2012

Heritage interpretation and human rights: documenting diversity, expressing identity, or establishing universal principles?

Neil A. Silberman, *University of Massachusetts - Amherst*

Heritage interpretation and human rights: documenting diversity, expressing identity, or establishing universal principles?

Neil A. Silberman*

Center for Heritage and Society, 222 Gordon Hall, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, MA 01003, USA

This article highlights the central role of public interpretation in helping to integrate human rights concerns in the evaluation and management of World Heritage sites. Beginning with a brief survey of the relationship of cultural heritage to human rights in the United Nations (UN) system, it will then analyse the evolving concepts of culture in UN and United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization policy. The paper will identify three distinct culture concepts and associated interpretive approaches that are of potential relevance to rights-based heritage management: (1) interpretation as the accurate, objective documentation of heritage sites; (2) interpretation as an expression of collective identity; and (3) interpretation as promotion of the universal value of cultural diversity. The paper will conclude with an assessment of how the systematic integration of all three approaches may serve to enhance current heritage practice with a concern for human rights.

Keywords: human rights; documentation; interpretation; identity

Introduction

On the face of it, no quest could be nobler: to enrich and highlight the 'outstanding universal value' of World Heritage sites (Cleere 1996) with what the United Nations (UN) has recognised from its founding as the outstanding universal value of human rights (Schwelb 1964). In recent years, political scientists, legal scholars and social philosophers have separately and extensively discussed the complexity of the human rights concept, from the distinct standpoints of its historical evolution (Hunt 2008, Moyn 2010, Lauren 2011), judicial definition and significance (Blake 2000, Alston and Goodman 2007), and the perennially contentious question of its universality (Cerna 1994, Good 2010). Heritage studies scholars have discussed the dimensions of 'rights-based' heritage in both general terms and in (often negative) case studies from around the world (Silverman and Ruggles 2007). Anthropologists and archaeologists have tackled the problem of human rights through the lens of their own disciplines, envisioning these disciplines to be agents of social activism (Goodale 2009, Meskell 2009, Hodder 2010). A considerable body of theoretical work has therefore been assembled on the subject of human rights and their relevance to cultural heritage. However, the body of academic theory is yet to be effectively integrated into the

*Email: nasilber@anthro.umass.edu

implementation of existing international conventions, charters and the various national conservation laws and practices that are derived from them.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has long been recognised as an influential force shaping international heritage practice (Turtinen 2000, Giovine 2009). The ratification of the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 1972) gave historical, archaeological and ecological form to the UN' shared belief in the idea of a common patrimony of the community of nations. The subsequent *Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2003) expanded the normative understanding of global cultural heritage with a concern for ideas, beliefs, practices and traditions as expressions of the cultural identity of a wide variety of state-level and sub-state groups. Still later, the preamble to the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* identified the very principle of cultural diversity as 'a defining characteristic of humanity' and acknowledged its connection to 'the full realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other universally recognised instruments' (UNESCO 2005). Yet the successive Conventions were vague in identifying the precise human rights and fundamental freedoms that were to be insured by the national overseers and administrators of culture and cultural heritage. This imprecision – and the growing number of international and interethnic disputes over cultural rights and cultural destruction led the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in 2009 to appoint the Pakistani Sociologist Farida Shaheed as an independent expert to compile an official report on 'the relationship between cultural rights, cultural diversity, and the universality of human rights' (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2009). Indeed, the choice of a sociologist, rather than a heritage professional or academic specialist in one of the historiographical disciplines, highlighted UNESCO's focus on the contemporary social aspects of her assignment. Her challenge was to survey existing human rights principles relevant to the governmental treatment of culture and cultural heritage – and to highlight the extent to which they were – or should be – observed.

The goal of this paper is to highlight some ways in which public heritage interpretation can serve as a meaningful tool to integrate the theme of Human Rights into the existing processes and procedures of international heritage, as exemplified by the UNESCO's World Heritage list. This most visible programme of the World Heritage Convention of 1972 has served as a global model for procedures of site assessment, evaluation, management and conservation, yet its *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO 2008) lack specific criteria or standards for the public communication of a World Heritage site's value or significance. Indeed the terms 'interpretation' and 'presentation', often used interchangeably to denote the public display and explanation of heritage sites, have long been viewed as secondary to the core tasks of research and physical conservation. The instrumental purposes of interpretation have thus long been the effective transmission of authoritative facts and authorised narratives (Smith 2006, Ablett and Dyer 2009) and to cultivate public appreciation and support for the heritage enterprise itself (Tilden 1957, Ham 2007). With the growth of economic motivations for heritage development in tourist revenues, interpretation has also been conscripted to serve as 'edu-tainment' in the Experience Economy (Silberman 2007).

At the same time, the increasing use of digital and online applications, community-based and specialised educational programming has made heritage

interpretation an increasingly powerful medium for encouraging dialogue and communicating heritage values. The participation of individuals and communities in the *process* of interpretation (rather than its finished project) has become increasingly visible in public contributions to local heritage websites, online exhibitions and archives (Giaccardi 2006, Labrador and Chilton 2009), and in the creation of new online memory communities through social media networks (Silberman and Purser in press). Indeed this kind of participatory heritage interpretation goes beyond the transfer of information between individuals; it creates various, overlapping memory communities.

Yet integration of human rights issues into the interpretation of a cultural landscape, historic city, heritage site or museum is not simply a matter of utilising new interpretive technologies or adding an additional theme. The terms 'human rights' and 'culture' have both undergone repeated redefinition within the UN system. To make them more than a mere slogan in interpretive texts and scripts requires an understanding their performative as well as linguistic function. In the following pages, I will briefly review the evolving meaning and significance of these central terms for communicating the value of heritage. After describing recent theoretical developments in the field of heritage interpretation, I will propose a heuristic model for rights-based heritage interpretation. This model may offer a practical way of balancing three integral modes of interpretation: the transmission of empirical facts, the expression of collective identity and the encouragement of individual reactions to and associations with the past. I will suggest that striving for this interpretive balance will not simply *communicate* human rights values but also help more effectively to *embody* them.

Evolving policy perspectives

The changing conceptions of human rights and culture within the UN system have been extensively discussed in legal, anthropological and the heritage studies literature (Marks 1977, Symonides 1998, Logan 2007, 2008, 2009, Silverman and Ruggles 2007, Langfield *et al.* 2010). In contrast to the sweeping, legal, political and economic rights of the individual articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations General Assembly 1948), the only explicit *cultural* right mentioned is 'the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community' (Article 27). Most scholarly discussion about this formulation has focused on its problematic conception of culture (Eriksen 2001). However, the performative aspect – the participation in culture – is of particular importance to assessing interpretive activities. What exactly does 'participate' mean when it comes to culture, and how does one gauge if it is 'freely' done?

This narrowly and imprecisely defined 'human right' became even more ambiguous in the decades that followed the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 as the very concept of 'culture' passed through three distinct stages in UN policy that had a profound influence on how the right to culture should be presented or performed. As Logan (2007) has pointed out, the 'cultural life' of the community was initially interpreted unquestioningly as of the 'arts and literature' category, a rarefied concentration of highbrow aesthetic creativity and self-evident social value that needed to be carefully protected and 'presented' to the public as a kind of cultural vitamin. This required the expertise of recognised scholars and connoisseurs to set explicit standards and values of

culture and create specialised institutions to display or perform them. Indeed that expert-driven concept of culture was at the original core of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Its central criterion of 'Outstanding Universal Value' is a notoriously subjective and contested concept that needed – and indeed still needs – expert scholarly and technical opinion even to be identified, and even more so, to be expressed effectively in the required World Heritage nomination dossiers (Jokilehto 2008).

The second major stage in the UNESCO definition of 'culture' came as a result of the political and social upheavals of the 1970s onwards that entwined the process of decolonisation with movements for civil, racial, ethnic and Indigenous rights (Stamatopoulou 1994, Xanthaki 2007). Often termed the 'anthropological' understanding of culture in UN circles, it was ironically far less nuanced than the intense questioning of the culture concept underway among anthropologists and sociologists (Yengoyan 1986). The focus now shifted from selected aesthetic and historical criteria to collective expressions of identity. Here interpretation became truly performative; the boundary between authoritative voice and passive listener began to fade (Yúdice 2003). This kind of interpretation is what Connerton (1989) has called 'performative memory'. Identification with – and conspicuous enactment of – distinctive customs, rituals and ceremonies performed at traditional sacred places, and revitalisation of endangered linguistic, craft and artistic traditions underpinned political claims not only by established nation-states (Gillis 1996), but by sub-state religious and ethnic minorities as well (Ucko 2001). Culture was now seen as a distinctive way of life, interpreted and performed with greatest authenticity by the bearers of each culture. The scholarly documenters and evaluators who had heretofore been the exclusive judges of cultural values gave way to interpreters and practitioners of 'intangible cultural heritage' as codified in the 2003 UNESCO Convention (Aikawa 2004). Indeed, this second, 'anthropological' conception of culture – whether used as a tool of resistance by sub-state minorities or as a tool of homogenisation by nation-states – represented a decided turn to an active, collective expression of culture, rather than static, musealised products of human creativity.

In retrospect, however, the rise of state-sanctioned, identity-based culture created as many conflicts as it resolved, for each 'official' or state-supported roster of monuments and cultural icons tended to be contested by other states, be they regional rivals, as in the cases of Israel and Palestine, Armenia and Azerbaijan, or Cambodia and Thailand – or by sub-state groups such as Catalans and Basques in Spain, Muslims in the Balkans and Uighurs and Tibetans in China (Harrison 2004). This danger of cultural fragmentation and conflict at a time of increasing global interconnection eventually gave rise to a third conception of culture within the UN system: as a medium of global toleration, not just the exercise of a particular identity. The clearest expression of this is the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which identified Cultural Diversity as 'a common heritage of humanity [that] should be cherished and preserved for the benefit of all' (UNESCO 2005, preamble).

The three approaches to culture outlined above are linked with quite specific modes of interpretive practice. The 'high culture' approach is dependent on scholarship and authoritative discourse; the 'collective identity' approach is dependent on public participation; and the 'cultural diversity' approach is dependent on both individual autonomy and the acceptance of universal principles. Thus, through these various modes of public heritage interpretation the acknowledged human right 'to

participate in the cultural life of the community' has multiple meanings and actions, not a single, unambiguous way to participate. Yet my argument here is that the three approaches to culture are not exclusive, nor did one replace the next over time. They coexist as complementary triad that together embody the human right to culture and cultural heritage. In the following sections, I will explain how a recognition and careful balance of all three approaches are the keys to the effective development of rights-based World Heritage.

Three interpretive alternatives

As described above there are three distinct UNESCO understandings of culture and three distinct avenues for interpretive action. Since the only acknowledged human right in the UN system relevant to heritage is 'the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community', it is of crucial importance to understand how public heritage interpretation facilitates, hinders or subtly directs the way that rights-based participation might take place.

The first mode of interpretation, linked to the 'high culture' approach, is the meticulously documented, empirically verified description of specific sites, objects, or practices deemed to be of cultural or historical significance. This mode of presentation can be communicated by a live site interpreter with emotion and drama (e.g. Tilden 1957), by text panels and exhibits, or by a variety of new technologies (e.g. Kalay *et al.* 2007). Based on systematic empirical study and academic authority, it offers a primarily one-way stream of communication from an authoritative source to the visitors touring a heritage site. It draws its epistemology from the Enlightenment positivism of factual accuracy and historical objectivity that is expected largely to be accepted and passively consumed by site visitors and the public at large. It is by nature accretionary, building on the faith that the never-ending accumulation of data will provide an ever more accurate vision of the past. In regard to the principle of cultural diversity, its many specific site interpretations likewise assume that the more data that are collected and transmitted about the world's many cultures, the more accurate our shared understanding of the world's cultural diversity will be. Yet documented facts, dates and figures do not always safeguard values and can, in some cases, become a means of political evasion by insisting on scholarly impartiality. Fact- and expert-based interpretation may facilitate the transfer of empirically obtained data, but does not necessarily enhance public engagement in the cultural life of the contemporary – whichever community one identifies with.

The second avenue of interpretation is performative – in line with the cultural 'identity politics' of the second stage. Here I do not refer to the performance of 'costumed interpreters' at outdoor and house museums, or historical re-enactors at weekend gatherings and battlefields. I refer rather to the enactment of contemporary identity by members of a particular ethnic group, religion or people as an act of collective allegiance, drawing on traditional visual motifs, places and objects to assert contemporary legitimacy. This type of interpretation is not primarily aimed at the transmission of information (though of course it may include it), but rather as a demonstration of the vitality of a particular cultural community. It is not an objectifying representation by outsiders or experts, but rather an act of *translation*, from the past to the present and from within the group to the outside. Claims for repatriation of cultural objects and human remains (Daes 1994); the identity visibility derived from

items inscribed on the UNESCO representative list of intangible cultural heritage (Lenzerini 2011); and even campaigns to restrict access to or reinterpret World Heritage sites, such as Uluru in Australia (Sullivan 2005), are examples of participatory heritage that 'is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity' (UNESCO 2003, Definition 1).

However, this process of utilising heritage as an expression of collective identity has its limits within the framework of the UNESCO conventions that serve as global models for heritage practice. Only member-states have the authority and standing to make nominations to both the Intangible Cultural Heritage Representative List and the World Heritage list and this a priori gives the authorised representatives of those nation-states the power to determine what is its citizens' legitimate 'cultural life' and which are its legitimate cultural communities. Refugees, immigrants and members of Indigenous peoples or ethnic minorities that a particular state views with hostility or suspicion are not accorded the same rights of participation in the cultural life of the community they choose. It is clear that in recent years the selection of World Heritage sites has become increasingly subject to political pressures and less dependent on expert evaluation of nomination dossiers (for clear quantitative indices, see Jokilehto 2011). Thus the performances and sites connected with powerless or marginalised sub-state communities are quite regularly excluded from even the narrow UN definition of cultural human rights; it is an issue that is only now beginning to be formally addressed within UNESCO policy (Labadi 2007). Performativity in itself is thus no automatic advance in furthering the 'right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community' if it is not universal or equally applied.

The last mode of heritage interpretation to be mentioned is one of self-definition, intercultural dialogue and toleration – seeing the mosaic of global human cultural diversity as a medium for the public discussion of the great triumphs and tragic *violations* of human rights over the centuries (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This method of heritage interpretation has been developed and disseminated by the members and supporters of colonised, marginalised and stereotyped Indigenous peoples (Battiste 2000) and by such organisations as the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience at heritage locales all over the world (Hamber *et al.* 2010). This trend in heritage interpretation has so far gravitated towards sites of suffering, cruelty, tyranny or violence, but it could just as easily be focused on sites where human rights were established, practised or preserved. Its emphasis on the somewhat paradoxical universality of diversity and its insistence on the moral autonomy of each individual to weigh the ethical dimensions of human heritage offer a direct and open linkage between cultural heritage and human rights.

From the right to culture to a heritage of human rights

In March 2011, the final report of the UNHRC Independent Expert Farida Shaheed offered a wide-ranging list of suggestions and recommendations about the linkage between human rights and cultural heritage, which still clung closely to the right of 'access' and 'enjoyment' of cultural heritage as the primary human rights concern (Shaheed 2011). The report stressed the importance of recognising the sheer number of cultures whose importance all member-states should acknowledge. In addition to the need for greater diversity in officially recognised cultures, Shaheed made addi-

tional important observations that significantly expanded the linkage between cultural heritage and human rights. She stressed that heritage need not always be a positive expression and could represent tragedy and human cruelty as well (2011, II-8). She noted the dangers of commercialisation and commodification of heritage sites and objects in not only devaluing community culture, but also in physical displacement and exclusion from full participation in its development possibilities (2011, III-12–14). Her recommendations included a call for greater involvement of local and associated communities in the conservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites of special concern. In that sense she emphasised that 'access' or 'participation' should not be construed merely as a passive activity to take part in an already existing heritage infrastructure, but the full diversity of cultural communities within member-states be empowered at all stages of cultural heritage planning and development.

However, how shall that participation be achieved despite the existence of top-down, expert-driven heritage laws and frameworks that encourage visitors and residents to be passive consumers of pre-packaged experiences and authorised narratives and facts? Multivocal, participatory interpretation can help us reconceptualise World Heritage, and indeed all cultural heritage as a contemporary intellectual, social and personally reflective activity, not just a fossil of the past. Through it, we may be able to recognise the character of heritage not only as 'inheritance' and something to be 'passed on to future generations' but also a dialogic medium for promoting discussions about social justice and cultural creativity in the present (Ablett and Dyer 2009). In that sense, heritage interpretation should be seen as deliberative public discourse, necessitating a regard for facts, common interests and individual moral autonomy (Bohman 2000). As such, a heritage site or museum can also be seen as a site of deliberative discourse. Heritage interpretation involving both visitors and experts can become a medium for that type of discussion. And in
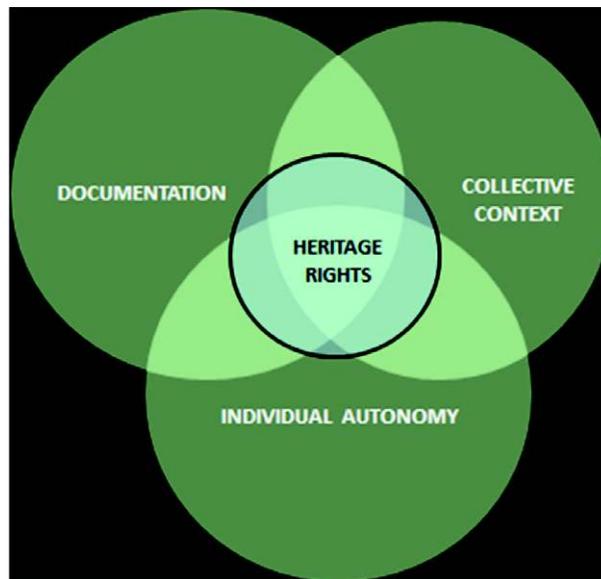

Figure 1. Balancing cultural understandings for rights-based heritage.

transforming interpretation from a monologue to a public conversation, none of the three successive UN definitions of culture can be accepted as authoritative, for all of them – the didactic, the performative and the individually reflective – have a positive discursive value only when they are carefully juxtaposed. To achieve a truly rights-based approach to culture and public interpretation, the strengths of all three approaches must be integrated and carefully balanced (see Figure 1). Without a conscious combination of reliable data, collective identity and individual freedom of autonomous reflection, heritage interpretation can all too easily be diverted to ends that actively work against – not for – the principles of human rights.

An approach that relies entirely on empirically gathered data and expert opinion can sometimes miss the forest for the factual trees. On the other hand, the interpretive voice that cares nothing for evidence and relies only on tradition, or dogma or intuition can never allow itself to question its seeming self-evident truth (Fagan 2006). Likewise, the conspicuous, obsessive display and celebration of a shared culture can cultivate an atmosphere of xenophobia and ethnic tension. Yet when culture is not seen as a deeply felt personal bond but a collection of art, ancient custom and artisanship, it can easily be exploited or trivialised as a market commodity. Finally, when one sees every expression of cultural heritage as a deconstructable totem for hegemony, no action or participation in heritage can ever be undertaken without expressing constant critique. And conversely, if the individual has no autonomy to judge for himself or herself the value of the tradition or to choose freely one's own cultural identity, the 'right to participate in the cultural life of the community' can become an obligation, not a right at all.

The goals and various methodologies of heritage interpretation are largely overlooked in the *Operational Guidelines* of the World Heritage Convention, where communication with the public is consistently termed 'presentation' and implicitly recognised only the expert-driven authoritative mode (UNESCO 2008, e.g. Ib5, Ib7, Ic15a, Ic15d, Ic15g, VIb213). The Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia 1999) and 'values-based' heritage policy (Torre 2005) widened the determination of values and significance to local stakeholders as well as experts. Specifically in the area of site interpretation, the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Sites (ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation 2008) offered some generalised guidelines to balance the three different types of interpretive activity to create a means of public communication that integrates information, collective significance and inclusivity:

Interpretation as reliable documentation of historical research and collective memory

This refers to the empirically verifiable documentation of specific tangible and intangible cultural heritage objects and memories. A key element of rights-based interpretation, as stressed in Principle 1 of the ICOMOS Charter, is the breadth of information sources – not as a mere popularisation of scientific or scholarly information but as an enhancement of social context. Whether the interpretation relates to an ancient site beyond the living memory of any contemporary community or a monument for which the oral and written testimony is rich, *empirical evidence* and *accurate representation* of collective traditions are essential for informed public participation in the cultural heritage life of the community.

Interpretation as the exercise of the right to identity with dignity

The enactment and intergenerational transmission of intangible cultural heritage are clear exercises of 'performative' collective memory. If World Heritage sites and other protected monuments were to be seen as meaningful and evolving embodiments of place, communities and traditions – if they were to become the focus of educational and interpretive programmes aimed and managed by members of the local or associated communities, the element of identity and social cohesion might be more strongly felt. The role that members of the local or associated communities play in a site's interpretation is crucial to its significance in the flow of their contemporary lives.

Interpretation as an exercise of individual cultural creativity and rights

It should by now be clear to the administrators of the World Heritage Convention (as it is presumably already clear to those working with intangible heritage) that heritage significance evolves with time. The interpretation of World Heritage Sites must leave room for continuous reinterpretation, not only based on the accumulation of new knowledge, but on the right of individuals to challenge orthodox, homogenising or dogmatic interpretations. The interpreter's race, gender, language, religion, opinions, national or social origin, property, birth or other status (all mentioned in the Declaration) should not involuntarily condemn him or her to a certain imposed cultural relationship to the site or to an imposed, essentialised identity.

If, as according to Article 13 of the UDHR, 'Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State' and 'the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country', does such a freedom extend to the right of identification with any of the diverse cultural traditions of humanity? In addition, if this kind of cultural hybridisation is to be encouraged from a human rights standpoint, how does that affect heritage practice? The focus has long been on the involvement of local communities and ethnic communities within the member-state's borders, but diasporic and associated communities and individuals – living far from a particular heritage site but still with strong attachments – may justifiably also claim rights to participate in the interpretation of this heritage.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to offer a theoretical model for balancing the distinct interpretive values of heritage sites in a way that more clearly defines a means of actualising the UDHR's 'right to participate in the cultural life of the community'. It is in the integration of approaches, rather than in an evaluation of their individual validity, that participation is widened and the community becomes coterminous with the interlocking groups of professionals, community groups and individuals for whom it holds some significance. We live in a time of movement, diaspora, cultural displacement, and the creation of new cultural forms that profoundly alter the traditional heritage concepts of coherent national narratives (Labadi and Long 2010). Old monuments take on new meanings; new monuments become heritage. Today cultural identities are fluid and old ideas of national or universal identity to be drawn from a particular World Heritage site are the object of constant negotiation and political debate.

As I have tried to suggest in this paper a carefully balanced strategy of interpretation, which seeks to expand and widen its role from 'monologic' to 'dialogic' (Ablett and Dyer 2009) offers a new approach to 'rights-based' heritage. The principle enshrined in the central definition of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention that intangible cultural heritage is that which is 'transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity …' is the kind of dynamic conception of cultural heritage rights and social significance that is applicable to the human dignity of evolving and culturally diverse individuals and communities in the twenty-first century. An ongoing process of interpretation aimed at creating a sense of engagement and belonging – in Grenville's (2007) use of the term 'ontological security' – can become a useful component of a new approach to the human rights value of World Heritage Sites.

Notes on contributor

Neil A. Silberman is an author and historian who serves as Coordinator of Projects and Policy Initiatives for the UMass Amherst Center for Heritage and Society. He also serves as the president of the International Council for Monuments (ICOMOS) international committee on interpretation and presentation.

References

Ablett, P.G. and Dyer, P.K., 2009. Heritage and hermeneutics: towards a broader interpretation of interpretation. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 12, 209–233.

Aikawa, N., 2004. An historical overview of the preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. *Museum International*, 56 (1–2), 137–149.

Alston, P. and Goodman, R., 2007. *International human rights in context: law, politics, morals*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, USA.

Battiste, M., 2000. *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Blake, J., 2000. On defining the cultural heritage. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 49 (1), 61–85.

Bohman, J., 2000. *Public deliberation: pluralism, complexity, and democracy*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Cerna, C.M., 1994. Universality of human rights and cultural diversity: implementation of human rights in different socio-cultural contexts. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 16 (4), 740–752.

Cleere, H., 1996. The concept of outstanding universal value in the World Heritage convention. *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 1 (4), 227–233.

Connerton, P., 1989. *How societies remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daes, E.I.A., 1994. Equality of indigenous peoples under the auspicies of the United Nations – Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. *St. Thomas Law Review*, 7, 493.

Eriksen, T.H., 2001. Between universalism and relativism: a critique of the UNESCO concept of culture. *In*: J. Cowan, M.B. Dembour, and R. Wilson, eds. *Culture and rights: anthropological perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 127–148.

Fagan, G.G., 2006. *Archaeological fantasies: how pseudoarchaeology misrepresents the past and misleads the public*. London: Routledge.

Giaccardi, E., 2006. Collective storytelling and social creativity in the virtual museum: a case study. *Design Issues*, 22 (3), 29–41.

Gillis, J.R., 1996. *Commemorations: the politics of national identity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Giovine, M.A.D., 2009. *The heritage-scape: UNESCO, world heritage, and tourism*. Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Good, C., 2010. Human rights and relativism. *Macalester Journal of Philosophy*, 19 (1), 27–52.

Goodale, M., 2009. *Surrendering to Utopia: an anthropology of human rights*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Grenville, J., 2007. Conservation as psychology: ontological security and the built environment. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 13 (6), 447–461.

Ham, S.H., 2007. Can interpretation really make a difference? Answers to four questions from cognitive and behavioral psychology. *In*: Fort Collins, ed. *Proceedings of the Interpreting World Heritage Conference*. Fort Collins, CO: National Association for Interpretation, 25–29.

Hamber, B., Ševčenko, L., and Naidu, E., 2010. Utopian dreams or practical possibilities? The challenges of evaluating the impact of memorialization in societies in transition. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 4 (3), 397–420.

Harrison, D., 2004. Contested narratives in the domain of world heritage. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7 (4/5), 281–290.

Hodder, I., 2010. Cultural heritage rights: from ownership and descent to justice and well-being. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 83 (4), 861–882.

Hunt, L., 2008. *Inventing human rights: a history*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.

ICOMOS Australia, 1999. *The Burra charter*. Burwood: ICOMOS Australia.

ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation (ICIP), 2008. *The ICOMOS charter for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites*. Available from: http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/interpretation_e.pdf [Accessed 28 June 2011].

Jokilehto, J., 2008. *What is OUV*? Paris: ICOMOS. Available from: http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/monuments_and_sites/16/pdf/Monuments_and_Sites_16_What_is_OUV.pdf [Accessed 12 August 2011].

Jokilehto, J., 2011. World heritage: observations on decisions related to cultural heritage. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 1 (1), 61–74.

Kalay, Y.E., Kvan, T., and Affleck, J., 2007. *New heritage: new media and cultural heritage*. London: Routledge.

Labadi, S., 2007. Representations of the nation and cultural diversity in discourses on World Heritage. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 7 (2), 147–170.

Labadi, S. and Long, C., 2010. *Heritage and globalisation*. London: Routledge.

Labrador, A.M., and Chilton, E.S., 2009. Re-locating meaning in heritage archives: a call for participatory heritage databases. *In Making history interactive*. CAA 2009. Williamsburg, Virginia. Available from: http://www.caa2009.org/articles/Labrador_Contribution386_c%20(1).pdf [Accessed October 22, 2011].

Langfield, M., Logan, W., and Craith, M.N., 2010. *Cultural diversity, heritage and human rights: intersections in theory and practice*. London: Routledge.

Lauren, P.G., 2011. *The evolution of international human rights*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lenzerini, F., 2011. Intangible cultural heritage: the living culture of peoples. *European Journal of International Law*, 22 (1), 101–120.

Logan, W.S., 2007. Closing Pandora's box: human rights conundrums in cultural heritage protection. *In*: H. Silverman and D.F. Ruggles, eds. *Cultural heritage and human rights*. New York, NY: Springer New York, 33–52.

Logan, W.S., 2008. Cultural diversity, heritage, and human rights. *In*: Brian J. Graham and Peter Howard, eds. *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity*. Farnham: Ashgate, 439–454.

Logan, W.S., 2009. Playing the devil's advocate: protecting intangible cultural heritage and the infringement of human rights'. *Historic Environment*, 22 (3), 14–18.

Marks, S., 1977. UNESCO and human rights: the implementation of rights relating to education, science, culture, and communication. *Texas International Law Journal*, 13, 35.

Meskell, L., 2009. Talking of human rights: histories, heritages, and human remains. *Reviews in Anthropology*, 38, 308–326.

Moyn, S., 2010. *The last Utopia: human rights in history*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2009. *Independent expert in the field of cultural rights*. Available from: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/cultural_rights/index.htm.

Schwelb, E., 1964. *Human rights and the international community: the roots and growth of the Universal declaration of human rights, 1948–1963*. Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books.

Shaheed, F., 2011. *Report of the independent expert in the field of cultural rights*, Human Rights Council, UN General Assembly. Available from: http://indigenouspeoplesissues.com/attachments/article/10227/A-HRC-17-38.doc.

Silberman, N.A., 2007. Sustainable heritage? Public archaeological interpretation and the marketed past. *In*: Y. Hamilakis and P. Duke, eds. *Archaeology and capitalism: from ethics to politics*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 179–193.

Silberman, N.A. and Purser, M., in press. Collective memory as affirmation: people-centered cultural heritage in a digital age. *In*: E. Giaccardi, ed. *Heritage and social media: understanding and experiencing heritage in a participatory culture*. London: Routledge.

Silverman, H. and Ruggles, D.F., 2007. Cultural heritage and human rights. *In*: H. Silverman and D.F. Ruggles, eds. *Cultural heritage and human rights*. New York, NY: Springer New York, 3–29.

Smith, L., 2006. *Uses of heritage*. London: Routledge.

Stamatopoulou, E., 1994. Indigenous peoples and the United Nations: human rights as a developing dynamic. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 16 (1), 58–81.

Sullivan, S., 2005. Local involvement and traditional practices in the world heritage system. *Linking Universal and Local Values, World Heritage Papers*, 13, 49–55.

Symonides, J., 1998. Cultural rights: a neglected category of human rights. *International Social Science Journal*, 50 (158), 559–572.

Tilden, F., 1957. *Interpreting our heritage: principles and practices for visitor services in parks, museums, and historic places*. Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Torre, M.D.la, 2005. *Heritage values in site management: four case studies*. Malibu, CA: Getty.

Tunbridge, J.E. and Ashworth, G.J., 1996. *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*. Chichester: Wiley.

Turtinen, J., 2000. *Globalising heritage: on UNESCO and the transnational construction of a world heritage*. Stockholm: Stockholm Center for Organizational Research.

Ucko, P.J., 2001. 'Heritage' and 'Indigenous Peoples' in the 21st century. *Public Archaeology*, 1 (4), 227–238.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1972. *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage*. Available from: http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext [Accessed 23 June 2011].

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2003. *Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage*. Available from: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2005. *Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions*. Available from: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001429/142919e.pdf.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2008. *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the world heritage convention*. Paris: UNESCO, World Heritage Committee.

United Nations General Assembly, UNG, 1948. Universal declaration of human rights. *Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly*, 10, 12.

Xanthaki, A., 2007. *Indigenous rights and United Nations standards: self-determination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yengoyan, A.A., 1986. Theory in anthropology: on the demise of the concept of culture. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 28 (2), 368–374.

Yúdice, G., 2003. *The expediency of culture: uses of culture in the global era*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.