrialised. So the term did not carry the same meaning as we understand it today in heritage and environmental policies.

The World Heritage Convention was considered to have the potential to protect the cultural heritage of some indigenous peoples, traditional societies and local communities; however, the issue was whether:

- a) governments are willing to consult indigenous peoples by involving them in the World Heritage conservation process, such as identification, assessment,

monitoring, evaluation by advisory bodies, management, monitoring bodies etc.,

- b) whether national legislation to implement the convention allows for a flexible or broad interpretation of ‘cultural and national heritage’ and
- c) whether the World Heritage Committee is prepared to recognise that cultural and natural properties important to an indigenous people constitute part of the heritage of humankind of sufficient importance to justify their protection (Flanders 1988, 81)

In order for the development to be effective, the protection of indigenous peoples’ heritage should be based broadly on the precepts that:

- Indigenous peoples require self-determination and collective, permanent and inalienable ownership and control over land, territories and resources.
- Indigenous peoples are guardians and interpreters of their cultures, arts, and sciences and have the right to determine the ‘traditional owners’ of their own heritage. Heritage of indigenous peoples includes all movable, intellectual, cultural and scientific property. Scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge and resources, comprise part of indigenous heritage.
- Protection of sacred sites is essential. Unauthorised use of heritage, including traditional ecological knowledge and genetic resources, is theft and States must assist in recovery of stolen properties, even if they are in museums or research institutions (Flanders 1988, 89)

IUCN developed clear policies towards indigenous peoples and traditional communities within its realm of expertise. Although they pertain to natural sites, similar issues to those

raised by IUCN concerning management of Protected Areas were brought up by ICOMOS members during consecutive General Assemblies (GA) and Scientific Symposia.

3.5 ICOMOS Indigenous peoples, citizen's task forces and traditional communities

Discussions on indigenous sites and traditional management systems were held by both ICOMOS and IUCN. Contributions from Australia, Canada and the USA often illustrated conflicts between traditional owners and site managers. Differences in valuing the historic environment were evident in the respective outlooks of archaeologists and Aboriginal people. Truscott explains that in the past, Aboriginal attitudes were not taken into consideration when making conservation or interpretation decisions. The change in the political climate triggered a change in the attitudes of site managers, who started to consider other values than scientific ones, including social and symbolic importance (Truscott 1987, 1050, Truscott 1996). As land rights of indigenous peoples started dominating international debates, discussions on local communities mostly focused on indigenous peoples and societies in the developing world inhabiting places of cultural and natural interest for the international community. Cummings criticises the historic preservation movement as being “site specific” (Cummings 1987, 554) with a narrow scientific view of cultural conservation. She calls for a re-evaluation of thinking where intangible values are considered. Protection of indigenous peoples' sites challenged the legal system, where it was not certain who should be the expert: the anthropologist or the indigenous peoples themselves (Cummings 1987, 554). This increasingly challenged the mainstream notions of what constitutes heritage and the introduction of new categories of sites, including areas which were not part of the built environment. Within UNESCO policies the notion of ‘culture’ was broadened already in the early 1980s by adding “the

whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society and social group” (UNESCO 1982b, 117).

The earliest examples of citizens’ participation in the heritage planning process of industrial societies presented in the ICOMOS debates are from the Anglophone world. Sykes gives an insight into a project where a team of experts in historic conservation and community group volunteers joined forces to identify and map information on New York City’s built environment (Sykes, 1981, 645). Citizens’ task forces were a common feature of the 1980s, for example, in projects where they advised on legislation (Kaukas 1981, 250) or designing restoration/interpretation programmes (Prohaska 1987, 162). This so-called ‘stakeholder’ approach represented an attempt to reach reconciliation between two or more opinions where local interests were concerned, whilst, on the other hand, experts’ interests were discussed during ICOMOS Scientific Symposia (Glen 1975, Lowenthal 1981, 172).

The ICOMOS (1982) Declaration on the Revitalization of Small Settlements focuses on living communities inhabiting such rural settlements and their contribution to the conservation of material fabric. In this document cultural achievements of past societies are interrelated with the material forms of expression which form their collective memory and identity. Papers delivered during ICOMOS Symposia not only pertain to indigenous peoples and their rights but also to industrialised communities. It seems that the term ‘local communities’ as we understand it today (people living within or in the surroundings of the place of historic significance, regardless of whether they are from the developed or developing world) appeared in the WH system later on, as will be discussed below in this chapter. ICOMOS considered indigenous peoples and local communities in its discussions, but in the 1980s did not make policy changes which would affect its approach to the subject within the World Heritage process.

Analysis of the early developments within the WHC demonstrates that IUCN gave indigenous people equal footing to experts as opposed to representing the role of communities as passive recipients of education programmes in which they were taught about the values of the historic environment as held by experts.

3.6 The 1990s – a slow shift towards communities

As ICOMOS grew and attracted members from across the world, its development had to reflect characteristics of cultures other than European ones. This change in dynamics created new problems which had to be addressed (ICOMOS 1990, 23). The ICOMOS meeting in Lausanne in 1990, where National Committees presented their evaluation of the first quarter of a century of the organisation's achievements, was rich in critical debates. Brazil proposed research which would revise conventional western concepts of historic preservation, with its professional and ideological limitations, and raised the question of dignity and civil rights amongst local communities subjected to urban regeneration schemes. Foremost, it contended that it is necessary "to establish equality between nations, abolishing outdated hierarchical concepts of civilizing values, responsible for the lack of prestige given to regional cultures whose inheritance deserves recognition and attention for its wealth and variety" (ICOMOS 1990, 91). A significant contribution towards the debate on communities in the conservation process was introduced by ICOMOS Australia and ICOMOS Canada in 1990. The National Committee of Australia introduced the Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter) (ICOMOS 1979, 1999, 2013). This culturally biased document geared towards Australia was an answer to standards and practices promoted internationally by ICOMOS (ICOMOS 1990, 90). Canada's statement in particular stood out, as it presented a very different approach

focused on a recent change in the country's conservation strategy. This was marked by the departure from a top-down government managed system of conservation characterised by "commemorating the cultural mile posts in our history" (ICOMOS 1990, 111), to approaches based on grass-roots, bottom-up involvement and action. This methodological shift marked an important moment recorded during ICOMOS debates. It was a clear departure from the ideas enshrined in the Venice Charter and the autocratic forces of restrictive preservation laws and legislated controls of public authorities to a more democratic representation of heritage through the mobilisation of communities to identify and care for their heritage. Canada's statement also introduced the idea of "managing change" later advocated by English Heritage. This statement indicated clearly that this new approach would require new skills of the facilitators whose role it would be to catalyse the public to help them make various conservation judgements.

In 1990, Professor Lemaire explained that when the Venice Charter was drafted in "1964 we were not aware that a serious difference with other cultures existed and the rare representatives of these cultures at the Venice Congress hardly alludes to it: the reason is that they had probably received their specialized training from Western masters" (ICOMOS 1990, 25). The Nara document on authenticity (ICOMOS 1994), was a significant contribution to the debate on an alternative to the European take on the concept of authenticity, as it acknowledges the social and cultural values of all societies. This development in the conservation movement stirred a debate among scholars and practitioners on the issue of what authenticity really means. Only two years after Nara was adopted by ICOMOS, the ICOMOS National Committees of the Americas met in San Antonio, USA, to clarify the issues relating to the heritage of the Americas which they felt the Nara document did not address. Consequently they added comments to the Nara document which linked significance of authenticity to the individual's idea of identity. The

issue at the heart of the debate pertained to the connection between descendants of the archaeological remains from pre-European cultures of the Americas which were perceived as the “most direct link to that past” for the descendants of pre-Hispanic cultures (ICOMOS 1996 art 5). The authenticity of archaeological sites was especially important because it was presented as a non-renewable resource. Thus the declaration emphasised the importance of the authenticity of archaeological deposits as important resources which can be appreciated by future generations through the use of more advanced research techniques than those in existence today (ICOMOS 1996).

Another significant development which influenced future directions in conservation philosophy was the “Global Study” conducted by ICOMOS between 1987 and 1993. It revealed that Europe’s monumental heritage representing Christianity and historic towns and other ‘elitist’ architecture was overrepresented in relation to living cultures and ‘traditional cultures’ (UNESCO 1994a).

In the 1990s, during WH Committee meetings little was said about communities, although there had been one significant change: the establishment of the category of cultural landscapes in 1992. The introduction of cultural landscapes marked a change in thinking about communities, since it was less feasible for States Parties to inscribe cultural places without prior engagement with their users and managers, but also because “it was recognised that the cultural criteria failed to incorporate the idea of cultural continuity from prehistoric times to the present-day existence of living traditional cultures” (Lockwood et al. 2006, 456). Re-nomination of Tongariro National Park in 1993 was an important milestone in the WH process concerning communities; it became the first property to be inscribed on the World Heritage List under the revised criteria describing cultural landscapes. This allowed meanings assigned by indigenous people to be represented in the

criteria under which the site was re-nominated. The effect of the earlier mentioned “Global Study”, resulted in recommendations concerning the modification in the World Heritage cultural criteria: Criterion (i) by removing the phrase "unique artistic achievement", and of Criterion iii by replacing [to] “bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to civilisation which has disappeared” with “bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living, or which has disappeared” (UNESCO 1994 a, art.7). This was an important development towards recognition of indigenous peoples in the World Heritage process. The group identified themes which needed to be addressed to make the WHL more representative of different world cultures: human coexistence with the land, movement of peoples (nomadism, migration), settlement, modes of subsistence, human interaction, cultural coexistence, spirituality and creative expression. Those themes were underrepresented for obvious reasons; prior to 1992, living cultures were simply not considered in the WH nominations criteria, with exception of Criterion (vi) concerned with associative values, which could conceptually include narratives of communities but not necessary of local people. In 1994 the WH Committee also adopted the Global Strategy, which together with the introduction of cultural landscape resulted in the inclusion of “traditional protection and management mechanism” in the OG to the WHC (UNESCO 1994b, art 24.ii)

Gradually, the Convention became more popular and began to attract growing interest from different institutions, which led to increasing numbers of media and general public requests for information (UNESCO 1990). The interest was natural, since the decisions made during the Committee meetings related directly to different groups of people who were, for example, living within the boundaries of a WHS, thus, the decisions were directly affecting their lives.

Despite these changes, the Committee's approach to local communities was still top-down and considered their roles in the conservation process as *reactive* or *passive*. Nevertheless, the importance of community was emerging and stakeholder involvement as well as a participatory approach in all efforts to integrate conservation and development was being advocated (UNESCO 1997). By the end of the 1990s, the Committee started recognising local communities in its decisions by suggesting to the State Parties that they involve local communities and NGOs in the management planning process and in the formulation of specific co-operative actions. Communities were also being mentioned in the context of tourism and how to strengthen rural livelihoods through the promotion of tourism and conservation (UNESCO 1999).

In many ways the transformation of heritage institutions mirrored, at a micro level, the larger scale political change of governments. Key concepts of transformation – transparency, accountability, and negotiation – were echoed in heritage-related debates (Davison 1996, 58). These socio-economic changes were reflected promptly in the discussions within Advisory Bodies. “Heritage and social changes” was the main subject discussed during the ICOMOS Symposium in 1996. This meeting brought contributions reflecting on changing values in society and their impact on a paradigm change in historic preservation. There was an apparent critique of the existing concept of conservation of cultural heritage, which was deemed outdated and utopian in modern society. Di Stefano (1996, 65) argued that heritage has to fulfil modern society's needs, which are both spiritual and material, and that decisions about what ought to be preserved in this dynamic process of heritage-making will reflect values held by various individuals making up a community influenced by political and economic choices. De Silva (1996, 62) stated that conservation has to be an outcome of community efforts rather than a result of legal controls and arrangements, and that, ideally, demands for the conservation of cultural

heritage should come from communities as an act of collective responsibility. Ganiatsas in his contribution argued for a change in the methodological approach of valuating historic places. In his view, the focus should be on understanding rather than on values, because only through understanding the meaning of a place can one engage in a dialogical encounter with the past. In his view, life itself is a dialogue between past and present (Ganiatsas 1996, 103). ICOMOS symposia provided a platform where practitioners and scholars could express their desire to empower communities. Participants from post-colonial countries were critical of the way history was interpreted and presented in these countries. In South Africa, until recently narratives were constructed from a Eurocentric perspective. Hence, the concept of heritage tended to mean colonial heritage (Davison 1996, 57). Similarly, the study of Great Zimbabwe indicated conservation issues as religious and anthropological phenomena rather than a scientific endeavour (Munjeri 1996, 152). Katsamudanga went even further in his criticism and called the national heritage protection act a “liability to the nation” (Katsamudanga 2003, np), as it privileged archaeological, historical, aesthetic and scientific values whose management had traditionally been against the re-use of sites. The National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe were trying to avoid the conflicts that they had with local communities (Mvenge and Pwiti 1996) and to make themselves relevant to society by recognising intangible heritage.

Cultural mapping was proposed as a tool for communities to identify and strengthen their own cultures. This new more ‘ethical’ methodology, as seen in the case of Australia, concentrated on asserting the right to culture and heritage of indigenous people and non-indigenous communities (Young 1996, 202). Anthropological surveys were applied in places where the concept of architectural conservation was new to local residents. The aim of the application of such a method was to determine the level of conservation awareness

among local people (Sad I Waziri 1996, 338). Although community participation in the revitalization of historic districts was often presented as challenging, there was a general agreement that community involvement was key to successful conservation projects (Martinez 1996). Case studies presented during ICOMOS Symposia correspond with the projects carried out by ICCROM. Policies and activities concerning communities have been implemented also by ICCROM since 1991, when the Centre added a fifth statute to its existing mandate: “To support initiatives that increase public awareness of conservation and the restoration of cultural property” (Grattan 2004, np). In line with the 1992 evaluation and strategic orientation proposed by the WH Committee (UNESCO 1992), ICCROM was requested in 1994 by the World Heritage Bureau to develop a Global Training Strategy for World Heritage properties to assist States Parties in developing capacity in post-inscription activities such as monitoring of the state of conservation and reporting (ICCROM 2003, 54). This interest of the Committee in monitoring enabled ICCROM to develop new methodologies which would test and refine monitoring tools for conservation (ICCROM 2003, 55). In 1995 ICCROM introduced its new organisational motto: “The Crossroads of people, ideas and actions at the service of cultural heritage conservation worldwide.” (ICCROM 1995, 3). In 2001, the Global Training Strategy for Cultural and Natural Heritage was approved by the WH Committee, and over the next decade the strategy evolved from training heritage professionals to a capacity-building approach which includes also communities (UNESCO 2011e, p. 2-3) Programmes such as ITUC (Integrated Territorial and Urban Conservation 1994-1998) (ICCROM 2005, 25) and Africa 2009 (1998-2009) encouraged community involvement as a key strategic means to achieve heritage preservation goals. Programme Africa 2009 in particular was developed as a response to the Global Strategy which highlighted that 8% of the sites which populated the WH list at the time were from Africa and 43% of the sites inscribed on the

World Heritage in Danger List were located on the African continent (ICCROM 2006, 2).

ICOMOS Scientific Symposia and charters promptly reflected developments within international heritage conservation by drafting and adopting numerous doctrinal declarations and charters concerning interpretation of heritage. Communities and their rights were often discussed in the context of homogenisation of diverse cultures. Preservation of diverse cultural traditions in their tangible and intangible forms was seen as crucial for their survival. Hence ICOMOS called for governments and responsible authorities “to recognise the right of all communities to maintain their living traditions, to protect these through all available legislative, administrative and financial means and to hand them down to future generations” (ICOMOS 1999, 3).

Discussions surrounding communities often concerned latent issues of human rights breaches in heritage conservation. ICOMOS reaffirmed its commitment to respect human rights in the realm of heritage conservation and to mark the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as it adopted its own declaration confirming its organisational stance on the human rights to:

- the authentic testimony of cultural heritage, respected as an expression of one's cultural identity within the human family;
- The right to better understand one's heritage and that of others;
- The right to wise and appropriate use of heritage;
- The right to participate in decisions affecting heritage and the cultural values it embodies;
- The right to form associations for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage (ICOMOS 1998, np)

Within Advisory Bodies concerns surrounding indigenous peoples and their rights intensified in the 1990s. IUCN had been garnering expertise in this field since the 1980s. As mentioned earlier, the 1990 recommendations of the IUCN General Assembly held in Perth, Australia, (IUCN 1990) called for the recognition of the role of indigenous communities and requested that the Union's documents include especially indigenous women in the management of their environmental resources(IUCN 1990, art 1).

What became apparent is that the increased pressure from indigenous peoples led to conflicts concerning land rights. Hence there was an ongoing need for negotiation with indigenous groups, as their basic rights to access their ancestral lands were frequently violated (IUCN 1993a, 11). This mistreatment of indigenous peoples was often a result of state intervention or private corporations taking the land for extraction of natural resources (IUCN 1993a). IUCN recognised that “all forms of negotiation, conflict resolution, cooperation, participation, and joint management were themselves problematic” (IUCN 1993a, 11). This was because the power relation was unequal in impact assessments between the indigenous people and scientists. The former were minorities, often linguistically disadvantaged contrasted with those who devised those impact assessments based on an alien knowledge system (IUCN 1993a, 11).

In line with the earlier mentioned IUCN recommendations, in 1993 an Indigenous Peoples Symposium was convened by the Inter-Commission Task Force with the aim of developing strategies for sustainability. Issues which emerged during the development of guidelines for the involvement of indigenous peoples in strategies for sustainability indicated difficulty in the development of participatory approaches. The case studies presented by indigenous peoples to the task force clearly indicated conflicts between the traditional knowledge of local people, and scientific approaches (IUCN 1993b, 4). During this symposium the issue of mistreatment of indigenous peoples was reiterated: “within the

less developed world, emerging nation states have tended to appropriate all resources as belonging to the nation and for the benefit of all citizens, rather than to the local communities that have had historic access to these resources” (IUCN 1993b, 5). A case in point is that even where lands have been set aside as “protected”, the rationale behind the protection has been for the generation of tourism, the benefits of which rarely reach local people (IUCN 1993b, 4) The symposium succeeded in considerably advancing the process through which IUCN and indigenous peoples collaborate and it enhanced IUCN’s expertise in indigenous peoples (IUCN 1993b, 4). Consequently, the General Assembly which took place in Buenos Aires in 1994 urged all States and local authorities to ensure that local people and indigenous peoples fully participate in decisions concerning the planning and management of parks and Protected Areas (IUCN 1994, art 2). In line with the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development, in Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 (which pertains to the role of indigenous people and local communities in maintaining sustainable use of nature’s resources), in Principle 22 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, IUCN calls on governments to respect indigenous people’s rights to the sustainable use of natural resources (IUCN 1994a).

The main characteristic which seemed to distinguish indigenous peoples from traditional societies was their demand for self-determination. Although the latter made claims over land tenure, economic security, and local control over resources and decision-making, these in general were not made in terms of sovereign rights and self-determination (Posey 1996, 5). Inclusion of the indigenous peoples and local communities in the OG (UNESCO 2015) to the Convention merely encourages State Parties to engage with local communities. This is a token gesture from the WH Committee, a provision which has shifted from discouraging State Parties to inform local people about their plan to inscribe a place into the WHL to encouraging them to include them in the WH process. The literature

indicates that the indigenous peoples' rights movement embraced by IUCN policies was a factor in this significant change which guided the way heritage is identified and managed in the WH process. However, this change does not require States Parties to involve local communities in the identification of their heritage, rather it requires legal consultation concerning places already defined on the basis of comparative analysis and desk-based assessment.

3.7 The new millennium: enhanced considerations of indigenous peoples and local communities

During the 24th session of the Committee a discussion took place on the subject of maintaining a balance between the needs of local populations and the protection of heritage values. This is when the Indigenous Peoples' Forum voiced a petition to the WH Committee to: "Include the participation of indigenous peoples and local communities in meetings and processes established by the World Heritage Convention" (UNESCO 2000, Annex 5). The main aim of this proposal was to set up an additional Advisory Body to the Committee – the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE). The purpose of such a council was to allow active participation of indigenous people in the World Heritage processes (UNESCO 2001b). Nonetheless the WH Committee did not approve the establishment of WHIPCOE as a consultative body of the Committee. One of the stated reasons was that a Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UN 2000) already existed within structures of the UN (UNESCO 2002a, 57)

At consecutive WHC meetings, communities were mentioned increasingly often, for example, in the context of local communities' dependence on natural resources. The

Committee was more often in favour of recognition of community rights and knowledge and enhancing community participation in site management (UNESCO 2001a). The ‘Budapest Declaration on World Heritage’ adopted in 2002 was the first document which formally relates to local communities in the World Heritage policy. In this decision the States Parties are obliged to:

seek to ensure the active involvement of our local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of our World Heritage properties (UNESCO 2002, 6).

This document was evaluated in 2007 during the 31st session of the WH Committee and as a result a ‘fifth C’ for communities was added to the four existing main strategic objectives of the Convention (Credibility, Communication, Conservation and Capacity-building). The first definition of ‘communities’ (not local communities) in the decisions adopted during the WH Committee meetings was proposed in 2007.

‘communities’ encompass all forms of non-State actors. That is, from the smallest groups of citizens, in whichever form they manifest themselves. They may include groupings of peoples such as indigenous, traditional and/or local peoples. They may be presented as, inter alia, community groups, tribes, nongovernmental organizations, private enterprise and/or local authorities. The defining characteristic of communities, in this setting, is what they possess. They all possess a direct connection, with relevant interests, to individual sites and often they have a connection that has endured over time. Typically, these communities share a close proximity with the sites in question. These peoples and/or entities do not necessarily directly represent official State positions, and may actually be in dissent from official positions (UNESCO 2007b, 2).

In 2000 IUCN advanced its commitment to the rights of indigenous peoples even further when the World Commission on Protected Areas and the Commission on Environmental, Economic, and Social Policy set up the Theme on Indigenous and Local Communities, Equity and Protected Areas. This global network of people was working on the “issues of communities and equality (...) in the development and implementation of conservation policies and strategies that affect the lands, waters and other natural and cultural resources in relation to Protected Areas”(IUCN 2003, 3).

In 2003 the World Commission on Protected Areas published guidelines for the management planning of PAs, which outline a detailed methodology with justification for why PA managers should involve local people. This new paradigm clearly indicates different types of community involvement: participation, informing, consulting, deciding together, acting together and supporting independent community interests. It provides guidelines for consultation and very detailed methods (Thomas et al. 2003, 55-63). There are six categories of PA and IUCN created a classification system for PAs detailing both management category and governance type. These categories are: i) strict nature reserve/wilderness area, ii) national park, iii) natural monument, iv) habitat/species management, v) protected landscape/seascape, vi) protected area with sustainable use of natural resources. Governance type D was defined as governance by indigenous peoples and local communities which fall into the category of indigenous peoples’ protected areas and territories – established and run by indigenous peoples and community-conserved areas – declared and run by local communities (Dudley 2008, 27).

In 2001 ICCROM’s Council of the General Assembly allocated funds for projects which would help to address “how best to interest and involve the larger community in the conservation of cultural heritage” (ICCROM 2005, 21). The aim was to explore and develop ways of establishing bridges between the heritage and the community. Many of

ICCROM's programmes have promoted community-based approaches to conservation. The Living Heritage Conservation Programme, which stemmed from the earlier mentioned Integrated Territorial and Urban Conservation (ICCROM 2005), focused on the living dimension of sites. The programme was based on the premise that traditional forms of site management are as legitimate as 'Western-style' management plans in addressing management needs. It paid increased attention to various forms of "public participation" in heritage decision-making. The main objective of this programme was to marry traditional forms of conservation with the social aims of poverty alleviation, and social inclusion. The purpose of the programme was to learn from earlier conservation practices which removed traditional communities from performing their cultural practices pertaining to land use and conservation activities (ICCROM 2005, 29). Therefore, the Living Heritage Programme (which grew into the People-Centred Approach to Conservation) was based on the premise that heritage sites are living places, where conservation must be linked to the values, interests and capacities of the people who inhabit them and who are the long-term custodians of them. It also acknowledged that heritage sites are often imbued with religious and spiritual values and it is as important to maintain them as preservation of the material fabric which supports religious activities. In line with the OG of the Convention, the programme's main objective was to develop a methodology on how to involve local populations in the identification, documentation and provision of long term care of sites, within traditional conservation approaches which attend to the physical care of recognised heritage structures or ruins (ICCROM 2005, 29). ICCROM's particular justification and interest in developing people-centred approaches derived from disputed historical methods in conservation, based on the desire to expose earlier buildings, which consequently led to the exclusion of local people which was seen by ICCROM to have harmful social

consequences (such as loss of employment, loss of continuity, and loss of identity), leading to minimal local support for conservation activities (ICCROM 2005).

All three advisory bodies took up the theme of local communities. Significant contributions were made by the task force on the role of indigenous peoples and local communities in the conservation of natural resources convened by IUCN (discussed earlier in this chapter) and programmes carried out by ICCROM aimed at developing expertise in working with local communities at grass-roots level. ICOMOS highlighted the convergence of tangible and intangible values in parallel with the launch of UNESCO's Intangible Heritage Convention, which will be reviewed in the section below.

3.8 Communities and immaterial values in conservation

The focus in the World Heritage discourse shifted dramatically from studying conservation issues in the European context to understanding the nature of heritage in non-European cultures. Hence, the anthropological approach to heritage already advocated by IUCN and ICCROM was also supported by ICOMOS. In 2003 ICOMOS members gathered during their first General Assembly in Africa to discuss the theme "Place-Memory-Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites". Bouchenaki, who later became Director of ICCROM, in his opening speech at this meeting, argued that "the legal and administrative measures traditionally taken to protect material elements of cultural heritage are in most cases inappropriate for safeguarding a heritage whose most significant elements relate to particular systems of knowledge in specific social and cultural contexts" (Bouchenaki 2003, np).

Although an anthropological approach to conservation has been advocated for a number of years by advisory bodies and scholars alike, the main challenge in its application was seen

in the incorporation of immaterial values into conservation practice. Whether associated with place, landscape or both, it would require a fundamental shift from a static view of significance to one that recognises the dynamic and contextual nature of social meaning. This problem had already been identified by IUCN in its policies and recommendations, which urged the respective governments to include minority groups in conservation planning. Similarly, ICOMOS contributions pertaining to aboriginal heritage reiterated the need to acknowledge living memory. By doing so, professionals could re-consider the way time and time-depth had been privileged in assigning scientific and historical significance (Clarke and Johnson 2003). But practical application of such solutions, especially in the context of the mainstream preservation system of material culture, proved to be hard to operationalise. The critical presentation of ‘outsiders’, whether nature conservation scientists or specialists in material culture preservation, dominated the discourse. Truscott, using the example of Aboriginal communities who sought to re-paint rock art in areas where cultural traditions had been disrupted for more than 200 years, exposed the impotency of this new paradigm. In this example, Truscott argued that beliefs held by some outsiders about how such Aboriginal heritage should look came into conflict with the attempt to revive a tradition that had the full support of the community. She asked ICOMOS members to consider whether these meanings have the potential to conflict with, or add to, the full meaning of heritage places and whether ICOMOS knows how to protect such heritage and all of its values (Truscott 2003).

Numerous papers presented in 2003 during the ICOMOS meeting in Zimbabwe had a shared dominant theme. They criticized the Western system of heritage management designed to protect only tangible heritage and which considers modern scientific techniques as the only relevant ways of conservation. As in the previous ICOMOS meetings, there were numerous presentations which repeated the same issue concerning the

heritage preservation system inherited by post-colonial countries after they had gained their independence. The introduction of “Christianity, science and technology and legislation pertaining to land ownership” (Maradze 2003, np) was blamed for the ‘suffocation’ of traditional management systems. Consequently, protective legislation "denied local people the right to express themselves and communicate with their ancestors at cultural sites, thereby suppressing the implementation of traditional protection systems. Local people were not consulted in the formulation of these legal mandates , and those responsible for them had little knowledge of what really constitutes an African landscape" (Maradze, 2003, np). These critical comments were directed towards heritage protection agencies, which were deemed not to recognise the aspirations of local people and how their traditional practices and heritage sites linked them with their ancestral world (Innocent 2005). Accordingly, Katsamudanga compared a conventional heritage manager to an "intruder", as many of the living heritage sites in his country were in active use, and traditionally "the overall protection of sacred sites is facilitated through spirit mediums" (Katsamudanga 2003,np). Another argument in line with the earlier criticism of the National Museums and Monuments Act in Zimbabwe was made by Mupira, who pointed out that the current legislation which protects national monuments certainly does not reflect the local communities’ perception that everything within the landscape is important or sacred. Sites are valued by the communities because of their meaning. It has been argued that often those cultural sites are private, individual to the group, and secret. The wariness of communities concerning possible protection by the law shows they do not regard their cultural sites as public property (Mupira 2003). Traditional management systems are more concerned with associative meanings and values linked with the recent rather than the distant past (Clarke and Johnson 2003, Walker 2005, Ramsay, 2005). *And* if a place is considered to be of national importance "some scholars have argued that powerful

traditional leadership [based on those associative values] might be a threat to heritage survival, hence a threat to national development. Therefore, they have been brought under government control"(Katsamudanga 2003).

3.9 Development of tools for understanding of local peoples' awareness

Methods of interacting with local communities applied during the 1980s and '90s in heritage conservation pertained to measuring local residents' awareness of their attitudes towards heritage were the starting point in the development of tools for the interaction between heritage workers and local communities. These tools were often developed to measure the level of communities' moral obligation to preserve monuments, but also for heritage workers to learn what is significant for them.

It has been argued that the legal frameworks which derive from the Western traditions of professionalism are not designed to protect living heritage sites with associative and intangible values, as they often fail to appreciate community aspirations and community definitions of heritage (Hyland 2003). To respect indigenous heritage places and values methodological tools have been developed which work on the principle that indigenous people are the primary source of information on the value of their heritage and how this heritage is best conserved (Egloff 2002, 148). Indeed, the guide presented by Egloff was developed as part of a programme which was initiated as a result of reoccurring conflicts between conservationists and different industries in Australia (Egloff 2002, 145). This conservation model was based on a respect for the fabric, use, associations and meanings of heritage sites (Egloff 2002, 147).

Fleming and Campbell advocated the development of Environmental Impact Assessments, which are important as they document and conserve cultural heritage which is under

increasing development pressure. Hence they press for the individuals, organisations and institutions responsible for cultural heritage to be relevant to the modern socio-economic realities of heritage management and use this essential requirement of the EIA to consult with inhabitants in areas listed for development projects as part of the process of identifying and determining the significance of local cultural heritage, as well as with the public at large to mobilize support for the protection of heritage assets. They argue that anthropological field work and effective research and analysis, in the form of a comprehensive, coordinated study will minimize inconvenience to local people (Fleming and Campbell 2005). A phenomenological understanding of local people's spatial sense of the area they live in, where physical landmarks hold spiritual meanings associated with religious beliefs and with their ancestors, gives us an insight into how the setting relates to local people's values (Zhang et al.2005). Hou argues that through the application of the practice of cultural landscape in conservation, the diversity of historical and present meanings in the cultural and socio-political realm should recognise the public and community processes as a basis for meanings of cultural heritage in a changing landscape (Hou 2002, 325, see also Ramsay 2005). A study of social values of historic town spaces revealed that personal memory and the experiences of local communities were deemed important from the perspective of protecting historic towns. They contribute to individual and collective memory and local traditions. Thus, they play an important role in the cultural transmission of values across generations (Klosek-Kozłowska 2002, 88). Jane (2005) gives us an example of a Buffer Zone for a WHS which was logically and easily defined by experts both on a visual and historical basis. However, within local communities tensions emerged relating to the relationship between the village within the inscription zone and the surrounding community. Some parts of the community, for example, perceived that key stakeholders within the WHS would now be able to determine

what could or could not be done within the Buffer Zone, creating a sense of a loss of ownership of their place. Community meetings informed local residents about the purpose of a buffer zone and the significance of the place. Jane reflects that although it is important to empower communities in the heritage process, experts would benefit from the knowledge of how communities perceive and value the place. This would enable them to identify methods for empowerment of local communities, enabling them to participate in a site's conservation and management. Examples of local community empowerment and projects designed to increase communities' knowledge about the value of their cultural environment are common in the ICOMOS discourse. Those case studies are based on the premise that the best way to secure the protection of sites of historic significance is to raise public awareness of the cultural environment as well as to involve key stakeholders in their conservation (Nastuko and Sirisrisak 2005).

Studies focusing on how people use a place and how traditions have created their own urban and architectural structures, landscape and monuments are becoming increasingly popular. They introduce alternative approaches to conservation and planning. However, often they are referred to as tools to alleviate future conflicts between local people and heritage experts (Rojas, 2003).

Despite the development of tools and methodologies for community interaction, the majority of the case studies presented related to awareness-raising exercises and empowerment or community engagement with some exceptions, those can relate to local advocacy group campaigns for the preservation of places which existing policies failed to protect (Kyle 2005).

Whether derived from the European experience or outside Europe, they usually involve the passive role of communities in the heritage process. To illustrate this interaction between conservation experts and local communities, attention was drawn to the listing process,

which was seen as an opportunity to communicate the values of a community's buildings and surroundings as perceived by experts: "Even before a site is listed during field research, an expert has the chance to talk to people and to show and explain to them what has been selected according to these given criteria and thoughts" (Lübbecke 2002, 38). As the authority of those representing heritage authorities is enshrined in law, in such a system it is only logical that it is they who decide what is important and why, and then engage communities in the process of protecting those values.

Since the General Assembly in Zimbabwe in 2003, ICOMOS members, in consecutive declarations and charters, have expressed their interest in a more holistic approach to heritage conservation. The Xi'an Declaration of 2005 concerns the idea of conservation of context in the protection of WHSs, which is defined not only on the basis of the physical attributes but also social and spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge and other intangible forms and expressions. The latter was repeated in consecutive doctrinal texts; the Ename Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICOMOS 2008a, art 6) can serve as an example. Principle 6 of that charter is dedicated entirely to the inclusiveness of diverse interpretations of places of historic significance by all stakeholders. As the focus of ICOMOS debates shifted steadily from conservation issues of tangible heritage towards intangible heritage, associative values and the spiritual dimension of heritage sites and monuments, the notion of including of all stakeholders in the interpretation of heritage sites and monuments was replaced by the term 'pluralistic societies with multiple attachments to place' (ICOMOS 2008b, Preamble). Not only was the understanding of communities and stakeholders evolving, but also the concept of intangible heritage was being enriched by the notion of spirit of place, embodied in tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and intangible elements (such as memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values,

textures, colours, odours, etc.). That is to say the physical and the spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion (ICOMOS 2008b).

By pledging its commitment to understanding and respecting spirit of place, ICOMOS members were campaigning for its inclusion in legislation concerning cultural heritage. Such inclusion through positive discrimination of marginalised voices of minority groups, regardless of whether they are natives or newcomers was to ensure sustainable development of communities that inhabit a place, especially when they are traditional societies as they were seen to be “best equipped to safeguard spirit of place” (ICOMOS 2008b, art 9). Similarly to IUCN, ICOMOS singled out traditional cultural groups and indigenous peoples in its policies on the basis that they are pivotal to the safeguarding of memory, vitality, and continuity through transition of narratives. Such contributions and changes from the indigenous communities and traditional peoples are usually represented in the contexts of non-Western societies.

During the 35th session of the WHC (UNESCO 2011, art. 15) some of the requests made by the Indigenous Peoples Forum were incorporated into the report on the global state of conservation challenges facing World Heritage properties. A decision was adopted urging States Parties to involve indigenous peoples and local communities in decision making, monitoring and evaluation of the state of conservation of World Heritage properties and their OUV and to link the direct community benefits to protection outcomes (UNESCO 2011b). It also encouraged States Parties to: “Respect the rights of indigenous peoples when nominating, managing and reporting on WHSs in indigenous peoples’ territories” (UNESCO 2011b art 15f).

The impacts of dominating global narratives and economic development on local communities were the subject of a scientific symposium organised on the theme of ‘Heritage as a driver of development’. During this meeting the ICOMOS members adopted

a set of principles (ICOMOS 2011) which dealt with the effects of globalization of markets and movement of workforces on urban and rural settlements. This set of principles aimed “to counteract segregation and social rootlessness as part of attempts to reinforce identity” (ICOMOS 2011, 1). The Valetta Principles were seeking not only to engage the public in interpretation programmes, but took a step further by saying: “Mutual understanding, based on public awareness, and the search for common objectives between local communities and professional groups, is the basis of the successful conservation, revitalization and development of historic towns.” (ICOMOS 2011, 16).

ICOMOS members recognised that in order to improve people’s quality of life there is a need to safeguard and respect human “values” related directly to protection of the spirit of place, and thus, to people’s identity. Inclusion of human values and participation of people and groups from a variety of cultures was seen as a necessity to utilise heritage as a driver of development (ICOMOS 2011). The ICOMOS Florence Declaration (2014) promotes the concept of sustainable development, placing people at the centre of the cultural debate where cultural diversity is expressed through heritage and landscape values, imbued with the living memory of past generations transmitted to the next generations. This charter relates very strongly to different aspects of involvement of local communities.

Despite this strong emphasis in the WH system on inclusion of local communities in the identification, conservation and management of their heritage an independent report commissioned by IUCN indicates that a growing concern about community and rights issues is emerging in natural site nominations. The lack of operational frameworks was identified as an obstacle hindering more effective integration of these approaches (Campese, et al. 2009). Larsen relates to the technical aspect of checking whether States Parties put in place efforts to respect, protect and fulfil the rights of communities. He concludes that IUCN has no responsibility to conduct full prior evaluations of a given

WHS nomination to identify rights issues and engage with affected persons (Larsen 2012, 11). To sum up, he identifies community and rights issues as being highly “dependent” on the level of civil society reporting and critique (Larsen 2012, 18). He also addresses the lack of a concrete set of policy principles and performance indicators on community and rights issues guiding WH Committee decisions on specific site nominations (Larsen 2012). The advisory support which ICOMOS provides for the WH Committee does not to engage with the public at large, and it is not requested to do so within its responsibilities to the WHC. Indeed in 2012 ICOMOS made a plea for greater involvement of communities in decisions concerning World Heritage and criticised the World Heritage Committee for failing to include “such critical representation in the structures of the Committee or in the OG”. ICOMOS asserted that there is a need for clear definition of the role of communities in the OG of the Convention (UNESCO 2012, 12).

This policy review chapter shows that the World Heritage concept at its very inception did not effectively consider the role of communities either in the identification of their heritage or in their management. The Nizhny Tagil Charter for Industrial heritage proposed by (TICCIH) in 2003 was the first real attempt to recognise communities directly related to industrial places. The document also acknowledges communities which are vulnerable to "rapid structural change". Although not formally adopted by UNESCO, it was an attempt to recognise those communities in the context of conservation of monuments which was often discussed in isolation from politics. Scientific research, as opposed to emotional relationships between people and their local environment, the production of knowledge, training and development of skills were at the forefront of ICCROM's and ICOMOS's objectives at their inception. This chapter demonstrates how communities became an intrinsic part of the World Heritage process, tightly linked with expertise developed on the subject within respective advisory bodies. The theme of local communities symbolically

marked a milestone in the development of the WHC when it was chosen to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Convention in 2012 (UNESCO 2011c). It produced Kyoto Vision which underlines the importance of people-centred conservation of World Heritage. The document calls for “effective involvement of local communities, indigenous peoples, experts and youth” (UNESCO 2012a) in all aspects of conservation practice. It was not until 2015 that the OG were amended to include specific references to indigenous peoples in paragraphs 40 and 123 (UNESCO 2015). The latter coincided with the adoption by the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention Policy for the integration of a Sustainable Development perspective into the World Heritage process, which is strong on community aspects, much of which is drawn straight from mainstream UN thinking around the Sustainable Development Goals (UNESCO 2015a, UNESCO 2015b).

3.10 Summary

All three advisory bodies form an integral part of the WH system. They do not hold any executive powers in the process, but they exert influence by adopting a persuasive approach, producing best practice guidance, conducting training and maintaining their institutional integrity. This chapter reviewed how views on communities have developed within IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM and how those have influenced the WH system as exemplified by the Nara document on authenticity (ICOMOS 1994), which was directly incorporated into the OG. Support for the interest of indigenous peoples and local communities developed at IUCN and development of management models based on anthropological and ethnographical research in conservation can be directly linked to the current UNESCO initiative on Heritage of Religious Interest (UNESCO 2018) which pertains to religious and sacred sites, also a foci of ICCROM programmes discussed in this

chapter. ICCROM's support for a value-based conservation made a significant contribution to the development of the current methodology for drafting Statements of OUV, which are required in the nomination documents (ICCROM 2007). These are just examples how views on communities have developed and were operationalised in different initiatives and policies. I would like to stress that developments on communities within the World Heritage system has not been dependent just on advice of the Advisory Bodies but also on other influences, including from within the UN system (i.e. see UNESCO 2015a, UNESCO 2015b).

The review of policies and representations of communities presented in this chapter show that the origins of the WHC are embedded in Western European traditions, where authenticity, aesthetics, age and scientific values play an intrinsic part in state heritage preservation systems. The realm of legal heritage protection and state bureaucracies are designed to operate in such a way that these scientific values are fixed and quantified. Despite promoting a people-centred approach in conservation by developing a template for SOUV, ICCROM actually conforms to the idea of fixed values, which are, paradoxically, in conflict with the living heritage approach.

The creation of the 1972 Convention was the last international development in the heritage conservation movement deriving from the 19th-century conservation philosophy. The end of an era. What we are now witnessing are two independently functioning paradigms: the traditional one derived from European philosophy, as illustrated in this chapter, and the second paradigm of cultural relativity inspired by the indigenous peoples' movement and multiculturalism (frequently represented in literature in non-European nations) as well as citizenship in the industrialised nations. They coexist at present, running in parallel. These paradigms are mutually exclusive as they are based on conceptually different premises. The input of advisory bodies demonstrates that the second paradigm relating to the living

heritage approach, living cultures, can function and thrive, indeed it has established its legitimacy; however, its survival can be secured only when it does not pose a threat to national development.

4. THE PLACE

This chapter examines the background history of an area designated as a WHS (hereafter the Site) located in the Ironbridge Gorge. It starts with a presentation of the main characteristics of the people who lived in the Gorge in the 18th and 19th centuries. It then moves into a review of the developments introduced after the war by the Telford Development Corporation (TDC) following the decline of industries, describing how they impacted on the local communities. Special emphasis is given to the presentation of policies forged by TDC in relation to the role this area was going to play in the context of Telford New Town. Within these an outline is presented of the interaction between local residents living in the designated area and conservation and planning authorities. What follows is a commentary on the way in which the area gained its significance and became a symbol of the Industrial Revolution, which gained it renown nationally and culminated in the inscription of the Ironbridge Gorge on the WHL. The latter would never have been achieved without the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, tasked with the management of the Site to this day.

The industrial history of the place and how intense exploitation of the natural resources shaped the socio-economic landscape has been extensively researched by Alfrey and Clark (1993), Baugh,(1985), Hayman and Horton (2006), Hayman, et al. (1999), Trinder, (2016)

The area which forms the focus of my case study is a place designated as a WHS located in the Ironbridge Gorge, currently under the administration of Telford and Wrekin Council and Shropshire Council, England.

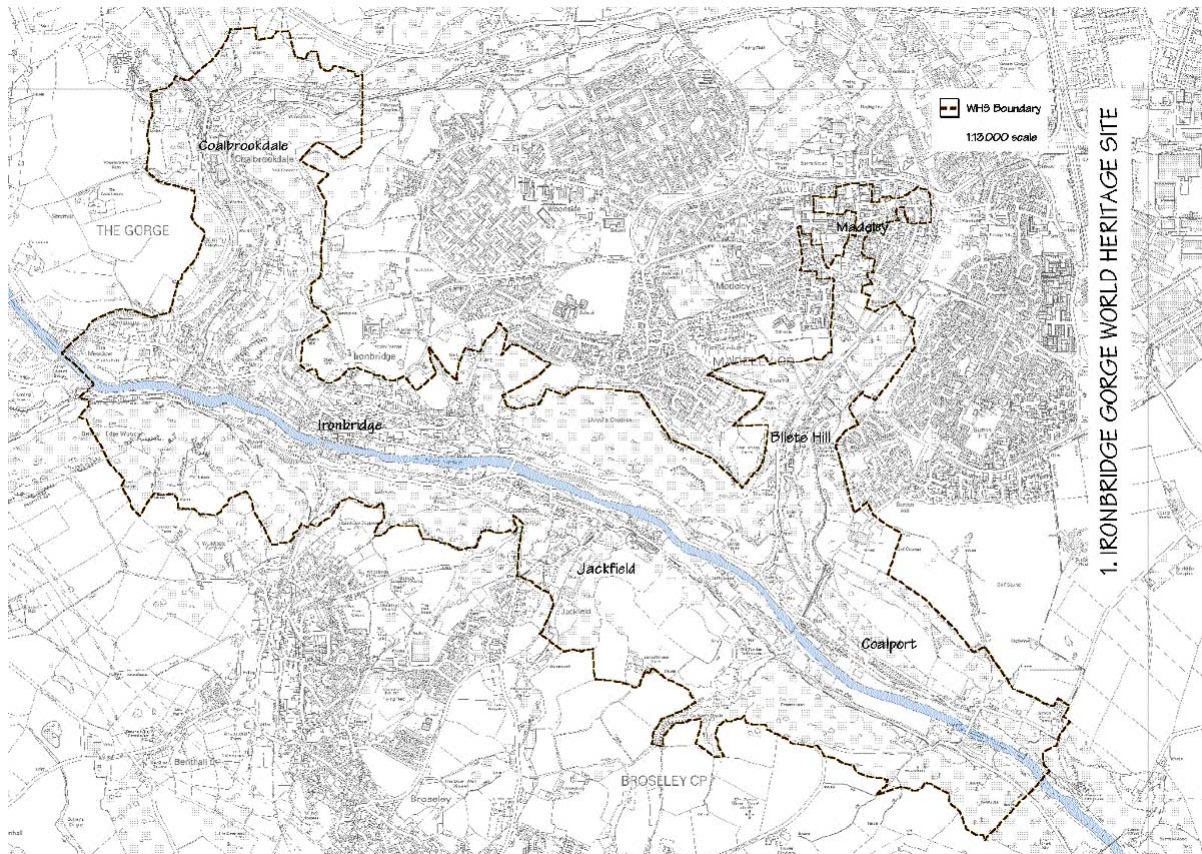


Figure 1. Map Locating the site in the context of the UK

[source: World Heritage Centre, 2018]

The Site covers an area of 5.5 km² (550ha) (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 20) and includes distinctive settlements located in the proximity of the River Sever. On the eastern edges are Jackfield and Coalport; Ironbridge is located centrally, and to the west of the inscription zone is Coalbrookdale village, while to the north-east the Site incorporates parts of Madeley.

4.1. Communities of the Ironbridge Gorge

WHS designation includes six historically distinctive settlements: Madeley, Ironbridge, Madely Wood, Coalport, Jackfield and Coalbrookdale. Earlier studies of social patterns suggest that each community was composed of a number of closely knit societies, often independent of each other. Except for communities from Madely, Ironbridge was a commercial centre for residents living in the Gorge. Broseley (located south of the river), although historically integral to the mid-18th and 19th-century industrial developments of the area, was not included in the designation (see section 7.6).

In the 18th and 19th centuries the local population worked in the industries available in the area. As mineral exploitation and industrial production expanded, arable land was incorporated into the industrial landscape. Surviving coalfield farms were geared to production for the adjacent industry's needs, particularly in providing pasturage and fodder for the huge number of horses at the ironworks and pits. In the late 18th century many families in Madeley were in dire circumstances as there were severe food shortages (de Soissons, 1991, 23). Ironmasters, such as Richard Reynolds, encouraged small allotments by leasing land to his employees. (de Soissons, 1991, 25). Workpeople who lived in the Ironbridge Gorge and the surrounding districts such as Madeley and Broseley were often influenced by ironmasters, who controlled their social habits by restricting opportunities for drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking, enforcing punctuality and providing churches, chapels, schools and places for recreation (Trinder 1988, 1). Many of the ironmasters were Quakers known for their restraint, frugality and the avoidance of debt. This was crucial if the business was to survive. The way they conducted business was also in line with their Quaker values, based on trust between their business partners and their senior employees, who were also Quakers (Trinder 2016, 86). The Darby and Reynolds families and most of

their managers at Coalbrookdale were members of the Society of Friends (Trinder, 1988, 8).

Nonconformist denominations were widely represented in the area and amongst them were Methodists. They had chapels in Coalbrookdale, Madely Wood and Madeley (Trinder 2016, 85). Generally, narratives on the Industrial Revolution are focused on men and their work in the foundries, coal pits and many other industries such as trade. Women have not been represented as well, almost as if they played a nominal role in the industrial past of the area. However, there is research which indicates that within the Quaker communities women were responsible for bookkeeping and many other duties which made the business run smoothly. Women also found employment at the Coalport china factory using their skills in decorating pottery. In Jackfield they were famous for designing patterns on tiles and painting them. In the 19th century it was popular for young girls from the working classes to earn their living by picking ironstone on the pit bank, ten hours a day. Many girls in Shropshire did this work and they could be as young as ten or eleven. Boys also went to work in the pits at an early age. Conditions in the local ironworks were not better. Twelve-hour shifts were normal at furnaces. The human costs of this intense production which took place in the Gorge were high (Trinder 1971, 22).

In the 1930s Merrythought Toys moved to Ironbridge; in the first five years of their operation they were employing over 100 staff, mainly women. During WWII, at the Government's request, many existing enterprises, such as Coalport, The Coalbrookdale and Merrythought, commenced production of items for the war (Merrythought nd)¹ After the war people carried on living in the area. The power station in Buildwas remained in operation until it ceased commercial activity in November 2015 after producing electricity for over 80 years (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 47). The Coalbrookdale Works, Aga-

¹ To give an example, Merrythought Toys, with a 200-strong workforce at the time, produced textile items such as chevrons, helmet linings, igniter bags, gas mask bags and hot water bottle covers.

Rayburn, began operations in Coalbrookdale, adjacent to the historic Darby furnace in 1946 (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 26) and closed its branch in Coalbrookdale in 2017 (see chapter eight). Tile factories also remained in operation after the war, the most interesting fusion of industrial heritage and the continuation of industry can be found in Jackfield where Craven Dunnill Jackfield, Ltd. brought tile manufacturing back to the Gorge (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 26).

In the 1960s the inhabitants of the Gorge lived in conditions which lacked basic amenities and were regarded as unsatisfactory by contemporary health and safety standards (de Soissons, 1991, 22). A description of a village in Benthall, just on the edges of the WHS inscription zone, indicates that there were still families living pre-20th century lifestyles, using gas lights and fetching their water from the spout of a spring, with no electricity to watch TV and using an open box grate to cook meals. This way of life was perceived as “primitive” but happy (Ideal Home Magazine, 1972). A high proportion of people living in the Gorge in the 70s were pensioners who usually inhabited older properties and were considered to have a very limited ability to improve their homes (TDC 1975a, 52).

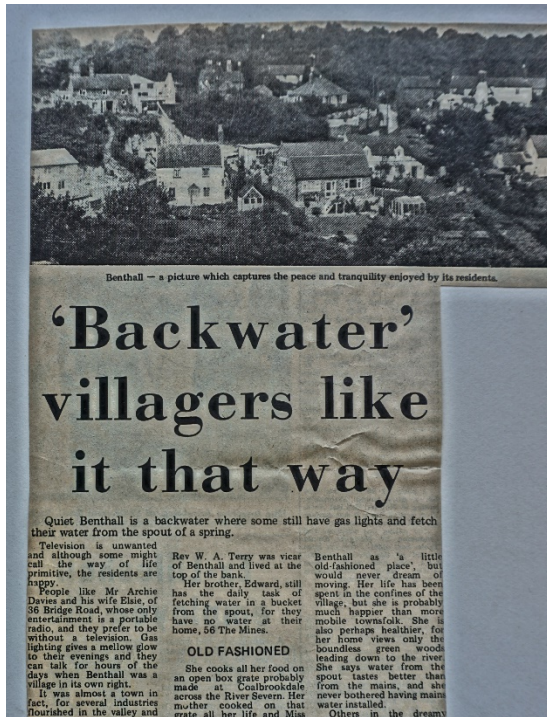


Figure 2. Newspaper article describing disappearing lifestyles.

Ideal Home Magazine, 1972, © Ironbridge Archives

In 1973 the Corporation undertook a social survey of the whole of the New Town area. It was in fact a market research project which was designed to inform the development of Telford's town centre, shopping and leisure facilities. This research indicated that there was a high proportion of older people who had lived in the area for most of their lives. The number of people over 60 years old was higher than the national average. There was also a lower number of younger families with children, particularly people in the 21-40 age group. A quarter of 900 surveyed dwellings were inhabited by one person, often widowed. The survey indicated that more people were employed in manufacturing than in service industries (TDC 1975a, p. 52). This research also suggests that before the development of shopping facilities in Telford, people used to shop locally in the Severn Gorge area. However, the attraction of modern shopping centres like the one in Telford Town Centre have made a difference to shopping patterns. The lack of many social and commercial amenities, which were gradually diminishing, especially in the 1960s, together with the

declining level of public transport and the visual decay of the physical environment led a third of people interviewed to express dissatisfaction with the area. The former industries – coal mining, iron founding, brick and tile making – had left a legacy of uncapped and unplanned mine shafts, spoil heaps, polluted watercourses and atmosphere (Trinder 1996)². It was the duty of the Development Corporation to secure the development of the Severn Gorge within the Basic Plan for the New Town. The Corporation had a plan and worked in stages on the development of specific proposals which had to be submitted to the Secretary of State under the New Towns Act 1965 (TDC 1975 a).

Preservation of the historic area in the Severn Gorge was an integral part of the overarching plan for the new town. The policy document published by TDC outlined objectives which guided actions taken by the Corporation in regards to the role of the historic environment. It was recognised that numerous new towns which had developed in the past were founded on “shallow roots”, hence it was very hard to find a common identity and a sense of place amongst their residents. The Corporation was championing preservation of the area’s historic past in the Gorge and it was apparent for the decision makers that the

Incoming population can immediately identify with a society which has an industrial history over 250 years old, which is of world-wide significance and importance. Indeed, the New Town is itself a renaissance of the area’s past industrial history, and the new industry and the population now coming into the area is a logical extension of everything that has gone before. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that there should be no schism between the two and that there

² On the East Shropshire coalfield landscape, see Trinder 1996, pp77-133. For an idea of the blighted landscape in the 1950s, one need only turn to the photographic record, best seen in Cossons, N. and Sowden, H. 1977 *Ironbridge. Landscape of Industry* (London, Cassell).

should be the closest possible identity between the work of preservation and conservation, and the development of the New Town (TDC 1975a, 59).

The original community was considered by the Corporation as the valuable social fabric: “the stock of the area upon which a number of newcomers can be grafted” (TDC 1975a, 54).

Outsiders were often professionals, people with higher disposable income to renovate their homes. The policies of TDC stated clearly that within the regeneration scheme of the area two types of communities have to be accommodated “otherwise a situation of all graft and no stock will be created, not a good base upon which to continue the long history and tradition of the area” (TDC 1975a, 54). The Corporation and other bodies responsible for the area were planning for changes which would produce new facilities for the local population (TDC 1975a, 55). This was also confirmed by the director of the IGMT, who reassured the local communities of Ironbridge that they would gain from the development of the museum although it was expected that the new facilities and especially new shops would cater mainly for visitors rather than for the local communities. This is because there was insufficient purchasing power – the local grocer and similar tradesman were turning a profit only on weekends when visitors were coming to the area (Shropshire Star 1971a). This area needed special incentives, which were introduced by the Corporation for traders who were willing to open their businesses in Ironbridge. This, together with funding from the corporation and the Wrekin district, helped to bring commercial activity back to Ironbridge (Telford Journal, 1977). The draft plan developed by the Corporation made it clear that the best qualities of the existing settlements would be preserved and integrated into the new town structure, although a significant portion of the existing houses were in poor condition. Of the approximately 7,000 dwellings in the new town designated area, a staggering forty per cent were then considered to have a further useful life of up to 5 years

only (De Soissons 1991, 64). Changes to the local environment introduced by TDC meant that local residents were affected by compulsory purchases. Hence, ‘In those early days few people in the settlements welcomed the new town. They associated the new town with the change which affected their lives as well as the landscape that they had known all their lives’ (Soissons 1991, 66).

A number of objectives were set out in order to achieve the overarching aim concerning “clarification of the landscape character of the Gorge” (Thomas 1982, np). Accordingly, the removal of elements “incompatible with the designation of the Gorge as a high amenity area” (Thomas 1982, np) was necessary. This included quite dramatic proposals to relocate existing industries. Many of those situated in the Jackfield area, although outside the designated area, were deemed to have a visual impact on the area from the northern slopes and to dominate (and thereby impair) the views from that side. The removal of derelict properties other than those of archaeological value, and landscaping, was an important part of the improvement programme. The undercurrent idea in the proposed plan was that in the long term the changes would “recreate the beauty which the Gorge has partly lost during the past 400 years” (Thomas 1982, np).

The Corporation needed a body with adequate expertise in the preservation of industrial monuments, which would be run as a museum independently of the Corporation (Thomas 1982, 7). The costs of the expertise involved in the preservation and conservation of the monuments required a significant amount of funding which a Trust tasked with the management of Ironbridge Gorge was expected to obtain independently from both Government and industrial sources and from charitable foundations, besides possible grants from the County Council, local authorities and the Development Corporation. It was also expected that such a Trust would employ the necessary staff with specialist

knowledge, and would consequently serve as an advisory body to the Corporation on the specialist issues concerning conservation of the area.

, The Trust was established with TDC backing on 18 October 1967 and formally registered as a company limited by guarantee (Thomas 1982, 1). It was actually conceived some years before that date as part of the visionary process which led to the building of the new town of Dawley, which later became the new town of Telford (Thomas 1982, 1).

The objectives of this educational charity were the preservation, restoration and interpretation of historic sites and properties within the Shropshire Coalfield (see Appendix i).

4.2 TDC Policies

The directives set out to guide TDC were implemented in stages. Accordingly, Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale were included within a conservation area by Salop County Council in 1971. The area was subsequently declared by the Historic Buildings Council to be of outstanding importance (TDC 1975a, 56). In 1975 two policy documents concerning the historic environment within the Gorge were published by TDC. The first one, 'The Severn Gorge', referred to the general policy plan for the Severn Gorge, defined broadly within its visual limits, therefore it did not include the township of Broseley. The second one was focused only on the village of Ironbridge and it was entitled 'Ironbridge'75'. The former supported the extension of the conservation area to include Coalport and Jackfield (TDC 1975 a, 57). These policy documents were preceded by a comprehensive study of buildings in Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale which informed future directions of the relevant planning and conservation authorities. There are also records that the Ironbridge Coalbrookdale

society at the time was consulted by TDC on what type of environment the local people wanted to live in (Shropshire Star 1973). In 1974 “a further 132 buildings, and other features of value were added to those 73 already on the list of buildings of special architectural or historical interest for the Severn Gorge”, thus affording such buildings a wide measure of protection, not only against demolition but also against unsuitable alteration (TDC 1975a 41). The Severn Gorge emphasised the importance of the authentic setting of the industrial history of the Gorge, preservation of its historical features and scenic qualities. Inevitably, a policy plan set defined limits to the various uses and activities which were allowed within the Gorge (TDC 1975a, 20). It was explicitly set out in the general policy outline that buildings at Coalbrookdale were considered “historically pre-eminent” (TDC 1975a, 45), hence their integrity and authenticity had to be protected. The emphasis was put on the preservation of the authentic nature of the area, hence buildings should not be modernised, at least externally (TDC 1975a, 45). On the positive side, because of its outstanding importance the area qualified for extra financial incentives not available to ordinary conservation areas.

Dereliction of the buildings was not the main challenge for the planners. The existing drainage in Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale was unsatisfactory and posed one of the main concerns for the Corporation in terms of the area’s management. It was clear that in 1975 direct discharge of sewage went into the river without any treatment. If the area was to attract newcomers to settle down, it was a priority to stop the pollution of the environment (TDC 1975 a). In 1976 Telford DC began major works to locate services for the sewage treatment plant (Hayman and Horton 2012, 49). In line with the overarching philosophy to make the area aesthetically appealing, consensual demolitions of buildings were carried out. The problem of demolition of derelict properties was controversial amongst local residents as well as for the IGMT, tasked with the preservation and restoration of historic

sites and properties in the area. Neil Cossons, director of IGMT, campaigned to stop the demolition of the houses. He also warned the council that if further demolitions were to continue this would result in a visual disintegration of the townscape. But the demolitions of historic buildings had already been taking place before the TDC regeneration scheme. In the 1940s and 1950s two tall shop buildings that formed a portal in the village, on the site of the actual Iron Bridge, were demolished. In 1900 there were more than 50 shops; in the early 1970s there were fewer than 20 shops. Neil Cossons' vision for the Gorge was the slow regeneration of disused industrial buildings (The Times, 1973, 31). The Environmental Reporter for the Times reflected in an article that Telford New Town would prefer newcomer communities to "spend money on improving one of Ironbridge's empty cottages rather than take even a well-designed new town house" (The Times, 1973, 31). This critical piece in The Times presented Dawley Council in a negative light as it implied that the local council itself could not see the value in many of the buildings in the area and considered them substandard, and hence useless. This led to demolitions which made the original community quite anxious about the future of their local area. According to the article they expressed their discontent when buildings were to be demolished (The Times, 1973, 31 March). The aim of those demolitions was to improve the aesthetic value of the area and attract visitors it was anticipated that some of the visitors would like the place sufficiently to want to move there.

The Corporation was often faced with difficult choices. It set itself objectives which were often difficult to marry with the volume of financial resources needed to fulfil them. Madeley Wood, and in particular Jockey Bank in Ironbridge, where a major landslip was triggered by pit mounds and the place fell into disrepair, can serve as an example. The area in question had a population of 150. There were 63 occupied dwellings and 23 empty ones (de Soissons, 1991, 121), with some of the cottages dating back to the 16th century (Telford

Journal, 1974, 15). The empty houses were used for household refuse. In these surroundings the inhabitants were mostly the original community and often retired. It was recorded that despite the poor standards of their accommodation, they still wanted to stay on their 'native heath' (de Soissons, 1991, 121); instead of leaving dilapidated buildings to decay or simply demolishing them (de Soissons, 1991, 121), they opted for preservation.

Although demolitions were considered as a shortfall on the behalf of the local authority, TDC anticipated that the condition of housing generally was improving. And they had to be in sound condition not to make an impression of decay and neglect on the casual visitor (TDC 1975a).

The appointment of the first director of the IGMT, Neil Cossons, in 1971 put Ironbridge Gorge museums not only on the map as a tourist destination but as pioneering Industrial Archaeology research centre. When Cossons took over the museums he estimated that they needed to attract at least 100,000 tourists to make the Gorge a viable heritage site (Shropshire Star 1971a).

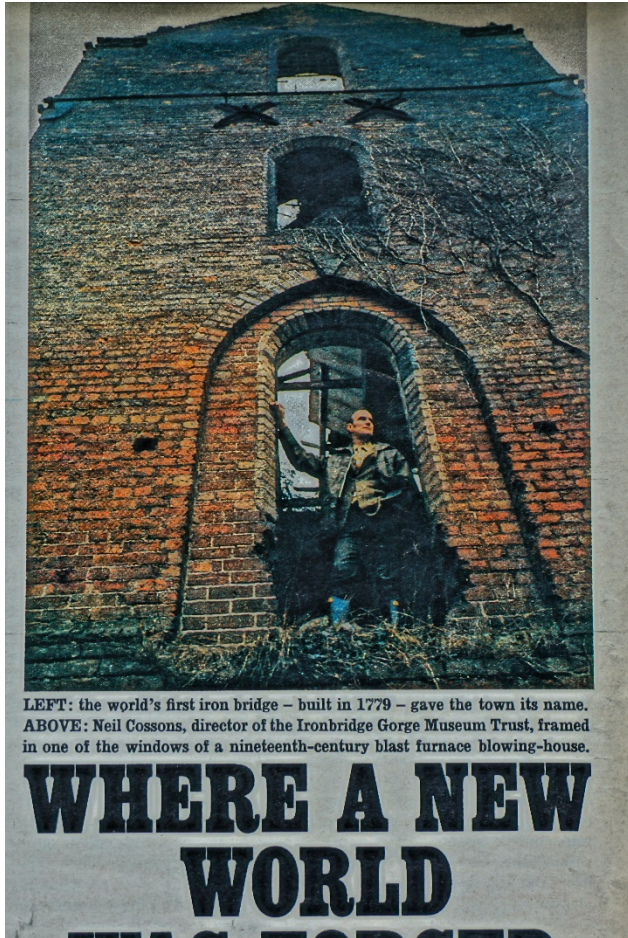


Figure 3. Neil Cossons, first director of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust.

© Ironbridge Archives

4.3 Ironbridge'75

The second report mentioned earlier, published in 1975, focused only on the area of Ironbridge. This report was informed by a detailed survey conducted by an architect who made his assessment of the character of the area. The report identified even the most minor problems and detailed drawbacks in the current state of conservation of the buildings in Ironbridge. It mainly focused on negative cases, targeting poor conservation conduct and suggesting recommendations for improvements. The justification for the report was prompted by the diminishing value of Ironbridge, which had been “compromised by

thoughtless alterations” (TDC 1975b, np). The report stressed the idea of the integrity of a group of monuments and the importance of their setting (TDC 1975b, 26). The plan criticized the inconsistency of the implementation of the principles of the Conservation Area, in which the retention of the original architectural character should be aimed for (TDC 1975b, 31). This very detailed assessment considered individual properties, describing all shortcomings in their compliance with rigid conservation rules. It was a blame-and-shame exercise imposing the authority of the TDC over the homeowners in Ironbridge. Bearing in mind the character of this small community in Ironbridge, it was not long before the provocative character of this document became a subject of heated exchanges between the interested parties (TDC 1975b).



Figure 4. An article describing regeneration process in Ironbridge.

Evening News, 23 March 1973, © Ironbridge Archives

Although the document clearly acknowledges the fact that Ironbridge is “not a museum” (TDC 1975, 88) and that the local people “are ordinary people living ordinary lives and Ironbridge is their home” (TDC 1975, 88), it concluded that people living in historic

properties were expected to share the Corporation's vision for Ironbridge Gorge. This document was published mainly to prevent unsympathetic conservation practice. The authors of the publication emphasised the importance of retaining historic features and simply distinguishing the "good from the bad" (TDC 1975b, 88) when making conservation decisions. To assist in making those decisions they produced a manual with detailed guidance on various aspects of architectural design, for example, what type of windows would be acceptable and which ones would be incongruous³. The ultimate aim of this guidance was to make Ironbridge a place which looked aesthetically appealing.

When IGMT was founded it was agreed that it would provide advice to the TDC on conservation issues. Soon it became clear that this collaboration had its flaws. Just after the publication of the 'Ironbridge 1975' policy, the director of the IGMT, publicly expressed his criticism that "This corporation plan contained subjective criticism with no general philosophy to back it up" (Shropshire Star 1975,3). He also denied any association with the booklet, as the museum had not been consulted. Additionally, he expressed his concern pertaining to the way in which the Corporation was approaching conservation issues. He undermined the validity of the philosophy which guided this document based on unconstructive criticism of local residents for what they had already done (Shropshire Star, 1975, 3). He was not alone in strongly opposing the TDC's policy guidance, which stirred discontent amongst wider circles. A local architect expressed his disappointment that "any rational improvement of properties in the Severn Gorge was halted in the early 1970s when planners became stupefied by the word 'conservation' (Telford Journal 1975, np). His work was explicitly criticised in the publication. His stance contrasted to what was proposed by the conservation office, as from the practical point of view the requirements were unrealistic

³ For example: a panelled door of Georgian origins is out of place in any, but the grander houses. The practice of installing such doors in small cottages is misguided, and they look even more incongruous in timber-framed houses. (TDC 1975 b)

The dictators of architectural style seem to have lost all sense of proportion. For centuries cathedrals, great country houses and countless other buildings all over the world have been updated and extended in a manner contemporary with the time a normal process which delights historians (Telford Journal 1975, np).

As there was a high proportion of empty homes in the Gorge, there was a need to upgrade them so newcomers could move into a 20th-century home. One of the properties which was refused planning application was located near the Bedlam Furnaces, and their proximity had been quoted in the planning refusal. The architect comments: “the Bedlam furnaces were furnaces (...) not the Taj Mahal (Telford Journal 1975, np).” This kind of tension indicated the lack of a balance between the needs of homeowners and conservation in the designated area (Telford Journal, 1975). Preservation of historic buildings, although challenging financially, was providing employment for many specialists and it was an opportunity to venture a profitable business. After Ironbridge was designated as an area of special interest, Broseley businessman Ron Bryan bought 100 properties in the Ironbridge Gorge, hoping for a considerable return on his investment. As a matter of record, only 60 of the houses were still standing in 1971. His policy was to demolish whole rows of the houses he bought which required too much investment. Houses which were in sound condition were refurbished and sold. Nearly 20 houses at The Lloyds were torn down as they were considered to spoil the look of the area. The properties in the Gorge had attractive prices for incoming families from Birmingham and the Midlands. The businessman was selling his houses for as little as £100, and his top price for a house which did not require much work was around £500 (Shropshire Journal 1971, 7). As a point of reference, in 1973 a post for a Community Project Officer at the IGMT offered a yearly salary in the range £1500-£2388 (New Statesman 1973).

Once the houses were condemned for demolition their residents were offered alternative accommodation in newly built housing estates. Every eviction case differed; however, those writs of evictions were legally binding, and people who received them had to accept the terms. A good example recorded in a local newspaper that of the well-known Rogers family, who received a writ of eviction. Harry Rogers (1887 – 1967), known as the ‘coracle man’, rejected the eviction order. He barricaded himself in his house with his wife, and a shotgun, threatening to shoot anyone who came to evict him (The Journal, 1974,).



Figure 5. Article describing eviction incident in Ironbridge.

The Journal 05 September 1974, © Ironbridge Archives

There were conflicting interests between different departments within the district council at the time, from the health inspector’s point of view planners were preserving too many properties which were not worth improving and were better demolished. The planning

department and the councillors were concerned about retaining the character of Ironbridge. To ease the conservation efforts, increased limits for loans and improvement grants were introduced (Shropshire Journal, 1971, 23). As the New Town was growing, the first major estate adjacent to the boundaries of the WHS was built in Sutton Hill in 1966, followed by Woodside and Brookside estates. In the mid-70s the area attracted newcomers from the Midlands. The comparatively low price of land and property in the area proved to be appealing. New Town was perceived by newcomers as peaceful and rural, often cleaner and healthier for children. Many were willing to commute long distances to their jobs close to their former homes, and the extra cost of travelling was offset by a reduction in the cost of buying a house in Birmingham. Nevertheless comfortable, housing estates lacked facilities for socialising and their residents also complained that the estates did not have character and individuality (Shropshire Journal, 1976). New middle classes also started moving to the area and the historic houses in the Gorge fulfilled their criteria for settling down, often with their young families. They could see the potential of the New Town and the Ironbridge Gorge with its distinctive character, which they could make their new home. The museum concept was proving successful; it was innovative in its approach to communicate the industrial history of the Ironbridge Gorge (Trinder 1971, 29 April). The attractiveness of the museum contributed to the popularity of Ironbridge amongst tourists, and its popularity often frustrated the local community, especially when it came to road congestion and parking. There are records that local politicians used this conflicting issue in their election campaigns, like the local candidate to the district council who asserted that Ironbridge was not simply a “museum piece” but a living community, and the improvements which the area was undergoing could not be made at the expense of the local community, as otherwise the place would change into “a soulless attraction maintained only for the pleasure of visitors” (Telford Journal, 1973, np).

The reviewed local policies show that once industrial installations had lost their primary function, legal protection ensured their survival thanks to the values assigned to them within national legislative measures. The next section will focus on the issues concerning governance and management of Ironbridge Gorge as a WHS.

4.4 Ironbridge as a World Heritage Site

Years before the nomination, right from the inception of the museum, experts and historians were already playing a pivotal role in the interpretation of the site. Barry Trinder, a historian, played an important role by popularising his research on industrial heritage in Shropshire. His numerous articles were published in local papers as well as books, inspiring many popular and scholarly publications on the subject. Already in the early '70s, in an article published in the Times to mark the opening of the museum, the author pointed out two outstanding features within the Gorge: the Iron Bridge, as it was the first of its kind in the world, and the original blast furnace in Coalbrookdale, adapted by Abraham Darby I (the Times, 1973).

A government announcement in 1985 about the Ironbridge Gorge nomination to the WHL was welcomed by the IGMT (Shropshire Times, 1985).

In the nomination dossier for the WHS two monuments were singled out: the Bridge and the Furnace. This proposal was approved by the WH Committee, and consequently the World Heritage narrative focused on the landscape of the 18th and 19th centuries. For the nomination dossier and the inscription criteria see Appendix i

It was anticipated that this international nomination was going to increase tourism and put more pressure on local residents. The press release commending the inscription of the Ironbridge Gorge onto the WHL in 1986 made the comparison between the Ironbridge and

the world's most famous heritage landmarks by stating that: Ironbridge is "amongst Pyramids, the Grand Canyon, The Taj Mahal" (IGMT, 1986).

As TDC was a major landowner in the Gorge, its properties occupied by IGMT were put into the care of a Heritage Trust who would lease them to the museum, and other land in the area was put under the control of a new organisation - the Severn Gorge Countryside Trust (de Soissons, 1991). The World Heritage status of Ironbridge Gorge fulfilled the plans of Telford Development Corporation, which aimed to make the area of high amenity value. In 1991 Telford Development Corporation was wound up (de Soissons, 1991).

After the Ironbridge Gorge was granted WHS status there was a need for coordinated management which could control development within the WHS. Thus the Inter-Agency Group was set up in 1989 (ICOMOS UK 1994a). The management structure consisted of a Strategy Group which formed the strategic tier of management for the WHS and was composed of the main local agencies (IGMT, SGCT, Shropshire Council, Telford & Wrekin Council, Gorge Parish Council, Broseley Town Council, English Heritage). Its role was to influence decisions at the central government level (Ironbridge Gorge Inter-Agency Group 1994, 1995). An initial Monitoring Report on the Ironbridge Gorge WHS published by ICOMOS UK indicated that there was no management team for the WHS at the time, and the museum did not have the statutory powers and responsibilities relating to the site as a whole (ICOMOS UK 1994a). The ICOMOS UK World Heritage Sub-Committee indicated that the site suffered from being located within a small, "poor local authority which devoted its resources to economic development rather than planning" (ICOMOS UK 1994). This meant that there was no World Heritage Site management plan (WHSMP) and efficient enforcement of planning law. One of the first steps taken to support the preparation of the WHSMP was the drafting of a Statement of Significance for the WHS. It was recognised that in order for the local community to be part of the management process,

social value needed to be reflected in the Statement of Significance (The Ironbridge Gorge Inter-Agency Group 1995). Right from the outset it was envisioned that the first WHSMP should address the involvement of the local community and reconcile the diverse community interests in the Gorge with tourism pressure (The Ironbridge Gorge Inter-Agency Group, 1995b). The Strategy Group recognised that the importance of the WHS had evolved since its inscription; thus it was seeking to incorporate contemporary importance and historical continuity of the inscribed landscape taking in to account the sense of community in the Gorge and its identity (The Ironbridge Gorge Inter-Agency Group, 1995b). It was recognised that not only the incorporation of social value to the Statement of Significance but an ongoing consultation and co-operation with local residents was necessary. However, this task could be only accomplished if the members of the management structures themselves could understand what a WHS was and what the outlines of its boundaries were. During the inaugural meeting of a Parish Liaison Group (established to involve local representatives of the Parish) a Councillor raised that issue on his own behalf as well as that of local residents (Parish Council Liaison Group, 1996).

It was agreed by the Strategy Group that only through raising awareness of the WHS's significance amongst local people could its character be preserved. Councils within the WHS were to facilitate communication with the local community in the development of the WHSMP and its objectives. To aid preservation of the built environment additional planning powers were introduced to prevent small incremental changes (for example replacement of windows and doors). Strict conservation rules in the Ironbridge Gorge have been enforced by an Article 4(2) Direction since 1998 (Telford and Wrekin Council, 2012). The function of such a Direction is to withdraw certain classes of permitted development (World Heritage Site Strategy Group, 1997). A notice was issued in the press and a map and further guidance on each property was prepared within the affected area,

informing local residents of their obligations under the Direction (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 23)⁴

In order to achieve representation of the local communities' views in the WHSMP, independent critical assessment of the existing issues was seen as necessary. The Countryside Exchange of experts between the UK and US (the Task-Force) garnered verbal and written information from local sources. The recommendations written by the Task-Force reported a diverse and active local community with a strong sense of pride in its heritage, and an even stronger sense of place about the Ironbridge Gorge. It was recognised that within the different settlements which form the Ironbridge Gorge, communities have individual distinctiveness, thus there is no single homogenous community, and the development of the WHSMP and any proposals needed to recognise this. During the consultation process, local people in the Gorge stressed the importance of meaningful consultation on the issues which affected their day-to-day lives and the overall quality of life. It was noted that the local communities were interested in the WHS and decisions which impact on them; however, they had doubts about whether the consultation process would genuinely take their views into consideration. The report addresses the issue of improved communication between Inter-Agency and the communities. The taskforce concluded that there was a need to establish a clear view of what the local community needs, because more could be done to involve local people in defining their sense of place (Ironbridge Inter-Agency 1997). Their recommendations were followed up by 'The Ironbridge Gorge Initiative'. As part of this exercise a questionnaire was widely circulated throughout the WHS and Broseley to both residents and businesses, and around 300

⁴ The results of English Heritage's survey of the condition of conservation areas showed the top threats to be: – plastic windows and doors (83% of conservation areas affected) – poorly maintained roads and pavements (60%) – street clutter (45%) – loss of front garden walls, fences and hedges (43%) – unsightly satellite dishes (38%) – the effects of traffic calming or traffic management (36%) – alterations to the fronts, roofs and chimneys of buildings (34%) – unsympathetic extensions (31%) – impact of advertisements (23%) – neglected green spaces (18%). (See appendix 2 and www.english-heritage.org.uk/caring/heritage-at-risk) English Heritage *actively* encouraged Local Authorities to use their powers under Article 4 Directions to ensure that erosion of the historic environment was prevented.

responses were returned (Ironbridge Inter-Agency 1997). As a result of this consultation, a conservation plan was published which refers to community only in terms of how they should maintain their listed buildings and how community can benefit from tourism. The plan refers to property owners and their duties to maintain, repair and restore their properties sympathetically and to a high standard, and to ensure that changes of use are appropriate to the location. It also brings the issue of the economic benefits to the local people from higher quality visits in the Gorge. The authors of the questionnaire were aiming to garner peoples' opinions on conservation issues (A Conservation Plan Approach 1998).

The existing boundaries of the WHS attracted criticism from both Broseley and Madeley Councils. When the site was inscribed into the WHL the boundaries of the existing Conservation Area were copied into the WHS boundaries (Pickles 2009, 32) and at the time Broseley did not have Conservation area protection status. This is because the proposal for the conservation area was opposed by 700 residents, as they feared that they would no longer have independence over their own homes (Pickles 2009, 28-29).

This reactionary approach demonstrated that Broseley wanted to keep its own identity from the rest of the Gorge, in particular Telford New Town. An Ironbridge Institute Study entitled drew up a case for the inclusion of Broseley in the WHS. The research demonstrated the key role Broseley had played in the early industrial exploitation and development of what became the Ironbridge Gorge (The Ironbridge Institute, 1997). Hence, the proposal for boundary extension was put up for consideration to DCMS in 1988 (The Ironbridge Gorge Inter-Agency, 1998), but it did not gain support at the national level.

As mentioned earlier the management of the WHS was deemed to be successful only when the local communities were informed about the objectives for the preservation of the

character of the place. A Parish Plan published in 2008 verified the level of awareness amongst local residents with regards to the WHS Strategy Group (WHSSG). To the question of whether they had heard of the WHSSG the overwhelming majority (three-quarters of respondents) said no and over a quarter said yes. Almost 90% of respondents agreed that the community should be more involved in the work of the WHSSG. The data from the survey presented in the Parish Plan demonstrates little community involvement in the collaborative management of the site according with the long-term vision. This public consultation document echoes earlier studies which collected views and opinions on the issue of community engagement, and although they were conducted 10 years later they demonstrated failure of relevant bodies to consult with local people decisions concerning management of the site (Parish Action Plan, 2009).

The geographical locations can indicate socio-economic patterns amongst different communities living within or in the proximity of the WHS. For example, the Borough has 6 areas that are in the top 10% most deprived nationally, including two in Woodside, a council estate located just outside the boundary of the WHS. Less than a quarter of the population living in the Gorge is under 15 years of age. Almost a third of the population of the Gorge are aged 45-64 years, compared to 21% for the Borough, indicative of the older population profile amongst residents of the WHS. The vast majority of the population of the Gorge and the Borough are white British (PLB for Consulting, 2009, 5).

Policy documents such as the Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Overarching Interpretation Strategy commissioned by the Ironbridge Gorge WHS Partners advocated for inclusion of the values and aspirations of the local people in any proposed interpretive content. They called values assigned by communities “human qualities and values” – those values are presented as key contributors to the Gorge’s sense of place and strength of community (PLB for Consulting, 2009, 19). Every strategic document concerning integrated

management of the WHS mentioned the importance of the local communities and their cooperation in the conservation of the universal values.

In 2012 The Council updated its partnership with IGMT by extending the loan arrangement approved by Cabinet in November 2009 for a further 10 years. Key to the loan repayment is the provision by IGMT of a formal management function across the WHS. This includes delivery of a revised WHSMP, coordinating full stakeholder engagement and establishing an implementation and funding programme to ensure delivery as well as administration of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS Steering Group and co-ordination and completion of the UNESCO periodic review of the WHS (Telford & Wrekin Council, 2012). As part of the retrospective statement of Significance exercise (Borchi 2012) in 2015 Telford & Wrekin Council, as the managing authority of the IGWHS, was tasked to consult the public in defining qualities which qualified Ironbridge Gorge to become a WHS. Although Ironbridge Gorge already had a Statement of Significance, which was prepared for the purpose of the first WHSMP, the SOUV had to fulfil a specific format as required by the WH Committee (Denyer 2009). On the website of the Telford Council it was advertised that anyone who would like to take part in this process could look at the Draft Statement of OUV on Telford & Wrekin Council's website and leave their comments (Telford and Wrekin Council, 2010).

Telford & Wrekin Council produced the first Ironbridge Gorge WHSMP in 2001 and updated it in 2010 (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 14). IGMT coordinated delivery of the second WHSMP produced by the WHS Steering Group. The plan was subjected to consultation during my fieldwork between June 2016 and August 2016. The document was adopted by the Cabinet in 2017 (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 14). The authors of the WHSMP assert that the plan represents the views of the local community and relevant

organisations and agencies (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 9). Its strategic objectives are to respond to the needs, which are threefold. The plan aspires to support the local communities and increase their welfare, and at the same time conserve historical authenticity of the historic landscape (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 49). This document underlines the importance of the OUV of the WHS being communicated effectively to residents and businesses, to enable them to understand how they can contribute to it and to help encourage productive and effective consultation (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017, 63).

4.5 Summary

Saving Ironbridge was an endeavour which required the determination of those involved and their ability to secure considerable human and financial resources. Financial assistance came from outside the region, and political decisions which determined the site's future were made not in the Midlands but in London. This is because the argument was made that preserving Ironbridge was in the "National Interest". Before Ironbridge Gorge became a heritage site most of its industries had ceased. The transformation of Ironbridge was twofold. The area was not only landscaped to fulfil its purpose as an amenity for the New Town but was also socially engineered. The aim was "to recreate the beauty of the Gorge which the Gorge has partly lost during the last 400 years" (Thomas 1982, np), paradoxically, to return to an imaginary state from its pre-industrial era. This was followed by the implementation of a heritage system which entailed policies and a set of rules imposed by the TDC to protect the authenticity and integrity not of factories and houses but monuments. With changing meanings being attributed to the landscape, social changes were also necessary. For these to take place TDC envisioned that the original community

would be of fundamental importance, comparing it to “stock” on which the incoming community would be “grafted”. The planning authorities were clear that they wanted to secure historical continuity between communities to avoid a schism between the two. They wanted to preserve a sense of industrial tradition and imbue newcomers and incomers to the New Town with this industrial identity. The building of this identity was closely linked to conservation.

Despite numerous consultations with the local communities on the issue of their active involvement in the conservation effort, all the strategic documents reviewed in this chapter indicate that it was heritage workers who communicated the values of monuments and industrial features. Consequently conservation documents reviewed in this thesis specify in great detail what materials and substance, or which form and design, are of historic significance, which materials are acceptable and which materials are not acceptable. Again, many elements introduced by the contemporary local communities, such as hanging baskets, are mentioned as being against a key objective of the WHS, which is to help conserve and promote the historic character of the place. Although they can contribute to the public realm it has been argued that they are not an inherent part of the historic character of the WHS (Colin Davis Associates 2011, 9).

5. METHODOLOGY

5.1 Main research concepts

This section will discuss fieldwork methodology, including issues such as research design, data collection and analysis techniques. The case study of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS allowed me to gain insights into the posed research questions and explore the possibility of their wider applicability (Babbie 1990, 32-33). It is used as a microcosm to understand the behaviours and personal relationships of local communities and the meanings which they attach to a WHS. This microcosm is later compared with the global representations of communities presented in the policy literature and heritage literature.

The research paradigm used in this study is set in a subjective interpretation of the empirical data, which was gathered through qualitative and quantitative methods. For the quantitative data collection, a survey was developed. Qualitative research was conducted through archival research, ethnography, semi-structured, formal and informal observations. For both surveys and interviews codes were developed based on the most common responses. For the surveys the find and sort function was used to identify the meanings attached to the WHS, using the following codes: education, leisure, identity/pride/, history, aesthetic economy. Responses relating to authenticity were coded according the following: should stay the same, future generations, symhatetic conservation, for interest and education. Interviews were transcribed and data was coded manually according to thematic analysis. Employing all the research techniques in the study of the same phenomenon enabled triangulation (Cohen et al. 2011, 533), which validated the data through cross-verification from all available sources. Limiting research methods to a single method would limit understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Babbie 1990, 27).

As mentioned earlier, this thesis is structured around two principal themes which form an overarching framework within which my arguments are developed: World Heritage and local communities. To examine the notion of local communities I use the concept of cognitive ownership as a guiding tool in identifying the different associations individuals have with the WHS. The second concept which is at the core of my research is the World Heritage discourse and the notion of OUV, explained in chapter two. The OUV of the Ironbridge Gorge is outlined in the SOUV for that site (see Appendix i).

From the methodological point of view, I was challenged from the outset by the problem of how to marry the principal concept of World Heritage enshrined in the notion of OUV, based on the premise that WHSs and monuments carry intrinsic universal truths for all human beings across the world, with being a social construct. The literature on the subject indicates that the underlying philosophy in this approach no longer prevails in the heritage field, where historical truths are viewed as socially produced by particular people with particular interests and biases. “The truths which are embodied in historical stories are thus not absolute or universal, but relative to the cultural context in which they are made. Other people, elsewhere, might use the same events and facts to tell different histories or, prompted by the desire to tell different stories, might work to discover previously overlooked facts” (Handler 1997, 4)

I use the body of literature on the subject of value together with the expanding definition of what constitutes heritage, authenticity, integrity and management as outlined in chapters two and three. The aforementioned concepts and the evolution of ideas ingrained in the concept of OUV are explained in more detail in chapters 2 and 3. One of the main aims of this research is to unpick the concept of OUV and scrutinise it from the perspective of cognitive owners. I search for the different meanings which people attach to their historic places and analyse the relationship between values ascribed to the Ironbridge Gorge by

experts in the World Heritage nomination document and retrospective statement of OUV (UK Nomination 1986, DCMS 2011) and by the local community. I reach an understanding on how meanings assigned to this site by experts and local communities differ. I also address the following questions: What does this divergence of meanings communicate in terms of transmission of OUV to future generations? What do different communities consider important about their local heritage? How has UNESCO designation influenced their attitudes to their local historic environment? How are they affected by this international designation and what are their attitudes to the authenticity, integrity and management of the site?

The concept of cognitive ownership is considered to be highly applicable to the examined research questions (see chapter two). The model proposed by Boyd and his colleagues (Boyd et al. 2005, Boyd 2012) allows identification of a diversity of underlying cultural meanings that people attach to places, and that have therefore influenced their sense of belonging and relationship with that place. This concept was put to the test in observations, semi-structured interviews and a survey.

The cognitive approach is the framework which I used for identification of local communities. Why cognitive ownership? This approach goes beyond the concept of stakeholders. Stakeholder theory is based on the assumption “that organisations should pay attention to the needs, interests, and possible influence of those who are affected by their operations” (Lochrie 2016, 63). In the heritage management context, stakeholders are identified by heritage managers or site administrators as groups or individuals who are the legal owners of a heritage site or have an economic stake or other particular interest in the site (historically: religious groups, tourists, experts, global stakeholders, etc.). The stakeholder approach operates within a framework of bureaucracy and a management system other than traditional custodianship. This approach makes people who do not live in

the locality of the site legitimate stakeholders of that site, thus making the relationship between global stakeholders and local communities unclear and blurring the boundary between them. For example, government officials tasked with the implementation of the 1972 Convention in a given country are stakeholders of a national WHS even if the site is located in the country's overseas territories. In such a system stakeholders are given unequal rights, as the agenda of the most powerful party will prevail. The weakness of this system is that by mixing legal rights, economic and intellectual interests it creates unclear dynamics amongst stakeholders. Nevertheless, this system claims to give equal voices to all interested parties – a state of affairs which simply cannot be practically achieved (Kaler, 2006, Poullos 2014b).

In contrast, cognitive ownership situates cultural heritage sites within complex modern social landscapes (Boyd 1996, 124). It helps to gain a meaningful understanding of cultural, social, political and geographical dimensions through the prism of intellectual, conceptual or spiritual meaning and interests which communities or individuals attach to a place (Boyd 2012, 175). The 'owners' provide information which is manifested in their actions and behaviours as well as in the meanings which they attach to that place based on its use. This allows the researcher working on a case study to classify users in terms of their cognitive ownership (Boyd 1996, 177). Cognitive ownership is concerned with associative meanings, which can be translated into the social value that 'owners' attach to a given site or monument (Boyd 1996, 125).

In order to define local communities at the Ironbridge WHS I employed the methodological approach outlined above. Through its application I mapped the complexity of different cognitive landscapes which indicate the different associations which exist in Ironbridge. In this context it is not important to judge whether those claimed landscapes

are valid, but to establish what they are, as they influence individuals' behaviour towards the WHS (Boyd 1996, 177)

During my fieldwork, self-defined cognitive owners came forward with different understandings and meanings they attach to the place. This research addresses the dissonance between these socially constructed meanings and individuals who form self-defined community groups (Boyd 1996, 177).

In the first stage of the fieldwork, self-defined communities were identified through informal observations and informal encounters with local residents in the Gorge. By immersing myself within the community and volunteering for the Severn Gorge Countryside Trust, I was able not only to introduce my research project and gain informal feedback from residents about the main concepts investigated in my study, but also to show my respect for the efforts they put in to maintaining the Gorge. The initial stage of identification of cognitive owners was aimed at avoiding the hierarchical order of different communities by approaching them through the prism of 'gate keepers'. I was testing the practical application of cognitive ownership in order to assess whether by using this concept we can define and distinguish the local community of a WHS or any cultural site.

In stage two of the local community identification process, I applied the criteria of place making/shaping and the action of every day custodianship rather than relying on the concept of cognitive ownership.

Data collected during my fieldwork reflects the social make-up of the area, which is overrepresented by the incoming community in the interviews and surveys. In the final stage of the fieldwork I conducted interviews with stakeholders, the local businesses community and the management of the WHS from different management strands.

The communities which came forward in the fieldwork were:

- 1) Incoming community
- 2) Original community
- 3) Descendant community
- 4) Newcomers to Telford

Because of the representativeness in the qualitative research of the incoming and original community, the thesis is based on the interviews from incoming and original self-defined groups living within the WHS or its immediate proximity (Appendix ix explains who was interviewed and how respondents are identified in the text).

5.2 OUV and communities in the World Heritage policy discourse: archival research

In order to put my empirical research into the wider context of the World Heritage discourse I used a qualitative content analysis of documents based on themes concerning ‘communities’. Archival research demonstrates when and in what context communities are mentioned in the texts produced by the WH Committee and its advisory bodies, and what real impact those decisions have on different communities in relation to their heritage. Analysis of these documents enabled me to identify how ‘communities’ are defined and where communities are located when it comes to power dynamics concerning interpretation and governance of WHSs. It also revealed how these developments in the WH discourse are translated into soft laws, such as charters and declarations, and indeed the interpretation of the Convention in the OG. The aim of this extensive policy review is to demonstrate how the developments within the advisory bodies are inter-related, intertwined and feed on each other; how they influence and are being influenced by the contemporary issues surrounding conservation of WHSs. I have assessed each advisory

body using a different data set; this is due to the varied organisational structures and workings of each of these bodies and because of the availability and relevance of sources. The data set in this analysis is based on archival research at ICOMOS, ICCROM and the IUCN. The WH Committee decisions and relevant documents pertaining to the meetings of the WH Committee, which have taken place every year since 1977, are available on-line.

In order to review comprehensively ICOMOS documents, I carried out archival research at ICOMOS International Paris between 4 and 8 January 2016. Archival records were made available to me by Lucie Smirnov, Head of the ICOMOS Documentation Centre. I carried out content research of all the Scientific Symposia of ICOMOS which were organised in conjunction with the General Assemblies between 1965 and 2014. I analysed and reviewed the content of papers presented during the Symposia in order to understand the contexts in which ICOMOS resolutions, declarations and charters were drafted and adopted by its members. Each General Assembly meeting was dedicated to a different theme discussed during scientific symposia. This comprehensive review takes stock of the representations of non-expert communities as perceived by professionals (a community of people with credentials, academic and state-recognised diplomas). During this period I introduced my research project to the staff members of ICOMOS and arranged a brief meeting with Gwenaëlle Bourdin (Director of Evaluation Unit) to discuss the scope of my project and my ideas on ICOMOS' role in the nomination process.

My analysis of ICCROM is based on Reports drafted by its Council – a body elected by the General Assembly which meets in ordinary session every two years and consists of delegates from all ICCROM member states, usually government officials or experts associated with conservation and restoration of cultural properties. The General Assembly approves its biennial Programme of Work and Budget, and appoints the Director-General.

The council monitors implementation of the Programme of Work and Budget of the organisation and formulates long-term policies of the agency (ICCROM 2017 nd, np).

“The relationship between local communities and World Heritage is a topic addressed by the WH Committee. And it is something current” I was told by the Archivist at ICCROM. Hence ICCROM’s Historical Archives have not received records related to the participation of ICCROM in these WH discussions. When I approached the ICCROM archives about accessibility of their records I was told that I could use ICCROM records which are publicly open and publicly accessible when 20 years have passed from their creation date, as there are no restrictions which are applied to them. In line with this procedure, I had to apply for authorisation in order to consult records which were less than 20 years old, and to get the prior agreement of the relevant Unit that produced those records. I had to obtain the authorisation of ICCROM's Director-General. Dr John Carman, my principal supervisor, applied for permission to access reports of implementation and minutes for the period after 1995. Once the Director-General had granted access to records related to ICCROM's General Assemblies, I consulted them at the ICCROM archives in Rome between 11 and 15 April 2016. During that stay I arranged a meeting with Joe King (Unit Director), who guided me through the ICCROM developments on the subject I was studying. My analysis of ICCROM is based on reports drafted by its council on the implementation of activities during 1960-2015 and on minutes for the period 2001-2013.

All of the documentation pertaining to the proceedings of the official IUCN General Assemblies, which take place every four years, and the resolutions and recommendations arising from them are in the public domain and are web accessible. Member organisations of IUCN can take part in voting on resolutions. They meet every four years at the IUCN World Conservation Congress. The general assembly of the Union's members set priorities and agree on the Union’s work programme (IUCN 2018a nd, np). Member organisations

are represented by the IUCN Council: the IUCN Council is the principal governing body of IUCN in between sessions of the World Conservation Congress.

The publications which I was interested to consult at the IUCN were only partly available online. I carried out archival research from 10 to 13 January 2017 assisted by Daisy Larios, a Librarian from the Science and Knowledge Unit. My understanding of the workings of the IUCN prior to conducting this research derived from professional encounters with the organisation through my previous job, thus my knowledge of them was very limited because of the nature of the organisation and my professional background in archaeology and cultural heritage. Hence, the introduction I was given by Tim Badman (Director of IUCN's World Heritage Programme), who guided me through the involvement of the IUCN in the WH system and gave me some tips regarding what to look for, was much appreciated. My analysis encompassed General Assembly proceedings, policy documents and IUCN publications from 1980 to 2015.

5.3 Collecting empirical data: a case study of the Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site

I began my field research in May 2016, when I moved to Ironbridge and lived with a local family in the historic town centre, 5 minutes' walk from the Iron Bridge. In the middle of the summer I had to suspend my fieldwork, as my Grandmother became critically ill and I flew to Poland to assist her in her final days. I came back to Ironbridge in September and continued my field research until December 2016. The second part of my fieldwork was partly based in Ironbridge, but also entailed commuting between Birmingham and Ironbridge.

5.4 Research methods

- 1 Archival research entailed reviewing newspaper clippings, policy reports and internal documents held at the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust (IGMT) and Ironbridge Institute respectively, as well as documents pertaining to the management of the site issued by organisations tasked with its protection and conservation. The purpose of this part of the research was to answer what, when and how these organisations communicate with local residents.
- 2 Semi-structured interviews were designed to deepen the understanding of the concepts enshrined in the statement of OUV (meanings attached to the cultural place, authenticity, integrity and management). Thirty interviews with community members, six with staff / management of the WHS and five with business owners were carried out with the aim of exploring specific characteristics of the existing engagement of the local community with the WHS (for interview guide see Appendix ii). Forty-two interviewees took part in the research and thirty-six interviews were recorded (see Appendix ix for more details).
- 3 An online and paper survey (see Appendix vi) was designed to elicit attitudes relevant to my subject of inquiry. The survey used a combination of open-ended questions that solicited replies in the respondent's own words (Black 1999, 45) and binary questions with additional information required to explain the answer in their own words. The survey not only enabled me to quantify how people feel about issues, but also to reflect on their attitudes, perceptions, views and opinions. Thus it was a 'barometer' which gauged both how people feel about certain issues and their level of awareness of those issues (Black 1999, 215).
- 4 Informal observations and formal observations often required detachment while

actively participating with local people in certain activities (Dewalt et. al. 1998, 262). However, the longer I lived within the community the less detached my observations were becoming. As I was aware of it, I made sure that the reliability of the data collected as well as its interpretation is maintained and for this purpose I monitored my involvement in certain activities with local people.

5.5 Quantitative research

Respondents who filled in the survey constitute a sample which was not purposefully selected to achieve representativeness of variables (such as age, education and cognitive ownership). The survey was run simultaneously with interviews and was advertised through community networks, social media, local libraries, local shops and community centres. Participation in the survey was made on the basis of voluntary responses and was anonymous. To avoid the scenario where this research tool would attract a non-diverse group of respondents, I approached social gatherings with diverse audiences in person, thus assuring the representativeness of responses. Responses were added digitally through an online survey tool made available and licenced by the University of Birmingham (Online Surveys). Some of the surveys were filled in online by participants. Data is held in the University of Birmingham library. The survey was designed for the purpose of understanding the studied phenomena in a larger population rather than just the population under study through interviews and observations in order to make generalisations from the findings (Black 1999, 45). I have tried to apply cognitive ownership approach when analysing data from the surveys but it has been unsuccessful. Surveys are frequently conducted for the purpose of making descriptive assertions about a particular population, that is, discovering the distribution of certain traits or attributes. In this regard, I was

concerned not with why the observed distribution exists but with what that distribution is (ibid). The broad criterion which delineated the population (Babbie 2001, 72) was age. Only adults over the age of 18 could participate in the research. Another determinant was knowledge of both the place and the dynamics pertaining to the management of the historic area. Hence, the survey was circulated throughout the wider Telford area. Using structured questionnaires together with open-ended (qualitative) questions is a popular technique in the literature. This combination allows for the strengths of each strategy to be combined in a complementary manner (e.g., Johnson and Turner, 2003). Both strategies are good for measuring attitudes and interest. Quantitative questionnaires generated large numbers as opposed to data from interviews, which was based on a relatively small number of participants (Johnson et.al 2003, 15), who generated in-depth information pertaining to the same questions as in the survey.

5.6 Qualitative research

An ethnographical research method provided an insider perspective which elicited information about the way participants make sense of their own histories, and their places in those histories in relation to the WHS and its universal value. These individual perspectives can be related both to biographical life histories and to professional practices, expressed in their own language and based on everyday knowledge (Kvale, 2007, 8). The interview was developed as a reconnaissance aiming to obtain descriptions of the narrator's lived world with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena. The interviews tested the concept of cognitive ownership, looking at what kind of attitudes there are in the Gorge when it comes to World Heritage, as opposed to quantitative methods assessing how much there is of a particular attitude (Black, 1999, 47).

Interviewing and later analysis of the data from my fieldwork was an integral part of knowledge construction presented in a narrative form. The interpretative approach is based on postmodern interpretation of observed phenomena, which assumes that knowledge is socially constructed rather than that it is to be found because it is 'already there' (Kvale, 2007, 20). In the desk-based analysis of the recorded interviews, the focus was directed towards the exact wording of the described experience, feelings and actions as well as the body language of the informants (Kvale, 2007, 13). The main aim of the interviews was to gain an in-depth insight into how views and attitudes towards World Heritage are constructed and how those constructed meanings determine the actions and understanding of the notion of World Heritage (Kvale 2007).

Questions were put to members of the community through semi-structured and in-depth interviews, depending on the participant's willingness to discuss the subject. Each community member with cognitive ownership could contribute to this research. Thus, informants varied from 'professional' to casual informants and core informants (people who lived in the WHS or within its proximity). Staff members of the management structures contributed to specialist information on particular subjects as opposed to those who have a more general role (Cohen 1984, 223). Each interview was preceded by a brief introduction to the project, explaining what was being researched and why, and what purpose it would serve. This way informed consent from the participants was obtained (see Appendix ii). All 36 interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed, recordings are stored on the CD in the Appendix ix data is held in the UoB library under an embargo that will expire 10 years after deposition.

The methodology for this research was structured in such a way that interviews were interpreted solely by myself, and the informants had no influence over how their statements were interpreted (Kvale 2007, 23). This was clarified in the consent form (see

Appendix iii). The qualitative research interview is not scientific, but only reflects common sense; it is subjective rather than objective and its purpose was to explain the studied phenomena rather than test a particular hypothesis. Bias and subjectivity in the expressed attitudes brings forward a new dimension, contributing to a multi-perspectival construction of knowledge. A plurality of interpretations enriches the meanings of the everyday world (Cohen, 2011).

5.7 Observations

During my fieldwork in Ironbridge I conducted both formal and informal observations.

I carried out one formal observation of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS Steering Group meeting conducted at the premises of the IGMT in Coalbrookdale (Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Strategy Group, 2016).

I attended the meeting in the capacity of an observer-as-participant. My project was introduced to the participants of the meeting by the chair, Anna Brenand. This observation indirectly informed my presentation of the management part of the context and analysis chapter. However, no direct data from that meeting is used or quoted in the thesis.

Through informal observation and informal conversations in the Gorge and the surrounding settlements, I was able to deepen my understanding of different manifestations of the meanings of local heritage and the ways they are communicated through everyday life and different uses of the site. Thus, informal observations were applied to corroborate responses from the quantitative and qualitative research (Kvale 2007, 45). Another purpose of applying this method was to achieve a greater depth of knowledge, which could be checked against other methods such as surveys and interviews (Babbie 2001). The observations were intended to explain in what ways the meanings of World Heritage are

articulated and through which media. Both were used to identify a diversity of underlying cultural meanings that people attached to the place, and that therefore influenced their sense of belonging and relationship with the place and its other residents. People develop special attachment to places through the use of those places. Observations of a group's cultural celebrations, such as the World Heritage Festival and re-enactments of traditions, were part of my fieldwork. I participated in local social meetings, like those which took place at the local community centres and those held by interest groups, such as nature preservation societies or leisure societies.

Watching and informally observing local communities in the Gorge was only supplementary to the most important part of my fieldwork, which was the direct interaction (Gupta and Ferguson 1997, 37). I took advantage of being immersed in the local community and benefited from ongoing informal encounters during the entire period of the fieldwork. Whenever feasible, especially in the context of personal or group encounters, I would always reveal my research role (Babbie 2001). However, in the context of larger gatherings, such as the World Heritage Festival, my observations were carried out anonymously.

5.8 Summary

The reason for employing the four research methods outlined above was to achieve findings which could be expanded beyond the case study. Through the application of various methods, the research was able to identify a wider range of findings (Cohen et al. 2011), which could be generalised using representations of communities in the heritage discourse and applied to address gaps in understanding not only local context but international social and political contexts.

A statistical survey was carried out on the local population. Responses to the question “How long have you lived in the area?” gave an insight into whether length of residence influences one’s cognitive ownership of the OUV. However, the unit of analysis from which the sample study derives, although focused on a particular location, was open to people who have cognitive ownership of the place, but are not based in the area. Quantitative methods enabled me to identify common traits within studied populations, which were then later comprehensively examined in qualitative analysis. This study is experimental and the quantitative research was not designed to test a hypothesis, but to evaluate how best to identify local communities and if there are any common traits in the views held by self-defined communities.

Through mapping different attitudes, opinions and beliefs pertaining to World Heritage amongst local communities, we can improve our understanding of how these influence decisions concerning the transmission of meanings of OUV (Black 1999, 216).

6. INTRODUCING COMMUNITIES: ‘THEM AND US’

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the attitudes of local communities of the Ironbridge Gorge towards their local heritage, a WHS. During my fieldwork in Ironbridge Gorge I asked local residents what the place means to them and in particular what it means in the context of being a WHS. I was looking at how the OUV ascribed to this place by heritage professionals is negotiated, absorbed and transmitted by the local community. I start this chapter with the introduction of the local communities living in the area. Then I present the complex changes which the Gorge underwent as part of the major regeneration project and how through ‘heritagisation’ of the industrial landscape its appreciation has shaped the attitudes of different communities.

I use an anthropological approach to evaluate the local community’s cognitive ownership of their historic surroundings, as well as their awareness and knowledge of the concepts contained in the SOUV for the Ironbridge Gorge. Lastly, I explore social relations and how cognitive ownership determines the way we understand a WHS.

6.2 Original community

“I remember I was 3 years old and living around there (she pointed out the Wharfage). I can remember starting school up the road, where all people in Coalbrookdale went... all of the children in my classroom grown up together, knew each other well”. A memory of an 80-year-old resident from Coalbrookdale [A17].

It was a sunny autumn afternoon when I arranged an interview with one of not many remaining original residents from Coalbrookdale. Her house has a sublime view of the dramatic landscape of the Gorge. You can also see the Works, which are in the proximity of the furnace, revealing the structures of what once was a thriving foundry, a place where Abraham Darby I developed the technique of smelting iron using coke instead charcoal. She knew the topic of my research because I had had a long chat with her when I started my fieldwork in the summer, but I could feel that she felt resentful about discussing it. Although educated, a former teacher, I sensed that she felt uncomfortable talking about World Heritage, because it was simply something she did not know much about. But she knew the place. She remembers that when she was a little girl her family did not need to go outside Ironbridge to do their shopping. There was every shop you could want, she explained to me: men's and women's clothes shops, even furniture shops, a grocery, a bakery and a greengrocers. There were several butchers. In her family they would only venture out of Ironbridge for a treat. She reminisced that they grew up as families, that there was a family next door with two girls, and they used to play, go out as families for picnics, and these were the people they lived with and played with. Although born and bred in Coalbrookdale, she has close links with Madeley. When she was in her 20s she met her husband, who was from Madeley. Again, she did not need to leave Ironbridge for this occasion. In her own words: "He just came down here with some other lads; they were looking for the girls" [A17]. She considers Madeley as part of her community circle. All her husband's male friends were from there and most of them worked in a pit there. In their spare time they played cricket together; they were a miners' cricket team. She described the cricket match almost as a ritual; men playing cricket and their wives making tea in the meantime. Although her husband died, she still maintains close ties with her friends from

Madeley. Indeed, I had to rearrange the interview, as the previous day one of her husband's friends had been doing the garden for her. She said that she had looked after his wife when she died. These strong ties developed over the years. Friendship which bonds a network of people together is something which she considers "is not too difficult for many" [A17]. She emphasised that this close set of friends are people who all grew up together and these shared memories are what forms this close relationship between them. When I asked, if her husband had not been from Madeley would she have had this connection with Madeley, she replied that possibly not. She is from Coalbrookdale, and Ironbridge is a different community to her. She made it clear that when she was talking about her local community she meant Coalbrookdale because there were many people she did not know in Ironbridge. She did not know them, not because there are many new families living in Ironbridge, but because she would not have known them before. She said that even when she was a girl she would not have known all the people who lived on Hedgebower. She would have known of the people living in big houses, but she would not have socially interacted with them unless they went to her school. Even when she used to live on the Wharfage, she would have played with the children in Coalbrookdale, as she stressed that this was her area, her territory where she knew people.

It took her a while to respond to my question about whether there is a sense of community in Coalbrookdale. The first thing which came to her mind was a church community. She said that although many people have moved out of the area they still come back to the church. This is another community which she is part of: the church community. Because she has always lived in the area, people will know her rather than her knowing them. She said that people who have come over the years are part of the community, adding that this could be different in Ironbridge because it is a much bigger place; but in Coalbrookdale, people who moved in over the years became part of the community.

There are numerous community clubs and centres to serve the local social needs, and still, there is an omnipresent nostalgia amongst incomers and original community members that there was a community in Ironbridge which is gone. I was often told that the place does not have that feel that “everybody knows everybody”, as a teacher from Ironbridge put it. But for an incomer who moved to Ironbridge recently, and is originally from London, Ironbridge is like a village community with old-fashioned values where everybody looks at everybody else.



Figure 6. A view of the Gorge from Coalbrookdale. ©Author

In the summer, I was introduced to a couple from Ironbridge. They were in their 80s, both born in the Gorge. The husband told me proudly that he has never moved from the house he was born in. I was welcomed into their home, another property with an amazing view overlooking the Gorge. We were sitting in the living room on the hottest day of July, with the panoramic sliding windows covering the entire front wall from the ceiling to the floor,

fully opened. It almost felt that we were looking at a landscape painting. The room was decorated in drawings of the Iron Bridge which was just down the hill. They said that due to progress things have changed in Ironbridge and this has affected the social makeup of the place. They both agreed that in the past when they used to go down to Ironbridge, they would know most of the people. Now, maybe because they are older and not as mobile as they used to be, they do not go that often and they know fewer people in the area. The wife made a comment that if she stood out by the side of the car, nobody would know her, but everybody knew one another. She said that she used to enjoy going to Ironbridge, and she would always stop and have a chat, but nowadays there are a lot of strangers, and when she goes down to Ironbridge she will often not talk to anybody. They mentioned church life as an example of this dramatic change. Especially after the war, all churches were always very well attended and there was a congregation of local community in the local church.

I spoke to members of the original community who remember the place before it was transformed by the Telford Development Cooperation. Some of them have family memories passed down through the generations which relate to the place and the industries of the area. An 81-year-old resident from Madeley was born in 1935. He felt that it was important for me to know that he is fourth-generation in Madeley. To be more exact, his personal story starts with Auntie Kitty, born in 1860, who he remembers well, as she used to look after him when he was small. She would have been 156 this year, he commented. He also remembers that she never had gas light or electricity, and she lived by candlelight. She was a painter at Coalport Chinaworks: not the top-class painter, but the ordinary working painter, he said. Since this interview was conducted in Blists Hill, he pointed towards the road where his auntie would have walked up and down on the way to work and back home. And while he was doing this he said: "Strange, it is something about me that wants to hang on to something" [A11]. Going back to his childhood, he said that they grew

up as children until age 4 and then went to school. He started school in Madeley in 1939, and even at that early age they would walk to the school instead of going on the bus. At the age of 10 he won a scholarship to the grammar school of Coalbrookdale, where he went in 1945. He left five years later in order to work in the pit, where he stayed a few months. After encountering two deaths in his first month at the pit, he decided to go to the iron foundry and he poured iron at age 15. He lasted a year in the foundry and then went back to the pit, where he drove a pony on a permanent night shift from the age of 16 until he was 18.

When I asked him why he had dropped out of school in Coalbrookdale he said that it was too posh for him. He thinks that he won his scholarship by accident, but in fact he answered all the questions that they asked right. He blames the teachers, who themselves went to universities, for their lack of understanding and disfranchisement from the working class realities, what type of life they had as opposed to business people like shop owners or farmers. His dad had left school at the age of 12 and gone to work in the foundry. He also had to work to support the family and he missed the classes. That is why he felt that he did not fit in at the grammar school. At first his mum, resentful about him leaving the school, did not want him to work in the pit. But when he said to her that if he went to the pit he would get 12 ounces of cheese on his ration book instead of 4 ounces, after a few words she changed her mind. Education-wise he said that he had learned that life was totally different to the education he was given in the grammar school.

Like my informant from Coalbrookdale, he explained the territorial divisions between communities in Madeley. Those territories which people belong to he calls patches. Where he lived, they had their 'own patch' and the next patch was called the neck-end going up

into Madeley. The people from that next patch “were almost foreign” [A11], he said. Those different patches got more integrated as they grew up, left school and went to work. At work they got to know people from different parts of the area, but until he started working in Madeley he did not mix with people from other parts of the area. Even when he had been at school in Coalbrookdale, he said “of course we didn’t know Coalbrookdale people for the five years when I went to grammar school. Of course you didn’t mix with them, because a lot of them were sons and daughters of butchers, bakers, farmers” [A11].

Tightknit friendships, family links, common territory, job commonalities, understanding their surroundings in a shared way, their parents and grandparents working in the local industries, games, church, interests, gossip, growing up together and social class – that was what put people together into social networks. In particular circumstances such as class and level of education determined one’s idea of selfhood. Jenkins describes selfhood as a rich amalgam of knowledge and feelings, both cognitive, and emotional. The interplay of similarity and difference is the logic which should be applied when we distinguish individuality from collectivity. He emphasises that “individuals and collectives are not the same. But we can address similarities between individuals and collectives” (Jenkins 1996, 80).

Communities in the Gorge see themselves as belonging to a specific locality; they are self-defined and their boundaries are clear. Those boundaries are defined when they “have something in common with each other, which distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups” (Cohen 1985, 12). Communities also differentiate each other through the way they interact “with entities from which they are, or they wish to be distinguished” (see Barth, 1969 in Cohen 1985, 12). Communities construct narratives and associations which according to Di Giovine “are not ‘historical facts’, but rather

ideological claims and conceptions that a given community often built around arbitrary yet clearly demarcated boundaries that gain precision when defined in binary opposition to each other” (Di Giovine 2009, 61-62).

In line with this reasoning, in academic social literature echoing a universalist approach to shared heritage enshrined in the WHC, Waterton and Smith (2010) argue that community should not be pinned to geography alone, as its frame of reference or orientation is based around shared interests, collective experience. Indeed, Smith criticises the ‘identity model’, as for her, communities are imagined. She argues that the identity model is a mechanism for exclusion of working class people and ethnic minorities because it blends each individual member into a group (Waterton and Smith 2010). Communities can be identified externally and internally. Jenkins (1996) describes these two processes as internal group identification and external categorised by others.

All of the people I interviewed identified themselves with no hesitation as belonging to different community groups: smaller communities such as church, volunteer groups, etc. and more overarching communities such as incomers, original communities and descendant communities. Communities in their understanding are neither imagined nor homogenous. Although confined to geographical territories, they are made up of a network of connections and relations between people. In the maze of interconnected myriad community groups existing in the place, three of them emerged as important signifiers of the relationship people developed with their local heritage and influenced their attitudes to the WHS in Ironbridge. These are: original community, incomers and descendant community.

In the following section of this analysis I will focus on two groups: the original and the incoming community.

6.3 Development and progress

It was a rainy November day when I came to interview one of the two remaining residents from the original community in Jackfield. Aged 87, he thanked me for taking interest in his views about what it is like to live in the Gorge. He said that I was the first person who had come to talk to him with an audio-tape recorder before it was too late. We scheduled the appointment for late afternoon. By the time I made it to his place it was dark and I was absolutely soaked, as I was cycling. He was waiting for me outside on the nearest street and guided me to his place. We sat in the living room by the fireplace with a cup of tea and this is how the interview started.

“It is entirely different now. And this difference is encapsulated in one single word: industry” [A29]. He explained that the entire WHS is based on this one word. Over the years he has witnessed the change in the area. When he left school at the age of 14, he went straight to work in one of the factories. He said that roof tile and brick factories were all over Jackfield (seven of them) and there were two ceramic tile factories. If he had not wanted to work in one of them, he had the choice to work in a foundry. There was still an ironworks when he left school and a gasworks in Ironbridge. He concluded: “that’s it. I was going to never leave the village. The industry was always going to be here. But the industry, of course, crumbled away. Crumbled away for economic purposes” [A29] he explained.

WWII changed everything, he said, because as soon the war started men and women joined the armed forces. He said that after the war, when men came back they did not have to go back to work in vertical shafts, down the pit, underground. They could get cleaner jobs in factories; they only had to go on the bus and travel 10 miles and they never needed to get their hands dirty, he further explained. But in his view, the main problem which Ironbridge

was facing at the time was that the town itself was on a slope and it was technically difficult to put a town on a hill and connect it to mains sewerage. In Britain, a country which was spreading cultural and scientific advances around the world, the people of Ironbridge were pouring sewage into the river and using outside toilets until the 1970s. When the first attempt to resolve the sewage problem in the area was made, circular sewage beds were installed at the top of the town. But this proto sewage system did not resolve the problem, as it was unable to pump the sewage up the slopes. Instead, council houses which had been built near the sewage beds on top of the hill were offered as alternative accommodation for those living in Ironbridge town centre. That contributed to the gradual depopulation of Ironbridge, as people moved. Later the new town authority managed to save Ironbridge from further decline as they finally worked out how to put Ironbridge on the mains sewerage system.

There are many myths and versions of history surrounding the decline of the industries and depopulation of the Gorge. They are important for local residents as through them they can justify the dramatic changes which came after. And those changes impinged not only on their local environment, but also on their way of life. What I noticed was that the original community will refer to their own settlements within the Gorge and Madeley and will give examples of decline within their own 'patches', as they themselves and their families were directly affected by the loss of jobs.

"The river traffic had stopped" [A17], explained a resident from Coalbrookdale. She told me that the Coalbrookdale works had gradually diminished during her lifetime. They used to be huge and many people worked there. In her family, her grandfather worked in the Dale Works: "everybody you knew would have worked in the Dale's works"[A17], she explained. This employment kept people in the village, she reflected, but then quite a lot of men were made redundant by the Dale Works. Some would have left the district as they

had to go and find another job. In her own opinion, people just grew old as well, and they died and new people came to replace them.

A former carpenter from Madeley, a foreman who had worked for TDC for 30 years, has lived in his cottage in Madeley all his life. I met him in a social club called The Rest Room, where I made a short presentation of my research project. He came forward and we arranged an interview. I remember vividly, cycling to his place via Madeley High Street. As I was making sense of the surroundings to help me navigate to his place based on the instructions passed on by him on the phone, I remember the immediate contrast at the end of Madeley High Street between the 18th- and 19th-century buildings and the new development carried out by TDC. What struck me is how isolated those cottages where he lived were from the surrounding landscape, which was cut by modern roads, roundabouts and modern housing. The cottages were bought by his dad, a carpenter, in 1932 and he was born in one of them. They were built for the workers from the Camberton mine, he told me. When I asked him if he knows any retired miners, he said that he has only one friend left who had worked in the mines. A lot of them came from Durham, he said, and when the Camberton pit closed the families moved away, at least most of them. But otherwise, the miners have died out. He told me that mining was part of the industry of the time. “It was a fair industry really, the mines employed the most people” [A1]. He remembers that when he was young there was no drainage system connected to his house, toilets and water were outside. He told me that if it had not been for Telford coming in, the future of the area would have been uncertain as it was dying on its feet. He said “They couldn't upkeep these buildings. Families had moved out. Anstice [a prominent mine owner and philanthropist] moved out. I found it a hell of a shame that the families had died out. The base families, the people who were the industrial supporters, have died out” [A1].

He started working for TDC at the age of 45 as a foreman and stayed with them until he retired at the age of 65. At a time when jobs were scarce, Telford was bringing employment and new prospects. He took that opportunity and worked supervising building works on all Telford estates. The interview reflected how someone who was born in Madeley found himself in a conflicting position and had mixed feelings about the Corporation's policies, which were tough not only for his community but also for him personally.

“We didn't like the new Town coming in. It had cost a fortune” [A1].

He explained that his parents used to own 10 properties in Madeley and they lost them all.

“They knocked them down. They didn't pay us hardly any money for them. I am not sure what they paid my mother, but it was about 128 pound for a house. They really did. Really you got no rights at all” [A1].

He kept reiterating that the people of Madeley “had no option, no say whatsoever. They just didn't”. I asked him how those changes had affected the community. He replied, “All changed. Everything changed”[A1].

He told me that one day when he met his former boss, Clive, he confronted him and told him what he really thought about all the changes which were happening in Madeley:

“You know, it's alright, but you've raided Madeley, Clive.” When Clive asked him what he meant, he replied, “You know, you have left bugger all” [A1].



Figure 7. Resident from Madeley showing old photos of Madely. ©Author

I interviewed a couple from Brosley who were adamant that when they built Telford New Town, they made compulsory purchase orders which affected most residents in Ironbridge, who were then moved out. They made it clear that what I see now is what came after. “They moved people from Ironbridge?”, I asked in disbelief. Both of them replied, “yes, most of them. Dawley New Town they called it, and they demolished a lot of buildings” [A9, A10].

Original residents will always mention what it used to be like in Ironbridge before the change happened. They often mention buildings which do not exist anymore. One would have to visualise what the place would have looked like before it went through the

beautification process. “I remember there was a row of houses called Nailers Row, and there was a whole lot of people lived there” [A17], a resident from Coalbrookdale told me. “Those houses were taken down. It was flattened and it became a car park”[A17].

As described, there are various ways of understanding the changes which the area underwent. Indeed, for a professional female who settled down in Ironbridge in the late 1970s, Telford brought very positive change, in her view: “one’s pride in the area started really when TDC took the place back and shook it up and said we want this place to be good” [A12].

Through interviews and documentary sources it became clear that attitudes of both original community and incomers towards the modernisation policies which affected them were often of conflicting nature and sometimes contradictory. Tough and ruthless destruction of old ways of life and compulsory purchases of private properties was met with criticism, but at the same time there was a sense of satisfaction that the place managed to rise from its decline. Ironbridge became aesthetically pleasing rather than being a polluted place in decline. The change brought wealth to the district, it led to rises in house prices. It also brought a social change which meant that original communities could retire in a much safer and cleaner environment. The changes that took place in the Gorge in the 1960s, ’70s and the ’80s (outlined in detail in chapter five) were shaped by the global discourse of development. However, the narratives produced by UNESCO and its advisory bodies (see chapter three), in which economically disadvantaged communities were subjected to top-down heritage regeneration programmes, were directed to the post-colonial nations rather than former colonial powers. The WH discourse fails to address European societies subjected to similar treatment as in the so-called ‘developing world’, where development-

driven conservation policies were implemented (see chapter three). Gupta's explanation of this phenomenon of the global division of nations according to a binary of 'underdeveloped' backward, deficient, inadequate, behind and developed, modern, advanced, etc. (Gupta 1998, 11) illustrates how the formal colonial nations (or in more generic terms Western societies) after WWII kept reaffirming their industrialised, progressive and advanced status. This distinction was based on the economic performance of a nation state. The discourse was created by the Western societies and "development discourse, therefore, not only has served to subject the Third World to Western control through a phalanx of institutions and treaties but has also created "underdeveloped" as a subject and "underdevelopment" as a form of identity in the postcolonial world" (Gupta 1998, 11). This is why from the inception of the World Heritage concept Western communities were addressed only in the context of being educated on the scope of the Convention.

6.4 Reflections on different attitudes to the change

"The original community is still around"[A19], reflects a retired teacher, who settled down in Ironbridge in the 1980s. In her view there is a conflict between incomers and the original community. "It was sort of them and us. And even now you do wonder if you are really accepted. But of course most of the very old ones have died now. So, I think we are more accepted because we are the majority now" [A19]. When I asked a female professional who moved to Ironbridge in 1982 whether she considers herself as part of the local community, she replied: "yes and no" [A5]. She explained: "because I know people who were born here are very much 'we were born here and this is ours'" [A5]. In her opinion a lot of people who were born in the Gorge think very negatively of people who

have moved in and “no matter how long you have lived here, you are incomers” [A5]. She explained that this resentment stems back to the times before Ironbridge became a WHS, and the reason for that was the compulsory purchase of houses. Her old house was compulsory purchased from a man who was born in that house. A builder bought the house from the man who was born in it and sold it to her. She thought that this was wrong. And this wrongdoing was one of the reasons which triggered the divide from the people who were actually born and lived in the Gorge for a long time. She concluded that the locals were displaced for somebody to make a profit out of moving in, and that the incomers themselves form a community that gets on really well. She feels that she is part of the incoming community.

Amongst grievances held by the original residents of Madeley, there was also a sort of resentment or even hostility towards TDC in the 1960s, explained a former staff member of the IGMT. In his opinion it was because of the infrastructure that was being pulled out. “TDC came along, demolished the centre of Madeley, built all these really crappy housing estates around it and imposed this population on it and then built the museum. I think there was a longer-term feeling that the museum was part of TDC” [C6]. This resentment was confirmed by a retired teacher from Brosley who witnessed the influx of newcomers in the 1970s and '80s. He remembers that the original population was unsympathetic when it came to the developments that the New Town provided, including incomers. It was a challenge to their way of life, he said. In his opinion:

It was a challenge to everything. It brought a lot of outsiders. It brought in migrants, foreigners as they saw them, people who were not part of their lives, and their lives were precious to them. And all this change was so huge that they really found it difficult to cope with and resented it. So there was a tension between the incomers and newcomers and the original population [A8].

Indeed, the original community associates IGMT with the dramatic change which was introduced in the Gorge. However, the influx of people and the regeneration they see in more positive light in contrast to how their views are often presented. “The whole business of museums, it must have brought a lot of people in, and helped the place survive and become important (...) That must have been a good thing really” [A17], a resident from the original community told me. For a retired health specialist from Jackfield, this influx of a new population from the overspill who came to settle in the estates, was good. It brought more jobs for the local residents. He told me that the following morning he was going to be working in Brookside Council Estate and he was going to be getting paid for the job (cash in hand). Therefore, in his own words the new town authority literally put money in his pocket in the 1980s and they were still doing so in 2016. He differentiated his personal prosperity and a much wider prosperity which newly built factories brought to the area as the infrastructure brought by Telford.

In his view “ it’s good for new people to integrate and it should be more of our job, the locals, we should knock on their doors and say: I know you don’t want to know (...) because you have to go to the supermarket, but I could tell you little bit about the village if you like. But they are very harsh, they take a long time to settle in. People nowadays take a long time to settle in. Several people living here on the street. I said why don’t you come up and we have a cup of tea? Then I might give you a little bit of local history. I will show you photographs of this village when it was a thriving village, but they never come. It’s a little bit difficult to integrate with the local people. The offer is here on my part, but they don’t seem to accept the offer. There is no originals left. I am only one of only five local people in the village [A29].

As the WHS became gentrified its working culture also changed. I was told by a couple from Brosley that even in the 1980s, when her husband used to live in Ironbridge, the place was like a dormitory town because people were moving in and moving out all the time. A resident from Jackfield told me that as the nature of industry has changed people who live in the Gorge have to commute to work. His neighbours travel 40 miles each day. “I know there are still employers in the area in the industry, but I don’t know; I don’t meet a lot of working-class people”[A29], he said.

Not only socio-economic differences seem to divide communities in the Gorge but perhaps different cognitive ownership of the historic landscape. As outlined in chapter four, the TDC policies anticipated that the incoming community would be ‘grafted’ on to the original community and eventually the two communities would fuse and become one entity. My fieldwork data, however, indicates that those two communities did not integrate. Moreover, there is a divergence between the perceptions the two communities have of each other and their role in the changing cultural landscape of the Gorge. My research did not capture the resentment of original communities towards incomers. This sensation of resentment came from the incoming communities themselves. However, when the incomers express their views on the dynamics between incomers and newcomers their comments are rarely self-reflective as they refer to people who were accommodated from the overspill in the estates surrounding the WHS as newcomers. So the criticism is not actually directed towards themselves as a self-defined group but towards an economically different social group. In the section below, I will outline how incremental changes introduced in the Gorge affected local communities and their attitudes towards their material and immaterial culture.

6.5 'Heritagisation' and the arrival of new people

The original community from the Gorge will always talk about their memories of Ironbridge as a busy market town. Before WWII there were 50 shops and now there are only 15, said one informant from Jackfield. He believes that when people from Ironbridge started exploring other markets in the surrounding towns, the local trade stalled. I learned about this complex relationship between the New Town on the one hand giving some incentives for businesses to start up in Ironbridge and on the other hand attracting local people to shop in its newly opened premises in Telford town centre. A resident from Coalbrookdale explained that when the first Carrefour shop opened it was a real novelty which drew people away from Ironbridge, because people wanted to see these big shops. She said "I think, I speak personally, because we chose to go to find these bigger shops then we took away the trade from Ironbridge. It not only provided those new exciting shopping facilities but people started using Telford centre as a new meeting point"[A17]. Her parents used to go to Telford for a treat, her dad would sit there and meet his friends. This change in shopping behaviours was carefully projected by Telford's planners. Ironbridge was going to be developed as a heritage attraction and, as Neil Cossons explained in the Shropshire Star, it was going to be a different nature of shops: not for local communities but for the tourists (Shropshire Star 1971). A shop owner from Ironbridge illustrated this change through the prism of his own experience over the years. This is a description in his own words:

Businesses have had to change because Ironbridge has changed. From being a busy little community to being an international visitor destination. We were once a butcher's shop. Traditional butcher's shop that did meat. We always did our pies.

As the community and the transition of Ironbridge was made, we then made a transition, not to do meat but pork pies, which are very traditional and we have always done them. So, it was almost like a natural transition. It went from the stage, you know, 90 per cent of sales were from meat over a counter and 10 per cent was pies, to now 90 per cent is pies and pasties and sausage rolls. It has been a slow transition really. I used to work in the shop and I used to say to my dad, you know, dad, you have a meat counter, which is 80 per cent meat and 20 per cent pies. And 80 per cent of your trade was coming from that 20 per cent of your counter.

So, it was transition of cutting down meat. It is hard to put an exact date on it. I think it was a slow decline, which then came to a point of becoming a World Heritage Site [in 1986 when Ironbridge became a World Heritage Site] and then the decline was reversed. And it became a rise in visitor numbers coming to Ironbridge. Once upon a time Ironbridge was really busy in a summer and dead in a winter. And now, we're getting, it has definitely affected, people come from all over the world, from all over the country. Even in a winter we still have people coming to see Ironbridge [B5].

When the incomers started arriving in the Gorge it was already designated as a conservation area. Despite that they rarely refer to heritage as a factor in making their decision to settle down in the Gorge. Instead, they cite the general ambience of this part of Telford, which was considered visually quite nice. Some of the incomers had family connections in the area or they chose to settle in Ironbridge because of its industrial background, rather gritty character: "It is a town with something happening... Heritage was not as evident then as it is now. Yes, we were aware of it, but it was more of the fact that (...) houses were old and they were affordable (...) we could afford a big garden. It was

also semi-rural”[A19], explained a resident from Ironbridge. Those settling down in the late 1970s and ’80s were attracted by the job opportunities and the fact that property was fairly cheap for the time. A former history teacher moved to the Gorge in 1979 from what he called “a totally different world”[A8], London. He himself, like many other incomers, moved because of his job. He remembers that the first families who were buying up old Ironbridge properties were either the town planners who were building the New Town or other professionals.

A professional couple from Ironbridge who were directly involved in the regeneration of the Gorge in 1970s cited numerous factors that had led them to decide to live in Ironbridge. Mainly it was because they wanted to live somewhere a little bit more interesting and challenging. The landscape, the river, the excitement about the changes which Ironbridge was undergoing at the time. The fact is that it was attracting “pioneers” [A12]– people with a vision, people who wanted to make their impact on the area and who wanted to shape the future of the place. The geographical location of the Gorge, in the county of Shropshire, famous for its picturesque walking routes such as Church Stretton and the Wrekin, together with dramatic scenery, was certainly recurrently referred to as a reason for its attractiveness amongst incomers.

A retired conservation professional from Ironbridge explained that when he moved in 40 years ago the houses were very old and derelict with no internal facilities, outside toilets and outside wash houses, and there was no money to modernise and develop them. In his opinion, when the New Town Corporation came along, it was obvious to them that the middle classes of the New Town were not going to want to live in the New Town estates that they were building but in nice middle-class areas. He explained that the TDC pumped money into select areas of Ironbridge and developed them and, indeed, pumped money into

the museum managed by the IGMT. Consequently, the middle classes followed with their money, he explained. The houses were modernised with people's own money because they wanted to live in a pleasant part of the New Town.

Although the houses were much more expensive in Ironbridge than in the surrounding estates, a female professional resident who moved to Ironbridge in 1982 was prepared to pay a much higher market price for the quaint character of the place. She emphasized her dislike of council estates when she said that she "would have hated being on one of those"[A5]. Indeed, this very special character of the place, in her view, attracted people with a very similar mindset. So, it was the historic character of the place and the ambience that drew middle-class families, or families aspiring to become middle class, to the Gorge. Although many of the local residents who arrived in these early stages of the Ironbridge regeneration scheme would negate the idea that heritage had anything to do with it. A retired medical doctor from Ironbridge stated that the historic environment probably was not important, and certainly it was not the reason why she moved to this area. "It was because of old houses, and lots of brick which made it a pleasant area"[A15].

A former foundry employee with his newly married wife, originally from the Birmingham area, was transferred to work in Coalbrookdale Works in 1979. When they came over to have a look at the houses, the wife reminisced:

I remember walking up Coalbrookdale and seeing the church on the hill and when we got to here I was peering up through the window and everything was dark, there was an old lace that was hanging. But when we came and had a proper look it was using our imagination as to what we can do with it. But the surrounding area was so beautiful that it would have been a shame not to have taken that chance to live here [A4].

As they used to live on a housing estate, they saw Ironbridge as aspirational with regards to their social status. The husband made it clear that they did not know Ironbridge before they moved in, although they had already lived in the Telford (Dawley) area for 10 years. Ironbridge “didn’t really mean a lot to us”[A30], he stressed. The history of the place was not a major concern, it was getting settled into the area, bringing up a family and keeping a job those were the main criteria at that time. One of their cottages had a closing order on it and they had to renovate it and make it liveable before this closing order was lifted. It still had the old gas jets on the wall, they told me.

One of my interviewees, a retired health professional, first came to Ironbridge in 1983. He told me that he did not know the area, but he wanted to visit it because he had heard that Ironbridge was quite famous. But this first visit proved to be disappointing. He described Ironbridge at that time as “damp and a real mess”[A6]. He did not understand why people came to Ironbridge.

We got to the Bridge because as far as we knew Ironbridge was the Bridge. We thought that there would be something to guide us. There wasn’t anything that we could see. So, we saw the bridge. Oh, is that it? Had a cup of tea. We didn’t know about the furnace [A6].

When I enquired whether he had read about Ironbridge prior to his first disappointing visit he replied that he had, but he did not know what was left. “It was only 20 years later, about 10 years ago, just one Saturday. I said to myself, I wonder what Ironbridge is like now? And I came over and thought, “WOW!”[A6].

What started to emerge from the early stages of my fieldwork was that the place was not considered as a heritage site. The process of the ‘heritagisation’ of the area came later. This

became more obvious to me when one of the original residents whom I interviewed said to me: “I realised how famous it was when the heritage came [referring to the 1986 UNESCO designation], and it was famous again before that when the New Town started, and we thought, yeah, we are living in Ironbridge”[A20].

As the ‘heritagisation’ of the area developed and matured it percolated down to the consciousness of new settlers.

The process of value formation has been tied closely to academic and professional interest in a place (Carman 1996, Carman 2012, see chapter two). The description above confirms that the importance of Ironbridge was not appreciated before the interpretation of the place, driven by archaeological and historical enquiry, was made available to the public.

“If someone comes to the area cold, not knowing it, they can find out about everything here. The fact is that only 30-odd years ago, coming to the area if you knew nothing about it, you would live knowing nothing about it”[A6], confirmed an interviewee from Ironbridge.

This particular form of attachment steered by the experts has implications on how a WHS is understood and what associations and attitudes it creates amongst local communities. The interpretation of the area attracted a new group of people, people whose interest in industrial heritage is very much inspired by and echoes scholarly research. Carman explains that experts through heritage processes form communities of interest – heritage communities (Carman 2011 495-496). These according to the text enshrined in Faro Convention are defined as “people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations” (Council of Europe 2005, art. 2). Heritage communities act as followers and

supporters of heritage conservation policies and agendas, hence, of the heritage sector – they value information coming from a heritage enquiry.

6.6 When different communities meet. Different attitudes and cognitive ownership: how local communities are constructed

“There is a lot of local pride about making it a place that would be seen as more important than it had been. It was very much a low-key place that people didn’t talk about very much...” [A12] (a resident from Ironbridge)

This section will explore how, through cognitive ownership (Boyd 2005, 93), understanding of a heritage place is determined. It will focus on two self-defined communities, their personal relationships with the place and it will determine what meanings and understandings they attach to it. The construction of those different meanings influences our understanding of the place, in this case a WHS and its OUV. The concept of cognitive ownership is applied to reach an understanding on the relationship between people and the place (Boyd 2005, 94) and how this relationship relates to negotiation and absorption of global narratives enshrined in the concept of OUV.

Boyd argues that connections are made not only between individuals who form a community but also between individuals and a particular site. Through this understanding, a sense of ownership is developed when people try to make associations with a site within a particular physical, social and political context. In this section I will be mapping those individual interests, landscapes and the relationships between different interested individuals who form community groups (Boyd 2012, 184; Boyd 2005, 103). I will highlight dissonance and convergence between two community groups – the original and

the incoming community – and how this dissonance influences the way these groups appreciate World Heritage values.

The attitudes and interaction of the incomers with the industrial character of the Gorge differ from those of the original community. The latter grew up in the Gorge when it was a heavily polluted industrial place, the former came to live in an area with a heritage status. A resident from Jackfield told me that when visitors from the Black Country used to compare his village to a miniature of the Black Country, he didn't understand this comparison. Only when he was told that there were 30 smoking chimneys in the village did things click. He said that he had never realised that his village was anything special. This was all he knew: those smoking factory chimneys. Members of the original community born before WWII will often say that they were not aware of the importance of the bridge. They were not taught in their local schools about it, and when they were young the Iron Bridge was not recognised as anything special.

However, they all unanimously say that it has always been a beautiful area. "I remember walking down to Ironbridge when I was a child and stopping and looking at that view, and thinking this is so beautiful it is special. It does not look like any English village really. It looks like something completely different. I was kind of aware of the beauty of it and the difference of it when I was a child, but not of its importance in history" [A9] a resident from Brosley told me. A retired Engineer from the Trench area, recalled that they "used to say: 'this is an old bridge'. Simple as that"[A26].

On mentioning the bridge, my interviewee from Brosley recalled her personal story that she had had to pay a toll to cross the bridge when she was a little girl.

What we used to do: wait until the guy run in the back, nick under the barrier so you didn't pay, and for that penny you buy a sweet. And we used to walk all the way around, and I was always late home from school [A9].

She admitted that the World Heritage inscription made her appreciate the area where she lives more.

A retired teacher from Brosley who had worked in the area since the early 1970s painted a picture of how this attachment and association with the historic landscape of the Gorge was evident amongst children. He said that from the time when the New Town was designated, it became apparent to him that the children were from two different communities:

One knew everything about the area and the other one didn't have a clue. Didn't know where they were. The newcomers they didn't consider themselves as part of the local community. To begin, they were very much from Wolverhampton, Birmingham. And all the evidence will suggest that they had no relatives living here other than their immediate family. No relatives living within 20 miles, whereas the local people were surrounded by their relatives within 5 miles [A8].

He estimates that it took 10 years for incoming children to forget their original homes in an act of "oblivion", an act when immigrant offspring eagerly forget the Old World to embrace the New" (Lowenthal 1996, 156) and once they went through the school system, in his view, they became very much part of the local area. As he was teaching children aged 10-18 they were old enough to remember their original homes. They came from the cities, and from his observations they could not relate to the local children who had lived in

the village community and that was their horizon: “there was this kind of contrast between the town, the city and the rural village kids, who both had limited views of life”[A8].

He remembers that redundant factories which are now museum sites were just playgrounds to the original children. In his opinion they had no appreciation for what they had got to play on, except that their grandparents might have told them that it was a factory they used to work in. In his view they “gave no more thought [to it other] than it was the past, and the past was always the past” [A8].

When he started teaching the kids about the Industrial Revolution, which was a compulsory part of the curriculum, he felt that he was not only filling in the children’s general historical knowledge, but that this history was particularly relevant to them. They could relate to the history which was about the importance of the coalmining, the ironworking. They could connect the place they knew with their family histories and the formal history teaching. He remembers that children would bring in objects that their families had collected over the years.

He believes that old things suddenly became important. “It was like pride, pride in their area, sense of place and sense of significance”[A8]. Because he was educated in formal history teaching he could put things into a wider perspective. He told me that he used to explain to his pupils that the historic landscape of the Gorge was a special area, indeed a very important past, which local children simply did not appreciate.

“This was actually an important past, if you lived in the place. This is in its own way was important, ‘Really’? [asked the children; they] just take it for granted. Because it is just there. But actually people came from all over the world to look at it, you know, my house, my area. Strange” [A8].

He further explained how, in his view, this simple mechanism of formalised importance of a place is created. This idea of ‘outsiders’ playing an important role in advocating the importance and significance of cultural places can be illustrated by the case study of the Ironbridge Gorge. As he said:

I think the local people understood where they came from. They knew about the mining and coal and the ironworking and the conditions and the factory closures, but then they saw that as the past - not significant. I think it is only when enough people from outside kept coming in and saying this isn’t just any past, this is a really unique past, what you’ve got here, it’s something which is not just important for this immediate area but important for the country, eventually it has significance for the wider world [A8].

In his opinion the historical significance of the place was appreciated firstly by those ‘outsiders’ who managed to a certain degree to influence local people’s understanding of their place. He reflected, that there is still “a mass, I wouldn’t call it ignorance but lack of appreciation of the fact that there is so much that went on here”[A8]. According to his observations, although local people have grown up in the area, they are often surprised to find out, that this area is historically significant. He added that school education helped to raise the site’s profile amongst local children and make them aware of how critical this place was in history. A World Heritage designation was another layer of that “outward confidence” [A8], that someone else from even further “outside” was saying that the place was really special. Although some residents from the original community said to me that the World Heritage does not mean anything to them one of them admitted that the

inscription made him realise that they “have been sitting on something very important” [A8].

The above described process of identification, interpretation and propagation of a vision of the past in an educational style has been critiqued by West, who uses Blists Hill as an example where the trustees, museum management and academics claim the right to communicate their version of the past (West, 1988, 50). Furthermore, what is being communicated in formal education depends on who is valuing heritage and how they represent the ‘outsider’ valuing systems (Lipe 1984, 3, Carman 1996, Carman 2011, Thompson 1979).

6.7 Identity and cognitive ownership in practice

There is a dissonance when the associations and attitudes of the communities living in the Gorge are contrasted. “The Ironbridge Gorge Heritage Site means very little to me in actual fact” [A11] insisted a former miner from Madeley. He told me that his community knew the place but they never called it a heritage site because to them it was not a heritage site.

He is aware and frustrated that whatever he says gets easily translated into something else. And it is important to him to tell people the truth, which he doesn’t think is being communicated in the WHS interpretation. “And I sort of insist that what I am saying is how it was” [A11] he told me with conviction in his voice. He is part of the original community in the area, and his ancestors would have worked at furnaces and pits; he himself worked in the mining and iron industry. It seems that he feels obliged to make the voices of his people heard. What is of utmost importance to him is the worth that was put

in them by men working for very little, “and I mean very little, perhaps a few pennies. And the wages in those days were paid out in the pub” [A11], he said.

He is asserting his expertise in the subject by critiquing the interpretation prepared by the heritage workers who have never experienced the past they talk about. Although, they create stories about events which happened in our living memory, the credibility of heritage interpretation is not only contested but often rejected by the cognitive owners, who look through the prism of their personal and collective memories. This particular approach presented in the above extract offers a critical take on how detached our contemporary understanding of the past is, even more so when concerning discussions on the past with no evidenced living memory, like in the case of applying archaeological enquiry (Hodder 1985). Does the above description suggest that memory and direct experience, which is indeed reconstructed, as well as the heritage-making process give cognitive owners precedence over interpretation and governance of places that we are directly related to? I do not think that is what my interviewee implied. However, he made a clear statement that his understanding of the place is the correct one. This is because the meanings the original community attach to their historic environment is based on their direct experience of working in the area and shaping the landscape of the Gorge before it became a WHS, indeed before it became a heritage site. Lowenthal compares life history with heritage as they both share “immunity to correction even by ourselves” (Lowenthal 1996, 146). Had the WHS inscription considered the site as a living heritage site with its communities, the original community would have been linked as historically connected to the site. The incoming community certainly do not claim their historical association with the site, and their knowledge of the site is not personally related to the original function of the site. This different take on the historic landscape of the Gorge was explained to me by a

retired IT professional living in Ironbridge, who gave me his insight, his take on behalf of his fellow incomer friends:

Ironbridge is quite interesting in regards to sort of tension between the experts and the local community, because so many people who live in Ironbridge now are actually incomers rather than the original community, who would have experienced, or whose parents would have experienced, the Gorge as it once was. So, I imagine certainly myself and many of my incomer friends would have the same sort of views of heritage as possibly the experts. (...) We are an incoming local community; we don't have the deep roots in the place. I think folk who lived here all their lives, second or third generation, would value, value I think much more some of the detailed structures of the place, parts they used to go down, schools they used, used to be taught in. Even the language, the pubs, all those sort of things would mean much more to them, whereas for incomers it's just a pub, a school or a park. Whereas, the stuff which is much more interesting to us is the stuff of national significance, because it is the place where the Industrial Revolution started [A23].

Although many of the incomers indicated clearly that heritage was not the main reason why they chose to live in the Gorge, many of them would have a pre-existing understanding of the national importance of the monuments located in the Gorge. They became a heritage community that emerged from heritage enquiry, formal and informal education. A conservation practitioner from Ironbridge took his interest in the history of the industrial revolution to the next level: a professional one. His passion for industrial archaeology started when he was at school 50 years ago. Encouraged by a teacher (an industrial archaeology pioneer), he took part in archaeological excavations as a volunteer

and dug around the bases of chimneys in Telford Town Centre. “This sowed a gentle seed in my mind” [A16] he said.

From heritage not being evident, it is now experienced everywhere. A retired heritage conservation professional told me, “if you live in the Gorge it is difficult to escape heritage, because it is all encompassing”[A22]. During my fieldwork it was evident that to some residents the industrial landscape of the Gorge provides an exciting playground for exploration. “In this country there is a company called Alan Godfrey Maps, which reproduce old ordnance survey maps” [A6], explained a retired scientist. He told me that he uses them when he goes walking. He got really excited when he was telling me how he can locate an old structure on these maps and learn that it was a furnace, for example. He told me that this exploration provides him immense entertainment. “It is exploring not only what is now, but was then, but why now is like it is now. If you see a lump in the ground it tells you nothing about it, and you can find out that there was an old furnace. A walk is not just a walk, it is an exploration”[A6]. One can develop a special attachment with the surrounding historic landscape through exploration, a couple who lived for many years on the Sutton Hill estate (adjacent to the WHS inscription boundary) told me. They used to visit Ironbridge only for a day out, but living next to the town is not the same as living in Ironbridge they explained. By living in Ironbridge they can “discover all the little bits which make up the village”[A25]. In her opinion, one can get easily detached from the historic environment, especially in a city. She said that growing up in London did not help her to appreciate her surroundings and the history of the place. Only when she came to live in Ironbridge did she start thinking about what went before and how things are connected with each other.

Research into the local history of the Ironbridge WHS is not the exclusive domain of the incoming community. A resident who was born in the Gorge told me that the museum

ignited this ongoing hobby in researching his local history. He reaffirmed that “it was the museum that put the place on the map, plus people like yourself that have been researching things”[A29]. At the time of the interview he was making a case for the preservation of the gates in his local district. When I asked why those gates are particularly important to him he told me that they are the widest gates ever made within the Great Western Railway system for three sets of wheels. The justification given was not a personal one and did not differ from statements which heritage workers would outline when arguing the case for preservation. I asked whether he had any sense of this importance when he was growing up, he replied: “No, no, Oh no. No”[A29]. He told me that “in the 1930s nobody ever took a photograph of Ironbridge. Ironbridge was unknown”[A29]. As some of the residents engage in researching and exploring their local heritage they develop knowledge based on heritage enquiry. This may lead to instances where current interpretation of the WHS is questioned, challenged and negotiated not only by the original community but by the incomers. A professional couple from Ironbridge told me about their scepticism towards the Ironbridge Museums’ interpretation of industry, especially given the lack of acknowledgement of women. The focus of the museum was to provide “the authorised version to make sure that it didn’t upset the department or UNESCO” [A12]. This “is the one [version] that people will know about”[A12] she asserted. Although the incomers are aware that they formed as a community around an historic event which took place in the Gorge in the ’70s and the ’80s, they see that the developments enshrined in national designation and those which were later stated in the SOUV pertaining to the Industrial Revolution are more important than their pioneering input in making Ironbridge Gorge a WHS. The incoming community not only contributed to the heritagisation of the Gorge but have been consciously shaping and maintaining the place as a WHS. The heritagisation process symbolically translated industrial structures into heritage objects, consequently

their use and function has changed, in this new context the new custodians (incomers) became yet another original community, not for Ironbridge as an industrial place but for the Ironbridge Gorge as a heritage site. A place which acquired a different meaning in the history of its existence.

Through fascination and exploration performed by predominantly, but not exclusively, incoming communities contemporary meanings of the industrial landscape are created. This is what Lowenthal describes as a scholar's zeal for knowledge. He points out the dilemma of reconciling different sets of values assigned by groups with an intrinsically different interest in heritage. In the 'Dilemmas of Preservation', Lowenthal refers to personal and communal meanings attached to the surviving past which will "fly in the face of established canons of truth or beauty" (Lowenthal 1981, 172). Indeed, Lowenthal states that the zeal for knowledge is a 'thing' for experts. The example above shows otherwise, both communities, incoming as well as original (although the latter is less represented in the qualitative survey, see chapter five) search for the truth. The former miner for example is 'campaigning' for the truth to be communicated to the people who are interested in his history; he is challenging the narratives presented by the museum. The incoming community often mention that they want to see a more inclusive interpretation of their local heritage and indeed a more truthful picture of the past.

6.8 Summary

In this chapter the attitudes of communities have been represented in order to gain an insight into the issue of identification of local communities in the World Heritage process. The empirical study which focused on cognitive ownership showed that different communities self-identify themselves in relation to their local WHS. The focus of this

study is to evaluate their attitudes to the WHS, in particular to find out their perceptions of the concept of SOUV through an analysis of its description and understanding. The findings of this chapter pertain to attitudes of two self-defined communities (incoming and original) and a cognitive dissonance between their perceived World Heritage landscapes.

The interviews also sought to discover how global developments in the international conservation movement and implementation of the heritagisation process were implemented at site level and how they affected local communities. The empirical research showed that original communities witnessed the transition between two different economic activities: from industrial production to tourism industry. When they moved into the area, the incoming communities took part in the regeneration process and transition of the declined industrial landscape into a heritage site. The context chapter outlined that heritagisation was prerequisite to inscription into the WHL. This chapter has provided evidence that the heritagisation process was implemented in Ironbridge according to the contemporary trends in international conservation presented in chapter three. In Ironbridge original communities, like descendant communities in postcolonial countries, are portrayed as those who did not appreciate their surrounding historic environment as monuments of national or international significance. The interviews sought to discover whether self-defined local communities had a pre-existing relationship with the heritage of the Gorge, and they showed that neither had, and they indicated that prior scholarly attention to the local industrial heritage was simply not there for local communities. This chapter has provided evidence on the role of formal education in creating the heritage community.

Heritage literature portrays a dissonance between global representations of communities which negotiate Western sets of values as non-compatible with their understanding of the past. The microcosm of Ironbridge captures the dissonance in cognitive ownership at the WHS level and this relates to the personal and collective experience of local communities.

There are voices amongst the original community that they have been overlooked because archaeological claims to expertise and scientific objectivity take precedence in the Gorge, as do those globally represented communities whose heritage has been made part of a national or indeed international narrative. The extract below exemplifies this argument:

I was brought up in Horsehay, which is a local part of the Telford area, and I lived before Telford, and I am aware lots of bits and pieces were taken away from the Telford area and brought to the IGMT. So there is little bits of my own that have been stolen and deposited in the area because we didn't have the facility to preserve it ourselves [A26].

On the contrary, the incoming communities do not claim a direct personal link with the heritage of the Ironbridge Gorge, as they often say that they don't have family links with the place, hence they cannot claim that it is their heritage in the sense the original community does. Most of them learned in formal education about the Industrial Revolution, and they feel attached to the concept that this history is part of their British identity, indeed part of who they are.

It was found that the new custodians of the WHS and the original community construct their own landscapes, and although each landscape is individual and relates to so-called "patches" and personal experience, there are patterns. For the original community living in the Gorge is a natural continuation from industrial to post-industrial landscape. For the incomers continuity starts with the national or international significance as a baseline, and their contribution to shaping the landscape of the Gorge is overshadowed by the narrative of the Industrial Revolution, which is perceived as of greater value.

How local communities identify themselves will be discussed in chapter 8 .

7. UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUV AND LOCAL VALUES

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the issue of identification of local communities and how the idea of cognitive ownership determines the way we interact with the historic environment we live in, how we understand it and what it might mean to us. In this chapter the cognitive ownership approach will be used as a tool to capture the distinction between OUV and local values perpetuated by the World Heritage discourse. Numerous publications which mention local values and OUV, or indeed expert-assigned values and local values (English Heritage 2008, de Merode et.al. 2004), do not address the crucial area of understanding what this essentialising dichotomy means and whether the binary between these two can be transcended. The relationship between local and universal value will be scrutinised by using quantitative and qualitative fieldwork data, which will enable me to look at the heritage of the Ironbridge Gorge from the perspective of local residents and to discover what they consider important about their local heritage and how this relates to the UNESCO nomination. This chapter will also address the question of whether the local communities think that international designation has influenced the way they appreciate their local heritage, and whether its UNESCO status affects their life in any way. Finally, I will examine how the different meanings assigned to a WHS are being absorbed and negotiated by local communities. How do those associations impact on the transmission of these meanings to future generations?

7.2 What does World Heritage mean?

The argument that some places and objects have self-evident local value whilst others are imbued with universal values has been reiterated by professionals themselves and by the organisations employing them. Indeed, assumptions such as those made by heritage professionals assert that industrial structures are selected according to criteria employed by historians of architecture, and that such landscapes consist of “buildings of no particular individual merit, as well as structures with architectural features which can be readily appreciated” (Trinder, 1995, 405). The industrial remains in the Ironbridge Gorge had no apparent universal value. This was confirmed in the press release issued by IGMT making its inscription on the WHL in 1986:

the Ironbridge Museum has pioneered discovery, conservation and exploitation of the vast heritage of the Gorge to such an extent that whereas formerly nobody would have wished to visit the area except as a specialist historian, now some half million visitors come to see historic sites where our modern world began (IGMT Press release Nov 1986).

Prior to its discovery by industrial heritage enthusiasts, the Iron Bridge itself was destined to be demolished (Beale 2014, 8)⁵. The rationale outlined by Trinder epitomizes the idea that the World Heritage discourse is based on the premise of dissonance of local value and universal value. What can classify as of Outstanding Universal Value will change according to the expanding criteria for inscription and sophisticated scholarly research, aided by UNESCO strategy guidance concerned with representativeness on the WHL.

⁵ The Iron Bridge itself, despite being the first industrial structure to become a scheduled monument on its closure in 1934, had been offered for scrap to the local dealers Oakley Arnold if they would dismantle it.

In Ironbridge Gorge there have been almost four decades of raising awareness amongst local people of its national significance, and it has been three decades since it became a WHS. Despite this, there is a widespread understanding amongst local communities that they do not appreciate its 'universal' importance.

"The World Heritage Site doesn't mean a thing to us at all" [A29], a member of the original Jackfield community told me. He was not referring to his own take on the subject, but referring to the wider community, the original community. He further explained that notices put up by the museum proclaiming that Ironbridge Gorge is amongst places such as the Royal Salt Mines in Poland and the Taj Mahal in India are completely meaningless. He stated in no uncertain terms that "It is just a name and that's it. It doesn't mean anything" [A29]. To which I replied: "But the place means a lot to you". This prompted a very different response: "Oh yes. Well, what it means to me, I am lucky because I live in a quiet village which is almost totally undisturbed...which has gone quieter and quieter. I take a great interest in my own village, I try to save things that need saving (...) I would not live anywhere else except this village. I have lived here 87 years. I think it is lovely here" [A29]. I found commonalities between responses from the original community when asking about World Heritage. The original community is now well aware that the place has a special historical significance, and formal narratives communicated by the museum add to their understanding of their local history. A retired foreman from Madeley told me that Blists Hill makes people realise the heritage of the place, "because it has gone from industry to nothing" [A1].

I asked "Why is it important to preserve heritage in the area?"

Response: "I don't want to see it die" [A1]

Me: "Why?"

Response: “Because it is worth preserving. It is part of the heritage, the progression of industry in Britain was here, Industrial Revolution (...) we sit on coal beds, on the limestone beds. So, the answer is, we have got all the ingredients for making iron. Of course, what did they make with the iron? Cannonballs. That is what started it off. You talk about Abraham Darby. Abraham Darby came from Bristol, from the Quakers. They made some pots and pans. But of course, it was Abraham Darby III that built the Iron Bridge” [A1].

Me: “How did you learn about it?”

Reply: “It was a very good book. But when my Mother died my brother took it. The book was called *Randall’s History of Madeley*. I grew up with it. I love it, simple as that. It was part of my life” [A1]

A former miner from Madeley asserted that he feels strong attachment to the place and its history, but without any sense of it being a WHS. When I kept insisting that he give me further explanations about what this place means to him as a WHS, he replied with firmness in his voice:

I appreciate your World Heritage Site interests. Mine is Madeley, Blists Hill, Neck End and old stuff (...). That’s the name of it now. But of course I don’t associate with that name do I? That’s the difference. And I say that, because if I didn’t, you will easily translate me to a WH site person, which I am not. I am the old Madeley person and the Blists Hill person, you see. That is important because you can do what you want with whatever I tell you, but the one who is talking to you is not a World Heritage Site. It’s Madeley or Ironbridge or Coalbrookdale, Jiggers Bank, and so on. All the places, that’s how I associate with it. WHS is like a posh description of the area. I know where you’re coming from. I don’t associate with that name, do I? I associate with the old Madeley and so on.

Yeah, describing the people here working on furnaces, pits and in the Foundry and all of that. They were pre-WHS. I cannot put them into the WHS. They didn't belong to the WHS, they worked in the pits and the foundries. We keep their identity and talk about the WHS with them in it, but not in their time.

Because I talk about working people. I appreciate you going to the university, and I appreciate what you're doing there and I can see that, but I am not necessarily part of that. That is your life, you see.

But you registered with me in this chat, and maybe it will appear that I associate with you; you associate with me because I have talked to you and hopefully [told you] something of interest and hopefully something of truth [will come as a result of this chat]" [A11]

The extract from the above interview does not fall in to either of Lowenthal's well known ideal distinctions between "remote history" and "personal heritage" as concepts. "History it is old that has nothing to do with us" whereas heritage "bears overtones of personal closeness, of identity, and of exclusive possession" (Lowenthal 1996, 126). Similarly, Hewison argues that "heritage has often been counterposed to history, in the sense that it is held to lack the objective, critical stance of the latter (Hewison 1987).

That place which is now a WHS was just normal the interviewee insisted, it was part of his life, but he concluded that what he knows does not translate into modern language of "heritage people"[A11]. It is the heritage process which makes objects and places heritage, heritage is a term associated with official status and has no personal connotations for the interviewee above.

While I was conducting my research, I learned that the highest level of awareness of World Heritage status was amongst the population living in Ironbridge. However, even amongst those communities it was not rare to find the opinion that the Bridge is the only monument

which carries World Heritage status. A couple from Ironbridge was surprised when they learned that parts of Madeley are also within the WHS.

When it comes to awareness of OUV amongst local residents, they fall into two categories according to a local councillor from Ironbridge. Residents often refer to the OUV when they raise their concerns to her about the way the council is handling planning issues. She thinks that this high level of awareness in the Gorge is because a lot of people have been involved professionally in the conservation of the area, whereas for newer families this is not the case. In her view, in the Gorge people are familiar with the term: “I would probably say more than most people. I think if you went to another ward they wouldn’t have a clue”[C4].

When I explained my research to a pub-owner from Madeley, her immediate response was that I should come to Madeley to talk to people about it because most of them will not know what World Heritage is. Another resident who lives within the WHS boundaries in Madeley told me she was not quite sure how far the WHS extended until she looked it up. In her view “awareness of it does tail off in Madeley anyway”[A13].

During a community meeting in Madeley, I had to explain to participants of my research what WHS means and most people were unaware of the World Heritage status and their immediate associations were with TDC and Blists Hill. The lack of awareness of what World Heritage is was confirmed in the quantitative research where, in answer to the question of whether UNESCO designation has influenced the way people appreciate local heritage, 51% respondents said yes, while thirty five percent said no.

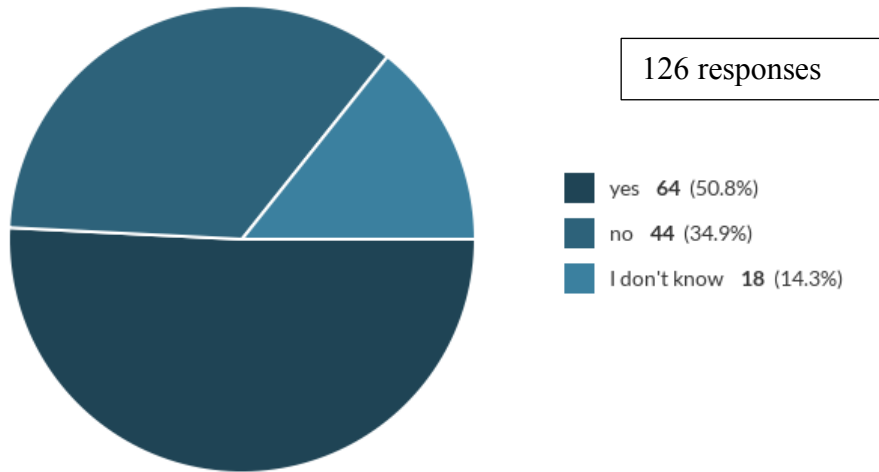


Chart 1. The Ironbridge Gorge is internationally recognised as a World Heritage because of its significance. Would you say that UNESCO designation has influenced the way you appreciate your local heritage or change the way you understand it?

I wanted to learn why there were such inconsistencies between different districts within the WHS when it comes to awareness of the WHS. My observations indicated that people from Ironbridge are more aware that they live within the WHS than in Madeley. My interviewee from Madeley expressed his personal take on the current dynamics within the WHS. In his view “people of Madeley always feel like they are treated like second-class citizens although it is part of the WHS” [C1].

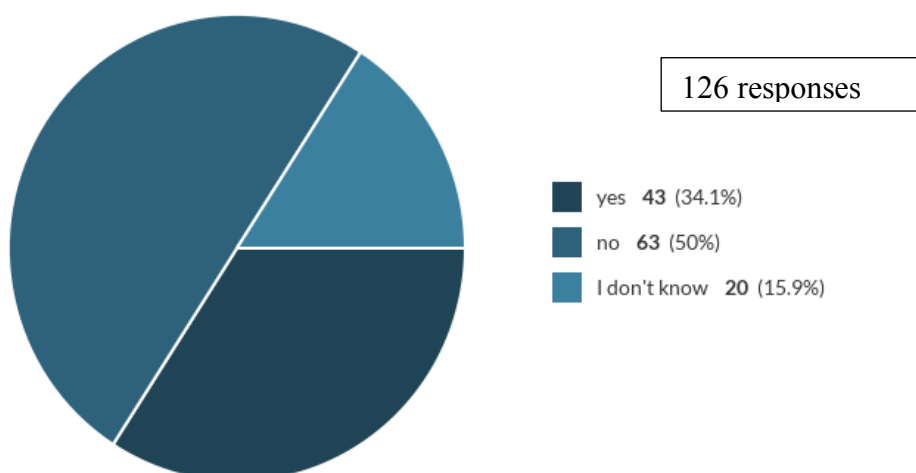


Chart 2. Does the UNESCO status affect your life in any way?

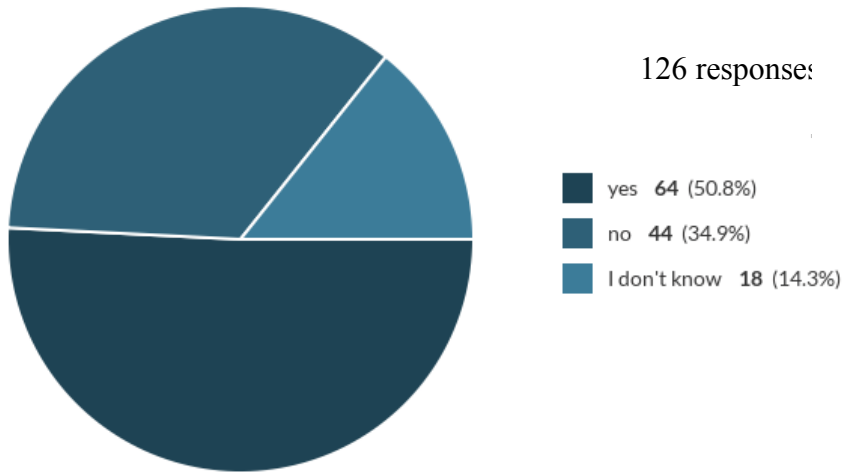


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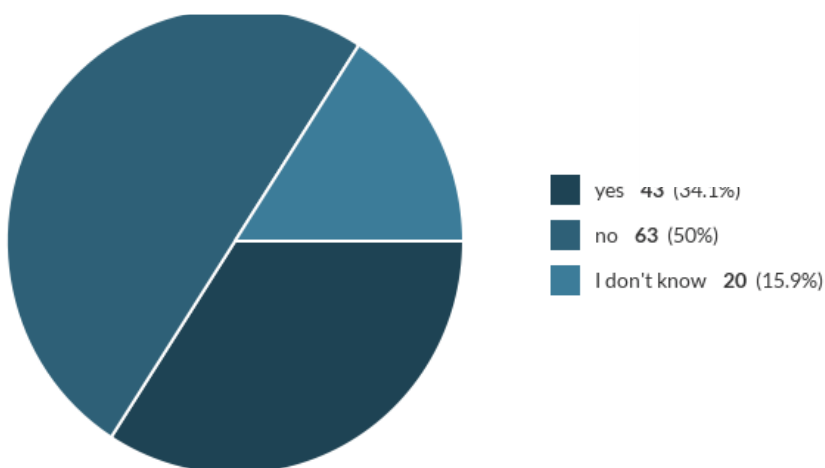


Chart 2. Does the UNESCO status affect your life in any way?

Among the one third of respondents who considered World Heritage status as having a direct impact on their lives, the justifications given (with no prompts) fell into four categories: planning, pride, economy through increased visitor traffic, and leisure as well as research opportunities. Planning and economy should be read as being just as negative as they are positive, as opposed to pride and leisure, which have rather positive connotations.

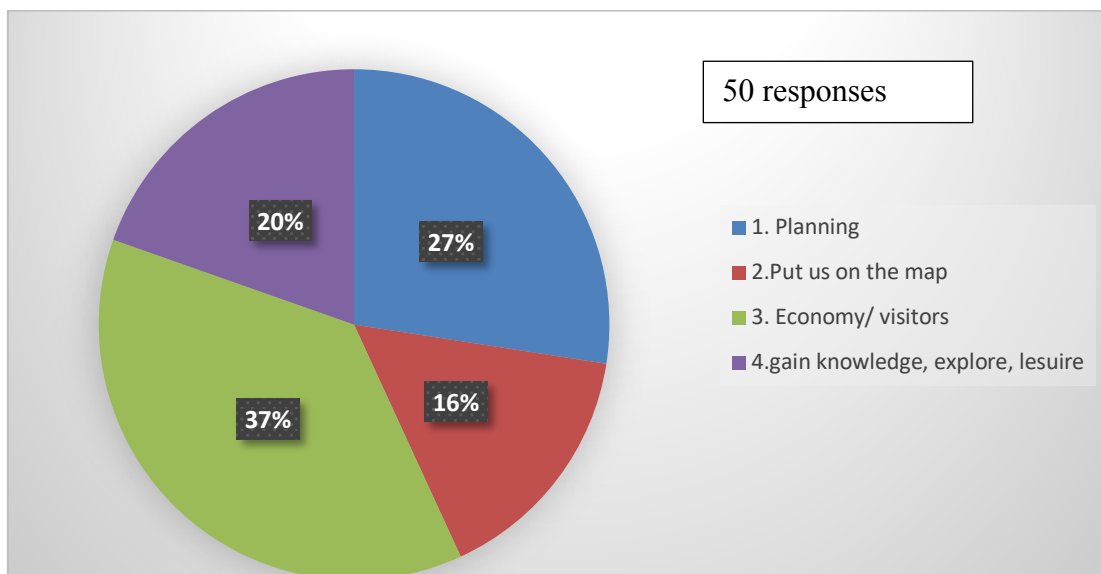


Chart 3. Explanation why UNESCO status affects respondents.

The attitudes of the original community towards WH status is a two-fold phenomenon. On the one hand, they negotiate the notion of World Heritage, while on the other hand, there is a view that they do not appreciate this international status. A resident from the original community in Coalbrookdale kept reiterating: “I wonder how many ordinary people, local people, really understand the importance of this as a WHS (...). I wonder, how many of the ordinary folk - and I do not say ‘ordinary’ in a disrespectful way - appreciate what being a WHS means”[A17]. When I asked her about her own view and whether she attaches any greater importance to the place as a result of the UNESCO nomination, her immediate

response was: “I mean, I love this place; this has been my life”[A17]. When I prompted her to expand on this, this is what she said:

I don't know. It is in your blood really. Can I say any clearer than that? This is where I was born, I grew up and come back. I am never fed up of it. I am never tired of it. It is beautiful. You don't see anywhere like this really. It is beautiful; it is very beautiful [A17].

Regardless of whether the local communities are aware of the meanings which World Heritage inscription carries, the original community when asked about what the site means to them indicate emotional value, a sense of place, and a feeling of being at home over the architectural significance and historic value which determined its place on the WHL. This type of emotional attachment has been described by Mason as “affiliation which a group derive from specific environment characteristics of their ‘home’ territory” (Mason 2002, 12). The original community does not make explicit reference to historic structures as monuments in order to achieve a sense of place. Merriman highlights the distinction between ‘a personal past’ and the impersonal heritage. The personal past is “experienced in personal terms (such as) personal memories and family histories” (Merriman 1991, 30-129).

Petzet, in his analysis of authenticity invokes a ‘monument feeling’. Such feeling exists when emotions are generated by a historic site that serves as a memorial. Those emotions are related to the aesthetic dimension of a monument, the ‘breath of history’, and the monument’s authentic ‘aura’ and ‘trace’. ‘Monument feeling’ is often associated with ‘feeling at home’, or the special comfort of an old house (Petzet 1995, 97).

The difference between the above mentioned understanding of love of monuments, and love of home as understood by the local community is that the former view has a symbolic meaning which expresses belonging to a nation as home, whilst the original community

refers to a physical place, the actual home experienced through personal dimensions. However ‘the monument feeling’ is more relevant to heritage communities, who absorb collective national narratives of their past.

7.3 Translating local knowledge into OUV

Local communities might think that their particular cultural niche is very important, but that might be one cultural niche among many others. I can imagine that [experts] their minds will be filled by the usual sweep of history, and little social interests in economic backwaters probably wouldn’t be in the big picture(A resident from Ironbridge). [A23].

Comparative analysis forms an integral part of the World Heritage process. Before a site is considered for inscription its OUV has to be argued. Through comparative analysis experts demonstrate similarities and differences between the nominated property and other places which are already on the List, the Tentative List or have not yet been put on these international registers by State Parties. The process is based on firstly establishing what values are being communicated, which physical or intangible attributes are deemed to communicate those values, and then placing those in a global context which takes into consideration ‘Gap analysis’ (UNESCO 2011d). This exercise requires not only a high level of expertise in the subject but also an understanding of UNESCO specialist language and foreign languages connected with the places where compared sites are based.

In the World Heritage system local heritage has to be ‘translated’ into a language of an international heritage community. Such translation into the modern language of intellectuals is the realm of scholarship criticized by the former miner from Madeley, who

does not take notice of scholarly, researched interpretations of the Gorge as he has his own, deriving from a personal knowledge. He explained that: “the modern heritage site together with visitor centres and all that sort of thing, that’s not real”[A11]. What was real was when he worked in the foundry and his palms were thicker than the soles of his shoes through working. Although his palms are more delicate now, he can still remember that sensation, and to him that was real. He carried on explaining:

You have now working-class children going to universities. We couldn’t do that, even by getting to grammar school. There was no way that I was destined to be somebody because I was a nobody and I was born to work, work and sweat and the others weren’t. But I learned a lot in life that those who went to university [didn’t], because I learned the different ways [A11].

The above extract shows that what people choose to hold on to is the past which is relevant and acceptable knowledge to them (Darvill 1995, 42). In his view, the museum people offer a translated story which is “more theme park type of thing, and so many visitors are led in that side of it. The old people weren’t the museum people quite simply” he asserted. He went on to say that “the heritage side of it [interpretation] a lot, it is, almost like fairy stories that you get children to read at school. We actually didn’t live fairy stories, there were times that it was kind of good, but a lot of times it was bad and there was nothing to save you from the knocks”[A11]. This sense of being ‘able to feel it’ which often derives from personal experience and belonging can be understood as local authentic experience (Dicks 2000, 158). My informant continued his explanation: “Heritage people are basically different than the real people that they talk about. It is translated. The old life is translated into something different. Sadly, this is what happens”[A11]. It seems that the difference between his story and the story presented by the museum is that his story is based on his direct experience with the surrounding industrial landscape, and the museum is a medium

which translates this direct knowledge into its own interpretation and creates a void between the past and the present.

The attitude presented in the extract above does not differ from earlier studies on mining communities in the UK. Similar attitudes concerning the negotiation of memorialization among post-industrial communities in Wales have been researched by Dicks. She connects the process of memorialization amongst mining communities with identity. By telling stories through the prism of scholars, they are simply getting lost in the translation (Dicks 2000, 158). So, it is not only preserving the identity of the ancestors and those communities with direct experience of the memorialized phenomena that is important, but also communicating the injustice and hardship to which those communities were subjected.

7.4 'Monument feeling' and absorbing the authorised version of heritage

During the Ironbridge Walking Festival, I met a retired scientist who had decided to buy a property in Ironbridge as his second home. It seemed to me that he was interested in my research, and at the end of the festival I asked him whether he would be willing to contribute to the project. He agreed, and a couple of weeks later we met in a café in Coalbrookdale. Knowing his enthusiasm for the area, I started with the question of why Ironbridge Gorge is important to him. He replied:

It is part of my, well, part of the history of Britain and because of that, part of my history. *And* the structures; it is part of my heritage, I know it is called a heritage site, but this area is what made Britain what it is today. And the structures continue to exist as they did. So, it not only gives me the feeling of continuity with the past, but also I can see the physical evidence of that past. It is not just simply a written story, but it is a physical story which is possible to visit and touch [A6].

In his view, the local history of Ironbridge encapsulated in the SOUV is relevant not only to him personally but to a national and, indeed, international audience, and this is something which he cares about. As opposed to the original community, to him UNESCO inscription carries a message that the place is important not only to him but also to many countries around the world. And because of this significance the place is preserved not only for local people but for humanity. The above excerpt epitomizes the rationale on which the WHC was conceptualized, reiterated on numerous occasions by representatives of expert bodies such as ICOMOS: “People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient heritage as common heritage.” (Petzet 1995, 85). The word “becoming” in this case is a clue, as it indicates that the realization of shared human values expressed by the remains of ancient civilizations is not something naturally acquired by human beings, but a belief we acquire through education.

During my fieldwork, I noticed a pattern in responses when asking local communities why the place is important and although each individual constructed their own understanding of the place these answers were remarkably consistent. The statistical data confirms that historical significance was most frequently mentioned by the local population. To get an in-depth understanding of what direct benefits can derive from such impersonal meanings attached to the local area, I started to ask my interviewees for more nuanced details in their statements. A resident from Ironbridge gave her explanation of the benefits she feels she gets from living in the WHS: “well, a number. I am very aware of the history around me. I visit local sites, I enjoy the location. I walk on the bridge regularly”[A2]. I asked her whether this interest had developed later in her life or as she grew up in the area. I could sense a certain irritation in her voice when she replied “I suppose I went to school in the 1950s, when you actually learned history in a chronological way and, you know, I ended up here by chance. I moved here in 1978”[A2]. There is an interesting connection between

incomers who are proud of the heritage of the Gorge because they are aware of its historic significance and enjoy the idea of its discovery. They are certainly cognitive owners, but their ownership relates to national belonging expressed in a collective dimension rather than being understood through personal, individual affiliation with the place. “I have no link...I have not got any personal link with the history of it”[A19]. That would be a usual response from a member of the incoming community.

Those two dimensions and the difference between them became even more clear to me when I asked a resident from Coalbrookdale, who is originally from Dudley, whether she considers monuments in the Gorge as her heritage, to which she answered “no”. She told me about her genuine bewilderment when she learned that Ironbridge Gorge is the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution:

“I always thought where I lived in the West Midlands, which was Dudley, I always thought that was where the industry started. I was quite shocked when I found out about that. I thought that the Black Country was the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution” [A28]

What I did not understand is how it was possible that communities could inhabit a place for thirty-odd years and yet not have a personal link with the history of Ironbridge. When does this history start and when does it end? It seems that history is the past from the period of the Industrial Revolution communicated through various media. It seems that the narrative of the WHS is superior to all other stories which incoming communities brought with them to Ironbridge. It is not only the most important history in the Gorge, but an important story to be told to the international audience. A former teacher told me that when she moved to the Gorge she wanted to get involved locally, get to know local communities and learn their stories, so she joined local historical societies. When I asked again whether she could

think of any personal connection with the heritage of the area she moved on quickly, telling me that when the museum offices were in a derelict state her mum used to walk the dog in all the derelict ground behind them. That was her personal connection which she thought was important. The derelict buildings are structures of the industrial past, which she remembers in a state of dilapidation before they were renovated. She was a member of the 'pioneer' group who settled in the Gorge when the decay of the original industrial structures was still visible and they were in the process of being adapted to new uses to serve a very different industry - the tourism industry.

The original community does not claim direct ownership of the 'heritage' of the Gorge, as it was not 'made' by their ancestors and predecessors. There is still a significant influence of the Methodist's modest approach to life. To the question of whether they feel proud, the answer would be "interested and respectful of the area"[A17].

However, the difference in cognitive ownership determines the wording local communities use when describing their connection with the place. The incoming community more often use the word 'proud' when they describe their feelings. Is this because their understanding of the place is influenced by the 'grand narrative', which positions the place as a significant and unique area?

The findings from the statistical survey show that the historical importance of the place was mentioned most frequently by the local population, followed by pride and identity. The ratio of original to incoming community members who took part in the survey is approximately 25:72.

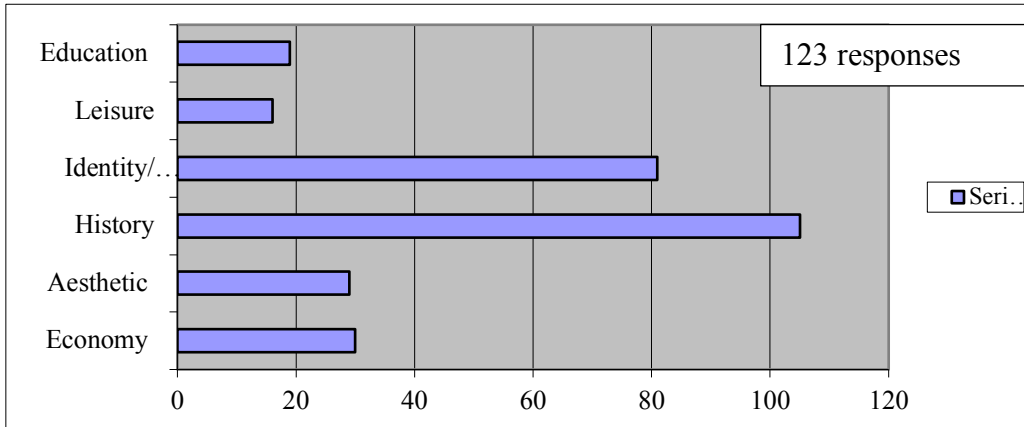


Chart 4. The meanings that local residents attach to the Ironbridge Gorge WHS.

Statistical data from fieldwork based on 116 responses indicates that over half of the respondents consider the Bridge as the most significant place in the Gorge, followed by Blists Hill, mentioned by 45% of participants.

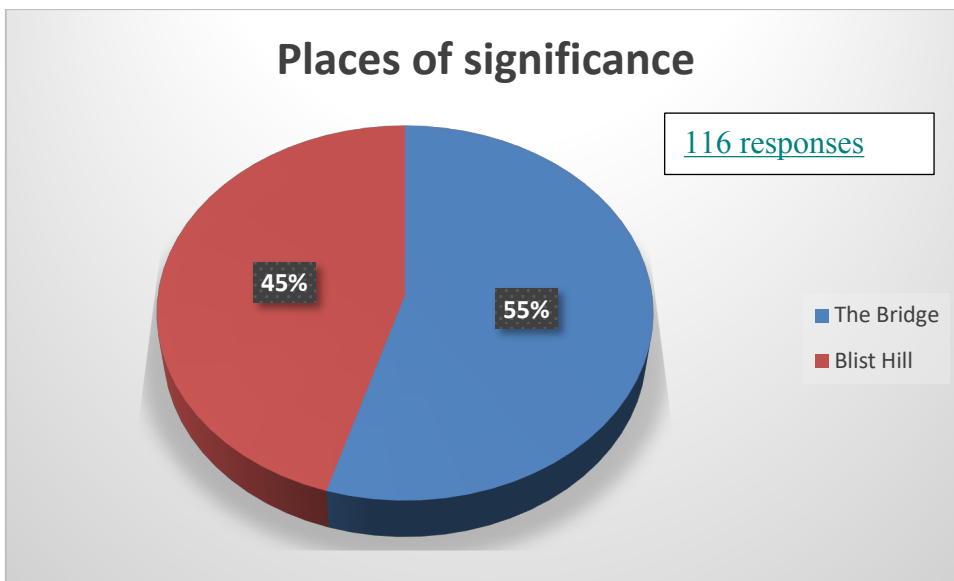


Chart 5. How would you describe your local heritage? Please name sites of significance within the Ironbridge Gorge. (question asked with no prompts)

The Bridge and the reconstructed village were by far the most frequently mentioned, followed by museum sites. The remaining places mentioned by respondents fall into the

category of natural sites, such as the River Severn, and other historical landmarks in the Ironbridge area which are in the stewardship of the museum or the SGCT and are formally protected. Almost a quarter of respondents mentioned furnaces, while only three percent specified Abraham Darby's furnace in Coalbrookdale. The remaining structures and places corresponded with the industrial heritage of the area: like viaducts, the tramlines, the old railway lines, the lime kilns and workings all across the Gorge, raw materials available locally, the mines, a legacy of pit-mounds, brickworks, tile works, potteries, all the bridges were mentioned as significant, as were the ironmaster's houses and housing in general.

Responses pertaining to places of significance which have more personal affiliations related to those that have local names (the Brockholes- a row of workers cottages) and places such as Zion's Terrace, the ice cream shop, restaurants, tea rooms and the Coracles. Green spaces were mentioned frequently as important to physical and mental wellbeing. The attractions discovered on walks in the Gorge, as well as the cycle ways, are places which local communities affiliate with, as are the historic sites.

The majority of places identified by local people as sites of significance are integral to the SOUV for the area, which pertains to the 18th-century landscape of Ironbridge Gorge. Hence, there is a considerable overlap with the monuments and sites identified in the official heritage registers. There is also a similar correspondence in terms of the responses justifying why the place is significant for local residents. The reasons they gave do not differ from those which would be given by professionals arguing the case for preservation of cultural sites. The majority of respondents (89 out of 122) expressed a grand narrative and made generic statements, such as the examples in the Table 2 (see appendix viii), whilst 24 respondents identified the importance of local heritage for community cohesion and sense of place. Meanwhile 18 recognised its importance for the economy (approx. ratio of incoming to original 72: 25).

The idea of continuum was frequently mentioned by local residents (see Appendix viii). Respondents often emphasized the importance of transmitting history to future generations. Grenville points out how important the idea of continuity is to humans. She links continuity of people’s self-identity with the constancy of the surrounding environment (Grenville 2007). Her arguments are based on the work by Giddens pertaining to the concept of ontological security. When this philosophical concept is applied to heritage conservation, it can help us in understanding whether actions concerning conservation and change in cultural places are connected to understandings of a sense of self, and whether unfamiliar physical places can bring a sense of existential ‘loss’ (Grenville 2007).

Grand Narrative/ Transmission of history/ Physical Preservation	Personal/ community	Economy
89 responses	24 responses	18 responses

Table 2. What residents of Ironbridge consider important about their local heritaget.

(total number of respondents 123, open question, for a full list of responses see Appendix viii) ,

7.5 Negotiation of the authorised version of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS

In my search for ‘local values’ I stumbled across a resident from Madeley involved in a society concerned with the history of the River Severn and coracles. Her particular concern is in the story of the working river, which she believes has been overlooked in the formal narrative encapsulated in the SOUV. This allowed the Ironbridge Coracle Trust to come into being. My interviewee did not think that it is the right thing to do to have separate organisations communicating different parts of one story of the area.

I asked why local people are particularly interested in coracles. She told me that they feel it is their history because it is a working class history, but also because a lot of them knew Eustace (see The Coracle Shed, 2018) or knew of him, and they feel that this story is part of the story of the area which they can directly relate to. She thinks that this feeling of solidarity still survives amongst local people – the feeling “of being together against the big boys out there” [A13]. So, I asked her who the local people are who are interested in this particular part of history. She explained that they are either the relatives of people who were living in the area in the 1920s or were very close friends with people from that time.



Figure 8. Display about Eustace Rogers in the local antique shop in Ironbridge. ©Author

There are also examples of questioning the very basis on which the site was inscribed onto the WHL. One of the residents of Ironbridge who moved to the area in the 1970s explained that it is much easier to choose a landmark which will be an icon for the birthplace of the

Industrial Revolution rather than communicating it in terms of its social or economic impact worldwide. Although the Iron Bridge is considered to be such an icon, he contends that it does not communicate what the reasons are for celebrating the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution. Instead of telling that wider story, the museum, in his opinion, focuses on headlines such as: “birthplace of the Industrial Revolution”[A16], and “the first iron bridge”[A16]. In his view it is not significant where the first ever iron bridge was built; it is more important to discuss the global social and economic impact of the historic events which took place in the Gorge, “which is largely forgotten around here”[A16].

He referred to the original nomination dossier as “a truly pitiful document”[A16], focused mainly on promises of obeying laws rather than on “real details of what it is we have got here”[A16]. This ‘pitiful’ document attracted even further criticism from a former resident of Madeley, a heritage professional who negates the notion of fixing OUV in a certain time, and who is especially critical of its focus on the 18th-century and later history of the site.

[OUV] describes a moment in time. Not just a moment in time in terms of the conservation of the site, but also a moment in time how people regard the site. So it is very much how people saw the site in 1986... and certainly the way the museum interprets the landscape and its sites is very much set in that framework. Although I am not sure how much the museum generally cares about the SOUV [C6].

But what frustrates him most is that the concept of OUV focuses on physical attributes, which gives unequal importance to different features within the Gorge. This view was endorsed by another resident from Coalport. According to his observations, Coalbrookdale and Coalport are treated as peripheral in the way the site is being marketed to visitors.

He reiterated earlier voiced criticism that the World Heritage narratives are fixated in particular on one monument:

The bridge is obviously significant, probably the most important. Probably it is not the only one [significant monument] (...) it is important, but Ironbridge Gorge as a WHS doesn't exist on the Bridge alone; it is all that scattered fragmented history, landscapes, architecture"[A22].

An interviewee from Madeley thinks that archaeological remains have been given precedence over the social history of the area. In his opinion the living and working community that has been resident in the area for centuries is not recognised in the World Heritage narrative. He was another person who told me that visitors miss out on the story of the local area if they rely on the museum's interpretation.

The statistical data outlined above, linked to the representation of local communities in the sample, indicates a trend where the majority of respondents absorb the narrative enshrined in the SOUV pertaining to the historical value and the Industrial Revolution. Qualitative data based on semi-structured and in-depth interviews provides a more detailed understanding of when local communities negotiate the authorized version of their local historic landscape. As the survey indicates, there is a dissonance in perceptions towards Ironbridge as a WHS. This is evident in attitudes and practices concerning heritage conservation. Personal memories and emotional attachment, as well as scholarship, influence the way we understand, absorb, negotiate and transmit the concept of OUV. The above findings confirmed earlier studies indicating that "professional's and the public's view are not independent, for each shapes and is shaped by the other, in dialogic interplay" (Bruner 1994, 403).

7.6 Where to draw a line? The concept of integrity and the attributes conveying the Statement of OUV

A lot of stuff is here which isn't in the heritage, and people don't come to visit Brosley as much as they should do. Because all the stuff what went into Ironbridge, like the limestone and all the clays, were all mined on this site, on the Brosley side, which then went to feed Coalbrookdale, the Ironworks. All the wood to make the charcoal came from this side of the river. The limestone came from this side of the river and it is the same with the clay that went into Coalport china and into the china which is made in Stoke today: it all came from Brosley. Our recognition should be as much if not more than Blists Hill, which is a figment of somebody's imagination, basically. It was put together as a figment of somebody else's figment of imagination that it made into an old fine town. The other fine town is Brosley (A resident from Brosley) [A10].

The above extract from an interview, and in particular the choice of words, points us towards the earlier discussed concept of heritagisation. Brosley was not included within the WHS boundaries, and although it is protected as part of the conservation area it is not considered to have the same 'heritage status' as Ironbridge. As an original community member, my informant is well aware of the historical importance of his town in the development of modern industrial processes. He challenges the rationale which guided the decision makers at the time to include a reconstructed Victorian town within the WHS boundaries but not Brosley.

In this section I will analyse the concept of integrity and in particular how the physical attributes of the WHS convey the values outlined in the SOUV and how they are understood and challenged by my respondents.

“The current boundary is 40 years old” [C1] a member of staff working for the local authority told me. He does not understand how it is possible that the boundary has not been revised for so long to reflect our changing interpretation of the site according to new research. In his view, the original boundary was chosen, for convenience, to reflect the old Shropshire county council boundaries and broadly corresponds with the conservation areas.

A former resident of the WHS and staff member of the IGMT thought that the boundary of the WHS “ostensibly focuses on the Iron Bridge” [C6] and its visibility from the Gorge (with exception of Madeley). He continued his criticism by stating that despite the inclusion of Madeley within the boundaries of the WHS, “the boundary doesn’t respect the importance of the local community”[C1]. He gave as an example the Anstice Workmen’s Club, particularly important to the residents of Madely which was excluded from the WHS.

During the interview I asked how, in his opinion, the integrity of this site is represented within the WHS inscription, to which he replied:

I don’t think it is. I think, obviously, as with all those things all over the world, there is a political dimension to that. And that is partly a local political thing, and it is partly a broader political thing. Academically, there are all sorts of arguments that you can make for not drawing a line that has been drawn [C1].

but

“Where do you draw a line?” [C1] he asked.

A local authority employee told me that “People are very proud of their heritage in Madeley [and they] often have personal associations with their heritage”[C1]. He pointed at the importance of World Heritage status and the conservation area as crucial factors in

bids for money for the conservation of places of historical importance. “That’s why we saw the benefits of how the boundaries are viewed”[C1]. The current boundaries were originally drawn up in 1971. Obviously, since 1971 different places of significance have emerged which are particularly important for the local people. Boundary revision is not an easy task. Both sides: Brosley and Madeley have gone through this process with no success (see context chapter). The aforementioned local authority employee was prepared to accept that doing major boundary revision of a WHS can be a complex task. However, a review of the conservation area boundary is a local affair and there is no reason, in his opinion, why the borough council could not have done a proper review of the conservation area boundary. He is well aware about a new ethos of recognising living, working landscapes that surround monuments in recent World Heritage nominations: “all those areas where people lived and worked are as important and worthy of protection and recognised as being important, as the industrial remains that are within the IGMT sites”[C1].

Each case for WHS boundary extension will have its supporters and opponents. The case of Brosley illustrates this too. “There are two schools of thought on Brosley”[C6], I was told by a former staff member of the IGMT.

One of them is: we want to be part of the WHS. The other one: we don’t want be a WHS because we are not part of Telford, we are Brosley. And that still exists today, and Brosley often defines itself in a position in contrast to the WHS [C6].

A councillor from Brosley confirmed this schizophrenic attitude. She herself strongly believes that without Brosley the World Heritage story is missing a crucial component. Brosley is the place where ironmasters used to live and where the first iron boat was made, and where one of Britain’s earliest railways was laid, but despite all these historical

arguments for the inclusion of Brosley she feels that the town is missing the symbol which Ironbridge has got, and that is the Bridge - “the big symbol”[A9].

She carried on explaining that on the one hand the local residents from Brosley would love Brosley to be part of World Heritage and have the kudos and benefits it brings to the local economy. On the other hand, she thinks that if Brosley were to become a part of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS, local people would start to complain that changes to their area were being made beyond their control, as with the case of Ironbridge, where the local community do not have the same amount of control over their own affairs, in her opinion. The World Heritage Festival organised for the community by the Council can serve as an example. One could argue that the case of the Brosley boundary extension has a common denominator with the Madeley case. Both sides are adamant that their stories do not just contribute to the existing OUV but, indeed, are an integral part of the OUV. Both sides are unable to convince the bureaucrats about the merits of such extensions. Both sides share a lack of agency in the World Heritage process. Their applications were simply rejected. “I think the response we get is that it is so difficult to change from the original that it is never going to happen. The scale of the difficulty, we are told, is prohibitive” [A9], said the councillor from Brosley.

But who actually cares where the boundary is drawn?

The arguments outlined above present us with various incentives for extending the existing WHS boundaries. An obvious one is better opportunities for securing funding for conservation, but in fact there is no extra funding attached to WHS status. Is it about kudos? Or potentially increased property prices? Maybe it is about business and tourism. Is it really important to the local communities what monuments and places are within the boundaries of inscription if the awareness of World Heritage status has not permeated the consciousness of many local residents after three decades of having WHS status? I

discussed this topic in an informal encounter with a member of the WHS Steering Group, who told me that the WHS boundaries do not dictate what has to be protected at the local level. It is up to local people to decide what they want to protect and care for. I was encouraged by this positive way of thinking; however, the section below, on authenticity and management, will look closer at how feasible it is for local residents to maintain the Gorge to the standard they desire and how bureaucracy and incompetent decisions, based on existing legal and policy frameworks, impede these possibilities.

In chapter three I demonstrated that it is government officials who are responsible for deciding what goes into the official registers. At a local (sub-national level), however, communities also have their own sense of what is significant. Unofficial or community definitions are articulated by community leaders. Logan raises the issue of complexities within communities themselves and how representative community leaders are concerned with representativeness in the democratic sense (Logan 2012, 236). In the case of Ironbridge and Madeley (discussed in more detail in chapter eight), the democracy of the current system which is in place is exercised through bureaucracy.

7.7 Communicating World Heritage

If the local residents are not aware of the WHS designation they will not be aware of how it affects their local environment. As I continued my interview with the local councillor from Ironbridge, I asked whose role it is to communicate the concept of OUV.

She pointed to the local authority, but then quickly changed tack because of the financial pressures they face: “It probably needs to be more driven by English Heritage, UNESCO”[C4] she said. In order for local people to own the concept they have to understand what benefits they get from preserving the site’s OUV, she explained. Thus,

community has to play a more meaningful part in the preservation process; it should not just depend on a governing body, otherwise it is going to be difficult to “succeed in a utopian tool” [C4] she concluded.

Ironbridge was inscribed as a cultural site, thus its OUV relates to cultural criteria. But the land which is under legal protection is also rich in natural habitats, thus it is an IUCN Protected Area, category iv, for its habitat management and species management. Although the Severn Gorge Countryside Trust’s primary focus is on management of diverse natural habitats, it also manages 60 historic structures. The director of the Trust was explicit that communicating the OUV has to work both ways: “you can’t just preach to somebody”[C5], he asserted. But if the process of communicating the OUV works two ways, how exactly can communities contribute to its interpretation which has been constructed without their involvement? Earlier chapters demonstrate that OUV is an artificial construct which communities have to be taught about. Statistical research shows that despite awareness raising campaigns, the concept is still relatively unknown amongst the local residents. This has been confirmed by the director of the SGCT, who said: “I don’t think that the community understands what the OUV is, and it is not a criticism. If you are not working in this area, why should you?” [C5].

Indeed, understanding what World Heritage means is of utmost importance for the Local Conservation Officer, who told me that, in her view, there is a void between *knowing* what the WHS is and *understanding* what the WHS is. She added that SOUV is not a practical working document which could be applied in everyday work. This response made me question who really owns the concept of OUV.

OUV is communicated by both major trusts tasked with the guardianship of cultural and natural sites in the Gorge and, indeed, the two trusts tasked with the management of Ironbridge Gorge have interpretation in place which engages with the SOUV, but despite

that it seems that after 30 years of educational and promotional activities it is not clear who should really care about the UNESCO brand. How can communities contribute to communicating OUV if they were omitted from the identification process in the first place? Who truly owns the concept? Who is responsible for its transmission? The case of Ironbridge clearly demonstrates that communicating World Heritage is a one-way endeavour and a passive process with regard to the role of local communities. It is not clear who should communicate the concept of OUV in the first place. The logical answer is that the responsibility should lie with the government, who put it on the WHL.

7.8 Summary

In this chapter national and global narratives communicated by the outsiders about the significance of Ironbridge Gorge came into contrast with collective and personal histories of the local communities. Qualitative data indicates that awareness of World Heritage amongst local communities varies and this depends on how the site is marketed. The most iconic monument, the Iron Bridge, was deemed the most important place by local residents together with Blists Hill (which marginally came second). The blast furnace of Coalbrookdale, built in 1709, considered as the intrinsic attribute of the OUV – a reminder of the discovery of coke – was mentioned only by 3% of respondents. Both World Heritage and academic discourses portray a dichotomy between values assigned by experts and communities. This dichotomy is often created by experts to fulfil their desire to research a particular historical event in the broader sweep of history. This research shows that local communities can be knowledgeable on specific instances of historical developments which took place in their local area. Those communities often mention emotional value and sense of place as opposed to historical importance when asked about their attitudes towards the

WHS. The bridge and Blists Hill symbolically represent a universal/local value dichotomy. Feeling at home and ‘monument feeling’ epitomize this binary. The World heritage narrative enshrined in the SOUV encourages bias, putting universal value in an unequal relationship with social history. Although some of the respondents mentioned that OUV portrays their social history as being of lesser importance, this does not stop local communities transmitting narratives which are central to their identities. The presence of local trusts concerned with social histories, such as the Coracle Society or The Anstice Community Trust are founded by the local communities to serve local community needs.

Despite the low number of people who mentioned the Furnace, statistical data indicates that historical significance encapsulated in the grand narrative was mentioned most often by the participants before identity and pride. Regardless of whether this is a grand narrative or local stories it is all about transmission of those stories to next generations at the same time making sure that there is a continuum which means community cohesion and sense of place are secured. The empirical data shows that attitudes of heritage professionals influenced attitudes of local residents through formal and informal education and if we put more emphasis on global significance and focus on places and objects in a particular time frame for the purpose of preservation we create World Heritage landscapes frozen in time instead of giving precedence to processes which are imbued in histories that are relevant to local communities regardless of their direct and indirect relationship with the site ‘heritage’ (Mydland and Grahn 2012, 583).

8. MANAGING CHANGE: ON DEMOCRACY WHEN CONSERVING THE AUTHENTICITY AT THE IRONBRIDGE GORGE WHS

8.1 Introduction

The concept of authenticity has been addressed in chapter two from the scholarship perspective and in chapter three, where I outlined its evolving understanding in the World Heritage discourse. This section presents and analyses critically the concept of authenticity and management as perceived by local communities in Ironbridge Gorge. I use data from the surveys and interviews I conducted; the latter is overrepresented by the views expressed by incoming communities rather than by the original community. This data set indicates that there is a significantly lesser awareness amongst the original community on the issues of management and conservation of WHS (see also chapter five). Consequently, the original community can appear to be less vocal when it comes to citizens' control of planning issues.

This chapter is structured according to the components of the Statement of OUV, consisting of the notions of authenticity, integrity and management. In considering issues of authenticity, the policy chapter stressed the pivotal role which this concept plays in the WH system, and the literature chapter demonstrated its importance in the wider conservation discourse. I will start with the local communities' take on the concept of authenticity and their attitudes towards conservation of their local area, then progress to issues of conservation and legal protection and management arising from the site's international designation.

8.2 What is authenticity and why is it important?

Hmm...The authenticity? Wow. I think there is a lot of emphasis on keeping the Iron Bridge original, but I have a bit of a problem with that. With the word 'original'. Because originally, there was no bridge. Originally, Ironbridge was a very industrialised place. The industry in that day was dirty, unsafe; there was no health and safety (Businessman from Ironbridge) [B5].

The interviewee cited above is sceptical about the concept of authenticity as he does not think that Ironbridge can ever be recreated how it was originally.

Comments from the statistical survey indicate similar doubts:

“Original condition at which point in time? The furnaces are in ruins - original condition could be said to be when they were newly built [200518-200511-15021298]

“I simply don't believe it's possible to do that. After all, what is 'original condition'?” [200518-200511-16739078]

“Most have lain abandoned for years until the concept of conservation came into play in the 1960s and '70s. They are now sanitised for public consumption. No sewerage into the river, no smog etc.” [200518-200511-15513372]

The post-processual scholarly research of the very notion of 'original' agrees that its interpretation is relative (Eco 1990, 174; Lowenthal 1995, Ucko 2000, Silverman 2015, Holtorf and Schadla Hall 1999, Silberman 2016, Labadi 2005). McGhie in her analysis of the term 'authentic' points out that words such as: aura, copy, fake, forgery, genuine, original, replica, reproduction, go back to European ancient languages, i.e. Latin or Greek (McGhie 2009, 351-372). This understanding of authenticity consists of the notion of

‘aura’ from Greek, which is emanation from any substance (McGhie 2009, 353). According to Petzet aura does not refer to ‘the original’ but it also refers to places where no monument exists in its physical form. Aura can be found in changes in its original structure and fabric which an object has undergone over time (Petzet 1995, 89).

For some of the participants, origins “are not recoverable or even never existed” like in the postmodern hyperreality of Baudrillard and Eco critiqued by Bruner (1994, 407). In his constructivist position which sees culture as “always alive and in process”, he argues that “each new performance or expression of cultural heritage is a copy in that it always looks back to a prior performance, but each is also an original in that it adapts to new circumstances and conditions” (Ibid). Thus, Bruner (1994) advocates abandoning the distinction between simulacra and original.

“Authenticity is something that you have to try to get a feeling of as opposed to recreating it as a Blists Hill or a Victorian Town [as a simulacrum]” explained a businessman from Ironbridge[B5].

The statistical research shows that not only for government bureaucrats representing the State and heritage experts who advocate for preservation of cultural sites but for 83% of respondents it is important that the monuments are kept in their original condition. Only 11% said no and 6% replied that they did not know.

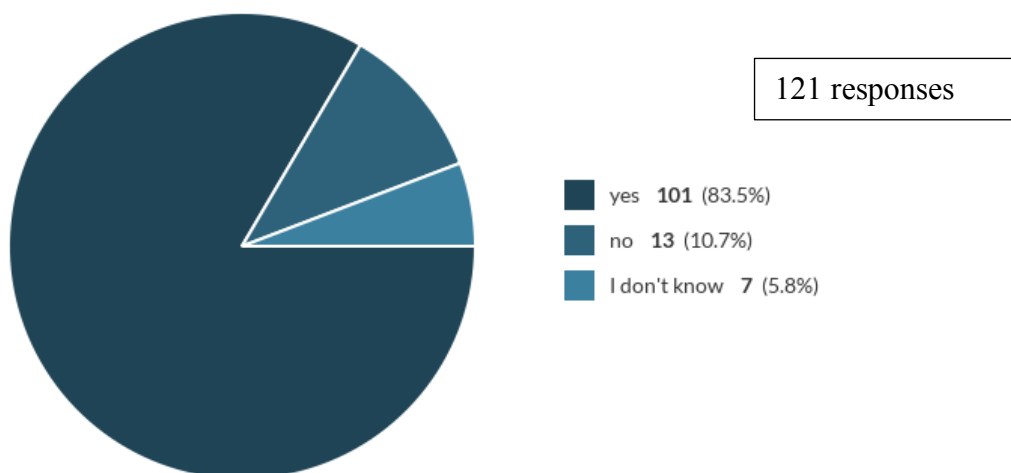


Chart 6. Does it matter that the monuments at Ironbridge Gorge are kept in their original condition?

For the majority of the respondents the term authentic appears to be understood clearly. Those perceptions can be studied through the justifications which offer an in-depth explanation of why maintaining the authenticity of historical places and monuments is important. These fell into four categories:

1. Preserving authenticity is important for future generations so that they can have access to the same resources as we do today. This includes being able to experience the physical presence of the authenticity.
2. Almost a quarter of respondents would want the area to be preserved with as little change as possible because if we alter the historic fabric “otherwise history is lost” [200518-200511-14988492].
“I think history is best viewed 'real' [200518-200511-14592079]” is one of the ways in which the justification for preservation of authenticity is expressed.
3. Over one-third of respondents would allow sympathetic use and re-use of monuments with some alterations, usually using traditional methods. They agree that sometimes monuments cannot be kept in their original condition because they have to be conserved and then they will lose their originality. But there are also supporters of progress, fully aware that when things are changed they are lost forever.
4. Authenticity was also linked to interest and education, i.e. passing to the next generation, justified through the grand narrative.

The survey demonstrated that 104 out 122 respondents (85%) had a very clear idea of what authenticity is and why its preservation is important. The findings indicate what the dominant perceptions are pertaining to the notion of authenticity.

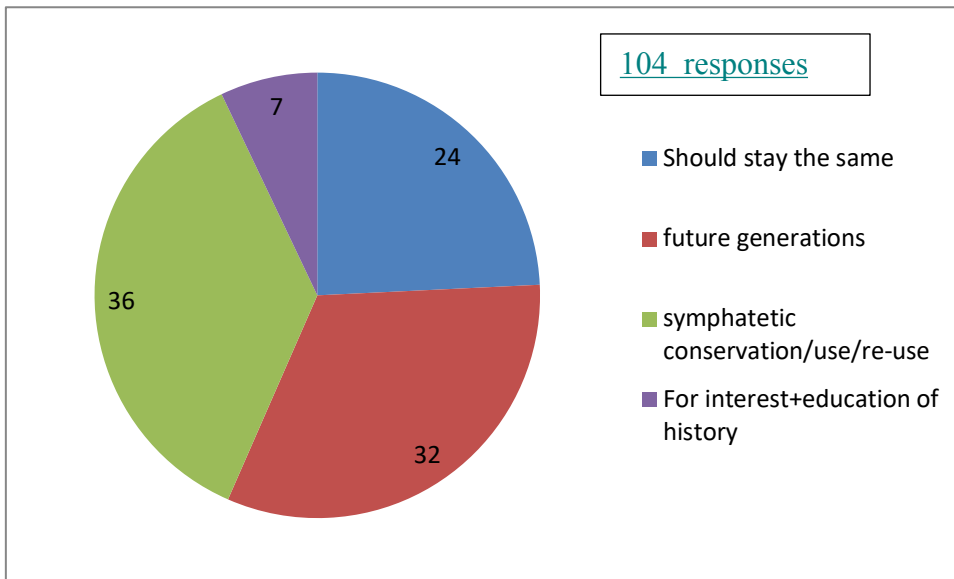


Chart 7. Justification for why monuments should be kept in their original condition.

Especially amongst incoming communities it was common to hear that through the preservation of authenticity the place will feel ‘real’, otherwise there is a danger of it becoming a theme park. “You might as well have an industrial Disneyland” [A23] a retired IT professional from Ironbridge told me. He further explained his rationale:

What you actually want to know is the real beams, the real bricks, the real buildings and where there real people went (...) Yes, it is very important because it is authentic and you want to imagine yourself back into the former time. Then it helps to know this really was the building rather than somebody’s construction of some other building. Physical fabric is crucial in this interpretation. Wherever you go to see something which is an important place, you have been moved - gosh this is where it happened. It is both the story and the material that are important; both of these are feeding on each other. They resonate and they both have value to each other [A23].

This understanding of authenticity matches the very core of the European conservation doctrine embodied in the Venice Charter. It relies on the understanding of objects as truthful carriers of inherent meanings “testimonies that transmit messages to the next generations” (Jokhileto 1995, 74). Silberman traces back this European fascination with relics to the Renaissance antiquarians seeking to find in ancient relics “transcendent truths about human existence” (Silberman 2016, 31-32).

My informant assured me that not only material relics from the local area interested him but also different technical processes of industrial history. He was adamant that if he “had been a third-generation resident in Ironbridge [he] would have interests in other things”[A23]. His interests are stirred by the experts, so he is interested in the historic places because they are of national importance. Those meanings and understandings presented in this section are generated in a specific social context (Bruner 1994, 409).

8.3 Blists Hill. Reconstructed Village and authenticity

I would like to look closer at the concept of authenticity and cognitive ownership by comparing views on Blists Hill of a lay person and of a professional, a former staff member of the IGMT. Blists Hill is located within the boundaries of the WHS. This section examines how different cognitive ownerships influence our attitudes to authenticity and what the common denominator is between these two different standpoints.

A former staff member of the IGMT told me about the paradox of Blists Hill, which was created by the TDC to ‘destroy’ authentic heritage in order to create a fake heritage site. He told me about his disappointment with the way the museum is handling the issue of authenticity at Blists Hill, stating that it has “very much departed from its original ethos”[C6]. In his view this departure took place in three stages, the process having started

in the mid-1990s. He explained that the original idea behind founding Blists Hill was to rescue, through relocation, buildings which were threatened by development in Madeley. But when the museum decided to reconstruct the pub from Dudley, that was the first stage when the integrity of the original plan was infringed. The second occurred when buildings were reconstructed in a manner not consistent with their original constructions. The third stage emerged when the museum started building replicas. He commented that even when the museum had a financial opportunity to restore and reconstruct the existing original features, they did not restore the canal and invest in restoring the blast furnaces.

A former miner from Madeley told me that Blists Hill reminds him of the old days. He grew up in the locality of Blists Hill and that is where he likes to spend his time. He smiled when he said that although he thinks that he fits in there (Blists Hill), the management of the site may not think the same. He explained the dissonance between his understanding of the place and the heritage workers, who are themselves not authentic as they do not have any direct memory of the past they talk about. Similar concerns have been highlighted by Dicks, where interviewees in her research (ex-miners and their wives and relatives) criticised the role of outside professionals and raised concerns over the ownership – and hence the authenticity – of local historical knowledge (Dicks 2000, 158).

For my interviewee interpretation is done as if the past was detached from the present, but for him: “When [I’m] talking about people from the past and their lives, they are not dead people, they are living people and it is essential that I tell the truth about their lives”[A11].

When I asked him to describe why Blists Hill is so important to him, his response was simple: “It actually does mean something: it is spiritual”[A11].

Can this spiritual connection be understood simply as nostalgia? Berliner (2012) in his work on the Luang Prabang WHS presents nostalgia for the past someone has lived personally implying a personal sense of ownership of the past. Reconstructed villages have

often been seen as being fuelled by nostalgic feelings, and critiqued by scholars as a form of escape from the anxieties of contemporary life, especially when they claim to offer authentic experience (Goulding, 2000, 837). The original community who visit Blists Hill will have their own interpretation of the past which they will pass on to their grandchildren when observing traditions from the past being re-enacted. Thus, despite the criticism that the museum is focusing on monetising its assets (, the empirical data indicates that the Victorian village gives a stage to perform and safeguard local traditions. It is a place which ensures a sense of security and continuity, and although it never existed in their childhood, sparks direct memories of the past and creates a sense of personal familiarity to which they can relate. For many local residents, Blists Hill is about continuity rather than nostalgia, it is like a shrine that reminds them of their local area and their ancestors. The original community from the Gorge would have had ancestors working at the furnace pits and many industries which operated in the area. Hence, the surrounding landscape and its different features have special meaning to them. The former miner mentioned earlier gave me an almost poetic description of the old pit mounds: when he looks at them he feels he can almost tune into the people who actually formed them. He feels that he is certainly part of the effort that went on in the area. But on behalf of “the old folks” [A11] he made it clear to me that it is not he who is important but his predecessors. “I say to visitors very often, if you browse around Blists Hill (...) you can almost see the old folks walking about, because it is the nature of the place. It is better than a museum. Seems a strange thing to say. So, if you do the museum, not this place, you will lose the best of it” [A11].

To which I said: “But this place has nothing to do with what it used to be when you were a child”.

He replied: “No, because now we have health and safety”[A11].

Me: “But this place is not authentic”.

He replied: “They saved a lot of the old stuff, fortunately, then they brought stuff in, like the Forest Glen, which is local, just a few miles away and was real. I remember it. And then over the years, the museum staff changed, changed and changed - done it in a different way, and actually lost the spirit of the place. The essential part of it”[A11]. In this case the past is important not only to hold on to something tangible but because it evokes the living memory. The former applies to the case when the living memory is gone and there is a discontinuation between the past and present. This will apply to archaeological remains that bear no personal associations as there was discontinuation of their use.



Figure 9. Forest Glen in Blists Hill, relocated building. ©Author

According to Dicks it is the familiarity and recognisability of genuine old stuff which underpins the idea of a proper museum (Dicks 2000, 157). This has been confirmed by both interviewees. Whether it relates to physical attributes such as form, design, materials and substance, or the intangible - spirit and feeling (UNESCO 2017) - authenticity is

important in making a place real, even when it is a reconstructed village. And it is the authenticity of the reconstructed structures and objects which matters because these are “concrete reminders of lived experience” (Dicks 2000, 157). Although the reconstructed structures assembled at Blists Hill are not regarded as being of OUV by the conservation officer [pers. comm.], for many of the residents, and indeed experts, there are different layers of authenticity within that site. The blast furnaces, for example, are scheduled monuments. To the former miner, Blists Hill was credible and convincing because it had some elements of “mimetic credibility” (Bruner 1994, 399). Both the heritage worker and the former miner agreed that the museum, by departing from its original ethos of maintaining the authenticity of the reconstructed village, negatively affected both professional credibility as well as the spirit and feeling of the place.

The arguments presented above raise the question of whether we can depart from the World Heritage philosophy of focusing on specific attributes of heritage as focal points of reflection and commemoration. Silberman, for example, argues for heritage sites to be defined without reference to their specific components and to abandon debate about the values of the past in contemporary society (Silberman 2016, 30). Tuan calls place “an archive of fond memories and splendid achievements that inspire the present; place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself..” (Tuan 2014, 154).

In Ironbridge, or indeed Blists Hill, physical buildings and places as well as immaterial processes are focal points for reflection amongst cognitive owners, especially when they feel that they are part of their story (people feel that they are an intrinsic part of the story of the structures, and peoples’ personal stories are anchored in those places, therefore, they are tightly interwoven).

8.4 The traditional industry in the Gorge: ‘The Works’

In the autumn of 2016, I visited the AGA production plant in Coalbrookdale. The meeting started with the manager of this branch talking me through their in-house exhibition, which illustrated the continuation of the production of iron on the very spot since 1709.

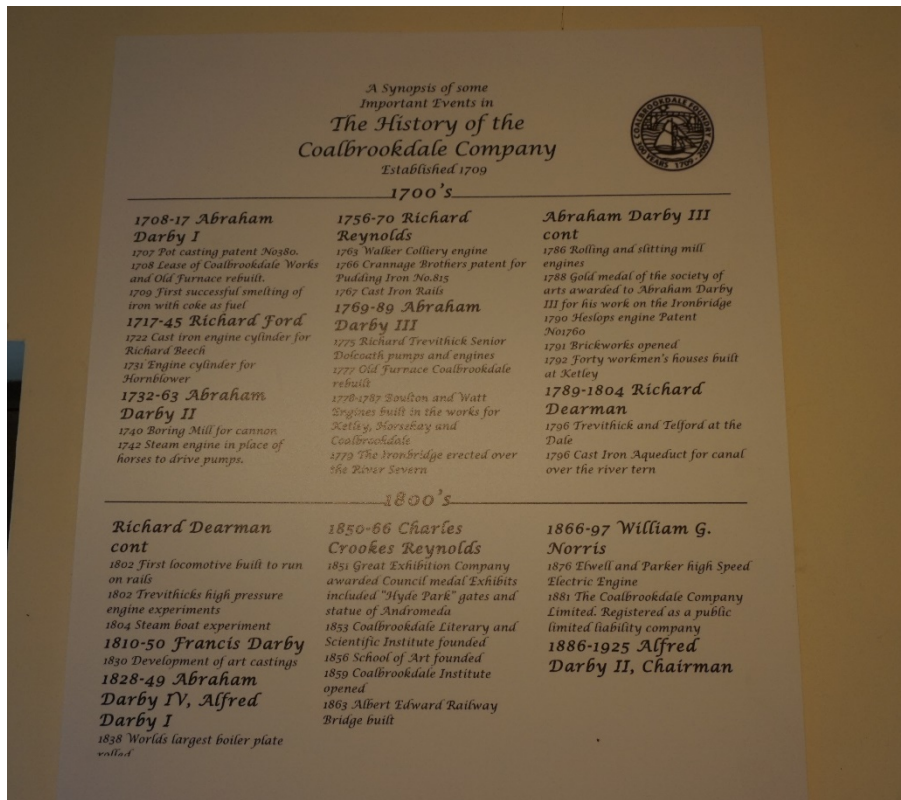


Figure 10. Exhibition panel about “The History of the Coalbrookdale Company” in “the Works”. ©Author



*Figure 11. Photo displayed at the Exhibition about “The History of the Coalbrookdale Company” in “the Works”. ©Author *

As opposed to Blists Hill, which is about the world which has gone past, this site is about the present. I wanted to see this place, as it was the only significant industry which remained in the Gorge and was often mentioned by the original community as the main employer of their male relatives in the past. I was also aware about complaints regarding noise pollution, which had been raised by local residents on their social media group (Healy, 2016).



Figure 12. Photo displayed at the Exhibition about “The History of the Coalbrookdale Company” in “the Works”. ©Author

When incomers were settling in Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale the place was advertised as an amenity area rather than a polluted industrial town. In contrast, for the original community industrial pollution was something they grew up with. A resident from Coalbrookdale could remember the Works when they “were much dirtier” [A17]; smoking chimneys were something she was familiar with. “I belong to the days where you used to see smoke coming out of the chimneys. Some of it didn’t disturb me” [A17].

Coalbrookdale Foundry is of particular historic importance in relation to the WHS, as it is where iron smelting took place on an industrial scale. As the iron industry has evolved, I wanted to get some insights into the current production techniques which are used in casting iron parts. The foundry manager gave me the following explanation:

Because of the new technology, we have gone away from the full moulding. Now machines make the mould. Instead of people in old-fashioned days pouring the

iron, it is actually done automatically. So, that has got rid of a lot of people. The latest technology is the introduction of robot dressing and the introduction of a new sand plant, which means that we don't need to dress so much and finish is better. All the drilling is done on specialised equipment. Lot of technology for the better. Obviously, this is for health and safety reasons, not so much for employment. Because, obviously, the downside is that you lose people. When you are looking at what expectations are for your customer, they expect cast iron to be as fa.. [smooth he meant] as possible. Before we had a new sand plant there was a lot of indentations because the sand finish wasn't good enough. Obviously, we have got better now, so the expectation of our customer meant that we had to improve our process [B2].

The parts cast at the foundry were for AGA and Rayburn ovens. I could sense that the business was not going well when the manager mentioned that the economic crisis of 2008 still affected their business. Competing with products from China, produced at much lower prices, was also proving to be a challenge to the survival of the operation "unfortunately, in 12 months [he told me at the time] we will probably have lost half of the workforce". When I came here in August 2015 we had 73 people; by December end of this year we will be down to 51 people"[B2].

I was told that the company's employees were 3rd or 4th generation working in that trade, and some of them had never worked anywhere else. Although the raw nature of melting and pouring remains the same, the process has become far more automated with the introduction of technological innovations "You don't have people running with big buckets of molten iron, doing it themselves. It is done by machines"[B2] the foundry manager said.



Figure 13. Photo displayed at Exhibition about “The History of the Coalbrookdale Company” in “the Works”. ©Author

At the time of this interview Coalbrookdale still had an active foundry. It remained in operation until November 2017, when the US-owned Middleby Corporation closed the site with the loss of 35 jobs (BBC 2017).

A month before the closure of the Works I spoke to a resident from Coalbrookdale who had moved to the area a few years earlier. The fact that it is the museum that keeps industrial traditions alive saddens him he admitted. He told me that he used to work in the building industry and he found it appalling that very few of the building material supplies businesses are owned by the British.

I feel that we are selling off the family silver and we’ll never get it back. And it is wrong. Successive governments have let this happen.... Money dictates all, I suppose [B3].

To the interviewee the WHS is part of his national heritage. “It is our heritage and must be kept alive”[B3].

He told me that to this day he cannot understand the devastation that de-industrialisation brought on the communities in the Gorge. The process of heritagisation of the area influences meanings attached to this place by the incoming community, as they hardly allude to the Gorge as a place where industrial production was still in operation. This dissonance in the way different communities act towards the remaining iron industry in the Gorge is also evident in the World Heritage discourse, when groups of people negotiate certain rights towards their heritage on the basis of their evidenced connection with their ancestral lands. The inscription of Ironbridge onto the WHL symbolically gives another meaning to the place and according to the international policies created by UNESCO at the time advocated fossilisation of such landscapes and a management system to support this rationale.

8.5 Conservation of the area is definitely more positive than negative

“It is good that we have a conservation area, because it keeps that old worldly view” [A4], a couple who moved to Coalbrookdale in the 1970s told me. One of the cottages which they purchased had a closing order, and before they could move in they had to follow strict conservation requirements. They had a clear understanding of what changes they were and were not allowed to make. “We knew the buildings were listed at that time, so we knew what we were moving into. We can’t say we disagree with it because it was there” [A30]. In their recollections they saw a value in conservation regulations at the time.

They explained that conservation rules can be seen as both an imposition on private property owners and a restriction of their ownership freedoms, but the positive side of it is

that: “we are guaranteed remained as we are now forever perhaps” [A30]. And it is only through controls such as these that the place can be kept “nice and tidy”. So, all in all, the restrictions are more positive than negative because they prevent “people coming, buying a plot of land (...) and building it to their own fashion” [A6].

It can take 18 months to get planning permission to replace a window in a Victorian house, a resident of Ironbridge told me. This bureaucratic procedure can be frustrating for home owners, but on the other hand it guarantees that “the place doesn’t get spoiled by inappropriate development [A23]. It is positive. I have my arguments with the planners, as everybody does” [A23] said a retired IT professional. Those conservation ‘arguments’ are now part of the local culture; they have become an integral part of living in the Gorge. During my fieldwork I did not come across anyone who would disagree with the idea of conserving the historic landscape. However, the system only makes sense when everyone is equally treated, as this way residents mutually benefit from “other people being affected by it [strict conservation rules]”[A23]. There are exceptions, and there are a number of residents who would not follow those rules. It seems that in this relatively small community it is easy to spot whether a neighbour does not request permission to do certain works. I was told by numerous residents that they have seen instances when their neighbours did not notify the council when they cut a tree down, for example. I asked one female incomer resident living in Madeley if she would consider contacting the council to report this kind of behaviour. Her response was: “I would not dream of it... Other people do what they want. Did you get planning for that? Is what I would say to my friends [A13]”. “I wouldn’t see it as unfair that you have to go through that process, it is absolutely central to the control of the WHS” [A13], she explained.

One of the residents who moved to the area in the 1970s told me that the reward for maintaining their properties according to the existing rules is that the place does not

become a theme park. That was her first response, but as the interview progressed she gave me more insightful reasons why preservation of authenticity is important: “because so much of our society is not authentic, its plastic”[A2], she said. Plastic as in fake, not genuine (Lowenthal 1992). We know that we can’t stop society changing, but we can try to stop the decay of our landscape. It seems that through preservation of the historic landscape at least we can have this illusion that something is of greater value as a point of reference and will continue in relatively unchanged form, thus contributing to our sense of ontological security (Grenville, 2007).

A retired health professional from Ironbridge who moved to the area recently told me that although “In Britain people they do complain a lot, but they do most of them accept that you cannot knock down a beautiful building or raze the forest simply because you want to” [A6]. This is because it is recognised that this is a public asset which belongs to the whole world. In this sort of relationship between the immediate local community and global communities he thinks that local people should not be given precedence over people who live further away from the physical place.

He validates the universalist notion of global stakeholders represented in UNESCO policy documents (see chapter three), which do not give local communities (except indigenous peoples) any extra powers in heritage conservation policies. My informant was very well aware, as are many incomer residents, that the UNESCO inscription did not add any extra legal protection to the nominated area. He was familiar with planning laws which “prevent people building houses in beautiful areas”[A6].

In his view the “whole package”[A6] which comes with the WHS does not differ from any other governmental decisions, and indeed UN World Heritage decisions, which are “made in the interest of the wider community”[A6]. This is because if something is of national significance the local community “don’t have a final say and neither should they”[A6].

He then continued:

I am not saying that you should trust politicians, but somebody has to take an overview. And local, and what we call parochial interest, parish interest, shouldn't trump, shouldn't be more important than the interest of the wider community. Otherwise, whoever is most powerful, whoever is richest will always win, because they have, anyone who has the money could do what they want if it was a free for all, and it shouldn't be. It should be controlled. For everybody's benefit, including generations yet to come. And I think that is one of the most important things about UNESCO designation [A6].

He agrees with the current council policy on prohibiting solar panels in the historic area of the Gorge, simply because when he moved to Ironbridge he liked the place as it was and he does not want to see it being visually spoiled. "You live here accepting that that there are constraints you live under and that's why people want to live here" [A6]. I asked about the rights of people who lived in the Gorge before the place became a heritage site. To which he replied "to some extent, this might sound unkind, if they are not happy, tough. This [visual integrity, authenticity] is more important than one individual's right to have a solar panel" [A6].

So it is clear that there are strong voices amongst the community that support the idea of Article 4 (see p. 119) being implemented in the Gorge. When I discussed issues of conservation with a resident who moved to Coalport a few years ago, he admitted that before our meeting he had had a look at the Ironbridge Gorge community site and had noticed that there was somebody who complained that he had to apply for permission to change their garage door. "I felt inclined to actually make a comment. You know, if you want to live in an area that has some status: join in"[A22].

Local residents whom I interviewed in Ironbridge are prepared to sacrifice their property ownership freedom when it comes to conservation of the area. It is because they are determined to preserve the visual integrity of the Gorge. “What I think we are trying to achieve here is a bit of a picture postcard: a beautiful place to be, which still has the essence of the heritage, of the business, of the trade and the industry that went on here. It is trying to get a balance of the two really” [B5], a local businessman from Ironbridge told me.

Overwhelmingly, 79% of respondents agree that World Heritage status ensures better protection for their historic environment.

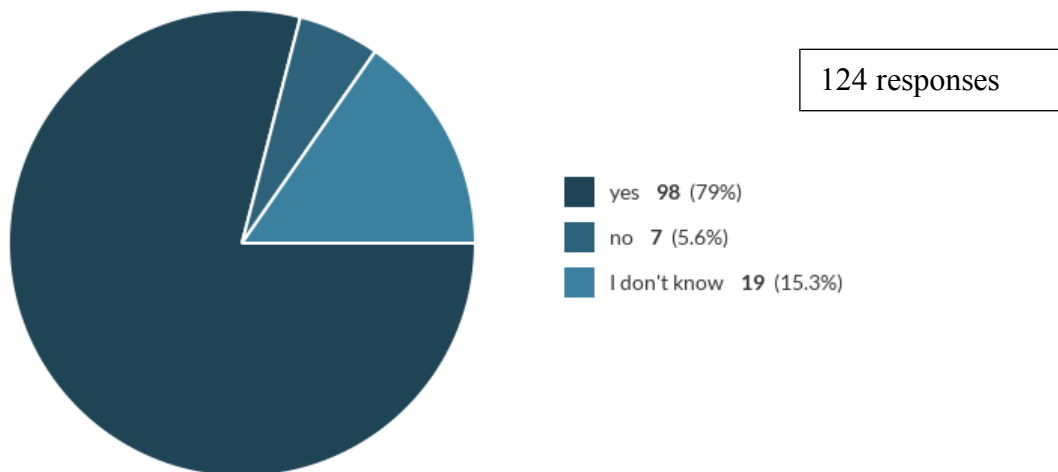


Chart 8. Would you say that the Ironbridge Gorge gets better protection because of its international designation?

This perception shows the lack of awareness amongst local residents of the actual legal instruments which are used to protect the monuments in the Gorge. Some of the residents feel that UNESCO nomination made a direct impact on their lives. A couple from Coalbrookdale started coming to Ironbridge as tourists, and when they retired they decided to buy a property in the Gorge. For them moving to Ironbridge was simply aspirational. “If it were not for the designation the town would not be the tourist trap it is; we would not

have moved to the area. The status gave us the comfort that the area wouldn't fall back into decline" [A28]. Although the overwhelming majority of residents think that UNESCO status guarantees some special protection for the place, not everyone in Ironbridge will subscribe to this view. A couple from Ironbridge explained that the World Heritage nomination only strengthened existing commitments with regards to the conservation of the place. They called it "a window dressing" [A12, A13] exercise, because the nomination did not bring any specific funding. "It was like advertising [A13]"

A resident from Ironbridge with professional interests in conservation, despite asserting himself to be a "naturally conservative" [A16] individual who likes "to keep window frames looking the same"[A16], said that when it comes to preservation of his local area, things are not that straight forward and "it needs to be discussed what kind of progress can be allowed" [A16]. His view on the issue of solar panels very much opposed the preceding speaker's take on the subject.

His rationale for supporting the use of (currently) alternative sources of energy stems from the philosophy that Ironbridge Gorge, as the birthplace of modern industry, should progress to green energy solutions rather than being stuck "in the Victorian past, [which] isn't a good image for it"[A16].

He thinks that living in the conservation area since 1978 has had some influence on his conservative approach to conservation issues, but 'conservative' in his understanding does not correspond with the way the conservation office implements its policies.

Like solar panels, satellite dishes are also not welcomed in the Gorge by the conservation office. This particular restriction can be especially challenging for some residents for whom broadcast signal reception in the Gorge is desirable. The owner of one of the properties in Ironbridge complained that in her particular location there is no signal and it is really hard to carry on living in a place with no radio or TV reception. When I asked her

whether she wouldn't mind having satellite dishes everywhere in the Gorge she responded: "no, not really. Wind turbines, anything like that, I don't mind. Yes, I definitely don't want to live in a museum. I want to live in a vibrant society where things happen"[A24].

Within the same geographical location members of the incoming community expressed their relatively different attitudes to change and preservation of their historic environment. However the statistical data provide evidence that the Western idea of 'freezing' parts of the historic landscape, portrayed in academic and policy literature as alien in traditional or indeed indigenous cultural contexts (Poulios 2014, Cameron 1995) and criticised as being imposed by heritage workers and bureaucrats (Smith 2006), is very much supported and indeed part of the cultural canon of the incoming community whom I interviewed.

8.6 "I don't want to live in a museum"

There is no doubt that conservation in Ironbridge has many supporters. A retired teacher spoke of the dissonance between different communities when it comes to conservation of historic features. The original community, "they saw this as some kind of restriction on their freedom to change the house the way they wanted it"[A19], she explained. Indeed, this perception was reaffirmed by another teacher from the incoming community, who recalled that a number of the original residents traded their properties for new ones on council estates as, in her view, they thought it less hassle to maintain them [A8].

When incomers came to the area they knew that their properties had conservation restrictions on them. She carried on explaining: "We were quite proud of them, whereas people who lived here accepted them or didn't really worry about them[A19]" In her view "even now, lots of original residents do object to some of the rules that are imposed on them. "My neighbour wanted to put a new boiler in but, unfortunately, he asked, and

because this is a listed building they wouldn't allow him to put a pipe out at the front, so he has to apply for the planning permission. And he feels that he is being imposed on by the conservation of the area. He has always lived here; why should he have to have permission to do something to make his life liveable?"[A19] she asked.

A former teacher, told me that when she moved to her property in Ironbridge in the 1980s, she wanted to have a conservatory, which was not allowed. "I was sad about it" [A24], she said. In her view "over the life of the house, people have been making their mark over centuries, and to keep it too rigidly like that means that it doesn't particularly evolve. And I think a house should reflect people who live in it and what they want to do" [A24]. I interviewed her in her property, and I remember she noticed me taking a glimpse at the window which was behind her back. This prompted her to change the subject and explain why there are plastic windows in one of the most ancient cottages in Ironbridge.

I have plastic windows which are horrendous. I don't like them, they don't go at all with the age of the building. They were here when I bought the house. I did not change them because that would be expensive. When we had some work done on the roof the listed officer came around and suggested that we should have them changed. You know, £1,500 each and we have 10 windows. It would have been too expensive. There are no subsidies for these expenses [A24].

Another incomer resident from Ironbridge reiterated similar concerns. In her case she was allowed to build an extension, but she had to make sure that bricks were used as instructed and only small wooden windows were fitted. What frustrated her is the fact that she had no choice on what she could do. She said that she would probably have chosen wooden windows anyway and bricks as advised by conservation professionals because she wanted newly added elements to match and look good; however, in her opinion she did not feel that she had a choice, as opposed to people who lived before in the Gorge. Local residents

consider authenticity through the prism of their own personal dimensions when it comes to conservation of their private properties. But some of them also see their homes as national monuments. These personal and collective dimensions have been masterfully depicted by Herzfeld (1991) in the context of negotiating the ownership of private properties recognised as being of national importance: “My house or our national monument?” (Herzfeld 1991, 12). On the one hand, the incoming community wants to preserve the authenticity of the area, but when it comes to individual actions concerning their private properties their attitudes are confused, as they negotiate and push the boundaries for change. When individual interests take precedence over collective ones then the whole system is questioned and criticised for the lack of consistency in the implementation of conservation policies.

8.7 Lack of consistency

The fact that some of the residents do not follow the conservation rules is not as frustrating to local residents as when the council itself does not follow a coherent policy on conservation or its own guidance. Statistical surveys as well as interviews show that residents have a very clear understanding of what is out of keeping with the surroundings and what is not. The majority of residents are not trained in architectural conservation, but this does not impede their ability to judge wrong conservation decisions. Empirical study indicates that local residents agree that what development is allowed in the Gorge ought to be regulated. Similarly, building permissions should not be granted without public consultation. What was apparent is that there was no clear understanding of who bears the responsibility for facilitating a meaningful discussion with residents in order to achieve consensus on what changes are acceptable and which are not. An Ironbridge resident from

the incoming community believes that the planners do what they can to ensure “proper planning within the constraints and [to] allow development” [A16] because the place cannot stand still, but “they haven’t got the political power to do it” [A16] properly. In this resident’s view, the mechanism of objecting to planning applications is flawed. He contended that if a wealthy person puts in a planning application which someone appeals, which the council planning authority rejects, it costs more than the council can afford to fight appeals against their decisions. Thus, when it comes to larger investments such as housing developments, which are often not in keeping with the historic environment, the issue boils down to the financial resources which are at play. The whole system of heritage protection is reliant on monitoring local residents’ maintenance of their private properties (small incremental changes) through the implementation of controls which relate to windows, hedges and satellite dishes, but major development of a more permanent nature “and more of an eyesore than solar panels” [A16] within that system is much more difficult to control, he said. He would not mind modern houses being built, but they need to be sympathetic to the colour of the brick or the age of the brick. He pointed to the paradox of planners stopping certain types of development and allowing others. Housing development in the Gorge is generally received with scepticism or opposition by existing residents. A teacher from Ironbridge told me “I do understand that people have to live somewhere and I do think that’s important, but I do think it’s also important to protect the Gorge”[A7].

The people I spoke to said that they have to follow all the rules, whereas the Council and its decisions allow development which, in the view of local residents, spoils the integrity of the area. A resident who has lived in the area all her life asserted that:

any [new] homes should be within the context of the sizes of buildings that are nearby. I appreciate there were many more of them – I remember many, but these modern, bland multi-storey buildings are like pollution in a fragile ecosystem"

[200518-200511-14987972] They [new buildings] don't seem to go with the environment at all and they seem out of place (...). They shouldn't be three-storey at all. They dwarf everything else, don't they? (...) Why have the planners allowed it to be as it is? We like things to be in keeping with the surroundings [A28].

When a retired couple from Coalbrookdale who moved to the area 10 years ago renovated their house, they made sure that they used reclaimed building materials. They would like to see equal treatment amongst all property owners when it comes to implementation of conservation rules, but in their experience this is not the case.

This is not what we came here for. To me, the biggest issue within the WHS is that they don't really seem to consider keeping the environment as it ought to be kept. Let's keep it with the tradition. That's how we feel. We want to live in an area that reflects its antiquity, which reflects its history, definitely [A28].

Not only new buildings were listed as visual 'pollutants' in Ironbridge Gorge. Car traffic was another irritant. "Nobody is trying to stop cars, cars are being impact now. There were no cars here 150 years ago" [A16], a resident from Ironbridge told me. He further explained that lack of funding seems to be the main reason for poor conservation decisions being made where expertise is required.

You need very good professional people to do it, and I suspect that there are very few in the Council doing it. Not enough conservation officers. I don't know to what extent they would be listened to if they were confronted [A16].

This perceived lack of consistency and capacity when it comes to the council implementing conservation policies makes local residents realise that there is a weakness in the conservation system. A couple of years ago the council commissioned an urban realm report "which made a very strong plea for an old townscape approach" [A13], a resident from the incoming community in Ironbridge told me. In his view, the council itself

does not follow its own conservation directions, which were clearly outlined in this policy. So, it seems that local residents are expected to follow a set of rules, but council promises are often left unaddressed. “If things get left for a long time, people will get fed up with it and feel unable, impotent really” his wife asserted [A12].

The impact of implementing conservation policies in the Gorge which correspond with international heritage campaigns concerning conservation resulted in a phenomenon where communities absorb conservation philosophy in a particular stage of its evolution. The analysis of the qualitative data offers a reflection of the type of management model implemented for the WHS and the type of engagement of conservation professionals with local residents.

8.8 World Heritage and management in Ironbridge Gorge

Residents who moved to Ironbridge during the late 1970s and '80s reminisce that during that period the museum management had vision, drive and determination. Although historically perceived as an exclusive organisation with a narrow focus on industrial archaeology, there was an undercurrent of recognition that it used to be a serious research centre rather than an entertainment park driven to attract commercial revenue: “a big bureaucratic enterprise...which has lost its way”[A12] is how a retired couple from Ironbridge summed it up. The current management model was perceived by a number of my interviewees as not allowing for a dialogue with local residents: “And you still don't have the voice of the community”[A12], they told me. They voiced concerns that this model of management evokes a sense of frustration amongst residents as

[the museum] won't politically listen. They don't have time or interest because they are driven by the need for more tourism. And they do believe that they are doing so

[listening]. I think they have the board of Trustees that has the local authority members and so on. So, they all believe that they have input from the local community. But I think it is rather a rarefied, high-level input, which is not the local community input [A13].

I was told that in the past the incoming community was more involved in the decision-making process. There was a sense of a civic society that was actively monitoring planning applications and proposed development. Today, active community involvement in conservation bureaucracy boils down to checking the parish website, which notifies the public about planning applications, they told me. The wife carried on explaining:

I found out yesterday, by accident, that a certain person at Lincoln Hill put in an application for three houses. And, you know, in the old days you would go sit in the park or in the garden and think ‘What can we do about it?’ All we can do now is go and look it up and perhaps put in an objection [A12].

Indeed, active community involvement in the shaping of the local historic landscape highly depends on the level of the community’s awareness of the legal procedures and public consultations, as well as the application of relevant planning laws and monument protection policies. This research shows that there is a geographical discrepancy between different parts of the WHS when it comes to understanding amongst communities of how these complex laws are operationalised.

The criticism directed towards the IGMT is a result of widespread confusion amongst many residents as to who is actually responsible for the management of the WHS. During my fieldwork, I realised that the World Heritage management tends to be synonymised with the museum management. Although SGCT is also responsible for management and

interpretation of parts of the WHS, residents seem to confuse the Museum Trust with the WHS. “I think the WHS, when I look at it, it’s very remote” [A2], is what one of my interviewees said to me. This remoteness of the WHS creates alienation between the operational side of the management of the inscribed area and the local residents.

“I think that the management is pretty poor really, and I think that the management via involvement with the local community is exceedingly poor”[A16] said a resident from Ironbridge who is well aware that it is the responsibility of the Council to have a coordinated management system with a WHS manager rather than a management which works on an ad-hoc basis.

A similar view was expressed by a resident from Coalport who voiced his disappointment that the museum is not communicating with the local people. “In fact, it’s the opposite. I am not sure if they really want a local community, they’re just in their own little bubble” [A22], he told me.

Quantitative research revealed that 63.7% of respondents agree that the WHS is adequately managed. Around (18.5%) do not agree with that statement.

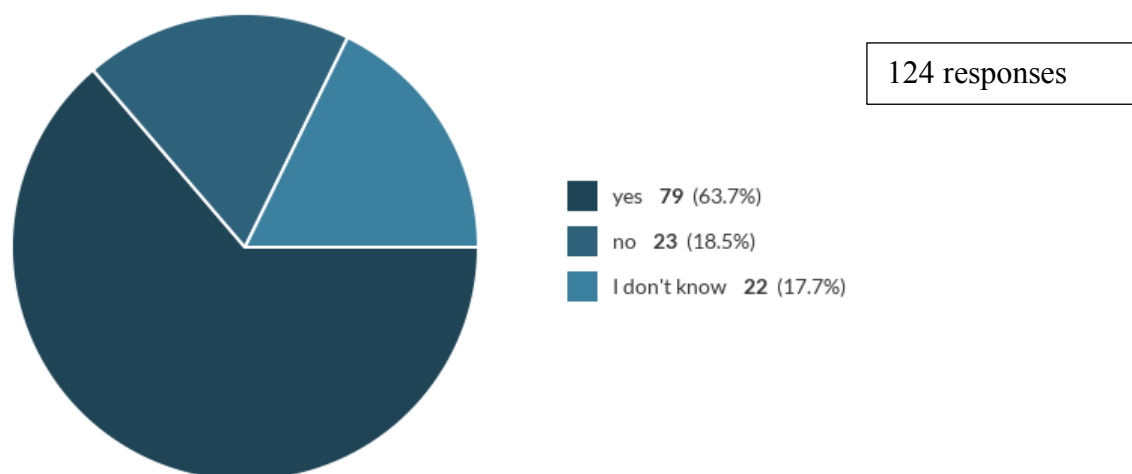


Chart 9. Do you feel that the site is adequately managed?

Although this varies between different districts of the WHS, the quantitative research indicated that those who expressed more positive views about the management of the WHS, are either relatively new to the area or do not live in the Gorge. Because of the significant differences in the responses between communities living within the WHS and those living in surrounding locales, I conceptualised the latter as tourists rather than local residents.

“Knowledgeable staff, well maintained, family friendly and affordable” (Survey respondent from North Wales) [200518-200511-14592079].

It seems that the longer people live in the WHS the more critical they become of the management issues. As one incomer with 16 years of residence explained:

The World Heritage Steering Group is poorly reported and doesn't seem very effective. Rather than being a democratic body comprised of local government officers / members it should have more professional input [200518-200511-14500532].

A resident from Horsehay who lives around three miles from the WHS explained why in his view descendant communities living outside the physical location of the WHS are less aware of the management realities of place-making, place-shaping and maintaining OUV.

I don't know any of the implications of UNESCO, but they don't impact on my everyday life. I imagine people who live in the Gorge, who want to do some extensions, put up a conservatory, and they have all this red tape to go through, and it must be torture for them, because they live in [those] buildings. Yes, they have heritage buildings, yes, they want to make them nice and comfortable, but they are very restricted, I imagine. The narrow roads they have to drive through, the iron curbs which tear your tyres when you're parking and all these little bits and pieces [A26].

8.9 Heritage Democracy Through Consultation

During my fieldwork, consultation of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS management plan was taking place. The information about this document was poorly advertised amongst local residents. Some of them did not know about its existence, others were vaguely aware of it from secondary sources. Since the 1980s the Strategy Group for the WHS has been in operation in different forms, pledging to raise awareness of its existence and yet only over a quarter of residents were aware of its presence according to The Gorge Parish Council (2009).

The low awareness amongst local residents and knowledge of the Strategy Group indicates that there is a void between the governing structure of the site and the local communities.

“There is only this steering group, but they sit and talk to each other. I don’t think that the majority of people even know that the strategy group really exists. So, how is this representative of a local community?” [A13], asked a resident from Madeley.

Similar critique was aired by a former staff member of the IGMT. In his experience historically there was a discrepancy between what the Museum believed it was doing in terms of community engagement and the reality on the ground. As a local community member, he became aware when talking to his neighbours, residents of the WHS, that the museum message rarely got through to people. For a local Councillor the reason why the museum seems to be detached from the local communities is that in local views they are focused on the management of the place as a visitor attraction: “they are inevitably quite remote from the people on the ground trying to develop ways of how people can access what’s here” [C4].

The direct way that local communities are able to influence the management process of this WHS is through an elected councillor who sits on the steering group, “..and one voice is often dismissed. It seems to me that it is only about ticking boxes”, a local authority representative from Madeley told me. In his view, the process of drafting the current management plan was a top-down rather than bottom-up exercise because drafting and decisions concerning the plan’s content were made by a Steering Group consisting of all the powerful organisations in the area. Hence the document was devoid of local views other than those voiced by local councillors. The first time when local residents and other interested parties could comment on the management plan was when the document had already been drafted and was ready for consultation. Some of the residents did not mind the system, like for example a local businessman from Ironbridge who told me that he is happy to be represented by the consortium representative who puts his points across. He does not have time to be involved personally with management plan consultations.

I spoke to a local councillor to enquire about how exactly she represents local views in the World Heritage management plan. “I can honestly quite categorically say I didn’t feel that the community was represented. There wasn’t enough of what I call its input”. In the councillor’s view the current system of governance at the local level is not geared towards inclusion of local communities and is “(...) a little bit dictating. I think we need to be more inclusive and work together to address some of the constraints” [C4].

A member of the parish council was explicit about why the management plan was both misleading and detached from the needs of local people and their relationship with the WHS:

It was implied that the WHS provided doctors and shops, this, that and the other and the community centre. And I said, the community ensured the continuity of the existence of them. I mean the community centre’s run by the residents for the

residents. The building might be heritage, but it is run by the residents for the residents. And the impression given in this document was that it had been provided for the good of the residents. And I think that we have to be careful that the residents are given an equal footing with conservation [A19].

The management plan: “It is just such a disappointing document, (...) a missed opportunity (...) it could have engaged the local community if you actually spoke to them about what issues were of concern to local communities and the business community” [C1] a representative from the Madeley town council told me.

Since there were only eight responses to the WHMP, I put to him the question about why the public response had been so low. He explained that the low response does not reflect actual interest of local communities in their local environment.

I think people are very interested in some of the issues that affect Madeley and the Gorge as well. I think they don't see anything from the management plan that helps them to get extra money or resources [to keep what they see as valuable in Madeley, such as Anstice].

We have exactly the same issue with the conservation area boundary that is ongoing at the moment. The Borough council employed external consultants. They are doing a conservation area management plan review (...). There was no discussion with the local community [C1].

Although the current system of local community engagement has been criticised because of its evident bureaucratic pitfalls, I met a proponent who spoke in its defence. A retired professional who had bought a property in Ironbridge as his second home told me that democracy does not rely on the principle that information has to be given to people.

“People should be made to look hard for information on their historic environment”[A6], he said. If people don’t have internet there is a library, he asserted.

“In this current system nobody is worse off in comparison to 20 years ago, when nobody had internet access so everybody was equally uninformed”[A6], he said. Today internet access has resulted in some people being more informed than others about their historic environment in comparison to 20 years ago. But by my respondent’s logic, those who do not use the internet have not lost anything. They are in the same situation as they were 20 years ago. So the current system is indeed “beneficial and there is no down side to it”[A6].

The referendum in this country is the perfect example, where the idiots that shout the loudest seem to be winning the arguments. Everybody is informed [he laughs]. I am sure you have heard about the wisdom of the crowd. Even when people are particularly well informed, the crowd seems to make a good decision. But most of the decisions which we’re called to make aren’t right decisions. They are not scientific decisions. They’re opinions. Elections to some extent are an opinion poll [A6].

In his view, most decisions are based on preferences rather than a viable reality. There is a majority view that people prefer, he contended. He then gave the death penalty as an example.

I would hate to see that put to a vote, because I would think they would make a wrong decision. That makes me undemocratic to some extent. That is when idiots shouldn’t be allowed to vote, basically. If you believe in democracy, you have to accept that sometimes decisions that you don’t agree with are made. You can choose not to have democracy, but then you have a lot of decisions you don’t agree with [A6].

Analysis of qualitative data resembles other studies. Mills et al. (2008) made the observation that in heritage management “most consultations [with stakeholders] do not involve real listening or significant project modification”— instead, this is a “check the box” process that favours development projects. In addition to echoing these critiques, King (2009, 35) describes intrinsic flaws in such systems, which require developers to pay consultants for compliance reports.

While the law requires consultation with stakeholders, the experts who control this process would consider these meanings which are usually concurrent with these expert values (King 2009). This system, however, cannot adapt to changing associations, of different communities. Thus the state sends the message that bureaucracy of conservation is more important than communities who are the beating heart of those historic landscapes. The case study of Ironbridge offers a microcosm of the ‘Western system’ of heritage democracy and inclusiveness in the governance of a WHS exercised through bureaucratic rule rather than a meaningful act of listening to locally held views. The empirical study shows that although there are proponents of the existing heritage system, in Ironbridge similarly to other case studies in the WH system, democracy should not be simply exercised through the rule of the dominant electoral group, but a respect for less prevalent views (Logan 2007,42).

8.10 Summary

The findings show that there is strong support for the preservation of monuments in the Gorge. One quarter of respondents back the idea that there should be minimal modernisation allowed to the historic landscape. Many complained that they experience a lack of a coherent conservation policy and that the council allows new buildings to be built

within the WHS which are not in keeping with the local environment. Those new buildings are often considered an eyesore in comparison to the small changes which local residents make to their homes to make their lives liveable. It seems that for many respondents it is important that the place will stay 'real' and although many would subscribe to the post-modern philosophical understanding of the word original – which means that the original state cannot ever be recreated – the case study of Blists Hill demonstrates that material and immaterial attributes of that place are important to maintain the feeling of credibility. Local communities were not involved in the identification of the OUV and providing that they subscribe to the protection of its physical attributes, within the current democratic management structure they have very little influence over decisions concerning the management of their local environment.

9. DISCUSSION

The Ironbridge Gorge WHS was inscribed on the WHL without prior involvement of local communities in the identification of its OUV. This is not because the authorities did not want to involve local residents in the World Heritage process, but because the British government adhered to the OG of the WHC. The practice of informing communities about inscription of their local cultural sites was effectively discouraged by the WH Committee (UNESCO 1994b, art 14). The World Heritage process was devised and implemented by experts in heritage and nature aided by government diplomats, and was initially concerned with the international community, which favoured undefined national communities and tourists rather than local communities. Initially what was considered of international importance stemmed from the notion of the best of national heritage. The latter was carefully selected as a result of a heritage system which entails historical, artistic or archaeological enquiry carried out through scholarship. Its purpose is to bond communities by creating common narratives (national, regional), and the target outcome of such activity is the creation of the ‘heritage community’. The notion of universal heritage was born out of the Eurocentric heritage process concerned with the protection of structures and objects recognised by archaeologists, architects or art historians as heritage. The rationale of such designations is that there are places which carry an intrinsic value which can be applicable universally. Once cultural places enter the public realm their intellectual and legal ownership by local communities will often be restricted. This is because there are wider community interests involved. Hence, there will be an argument made for accessibility of heritage so it can be enjoyed, consumed and preserved for current and future generations (Carman 1996, 148). What heritage workers identify as heritage does not necessarily reflect local communities’ views. The microcosm of Ironbridge gives an insight into how

the heritage process is initiated among communities and how they absorb, negotiate and transmit the concept of OUV.

9.1 The heritage endeavour

This study shows that the industrial landscape and structures in the Ironbridge Gorge were not recognised by the original community as heritage prior to their ‘discovery’ by industrial heritage enthusiasts, and the notion of them being a World Heritage is negotiated to this day, or indeed rejected by some of my interviewees (see. p.180). Empirical data shows that what constitutes ‘heritage’ is often associated by the local communities with the heritage process. Dicks calls the heritage process of memorialisation an unequal transaction “suggesting that turning industry into heritage can be seen as obliterating identity rather than offering an expression for it” (2000, 164). As in other parts of the world, Ironbridge and its communities were undergoing ‘civilising’ changes. These were based on the rationale that the traditional way of life was not compatible with the progress advocated by developed nations, and indeed by UN agencies such as UNESCO. This rationale applied not only to traditional communities in terms of agricultural development and environmental management of natural resources (Gupta 1998), but also to industrial societies that had fallen behind the pace of global market forces and economic development. In such circumstances it was envisioned that when structures ceased to serve their original purpose, new meanings would have to be given to them in order to preserve them as memorials for humanity.

The cognitive dissonance between communities in the Gorge meant that TDC policies regarding social engineering were unable to succeed. The optimistic plan, which aimed to

secure continuity of industrial spirit in the area by locating light industries in Telford, did not produce a hybrid community by grafting the ‘outsiders’ on the original ‘stock’.

Both communities presented in the empirical study have intrinsically different cognitive ownership and different attitudes towards the OUV of the site. The original community, similarly to descendant communities discussed elsewhere in this thesis, see themselves as related to the industrial landscape. Thus, places, objects and traditions produced by their ancestors are understood through the prism of personal connections and the spirit of place, which are not accommodated in the formal legislative measures. Paradoxically, the universalist paradigm enshrined in the Convention, in which the idea of heritage meanings and their preservation is imposed on communities, has been critiqued in the heritage discourse and, indeed, in the World Heritage discourse. The latter is dominated by examples from outside Europe, where ancient cultures and their remains were deemed endangered as a consequence of the discontinuation of their original use. In Europe the heritage process and World Heritage policy is a one-way endeavour, often presented in academic realms within the frameworks of education, outreach, engagement and empowerment, where communities are represented as passive rather than active participants of heritage activity. Consequently, conservation discourse created a dissonance which has been re-affirmed by heritage experts, who distinguish national value from universal values and local narratives from universal narratives. When communities were included as stakeholders in the heritage process as a result of civic campaigns and the indigenous peoples’ movement, they were granted the right to claim their own values, which predominantly fall into the category of social value (see p. 23-26). In the World Heritage discourse, social value derived initially and predominantly from indigenous or traditional cultures and is based on living cultures and traditions which were not taken into consideration when the Convention was first drafted. Social value as argued elsewhere in

this thesis does not rely on expert knowledge but inner feelings acquired by people and their interaction with their habitual surroundings (Social value was utilised in the identification of heritage by its cognitive owners and, indeed, was the subject of inclusion in criterion vi, concerning associative values in the World Heritage process. The WH Committee discourages use of criterion vi on its own, and social value is only an add-on rather than one of the core criteria under which cultural sites are inscribed (Trelka Forthcoming), as associative values are often considered as not enough for survival of material culture. This rationale is based on the premise that social values change according to cultural and temporal factors; however, ‘intrinsic’ criteria which derive from artistic or historical truths are timeless, as they are selected through a rigorous, objective scholarship process (Jones 2016). This misconception has been challenged, and there are numerous examples where communities first articulate the significance of sites based on their direct experience (see p. 25). The latter can be instigated through the heritage process or outside its official realm.

This research demonstrates that the heritage process negotiated by indigenous and descendant communities outside Europe has also been intellectually challenged within industrialised ‘civilising’ nations, but rarely with any success. This is because legally and culturally European societies are not considered to have the same rights as indigenous peoples to intellectual, and thus legal, ownership of their heritage. Hence, it is not clear how Western societies can be accommodated within the WH system, where discontinuation occurred between prehistoric societies, or even more recent cultural places which were intentionally or unintentionally left by their original communities, or which were detached from their surroundings as a result of the implementation of heritage practices. Historical disciplines in the European context have rarely used anthropological and sociological methodologies to make direct connections between researched material

remains and living people. Thus, connections between archaeological remains have been made relevant to contemporary European societies in a vague, distant sense, not a direct sense, often driven by what experts deem valuable about those past societies. This is because in Europe, when material remains of the past were attributed to particular past peoples with the aim of tracing the genealogy of present populations back to their imagined origins (Jones 1997, 2), archaeology was feeding nationalism. “Archaeologists are incessantly importuned to certify national and tribal sagas, testifying that this or that people came first and kept tribal faith” (Lowenthal 1996, 235). Moreover, such misuse of archaeological evidence is not a phenomenon restricted to the beginning of the 20th century, when it was often connected with territorial claims (Piotrowska 1998, 258). The tactic of using archaeological remains as political tools has remained omnipresent to this day in different parts of the world. The City of David in Jerusalem can serve as an example (New Statesman 26 October 2017). Therefore, archaeologists who do not want to support racist agendas and xenophobic narratives advocate avoiding taking part in identity politics (Sommer 200, 2017). In contrast, literature concerning indigenous and descendant communities challenged the European way of doing archaeology, and indeed undermined its validity in non-European contexts. The Declaration of San Antonio (ICOMOS 1996) emphasized the importance of archaeological remains and their authenticity in linking contemporary communities with past societies.

The heritage system, when implemented, affected communities throughout the world by giving precedence to the conservation of monuments and in order to pave the way for the heritage community to take intellectual ownership of such places and absorb the philosophy for its preservation.

The policy review chapter demonstrates that the implementation of the heritage protection principles, based on legal provisions, created an artificial dissonance which only

strengthened the position of heritage professionals (especially in Europe), acting within policies regulating heritage practices and adhering to their moral duty to educate the public about heritage. Although not explicitly acknowledged, part of this process still relies on training peoples' opinions on value judgements to match that of changing national agendas to promote citizenship and enhance national life. Such professionals positioned themselves as legitimate representatives of their people within the World Heritage discourse who represented heritage communities rather than communities with direct cognitive ownership. The nature of such interactions determines the make-up of heritage communities – an issue which raises ethical questions in conservation practice. This will be discussed later in this chapter, especially in the context of how cognitive communities negotiate the idea of becoming heritage communities.

9.2 Identification of local communities: global and local communities

In this section I explore the idea of the 'parallel' landscapes which co-exist in Ironbridge and how, through cognitive ownership, we can understand the relationship that self-defined communities have developed with the WHS. I scrutinize those relationships to address how these landscapes relate to the SOUV. The cognitive ownership concept is used to identify communities at the micro level to help in understanding the commonalities between self-defined communities in Ironbridge and those outlined in the heritage discourse.

For the original community, the present has not lost its links with the past because it is still in living memory. There is a direct continuity of memory connected to the industrial function of the place, often passed from generation to generation. It was not unusual for members of the original community whom I interviewed to start telling me the story of their family origins by stating when they arrived in the area and what industry they worked

in. The same applies to those I spoke to from the incoming community, who would usually specify the exact year when they moved to specified settlements within the Gorge. This information about when they arrived and where they settled marks their presence in the area. The communities in the Gorge belong to geographical territories which form historical settlements within, or in the proximity of, the boundaries of the WHS. Although they are all part of one WHS, the community of Madeley is distinctive from the community of Ironbridge or elsewhere (see p. 144) . Those distinctive identities were shaped by different industries located within the Gorge, such as the iron industry, mining, tile and pottery production and others. Re-development of the area by the TDC brought the influx of even more ‘foreign communities’, and created even greater boundaries, which can be abstract for an outsider but are very real for the communities themselves. Such boundaries are created when neither community can relate directly to the other’s way of life, and thus the events and circumstances which shaped them.

Local communities in the Gorge are made up of social networks of connections and relations between different settlements in the area and elsewhere, but the cognitive ownership of the OUV is shaped by their belonging to wider communities (such as original and incoming) regardless of which settlement they come from.

The empirical research shows that the original community do not claim direct ownership of the ‘heritage’, as in their view it was not they or their ancestors who built the heritage site. They negotiate these new meanings, assigned to their place by experts in the SOUV over thirty years ago without their involvement. It seems that the universal value selected for the purpose of “building peace in the minds of men and women” (UNESCO 2018) is obliterating the meanings of the industrial nature of the place where their ancestors worked and lived, and indeed where they used to work and still live. In international conservation doctrinal documents, heritage is often presented as a testimony of peace and cohesion

(ICOMOS 2014). For the local communities in the Gorge, the spectrum of associations with the WHS landscape is wide and it ranges from love of the place, feeling at home, national pride, the spirit of the place and its aesthetic value to injustice, the class system, discrimination, exploitation, pollution, environmental degradation and many other associations which bear little relation to the grand UNESCO mission.

In the heritage literature, the representations of indigenous peoples and descendant communities as well as diaspora, are created as an effect of historical events. Regardless of what circumstances influenced the creation of such communities, the premise is the same. For example, indigenous communities would not have called themselves indigenous had persons of a different culture or ethnic origin not arrived on their land overcome them (see. p. 84).

The same applies to the original community in Ironbridge; there would be no need for them to identify themselves as the original community had an incoming community not settled in the Gorge. Thus, communities define themselves in contrast to each other in order to mark their relationship to the events which brought them to the area.

The critique of scholarly driven understanding of historic landscapes has come initially not only from non-European conservation professionals but from local communities and different community groups. The residents in Ironbridge, for example, challenge non-inclusive interpretation of the WHS. The microcosm of Ironbridge offers an intimate insight into the relationship self-defined communities have developed with the WHS, where both the original and incoming communities look at heritage through the prism of personal dimensions which influence their cognitive ownership of the WHS. These personal dimensions can be both direct or developed through the formal schooling system, research and scholarship-based exploration.

The importance of controlling the meanings ascribed to material culture has underpinned indigenous criticism presented elsewhere in this thesis. The heritage system has also been continuously criticised, especially in the context of descendant communities (Innocent 2005), for its lack of consideration of the connection between cognitive owners with evidenced links with their ancestral world. Historically, such critiques occurred within the realm of traditional societies often presented as best equipped to safeguard the spirit of place (ICOMOS 2008). They were also often presented as carriers of traditional knowledge useful in the application of sustainable conservation practices (IUCN 1981).

Indigenous heritage, like industrial heritage, was not recognised as cultural heritage in the early stages of the development of the Convention. The plan to include such categories of sites did not occur organically within the World Heritage process but had to be justified through scholarly arguments which expanded existing conceptual boundaries in conservation philosophy. Paradoxically, the process of making the case that industrial structures are worthy of heritage status, and indeed World Heritage status, took place outside the realm of local communities historically linked to industries in the Gorge. Those early inscriptions were made on the basis of artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage. Thus, original communities challenge and sometimes reject the importance of values and attributes outlined in the SOUV. This is because the notion of SOUV altered the real time-depth of the site, which continues to this day by giving precedence to the scientific and historical significance rather than direct attachment experienced through cognitive ownership. In such cases application of the concept of OUV, in effect, can alienate the original communities from their historic environment.

This alienation had a universal application regardless of whether it took place in the so-called developed world or in a post-colonial context. Examples from indigenous cultures indicate that such actions led to a state of anxiety between archaeologists or heritage

professionals and indigenous peoples, as it imposed an alien set of values on their material culture while at the same time denying indigenous peoples' sense of their own history (see Ferguson 1996 in Smith 2004, 92). In practice, it would be logical that the original community with a direct link to the original function of the WHS would be the natural carriers of the OUV. In Ironbridge Gorge, where discontinuation of industrial production was marked by the initiation of the heritage process, the pecking order is different. Paradoxically, it is not the original community who transmit the values enshrined in the SOUV but the incoming community – people who do not claim a direct link with the industrial heritage of the area.

The concept of cognitive ownership also applies to geographically dispersed communities which claim associations with their ancestral land. In the case of diaspora communities, their connection with ancestral places can be both symbolic or 'direct', and this cognitive relationship is determined by the experiences of their predecessors (Orser 2007, 100). The act of "belonging to a diaspora" is an identity-forming process, one that serves to link "the homeland" with "the home" (Cornwell and Stoddard 2001, 101). The intellectual contribution of displaced communities to the inclusiveness of interpretation of places is encouraged in international conservation policies (ICOMOS 2008). Heritage claims pertaining to the issues of disposition of ancestral land can be problematic. My research demonstrated that descendant communities living outside the Ironbridge Gorge would struggle with understanding the local dynamics and problems the local community face on a day-to-day basis in terms of conservation of their homes and their surroundings. Thus, such claims when supported legally can be seen as an imposition on the freedoms of local communities to be able to shape and maintain their habitat, their homes. The claims of diaspora communities can raise tensions between those who remained in the homeland and those who were displaced. In certain circumstances the former may be implicated in the

displacement of the ancestors of the diaspora. In such cases it is a matter of moral negotiation between the two, and each case will be judged on an individual basis.

In some places in the formal heritage process traditional communities which are descendant of ancient cultures or indeed recent historical events and indigenous communities managed to negotiate the social and symbolic importance of places of cognitive ownership. This expansion of meanings also included the notion of spirit of place. ICOMOS had been advocating its inclusion in national legislative texts (ICOMOS 2008). It is a relatively recent phenomenon in Europe, where inclusion of communities in conservation practices is based on the premise of continuity of the original community with the original function of the site which is historically valid and not claimed (Poulios 2011, 151). What the living heritage approach contributes to the debate within the heritage system in Europe is that it singles out from the local communities a core community whose associations with WHSs are based on the premise of continuity rather than discontinuity, which can be the case with the heritage community.

Historical accounts of the heritage policies introduced in Ironbridge, when contextualised in the findings from the fieldwork, underline the correlation between the composition of heritage communities and forms of engagement between heritage professionals and society. For example, heritage narratives presented through formal education bond communities who, although not directly related to a WHS, support the heritage project (see p. 46).

The empirical study presents examples when the original community join forces with the heritage community in efforts to interpret, research and transmit the narratives of their 'heritage'. This can lead to taking up research into the local area, or volunteering for local trusts. I would like to emphasise and make clear that the above mentioned rationale only applies if we look at the landscape of the Gorge as a WHS, or as a heritage site and not as a

place to live, and although these landscapes impact on each other, they are different landscapes.

WHL selection criteria	Communities as experts in the World Heritage system	Communities as subjects (entities acted upon by experts)
(i) to represent masterpiece of human creative genius;	n/a	This criterion is closely linked to the technical expertise to be able to perform comparative analysis based on extensive knowledge of specialist subjects, as well as on knowledge of the technicalities of how to write a nomination dossier.
(ii) to 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;	n/a	As above.
(iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;	Applicable	However, experts' input will still be needed. As outlined above.
(iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;	n/a	As above.
(v) to 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;	Applicable. The knowledge of living cultures and how to maintain their environment can be immaterial and spiritual. Thus potentially communities can be incorporated as experts.	However, experts' input will still be needed. As outlined above.
(vi) to 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);	Applicable. Intangible, spiritual, social value, memory.	However, experts' input will still be needed. As outlined above.

Table 3. Table presenting communities as experts and as subjects in the World Heritage nomination process. ©Author

9.3 Communities, World Heritage and human rights

Political incentive and financial resources are prerequisite for any inscription of a cultural or natural site onto the WHL. The process of compiling a nomination dossier is becoming increasingly technical and it requires a pool of experts to argue the case for its “outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole” (UNESCO 1972).

Despite the discrepancy between how the original community and experts view a potential WHS, once it has passed the test of OUV, there is an ethical argument concerning its accessibility. This is based on the premise of human rights: the right to better understand one's heritage and that of others (ICOMOS 1998). And to make this access feasible, there are some uncomfortable ethical concerns that often have to be addressed. The heritage process introduced by the TDC (see chapter four) directly affected communities living in the area. Stories of the compulsory purchases of properties resonate in the Gorge. Some of the interviewees believe that the implementation of ethically questionable practices created dissonance amongst communities living in the Gorge. Accounts of cases where natural and cultural resources were appropriated by emerging nations are outlined in IUCN publications (see chapter three). In the Gorge such deprivation was direct, as outlined above, and symbolic. The latter is applicable when the original community feels that their heritage has “been stolen [for preservation because they] didn't have the facility to preserve it themselves” [A26] (a resident from a descendant community from Trench). This statement may appear to contradict earlier opinions voiced by the original community, which indicate that the industrial ‘stuff’ is not a heritage site despite the fact that there is this an undercurrent of feeling that those ‘old’ structures and objects are directly related to them.

Examples presented in this thesis show that historically, in order for heritage to be accessible to all, there were instances where communities were deprived of their way of life as well as their land and properties, thus contravening the Human Rights Convention, which states that “No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property” (UN 1948 art17).

A resident from the incoming community from Madeley told me about her experience working on a local community heritage project:

Strange, they sort of feel that the museum raped them in a way, came in and took their stuff instead of sharing it and being open. They feel that they have been rolled over by a tank and had all their stuff taken from them. Strange, I don't really understand that. Certainly, that feeling exists [A13].

Flanders describes the unauthorised use of heritage as theft and advocates for States to assist in the recovery of stolen property, even if it is in museums or research institutions (Flanders 1988, 89). As argued in chapter three, these comments generally relate to indigenous or traditional communities whose traditional ecological knowledge and genetic resources or natural resources were exploited by national governments or international corporations. The review presented in chapter three underlines an unequal power between scientists and indigenous peoples in particular, with less consideration for societies of developed and industrialised nations. Despite a recently introduced distinction between indigenous peoples and local communities in the OG (UNESCO 2015), human rights-based issues are usually discussed within the context of traditional societies and indigenous peoples (Trelka forthcoming). Maybe this is because when the World Heritage process was invented it was a Eurocentric model controlled principally by practitioners who acted as representatives of nations in the throes of rapid development and who were speaking on behalf of the people of these nations, who had to be educated about their own heritage.

Such arguments for educating indigenous peoples and traditional communities in the same way as European societies would not stand because indigenous peoples and traditional communities were recognised as carriers of knowledge about their cultural and natural environment, consequently they were often positively discriminated in policies. Thus in such cases expertise was coming from inside the community. In contrast, in Ironbridge the experts are those who come not from within the community but from outside. When the shift to people-centred approaches in conservation emerged, projects based in non-European cultures explored and demonstrated how the Western system is non-compatible in different cultural contexts around the world, and thus the World Heritage process became a platform for Western scholars to learn and absorb ideas from such examples. Acknowledging spirit of place and intangible heritage as part of cultural heritage recognises only some of these ideas, but the most staggering in the World Heritage process regarding Human Rights issues is an argument challenging the notion of heritage as public property (ICOMOS 2003). A similar argument has been made in the context of incoming communities, discussed elsewhere in this thesis, by Orser (2007), who contends that by inhabiting a place incoming communities do not necessarily acquire direct heritage rights. Heritage rights have been discussed in the context of contemporary communities, but less is known about what the role is of future communities in the transmission of OUV. During my fieldwork residents would often express their support for the conservation of the Ironbridge Gorge for future generations to enjoy. It almost seems that whoever those future generations will be, they will be keen to absorb the values identified in the OUV and pass them on to even more distant future descendants. Empirical study shows that the local communities in the Gorge want to make sure that the culture which produced those 'influential' structures will continue and will not die. This way of reasoning is reminiscent of a rationale based on passing on an inheritance to children, but in a more abstract way.

The hope is that children will make good use of such an inheritance, have a better life and will continue to pass on things and ideas which are precious to us. Although this attitude may seem considerate, in fact is about making sure that future generations will subscribe to the same set of values as we do. It is about cultural continuation. I am not sure whether such thinking allows flexibility for those who come in the future to assign different meanings in the same way as the incoming community did when they settled in the Gorge. In Ironbridge there are proponents who strongly support the existing conservation process despite its bureaucratic and conceptual flaws (see p. 220-226).. The difference between the incoming community and the original community with regard to such restrictions is that the former made a conscious choice to support the conservation movement by buying a property in a conservation area. The latter had those rules imposed on them.

Provisions concerning inclusion of local communities and indigenous peoples in the World Heritage process are recent developments, and although the WH Committee has been encouraging the State Parties to include relevant communities in the World Heritage process reports commissioned by the IUCN, carried out by Larsen, indicate that human rights issues are often not respected. Larsen also points out that the Advisory Bodies evaluating such nominations, for obvious reasons, have no legal mandate to engage with concerned communities in a given State Party. When evaluating nominations, Advisory Bodies interact only with groups invited to participate in the process by the State Party, who officially oversee and finance such advisory missions. This also applies to reactive monitoring missions triggered by article 176 of the OG.

Ethical concerns regarding the implementation of the World Heritage process in Ironbridge mirror dissonance between different communities and their approach to the conservation discourse in other cultural contexts. There are layers of ownership in such a relationship with a WHS: the first is direct ownership based on evidenced ancestral links; the second

pertains to national belonging nurtured by formal and informal education, whilst the third layer of ownership is that enabled through the channel of the WH system as a human right. From heritage rights being spatially limited to nation states, they have now been expanded beyond national boundaries.

9.4 Evolving heritage practice? On the issue of authenticity

Ever since Ironbridge became formally protected it has been subject to strict conservation rules. Although there are records of how these rules were negotiated by the local residents, legal implementation of the conservation process, together with formal education, which has been in place for the last 40 years, has resulted in strong support for the preservation of authenticity in the Gorge. Communities in Ironbridge are well aware that the place has undergone changes which have enhanced its aesthetic value. The incoming community moved to a heritage site, a memorial to the Industrial Revolution, a monument which they look after, not a living industrial place. It has been argued that through the rigid protection of authenticity understood as genuineness, we are focusing on the past of a site, not its present. This research reveals that maintaining authenticity in Ironbridge means focusing on the future of this site, which it is envisioned will remain in a relatively unchanged state for many hundred years, possibly 'for eternity'. This state of status quo can only be achieved through the conservation system, providing that it is consulted with the local community.

Conversely, research conducted by Högberg and his colleagues amongst heritage workers on how heritage professionals perceive the future of their profession indicates that most heritage professionals would struggle to envisage how their work will impact on the future the historic environment. Högberg, and his colleagues assert that there is a gap between our

current heritage practices and those of the future, and there is no methodology for how to bridge that gap (Högberg, et al. 2018). Indeed an (unrecorded) interview conducted with a local conservation officer revealed her uncertainty about the future of her particular strand of the profession. It was made clear to me that the professional side of this conservation officer's workload boils down to approving applications concerning incremental changes in window frames and gutters, for example. This technical work relies on the implementation of bureaucratic procedures and allows very little room for intellectual musings on the concept of World Heritage and universal values. It seems that through these procedures local residents can ensure the preservation of the real 'things', and their interpretation of authenticity corresponds with its definition in the Venice Charter. Although there are instances where the community resists a static approach to conservation, the heavily criticised idea of freezing the landscape has gained considerable support in the Gorge. It mirrors in many aspects the core of the European conservation philosophy enshrined in the Venice Charter. ICOMOS charters and policies on authenticity have moved towards encouraging progress in heritage-sensitive areas with some exceptions: the Declaration of San Antonio (see p. 70). (

Qualitative research on Blists Hill shows that the place has lost its authenticity embodied in its spirit of place, the integrity of its physical attributes and authentic design. Although spiritual meanings have started to appear in ICOMOS doctrinal texts (Zang et al.), such as the Xi' An and Quebec declarations (see chapter three), relatively little attention has been given to the authenticity of the people who interpret heritage sites in relation to their direct evidenced association with the site.

9.5 A journey of a heritage professional from awareness raising to facilitator and technical assistant. Ironbridge and global communities

Management of World Heritage properties is regulated by national heritage protection laws. In Ironbridge the process of universalisation of the post-industrial landscape was implemented in stages. Firstly, at the national level by granting legal protection and consequently proposing its inscription on the WHL. Raising awareness amongst the general public was important in order to communicate the universal values assigned to a WHS, as well as the economic benefits and pride which such status could bring to the local communities. Thus, awareness raising about the concept of World Heritage and the direct community benefits linked to protection outcomes (UNESCO 2011) has been an intrinsic part of the implementation of the Convention. Educational campaigns would be instigated by government representatives who attended WH Committee meetings since they were the most likely to grasp the evolving philosophical premises of the World Heritage concept.

Measures introduced by the IUCN and ICCROM aimed to reverse the negative effects of top-down conservation practices, which saw communities lose control over their own resources and often resulted in erosion of traditional management systems, which consequently could lead to their impoverishment. It seems that Advisory Bodies have been working on reversing the negative effects of the legal protection systems, especially in places where traditional custodianship was still evident. These measures were also introduced to mitigate conflicts between local people's traditional knowledge and knowledge based on narrow, focused scientific approaches (IUCN1994, 4). Hence, management practices were diverging from the sole authority of state-appointed experts, who informed local communities after the inscription about the SOUV, to a value-based approach which treats communities as stakeholders (those affected by conservation

practices). Indeed the value-based approach is now the preferred management system within the World Heritage process. This approach relies on management tools which aim to alleviate future conflicts between local people and heritage experts. Hence, those affected are included in heritage impact assessments, consultations, surveys, and characterisation studies reviewed elsewhere in this thesis.

When the category of cultural landscape was introduced in the World Heritage system (see p. 71) there were already 377 properties inscribed on the WHL, and Ironbridge was one of them. In such cases communities inhabiting WHSs were often subjected to narratives which they could not or, more importantly, did not want to relate to. Thus, the WH Committee introduced a provision in the OG which encouraged State Parties to involve local people in the nomination process (UNESCO 2005, art 123). The participation of local people in the nomination process is seen as enabling them to have shared responsibility, but also to ensure that local knowledge and use of resources are respected (UNESCO 2011d, 52). The UNESCO manual on preparing nomination dossiers recommends considering different stakeholders who can form a nomination team: “The range of contributors should reflect the range of values of the nominated property, and ideally should include experts who have some understanding of the property in an international context” (UNESCO 2011d, 51).

The extract from the manual cited above mentions the relevance of experts with an international understanding of the property. The role of experts is pivotal in the World Heritage process, especially in the drafting of nomination dossiers as well as in the preparation of management plans. This self-perpetuating system is highly dependent on expertise. The findings from the interviews show the flaws in the system when external consultants, often detached from the realities of local peoples and their environments, produce management plans on their behalf. The issue of the consultation process

accompanying the management plan and revision of the conservation area boundaries was critiqued in the interviews as not giving a voice to the local people.

Global developments within the World Heritage management system can be studied through the microcosm of Ironbridge Gorge. In Ironbridge as in other places, as discussed in chapter three, after 1992 the common practice of interaction with local communities would boil down to measuring their awareness of the moral obligation to preserve places and objects considered by experts as heritage. The first management plan for Ironbridge Gorge was accompanied by awareness-raising campaigns which aimed to preserve the character of the area and to reconcile tourism pressures with community interests. Policy documents pertaining to the management of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS reviewed in this thesis indicate that communities ought to be constantly educated about the benefits of conservation of attributes of the OUV, and to this day it is believed that more could be done to communicate to the local communities the benefits of protecting the site's OUV (Telford and Wrekin Council 2017). In the global heritage discourse, the movement of indigenous peoples has embraced the idea of direct linkages between current populations and remains from the past. Intellectual heritage rights and heritage claims of those communities are represented as operating often within two different management realms: intellectual and legal. Intellectual claims of diaspora communities can also be accompanied by legal rights to the disposition of the land/objects they claim ancestral links to. In many cases such communities have no legal standing, which consequently translates into no heritage rights (Orser 2007, 102), as opposed to indigenous peoples' sites managed in some places within the combined framework of both intellectual and legal rights. Those rights are regulated by national legal frameworks, and in places where indigenous peoples' rights are politically taken into consideration there are examples of policies where such sites are legitimately identified by indigenous communities themselves (Australia

ICOMOS 2001). Heritage literature presents case studies of distinctive groups of communities being granted either intellectual or legal powers within dominant community groups which previously dominated interpretation and access to their heritage. Through activism and resilience groups such as indigenous, descendant and diaspora differentiated themselves from the generic term 'communities'. In the World Heritage process indigenous peoples are legally defined and have only recently been singled out in the OG (UNESCO 2015). The review of historical developments within advisory bodies presented in this thesis suggests that although indigenous peoples were formally included in the OG in 2015, discussions surrounding the role of indigenous peoples in conservation led to the inclusion of local communities in the World Heritage. However, the term local community was more applicable to societies who were detached from their local environments through the heritage process, or indeed to local communities that were not directly associated with certain sites prior to heritage enquiries. The common denominator between diaspora, descendant and indigenous communities is that they feel they are personally attached to cultural places which are subject to heritage protection. In practice these communities will often have different conceptualisations of their 'heritage' as opposed to heritage workers. Their ability to make their version of heritage prevail depends on their ability to negotiate their political powers. Analysis of the representation of communities reveals a relationship between these communities and the type of management systems in place, which reflects what powers communities are given in the formal conservation system of protected places. Within those management structures communities can be subjected to top-down policies, in which they are merely consulted or informed about already drafted documents. This management model reflects the origins of the Convention, based on European conservation practice, which assumed that there is a discontinuity between WHSs and their local custodians. Another level of incorporation of local communities is genuine power sharing

between communities and experts. Examples of such management systems are reflected in IUCN governance structures (see chapter three). The third level of representation is when communities take precedence, or are given priority in conservation, even when their decisions are made against scholarly evidence.

A living heritage approach facilitates the inclusion of continuity in the realm of heritage management . Poullos argues that the nature of continuity determines the prominence of a certain category of community over others. If we follow his logic, continuity should be primarily associated with the original function of a site, seen as the core/root of a living heritage site (see p. 40-42, 46-47). This management model can be tailored to accommodate descendant communities considered as major carriers of knowledge about their cultural places. A living heritage approach represents a shift in power sharing, which is also practiced in academic research projects in which knowledge of academic techniques and methods is utilised to facilitate research initiated by communities to understand the connection between living people and their ancestral places.

This research shows that what communities regard as heritage is tightly linked to scholarly enquiry and the heritage process.

10. CONCLUSION CHAPTER

This chapter revisits the research questions in order to provide a summary of the main findings. Conclusions from the quantitative and qualitative research combined with the policy review serve as the basis for suggesting the possible theoretical, as well as practical, implications of the thesis. This chapter includes some final comments and identifies the limitations of this research as well as the possibilities for further study.

Main findings:

The thesis has attempted to answer the question of whether communities can contribute to the construction of a statement of OUV and its transmission and what the conceptual frameworks and practical implications are of such inclusion. To answer this overarching question, four subsidiary questions were addressed in the research. The main findings that relate to each subsidiary question are outlined below.

Identification of communities through the concept of cognitive ownership

The term ‘community’ has never been defined in the World Heritage Convention and its OG, and in the WH system its vagueness is marked in contrast to the well-defined term ‘indigenous peoples’. Taking this into consideration together with an in-depth policy review of the WH system, empirical evidence collected in this thesis indicates that meaningful inclusion of undefined communities in the WH system is paying lip service to the provisions on inclusion of local communities in the implementation of the WHC. This is because when the generic term ‘local community’ is applied at site level in formal implementation of the Convention it conflates different communities, thus, it does not acknowledge cognitive differences to reflect on what constitutes OUV.

The literature review examined previous research which showed that there was no similar scholarly work on the identification of local communities. Moreover, theoretical inconsistency is evident across the field. Contributions to research projects and governance of cultural sites made by indigenous peoples, descendant communities and diaspora communities are presented in this thesis to illustrate a distinction made in the literature between communities who have direct evidenced claims towards cultural places identified by experts as heritage and those who do not claim that direct relationship. European conservation practice often addressed local communities in the context of education (see p. 153) . In contrast, communities with an evidenced relationship with the site appear to have gained different rights in the heritage process, as the literature and policy review suggests. Therefore the latter are usually presented in contrast with a heritage community which emerged as a result of a heritage process instigated by education.

This thesis addresses the gap in theoretical understanding identification of local communities regardless of their direct and indirect cognitive associations with a WHS. The methodology used is based on an anthropological approach to conservation looking at cognitive landscapes (see p. 126) Mapping those landscapes and defining local communities through their actual input into the daily shaping and maintenance of physical and immaterial attributes of the OUV is the indicator for the identification of self-defined local communities. The qualitative research shows that communities who do not inhabit the landscape will struggle to understand the dynamics and problems the local community face on a day-to-day basis in terms of conservation of their homes and surroundings.

The cognitive ownership concept (Boyd and Cotter 1996) was applied as an overarching framework throughout the thesis for the identification of communities in relation to a WHS, offering an alternative to the usual bureaucratic approach based on a stakeholder rationale (Lochrie 2016, 63).

Findings from the anthropological research in Ironbridge revealed that communities define themselves and there are commonalities in attitudes towards the WHS amongst participants from the incoming and original communities respectively.

This research supports earlier studies (Cohen 1985) which confirm that communities define themselves in contrast to each other. Although it was not the intention of this research to look into the issue of otherness in the context of OUV, the empirical evidence from the qualitative research shows dissonance between communities in relation to narratives assigned to a WHS in the formal nomination process(see p. 246-247) he intimate insight into the dynamics of the otherness gathered through interviews raises a question about the validity of the concept of ‘universal value’ and how it is understood by communities inhabiting WHSs. The evidence shows that self-identified communities have a different cognitive ownership of the same landscape and through that ownership otherness is at play, conceived and perpetuated by communities themselves regardless of their common national identity.

Having learned via interviews and observations the application of the cognitive ownership concept in practice, I moved to the second phase of the research, which aimed to look at global representations of communities within the scope of intellectual as well the governing powers they managed to negotiate in the WH system.

What powers are communities allowed in the World Heritage system?

The developments within the WH Committee meetings and at site level in Ironbridge provided the empirical evidence collected for this thesis which shows that awareness-raising activities have been the cornerstone of the WHC. Local communities were originally treated as passive participants in engagement activities and educational

programmes. Concurrently, global development in nature conservation reviewed in this thesis shows a different trend, where local people (in particular indigenous and traditional communities) were recognised for their knowledge in conservation of their habitats. IUCN's philosophy was based on the recognition of not only legal claims but intellectual expertise of local traditional custodians (see p. 61, 66). Hence, raising of awareness pertaining to heritage conservation amongst local communities is more evident in relation to cultural sites. Inclusion of provisions concerning the 'involvement' of local communities and of indigenous peoples in the WH system theoretically changed the relationship between heritage workers and communities living within or in the proximity of a WHS. However, when this policy change came into operation the Ironbridge Gorge was already a WHS. The findings from the study confirm that when communities are not involved in the identification of the OUV, meanings attached to it in the formal nomination process have to be communicated to them. They will either absorb those meanings or negotiate them, and consequently they will remain active or passive recipients of conservation programmes respectively. Inclusion of local communities and recently of indigenous peoples in the WH process was preceded by the development of scholarly, focused programmes which aimed to develop expertise in how to marry European principles of authenticity with traditional conservation techniques of living places, evolving cultural landscapes and religious places often located outside Europe. This is exemplified in ICCROM's activities focused on living cultures (see p. 74-75). Similarly, ICOMOS debates widened the definition of heritage, reflected in charters and other doctrinal developments reviewed in this thesis (see p. 66-74, 82-90) Evidence from the in-depth archival review demonstrates that case studies and developments aiming to widen conceptual frameworks of heritage were driven by the binary of the European monumental conservation system contrasted with living heritage

pertaining to immaterial culture and the recognition of 'spirit of place' derived from non-European cultural contexts.

Global developments within World Heritage management can be studied through the empirical research conducted in Ironbridge Gorge, which offers an insight into what powers local communities gained in this European WHS. As indicated in the WH discourse, in Ironbridge the heritage process is being implemented as a one-way endeavour. Despite the aforementioned inclusion of local people in the WH process, the common practice of interaction with local communities often boils down to measuring their awareness of their moral obligation to preserve places and objects considered by heritage workers as heritage. Qualitative research indicates that within the existing management system local communities have restricted agency when it comes to decisions concerning conservation. Despite this local residents are actively contributing to the transmission of the OUV through conservation efforts, using their own financial resources to maintain the historic landscape of Ironbridge Gorge.

World Heritage through the lens of local communities in the Ironbridge Gorge

Statistical data from the surveys shows that despite educational campaigns and awareness raising activities on World Heritage only half of the respondents agree that UNESCO status has influenced the way they appreciate their local heritage or changed the way they understand it, and one third (34%) of respondents believe that UNESCO status affects their lives in any way. The majority of respondents (79%) responded that the Ironbridge Gorge gets better protection because of its international status.

Qualitative research indicates that although local communities do not have a direct input into the management vision for the WHS (except possibly in communicating their concerns

via a councillor and in consulting already drafted policy documents), they actively maintain and transmit the OUV by adhering to the national legal requirements. Findings from the survey show that 83% of participants agree with the idea of the preservation of monuments in their original condition. Strong support for conservation in Ironbridge is backed by personal beliefs that the place carries historical importance, which was mentioned by respondents most frequently (the ratio of views of original to incoming residents was approximately 25:78). The majority of surveyed respondents 89 out of 122 gave the grand narrative as a justification for what they consider important about their local heritage: “for the future understanding”; “the physical layout of Ironbridge is unique and couldn't be recreated. Preserving the past informs the future”; “our heritage is important, it is the root of how we developed and how we were proud of our success”; “It can be a catalyst for us to continue to develop inventions”. Equally, 41 respondents consider the Bridge as the most important monument, followed by Blists Hill mentioned by 34 participants, which has no OUV value. Only 3% mentioned the furnace.

Pride and identity was identified by 24 respondents out of 123 and it was the second justification given as to why the place is important for personal or community reasons: “sense of history brings community together”; “family heritage, and the fact that a lot of other residents also have family heritage, making a more stable community”; “integration to the Telford Community”; “so kids know how great gran lived”. This was followed by arguments supporting economy: “it should help the local economy” was a reason indicated by 17 respondents (72: 25 approximate ratio incoming to original).

Statistical data indicates that ‘freezing’ of the post-industrial landscape in Ironbridge has had strong support amongst respondents. Overwhelmingly, places identified by local people as the most important local heritage are physical attributes of the OUV.

Nevertheless, the qualitative research gives an insight into when local communities tend to negotiate a World Heritage narrative. Those critical approaches towards the authorised version of local heritage take place when different communities interact with the WHS through the prism of personal connection with their ancestral landscape or critical scholarly research. The outcomes of such negotiations are exemplified in disputes concerning conservation issues and attitudes expressed towards preservation of authenticity of the WHS. The heritage community in Ironbridge fluently uses conservation language, as they are often affected by conservation rules and they are regularly vocal about their attitude towards the preservation of heritage.

There are examples presented elsewhere in this thesis in which communities with a direct link with a heritage site were able to influence the system of heritage bureaucracy (see p. 25, 36-37). In Ironbridge empirical data suggests that a significant number of respondents who interact with their historic landscape through the prism of its national importance, or indeed international significance, are often disappointed with the current heritage protection system, which fails to incorporate their views concerning the place they live in and care about. The analysis chapter pertaining to issues of management shows that some residents feel like 'impotent' participants in the process of heritage bureaucracy. The findings indicate that although local communities were not involved in the process of constructing the OUV, many participants interact with the local landscape through the prism of its national importance. Those communities do not need to be empowered in the heritage system of governmentality but on the contrary they feel that they have a better understanding of their historic local landscape and how it should be cared for than those trained in heritage conservation.

How the differing interests between the existing diversity of identities linked to heritage can create dissonance in contemporary local communities and what impact that has on the transmission of its meanings

Qualitative research points to a pattern of divergence between meanings and attitudes, towards the WHS in Ironbridge expressed by self-defined communities. Those different attitudes are based on their often evidenced associations with the industrial culture of the area.

The dissonance in attitudes towards the WHS is supported by the evidence gathered by this thesis, which brings new findings indicating a correlation between the composition of heritage communities and forms of engagement between heritage professionals and the society. For example, heritage narratives presented through formal education bond communities who, although not directly related to the original function of a WHS, support the heritage project (I would like to stress that I am referring to the construct of OUV in relation to monuments, not homes). This kind of attachment has been described in the thesis as a ‘monument feeling (see p.46, 184)There are national/universal narratives communicated by the heritage workers through different media outlets present in the Gorge. The qualitative research shows that the participants from the original community are aware of the national significance of their historic landscape. Some of them take up research into the local area, or volunteer for the local historical societies. The Coracle Society or The Anstice in Madeley, discussed elsewhere in this thesis, generate narratives which according to the division local/global would fall into the category of local as opposed to World Heritage. Those ‘local narratives’ are rather social history which original communities can directly relate to. The empirical research shows that the original communities interact with the WHS through the prism of social history, events and stories

which are in their living memory. Examples are given in this thesis which indicate that some of the respondents from the original community feel strongly that the values enshrined in the SOUV do not represent how they understand their industrial past (see p. 180). They often negotiate ‘the official’ World Heritage version of their local historic landscape.

Original communities seem to have different attitudes towards cultural places and structures located in their local area. This direct relationship with the continuous original function of the site is what differentiates the original community from the incoming community. With this in mind, a more nuanced understanding of the role of heritage communities is required in the WH process in contrast to communities with a direct evidenced relationship with such sites.

10.1 Theoretical implications of the findings

The microcosm of the case study provides an in-depth understanding of the implementation of the WH Convention at a World Heritage Site in England

Although there has been a great deal of research on communities, what is not known is how local communities are identified in the WH process. What powers are communities allowed in the World Heritage system and what meanings do they attach to a WHS already inscribed without their prior involvement? And how do those meanings assigned in the formal nomination process differ from the attitudes of local communities?

This research identified a gap in the practical and theoretical application of meaningful inclusion of local communities in the implementation of the WHC at site level and in its general understanding. Theoretical implications derive from both literature and policy reviews, and they address the identification of OUV and recognition of the role of local

communities in the maintenance of authenticity and the management of the physical and immaterial attributes of a WHS. Representations of the indigenous peoples in archaeological and heritage-related projects in the WH discourse presented in this thesis indicate a great deal of research into the theoretical and practical implications of their role in the heritage system. This thesis makes a specific and particularly meaningful theoretical contribution to the field based on the findings from the anthropological study conducted in the Ironbridge Gorge, which relates to the attitudes of self-identified communities towards a WHS in a European context. The communities of Ironbridge would fall into the generic category of local communities whose role in the WHC has not been researched comprehensively. This has been confirmed in the results of the second cycle of the periodic review indicating the struggle of site managers with how to put into practice not inclusion but engagement of local communities in the conservation of their local sites (UNESCO 2015, 249-252). The uniqueness and the originality of this research programme lies in the contextualisation of a microcosm of the local communities from a European WHS within the international discourse of communities with a direct, evidenced relationship with a cultural place (in particular indigenous peoples). It is demonstrated throughout the thesis that an understanding of the application of provisions concerning inclusion of both local communities and indigenous peoples in the WHC is a fruitful way to assess the dissonance in this realm at both global and local levels. It is hoped that through the critical interrogation of the representations of communities in the WH discourse, and in Ironbridge, an in-depth understanding of the dissonance between self-defined communities provides new knowledge on conceptual obstacles hindering meaningful inclusion of local people regardless of their personal or impersonal relationship with a WHS.

The purpose of this study is to develop a methodological approach that can provide guidance for fieldworkers and site managers on how to apply the cognitive approach model

in understanding who the local community is and what the boundaries are between local communities and other communities. Application of the cognitive ownership concept has enabled the breaking of new ground in our understanding of local communities in relation to a WHS. Thus, this research addresses the gap in existing knowledge about identification of local communities. Empirical study in Ironbridge indicates that the cognitive ownership of the OUV is shaped by the different circumstances which made those communities. These are guided by social and cultural parameters which are fluid. Evidence to support this view is found in the qualitative research, which shows that communities position and identify themselves as original or incoming, regardless of which settlement they come from. The dissonance in cognitive ownership determines when, why and how communities absorb, negotiate and transmit OUV. The findings from my fieldwork suggest that the original community does not interact with their local landscape through the prism of a WHS and the meanings this status entails. There are examples when the original community in the interviews negotiated meanings, assigned to their ancestral place by experts in the SOUV. Moreover, meanings enshrined in the OUV do not represent continuity of ancestral landscape and its industrial reality as understood by some of the local residents. Therefore, the SOUV altered the real time-depth of the historic landscape by concentrating on its scientific and historical significance and ranking it above the direct attachment which can be experienced through cognitive ownership.

The OG to the Convention together with examples presented in this thesis demonstrate that the meanings local communities attach to cultural places can be accommodated within the WH system. This thesis demonstrates that local communities can have a cognitive relationship based on an evidenced connection with a WHS and they contribute to a continuation of its past functions. Thus, the contribution of these communities in the

construction of OUV in theory could apply not only to the social value but also other values traditionally assigned by experts.

This research did not provide one answer to the overarching research question and although it brought us closer to an understanding of the role of local communities in the process of construction of SOUVs, it also posed more questions. In theory local communities can take part in the identification of a potential World Heritage property, providing that meanings which derive from personal associations which relate to social history, local memory can be attached to values outlined in the inscription criteria. Because of the differing cognitive ownerships local communities will have with potential WHS meanings they attach to their local landscape these can not always be linked with values assigned in an SOUV. Thus, there will be a void between what is internationally significant and what is important at a local level. Fixing values in the SOUV does not help in the integration of local communities in the World Heritage process, because it makes for a one-way endeavour relying on raising awareness and education rather than engaging in mutual dialogues between heritage professionals and local communities. The OG to the Convention distinguish indigenous peoples and local communities in their provisions on identification of OUV (UNESCO 2015, art), and both communities with a direct and an indirect relationship with a heritage site are given equal footing when it comes to identification of its OUV. This is because through a universalising narrative and education, the authors of the Convention envisaged the elimination of what Lowenthal calls “myopic rivalry” driven by “tribal demons” (Lowenthal 1996, 173-174). The empirical study of the implementation of the Convention in the Ironbridge Gorge provides an in-depth understanding of how the Convention works in practice within its original European management model based on the assumption that “first-comer claims...are not less

anachronistic than other heritages; the identities they compel are newly constructed” (Lowenthal 1996, 182).

Indeed the heritage literature reviewed suggests that despite universalising policies exercised by the World Heritage Committee, indigenous peoples campaigned with determination for their rights to be recognised as those which are differentiated from the generic notion of local community.

Although research in Ironbridge suggests that there is an undercurrent feeling amongst the incoming community that the social past and the material culture is directly linked to the original community, the findings from the interviews show that the original community does not make the claim for special recognition within the current management structure of the WHS, unlike indigenous peoples or descendant communities in examples presented elsewhere in this thesis. Cognitive landscapes in Ironbridge do not compete but rather co-exist with each other. This research provides an in-depth understanding of how the local communities see themselves and each other in relation to a WHS. The analysis section of this thesis can help us to learn about the dynamics surrounding attitudes towards a WHS, which can be applied to the understanding of migrant communities, incomers in relation to those with direct attachments to the original function of a cultural site.

10.2 Theoretical impediments in the meaningful inclusion of communities in the World heritage process

Examples from the heritage literature presented elsewhere in this thesis show that communities can identify, interpret and research their past. However, the empirical study indicates that there are conceptual problems which create technical obstacles within the

World Heritage process which hinder the possibility of giving communities an equal footing with professionals in the World Heritage process (see table 3).

The retrospective statements of OUV had to be done in light of returning to the values and attributes identified in the original inscription criteria. Determination of the attributes seems to be a key matter. The SOUV refers to the values that were recognised by the WH Committee on the date of inscription of the site, and identification of these values and attributes are key elements in the monitoring process and in general in the World Heritage protection system. Thus the current system is based on the premise that the meanings under which a site is inscribed will continue to be passed from generation to generation regardless of whether they are assigned by experts or concerned communities. What research in Ironbridge demonstrates is that through cognitive ownership different overlying landscapes can be identified. Those meanings and interests that self-defined community groups attach to their places run parallel; they can influence one another but they do not merge. The microcosm of Ironbridge demonstrates a phenomenon, identified in the policy chapter, where independently functioning paradigms, the traditional one derived from European philosophy and the paradigm of cultural relativity inspired by indigenous peoples and multiculturalism, coexist at present. These paradigms are mutually exclusive as they are based on conceptually different premises. Thus it is not known what the operational validity is in the future of the provisions made in paragraph 12 of the OG (UNESCO 2017) concerning communities being part of the identification, management and conservation of their heritage. Providing that in the WH system communities directly associated with the original use of the site can contribute to the formulation of its OUV, if there is no evidence of such continuity the SOUV is constructed by experts in heritage, and through scholarship, comparative analysis, global analysis, the site's significance is elevated to a universal status. The WH nomination is only possible when elaborate

diplomatic and bureaucratic procedures are followed together with political conjuncture (James and Winter 2017). The Convention, from its inception, was designed for professionals to take care of the identification, protection, conservation and presentation of World Heritage properties and its implementation is becoming increasingly complex. The empirical research demonstrates that development of management plans for WHSs or conservation documents requires highly specialised knowledge on how to interpret relevant policies and conservation doctrines to protect attributes which have been identified in the SOUV. Although it is considered to be a good practice, preparation of strategic documents with the involvement of the local communities, experts (or rather consultants) tasked with the preparation of such plans are increasingly sourced from outside the given local area. Thus it is common that nomination dossiers are being prepared under the guidance of specialised external experts who guide the inscription process in countries which lack professional capacity in this field (Cossons 2016).

The current World Heritage system encourages State Parties to include communities in the identification of their heritage, but in practice, the Ironbridge Gorge case study shows that the heritage protection system in a Western democracy can fail to represent local communities' understandings of their historic landscapes. Hence earlier research presented elsewhere in this thesis pertaining to a living heritage approach (see p. 40-42, 46-47) represents an important step, in the conservation system, towards the meaningful inclusion of core communities in the heritage conversation. The findings from the empirical study indicate that once heritagisation takes place through the implementation of national monument protection laws, the original function of the site changes from industrial production to tourism industry. Paradoxically, in such cases the original community for a World Heritage Site is the incoming community not the people who worked in the furnaces, pits and factories.

The findings from the research conducted in Ironbridge indicate that the living heritage approach can be applied in places that are not managed strictly as heritage sites, like for example small, homogenous ecclesiastical communities in Meteora (Poulios 2014b). Application of this management model would be more challenging in cultural places with a greater complexity of self-defined communities who perceive the same historic landscape through the lens of cognitive ownership. The cognitive ownership approach validates all landscapes as equally important, those of incoming as well as original communities, because they reflect the evolving nature of the place and its use. Furthermore this approach allows the associative meanings and so-called local value which is social history linked with recent rather than distant past to be acknowledged.

The empirical research shows that preservation of authenticity is perceived amongst respondents as instrumental to ensure continuity. So preservation of authenticity is about sustaining the future not focusing on the past. Some of the respondents argued, like post-processual scholars, that authenticity is not recoverable and they wanted their local area to evolve and reflect their presence in the same way as their predecessors. These responses when contrasted with the quantitative data obtained from the surveys show that there is a discrepancy because a quarter of those participating in the study would like to see the WHS with as little change as possible and the overwhelming majority subscribe to the idea of preservation of monuments in their original condition. The case study indicates that the European fascination with relics has strong support in the Ironbridge Gorge despite the lack of consistency in the implementation of conservation rules by the governing authorities.

10.3 Practical implications of the research

This research shows that current system of democracy exercised through bureaucracy is not representing local communities' attitudes to their heritage. Cognitive approach can be applied through ethnographical fieldwork which may involve several researchers to collect the data, depending on the capacity of the workforce the process of data collection can take from one to three months. Although qualitative and quantitative research complement each other, there is less control on sampling when conducting surveys on the internet. Thus, quantitative data on its own is not enough and if used solely can lead to erroneous assumptions as it elicits responses from people who are already interested in the subject. When it comes to qualitative data it is much easier to distinguish cognitive differences. The outcome of testing the cognitive ownership approach in Ironbridge Gorge proved to be successful and it provides not only understanding for heritage professionals of the existing attitudes of local communities to their heritage but it is a platform for local communities which enables exchange of knowledge between communities and heritage workers. This approach could be taken further to the next stage of research following results presented in this thesis.

10.4 Summary

This thesis, has endeavoured to make a contribution to the study of local communities and their role in the evolving WH concept. This research identified more questions which due to research ramifications could not be addressed. The findings from both empirical study in Ironbridge and policy review show that local communities have been conflated in heritage policies in the UK context as well as in other parts of the world. Anthropological study of communities in the Ironbridge Gorge provides evidence that communities identify

themselves in relation to a WHS and those self-identified communities will play different roles in the transmission, absorption and negotiation of the OUV. Formal and informal education contributes to the creation of a heritage community, and although its role in the transmission of the OUV in Ironbridge has been investigated and shed light on its role in the WH process it has also opened up new avenues for future research. Therefore, the findings of this thesis suggest that one should look closer at how to include self-defined communities in the WH process, especially if they were not part of the identification of the OUV. Since this thesis is not based on comparison of different WHSs, it is impossible to anticipate whether management systems of sites inscribed with prior community involvement are managed in such a way that communities transmit OUV and take ownership of the concept. To understand this relationship focused scholarly research is required on how indigenous peoples and descendant communities related directly to the original function of a site can influence the process of construction of OUV.

In the Ironbridge Gorge further study with focus on attitudes of self-defined descendant communities living outside the locality of the WHS, as well as understanding how new generations born in the Gorge understand the concept of OUV, would contribute to the development of a more robust framework on the identification of local communities in relation to their intellectual contribution to the interpretation and governance of a WHS.

The notion of OUV in its search for objective truth and free exchange of ideas and knowledge has to reflect the main principles of the UNESCO Constitution (UNESCO 2018, art.1):

To build peace by diffusion of knowledge through assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of works of art and monuments of history and science.

This research comes to the conclusion that in order to make a meaningful inclusion of local communities in relation to the concept of OUV different cognitive landscapes have to be taken into consideration and dissonance between them ought to be addressed and better understood. When communities are not involved in the identification of OUV, the community who takes ownership of the construct emerges through education and different forms of engagement between local people and professionals. This thesis has endeavoured to provide a detailed analysis of the current World Heritage system with a focus on local communities. It offers a critical reflection on how the World Heritage system represents local communities using a European case study. This research poses a fundamental question for those who are involved in the conceptualization and implementation of the evolving World Heritage system: is what has been achieved in the last forty years is what they envisioned and what they hoped for?

WORLD HERITAGE

5. Justification

The Ironbridge Gorge in general, and the five areas to which specific attention has been drawn in this report in particular, form a cultural property which has a unique place in the history of the world.

The centre of the Gorge, the Ironbridge itself, is a unique achievement, the first successful large-scale structural use of cast-iron. It is a monument to the creative genius of Thomas Farnolls Pritchard, who conceived it, and of Abraham Darby III who built it. It provided inspiration for a whole generation of artists and writers from many parts of the world who came to admire it in the late eighteenth century. It is the direct ancestor of every large metal-framed structure, of the Brooklyn Bridge, the Sydney Harbour Bridge and of the bridge which crosses the Bosphorus, as well as of every skyscraper.

The Old Furnace in Coalbrookdale is testimony to one of the most influential innovations in metallurgical science, the first successful use of mineral fuel in the smelting of iron ore, a feat of imagination which made possible the great increase in the world-wide production of iron and steel, which has helped to transform the economies of so many countries during the last two centuries.

The Hay Inclined Plane may similarly be seen as a feat of daring and imagination, which demonstrated that engineering science could effectively be used to solve the problems encountered in the construction of transport systems. It was the forerunner of such remarkable twentieth century structures as the inclined plane at Ronquiere in Belgium, and that at Krasnoyarsk on the Yenesi Navigation in the Soviet Union.

Many achievements of those who have worked in the Ironbridge Gorge have influenced the development of other countries. Steam engines, bridges and such machines as sugar rolling equipment have been supplied from the ironworks of the Gorge to many overseas countries. Iron pots cast at Coalbrookdale have been located in Hawaii, New Zealand and other parts of the Pacific. Tiles from the factories in Jackfield were used in the construction of many public buildings in the former British Dominions.

Yet the Ironbridge Gorge comprised more than a select number of monuments which are of importance in the history of technology. The whole area, its roads, its railways, its shops, its inns, its intricate networks of footpaths and flights of steps, its squatter cottages, its terraces of workers' houses, its ironmasters' mansions, its church and chapels, schools and institutes, is evidence that successful

industrial innovations are not the isolated feats of outstanding individuals, but the achievements of whole communities. It is an area which as a total experience has much to teach future generations about the origins of industrial progress, and of the consequences of such progress for future development.

The monuments of the Ironbridge Gorge are located in a setting of extraordinary natural beauty, where it is possible to observe the close relationships between human settlement and achievement and the geological resources of the area, and the resources of its woodland. The Gorge is an area which people would wish to visit, even if it were not rich in industrial monuments. It is a place which has remarkable potential for educational developments.

The survival of so many monuments of the Industrial Revolution in the Ironbridge Gorge is to large extent fortuitous. Many would have been destroyed in an area which enjoyed greater prosperity in the early twentieth century. But the current interest in the monuments of the gorge, and their current state of preservation are not matters of chance. Since 1967 the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust has concerned itself with the conservation for posterity of these monuments, and with their interpretation to a wide public. The Gorge is not simply a repository of sites of great historical interests of education. The attractiveness of the area to scholars from all parts of the world who wants to study industrial history, and to people from many countries who are concerned with the establishment of industrial museums, shows that its significance is internationally recognised.

The events of the eighteenth century in the Ironbridge Gorge were part of that Industrial Revolution, that wholesale reorganisation of the ways in which men and women earn their livings, which has been Britain's unique contribution to world history, the Old Furnace at Coalbrookdale, and the whole complex landscape of which they form part, are not just fragments of Britain's past, along with castles, cathedrals and stately homes, but a vital part of the history of mankind.

APPENDIX II: Interview Participant Information

Information on the research project

The Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage at the University of Birmingham is carrying out a research project, ***Communicating World Heritage: Meanings, Values and Practices amongst Communities of Interests***. This academic inquiry features four coordinated PhDs undertaking pioneering research on the meanings and values of World Heritage focusing on the Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire. I am a doctoral student investigating the perception of local communities with regards to the World Heritage Site at Ironbridge Gorge. The purpose of this study is to find out how local people understand the site and how this fits into the concept of World Heritage.

My study aims to capture the different interests local people have in relation to the heritage of Ironbridge Gorge. I am also investigating what are the most important places of heritage, within the Ironbridge Gorge in the view of local people. Finally, I will investigate how values assigned to the Ironbridge Gorge by local communities reflect UNESCO's approach to valuing heritage. The outcome of this study will provide a better understanding of the complexity of values attached to the Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site. The project also aims to address the potential gap between local understanding of a World Heritage Site and that of heritage governing administrating authorities at the national and international level.

I look for volunteers who will be willing to participate in interviews. During the interview, which will last around 30 min., I will discuss with the participant the above-mentioned questions. Providing that the participant agrees with the process, all the data from the interview will be audio recorded. A copy of a recording can be made available to the participant upon request. The participant can withdraw from the project within a one month period from the date of interview. All the interviews will be anonymous. Quotations from the interview may be included in the PhD thesis. The researcher will make sure that the privacy of the participants is in place and will strictly keep participants' confidentiality when presenting the data in the findings. Subject to successful completion, the doctoral thesis will be made publicly available in electronic format via the University of Birmingham library, as well as via EThOS, the UK's national thesis repository at the British Library. You are invited to participate in this project and your opinion can potentially improve our understanding of how values attached by local communities can be better represented in the World Heritage process.

This research is carried out under supervision of

Dr John Carman, email. [REDACTED]

Dr HelleJørgensen, email. [REDACTED]

by Malgorzata Trelka (Doctoral student) [REDACTED]

IRONBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE University of Birmingham,

APPENDIX III: Interviewee Consent Form

Form completed by:	
Name	

Thesis information:	
Author	Malgorzata Trelka [REDACTED]
Working title	'World Heritage and Local Community'

Course of study	AHRC CDA PhD
Department/University	The Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage University of Birmingham
Supervisor	Dr John Carman, email. [REDACTED] HelleJørgensen, email. [REDACTED]
Expected submission date	October 2017
Format	Print and electronic

Please Tick
 I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study within a one month from the interview date.

I agree to take part in the above-mentioned study.

I agree to the interview being audio recorded

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications

 Name of Participant

 Date

 Signature

 Name of Researcher

 Date

 Signature

APPENDIX III: Semi-structured interview

I am a PhD researcher studying at the Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage at the University of Birmingham. I am carrying out a research project focusing on communities and their take on the World Heritage Site at Ironbridge Gorge.

The interview will last approximately 30 min. It would be really appreciated if you could share your opinions and contribute to the project. All the interviews will be anonymous and used for research purposes only. Quotations from the interview may be included in the PhD thesis and published. In case you change your mind, and would like to withdraw from the project, please contact me within a one month from the date the interview was conducted. All the data from the interview will be audio recorded, providing that you agree with the process. A copy of a recording can be made available to you upon request. Do you mind if I record the interview? (Participant will be asked to sign a consent form)

Does the heritage of Ironbridge Gorge matter to you? Q1. Identification

If yes, how would you describe your association with the site using three different words? Q1. Q3. Identification

What do you consider important about your local heritage? Q.2 Why? Open question. The responses will be allocated into the assumed categories such as:

1. visually attractive
2. unique atmosphere, setting
3. historical significance
4. personal associations you have with the site.

The set of categories will not be imposed, it will reflect the diversity of responses.

How would you describe your local heritage? Focus on the respondents' knowledge of heritage attributes of the Ironbridge Gorge WHS. Q.2 Provide interviewee with a map of the WHS and ask them to point out sites of significance. The Ironbridge Gorge is internationally recognised because of its significance. Would you say that UNESCO designation has influenced the way you appreciate your local heritage or change the way you understand it? How?

Q.5

Does the UNESCO status affects your life in any way? Q.4

(contribute to local economy, prevents change, obstructs progress)

Would you say that the site gets better protection because of its international designation? Why? Q.5

Does it matter that the monuments are kept in their original condition? Why? Q.5

The monuments located at Ironbridge are the testimony to the Industrial Revolution. Does it matter that all the monuments are kept and maintained? Why? Q.5

Do you feel that the site is adequately managed? Why? Q.5

Cohorts: Age, gender, income, education, how long they have lived in the area.

Shall pre – test the survey with at least 10 respondents to clarify questions and the effectiveness of them.

Electronic Thesis Online Service, www.ethos.bl.uk)

YES NO

4. I agree that photographs from the properties of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust will be reproduced in the above-named doctoral thesis subject to the required referencing.

YES NO

APPENDIX IV: Interview format for a Staff member of the Ironbridge Gorge
Museum Trust

Can you give me some examples of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust (IGMT) engagement with the local community members?

How the IGMT identifies its local community?

Why the IGMT engages with the local community?

Do you think the current system could be improved?

How the approach has changed over the years?

APPENDIX V: Interview Staff member Consent form

Form completed by:	
Name	
Position	

Thesis information:	
Author	Malgorzata Trelka
Working title	'World Heritage and Local Community'

Submitted for award of	PhD
Department/University	The Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage University of Birmingham
Supervisor	Dr John Carman, email. [REDACTED] HelleJørgensen, email. [REDACTED]
Expected submission date	October 2017
Format	Print and electronic

Please indicate yes/no to the following:

Full name with title:

Please indicate yes/no to the following:

1. I agree to being interviewed in person:

YES NO

2. I agree to the interview being audio recorded:

YES NO

3. The interview will be transcribed. I wish to have a copy of any transcribed materials once they become available:

YES NO

4. Parts from the interview may be included in the above-named thesis as anonymised quotation, however the position held/job title will be mentioned.

YES NO

5. I understand that following successful completion, the above-named doctoral thesis will be made publicly available in electronic format via the University of Birmingham library, as well as via EThOS, the UK's national thesis repository at the British Library (Electronic Thesis Online Service, www.ethos.bl.uk)

YES NO

Signed: Date:

APPENDIX VI: Questionnaire Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site

The survey is anonymous and will take approximately 5-10 minutes of your time.

1. Does the heritage of Ironbridge Gorge matter to you?

If yes, please describe what it means to you using three different words?

a.....

b.....

c.....

I don't know

2. What do you consider important about your local heritage?

.....
.....
.....
.....

I don't know

3. How would you describe your local heritage?

Please name sites of significance within the Ironbridge Gorge

.....
.....
.....

I don't know

4. The Ironbridge Gorge is internationally recognised as a World Heritage because of its significance. Would you say that UNESCO designation has influenced the way you appreciate your local heritage or change the way you understand it?

a. Yes

If yes, please specify how.....
.....
.....

b. No c. I don't know

5. Does the UNESCO status affect your life in any way?

a. Yes

If yes, please specify how?
.....
.....
.....

b. No c. I don't know

6. Would you say that Ironbridge Gorge gets better protection because of its international designation?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know

7. Does it matter that the monuments at Ironbridge Gorge are kept in their original condition?

- a. Yes please explain why?.....
- b. No please explain why?
.....
- c. I don't know

8. The monuments located at Ironbridge are testimony to the Industrial Revolution. Does it matter that all the monuments are kept and maintained?

- a. Yes
- b. No
Please, say why?
.....
.....
- c. I don't know

9. Do you feel that the site is adequately managed?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I don't know

Age: 18-20 21-29 40-49 50-59 60> I don't want to specify

Gender: F M I don't want to specify

How long have you lived in the area:

Education:
GCSE/A level
University Degree
Vocational Qualification
I don't want to specify

University of Birmingham

Principal Researcher

Dr John Carman, [REDACTED]

Telephone [REDACTED]

Dr HelleJørgensen, email. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage

University of Birmingham

Malgorzata Trelka

PhD Researcher

[REDACTED]

Purpose of the study

The Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage at the University of Birmingham is carrying out a research project, ***Communicating World Heritage: Meanings, Values and Practices amongst Communities of Interests***. This academic inquiry features four coordinated PhDs undertaking pioneering research on the meanings and values of World Heritage focusing on the Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire. The researcher is a doctoral student investigating the perception of local communities with regards to the World Heritage Site at Ironbridge Gorge. The purpose of this study is to find out how local people understand the site and how this fits into the concept of World Heritage.

This study aims to capture the different interests local people have in relation to the heritage of Ironbridge Gorge. It will be investigated how values assigned to the Ironbridge Gorge by local communities reflect UNESCO's approach to valuing heritage. The outcome of this study will provide a better understanding of the complexity of values attached to the Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site. The project also aims to address the potential gap between local understanding of a

World Heritage Site and that of heritage governing administrating authorities at the national and international level.

You are being asked to take part in this study. This requires no effort on your part, beyond presence during the meeting. The researcher will be observing the meeting and taking notes on the proceedings. The researcher conducting an observation will transcribe notes and will store them in secure location until 2027, this data may be accessed only by authorised researchers. Participant names will not be published or presented.

All the responses will be anonymous and no direct indications will be made to ensure privacy of all the participants.

The researcher will make sure that the privacy of the participants is in place and will strictly keep participants' confidentiality when presenting the data in the findings. Subject to successful completion, the doctoral thesis will be made publicly available in electronic format via the University of Birmingham library, as well as via EThOS, the UK's national thesis repository at the British Library.

You may ask additional questions about the research if anything is not clear. You are invited to participate in this project and your opinion can improve our understanding of how values attached to Ironbridge Gorge by local communities can be better represented in the World Heritage process.

APPENDIX VIII: Sample from the questionnaire

Extract from question 2. What do you consider important about your local heritage?

GRAND NARRATIVE AND ITS TRANSMISSION

1	The physical layout of Ironbridge is unique and couldn't be recreated. Preserving the past informs the future.
2	keeping a foot in the past.
3	It is interesting to know how others lived in the same area before us.-how the area evolved
4	it was the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution
5	It is good to learn about the history about the history of where you live
6	Yes, very important that youth learn their history.
7	For the future understanding
8	to pass on to future generations
9	Its importance to the History of UK and for the understanding of our industrial development on the world
10	The preservation of the various sites and artifacts
11	That it led the way in the production of iron, thanks to Abraham Darby
12	if this is not cared for, then, history is lost forever.
13	Need always to understand who and why we are what we are
14	The Industrial Revolution
15	Not to let old traditions go-a lot to learn
16	Keeping us on the map for generations to come
17	History
18	Ensuring people understand how the industry and people have developed
19	Important from an educational perspective. If we understand our history we can understand today's society better.
20	The way in which the past impacts upon the present.
21	and shows how many gifts we given to the world
22	It shows the importance of what happened in the past to get us to where we are now.
23	Evidence of significant buildings, processes, innovations which led industrial development in the early years remain for study.
24	A time line of the areas development
25	The mixture of the countryside and industry
26	Preservation and presentation of historical artefacts
27	Birth of the industrial revolution.
28	that, if it going to be preserved or kept - that it be kept in as honest as possible to the past manner eg not misrepresenting as far as is currently possible to 'tell the story' to future generations.
29	Industrial archaeology in a spectacular geological and green context
30	It's massive effect on the whole world. What happened here has spread across the world Also, the Quaker values it was based on

31	Spreading knowledge
32	That our history is preserved and conserved for future generations.
33	access to the site and information about it's history
34	the history of the area and the people who made it significant
35	It demonstrates that innovation and exploration form progress. the Ironbridge is a fantastic example of this. The first of its kind in the world
36	Education of younger people and everyone being able to enjoy and appreciate where we have come from and what has been achieved
37	The stories it tells us about the people that shared our place in the world in years gone by. The struggles, the innovations
38	Sense of history, the natural environment.
39	Interpretation - understanding the importance of what has gone before
40	The Gorge is important not just on a local scale. It is unique because of its historical evolution (industrial revolution) and how this has shaped settlement. As well as the relationship between the built environment and the striking landscape that it sits in.
41	The impact that the new processes for smelting iron had in kick starting the industrial revolution, something that was showcased by the building of the first ever iron bridge.
42	It grew out of the industrial expansion that took place in the nineteenth century and has evolved over time
43	It's important to understand how Ironbridge developed and the impact it this has had on society
44	Important to industrial history
45	To see something (the Bridge) that no one has made before and the designers and builders had to learn as they went along. We now have the benefits of their experimentation and problem solving, in that the rules of design/civil engineering/industrial processes are already there for modern designers/civil engineers to use
46	My local heritage is important because it helps to define where I live. To be close to something old is to be part of a continuum. To see something (the Bridge) that no one has made before and the designers and builders had to learn as they went along. We now have the benefits of their experimentation and problem solving, in that the rules of design/civil engineering/industrial processes are already there for modern designers/civil engineers to use.
47	Industrial archaeology World changing Great variety of industries
48	knowing what happened
49	The historical influence
50	keeping it going in the future
51	keeping it going within the Gorge
52	The fact that it has historical and geological significance as a pre-Victorian industrial town in which people live and work, despite attempts by the Council to turn it into an extension of a Victorian-era museum
53	preserving it for the future.
54	our heritage is important, it is the root of how we developed and how we were proud of our success. It can be a catalyst for us to continue to develop inventions.

	it informs us of the contribution made to our society
55	It's part in the development of mankind. Part of Britains historical and geographical jigsaw. Involvement with the environment.
56	Although a small place, It's impact on the world has been huge.
57	protect the area from development, retain authentic structure
58	history
59	How it shaped the area
60	Contributes to who we are
61	The social and economic impact on us, people create history
62	Iconic Iron Bridge. Innovative famous engineers.
63	start of the industrial revolution. so many world "firsts"
64	People are losing the knowledge of what went on in Telford in the past and the knowledge needs to be past on to the younger generations
65	we should never forget how it started & how hard it was to get here today.
66	defines the area
67	It reflects a period of industrial growth at the cost of many who needed increased financial resources to survive.
68	It's important locally and nationally, Industriai Heritage, Natural Heritage
69	Keeps history alive
70	That the centre of Ironbridge is returned to its original features
71	the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution.
72	What the past was like and how we can use that knowledge for the future
73	The way we became, what our industry showed the world
74	Understanding industriual history
75	Education
76	the many elements together tell a story
77	Carying about the local environment. eg. Museums
78	that it controls whats done
79	The area is known world wide. I met a couple yesterday in Brosley , they came from Birmingham. They were transfixed. I feel proud and privildged to live in this part of the world.
80	In this modern world it is nice to remember those difficult times during building of our famous Bridge which is know worldwide
81	To preserve for future generations
82	that the upkeep is maintained
83	It is important to keep local history alive
84	it teaches everyone a little more about the country we live in
85	Everything. It is claimed that everything else that came out of it would not have happen with the knowledge they gained with the Darby family.
86	Acknowledging the past and how it's influenced the present.
87	The part it played in the industrial revolution
88	It represents the spirit of innovation and endeavour.

Economy

1	Economy
2	Tourst/economy
3	Ouv-selling point
4	Economy
5	Brings in New visitors
6	Brings people and resources into the area
7	I think it attracts a lot of tourists which is great for ironbridge, it is also a lovely place to visit
8	History and tourism to the whole area
9	It should help the local economy
10	Economy
11	Brings money and jobs
12	It brings visitors from all over the world it helps local buisness
13	Bringing income into area
14	Tourism
15	Tourism
16	Tourist
17	History
18	Local businesses working together to keep Ironbridge alive, for the community and everyone who visits

Personal heritage / Community

1	Family heritage
2	photos, stories
3	Understanding the area where I live and how I am part of it now
4	Nice place to live near
5	diversity
6	Part of the areas identity
7	integration to the Telford Community
8	Sense of pride Feeling connected People and the place
9	the community
10	its my local neighbourhood! Sense of place,
11	remains as a living community rather than as a museum or ancient monument
12	A sense of place, continuity with people and events here in the past. Entertainment, stimulation
13	local history, learning facility
14	Sharing my past with other people
15	The Community
16	Promote local history
17	So kids know how great gran lived
18	All of it, its who the locals are
19	The way we became

20	Difficult, more incomers to this area than local who don't seem interested
21	Keeping local history alive
22	History of the area
23	I love History so I am lucky to live here
24	the lack of connection between residents and the WHS

APPENDIX IX RESPONDENTS

42 Interviewees and 42 signed consent forms / 36 audio - recorded interviews

no	Interviewee	From	Date
1	Male [A1]	Madeley	20/06/16
2	Female [A2]	Ironbridge	01/07/16
3	Female [A3]	Wellington	06/07/16
4	Female [A4] [A30]	Coalbrookdale	11/07/16
5	Female [A5]	Ironbridge	20/07/16
6	Male [A6]	Ironbridge	15/06/16
7	Female [A7]	Ironbridge	18/07/16
8	Male [A8]	Brosley	05/07/16
9	Female [A9] and R. Male [A10]	Brosley	19/07/16
10	Male [A11]	Madeley	17/07/16
11	Female [A12] and M. Male [A13]	Ironbridge	20/07/16
12	Female [A13]	Madeley	01/11/16
13	Female [A14]	Shifnal	19/07/16
14	Female [A15] and R. Male [A16]	Ironbridge	18/07/16
15	Female [A17]	Coalbrookdale	04/11/16
16	Female [A18]	Wellington	04/07/16
17	Female [A19]	Ironbridge	20/07/16
18	Male [A20] and J. Female [A21]	Ironbridge	18/07/16
19	Male [A22]	Coalport	21/07/16
20	Male [A23]	Ironbridge	20/06/16
21	Female [A24]	Ironbridge	19/07/16
22	Female [A25]	Ironbridge	07/07/16
23	Male [A26] and B. Female [A27]	Horsehay	05/07/16
24	Female [A28]	Coalbrookdale	23/11/16
25	Female [B1]	Ironbridge	02/12/16
26	Male [B2]	Coalbrookdale	02/12/16
27	Male [B3]	Coalbrookdale	23/11/16
28	Male [B4]	Ironbridge	02/12/16
29	Male [B5]	Ironbridge	23/11/16
30	Male [A29]	Jackfield	21/11/16
31	Male [C1]	Madeley	01/11/16
32	Male [C2]	Ironbridge	24/11/16
33	Female [C3]	Ironbridge	22/09/16
34	Female [C4]	Ironbridge	04/11/16
35	Male [C5]	Coalbrookdale	02/12/16
36	Male [C6]	Madeley (former resident)	03/11/16

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