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Ministry of Foreign Affairs



유네스코한국위원회
Korean National Commission for UNESCO

2021 Thematic Research on Heritage Interpretation and Presentation

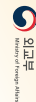
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Thematic Research

on Heritage Interpretation and Presentation

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Foreword

HAN, Kyung-Koo

Preface

Next year marks the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the World Heritage Convention. The World Heritage Committee is already holding its 44th session. There have been many changes since the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972. One of those changes is that the meaning of heritage has shifted from an exclusive focus on material forms to a deeper analysis of the social roles they play. Thus, inclusive heritage interpretation which encompasses the multiple narratives surrounding the heritage has become more important.

The Republic of Korea has contributed to the conservation and management of the World Heritage and the development of the World Heritage interpretation. Korea served as a member of the World Heritage Committee three times in 1997-2003, 2005-2009, and 2013-2017. Korea also inscribed 13 cultural heritages and 1 natural heritage to the World Heritage List and has worked to conserve and manage them properly. Moreover, since 2016, the Korean Government has been hosting an annual conference on the issue of heritage interpretation to raise international awareness of its concept and significance.

Against this backdrop, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea has been hosting the side events of the World Heritage Committee on an annual basis since 2012. Especially, since 2017, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has held side events related to the interpretation of heritages in conflict in the hope of raising awareness of the importance of heritage interpretation. Such conflicts occur when the multiple narratives of various groups surrounding the heritage are not reflected duly, and many governments and experts agree that heritage interpretation should be dealt with in depth to resolve conflicts in heritage.

As a part of those efforts and consensus, and in commemoration of the 44th World Heritage Committee, this booklet is published to introduce good practices of the World Heritage. We hope that this booklet will make the good international practices of heritage interpretation better known and raise awareness of the World Heritage interpretation.



Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the Republic of Korea

Foreword

In his book *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, the British art critic John Ruskin wrote of architecture, and its connection with memory, that "We may live without her, and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her." As humans, we use the physical material of cultural heritage as a repository of memory. The physical material does not, itself, remember – its value as cultural heritage is in the constant process of engagement and interpretation by humans interacting with it.

For a long time, the general approach to cultural heritage has tended to objectify heritage and consider it as something independent with a fixed innate value. For example, the World Heritage system tends to assume that heritage has permanent and absolute value in its material form, as expressed through the concept of 'Outstanding Universal Value.'

However, this approach obscures the fact that cultural heritage has always existed through evolving relationships with various cultural groups. The approach has a tendency to produce a single unified interpretation of an item of cultural heritage, which makes only the culture of the mainstream visible and only their voices audible.

How, then, are the memories and values associated with heritage to be passed on to successive generations? Who decides which memories are worth preserving?

The same piece of heritage may represent the proud legacy of a splendid part of history for some people; while at the same time being seen by others as evidence of a history of disgrace and cruelty. To avoid silencing certain voices, we need to focus on ensuring that heritage and culture are remembered and presented through the perspectives of all the various people that interact with them.

In order to ensure the diversity of the interpretation in UNESCO World Heritage, we need a system, alongside international awareness and empathy. Such a system will help to resolve possible conflicts between states or social groups over culture and heritage. Most of all, it will correspond to the fundamental purpose and mission of UNESCO and its World Heritage programme.

Based on this belief, the Korean National Commission for UNESCO carried out a research project with the aim of collecting good practices on how to interpret and present heritage with memories of difficult histories, including colonialism, racism, genocide, war, and forced labor. This report of the research contains four case studies exploring such practices. I sincerely hope that the report will encourage a deeper understanding of the power of heritage interpretation to amplify alienated voices and engage a wider

spectrum of stakeholders that we need to harness to construct a more peaceful and inclusive society.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the five experts who contributed to the report, using their extensive experience to offer invaluable insights into this thorny issue: Ms. Sue Hodges, of Sue Hodges Productions Pty Ltd; Dr. Thabo Manetsi, of the National Department of Tourism in South Africa, Dr. Shu-Mei Huang, of National Taiwan University; Dr. Hyunkyung Lee, of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies; and Dr. Britt Baille, of the University of Cambridge.

Finally, I would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, without whose generous support this report could not have been completed.

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Introduction

Sue Hodges

The essays in this volume all show the growing importance of heritage interpretation and illustrate how its definition is rapidly changing to meet 21st century challenges. From its traditional role as a discipline where experts devised ‘interpretation’ and presented it to audiences, heritage interpretation is now at the fulcrum of social and political change. Issues such as associative value, rights-based heritage, community heritage, participative heritage, dissonant heritage, multiple memories and decolonisation have all propelled interpretation into the spotlight and raised critical issues about ownership of the past (Ashworth & Turnbridge, 1995). Who decides what is interpreted? What is the ‘truth’ about a place? What happens when multiple narratives collide? How can communities associated with heritage sites become meaningfully involved with site interpretation? These are only some of the issues contemporary interpreters face.

People have always interpreted the past, but heritage interpretation was established as a professional field in the US Parks Sector in the 1920s with a focus on the natural environment. In the area of cultural heritage, interpretation largely began with the historic preservation movement in the mid-19th century. Early exponents of historic preservation came from the fields of art and architecture and were inspired by similar romantic ideas to those that informed the National Parks movement in the United States: art critic John Ruskin believed the fabric of a building was inherently significant and needed to be protected for its aesthetic and artisanal values (Smith, 2006). The common thread linking the natural and cultural areas was an essentialist understanding of heritage. This is apparent today in charters including the Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter*, which still focuses on the physical fabric of place.

The most influential exponent of essentialism was journalist and author Freeman Tilden, who began working with the US National Park Service in the mid-20th century (National Park Service, 2019). Tilden’s philosophy of interpretation was based on the notion that natural areas have a *genius loci*, or spirit of place. His mantra of ‘Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection’ is described by US interpreter Sam Ham as ‘a philosophical orientation around which interpreters all across the globe have rallied’ (Ham, 2020). The definition of interpretation by ICOM cited in Baillie’s essay draws heavily upon this philosophy.

However, problems with essentialism became apparent in the cultural heritage field in the late 20th century. The notion that sites are not ‘things’ but complex, multivocal expressions of the past has been forwarded since at least the 1970s. Cultural theorists Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, and ethnographers Clifford Geertz and James Clifford, all argue that cultural artefacts contain infinite meanings. According to Derrida, each book can be read differently by each person. For Clifford, cultural and historical ‘truths’ are always partial, since they are systematic and exclusive (Wells, 2007). Simultaneously, the New Social History movement of the 1970s demanded that previously marginalised groups, including First Nations peoples, women, workers and migrants, were represented in the historical record. Here we see the antecedent of the decolonisation movement, although today representation alone is not enough. Deep social change through political action is also warranted.

The four essays in this volume show the impact of these intellectual movements upon the theory and practice of heritage interpretation. In Baillie’s work on reimagining the boundaries of Jerusalem/al-Quds, interpretation is inherently a political act. ‘Preserving’ the landscape of Southern Jerusalem interrogates the notion of cultural landscapes, which are defined as the interconnections between humans and natural environments (Mitchell et al., 2009) and often treated as a unequivocal good. Baillie instead demonstrates how different perceptions of the landscape by Israelis and Palestinians have formed the basis for land claims by Israel; in particular, how the framing of the land as both ancient and modern by Israel defines

Palestinian villages as ‘transitional/temporary’. This is not new: heritage has been linked to nationalism since at least the 19th century and the nation-state has traditionally been the dominant scale of interpretation (Davison, 1991; Ashworth, 1999). But Baillie draws on this to show how an ‘asymmetric and selective’ interpretation of heritage has underpinned current Israeli territorial aspirations and contrasts this with a different use of heritage interpretation in the 2014 inscription of the ‘Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines—Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir’ World Heritage Site. In doing so, she shows how contestation over land is also contestation over tangible and intangible heritage values.

Baillie introduces a new definition for heritage interpretation, drawing on the French term ‘*médiation*’—a term not traditionally associated with interpretation—to call for interpretation to reconcile issues between contesting parties. This moves interpretation from a didactic to a performative act and situates its practice within the field of difficult, dissonant and contested histories. This is a theme of all four essays and shows the influence of contemporary historical theory on interpretive practice: over the last 30 years, heritage professionals have acknowledged that various groups may perceive different and even conflicting values in the same place (International Coalition of Sites of Conscience [ICSC], 2018). Best practice in the area therefore recognises that all groups associated with a site should be involved in decisions about what happens to it (ICSC, 2018) and stresses the importance of incorporating multiple narratives and conflicting viewpoints in site interpretation.

However, this is not easy to achieve in practice. Manesti's discussion of the Apartheid Museum in South Africa demonstrates the difficulty of providing a cohesive visitor experience given a variety of possible narratives and shows that even the process of selecting a topic for display is an act of power. For instance, the Apartheid Museum positions Nelson Mandela's struggle as emblematic of the struggle for freedom by black South Africans and for the 'interpretation and presentation of the broad liberation history against Apartheid in South Africa'. But this centralising of Mandela overshadows other important narratives, icons and groups who participated in the struggle for freedom. Manesti makes the important point that the exclusion of alternative perspectives may lead to contestation, dissonance and possible conflict and asks whether a post-colonial museum can achieve full public harmony and acceptance through diverse representations or lack thereof. Moreover, not all viewpoints have equal validity. The notion of 'Truth' as used by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission relies on perpetrators of abuse during Apartheid admitting their crimes as part of restorative justice. This is where historical thinking by interpreters is crucial. An absence of substantiated evidence to support historical claims, selective interpretation of evidence and cultural relativism—the idea that all viewpoints have equal importance—are dangers to reconciliation and healing.

Heritage interpretation is therefore no longer a matter of determining a key message, themes and stories for visitors but engaging them critically in interpreting the past. This idea forms the basis of Lee's essay on the Galacia Jewish Museum. In interpretive terms, the Holocaust has been cast

as emblematic of the worst in human nature. One of the most notorious of the six Nazi concentration and extermination camps, Auschwitz-Birkenau was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979 as 'a vivid testimony to the murderous nature of the anti-Semitic and racist Nazi policy that brought about the annihilation of more than 1.2 million people in the crematoria, 90% of whom were Jews' (Amelan, 2007). Auschwitz-Birkenau is the only concentration camp to be listed by UNESCO, which has led to a symbolic role for the site as a place of ensuring that humans 'never again' repeat the inhumane, cruel and methodical attempt to exterminate groups of people considered inferior (Amelan, 2007). Yet this has not occurred. Genocide is occurring in multiple nation-states at the time of writing. How can heritage interpretation amplify the lessons of the Holocaust?

Lee's essay highlights one way forward. In her examination of the Galacia Jewish Museum, she indicates the need to understand individual lives rather than monolithic narratives and highlights tensions between the Holocaust's role as a universal memoryscape and the unintentional homogenisation of Jewish lives. Rather than presenting the Holocaust experience as uniform, the Galacia Museum instead serves as a witness to a multiplicity of Jewish voices and links the Holocaust to the rich histories of Jewish life and culture before and after World War II. In this way, it challenges stereotypes and misconceptions of Jewish life in Poland and engages visitors in more nuanced and thoughtful reflections about this dark period of history. Interpretation that encourages role play by putting visitors in the shoes of people from the past to try to understand why they acted in certain ways is a way to create

genuine change.

Interpretive media also offers many options to address the issue of multiple perspectives. Before the advent of digital media in the 1990s, interpretation was generally delivered in static formats such as signage, brochures and visitor centre displays. Immersive Media, Augmented Reality, Virtual Reality and digital storytelling have all led to new possibilities. At the Apartheid Museum, interpretation takes the form of an immersive experience. Visitors are asked to adopt a racial identity (Black or White) and navigate the museum from that viewpoint. In this way, interpretation becomes affective and embodied. Through the juxtaposition of conflicting and contested narratives in the same space, the museum acts as an agent and authority in 'curating the nation' by reshaping a national narrative and identity. Placing counter-narratives overtly in public discourse also challenges pre-1994 orthodoxy imposed by the colonial government. In this sense, interpretation is anti-nationalistic and a mark of a pluralistic and open democracy. Innovative use of media in the Museum also challenges the established notion that 'interpretation' and 'presentation' are different entities. Manetsi comments that 'the visual aesthetics, including the physical fabric of the exhibition, is as important as the intellectual and intangible narrative conveyed by the exhibition'.

The notion that the medium is the message is particularly important in the contexts of community heritage and rights-based heritage. Over the last 20 years, engaging communities meaningfully in interpretation has emerged

as a key methodology by which to address issues of representation. In 2003, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage identified the importance of intangible cultural heritage: the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills and their manifestations that communities and individuals represent as part of their cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2020). All heritage places have these intangible values (sometimes described as 'associative values' or Criterion (vi) by UNESCO) that derive from people's feelings about, understanding of, and relationship to a place, its history and the uses to which it has been put. 'Sites of Memory', as they are known by UNESCO, also hold much of their value because of their recognition by communities linked to them (ICSC, 2018). Community participation is now integral to the interpretation of World Heritage and other sites.

In recent years participative methodologies have been incorporated into heritage interpretation, but this is still a work in progress. Lee points to the role of workshops at the Galacia Jewish Museum in helping museum visitors understand the roles of victims, perpetrators and bystanders during the Holocaust. Interactions such as this encourage visitors to have an affective understanding of the past through a detailed understanding of historical personae. Similarly, Huang's essay potently shows the impact of genuine community consultation in decolonising an institution, in this case the National Taiwan University Department of Anthropology Museum in Taipei (NTUDAM). Just as Israel has shored up its claims to Palestinian territory by reinscribing Jewish heritage across Southern Jerusalem, so Japan has shored up its colonial occupation of Taiwan through heritage preservation and the

selective listing of Japanese archaeological, natural, Indigenous Taiwanese and military sites. The ‘othering’ of the Indigenous Paiwan people stretched right across the 19th century to the current day. As the repository of a substantial collection of Indigenous material heritage artefacts, photographs and other records, Tohoku University was faced with a dilemma: there was no practice through which Indigenous communities could become involved in the process of decolonisation.

The solution adopted by NTUDAM illustrates how heritage interpretation is now as much about redressing injustice through action as it is about its traditional roles of education, entertainment and learning. NTUDAM’s consultative process involved delegitimising ‘heritage’ as enacted by the state government. State-led heritage lists cannot be taken for granted as an ‘honour’ for Indigenous or other communities and indeed are often manifestations of political power, exclusion and enforcement. Huang outlines in detail a profoundly moving set of encounters with the Kabiyanan community. In a new ritual, a carved wooden post of the community’s female ancestor spirit Muakai was relocated based on a wedding ceremony, one of the community’s most important social and cultural events. Through the ceremony, young members of the community re-learned important traditions. Simultaneously, students at the University also learned about traditional practices. The relationship today is ongoing and mutually beneficial.

Heritage interpretation at its best is about turning ‘memory into action’, in the words of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. Bringing

historical skills to heritage interpretation—undertaking primary source research, understanding the difference between different kinds of evidence, recognizing bias and giving voice to First Nations people, women and heritage communities—is an effective way of speaking truth to power and contesting official versions of history. Nevertheless, arriving at a shared understanding of heritage can involve intense emotions and interpretive work can be complex, messy and challenging. At times, there is no resolution that will satisfy everyone. But we must keep trying. Reconciliation and peace will only be possible if we engage in robust discussions and remain open to all points of view about the past. This involves dealing with extremely difficult issues and bearing witness to the pain held by people who have suffered injustices, many of them horrific, in the past. All four essays in this volume give us hope that this is possible.

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Heritage Interpretation & Presentation: A Case Study of the Apartheid Museum in South Africa

Thabo Manetsi

Photo: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum



Background

The Apartheid Museum serves as an interpretive centre that attempts to illustrate the 'rise and fall' of the ruthless and gruesome Apartheid system in South Africa. The Museum showcases exuberant audio visual exhibitions of provocative film footage, photographs, text panels and artefacts, skilfully assembled and arranged by a multi-disciplinary team of curators, historians, film-makers and designers who contribute significantly (in an integrated manner) in the formulation of the interpretation and presentation programmes of the museum.

The exhibition explicitly uses uncensored, strong visuals and crude imagery to illustrate the grotesque nature of apartheid. The visual aesthetics of the Museum resembles the old Apartheid imposing grey-tone concrete structure deliberately posed to give a feel of the stern official and intimidating authoritarian institution that the notorious system of apartheid entrenched. The motifs of the old colonial and apartheid symbols are skilfully and meticulously weaved (integrated) into the newly constructed

Apartheid Museum. This visual power is meant to be provocative, enticing and intimate in an attempt to present an authentic narrative and experience. Visitors immerse themselves in this powerful experience.

The Museum show cases three sets of exhibitions, namely, The Permanent Exhibition, Mandela Exhibition and Temporary Exhibition.



Main Entrance - Photo: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum

The Permanent Exhibition

The permanent exhibition is largely premised on the 21 thematic pillars which are a trip through time that traces the country's footsteps from the dark days of bondage (colonisation and apartheid) to a place of healing founded on the principles of a democracy. South Africa's liberation struggle has been a painful journey of strife and sacrifices, which ushered in 1994 democracy and the end of centuries colonialism and more than 40 years of Apartheid. The assemblage is carefully arranged to depict epoch making stories and themes in the historic journey of the liberation struggle in South Africa. These 21 themes and pillars are: *'Pillars of the Constitution, Race Classification, Segregation; Apartheid; The Turn to Violence; Life Under Apartheid; The Homelands; The Rise of Black Consciousness; Political Executions; The Significance of 1976; Total Onslaught; Roots of Compromise; Mandela's Release; On the Brink; Negotiating a Settlement; 1994 Election; Mandela's Presidency; The Truth and Reconciliation Commission; The New Constitution and A Place of Healing.'*

Mandela Exhibition

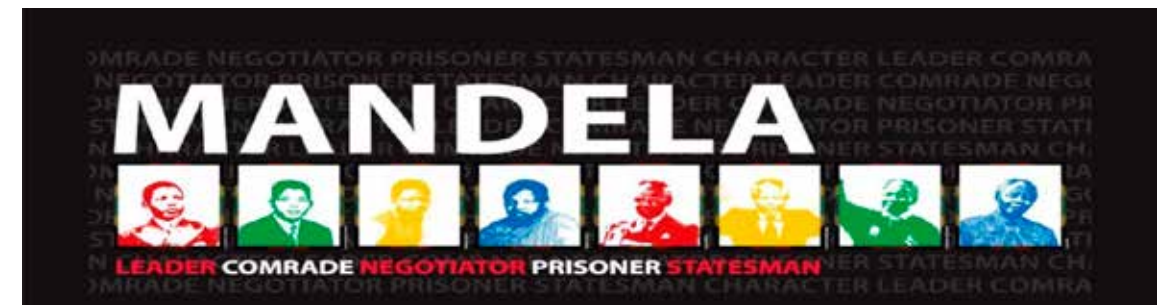
This exhibition features Nelson Mandela as a central figure in every stage of South Africa's epic struggle against apartheid. Through Mandela's struggle journey, this exhibition showcases epic moments in the political history of South Africa such as the formulation of a new approach in the 1940's leading to the mass struggles of the 1950's, the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Arm Military Wing of the ANC) in the early 1960's, 27 years of imprisonment and ultimately the first black President democratically elected. He initiated and led negotiations in the 1990s, and served as the first president of a democratic

South Africa. He built a new nation from the fragments of conflict. In the exhibition Mandela serves as the embodiment and personification of the struggle for freedom and hence he is solely elevated and posed as a central figure. More concisely, this exhibition uses Mandela's struggle journey as the lenses for interpretation and presentation of the broad liberation history against Apartheid in South Africa.

The privileging of iconic Mandela in this particular exhibition inevitably and unintentionally tends to overshadow other important narratives of icons of the struggle for freedom. The museum's curating function entails deciding and selecting which of the nation's narratives, artefacts and memorials to display, and how. The consequences of 'selective amnesia' often result in biased representations of certain narratives to the exclusion of others which may lead to unnecessary divisions, contestations, dissonance and possible conflicts. In this context, the question remains whether the museum in the post-colonial state will be able to achieve full public acceptance and harmony through the diverse representations and/or lack thereof?

The Temporary Exhibition

The temporary exhibition mainly caters for short-term exhibitions which often feature a myriad of provocative visual narratives that captivate audiences. Most of the themed presentations focus on the South African history, while exploring contemporary issues with the objective generating dialogue that can perhaps lead to solutions. Some of the interesting thematic exhibitions raise contemporary issues such as a 'Journeys of Faith-Navigating Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity.'



Photos: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum

Photos: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum



Photos: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum



Most importantly the museum promotes human rights values and principles enshrined in the South African constitution and Bill of Rights, presented boldly and vividly in the installation of erected pillars symbolising: Democracy, Equality, Reconciliation, Diversity, Responsibility, Respect and Freedom. These symbols are integral part of the post-colonial and post-apartheid era which are in stark contrast to Apartheid but justify the context from which democracy has been founded. These exhibitions present an opportunity to reflect on the nation's past and stimulate dialogue on relevant issues affecting the lives of citizens today.

Generally, the Museum and its interactive exhibitions appeals to a wide range of audience who particularly express keen interest to learn about Apartheid. The visitor book illustrate diverse audience and visitors across racial and ethnic groups, young and old, local and international tourists. This is regardless of the use of the English language as the dominant medium of communication, as opposed to the use of the other official and vernacular languages. The use of the English language as the dominant medium of translation of the exhibition is not entirely a barrier but a common language for ease of communication amongst the diverse cultural groupings in South Africa. Generally the exhibition is readily and easily accessible to a wide audience include various age groups.



Photos: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum

At the main entrance and beginning of the exhibition, the audience participate in weaving the narrative of the Museum as each visitor is required to partake in an exercise (activity), to choose which racial identity (Black or White) they wish to embrace as they enter the Museum. This allows the visitor to immerse themselves in a cultural and political experience and journey through the unjust inequalities of apartheid racial classification.

Drawing on the written remarks and reflections on the visitor book, it is not hard to decipher the effectiveness of the interpretation and presentation of the exhibition in enhancing personal experience, awareness and increased understanding. Of paramount importance the exhibition has gradually engendered a culture of contemplation and reflection on the audience perception and connection to Apartheid history and its protracted ramification in the post-apartheid and democratic dispensation.

Discussion

Although the Museum defines itself as a repository (epitome) of Apartheid history and legacy but there is constant reference to the colonial past and post-apartheid future (democracy) which are both precursor and successor of Apartheid. In contextualising Apartheid the Museum does not attempt to delink both the colonial and post - apartheid histories from the Apartheid history which the museum purports to represent. But the Museum in its current form serves to present a consolidation of the three monumental epochs (Colonisation, Apartheid and Post-Apartheid eras).

The Museum attains a measure of success to weave and link these three important epochs together including their ideological underpinnings. However, what appears to be glaring, is how adequate or lack thereof the museum attempts to represent the voluminous history of the three key eras (epochs) as integral part of the political history of South Africa. The museum seems to defy equal representation of the three key eras but seems to deliberately and selectively promote the dominant Apartheid history upon which it is founded. For instance the promotion of the dominant Apartheid text and sub-text such as: *'Segregation, Race Classification, Apartheid, The Turn to Violence, Life Under Apartheid, The Homelands, The Rise of Black Consciousness, Political Executions, The Significance of 1976, Total Onslaught and Roots of Compromise.'*

These prominent thematic pillars tend to outweigh colonial and post-apartheid texts such as: *'The Pillars of the Constitution, Mandela's Release, On the Brink, Negotiating a Settlement, 1994 Election, Mandela's Presidency, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, The New Constitution and A Place of Healing'*, as these do not feature prominently.

The Apartheid Museum clearly demonstrates how diverse, and often contrasting, conflicting and contesting narratives can be exhibited juxtaposed to each other in the same space/setting. In this context the museum serves as a microcosm of the broader issues society is grappling with, including the complexities of presenting the past and future in the present.

Most importantly, the diverse narratives (colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid) underpin the notion of co-presence through their deliberate juxtaposition of old colonial and apartheid symbols alongside new post-colonial and post-apartheid symbols. The goal of this juxtaposition is to achieve a past-present alignment in an attempt to attain inclusiveness in line with ideals of a *'rainbow nation'* which prides itself in *'unity in diversity'*, in the discursive formation of a national identity. This further accentuates the importance of the curatorial functions of a museum, as agent and authority, in shaping a national narrative and identity through *'curating the nation'*.

Reinterpreting the past clearly represents a significant shift in heritage management in South Africa. The dominant colonial and apartheid narratives of the country could not be challenged pre-1994, but in the post-colonial era there has been a rapid increase in alternative narratives that continue to cast light on different perspectives on the history and heritage of South Africa. The rise of alternative narratives underscores notions of *'oppositional-discourse'* and *'counter-narratives'* which have tremendous influence on heritage management, particularly on the definition, interpretation, documentation and presentation of heritage.¹

The interpretation illustrates a range of oral and written information, material remains, traditions and meaning attributed to the Museum. The Museum constantly documents, archives and disseminates information sources to a wide range of audience. The assemblage of provocative audio-visual imagery and text throughout the three main exhibitions (Permanent, Mandela and

¹ Ndoro W, "Legal Definitions of Heritage", 2008. In "Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa". www.iccrom.org

Photos: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum



Temporary Exhibitions) are on point to profile and lift the prominent themes underpinning the epochs of the liberation struggle and political conditions that ushered in the dawn of democracy in South Africa. The multi-layered and multi-media presentation of the liberation history place sharp focus on the substantiveness of the contemporary media the Museum has chosen to use to present such a monumental legacy of Apartheid.

The creative use of multimedia and artistic motifs present an aesthetic canvas which underpin the visual power used to communicate, intellectually and physically, the gruesome depictions of the Apartheid past. In essence the visual aesthetics, including the physical fabric of the exhibition, is as important as the intellectual and intangible narrative conveyed by the

exhibition. Therefore there appears to be no glaring disjuncture between the tangible and intangible manifestations of the exhibition. To a substantial measure the interpretation and presentation programmes of the Apartheid Museum successfully facilitate both physical and intellectual access to the public through creative and innovative uses of multimedia and contemporary mix media platforms.

It is interesting to note that the mass local school groups in South Africa emerge as the primary consumers of the history and offerings of the Apartheid Museum. This is due to the fact that the history curriculum in most public schools (South Africa) has been re-written and reconfigured to include the history of the Apartheid struggle, as integral area of learning. The museums provides workbooks for Grades 6 - 9 for learners, to embark on exciting educational activities as they interact with the exhibitions. The intelligent installations of interactive and high-tech exhibitions, are purposefully designed to cater for needs of the youthful learners amongst the museum enthusiasts. The Museum aims to stimulate interest, learning, experience and exploration through active participation of school learners. Most importantly, through these participatory and interactive activities, the museum aspires to encourage inclusiveness in the interpretation of the cultural heritage. Furthermore the established interpretation and presentation programme, for learners, are designed to assess the audiences demographically and culturally in order to measure the impact of the programme. The visitor experience tend to increase public awareness, public understanding and communication on Apartheid history.

Photos: Courtesy of Apartheid Museum



Conclusion

The Apartheid Museum successfully serves as a constant and stark reminder of the gruesome Apartheid system in South Africa. The exhibition design demonstrate strong evidence of scientific research and rigour based on factual validity of history. The strength of interpretation and presentation programmes (conservation management) lies in the Museum's ability to protect and promote the authenticity of the Apartheid narrative (including the authentic artefacts, memorabilia and documents donated), by clearly articulating the significance of the historic fabric, cultural value and meaning. Interpretation should contribute to the conservation of the authenticity and integrity of the cultural heritage. It is essential that the museum support continuous research, training, monitor and evaluate components of interpretation and presentation programmes, in order to enhance and improve the visitor experience. Interpretive programmes should aim to contribute to the overall conservation management of heritage in the Museum.

2021

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Propatriation and Heritage Interpretation: The case of decolonizing heritage and ethnomuseology in Taiwan

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Context: the historical development of heritage as part of the Japanese colonialism

Heritage is made and institutionalized to mobilize the past for present use. Modern nation states dominate heritagization of cultural properties in establishing institutions of heritage as part of the state's cultural governance. Critical issues arose when the cultural properties appropriated from the indigenous communities were heritagized by the colonial states and served

the colonial states' particular political purposes without fully informing the indigenous communities themselves not to mention obtaining their approval and thereof had left long-lasting consequences. The past decades witnessed debates on and experiments of repatriation in the areas of museology and heritage studies around the globe, which, in Moore's words, can bring about "propatriation" to commemorate and establish creative humanity's links.

¹ In this light, this Taiwan-based case study illustrates the challenges and possibilities of decolonizing indigenous heritage in a postcolonial, settler-state society, where the indigenous people has found themselves becoming the minorities on the islands of Formosa. ²

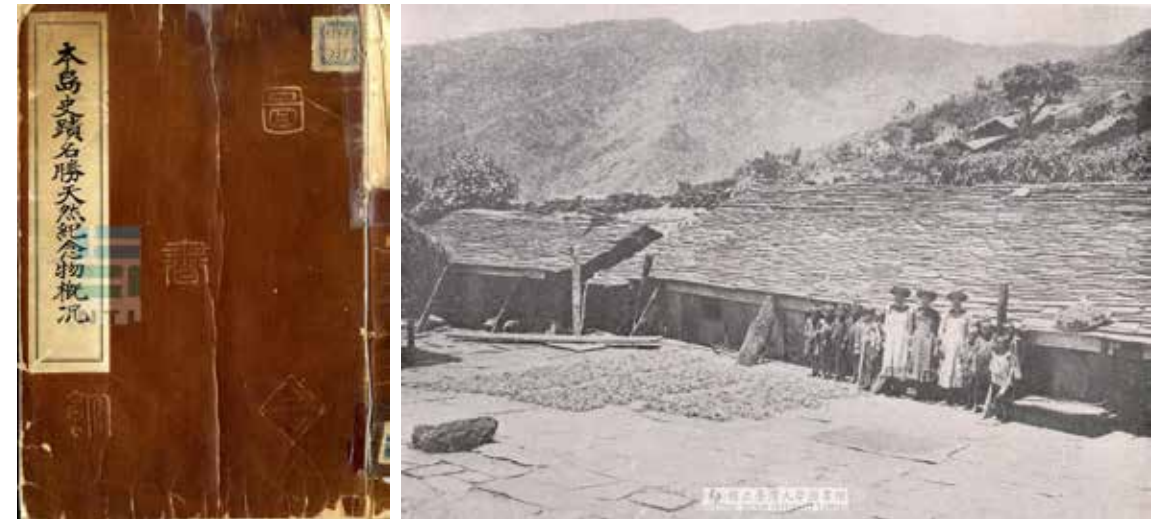
The very first state construction of heritage in Taiwan took place under the Japanese colonial authority in the 1930s, and heritage preservation was used to create colonial legitimacy and collective identity (especially in the case of the state-led indoctrination, *kōminka kyōiku* in Japanese). Under the imperial gaze, archaeological sites, natural landscape, and indigenous houses were

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- 1 See one of the most recent discussions in Nash, S. (13 May 2021) "How Museums Can Do More Than Just Repatriate Objects," Sapiens, <https://www.sapiens.org/column/curiosities/propatriation-nagpra/?fbclid=IwAR1HBeqASNJGkc6KJAMAXx1qNIH-6zxcd3EK1L8v1uaQ7mMSyn6fFOgfFqY> and how this word was coined in Moore, E. (2010). Propatriation: Possibilities for art after NAGPRA. *Museum Anthropology*, 33(2), 125-136.
 - 2 The indigenous people of Taiwan are ethnically and culturally much closer to Austronesians than Han-Chinese. See an in-depth historical account of how Taiwan becomes a settler society in Andrade, T. (2008). *How Taiwan became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han colonization in the seventeenth century*. New York: Columbia University Press.

selectively listed, along with sites that witnessed the military achievement of the Japanese expansion of its governance on the island and the imperial presence of the royal family. There were two indigenous houses listed in the No. 2 Report of Surveying Historic Sites carried out under the Sotokufu (總督府, the top colonial administration in Taiwan), including a house of Paiwan people and the other house of Amis people (カピヤガン社蕃屋 in Pingtung and カキタアン蕃屋 in Hualien).³ The two houses were carefully surveyed so documentation and photographs were taken to support the listing, which became important references for preserving indigenous heritage much later indeed. To be more precise, The first house is located in Kaviyangan (or Kavuyangan, 佳平, spelt as カピヤガン when the Japanese adopted katakana to document foreign languages), Pingtung; it belongs to the noble Zingrur family of the Kaviyangan community, decorated with beautiful carvings and sculptures in its outlook and interior space. The survey and listing went beyond academic documentation. In so doing, Taiwan was imagined as the premodern other, with Japan bringing civilization to underdeveloped territories.

In 1910, the Japan-British Exhibition was organized in London to demonstrate the two countries' accomplishments in expanding their territories. The indigenous Paiwan people were brought from Southern Taiwan to London

³ 史蹟名勝天然紀念物指定 (1935-12-05), The Report of Surveying Historic Sites Vol. 2, Communique of Sotokufu, 2557, Taiwan Historica, 0071032557a001, https://tm.ncl.edu.tw/article?u=010_001_0000428544



[Figure 1] The Report of Surveying Historic Sites
The Cover of the Report of Surveying Historic Sites and
example of photos of indigenous houses. The image is
availed from <https://dl.lib.ntu.edu.tw/iiif-img/102950/full/1561/0/default.jpg>

to become part of the exhibition along with other indigenous artifacts to be objects of primitive culture at the exposition. After the year-long exposition, the 24 Paiwan people were sent back while most of the artifacts were sold or donated to various institutions or private collectors in the UK. It is only until the 2000s that museum scholars started to pay attention to the diasporic collection of indigenous communities of Taiwan. Dr. Chia-Yu Hu, an important scholar of Anthropology who had been teaching at the Department of Anthropology until 2018, carried out a series of investigations and visits to locate these artifacts. Among others, the British Museum has 210 items, out of more than 2,500 items kept in various institutions overseas. Hu's work laid important foundation for the ongoing investigation carried out under the Presidential Office of Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Committee (hereafter Indigenous Justice Committee, IHJTC (established since 2016, chaired by the president herself).

In effect, a lot of indigenous material heritage became artifacts collected by the then Imperial Tohoku University in Taipei (which was established in 1928, later National Taiwan University after World War Two). Under the then Faculty of Literature and Politics (文政學部) established the Vernacular Ethnology Lab (土俗人種學研究室, hereafter the VEL) and Linguistics lab (語言學研究室), which were the most important academic institutions of Indigenous Studies in Taiwan. Under Chair Professor Utsurikawa Nenzo (移川子之藏), many significant ethnographic artifacts were collected into the VEL from private collectors. After 1945, the VEL became the NTU Department of Anthropology Museum (hereafter NTUAM). It was under the VEL that the

Muakai was purchased from the private collector Mizuno Tsunayoshi (水野經吉) in January 1932. It was one among thirteen artifacts purchased by the VEL and came from Kaviyangan. Today, the Department of Anthropology has collected more than 5,800 artifacts, 8,300 images collected from field research, documentaries (films) and 362 items of historic documents, most of which were collected under the VEL. Over time, the indigenous communities lost their memories of artifacts being collected and never had the institution reflected on the colonial nature of ethnology museum procurement - though it was supposedly much less violent than looting, it was obviously a result of unequal power and unequal distribution of wealth between the colonized indigenous communities and the colonial power.

During that time, certainly there was no practice for the indigenous communities to understand the listing and decide whether or not they would like to take part in. The colonial government just did it without seeking consent of the indigenous communities. It might be fair to say that heritagization driven by the colonial state has been inherently problematic because of this lack of engagement and appropriation of heritage and knowledge. When it comes to 2000-2010s, the notion of repatriation has gradually gained currency in academia and policy making in Taiwan. For example, it was only until 2007 that the indigenous community of Say-Siyat had a chance to watch a documentary filmed at their village during the colonial era, with Dr. Hu's support. Dr. Hu was one of the key persons in bringing about the unprecedented conversation and later collaboration between the university and the indigenous community. Dr. Hu had been

involved in actively communicating with the indigenous communities and researching, digitalizing the VEL collection since as early as the early 2000s in relation to a broader trend of developing digital humanities at NTU.

In terms of the government's official response, it was only until 2017 under the Tsai administration, the state government has tried since 2016 to respond to the aforementioned contestations in a more systematic way under IHJTJC.

As noted in its official webpage (IHJTJC, 2016), "The committee will work hand-in-hand with representatives of the various indigenous peoples in pursuit of historical justice." Nonetheless, it is a difficult task in a territory that has been ruled by different regimes over time.

Re-collecting Muakai: Collaboration between NTUAM and the indigenous community

The beginning of decolonizing ethnomuseology

Critically reflecting on its colonial inheritance, NTUAM has endeavored to decolonize its collection and management under director Hu. NTUAM selected two case as pilot projects, including Muakai from Kaviyangan and a dual-face sculpture of the Tjaluvuan family (collected from Aluvuan or 望嘉舊社, another Paiwan community in Pingtung), among many more cases in the museum's collection. The two pilot projects demonstrated innovative methods

to decolonize the museum's collection and to establish new partnership with indigenous communities. NTUAM, in considering nominating some of its collection as National Treasury (國寶), the highest status granted to artifacts under the Act of Cultural Heritage of Taiwan, decided to make it clear that it would be most important to engage the indigenous communities where the artifacts came from the very beginning, as a way to redress the problematic nature of ethnomuseology that NTUAM inherited from its colonial predecessor VEL. It would be important to understand if the state-listing is appropriate, and how they would interpret it, and whether or not if they agree with the application. In other words, state-led heritagization cannot be taken for granted as a "honor" that the indigenous community has to receive unless they fully understand what it means and all the implications of receiving such a state recognition. Moreover, the nation state (and by extension, the national universities funded by the state) should not assume itself to be the most legitimate actor in safeguarding and interpreting heritage, especially in a settler society where quite some institutions remain inherently colonial to the marginalized indigenous communities.

How was it started? NTUAM began with paying an official visit to the Kaviyangan community and explained to them the historical context and the current plan of nomination. The community was in shock as the younger generation mostly had no idea of the existence of Muakai at the first place. After meetings, few elders recalled their childhood memories and gradually revealed the stories of Muakai, who was their female ancestor, a member of the Zingrur family and were represented in the making of the carved wooden

post as part of the structure of the Zingrur family house.⁴ The post was characterized the parallel patterns around the female figure's wrist, eyes on her knees, and six fingers of her hands. It was considered having high cultural and artistic values. In 1931 the house was renovated by the colonial government and then listed as monument in 1935. Muakai was removed before the renovation and brought to Tohoku University via the private collector's dealing but some of the details are not available anymore. Later, the indigenous community was collectively relocated in 1943, a planned relocation process that many indigenous communities went through under colonial governance in the name of modernity and preventing disasters and relocated again in the 1950s after a major disaster heavily damaged the village. The multiple relocations had kept the indigenous community away from their ancestral lands near and leaving behind the Zingrur's house and gradually lost connection with the memories associated with the house. Meanwhile, that the indigenous community converted into Catholicism also kept them away from their traditional religious practice and speeded up the forgetting. The more memory was recovered, the more the community felt a sense of anxiety to reclaim their ownership of the artifacts without necessarily how to do it. While no one seemed to reject the idea of nomination (for National

4 The same house also accommodated another national treasure, Mulitan, another carved wooden post. Mulitan was listed in 2012, several years before Muakai and the post is accommodated in the Institute of Ethnology Museum at Academia Sinica. In the case of Mulitan, the indigenous community was not informed before the nomination and had expressed their disappointment, which to some degree contributed to the experimental project of engaging the indigenous community before listing Muakai.

Treasure), how to re-stake their claims to their heritage and figure out their poisons has been uneasy. Finally, the indigenous tribe sent a group to attend the presentation during the process of application and made their statement clear in the expert meeting: they appreciated the honor to be granted and yet emphasized that Muakai always belongs to the indigenous community. At the same time, the issue of repatriation has become the center of contestation as the younger generation of indigenous people are increasingly aware of the global trend of decolonizing museums.⁵ It has been a challenge to both the indigenous community and the museum. After debates and discussion, the family and the opinion leaders of the community decided that it would be the best to continuously have Muakai sit in the conditioned, institutionalized environment of NTUAM for some time until the community themselves have the capacity to safeguard the piece. Meanwhile, they proposed that a significant ceremony should be organized to make sense of the decision and clarify, (re)establish their relations with the university. For NTUAM, it had also been a continuously reflective journey.

“It is not as easy as finding anyone and returning the artifact to them. No. Who can represent the community? Who are you returning it to? We cannot just let anyone or any family to claim that they are qualified (as the most legitimate recipient [...]) Any proposal from the outside will attract attention and brings about conversation and reactions and therefore we expect to see community

5 The issue has emerged in the late 1990s. See Lonetree, A. (2012). *Decolonizing museums: Representing Native America in national and tribal museums*. Univ of North Carolina Press.

collective decisions/opinions emerging from conversations rather than one single family's action.” (Interview with Cheng-heng Chang, the vice director of NTUAM and Assistant Professor at Department of Anthropology at NTU, 21 April 2021)

Muakai's wedding as an unprecedented move to (re)establish partnership between the indigenous community and NTU

In effect, the indigenous community felt quite nervous and unsure about the plan to nominate Muakai as a national treasure after losing and forgetting it for so long. Some of them compared that to their anxiety before the conventionally long and difficult negotiating over wedding before the wedding ceremony, which is seen as one of the most important social and cultural events of the indigenous community. Engaging in the notion of *lemisi* (negotiating over “betrothal presents” as a metaphor, they made a request that the university should undertake *lemisi* to show its respect and sincerity for the indigenous community. The concept of undertaking *lemisi* enacts a process of “Personalfication” of the artifact and then borrowing the metaphor of kinship to reconceptualize the indigenous community's new relationship with the museum/university. Therefore, a wedding seems inevitable to fulfill the process initiated after sending *lemisi* so the indigenous community formulated this proposal: “well then, perhaps we should organize a wedding,” which certainly surprised NTUAM. Eventually, the indigenous community and the university came to an agreement that a wedding ceremony would be organized as a ritual practice to formalize Muakai's being collected and displayed at the university museum as the community wishes.

The indigenous community has been very clear that the wedding has to be a real ritual practice rather than a performance. It turns out to be a challenge beyond initial expectation and yet, eventually, the wedding serves as a dual process of decolonization and empowerment. Not only that the colonial nature of ethnomuseology is redressed but also the indigenous community finds ways forward for revitalizing their lost attachment with their culture. The last time the indigenous community had such a wedding was more than 50 years ago. So most people had to learn how to do it from the sketch. It turned out that the wedding preparation was like an opportunity for the younger generation to learn about their tradition -the complicated procedures and languages applied in each step - so that they can practice it well in the upcoming ceremony.

Prioritizing the indigenous practice and interpretation

There were certainly frictions and conflicts. Since the indigenous community did not see it as a performance then the details of the ritual practice cannot be reduced despite the existing limitations imposed in the institutional environment of the museum. Among others, pork and wine are significant elements in Paiwan wedding but to bring them into the museum was unthinkable to many experts and curators in the past. Moreover, the ceremony was started with the indigenous leaders firing gun (as a signal to their ancestors) and bringing shamans to facilitating the process, both of which never happened on a campus and required many administrative coordination before the wedding. It was only with the then director of NTUAM's strong support, citing examples that Dr. Hu learned from the US

[Figure 2] The wedding on NTU campus. Photo taken by Shou-Yen Chao, 12 September 2015.



(Arizona State Museum, the Fowler Museum at UCLA, and others), that these practices were allowed to carry on in the museum in the year of 2015. Throughout, both sides have a chance to reflect on their role in the historical connection dated back to the colonial era. “This should have happened when the museum of the Imperial Taihoku University took it in,” said Dr. Hu during the wedding.⁶

In effect, most indigenous community members (ranging from 20s-70s) had never seen Muakai before the visit. Many of them were in tears after praying in front of Muakai on the eve of the wedding when they rehearsed for the upcoming event. It was also during the particular moment that the indigenous community members had a chance to listen to the accumulated research findings as a result of the intense interaction among the few indigenous elders and the museum researchers, such as the delicate details of fingers that characterize Muakai. At the same time, the university reassured that it would be funding the community to have a replica of Muakai placed in their village.⁷

⁶ The quote is cited from the documentary *Muakai's Wedding*, 2018, directed by Ungan Mehan, 60 min.

⁷ The previous director Hu avoided calling it “replica” as the term implies a kind of inferiority. See more in-depth discussion of the ongoing interaction between NTUAM and the indigenous community in Wu’s master thesis (2019). Chia-Cheng Wu (吳佳鏘), 2019, *Doing Muakai’s Family: Material Practices of the Cultural Revitalization in Kaviyangan (做國寶的家人：Kaviyangan文化復振中的物質實踐)* [In Chinese only], Master thesis, Department of Anthropology, unpublished.



[Figure 3] Muakai. Photo taken by Shou-Yen Chao, 12 September 2015.

Heritage interpretation also matters in decolonizing ethnomuseology. Under Dr. Hu, the museum has been quite clear in its prioritizing the indigenous interpretation of heritage, which differs from the documentation done by Japanese anthropologists in the 1930s. In the main, it is about the naming of the spiritual post. Dr. Hu showed her respect for the indigenous interpretation in adopting their way of naming and storytelling in the display and exhibition while the Bureau of Cultural Heritage (the central authority over heritage) continued to adopt the Japanese scholars' naming in the official registration record (at the same time, the indigenous account was included in the text).⁸

The communication and exchange did not stop after the ritual practice and symbolic gesture were made, it evolves into more long-term collaboration among the stakeholders, which has deeper implication of decolonizing heritage and knowledge. The indigenous community continuously sees the university as its relative (represented by the museum and Department of Anthropology), somewhat personified by Dr. Hu. When Dr. Hu unfortunately passed away in 2018, the indigenous community took it quite seriously and organized a traditional event to send her away and to transform their sorrow into wishes for the future. By extension, each year, the youth group of the indigenous community would challenge its teen members to send an invitation card to the university on their own (it took at least 6-24 hours depending upon vehicles adopted and the cost afforded at that time) to

⁸ <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/indigenous/assets/overview/antiquity/20150501000002>

engage the university in participating in their annual events.

At the same time, the students of the Department of Anthropology also find it meaningful for them to sustain a mutually beneficial connection with the community. They became seen as young members of the local indigenous society and were engaged in youth cultural training programs to learn about traditional practices. The generally positive outcome of the pilot cases encourages more and more indigenous communities to visit the museum and look up collections related to their ancestor and restore their knowledge of and connection with their own heritage. "In effect, to accommodate their visits and respond to their requests have become the most important work of the museum," said Dr. Cheng-heng Chang, the deputy director of NTUAM (Interview, 21 April 2021)

The case of Muakai has demonstrated innovative ways of decolonizing ethnomuseology and encouraged more ongoing projects. In October 2019, NTUAM worked with Aluvuan (望嘉), another Paiwan community in Pingtung) to readdress their partnership via *masasan siruvetje*, a traditional way of formalizing brotherhood, over the case of another antiquity. Similar processes were also carried out in the case of Kakita'an's ancestral house (of the matrilineal Amis tribe), in which historical register of the great flood and the origin of the tribe left on the carved pillars. The original pillars were relocated to the Institute of Ethnology Museum at Academia Sinica in the 1970s. It is until the 2000s that the young generation of the tribe started to reconnect with their past and to launch a process to communicate with their ancestors

resting on the pillars, as they continue to believe. It then led to practices of decolonizing the pillar and a long process of rebuilding the ancestral house in Hualien. The rebuilt ancestral house is now also a municipal heritage and has empowered the indigenous community significantly. We are expecting to see more projects of decolonizing heritage and museology in the future, be it antiquities, built heritage or even documentary heritage (archives), collected in institutions in Taiwan or overseas.

Learning from this case: recommendation for addressing the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution in between Korea and Japan

This case study of Muakai wishes to show the possibility of turning the contestation over right to heritagization between the colonialist and the colonized into an inspiring, mutually beneficial partnership. In this case, NTUAM (and the university behind) does not take for granted itself as being the sole owner of the indigenous cultural property to submit the application even though it is seen as the owner in legally sense. Instead, the university is engaging with the indigenous community on behalf of its colonial predecessor, that is, the Imperial Taihoku University. Likewise, we might want to adopt this decolonizing logic of engagement with labors' perspective in reconsidering industrial heritage, an increasingly important theme in heritage conservation in Asia, especially after the nomination of the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution (hereafter the Meiji Sites) as

UNESCO World Heritage in 2015. If we consider the historical processes in which massive laborers were exploited to contribute to the construction and operation of industrial sites, then we should have considered them as partially owning the sites. This recognition would be especially important when the sites become officially listed as heritage by either national or international bodies. In other words, it would be important to bring laborers' voices back to industrial heritage⁹, including both Japanese laborers and foreign laborers (mostly Korean laborers and Chinese laborers in the case) forcedly made to work during the colonial era. A reflection with a logic of engagement then will require the current authority/owner (much of the Meiji sites remain to be owned by some Japanese conglomerates) to think beyond considering the Meiji Sites its own cultural properties but a shared heritage for nurturing the sense of a global community. Therefore, it might be important for the Japanese government to make sure the ex-laborers voices were adequately reflected in the presentation and interpretation of heritage. Certainly, it would be challenging to do so as most of them passed away given the time span. Alternately, there is growing scholarship of social history in both Japan and Korea, which looks into the historical issue of women labor and child labor in the coal mining industry.¹⁰ Existing research can serve as important references for Japan to initiate collaboration with Korea to find

9 See more discussion in Shackel, P.A. Labor's Heritage: Remembering the American Industrial Landscape. *Hist Arch* 38, 44–58 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03376668> or Gadsby, D. A., & Chidester, R. C. (2011). Heritage and “those people”: representing working-class interests through Hampden's archaeology. *Historical Archaeology*, 45(1), 101-113.

10 See Yusuke Matsuura “World heritage and the local politics of memory: the Miike coal mine and fu no isan.” *Japan Forum*. Vol. 31. No. 3. Routledge, 2019; Or see Lim T.W., Shimazaki N., Godo Y., Lim Y. (2019) *The World of the Female Miner in Japan: Sites of Compliance and Resistance*. In: *Coal Mining Communities and Gentrification in Japan*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-7220-9_7

something positive from negative legacy/heritage, which should have been conducted before the nomination of the Meiji Sites. Moreover, there are civic organizations collecting the oral history of ex-laborers and advocating for labor rights across borders. It would be much helpful if Japan invites them to participate in updating existing interpretation of the Meiji Sites and more specifically, in adding necessary information/interpretation for the visitors to understand the human cost of industrialization and the past injustice occurred in times when protection of laborer rights was not fully implemented in the colonies. In so doing, the Japanese government can make this case a turning point to build up partnership with the Korean government to address the colonial past together. It will contribute to international trends of recognizing the important roles of both non-state actors and state actors in accommodating more cross-border dialogues for reconciliation and peace, which is one of the fundamental missions of UNESCO. Without doing so, then it raises questions of the listing of the Meiji Sites without obtaining the laborers' support at the first place – something that NTUAM worked hard to avoid with the case of nominating Muakai as National Treasure of Taiwan. Scholars like Dr. Hu played a critical role as a mediator in the Muakai case, a case that dealt with decolonizing heritage between the state, institutions and indigenous communities in the same country. When it comes to the case of Meiji Sites, then it might be necessary that UNESCO or the third party plays role in facilitating conversation and translation among different countries.

As the case of Muakai demonstrated, decolonizing heritage should go beyond repatriation. It is a dialogue to unpack memories and reestablish

multi-lateral relationship among the colonial past (with Japan and ROC), the indigenous present, and the university. The indigenous community is as eager to relearn their past as to reestablish a more equal relationship with the university. It serves a good example of redressing the past in a dialogue/praxis. In working together as partners, the multiple stakeholders have a chance to revisit the colonial nature of anthropological collection and museums and to reposition one another in the power matrix in a more equal manner without reproducing the power of the colonial gaze. This case study offers a convincing example of propatriation. It demonstrates *what heritage can do to international communities*. With critical thinking and approaches, heritage can enable partnerships and knowledge exchange. It also demonstrates that we should see heritage as relations that require sustainable management and participation, as we can see the continuous effort required in sustaining the exchange between the university and the indigenous community after the symbolic Muakai's wedding. Applying this logic to the Meiji Sites, then the WHS management should be operating in a way that allows for more research and educational programs to ensure a critical reflection on labor history as an integral element to the formation of industrial heritage. It would be much more beneficial for both the sites and archives about the sites to be adequately opened to allow for active interpretation, first-hand study, and knowledge production. The relational aspect of heritage is important and yet oftentimes ignored. The neglect would be regretful as it is the key to redress historical violence and power relations hidden behind material culture and built environment, the visual form of heritage that we most of the time wrongly assume as heritage. Dr. Hu's comment on material culture and power

relation is helpful here:

“It is obvious that upon their production, utilization, and transaction, all objects have embedded material attributes and cultural meanings, while as socially and culturally salient entities, objects also construct culture-crossing paths based on material stability and visibility.

However, such culture crossing is never “free”; it is always formed by the dynamic views and definitions of cultural boundaries between Self and Others. Thus, ways of seeing and representing the artifacts of Others reflect shifting power relations and ideologies in the history of contact. Taiwan is an example of this enactment.”¹¹

With her insight in mine, then it might be important for other cases to take similar journey to review the past (sometimes including past project of heritagization and its consequences, such as the case of Muakai) and in so doing to decolonize heritage and establish new relationship among all stakeholders. Only so can heritage be the meaningful bridge between the past and future.

11 Hu, C. Y. (2007). 8. Taiwanese Aboriginal Art and Artifacts. In *Refracted Modernity* (pp. 193-216). University of Hawaii Press. Also see how Hu discusses Taiwan indigenous collections in her more recent work. Hu, C. Y. (2012). Dispersed Collections and Articulated Memories: Two Cases of Making Transnational Linkages to Taiwan Indigenous Collections doi:10.29997/JMC.201206.0002 博物館與文化, (3), 2012, *Journal of Museum & Culture* 3 : 3~28 (June, 2012) [In Chinese only]

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New Interpretations of the Holocaust: The Case of the Galicia Jewish Museum

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The cosmopolitan memory-scape of the Holocaust

The memories of the Holocaust have been transformed from national to cosmopolitan memory culture (MacDonald 2013). The term 'Holocaust' is often used with the following, most widely-accepted scholarly definition: "The Holocaust (1933-1945) was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators." (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 2019, quoted Jaeger 2020). The Holocaust was considered to be one of the most painful

tragedies in Jewish history during the Second World War. Afterwards, the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp's inscription as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979 served as the pivotal event which placed the Holocaust within a universal and humanistic context. Within the world's context of memorialisation, memories of the Holocaust have been linked with a broader moral movement towards justice, partially due to the widespread recognition of the phrase, "Never Again" (MacDonald 2013: 190). This central message of "never again" has proliferated globally and has been woven into the moral foundation of multiple museums and memorials. These museums across the world now act as hubs of "cosmopolitan commemoration" for the individuals who have no direct connection to the Holocaust, but who still wish to commemorate it (Levy and Sznajder 2002: 88).

The number of Holocaust museums and memorials continually increased during the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, and they are now located in 44 countries, including those in Europe, North and South America, and the broader Asian-Pacific region.¹ Israel took the initiative in archiving the crimes of the Nazi Party and its collaborators, and established two leading museums for the purposes of both research and education: the Ghetto Fighters' House in 1949, and Yad Vashem in 1953 (Parrott-Sheffer 2019). Both museums function as world centres for Jewish Holocaust remembrance, globally affecting the expansion and development of Holocaust exhibitions.

¹ The number of Holocaust museums and memorials located in various countries was calculated by the author in May 2021.

Meanwhile, in European countries, the former concentration camps opened to the public, and were transformed into museums and memorial sites (e.g. the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum in Poland in 1947, and the Dachau Concentration Camp and Memorial Site in Germany in 1965). In the 1960s, the Holocaust survivors residing outside of European countries and Israel took steps to memorialise their stories, and the Holocaust boom began in the 1970s, particularly in the US (MacDonald 2013: 191; Parrott-Sheffer 2019). This movement accelerated in the 1990s, as the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Holocaust brought about many further expansions of Holocaust memorialisation in the New World and Asia. (e.g. the Holocaust Education Centre in Fukuyama, Japan in 1995, the Cape Town Holocaust Centre in South Africa in 1999).

How can the Holocaust become a ‘shared’ cosmopolitan memory of the present? One of the main reasons for this possibility stems from how Holocaust memories have been firmly situated within the broader framework of universal human rights (c.f. Webber 2015). Beyond being merely emblematic of Jewish persecution, the aforementioned slogan of, “Never Again” has become a powerful overarching slogan, and the themes of the Holocaust museums and memorials were strongly connected to other acts of global violence, atrocities, crimes against humanity, and violations of human rights (Mookherjee 2011: 72). During the process of this memorialisation and heritagisation, the Holocaust became symbolic of the global “struggle for world peace and security” (Webber 2015: 117). Such grand narratives of the Holocaust are now today comparatively straightforward and uncontroversial,

and provide a space for individuals to engage in universal empathy when facing each respective nation’s traumatic and painful past. Thus, prevailing Holocaust museums and memorials have formed the harmonious memory-scape of the world.

The Galicia Jewish Museum’s new approaches to memorialising the Holocaust

Within well-established cosmopolitan memory culture, there have been diverse endeavours and attempts to diversify the narratives of the Holocaust and the Jewish history since the 2000s. The Galicia Jewish Museum in Poland is one of the museums that makes such efforts. The museum was established in 2004 in Kazimierz, Kraków— the former Jewish district in Southern Poland, which is widely-known as the shooting place of *Schindler’s List* (1993) (see Figure 1). This museum was the result of a 12-year collaboration with Professor Jonathan Webber, a British social anthropologist of Polish Jewish descent, who was a keen observer of contemporary Jewish life, and Christ Schwarz, a British photojournalist and cultural activist (Gerrard 2013: 107; Shneer 2010: 317). Professor Webber worked with the history and texts for the curation of the museum’s exhibits, while Schwarz captured Galicia through rich colour photographs (Nowakowski 2015: 302).

The collaboration between Schwarz and Webber developed from the publication of the book into the museum’s establishment. Schwarz first visited Poland as a press photographer in 1981 in order to cover the Solitary movement. After the collapse of Communism in 1989, he became interested

Figure 1. The location of the Galicia Jewish Museum
(produced by Hyun Kyung Lee and Dami Kim)



Figure 2. The main building of Galicia Jewish Museum
(© Galicia Jewish Museum)

in still-existing relics of Jewish life in the small towns and villages located in the countryside outside Kraków. Meanwhile, Webber was engaged in research in Polish Galicia for a number of years, and worked to document the remaining traces of the Jewish past within the Polish landscape for his book project. Webber began a search for a publication photographer, and Schwarz shortly thereafter joined Webber's project. During the research period, Schwarz produced almost 1000 photographs, and decided to establish the Galicia Jewish Museum as a permanent home for his photographs. An empty former warehouse building was transformed into the museum, and Webber was invited to be the Chairman of the Board of Trustees (a summary of Galicia Jewish Museum Visitor Guide 2009:5-6, quoted from Gerrard 2013: 80-81).

The Galicia Jewish Museum is regarded as one of the innovative museums in Poland to not only serve as a witness to a growing polyphony of Jewish voices, but to also integrate the multi-faceted histories of Jewish life and culture, the Holocaust, and present-day Jewish life (Nowakowski 2015: 302-303). The Galicia Jewish Museum clarifies its objectives as being to not only commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and celebrate the Jewish culture of Polish Galicia, but to also challenge the stereotypes and misconceptions associated with Jewish history in Poland, and to encourage visitors to rethink their conceptions of the future (Galicia Jewish Museum 2015). Combining both cultural and educational programmes, the museum operates two permanent exhibitions (Traces of Memory since 2004, and An Unfinished Memory since 2014), in addition to several temporal exhibitions. The museum has now become one of

the most important Jewish cultural institutions in Poland, and is continually recognised and commended for its work by the Polish government, as well as by international and domestic visitors (e.g. Noted as one of the top ten museums in Poland by TripAdvisor in 2014) (Nowakowski 2015; Webber 2018). In this analysis, I examine the Galicia Jewish Museum's novel endeavours to re-interpret the Holocaust through two methods: 1) the multi-dimensional narratives of the Holocaust, and 2) multilayering individual, local, and grand narratives.



Figure 3. The Overlook of the Traces of Memory. Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland, core exhibition of the Galicia Jewish Museum (© Galicia Jewish Museum)

Multiple-dimensional narratives of the Holocaust

Since its creation, the Galicia Jewish Museum aimed to represent the multi-dimensional narratives of the Holocaust, particularly through the core exhibition, *Traces of Memory: A Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland*. Many scholars of Jewish history and memory-making have raised their concerns that, “the Jewish past in Poland has become overshadowed by images of Auschwitz” (e.g. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2014). Webber was one of these scholars, and thus worked intensely to envision how the focus of tour groups could be expanded from covering merely the history of death camps, to instead examining the multiple narratives of Polish Jewry which have spanned a period of over 1,000 years (Webber 2015; 2018). Hence, he attempted to offer new museum narratives for recontextualising Jewish history, culture, and identities in the plural and multi-faceted sense (Webber 2018: 141). Coined alongside Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s term, “chorus of voices” (2015), he intended to deliver not only the grand narrative of the Holocaust, but also a series of more diverse Polish-Jewish stories (Gerrard 2013; Webber 2018). He acknowledged that allowing these narratives to occupy the same museum space could cause dissonance, and yet he also believed that such an approach would stimulate visitors to engage in more nuanced, critical reflection (Webber 2018).

In order to realise the multi-dimensionality of the museum, Webber and Schwarz did not follow the conventional curation of the Jewish Museum, which chronologically displays Jewish collections related to the Jewish people and heritage of the past. Their creative collaboration led to the birth of a

new exhibition style, which showed contemporary-coloured photos in non-chronological order— with the intention of encouraging visitors to use the present to understand the past (Gerrard 2013: 97). In other words, they tried to portray the present-day realities thematically in order to more fully portray Polish-Jewish history, rather than merely portraying historic relics and scenes with black-white photos (Webber 2018: 146). By shifting the perspectives of the Holocaust and Jewish history from being located in the past to now being located in the present, the exhibition, *Traces of Memory*, consists of five different sections (Table 1).

Table 1. Summary of the exhibition sections ²

Section Title	Theme	Contents
1. Jewish Life in Ruins	Sadness in confronting the ruins	The first section focuses on ruins, narrating the destruction of the physical aspects of the pre-war Jewish community, specifically cemeteries and synagogues.
2. Jewish Culture as it once was	Interest in original culture	The second section moves from the ruins of the past, and explicitly contradicts the theme by showing photos which offer glimpses of the pre-Holocaust Jewish world which can still be seen in Polish Galicia today.









² The table is based on the one that Dr. Katherine Gerrard, the former director of the Galicia Jewish Museum, created in her PhD thesis, which was supervised by Jonathan Webber (Gerrard 2013: 114 and Appendix 1). Additionally, Table 1 was developed with the incorporation of additional content from Webber 2018 and Nowakowski 2015.

3. Sites of Massacre and Destruction	Horror at the process of destruction	The third section is about the Holocaust, and shows photos of the different landscape locations where local events of the Holocaust took place.
4. How the Past is Being Remembered	Recognition of the efforts to preserve traces of memory	The fourth section looks more broadly at the processes which have affected the collective memory of Jewish civilisation in post-war Galicia. It focuses on the different ways people have coped with the existence of a difficult past (e.g. the sustained, multi-faceted attempts at memorialisation).
5. People Making Memory Today	Recreating the memory of the Galician Jewish past	The fifth section consists entirely of portraits of the wide range of people who are involved, in different ways, with making memory.

Figure 3. Exhibition photos of *Traces of Memory* (© Galicia Jewish Museum) ³

Section Title	Theme	Contents
1. Jewish Life in Ruins	 <p>S1.1 - A Jewish tombstone used for paving. (Wielkie Oczy, by Chris Schwarz)</p>	 <p>S1.2 - Traces of Jewish gravestones in the mountains. (Zakopane, by Chris Schwarz)</p>

³ From the “Traces of Memory. Contemporary Look at the Jewish Past in Poland”, permanent exhibition of the Galicia Jewish Museum, Kraków (www.galiciajewishmuseum.org)
Exhibition Authors: Prof. Jonathan Webber, Chris Schwarz, Photographs: Chris Schwarz, Jason Francisco.

2. Jewish Culture as it once was	 <p>S2.1 - A beautifully decorated, meticulously restored eighteenth-century synagogue. (Łańcut, by Chris Schwarz)</p>	 <p>S1.2 - Traces of Jewish gravestones in the mountains. (Zakopane, by Chris Schwarz)</p>
3. Sites of Massacre and Destruction	 <p>S3.1 - Entrance to the main Auschwitz camp. (Auschwitz, by Chris Schwarz)</p>	 <p>S3.2 - Mass grave of an entire Jewish community. (Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, by Jason Francisco)</p>
4. How the Past is Being Remembered	 <p>S4.1 - A city center park memorializes its surviving Jewish Heritage. (Tarnów, by Jason Francisco)</p>	 <p>S4.2 - A Yiddish inscription outside a pre-war café. (Tarnów, by Jason Francisco)</p>
5. People Making Memory Today	 <p>S5.1 - A synagogue in miniature: part of an educational experience for children. (near Tarnów, by Jason Francisco)</p>	 <p>S5.2 - Vibrant and diverse Jewish life in present-day Kraków. (Tempel Synagogue in Kraków, by Jason Francisco)</p>

As such, *Traces of Memory* shows five different approaches towards the memorialising of Jewish history by emphasising the multi-vocality of Jewish memories. This exhibition offers a post-Holocaust narrative that focuses on the dramatic changes that have occurred within Jewish culture in Poland (Webber 2018: 146). Hence, this approach exposes the contemporary contradictions and paradoxes which Poland experiences. Meanwhile, it does not neglect the persistence of more common ideas of the imagined past, but reminds us that such memory types are part of the present-day realities (Webber 2018: 146-147, see Section 1 and 2). In addition, whilst the first four sections symbolise Jewish ‘absence,’ the last section highlights their ‘presence,’ within the form of diverse memory-makers still living in the present – scholars, politicians, Holocaust survivors, souvenir dealers, pilgrims, tourists, and students, as well as ordinary local people also residing in Kraków (Gerrard 2013: 113; Webber 2018: 148; Galicia Jewish Museum official website n.d.). This exhibition effectively represents how conflicting memories and the chorus of those voices coexist today, and how diverse memory-makers revitalise active memorialisation into the present. This reveals the interesting harmony within the dissonant multi-dimensional narratives, and suggests the existence of an open-ended and alternative future and history (Webber 2018: 148).

Multilayering individual, local, and grand narratives

The Galicia Jewish Museum provides the platform to connect multi-layered individual, local, and grand narratives for both Polish and international visitors. The museum operates one of the most extensive Jewish and Holocaust education programmes in Poland, which also contributes to the

understanding of multiple narratives within Jewish history (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.).⁴ First, the museum helps visitors to become immersed within individual Jewish stories by offering the programme, “*Meetings with the witnesses to history*” to all visitors (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.). The invited elderly people relay their entire Polish experiences, which the museum hopes will make an impact on young visitors and alter their outlook on history (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.). The museum endeavours to provide a friendly atmosphere where witnesses can tell their full story without any hesitation. After the talk, the museum also organises a Q&A session where the audience can freely ask any questions to the witnesses, and listen to their answers (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.). For the international visitors, the museum also offers translation services. This provides a particularly inclusive opportunity for young visitors to get closer to a Jewish history which is interwoven with individual stories.

Second, the Galicia Jewish Museum helps visitors to become more closely acquainted with the local nuances of Jewish history through guided museum tours. Looking specifically at the exhibition, *Traces of Memory*, the museum offers half or full-day tours with English-speaking licensed guides who have specialized knowledge in different Jewish topics (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.). The tour covers places ranging from Kazimierz (the Jewish

⁴ The educational programmes run by the Galicia Jewish Museum can be seen in other Holocaust museums. Although the Galicia Jewish Museum’s programmes are not entirely new, such programmes are well aligned with the main themes of the exhibitions.

Quarter, synagogues and cemeteries), the former ghetto area in Podgórze, Schindler’s apartment and factory (now a museum), and the former Płaszów concentration camp to the Old Town. This tour helps visitors to not only deeply engage with local Jewish history and the diverse Jewish cultural aspects in Kraków, but to also increase their understanding of the exhibition’s intents.

Third, the Galicia Jewish Museum endeavours to communicate the grand narratives of the Holocaust by offering the workshops, *Decision Made: the Holocaust and Wartime Morality* (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.). As mentioned previously, the museum attempts to explain the grand narratives of the Holocaust, in addition to multiple other Jewish histories. These workshops can be seen as make-up sessions, where the temporal and permanent exhibitions do not fully examine the Holocaust. In the session, *Decision Made*, the participants hold a discussion on the complicated issues of victims, perpetrators, and bystanders, and debate the choices faced by different individuals connected with the Holocaust (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.). Within small groups, the participants read and discuss the stories of people and their choices during the Holocaust, and create a conversation about the difficult moral and ethical choices the individuals faced in the past (Galicia Jewish Museum website n.d.). This helps participants to not simplify the lives of the individuals who lived through the Holocaust, and allows for the participants to instead empathise with the difficult pasts of the victims.

The Holocaust towards a 'shared' heritage

The Galicia Jewish Museum has become one of the interpretative models which is able to lift up and sensitively portray the multi-dimensional and multi-layered narratives of the Holocaust and Jewish history. The museum creates a space for individuals to connect with Judaism, Jewish culture, history, and even contemporary art, and provides an engaging, welcoming environment for people from all backgrounds and age groups within the context of Krakow (Nowakowski 2015). In addition, the museum exhibitions make it possible for visitors to form new intellectual and emotional connections themselves, through the dissonant narratives displayed throughout the museum. These learning experiences ultimately foster 'active' visitors who are willing to interpret the stories of the Holocaust from their own perspectives.

The case of the Galicia Jewish Museum gives a great deal of insight on how to understand universalised heritage sites. Both UNESCO and ICOMOS promote the language of shared heritage for the benefit of all of humanity, and emphasise human beings' responsibility and accountability in the protection of World Heritage Sites. However, the term, shared heritage tends to be comprehended as referring to a heritage site that has one universally-acknowledged, dominant meaning. Hence, in the current discourse about shared heritage, multiple voices, stories, and values that have accumulated within heritage sites have been assimilated into one grand narrative, and finally transformed into an icon associated with a strong slogan. However, the Galicia Jewish Museum shows that conflicted and diverse memories/stories

can be 'shared' within one space, meaning that the juxtaposition of multiple voices can create harmony, even as they each retain their own individual characteristics.

I fully agree with the statement that Museums can generally act as major agents of social and intellectual transformation (e.g. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2014). The Galicia Jewish Museum took the initiative in diversifying its narratives of Jewish history and the Holocaust, allowing for new contextualised narratives in Poland to act as catalysts for social transformation, and contributing to new ways of thinking (Webber 2018: 149). Additionally, new trends in Holocaust commemoration have developed in museums and memorials across the globe, including in Germany, Austria, Poland, Lithuania, Israel, the US, and Australia (Aharony and Rosenfeld 2016). Instead of feeling hesitant to create cacophony within the museum curation, museums should provide a space where visitors can experience dissonant and multiplicities' voices, and help them understand and respect diverse values. This will then, in turn, allow them to actively tune into the chorus of multiple voices on their own.

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Settler and *Sūmūd* interpretation: the reimagining of the boundaries of Jerusalem/al-Quds

Britt Baillie

Introduction: interpretation and claims to space

Jerusalem/al Quds is one of the most contested cities in the world. As the spiritual centre of three major global Abrahamic faiths, the desire for control over it has driven both historic and contemporary conflicts. Outbreaks of violence in 2021 indicate the continued failure to produce a binding peace. Heritage interpretation can be regarded as the processes that assist the ‘revelation and unveiling’ which intend to lead public(s) ‘to understand, and then to appreciate, and finally to protect’ the heritage in question (Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010, p.48). The French equivalent *médiation*, has the additional meaning of ‘an action aimed at reconciling parties or bringing them to agreement’ (ibid, p. 47). Yet, cultural landscapes contain land ‘... and land is one of the most contentious matters known to mankind. People live on it and die for it’ (Fowler, 2004, pp. 132).

The interdisciplinary Conflict in Cities and the Contested State (CINC) project undertook extensive research on the urban dimension of ethno-national and religious conflicts in Europe and the Middle East. The project’s findings indicate that the asymmetric and selective interpretation of heritage in and around ‘divided’ cities helps to secure, and conversely minimise claims to the past, which in turn underpin territorial aspirations in the present (see e.g. Pullan and Baillie 2013, Conflict in Cities 2013, Pullan, Sternberg, Kyriacou, Larkin and Dumper 2013). CINC stressed that the power of heritage interpretation needs to figure in any attempts at conflict resolution and called for closer monitoring of heritage in contested areas by international bodies. This article highlights the lessons learnt from ongoing longitudinal research by this author building upon work carried out for one of CINC’s case-studies¹ which examined the mobilisation of heritage interpretation in Jerusalem.

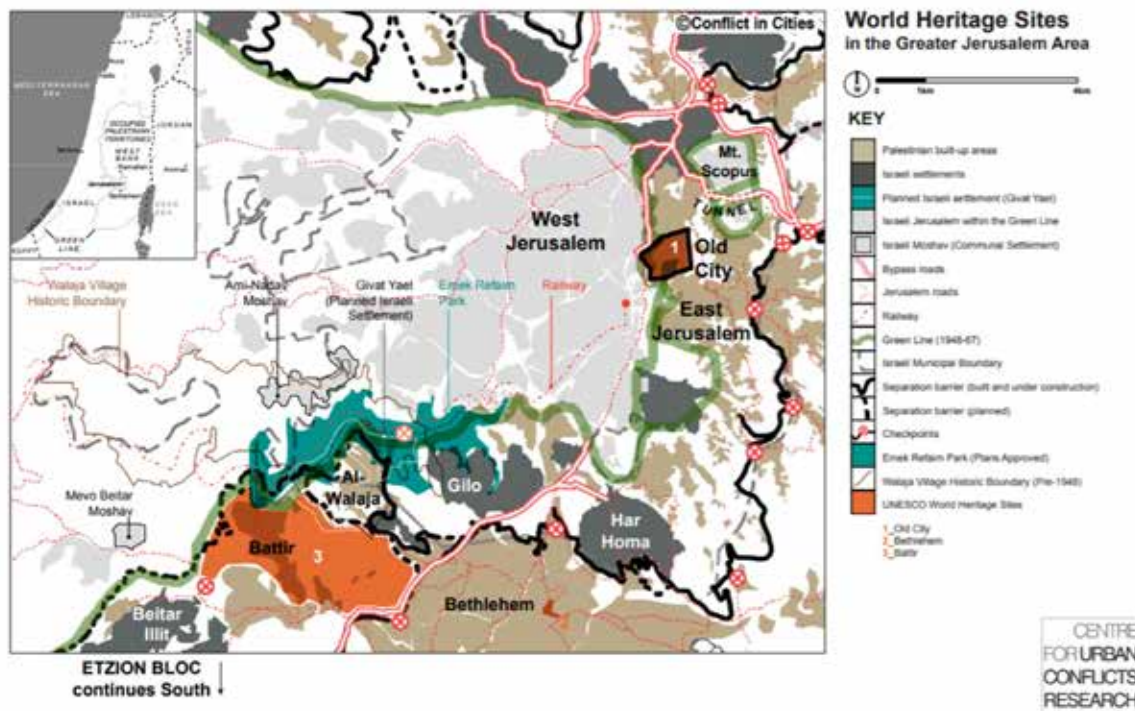
Many Palestinians and Israelis express the desire to ‘preserve’ the landscape of southern Jerusalem from rapid urbanisation (by the ‘other’) and environmental degradation. However, key actors are seeking to protect two very different perceived landscapes from two very different sets of threats. Israeli interpretations frame claims to the land as both ancient and modern while they tend to relegate Palestinian uses of the space discursively to the category of ‘temporary’ (Braverman, 2009). According to the Sefer Yehoshua

¹ I would like to thank Nadera Karkaby Patel, Yair Wallach, Lefkos Kyriacou, and Wendy Pullan at the Centre for Urban Conflicts Research, University of Cambridge for their ongoing assistance with translations and graphics, as well as insights and guidance.

(Book of Joshua) of the Tanakh (Hebrew Bible), God gave the Israelites Canaan as their Promised Land. However, the Romans expelled the Jews from Jerusalem after the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132-136 CE) and renamed the area Syria Palaestina. Today, the selective interpretation of biblical archaeology

is frequently used to 'legitimise' 'first possession' and 'divine right' claims to land settled by Israelis on what is recognised by international law to be the Palestinian side of the Green Line (see Fig. 1) (cf. Pullan & Gwiazda 2009).

Figure 1. Map of World Heritage Sites in the Greater Jerusalem Area. Produced by Lefkos Kyriacou, 2021.



Many Israeli settlers (Israeli citizens who inhabit ethnically exclusive communities beyond the Green Line) feel that their future in the southern Jerusalem area and other parts of the West Bank is under threat from armed actions by Palestinians, yet they object to the construction of the 'Separation Barrier' (also known as the 'Israeli West Bank Barrier' or the 'Apartheid Wall') which was designed to 'enhance Israeli security' in the aftermath of the Second Intifada. Plans for a permanent 708km structure, 85% which would have been located in what is internationally regarded as the West Bank were pursued in the 2000s (UN OCHA, 2011). By 2012, 440 km (62%) of the barrier had been completed and 57 km (8%) was under construction (B'Tselem, 2012). Many Israeli settlers, oppose the construction of the barrier based on concerns over limiting settlement expansion, environmental damage, losing areas of the 'promised land', and being left outside Israel in the event of a permanent peace agreement (Reynolds, 2017).

The hegemonic Palestinian narratives interpret the landscapes around al-Quds as embodied spaces in which consecutive generations have continuously lived and farmed. Many Palestinian residents regard their future in the area to be at stake in an 'ever shrinking' Palestine. Following Israel's 'War of Independence' and the Palestinian Naqba ('catastrophe', in Arabic), between 500,000 and 900,000 Palestinians left the country, while approximately

100,000 Palestinians remained in their original settlements or were forced to move to other villages or towns (Morris, 2003). The Refaim Valley in southern Jerusalem was bisected by the Green Line which served as the de facto border until the Six Day War in 1967 during which Israel captured additional territory. After the 1967 War, Israelis built and continue to build dozens of new settlements in the West Bank area of what became known as the Etzion Bloc despite such land acquisitions being regarded as illegal under international law. The remaining Palestinian villages have been increasingly encroached upon by the construction of Israeli bypass roads, the establishment of Israeli parks, and the (proposed) construction of the Separation Barrier.

The threat to the lush, historically significant, terraced landscape of southern Jerusalem posed by the planned construction of the barrier prompted Israeli and Palestinian activists to work towards the ‘common’ goal of securing the area’s protection. The 2014 adoption of the ‘Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir’ as Palestine’s second World Heritage Site indicates that internationally recognised heritage interpretation which identifies multiple phases of use by different peoples and cultures has the potential to open a path away from ethno-nationally exclusive meanings and particularistic interpretations of the past. Gidon Bromberg, the Israeli Director of Friends of the Earth Middle East claimed that ‘Battir remains a ray of hope for cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians toward a better future’ (Lazaroff 2014).



Figure 2. The Green Line, the Ottoman railroad, and the terraced landscape of Battir. © Baillie 2013.

Settlers and the Making of the Neo-Biblical Landscape

According to Jewish tradition, after losing many of his strong holds, Bar Kokhba the leader of the rebellion of Jews in Roman Judea, withdrew the remnants of his army to the fortress of Betar (Ussishkin, 1993). It was subsequently brutally besieged and taken by the Romans in 135CE as part of the last major battle of the revolt. Excavations at Khirbet el-Yahud (Arabic, meaning 'ruin of the Jews'), by Israeli archaeologists, south-west of the Palestinian village of Battir claim to have identified the remains as having belonged to Betar (ibid).

In the 1920s and 30s Zionists began purchasing parcels in the hinterlands of Jerusalem which became settlements in the 1940s as an attempt to 'reverse' Bar Kokhba's losses (Zertal & Eldar, 2005). These settlements were violently destroyed just prior to the declaration of Israeli Independence. The 1949 Armistice Agreement placed the Green Line along the Ottoman-Era railway which linked Jerusalem to Battir and to the Mediterranean port of Jaffa, giving the fledgling state of Israel full control over this strategic piece of infrastructure.

The Palestinians who remained on the other side of the Refaim Valley witnessed first-hand the destruction and appropriation of villages on what had become the Israeli side. The homes of the village of al-Qabu, for example, were blown up by Israeli forces in 1949, and were later transformed into the new Israeli village of Mevo Beitar ('Beitar Gateway' in Hebrew) (Khalidi, 1992, pp. 308) (Fig. 1). Drawing once more upon this biblical toponym, in 1985 the

Figure 3. The village of al-Walaja was bisected by the Green Line (seen at the bottom of the valley). The villagers moved across the Refaim Valley to property that remained in their possession (seen across the valley). The ruins of the old village (seen in the foreground) are now used by Israeli Jerusalemites as a recreational space. Israeli closure policies make this land inaccessible to West Bank Palestinians, including most of the villagers of al-Walaja themselves (Baillie 2013). © Baillie 2010.





Figure 4. The Separation Barrier around al-Walaja under construction in 2010. This section separates al-Walaja from the Har Gilo settlement and Jerusalem beyond. The Palestinian side has been left in raw concrete. The Israeli side has been clad with a sandstone façade to minimise the visual disruption of the vistas of the expropriated lands of al-Walaja which have been designated as the Emek Refaim Park (Baillie 2013). © Baillie 2010.

Beitar Illit settlement was established in the West Bank. It has become one of Israel's fastest growing settlements with a population of over 50,000 (Magid 2017).

Israeli authorities are currently in the process of establishing the Jerusalem Park, which will be the largest park in Israel, comprising '15,000 dunams of metropolitan parks encompassing Jerusalem' (KKL- JNF 2013). Since 1967 over 11 million trees have been planted to create the city's green belt (Cohen, 1994, 86). Despite the massive erasure of Palestinian villages after the Declaration of Israeli Independence, the Israeli side of the Refaim Valley remained dotted with Palestinian fruit orchards (bustans), fragments of buildings, and agricultural terraces.

Some of these ruins, particularly those which had Roman or Crusader period origins, were turned into archaeological follies or focal points within what became the Jewish National Fund parks of Aminadav and Begin (Kadman, 2015).

In 2013, Israeli authorities gave their approval for the development of the Emek Refaim Park (Fig. 1). According to the Jerusalem Development Agency (n.d.) 'The unique landscape of the park includes agricultural terraces, orchards, and spring sites, epitomizing the agricultural and settlement heritage of the Land of Israel'. Land belonging to the Palestinian village of al-Walaja, adjacent to Battir, has been designated as park land to prevent urban expansion, 'protect' the landscape, and naturalise the 'continuity' between

Israeli Jerusalem and the Etzion Bloc (Fig 1.). In the name of ‘conservation’, Aviv Tatarsky of Ir Amin argues that ‘The landscape, heritage and tourism [improvements] are being presented innocently, but they create a situation where the owners of the land and the Palestinian community are prevented from access’ (Riba 2018). In 2019, farmers from al-Walaja had to travel 25km around Israeli ‘security’ and ‘bypass’ infrastructure to access their terraces which are now located in the area designated as the Park to harvest their own produce (Levy & Levac, 2019)

One was fined \$207 for harvesting olives which he had cultivated on his own terraces in what is now designated as the Park. (ibid) The landscaping of the Park is producing a neo-Biblical gateway to Jerusalem (Braverman 2020). However, the decoupling of the terraces and the historic spring of Ein Haniya from the Palestinian farming community of al-Walaja severs the intangible heritage practices which maintained them, this ultimately puts the tangible and intangible authenticity of the landscape at risk.

Interpretation for and as *Sūmūd*

There is archaeological evidence of human habitation in Battir from the Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic periods (Palestine Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities 2018). The village has long relied on agriculture as its main source of economic activity, which has helped shape Battir’s unique landscape characterized by a series of terraces (Al-Jinan) (Fig. 2). Some of these still depend on the original irrigation system constructed during the Roman period. The terraces and the irrigation system which

feed them have made the village iconic. Its produce was used for domestic consumption and sold in the markets of Jerusalem. However, the progressive reduction in access to transport infrastructure since 1948 has led to a decline in such sales. Battir also has a rich intangible heritage, including a distinct culinary tradition with eggplants as well as a unique water distribution system which seeks to equitably share this resource between the eight clans of the village.

Battir is one of the few villages that has continuously been inhabited for millennia and saved from destruction during the *Naqba*. During the 1947-1949 war most of the villagers of Battir fled after the massacre at Deir Yassin, but Mustafa Hassan and a few others would light candles in the houses at night and let out the animals to graze during the day to give the illusion that the village was inhabited (Botmeh 2006). Approximately 30% of Battir’s land sat on what became the Israeli side of the railroad, but Mustafa Hassan negotiated with the Israeli forces to allow the villagers to retain and access their lands in return for preventing damage to the railway (ibid). Thus, non-violent resistance has deep roots in the village.

According to the 1993/1995 Oslo Agreements, the majority of Battir’s residences are located within Area B under partial Palestinian control, while 76.3% of its lands are designated as Area C under full Israeli control (Palestine Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2018, 123). Parts of the village also fall within Jerusalem’s expanded municipal borders. The historic centre of Battir or the old village core is located within Area C, and thus not included in the

built-up area designated as Area B (ibid.). Palestinians living in Area C are subject to the jurisdiction of the Israeli Civil Administration (ICA), while all Palestinian development in Area C has been severely limited. For example, it is claimed that the Civil Administration rejects 98.6 percent of applications for permits in these areas and destroys what Palestinians build on their own initiative (Abraham 2020).

The *fellahin* (peasant) acts as a signifier in Palestinian society of a united Palestinian nation and a united Palestinian past. Their ‘closeness to the soil’ has been used to naturalise Palestinian claims to the land. The idea of the *fellah* has been fashioned by heritage managers, poets and writers into a symbol of *sūmūd* (see De Chesari, 2019; Uzer & Hammami, forthcoming). This is defined as a method of resistance that rests on the notion that just ‘to be’ Palestinian, and to go about one’s daily life, is a means to defy the hegemonic forces of occupation. However, as Palestinians are increasingly forced into more densely inhabited areas and denied access to their agricultural lands, and while members of the younger generation aspire to white collar work, the *fellahin* farming landscape and lifeway are increasingly under threat. According to anthropologist Giovanni Sontana, ‘There are few, if any, places [beyond Battir] left in the immediate region where such a traditional method of agriculture remains, not only intact, but as a functioning part of the village’ (BBC, 2012).

From 2007 to 2011, within the framework of UNESCO activities supported by a Norwegian fund, by the World Heritage Fund, and by an Italian cooperation

program contributing to the development of municipalities in Palestine work on Battir as a heritage site was carried out by international UNESCO experts in Ramallah. In 2011, the Palestinian cultural landscape of Battir won the Melina Mercouri International Prize for the Safeguarding and Management of Cultural Landscapes.

The Israeli National Parks Authority approved the Separation Barrier’s original route in 2005. However, in a 2012 document, it noted that ‘The struggle of our neighbours to name the area a World Heritage Site places us in an embarrassing position, and we should work together with them to protect the landscape’ (Rinat, 2012). Work by activists prompted the World Monuments Fund (n.d.) to proclaim that the Battir site is ‘remarkable for its shared use by both Israeli and Palestinian communities that live along its borders. Coming together to advocate for the preservation of this remarkable cultural landscape, both communities have realized the value of working collectively to protect the site’. However, the motivations for the various parties have not always been, nor have they remained, aligned.

In 2011, UNESCO recognised Palestine a member state. This recognition led to the withdrawal of US funding for UNESCO and vehement protests from Tel Aviv. In 2014, the Battir landscape was inscribed onto the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger. The proposed 2016 Resolution on East Jerusalem and UNESCO’s declaration of Hebron as a Palestinian World Heritage Site in 2017 were ill received by Israel and the USA resulting in their exodus from UNESCO. Their actions serve as a stark reminder that

the international community and its respective experts are often divided regarding responses to on-going conflicts.

In December 2018, after Israel's withdrawal from UNESCO, hundreds of Israeli settlers arrived in Battir with bulldozers and tractors and tried to establish a settlement outpost. They failed: it rained, the vehicles got stuck, and the Israeli Civil Administration evacuated them. Yet, in 2019, new settlers began placing claims on the village's lands. For settlers, the battle for Battir and its interpretation remains on-going.

Conclusion: Lessons Learnt

Battir was saved from imminent destruction by the Separation Barrier by the collective actions of Palestinian, Israeli, and international activists which resulted in its World Heritage designation. This decision made it possible for a nation like Palestine, with a threatened sovereignty, to support its rights and control over its cultural landscapes in a peaceful manner in a geo-political area that is otherwise engaged in protracted armed conflict. In Battir's World Heritage site, people's cultural memory and living environment, are recognised as being as significant as its ancient history and archaeology. It was local civil society and IGOs, who spearheaded the protection of the village's heritage. However, for the Palestinian state, the international recognition of Battir's heritage has become not just a practice of non-violent resistance, but a resourceful mode of governing the Palestinian landscape (cf. De Chesari 2019 on Hebron).

As a cultural landscape inhabited by different agricultural cultures over time, the World Heritage listing of Battir recognises its potential to be simultaneously interpreted as both as a biblical landscape, and an historic Palestinian village (without negating other actors and periods). The interpretation of the site's environmental and aesthetic values have already succeeded in bringing Israeli and Palestinian activists together to call for its preservation. International experts working for UNESCO were crucial in bringing the landscape to the world's attention. UNESCO's designation of the site shepherded both Israeli and Palestinian experts to recognise the site's value. In short, Battir has many of the elements which serve as prerequisites for localised conflict transformation, and potentially 'reconciliation' to take place. However, the withdrawal of Israel and the USA from UNESCO has once more put such aims at risk. Regular demolitions of structures continue to take place in and around the village under the auspices of the Israeli authorities, incursions by potential settlers are on the rise, and the difficulties of the legal quagmires of the 'area systems' of the Oslo Accords make Battir's continued efforts a barometer of the impact that heritage interpretation is having in the area.

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