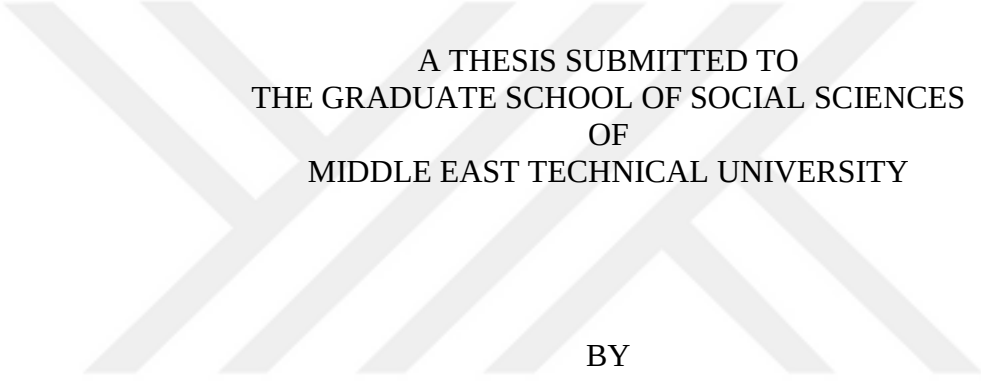


THE ROLE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: AN
ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATIVE HERITAGE SITES IN UNESCO WORLD
HERITAGE



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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATIVE HERITAGE SITES IN UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE

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This thesis analyses the role of cultural heritage in international politics by focusing on UNESCO and its management of negative heritage sites. The thesis first examines the historical development of the cultural heritage management system. Then, UNESCO and its management system are introduced by looking into World Heritage List and components of the system. Lastly, negative heritage sites in UNESCO World Heritage List are evaluated. By focusing on conflictual nature of the cultural heritage, it is proposed that UNESCO's cultural heritage management system is highly politicized. As an attempt to analyse how politicized the process is, negative heritage sites and their inscription processes are investigated in detail. In doing so, two specific case studies,

namely Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp and Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) are examined. In conclusion, it is argued that cultural heritage sites and more specifically negative heritage sites have significant implications for emphasizing the politicized nature of heritage and its function as an instrument to promote nation state interest.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage, Negative Heritage, UNESCO, World Heritage List, Heritage Policies

ÖZ

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLERDE KÜLTÜREL MİRASIN ROLÜ: UNESCO DÜNYA MİRASINDA NEGATİF MİRAS ALANLARININ ANALİZİ

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Bu tez, UNESCO ve negatif miras alanlarının yönetimine odaklanarak kültürel mirasın uluslararası politikadaki rolünü incelemektedir. Tez kapsamında öncelikle kültürel miras yönetim sisteminin tarihsel gelişimi incelenmektedir. Daha sonra UNESCO ve Dünya Miras Listesi ekseninde UNESCO'nun yönetim sisteminin bileşenleri anlatılmaktadır. Son olarak, UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'ndeki negatif miras alanları değerlendirilmektedir. Kültürel mirasın çatışmalı doğasına odaklanarak, UNESCO'nun kültürel miras yönetim sisteminin oldukça siyasi bir süreç olduğu ileri sürülmektedir. Sürecin nasıl siyasallaştırıldığını analiz etme girişimi olarak, negatif miras alanları ve listeye dahil edilme süreçleri ayrıntılı olarak incelenmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Auschwitz Birkenau Alman Nazi Toplama Kampı ve Hiroşima Barış Anıtı (Genbaku Dome) örnek

vaka olarak alınmıřtır. Sonu olarak, kltrel miras alanlarının ve zellikle negatif miras alanlarının, mirasın siyasallařtırılmıř doęasını pekiřtiren ve ulus devlet ıkarlarını gzetmeyi teřvik eden bir ara olarak nemli etkileri olduęu savunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kltrel Miras, Negatif Miras, UNESCO, Dnya Mirası Listesi, Kltrel Miras Politikaları





To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHS	Critical Heritage Studies
ICCROM	The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICSC	International Coalition of Sites of Conscience
IUCN	The International Union for Conservation of Nature
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNITAR	The United Nations Institute for Training and Research
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
US	United States
WH Committee	World Heritage Committee

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Heritage sites that are associated with disasters and traumas are found all around the world. Ulucanlar Prison Museum in Turkey, House of Terror in Hungary, Anne Frank House in the Netherlands, 9/11 Memorial and Museum in the US, Srebrenica Genocide Memorial in Bosnia, Cellular Jail in India, Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture, and Extermination in Argentina, Kigali Genocide Memorial in Rwanda, Mamayev Kurgan Memorial Complex in Russian Federation and many others shed light on the traumatic and shameful events of the past. Similarly, the debate over the Madımak Otel's conversion to a museum is still continuing in Turkey. Although these sites refer to the contested areas within their societies, they have significant considerations in international and global spheres as well.

Heritage holds a significant position in the contemporary world. It has become an all-pervasive and substantial aspect of our lives. Meaning, evolution, content and management of heritage make it a multifaceted concept diffused into various issue areas. The heritage industry has developed around “the identification, preservation, management and exhibition of these many and varied forms of heritage” (Harrison, 2013:7). It sheds light on politics and relations between different units from local to regional, national to international and global levels.

This study intends to address the international dimension of the cultural heritage sites. More specifically, negative heritage sites in the UNESCO World Heritage List will be

examined with respect to UNESCO's rules and its management system. In this regard, two particular sites, Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp, and Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) are taken as case studies. By dealing cultural heritage in its political and institutional spheres, it is aimed to explore the relationship between historical evolution of the international management of cultural heritage and politics of the nation states.

Why study of heritage would be important or necessary in International Relations discipline is a justified and acceptable question. Initially, heritage had been managed in local and national levels and could not transcend the borders. Accordingly, heritage has been studied from special and particular disciplines such as archaeology, history, anthropology and architecture, which made heritage difficult to be considered as a global phenomenon. However, as heritage management has started to be institutionalized, it transcended the nation state borders and started to be perceived as a universal concern. Cultural heritage sites exist in state borders, governed by national and international authorities and presented as a global phenomenon. Therefore, cultural heritage occupies a much more important place in international relations than anyone would think at first glance. The issue has not been discussed much in the literature from an International Relations perspective. However, in order to understand its multilevel nature, it is important to analyze the issue from this perspective.

1.1.Cultural Heritage Concept

Cultural heritage is a broad and contested concept. It is not a static phenomenon; its meaning, interpretation, content, extent and limits are contentiously evolving, negotiated and quite subjective. It can be used to define a wide range of things from monuments, sites, memorials and buildings to traditions, cultures, languages, memories and beliefs. Cultural heritage sites vary from "whole landscapes to tiny fragments of bone, stone and charcoal in archaeological sites; grand palaces to ordinary dwelling places; wilderness

areas to modern city landscapes” (Harrison, 2013:5). It can be described in numerous ways: it can be conceived in different contexts within and between cultures and can have formal and unofficial forms. It emerges as a result of complex and multifaceted relationships between different actors varies from individual to local, regional to national and international to global. Although mostly perceived as nations’ relations with their past and present, it is increasingly international and universal at the same time. Therefore, heritage functions at a wide range of existential, spatial, dimensional, temporal, areal and institutional scales.

For a long time, common use of heritage in international arena emphasized the “tangible” and “material” side of it. Initially, in legal documents and international regulations, common heritage discourse was built on tangible objects and their physical features. For instance, within the scope of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), heritage was considered as implicitly tangible and divided into cultural and natural heritage, each category having other subdivisions such as monuments, group of buildings, sites, natural features, natural sites and geological and physiographical formations. In literature, wide range of definitions featuring the tangible side of heritage exist. Examples include defining it as “anything that someone wishes to conserve or to collect, and to pass on to future generations” (Howard, 2003:9), “limited range of objects that are distinguishable from the ordinary run of artifacts by their special cultural significance and/or rarity” (Merryman, 2005:32), and “the extraordinarily rich and valuable tangible objects and materials in the collections of cultural institutions; the heritage represented in landscapes and in the built environment” (Borawiecki et al, 2016:xix).

However, in the current academic literature, heritage is increasingly perceived as an inclusive concept, covering both tangible and intangible features. Categories, which recognize all intangible elements of the site, are created such as cultural routes, cultural landscapes and association sites. Intangible heritage is defined in Article 2 of the

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage”. Similarly, cultural heritage is defined in Article 2 of the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention) (2005) as :

a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.

Another approach is to acknowledge heritage as a process, rather than a static, designated concept. This approach was adopted by Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) which was mostly developed in the beginning of 2000s. CHS acknowledge cultural heritage as a primarily cultural phenomenon which “seeks to move beyond the traditional focus of heritage studies on technical issues of management and practice, to one emphasising cultural heritage as a political, cultural, and social phenomenon” (Gentry&Smith, 2019:1149). As an important defender of CHS, Smith defines heritage as a cultural process, which is an effort to engage with the present, understand it with the help of identity, culture and remembering. She criticizes the common definition of heritage, highlighting the material existence of it. On the contrary, sites are the “cultural tools” of heritage that offers material existence and facilitates the process, they are not the essence of the heritage (Smith, 2006). Similarly, Harvey describes heritage as “process, or a verb, related to human action and agency, and as an instrument of cultural power in whatever period of time one chooses to examine” (Harvey, 2001:327). Lowenthal (1998) adopts a similar approach and describes cultural heritage as “an ambiguous and fluid concept” which is transformed from “the idea of goods inherited from forefathers to the sense of cultural roots, identity, and belonging (cited in Lähdesmäki, 2016:768).

There are different versions of designation of cultural objects inherited from the past in language such as “cultural resources”, “cultural property”, “cultural heritage” and “heritage resources”. Because initially cultural heritage management was mainly archaeological and architectural work, cultural heritage was embraced as “resource” because of the qualitative nature of the studies. Later “cultural heritage” concept has started to be used. Cultural heritage concept sees cultural objects as people’s relations with the past and challenges the other usages emphasizing the heritage as a resource or property that adheres material possession to it. Willems (2010) explains the difference between heritage and resource as, while heritage implies “concern to society at large” and is a “political and legal term”; resource is considered “relevant to archaeologists” (Willems, 2010:212).

Sites of memory, which are called as “realms” by Nora, is crucial in conceptualizing the relationship between heritage and place. According to Nora, realms are vital to recharge “our depleted fund of collective memory” (Nora, 1996:20). Negative heritage is a kind of sites of memory but specifically associated with negative memories. In the content of this thesis, the term “negative heritage” is going to be used, as sites of memory is a broad definition and negative heritage corresponds to the content and scope of the thesis better.

1.2.International Relations and Cultural Heritage

How did cultural heritage become an international phenomena is a significant question whose answer sheds light on the current practices. Cultural heritage concerns individuals, local communities, states and non-governmental and international organizations. Many actors at different levels, with different orientation and size are involved in heritage management process. Heritage has multiple producers such as public and private, official and non-official, insider and outsider each of them has multiple objectives in the cultural heritage management process (Ashworth&Graham, 2005). As a result of the expansion and acceleration of heritage in the last century,

various industries, sectors, professions, fields have been created revolving around heritage discussions.

Heritage is a form of governance, as Winter defines as “one that has emerged in the modern era, involving the governance of space, of people, of cultures and natures, of material worlds, and of time” (Winter, 2015:998). Gamble (2007) describes two elements of governance; “first a set of fundamental laws, rules and standards – the ordering principles which provide the constitutional framework for governing; and second, a set of techniques, tools and practices which define how governing is carried out” (Gamble, 2007:233). For cultural heritage governance, first element is mainly a composition of international, national and local initiatives including charters, conventions, set of rules, legislative measures and all kind of regulations, which are components of current heritage management system. The second element can be explained by the concept “technology of government” (Foucault, 1979). It is mainly the technical part of heritage management policies, which is used to privilege and legitimize authorities’ political actions.

Politicized nature of cultural heritage argument stands at the core of this study. It is argued that heritage is a highly political and controversial area that is diffused in many areas and represented in local, national, regional, international and global arenas. In order to analyze the issue explicitly, it is possible to argue the politicized nature of heritage under two main dynamics. Firstly, memory as the core of the heritage itself is deeply political, not only in the international arena but also in the national arena. In this regard, various questions are asked: What to remember, what to forget? Who will remember, who will forget? Which side will be remembered, which side will be forgotten? How much will be remembered, how much will be forgotten? Which part will be promoted and highlighted, which part will be forgotten and silenced? The answers to these questions shape the main dynamics and content of cultural heritage politics. These questions and concerns are all determined and constructed by the

authorities and dynamics of the period. Accordingly, it is possible to see that the same site may be remembered in different ways at different times and symbolized different memories and silenced the others. Negative heritage sites presented in the chapter five and two case studies exemplifies the differentiating and prioritizing of the memory over heritage sites.

Another approach, which is significant to better understand and conceptualize the main concern of this thesis, is the role of heritage in international arena as an important political tool. Heritage is used directly and indirectly in the interstate arena in different forms. It can be the subject of direct negotiation, diplomacy and inter-state bargain. On the other hand, it can be subject to international relations indirectly with the aim of providing national interest. National interest can be in different forms, such as providing prestige, achieving superiority over certain states or communities, receiving economic support, strengthening political discourses and many other different purposes.

Cultural heritage, negative heritage, collective memory, commemoration and nationalism concepts have an interwoven relationship. In order to understand the international dimension of the cultural heritage, it is important to understand this relationship.

In the 19th century when nations emerged as “imagined communities”, the need for “cultural artifacts” increased (Anderson, 1983). In this regard, cultural heritage making started to be used to create collective memory and national consciousness in “the invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm&Ranger, 1983). Material legacies and witnesses of the glorious pasts, all kind of evidences of culture, from tangible to intangible were started to be used as tangible evidences of common history, common culture and common origins (Hafstein, 2004). As Hamilakis states, cultural heritage sites had played a significant role in legitimizing nationalism discourses by being presented as a material proof:

Mythology and ancient authors were, of course, very useful in constructing the new topography of the nation, but it was the materiality of ancient sites, buildings, remnants, and artefacts, their physicality, visibility, tangible nature, and embodied presence, that provided the objective (in both senses of the word) reality of the nation. It was their sense of longevity, and their aura of authenticity that endowed them with enormous symbolic power. (Hamilakis, 2007:79)

Collective memory has played a significant role in nationalist discourses and national culture building process. It is not only at the national level, but heritage has also various spatial dimensions at the local, regional and global levels. Especially at the end of the two world wars, memorization and remembering became important concerns among nations, which led to the establishment of “memory industry”. Having experienced the two world wars, bipolar world of Cold War and various conflicts all around the world, last decades has become enriched in material representations of recent memories. As Kritzman states, “how the history of memory functions as a mirror of the changing role of cultural politics and how national commemoration in the age of global politics has given way to the heterogeneous and divided character of contemporary remembrance” (Kritzman, 1997:XIV) are important questions to ask.

Now that the world is more connected and global, problems need solutions that go beyond nation states and require effective cooperation. However, cultural heritage does not always include cooperation and alliances; on the contrary, it may cause fragmentation, relocation or destruction. It is being used and exploited by power holders such as Western powers, terrorist groups or nationalist movements through colonialism, archaeological looting, destruction, conflicts or propaganda tool.

UNESCO’s World Heritage List is the most concrete case of conflicting nature of international heritage practices. There are various cases in which heritage sites became source of the conflict at the international level. The nomination and listing of Temple of Preah Vihear, located within Cambodia's borders, encouraged the long controversial borders violence between the two sovereign states, Cambodia and neighboring Thailand.

Listing of Auschwitz and Hiroshima brought up massive debates and disagreements between State parties regarding World Heritage List. Destruction of Palmira Ancient City in Syria is a clear example of turning heritage sites into a target and international failure to respond intentional destruction of cultural heritage. Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan stands as a striking example of how cultural heritage might play a key role in international politics. Statues were destroyed in 2001 by Taliban regime and it has significant implications in international level. It has been noted by Harrison (2013) that the destruction influenced the decision of the US to invade Afghanistan and overthrow Taliban regime. Another crucial point to make is the reason of the destruction act. Although destruction has been generally associated with “religious intolerance”, an alternative account, which is “turning of cultural heritage into something harmful”, is suggested by Sayed Rahmatullah Hashimi, a Taliban envoy, as follows:

The scholars told them that instead of spending money on statues, why didn't they help our children who are dying of malnutrition? They rejected that, saying, “This money is only for statues.” The scholars were so angry. They said, “If you are destroying our future with economic sanctions, you can't care about our heritage.” And so they decided that these statues must be destroyed.... If we had wanted to destroy those statues, we could have done it three years ago [when Mullah Mohammed Omar originally ordered the destruction of the statues]. So why didn't we? In our religion, if anything is harmless, we just leave it. If money is going to statues while children are dying of malnutrition next door, then that makes it harmful, and we destroy it (Sayed Rahmatullah Hashimi, cited in Crosette, 2001).

These are only few examples in which cultural heritage sites were directly involved in the world politics. Cultural heritage sites deserve a wider coverage in International Relations discussions as they are directly or indirectly involved in international politics.

Heritage has political, economic, cultural, historical, anthropological and scientific dimensions and it is “highly processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing into a commodity” (Schouten, 1995:21). It is an area of governance, in which cooperation and contestation exist mutually.

Ashworth describes the current heritage management system as “an industry in the sense of a modern activity, deliberately controlled and organized with the aim of producing a marketable product” (Ashworth, 2013:16). What is referred here as marketable product is the commodification of heritage, an outcome of the system promoting for tourism and economic development. Culture, politics and economy are both users and components of heritage, which affect the conceptual and practical part of it (Kulevičius, 2015). However, the main focus is the political dimension.

1.3.Theoretical Framework

Culture is analyzed in different contexts by International Relations theories. While some do not prioritize it as an important issue area and underestimate its impact in world affairs, others engaged it in their discussions directly or indirectly. On the other hand, cultural heritage discussions is not included in the theoretical discussions as a distinct issue area. It is only possible to analyze it in the context of culture discussions and solely through indirect channels. The common wisdom towards culture focuses on constructed nature of the culture and approaches the subject mainly in the light of social constructivism theory. However, cultural heritage composes of various dimensions to consider and needs to be approached by different theories. In this thesis, it is asserted that cultural heritage discussions are shaped around different issue areas and can be understood by different theories of International Relations discipline, mainly social constructivism, neoliberalism and realism. In this part of the chapter, cultural heritage discussions in International Relations discipline are examined under headings. Those can be specified as constructed nature of heritage, relativism and universalism claims on culture and international regime discussions.

In a globalized world, where culture and identity gain greater visibility, social norms are important agents that should be taken into consideration. Social norms, identities and ideas, which are “historically and socially constructed”, are important factors of state

behavior. Social constructivism treats the identities and interests as “exogenously given” and those identities and interests do not exist in external world (Wendt, 1992) and are shaped by the rules and social norms (Finnemore, 1996). Certain insights of Social constructivism shed light on core of the cultural heritage, its evolution and utilization by nation states and international community. Cultural heritage is not granted and intrinsic, rather socially and historically constructed by identities, social norms and interests. Cultural heritage, which cannot be considered without various social and cultural aspects, is a constructed concept. As Checkel and Katzenstein (2009) states, identities are “revealed by social practices as well as by political attitudes” (p:4). Similarly, cultural heritage is exposed by social practices and political attitudes within the geographical and social structures and national contexts.

As cultural heritage is a constructed concept, authorities shape and manage heritage by the demands of the present and “as such, they are open to constant revision and change and are also both sources and results of social conflict” (Graham&Howard, 2008:3). They are quite variable and numerous that “even within a single society, pasts, heritages and identities should be considered as plurals” (Graham&Howard, 2008:1). Accordingly, definition and content of heritage has “morphed” over time (Liler& Naidoo, 2004). Graham et all. explains the constructed nature of heritage as in follows:

If heritage knowledges are situated in particular social and intellectual circumstances, they are time-specific and thus their meanings can be altered as texts are re-read in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place and scale. Consequently, it is inevitable that such knowledges are also fields of contestation that are neither fixed nor stable (cited in Graham and Howard, 2008:5).

Although the general wisdom towards culture and cultural heritage revolves around constructivism discussions, this thesis argues that it would be misleading and deficient to analyze the cultural heritage solely through constructivism theory. While accepting that the essence and the nature of the heritage are constructed, this thesis enforces that

cultural heritage should also be approached by cooperation discussions of neoliberal institutionalism and state interest focus of realism. Firstly, liberal institutionalist assumptions, mainly cultural heritage as an international regime and cultural heritage as a cooperation tool in the international arena are analyzed. Later, accepting that besides cooperation, cultural heritage occupies an important place in the conflicts of interest of the states and is an important area in interstate negotiations, main realist assumptions are included.

Cultural heritage is an issue area that transcends the borders and concerns many communities and groups of people. Therefore, heritage is inherently an international issue that requires management at the interstate level. It is possible to consider cultural heritage as an international regime because cultural heritage and its internationalization process (setting the standards and attributing a universal value to heritage with the help of international organizations, non-governmental organizations, legal acts, international norms and principles) compose an international management system consisting of many factors, actors and variables. There has been a limited number of studies, which have applied regime theory to the study of cultural heritage (i.e. Lixinski (2013), Nafziger (2008), Bendix et al. (2013), Geismar (2015), De Cesari (2013), Willems (2014)). These studies had argued the legal instruments, norms, principles and components of the system. Studies dealing with the regime dimension of the cultural heritage can be seen as significant tools in international dimension of the heritage. In this thesis, it is argued that this international regime is a useful way of understanding cultural heritage's place in International Relations discipline.

The evolution and components of the regime are going to be examined in a wide and detailed way in Chapter 2 but the discussion of regime in the theoretical discussions are explained here in order to present a comprehensive theoretical framework. There are mainly three approaches, which may be specified for analysis of international cultural heritage regime. First one accepts it as a pervasive and important phenomenon, second

one approaches it as “intermediate but not a compromise position” (Donnelly, 1986:601) and the last one sees it as infeasible or useless.

Various universalist assumptions see international regimes as pervasive and necessary. International politics takes place within international society where states are “bound not only by rules of prudence expediency but also by imperatives of morality and law” (Bull, 1977), according to Grotian tradition. Cultural heritage with its diffusion in local, national, international and global spheres by various norms and principles would be inevitable for the Grotian tradition as it sees regimes as pervasive and immanent phenomenon existing in all areas of international relations even in anarchical systems (Puchala&Hopkins, 1982). International cultural heritage regime, which is formed by interests, customs, power, norms and knowledge, directs behavior of individuals, nation states, international organizations and bureaucracies in certain degrees (Krasner, 1982). Forming a regime of governing cultural heritage in international level, universal norms and principles would be seen as a proper example of Kantian assumption of “league of peace (foedus pacificum)” and “universal cosmopolitan nation”. Although in practice there are some fundamental obstacles and problems on this fulfillment deriving from the system itself, universal values attributed to cultural heritage by UNESCO may be accepted, as an important step to fulfilling a universal community, transcending the state borders.

Secondly, a midway approach sees international regimes possible but approach them cautiously. Multifaceted governance of cultural heritage on national, international and global levels necessitates a middle ground which covers both nationalist and institutional faces of heritage. Rationalism stands as one of the middle grounds between two major views, believing that international organizations exist but world government is infeasible (Scott &Simpson, 2008). It is only through a strict control under international law that control over disputes may be provided.

Liberalism, especially neoliberalism puts a special emphasis on cooperation among actors but occasionally include culture in its discussions. Cultural heritage regime, which enrich the cooperation between states, is a highly institutionalized one mainly by UNESCO and its legal initiatives. Besides, culture can be a subject of soft power, which is defined by Nye as “the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment” (Nye, 2008:94). Similarly, a shift of heritage understanding towards the one emphasizing cooperation would allow to “recognize hidden forms of sovereignty and read the power relations of collaboration in terms of mutual gain and self-interest” (Winter, 2015:998). According to Labadi and Long (2010), “nations use World Heritage listing as a form of soft power, a means of communicating their cultural, social and even environmental credentials to the world” (p:6). Therefore, cultural heritage with its institutional nature built upon cooperation (at official discourse at least) and its function as soft power deserves a wider space in liberalism discussions. Similarly, for neoliberal institutionalism, “institutions serve a crucial social purpose because they are essential for sustained cooperation that enhances the interests of most, if not of all, people.” (Keohane, 2012:127). However, liberalism and institutional neoliberalism’s strong stress on behavior of states does not give enough space for discussing the norms and values, which are important components of cultural heritage politics. Besides, liberalism puts a special emphasis on efficiency and optimality regarding cooperation and institutions, more than ideas and universal values (Haas, 1982), which makes it materialistic for the concept of cultural heritage.

Neorealists, on the other hand, have less space for international cultural heritage regime than liberalism, neoliberalism and rationalism. For structural realists, international politics consist of sovereign states, trying to maximize their power and interest. International regimes exist only in “exceptional” cases and “restrictive” conditions, between equal actors (Stein, 1982; Keohane, 1982). For neorealism, regimes are only possible in issue areas where interdependence is high and when nation states want to

compensate the costs of their uncoordinated action. In other words, when “state elites do not foresee self-interested benefits from cooperation, we do not expect cooperation to occur, nor the institutions that facilitate cooperation to develop” (Keohane&Martin, 1995:41-42).

Lastly, particular theories approach international cultural heritage regimes as infeasible or useless. Realist perspective, which prioritizes high politics among all issue areas as the only area worth dealing with, disregards the role of culture. Dominant realist theory ignores culture’s importance in world politics by suggesting that all state behavior is driven by power politics and nation states "seek their own preservation and, at a maximum, drive for universal domination" (Waltz, 1979:118). According to Hobbessian perspective, other elements, which are formulated by state behavior, including international regimes are “illusion” and “fiction” (Krasner, 1982). Therefore, it does not give any space for international governance.

Although constructed in its nature and necessitating cooperation and international governance, cultural heritage is a conflictual issue area where national interest and national perspectives are the most important and dominant factors. Cultural heritage is an area deeply shaped by national concerns and governed by nation-state policies in many respects. Therefore, realist assumptions of struggle for power, competitive nature of international politics among states, maximizing the state interests and strengthening power positions are significant to understand realist nature of cultural heritage politics.

Realism accepts culture as low politics, which does not deserve a place in nation state politics. However, it may yet be another tool for nation states to enhance their interests through institutional means. Realists may see international cultural heritage regime as a way to promote their interest by establishing cultural superiority over other nations. Similarly, cultural heritage can be transformed into high politics, as Anglin notes, “the cooperative nature of the listing process mitigates against the sovereignty costs that are

associated with "hard law" legalization of international law" (Anglin, 2008:243). Sovereignty cost is the cost that appears when an external authority is involved over significant decisions of states or accepting international agreements. So in fact, by signing the convention and getting involved in World Heritage listing, states may be sacrificing their sovereignty in some way. Winter (2015) defends that heritage might be a hard power too as it can be subject to huge aid packages and cause sovereignty problems between nations:

Crucially, recognition of heritage as a form of spatial and social governance also means it incorporates forms of hard power too. This is most tangibly seen when heritage is part of bigger developmental aid packages and associated structures of international aid, as well as those instances such as Palestine and the Preah Vihear temple where the logics of recognition are embedded in claims over territory (p:1007).

Realist perception regarding international regimes, international cultural regime in this case, is only possible when "a highly complex world in which ad hoc, individualistic calculations of interest could not possibly provide the necessary level of coordination" (Krasner, 1982).

There is no single definition of culture. On the contrary, there are various definitions that exist in different contexts and disciplines. Regarding the definition of the culture, two main claims, which are dominant in discourse and practices of cultural heritage management, should be pointed out specifically; cultural relativism and supremacist universalism (Eriksen, 2001). While cultural relativism sees culture as a confined entity with different practices and values, and can easily be pluralized; universalism takes globalization as the starting point and adheres a universal approach to culture. Accordingly, while universalism adheres international consensus on cultural heritage norms, cultural relativism elaborates international contestation for cultural heritage (Donnelly, 1986). Cultural relativism's independent and plural emphasis and universalism's global emphasis conflict each other but also equally important to

interpret the contemporary cultural heritage politics. Cultural heritage politics operate in an environment where these two approaches cooperate and interfere at the same time.

Another reflection of this discussion on international relations is the nationalist and universalist dimensions of cultural heritage politics. Cultural heritage management has developed mainly around two ideologies, which compete each other and integrated at the same time: universalism and nationalism. While universalism views cultural heritage as “the provenance of a global community, rather than the provenance of the territorially limited nation-state” nationalism attributes “national character to objects... and legitimizes national export controls and demands for the 'repatriation' of cultural property" (Anglin, 2008:244-245). Accordingly, World Heritage list creates a mode of cultural heritage cooperation among nationalists and universalists by conceptualizing the multidimensional nature of heritage. (Anglin, 2008:243) Merryman (1986) emphasizes the importance of coexistence of these two ideologies as:

In the contemporary world, both ways of thinking about cultural property have their legitimate places. Both have something important to contribute to the formation of policy, locally, nationally and internationally, concerning pieces of humanity's material culture (p:853).

Cultural heritage is a multifaceted issue area, governed in local, national, international and universal areas. When the issue is approached in terms of culture and identity, it is mostly constructed. Accordingly, the literature revolves around this assumption. However, cultural heritage is primarily politicized and promoted by realist paradigms such as interstate bargaining and a conflict of interest. Although the collaboration of neoliberal institutionalism and the issue of international regime constitute a very important part of cultural heritage, the processes of defining and listing cultural heritage sites are largely shaped by the interstate negotiation and national interest policies. It cannot neither be evaluated by nation-state interests alone nor by truly universal values. States determine what to memorize and prioritize in historical identity. After

constructing what and how to remember, the following process is deeply realistic. The processes of defining and commemorating cultural heritage sites are constructed but also closely related to the policies of the authorities and the balance of power in national and international spheres.

In sum, this thesis aims to show how constructivist, realist and neoliberal paradigms can be intertwined when cultural heritage is concerned. Therefore, it intends to extend and go beyond the common assumption that culture can be analyzed only from the perspective of social constructivism approach in International Relations. In this respect, this thesis aims to be a counterfactual study.

1.4. Methodology and Limitations

This thesis tries to provide an overview of cultural heritage's reflection in International Relations by examining specifically UNESCO and negative heritage sites. It is argued that cultural heritage sites, more specifically negative heritage sites have significant implications not only for understanding the political nature of heritage, but also heritage's function as tangible means to promote one's interests. The thesis aims to shed light on the contested nature of cultural heritage by enhancing current discussions. In order to reveal the heritage's function as an important policy tool, two main inherent contradictions are identified; namely national, international vs globalism and peace vs conflict.

In order to comprehend the political nature of the cultural heritage, negative heritage sites are chosen for the closer analyze as negative heritage sites are considered as one of the most political type of heritage. Within the framework of negative heritage sites, two specific World Heritage sites are analyzed; Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp and Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome). These cases are chosen because along with their nomination, inscription and

following process, they had brought various discussions and tensions into the agenda. Therefore, those two inscriptions are convenient examples of political and contested nature of World Heritage List. Within the framework of two cases, it is aimed to better understand the complexity of cultural heritage politics from the inscription process to decision-making by discovering UNESCO's governance in conflictual cases. In short, this thesis aims to contribute to understand the international and political dimensions of cultural heritage management issue. In order to do that, it focuses on negative heritage sites within the context of inherent contradictions.

It is crucial to define the limits of this study. Firstly, this study deals mainly with the cultural heritage sites. Although they are included in the discussions indirectly, it does not cover intangible or natural heritage specifically. Secondly, although resources from a wide range of fields have been used, this study was carried out to emphasize the position of the cultural heritage in international relations and to shed light on the cultural heritage-politics relationship. Therefore, the main discussions of anthropological, economic, legal, sociological and cultural studies and heritage's reflections in identity, tourism, location, local and regional communities are only included in the framework of the main subject, not separately and in detail.

One of the most distinctive feature of cultural heritage studies is its multidisciplinary nature, which is described by Uzzell (2009) as "the lovechild of a multitude of relationships between academics in many disciplines, and then nurtured by practitioners and institutions" (2009:326). Various academic fields are related and have representation such as archaeology, history, anthropology, cultural studies, politics, international relations, economics, law, architecture, tourism, environmental sciences and many others, which all have their own traditions and understanding of the concept. As it is highly multidisciplinary, this literature offers numerous resources in many different academic fields. Therefore, in the process of writing this thesis, a wide range of literature from various academic fields had been used. It is both disadvantageous as

it made it difficult to concentrate on a particular area without losing the focus and at the same time advantageous as it allowed to look at the issue from different perspectives.

UNESCO documents, treaties, guidelines and committee reports are used as primary sources within the scope of the thesis. Although cultural heritage literature offers wide range of sources from various academic disciplines, unfortunately International Relations discipline does not have that much coverage. Therefore, mostly secondary resources from other disciplines are used. Lack of studies in the field of International Relations had certain advantages and disadvantages within the scope of the completion of this study. The fact that there is not much coverage in the field of International Relations in this field has limited the direct resources of the research and made it compelling to carry out the study due to the scarcity of work to be taken as precedent. On the other hand, it had offered the freedom to choose the possible topics that can be discussed, the ability to direct the thesis freely and the privilege to create a unique study in this topic. In short, just like the topic itself, the process of writing this thesis also host many contradictions in itself.

1.5.Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. This first chapter intends to provide an insight to the subject by introducing a series of concepts that enlighten the rest of the book, presenting a general outlook to the evolution of the concept, looking at the cultural heritage's position in international politics, and giving a general framework of theoretical discussions covering cultural heritage. Also it presents the methodology used and limitations had in this thesis.

The second chapter provides a brief historical account of the cultural heritage. Covering a long period from Antiquity until twenty-first century, it examines various developments and milestones by exploring how close is the relationship between world

politics and evolution of cultural heritage. Chapter mainly focuses on twenty first century considering that the concept is mostly shaped and evolved to its current form in that period.

The third chapter aims to provide the foundations for the internationalism of cultural heritage. UNESCO as the most important and influential actor of the international cultural heritage regime is introduced in detail by elaborating the components of the system and instruments and principles adopted. Following the general information of the organization, World Heritage system and UNESCO's management are evaluated and criticized. The chapter also includes the topic of conflictual nature of cultural heritage in detail and describes two main inherent contradictions, which guides this thesis.

In the fourth chapter, the focus is shifted to negative heritage sites. Firstly, it focuses on the negative heritage concept and its rise in parallel with the collective memory. Afterwards, negative heritage sites in UNESCO world heritage list are explained. In order to evaluate the politicized nature of negative heritage sites and UNESCO World Heritage List, two case studies are presented; Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp and Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome). Finally the chapter examines the challenges and limitations of the negative heritage sites inscription and presents a critique of the system.

The final chapter summarizes the thesis and makes an overall assessment of the arguments. It concludes by offering possible further research.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Current cultural heritage management system is the culmination of past developments. Concern for preservation of historical artifacts has been an issue starting from the time when human beings began to build monuments. Cultural heritage policies and motivations has always been shaped by the concerns and dynamics of the period. Although the first reason has always been reflected as to protect the past and keep it alive, the decisions or actions regarding protection and restoration of historical artifacts were taken and shaped according to economic, social and political conditions of the time. While the main motivation could be faith and religion oriented in one period of time, it could be national feelings or economic interest, in others. Even in the same period of time, intentions may be quite different from each other for each individual case. Nevertheless, it is possible to classify the history of the management of cultural heritage according to communities' level of inclusion and the meaning attached to cultural heritage.

In this chapter, history of cultural heritage management is divided into three main periods; until the seventeenth century, seventeenth to the twentieth century and the twentieth century onwards. Until the seventeenth century, care for monuments was mostly driven by sentimental way of thoughts without a systematic consideration. Emotional oriented thoughts like faith, religion, culture and traditions were the main determinants. After the seventeenth and mainly eighteenth century, cultural heritage started to become

an important policy area for states. Protection efforts strengthened in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century, care for monuments began to be systematized. However, it was the twentieth century that heritage management has been institutionalized and became an international policy area. Considering the certain turning points, twentieth century is divided into three phases in this study. The first phase corresponds to the first half of twentieth century when cultural heritage was increasingly under state control. This period can be accepted as the basis of the internationalization of the concept. The second phase covers the period from end of the world wars until 1970s. This phase coincides with the period in which subjects such as environment, law, human rights, cultural diversity became common issues of all humanity. Accordingly, those issue areas began to be included in politics and agendas of international organizations. After this transition period, third and final phase demarcates the triumph of cultural heritage as an institutionalized international issue area and emergence of World Heritage concept.

2.1.Until the 17th Century - Basis of the Conservation and Restoration

Understanding

Care for cultural heritage is a long-standing phenomenon. Concept itself evolved excessively starting from antiquity. Although this part of the chapter comprises long period of time starting from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, a time period when a substantial part of the current cultural heritage objects were created and originated, it has little to offer regarding cultural heritage management, as we understand it today. In case of memorial sites and negative heritage, it has hardly offers anything.

Starting with the first human settlements until the Middle Ages, care for the old buildings idea was motivated by the practical reasons along with the spiritual and symbolic ones. Nevertheless, the idea of respect for the past and holy places was one of the main motivation for people to conserve, renovate or to rebuild the monuments. Conservation

efforts in most cases had always been intertwined with religious, political, economic, artistic and historical dynamics. Glendinning argues that this displays “tremendous stability” and he describes religious objects as “invested with unchanging divine force”. It was a dominant approach in pre-classical civilizations in the Middle East, Mesopotamia, India and China (Glendinning, 2013). As much as the conservation cases, destruction should also be considered when historical background is investigated. Economic weakness, political instability and wars often led to the conscious destruction of historical monuments. Persian invasion of Athens and destruction of the temples in fifth century BC (Jokilehto, 1986), destruction of temples of Rome in fourth century by Visigoths invasion, (Glendinning, 2013) and vandalism by Roman Empire against everything representing different beliefs especially to pagan temples during the expansion period of Christianity are few significant examples of conscious destruction practices. With its contested nature, cultural objects plays important roles in various situations like remembrance, respecting, vanity to supremacy, looting, humiliation and assault.

In this period, the Renaissance can be admitted as a milestone for cultural heritage preservation because it was during the Renaissance when historical artifacts and monuments began to be valued systematically with the new intellectual revival. From an environment of individual actions to a collective cultural movement, admiring cultural heritage in all of its aspects was a significant step. Therefore, the Renaissance can be accepted as the beginning of a systematic study of cultural heritage conservation efforts (Cleere, 2010). During the Renaissance and especially from sixteenth century onwards, identification and admiration for ancient Greek and Rome was on the rise. With the antiquarians and legislative attempts in that period, the first crucial steps brought a more significant role to conservation.

2.2.The 17th to the 20th Centuries-First Concrete Steps Towards Heritage Management

Although the Renaissance formed the basis for increase in awareness and admiration regarding archaic objects, first concrete and conscious steps toward managing cultural heritage started in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Care for historical monuments and buildings had been further developed and became a whole complicated system including lots of parties and motivations. In order to manage effectively, the first step was the familiarization with what to manage. After the detection of what to manage, legalization process followed and conservation efforts began to be systematized in the nineteenth century. Legalization actions taken by authorities to ensure their control over cultural heritage resulted in various legislations and acts, which were the earliest examples of cultural heritage management efforts.

Official initiatives started to be spread different areas in late 18th and 19th century. Violent political, economic and social developments occurring in Europe especially accelerated with the French Revolution of 1789. Correspondingly, conservation practices started to be used and exploited for modern interests such as nationalism movements. Nationalism and policies regarding nation state building and independence discourses followed by independence declarations have increased. Various kind of thesis, claims, discourses or any kind of evidences supporting the ascent of a nation were common practices of states. In such an environment, historical artifacts and residuals could be counted as excellent concrete means, if managed properly. During that period, the Renaissance insight of admiration for ancient Greek and Rome remains would be transformed to national identity and pride oriented insight of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage have functioned as “material expressions” of national identities (Cleere, 2010). Therefore, national cultural heritage started to be valued as sources of national pride and played an important role in justifying national discourse and interests, as Svoboda (2013) states in what follows:

The reinforcement of nation states was accompanied by an intensified pressure to secure the care of significant national monuments, relics that indicated the actual level of the (purported or mythic) cultural maturity and historicity of the given nation.... And it was France that gave birth to the terms national monument (*Monument national*) and public museum (*Musée public*). In a society where the strength of the cult had windled, the care of all evidence of the past was taken over by the government.

Systemization of conservation of cultural heritage process mostly has started in the 19th century; in which regulations, requirements and justifications were made in national level. Consequent to this systematization, extent of cultural heritage management has been expanded and issues like how to manage have been included. Restoration and archaeology have become distinctive disciplines. Accordingly, different approaches and movements has risen. At the end of the nineteenth century, archaeological studies were intensified in the West. States had began to support excavations and museum creation process, which became an international competition between them. This competition between states consequently led to significant destruction and looting of antiquities under the cover of archaeological studies. Besides its scientific aspect, archaeology should be seen as a nationalistic practice as its execution and goals serve to political purposes. Increased concerns for archaeological studies and obsession with the past in this period can be reconciled with the search for national identity as a result of the reconstruction of empires as nation states during the decolonization process. Consequently, the birth of archaeology and cultural heritage was mainly a result of nation states' practices "either operating in the context of nationalism by itself, or of this in combination with imperialism and colonialism" (Díaz-Andreu, 2007:11).

2.3.The 20th Century - Internationalization Of Heritage Management

Before had been carried to international arena in the 19th, and especially, the first half of 20th century, cultural heritage had been dealt largely under state control and by individual states' own legislations, procedures and administration. When cultural

identity interests were top priority in the first half of the twentieth century during two world wars, national regulations intensified. In this sense, nationalism ideology and movements were actively used and prioritized by countries that yet gained their independence or struggle to have it. Right after the two world wars, international efforts, mainly with the foundation of UNESCO, internationalization efforts regarding conservation of cultural heritage were centered and a more inclusive mode of thought started to emerge. Proliferation of nation states through decolonization brought a new understanding to cultural heritage. Material pasts became significant tools of sovereignty claims for the newly emerging independent states. 20th century may be accepted as the triumph of cultural heritage, when cultural heritage is prioritized, systematized, institutionalized and globalized.

2.3.1.The Two World Wars

Conservation efforts after the World War I aimed mainly to repair the physical destruction and damages caused by the wars. Many countries around the world had made regulations and passed their legislations regarding protection of historical artifacts. National and cultural identity creation interests lied at the bottom of most of these regulations. The exception was the regulations of USSR, whose antiquities legislation was shaped by ideology rather than national feelings. In 1918, the USSR declared state ownership of cultural property in a fundamental law, which later served as a model for legislations of other socialist countries. Legislative regulations continued, developed and expanded to other countries who achieved their independence in the inter-war period. Formerly colonized countries in Asia and Africa introduced similar legislations after they gained their independence.

During the 1930s, new protection laws were enacted in Greece, Denmark, United Kingdom and Italy (Cleere, 2010). Although the process was mostly nation-based, the foundations of international efforts had also been laid. Legal initiatives were supported

by commissions, agencies and management plans. During that period, internationalism efforts were growing with the help of international organizations, notably the League of Nations. The first international legal document recognizing and emphasizing the importance of historical monuments, The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, was adopted in 1931. Destruction of historical monuments and actions regarding their restorations were discussed and possible solutions and actions were detailed. Within the scope of the Athens Charter, “Carta del Restauro”, seven main resolutions regarding protection and restoration of historical monuments were presented. These resolutions included the establishment of international organizations at operational and advisory levels, emphasis on national legislations regarding solution of possible problems and methods and rules to be considered on excavation, protection and restoration actions.

World War I and World War II as the apogees of nationalism and internationalism respectively form the basis of cultural heritage concept (Sluga, 2013:79). Cultural heritage was a significant subsidiary for nation states to strengthen their nationalist course and international cooperation was necessary in order to maintain their existence in international arena. As a result, cultural heritage had began to be included in international politics for the purpose of nationalism by means of internationalism.

2.3.2.From the End of World War II to the 1970s

As legal developments expanded across the world, in the second half of the twentieth century cultural heritage started to be dealt within international arena. Nationalism as one of the most common means in conservation movements in the 19th century started to be replaced by internationalism and universalism respectively within the world politics. Monuments began to be considered as a product of human creativity, admired as universal value and guaranteeing the continuity of civilizations and societies. Intervention methods and legal arrangements were also shaped accordingly. Heritage

became a constitution of “competing nation-state agendas converging via a discourse of international collaboration advanced and mediated by intergovernmental agencies” (Winter, 2015:1004). Post World War II obsession in heritage was also because of “decline of religious authority, coupled with the post-Enlightenment establishment of meta-narratives of progress and rationality, in which change and the forward march of history had increasingly given rise to a sense of rupture, displacement, and wider crises in notions of identity, place and ‘past’” (Gentry&Smith, 2019:1149-50). In other words, development of cultural heritage was closely related with markers such as nationalism, ethnicity, language, religion and shared interpretations of the past.

Decolonization and emergence of new states in international arena brought the sovereignty claims and cultural oriented discourses on state agenda. Accordingly, inducement and support from super powers was advanced with the aim of providing loyalty. Western-based support on Thai archaeology and Soviet Union support on Vietnamese archaeology are some striking examples of these loyalty providing state initiatives. Supports and incentives were not only from state level, but also from international and non-governmental organizations. Funding bodies, subnational attempts and many other had contributed to this process. Another sphere that heritage diplomacy got involved is heritage’s role in conflict resolution, post-conflict recovery and post war reconstruction (Winter, 2015:1009). Diplomatic activities, which can be in the form of financial support or technical assistance, are dealt mostly through the instrument of the conservation and restoration aid. Through this capacity building instruments, cultural heritage became a “mediator of relations” (Winter, 2015:1009).

With the Cold War, a sharp political polarization dominated the world politics in all spheres about fifty years. At the same time, international, non-governmental and regional organizations had started to emerge in world politics. Cultural heritage policies were shaped and managed in the light of these characteristic features of the time, namely the bipolarity system and internationalism of world politics. While national disputes and

ideological policies were the dominant factors directing architectural conservation policies before, in the second half of twentieth century, a new set of considerations emerged by the changing nature of world politics. Foundation of UNESCO in 1945 can be accepted as a milestone of internationalization of cultural heritage management. The view that cultural heritage is the common heritage of all humanity has been raised and sanctions and a supranational control over cultural heritage have been brought up at the international level in the field of protection.

Within the scope of welfare-state politics, especially in Europe after end of world wars, conservation policies shifted to a more modest and peaceful one from aggressively nationalist driven one. From the 1950s to the end of the Cold War, internationalization of the conservation politics was at its height, in which international organizations played an active role, number of councils and organizations specialized in cultural heritage increased and international efforts like charters, conventions and declarations multiplied. Colonization had left its place to modern exploitation in the twentieth century by internationalization. Especially establishment of UNESCO created a new way to rebuild exploiting – exploited relations. It was a chance for the West for “rescuing empire from its darker, dirtier side” (Mazower, 2012:72).

1960s were quite important for the politics shape around cultural heritage as a result of the rising Cold War tensions between superpowers and the rising movements of human rights. Collective memory had started to become an important factor upon domestic politics and international relations. Especially memories of World War II had started to be institutionalized by nation states and inspired civil movements all around the world. Survivor memories of many conflictual and traumatic events transcended the local discourses and started to have an international significance.

Destruction caused by time and human intervention are two major factors present a danger for tangible cultural heritage. Effect of time, which mostly manifest itself in the

form of decay, corrosion, destruction or extinction, may arise by the effect of nature or environmental conditions. These unfavorable effects are much easier to prevent, restore or diminish with scientific methods. On the other hand, human intervention caused factors are more devastating and more difficult to prevent. Wars, armed and other kind of conflicts, intentional destructions, constructions, hostile activities and many other human involvement are serious threats against cultural heritage. In this regard, the Hague Convention (1954) is one of the earliest international collective action taken against the destruction of cultural property along with the fear of a prospective destructive nuclear war. Since it is the first convention regarding the protection of cultural property and a significant step in carrying the issue on international arena, The Hague Convention constitutes one of the core sources of the current cultural heritage management system. Accordingly, cultural property is grouped under three main groups in Article I of the The Hague Convention Document, “movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property and centers containing a large amount of cultural property”. As indicated in the convention text, providing protection for cultural property and ensuring the respect towards them were defined as state’s own responsibility. The emphasis put on the need to establish an international organization would lead to establishment of ICOMOS in 1959.

In the wake of the Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings in 1964, thirteen resolutions were adopted including the adoption of the Venice Charter (1964) and the establishment of ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites). With The Venice Charter, “monument” concept was expanded from single construction to a broader concept, including its surroundings. In the Article I of the Charter text, the concept of historical monument is described as “not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event”. It

emphasizes the importance of conservation and restoration of historical buildings and set out the guidance and standards regarding conservation and restoration practices, excavations and documentation of the works. As the second resolution of the congress, ICOMOS was created as a non-governmental organization to promote technical and scientific knowledge and provide consultation for international community. Composed of national committees, scientific committees, institutional members and individual members; ICOMOS aims to promote the conservation, protection, rehabilitation and enhancement of monuments, groups of buildings, and sites (ICOMOS Official Webpage-National Committees).

2.3.3.From the 1970s Onwards

Starting from the 1970s, cultural heritage policies further diversified with various new actors, positions and changing dynamics in world politics. This period laid the foundation for this broader shift, especially through a shift in political relations of protection from the left-wing policies of the 1970s and 1980s to neo-liberalism of the 1990s. Powers (2006) describes the 1965-1985 period as a “heroic period of conservation,” when the “parallel progress of voluntary association and legislative and administrative action, combined with media pressure” (cited in Allais, 2013:8). Comprehensive and specific conventions increased at that time in parallel with the international developments. It is possible to argue that efforts, especially legal initiatives, conventions and charters represent the political conditions and concerns of the period they are adopted, as exemplified by Blake in the following passage:

the 1954 Convention expressed the powerful post-World War II desire to reduce potential sources of international conflict; the 1970 Convention embodied an approach to cultural property which might be characterised as "nationalist" or "statist" whereby the interest of the State of origin (often in the developing world) should be paramount, mirroring the strong feeling within UNESCO during the 1970's amongst developing nations that the power of the dominant developed States should be counteracted; and the 1972 Convention reflected

both the growing concern in environmentalist issues in its integration of the cultural with the natural heritage as well as the concept of a "common heritage of mankind" which had been developing at this time in relation to seabed mineral resour (Blake, 2000:62).

While the restoration techniques were developed and discussed until the 1960s; after the 1970s how to preserve the archaeological heritage as a whole was the prior concern in international arena. In order to prevent the illegal trade, spoil and theft of cultural heritage objects, the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property was signed in 1970. In this document, cultural property is defined as property, which has value in respect to archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art or science. State parties are entitled to enforce the safety of cultural property by preventive measures such as taking inventory, arranging export certificates, monitoring trade, imposing sanctions and providing educational and informative campaigns. Regarding illegal trade, states parties were required to cooperate and assist each other in accordance with the convention.

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) can be accepted as one of the most significant steps to include different countries from all over the world and create an international action regarding the issue. The Convention was adopted in 1972 as a result of the concerns regarding possible damage or destruction, existence of insufficient actions in national level, need for assuring knowledge and international recommendations and adopting a new system for better management of cultural and natural heritage. It was 1970s when environmental problems began to be dealt in international arena with civil movements, NGOs movements and international legal efforts, in the wake of increasing industrialization following the end of the World War II and its harmful effects on local and global environments. Therefore, contrary to previous regulations and legislations in international arena in which natural heritage concept was mostly absent, heritage now described as two main groups; cultural heritage and natural heritage.

Along with the Convention, an intergovernmental committee, namely World Heritage Committee was established. Responsibilities of the Committee include implementation of the Convention, allocation of the funds and financial assistance to State Parties and coordination of the World Heritage List. Fund for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value, called “the World Heritage Fund” and “World Heritage List” were also established. In parallel with the developing nations existence in international arena, UNESCO started to broaden its scope by appealing to a wider audience. Obligations and duties of State Parties were diversified. States Parties has been encouraged to report to the World Heritage Committee regularly about the status of World Heritage properties, to raise awareness and consciousness among the public regarding heritage, integrate the system on their internal national systems, develop measures like education and planning programs and conduct scientific research.

As such, it is with the 1972 Convention, basis of the current heritage management system was laid down. The Convention is a very important milestone in the transformation of the understanding of heritage sites, which had been accepted as “national” or “local” until that time, as global value. Starting with the Convention, heritage has exploded as “a heritage boom” and spread into “almost ever-present in public and private domains” (Harrison, 2013). Although the Convention is accepted as the milestone regarding internationalization of cultural heritage management system, it also brought up the conflicts and clashes regarding vulnerability of heritage sites. World Heritage Sites and their designation processes created a platform for new political alliances, international tensions and challenges for global cooperation.

After the 1980s, issue areas started to become even more diversified covering different types of heritage like industrial heritage, memory landscape, intangible cultural heritage, sites associated with conflicts and underwater heritage. Correspondingly, specific international conventions like the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible

Cultural Heritage and The Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage were adopted.

Started as simple human action with emotional oriented individual attempts and evolved through a complex set of system, cultural heritage management became a global affair involving various actors, as stated by Svoboda in the following passage:

The care of historical monuments emerged out of the clashes within the 19th and 20th centuries as the victor. Together with making the past present, the preservation of the memory of various cultures constitutes today a universal and generally shared aspect (Svoboda, 2013).

With the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the bipolar system, world politics entered into a new era, when a sharp change had been experienced in balance of power. Bipolar system was replaced a more complex combination of capitalism and globalized internationalism. Inevitably, conservation policies also began to change and evolve in accordance with changing political and economic conditions. Internationalism of cultural heritage, infusion of every aspect of political spheres from intergovernmental to regional, national to local levels has started to change especially in the last quarter of twentieth century. Differently from the former reasons and dynamics, one of the biggest impacts were the expansion of the capitalist economic system, especially the growth of tourism industry. With the dissolution of East-West division and globalization of world politics, international became global and heritage transcended the borders. Expansion of tourism and economic interests has played a significant role as a tool of economic interest. Economic development and cultural heritage development are intertwined in a globalized world in which tourism is a major sector. Preservation and recognition of a heritage site ensures economic development in various ways like creating sustainable tourism, tourism income and job-creation. With the effect of tourism and financial aid tools, heritage gained another role as an economic interest tool.

CHAPTER 3

UNESCO, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND WORLD HERITAGE LIST

This chapter intends to explore UNESCO's cultural heritage management by introducing main actors, components of the system, instruments and principles adopted under its umbrella. It aims to shed light on the system of management, its effectiveness in practice and the challenges that this system and its components face. World Heritage system of UNESCO is a multi-layered one, in which the perspective is global, governance is international and driven by national. World Heritage label includes an expansive range of actors including committees, agencies, working groups, in-house and external organisations, state parties, NGOs, private entities, regional experts and professionals who are all decision makers and practitioners, to a certain extent. Legal instruments including conventions, charters, declarations, recommendations and resolutions are the sources of the management process. Listing of the sites has many processes as well, such as funding, management and follow-up of the sites. All these process need instrumental management units and administration. In short, it is a quite exhaustive and multilevel system with a view for various considerations. Therefore, in this chapter, only the relevant actors and determinants to this thesis are included.

This chapter is divided into four main parts. In the first part, a general framework regarding UNESCO's cultural heritage management is drawn. Background information of UNESCO's foundation, components of its cultural heritage management system including legal initiatives, important actors, and World Heritage system are summarized.

Following the background information, UNESCO's cultural heritage system that is built on universality, integrity and international governance will be evaluated and criticized. Discrepancy between claims and practices regarding universality and dominance of nation states interests is discussed. In the third part, the question whether UNESCO and cultural heritage management could be accepted as an international regime is asked. Finally, two inherent contradictions of the cultural heritage system are explained.

3.1.UNESCO and Its Cultural Heritage System

During World War II, concrete steps for the creation of UNESCO had been taken. One of the prior aims for the leading countries was, first, to reconstruct the education system after the war. However, the main objective of the organization had evolved to establish the “intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind”, and, in so doing, prevent the outbreak of another world war (UNESCO Official Web Page-Mission and Mandate). Because of the need for establishment of an educational and cultural organization, UNESCO was founded after United Nations Conference in 1945.

International development and peacekeeping functions are emphasized in each programme of UNESCO and its role in transcending borders and ensuring free flow of ideas is undeniable. Its impact on forming and shaping the international debate on cultural heritage preservation and management is incontestable. UNESCO, both at state level by putting standards and monitoring the heritage sites and at international level by influencing policy dialogues, is the most significant actor in global scale in cultural heritage field. However, there is a gap between its claims and practices. Activities of the organization does not meet the ideal put by organization's discourse regarding its contribution to international peace and development. In fact, UNESCO's role within the UN has been cultural mediator rather than an effective peacekeeping and development agency.

3.1.1. Background Information - Legal Initiatives, Actors and World Heritage List

Conventions and charters are the legal basis of the cultural heritage management system. They aim to ensure international cooperation regarding cultural heritage related issues. Conventions cover wide range of policy areas including protection of ancient archaeological sites, museum collections, underwater heritage, intangible heritage, oral traditions, diversity of cultural expressions, cultural diversity and other forms of heritage. Main conventions and charters are “*The Hague Convention*” (1954), “*International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Site*” (1964), “*Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*” (1970) and “*The Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*” (1972), “*The Nara Document On Authenticity*” (1994), “*The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*” (2001), “*The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*” (2003) and “*The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*” (2005). Besides legislative documents, technical knowledge and assistance regarding management, preservation, restoration and conservation are assured and determined by different organizations and bodies. Two external Advisory Bodies; IUCN (1948) and ICCROM (1956) were founded in the early years of UNESCO in order to provide technical evaluations and advices regarding cultural and natural heritage. Another important actor, ICOMOS (1965) as a global non-governmental organization aims to promote conservation and preservation of monuments and sites. It works as Advisory Body of the World Heritage Committee and provides consultation for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

3.1.1.1.The Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage

Since it was adopted (1972), the Convention remains as the major instrument for conservation of world's heritage. It is a distinctive initiative at international level by ensuring a collective protection of world heritage sites, which are under various threats like neglect, inconvenient protection and restoration practices, arm conflicts, unfavourable natural conditions or partial political implementations. As stated in the Convention Text, the Convention aims to establish "collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods". One of its success is to unite nation states in a common and shared understanding of cultural heritage. Being included in the international community and having sites inscribed on the list bring international prestige and other specific benefits to states. This allows them to receive funding by World Heritage Fund and accordingly, opportunity to improve physical conditions, enhance tourism activities and increase recognition of the sites.

3.1.1.2.World Heritage List

Before moving to the details of the List, it is important to give a brief information about the World Heritage Fund, World Heritage Center and World Heritage Committee. World Heritage Fund is established in Article 15 of the Convention mainly for the "protection of the world cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value". The fund consists of various resources from state contributions, other intergovernmental organizations and public or private bodies. Although the total funding allocated for Culture division of UNESCO increased in years, funding and international assistance means per site became more limited because of the increase in the number of inscriptions and state parties. World Heritage Center was established by UNESCO as a coordinator unit responsible for issues related to Convention and World Heritage. Main

responsibilities include organizing annual sessions of World Heritage Committee, providing advices to states regarding World Heritage List processes and managing World Heritage Fund allocation and international assistance. World Heritage Committee consists of 21 state parties, which serve four-year term and elected at General Assembly. Ensuring the proper implementation of the Convention and coordinating financial assistance, the Committee is the main responsible for the World Heritage inscriptions and World Heritage Convention implementation. The committee has the final decision to inscribe a property. It follows the implementation of the rules and requests actions from State Parties about the management process.

World Heritage List is a list of heritage sites exist in the territory of the Member States. There are certain procedures and rules, which are determined in the Convention text and Operational Guidelines, regarding the inscription of sites. World heritage properties are grouped under two main categories; cultural heritage and natural heritage, in Article 1 and Article 2 of the Convention They are presented in *Table 1*.

Table 1: Definition of Cultural and Natural Heritage

Article 1 : The following shall be considered as " cultural heritage ":	
monuments	architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
groups of buildings	groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
sites	works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.
Article 2: For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as " natural heritage ":	
natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;	
geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;	
natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.	

Source: Convention Concerning the Protection Of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), Article I, II

Both the criteria system for the nomination of properties and defined process for the nomination have evolved over time. In the current system, states submit the Tentative List, nominate one property for that particular year and its nomination is evaluated by various authorities at the international level. Evaluation process mainly composes of three stages and three Advisory Bodies are involved in World Heritage List evaluation

processes; ICOMOS, ICCROM and IUCN. Applications are evaluated by ICOMOS and IUCN, for cultural and natural sites respectively. They provide advices and detailed reports to World Heritage Center about each individual site if they meet the criteria for inscription. ICCROM provides the technical knowledge regarding conservation and restoration practices. The final decision is made by the World Heritage Committee. Evaluation may be resulted in four options; inscription, referral, deferral or refusal. Inscription is the acceptance and inclusion of the list; referral refers the minor revisions need; deferral suggests need for substantial revisions; and finally, the rejection of the nomination.

Until 2004, sets of criteria were presented under two separate categories. There were six criteria for cultural and four criteria for natural heritage that were merged to one single criteria list composing of ten with the *Decision 6 EXT.COM 5.1* taken within the scope of *Revision Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention decision* in 2003. In order to be included in the list, sites must be of “outstanding universal value” and need to meet at least one of the ten criteria.

Outstanding universal value is described in Article 49 of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* as follows:

49. Outstanding universal value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole. The Committee defines the criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List.

Selection criteria are defined as shown in *Table 2*.

Table 2: The Criteria for Selection

(i)	"to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;"
(ii)	"to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;"
(iii)	"to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;"
(iv)	"to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;"
(v)	"to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;"
(vi)	"to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);"
(vii)	"to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;"
(viii)	"to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;"
(ix)	"to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;"
(x)	"to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation."

Source: UNESCO - Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention

3.2.Critiques and Challenges of UNESCO's Cultural Heritage System

Norms play in the foreground, background, and context of the legal universe, but most of the activity happens in the background (Lixinski, 2013:419).

This passage conveniently describes UNESCO's discourse and practical paradox. In some issue areas, there is a huge gap between the idealized principles, legalized norms and the reality. Just as in the concept cultural heritage itself, management of UNESCO also includes various internal contradictions.

In this part UNESCO's management is criticized by four main approaches. Firstly, the issue of the domination of nation states is elaborated. Then, domination of cultural divisions issue is studied by including Eurocentricism discussions. Later, the real intention of the states to secure the brand value of listing by keeping the conservation and protection aims behind is discussed. Lastly, the issue of imbalanced distribution of the sites by types is included in order to better understand the politicized nature of cultural heritage.

In order to understand the disjuncture between discourse and practice better, the domination of nation states in UNESCO organization deserves an explanation. As UNESCO is a intergovernmental organization, state parties, especially Committee members are the most important and powerful decision makers. It depends on states to decide the level of dedication and participation regarding nomination and inscription process. Majority of responsibility and authority regarding cultural heritage are upon nation states as stated in Article IV of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage:

Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-

operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain.

States nominate the sites; they decide about the inscription via World Heritage Committee; and they are the main responsible ones for the protection and management of the sites. In a word, national perspectives and interests are diffused in all steps of the process.

Heritage sites function as a perfect tool to mask the real intentions of the parties, political and economic interests. The inscription process shows how the World Heritage is involved in the international politics, entangled with state interests. The list has been transformed as a pawn, used by states to promote their sovereign and national interests (Meskell, 2012). World Heritage Committee and its sessions are perpetuation of expansionist nation state desires (Pavone, 2008).

One of the most distinctive feature of the World Heritage system is its emphasis on universal application of cultural heritage, as stated by UNESCO:

What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located (UNESCO Official Web Page-World Heritage).

Although strong emphasis is put by UNESCO regarding universal nature and international management of cultural heritage over notions like “outstanding value”, “outstanding interest”, “world heritage of mankind as a whole” and “belonging the peoples of the world”; World Heritage List does not overcome cultural divisions. UNESCO world heritage is dominated by certain cultures, civilizations and values. Unfortunately, political superiorities cannot be overcome and the reality is far from the principle of universality and equal representation.

Principles adopted by World Heritage system are deeply Eurocentric and representative of European values. There are various debates regarding the Eurocentric nature of cultural heritage and UNESCO's World Heritage system. In this study, three main points are identified in order to discuss the Eurocentric nature of UNESCO. These are *the distribution of the number of sites by countries and regions, UNESCO's efforts to overcome the problem of dominating certain cultures and the politicized nature of the system.*

The disproportionate distribution of heritage sites across regions and countries remarks an important indicator of the Eurocentric nature. For example, although the world is divided into many regions according to their geographical location, Europe and North America are accepted as one single region. Besides, Europe and North America is the first ranked region in terms of number of inscribed property with 47.1% share of the total and followed by Asia and the Pacific and Latin America and Caribbean respectively 23.9% and 12.6%. Africa and Arab States have the last place with 8.56% and 7.67 share in total respectively. In terms of number of world heritage properties inscribed by each State Party, China and Italy share the first place with 55 properties followed by Spain, Germany and France 48, 46, and 45 respectively (UNESCO, World Heritage List Statistics). In terms of number of world heritage properties on Tentative List by each State Party, Turkey has the first place with 83 properties followed by China, Iran, India and Italy 60, 56, 42 and 41 respectively. In other words, in the ranking made according to the number of sites in the world heritage list; four of the five top countries are European countries, whereas there is only one European country in the ranking made by the number of sites on the temporary list. In conclusion, while other countries outside Europe are very active in nominating the sites, European countries have the highest number of inscribed heritage sites.

The unequal and disproportionate representation issue was carried to the organizations' agenda few times. UNESCO itself accepts this unbalance situation and takes initiatives

in order to overcome the problems raised by. In order to ensure the balanced representation, World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List in 1994. This strategy found out that “Europe, historic towns and religious monuments, Christianity, historical periods and ‘elitist’ architecture (in relation to vernacular) were all over-represented on the World Heritage List; whereas, all living cultures, and especially ‘traditional cultures’, were underrepresented” (UNESCO, Global Strategy). Although different policies implemented as part of the Global Strategy and new categories created in order to widen the scope of the list, imbalance between regions, types of sites and cultures exist as stated by Boniface (2001):

It is clear also, from even cursory glance at the UNESCO map of World Heritage Sites, that large spaces of relative World Heritage emptiness exist, compared to western Europe and the Mediterranean for example, in large parts of Chile, Argentina and the Amazon basin, in southern Africa, in portions of the Middle East, and in some sectors of central Asia including certain countries of the former USSR. The roll-call of Sites is currently neither an accurate reflection of the world's balance and range of cultures or of actual prime heritage as judged by global value (p:77).

In support to regional discrepancy of the sites, Reyes (2014) in her study *The Production Of Cultural And Natural Wealth: An Examination Of World Heritage Sites* analyzes how cultural wealth and natural wealth are built by internal claims along with the external validation regarding World Heritage Sites. Accordingly, she specifies various indicators and determinants of World Heritage mechanism. At internal level, indicators are the state claims and dynamics; at external sphere, they are the global structures and relations. Internal attributes are “state capacity”, “existing state infrastructures that support the application process” and “state legitimacy”. Global relational attributes are specified as “relative wealth”, “imperial legacy”, and “cultural regions” (Reyes, 2014:7). *State capacity* refers to “bureaucratic administrative ability” and aims to measure the state ability regarding bureaucratic and administrative processes. *State infrastructures*, which

Reyes believes an important indicator of World heritage site management process, refers particularly to state's tourist infrastructure. *State legitimacy* is measured by state participation in related organizations within the same timeframe. In case of global attributes, *relative wealth* refers to economic status of states and *imperial legacy* refers to "18th and 19th century empire cores". *Cultural regions* refers to nine culturally related regions; Western Europe and the Mediterranean, Eastern Europe, North America and the Caribbean, Latin America, Oceania, East and Southeast Asia, South and Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa respectively. She finds out that her analysis as all internal and external claims have relative effect behind the nominations of World Heritage List, but cultural regions are "a driving force behind nominations" (Reyes, 2014).

The original role of the World Heritage List in protecting the world's most important heritage sites has been replaced by the desire to secure the brand value of listing and keeping the heritage business alive. More than the site and its conservation as the core value, list and the management of the sites are valued for "in state-to state negotiations and exchanges of social capital" (Meskell, 2015(a):3). Sites became the mediator channels of alliances and in return, dependencies. It may be between these two close neighbors, as well as cooperation with multiple countries and more complex relationships and wide range of interests and regime types (Hale and Held, 2011). Each phase of the listing process; nomination, inscription, monitoring and protection strengthens the international dialogue, diverse networks and partnerships between State Parties. Site's return value, rather than its historical or natural physical significance, is more important for State Parties. Sites become objects or gifts from certain states to others offering certain benefits and symbolizing power and dependency.

One significant example would be the inscription of Pyu Ancient Cities. Despite ICOMOS's deferral recommendation as stating that authenticity and integrity are not met as the site had various construction and restoration, site was inscribed in 2014 as

Myanmar's first site. The inscription was not based on the historical or archeological value, but rather based on Myanmar's democracy, development and assuring its participation in management by Committee's decision (Meskell, 2015(a)). Another example would be the support of South Africa and Qatar to Panama's inscription, which was unexpected as they have no religious or regional connection with the region. Rather than regional or political intentions, the real reason of the support was the economic relations and trade agreements among these countries (Meskell, 2014).

Besides the domination of certain regions, there is an explicit imbalanced distribution of the sites by types (cultural, natural and mixed) as well. As of 43rd session of the World Heritage Committee held in July 2019, there are 1121 World Heritage Properties recorded all around the world. 869 of these are cultural, only 213 are natural, and 39 are mixed properties. This disproportionate distribution of the types refers to the historical evolution of the list because the focus was on ancient monuments initially. Nevertheless, domination of cultural sites continues even though "their nominations tend to be more time-consuming, controversial, and politically polarizing than natural properties", as Meskell states (Meskell, 2013:485). Cultural heritage sites have more return value than natural, because of their political value.

In short, achieving and preserving World Heritage status has become big business keeping real conservation concerns in the background. Therefore, World Heritage concept faces the criticism of being politicized and losing credibility in return. These kind of ancillary intentions and efforts described above outweigh the global and universal claims such as "outstanding universal value", "authenticity" and "integrity" notions emphasized by UNESCO discourse (Labadi, 2013). UNESCO is mainly governed by nation states and it does not overcome the national influences. It composes of a unique complex structure consisting of a mixture of national, international and global principles.

3.3. International Cultural Heritage Regime

International regimes are defined as “principles, norms, rules and decision- making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area” (Krasner, 1982:185), “sets of governing arrangements that affect networks of rules, norms, and procedures that regularize behavior and control its effects” in an issue-area.” (Keohane&Nye, 1977:19) and “man-made arrangements (social institutions) for managing conflict in a setting of inter- dependence” (Haas, 1982:210). In essence, principles and norms are the building blocks of regimes and rules and procedures are the requirements set by the system.

International regime discussions are mostly revolved around economic related topics, which consist of a very wide and systematic set of rules and norms in international level. The issue of international regime on non-economic issues are partially more limited in the literature. Cultural heritage regime is even much more limited, although there are significant considerations showing that it exists. When UNESCO and its heritage management is considered, one might find enough reasons to say that it is possible to consider international cultural heritage as a regime, as also stated by De Cesari (2013):

As a transnational discourse with its own set of attached practices, heritage is developed, supported and promoted by a network of powerful institutions, among which UNESCO is at present most influential (p:399).

There are various reasons to accept cultural heritage as an international regime. First of all, heritage is a universal value, extending the national borders and became common good of all humanity. Secondly, it is an area whose extend is quite wide including various issue areas. Thirdly, because of its multifaceted nature, it is necessarily managed and governed by national, international and nongovernmental authorities in multiple ways and spheres.

For the issue areas that interdependence is high (such as environment, human rights, trade), the need for regimes does matter increasingly. As stated by Haas (1982) in the below passage, there is a close relationship upon interaction of nation states (as political entities forming the regime), culture and nature:

The study of regimes is a way of understanding the interactions of homo politicus with nature and with culture. It rests on the supposition that our collective understanding of our political choices increasingly depends on how we think about nature and about culture. The study of regimes illustrates the range of past and future choices about international collaboration in a context of changing self-understanding (p:208).

When evolution of cultural heritage regime is considered, it can be deduced that politics and international collaboration are in parallel with the evolution of collective understanding of culture and nature. As Young (1982) states, "the growth of interdependence increases the capacity of all relevant actors to injure each other" (p:287). In an area like cultural heritage where actors, ownership, self-interest, management and components are intertwined, interdependency is quite high. The size and complexity of the issues require international restructuring and cooperation.

Although sites are actually within the borders of the country and responsibility in the agreements is largely over the country in which they are located, they heritage sites are accepted as "the heritage of mankind" and their protection are guaranteed internationally by UNESCO. Besides forming an international governance, the aim is to ensure the protection and safety of heritage sites, both by the state side and by international measures when the state cannot provide or become the threat to its safety. Therefore, in terms of international heritage regime, it is both to manage "international domains – which typically lie outside the control of national governments and constrain them" (De Cesari, 2013:4-5) and also to regulate the domains which are under member state responsibilities. In this respect, international cultural heritage regime's role in

preventing the conflicts, which may be caused by heritage itself or possibility of heritage to ignite these conflicts, is significant.

International cultural heritage management is not an authoritative one. It is not among the “strong enforcement” or the “strong implementation” regimes, managed “under a single norm” (Haas, 1982). On the contrary, cultural heritage regime may be categorized as “weak promotional” or “weak implementation”. Cultural heritage regime is “regimes of common interest”, which actors would be worse off and get gains for all if they follow the rules and abstain from certain behaviors. The regime composes of implementation and promotion activities and involves “international information exchange”. The standards it offers are “not binding but are nonetheless widely commended by states” (Donnelly, 1986:603-604). The regime stands somewhere between international standards and international guidelines, in which some standards are put regarding conservation and management of sites or preventive acts regarding destruction of illicit trade of heritage, there is no strong international enforcement.

Heritage management is done in multiple levels by various authorities and actors. It is governed by institutions, authorities and organizations in order to designate the rules and “conduct of conduct” of populations, as Foucauldian governmentality offers (Foucault, 1991). By defining certain principles, guides and methods with the help of particular forms of knowledge, heritage is regulated mainly by international organizations (mainly UNESCO), nation states and NGOs by means like conventions, charters, acts, meetings and listing procedures. Legal initiatives are among the most important contributors of the regime. Legal instruments adopted by UNESCO are significant in specifying the basic issues like what is the scope of cultural heritage, why is it important and why, how and for who to protect it. In this regard, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage may be accepted as the founding declaration of the regime. There are many other single-issue declarations and conventions forming the

rules and procedures of the system. As a result, it would be induced that heritage regime's components are quite coherent.

For Member States, there are different reasons and motivations to be a part of international cultural heritage regime. It is mainly the opportunity to register the sites within their borders internationally, expand their interests, gaining prestige, gaining access to economic benefits like funding opportunities and investments of the organization and expand their diplomatic relations to be included in the regime. In short, despite all common procedures, norms and principles coordinated by an international institutional structure, international cultural heritage regime is intertwined with the nation-state perspectives. Although it is presented as deeply transnational, the regime empowers and expands national heritage structures and stereotypes in the end.

3.4. Conflictual Nature of Cultural Heritage - Inherent Contradictions

Cultural heritage must be understood as a dynamic and flux entity, constantly created and recreated. Accordingly, it accommodates various contradictions in it. This part of the chapter aims to provide an overview of this conflictual nature of cultural heritage. It is argued that it is possible to examine the conflictual nature of cultural heritage along two main inherent contradictions, which characterize the development of the cultural heritage concept historically. They are nationalism-internationalism vs universalism and peace versus conflict.

3.4.1. Nationalism - Internationalism vs Universalism

As already mostly covered in the rest of the chapter, cultural heritage is a great mixture of national, international and global spheres. The disjuncture created between national, international and global spheres is mainly caused by the internal and international structure of the international cultural heritage regime. Cultural heritage regime is governed by international organizations, attributes universal values to cultural heritage

and strongly managed and directed by nation states. De Cesari (2013) explains the contradictory features of cultural heritage management as follows:

Undeniably, UNESCO's action is characterized by a number of tensions or apparently contradictory features. UNESCO's rhetoric celebrates cultural diversity as its key value, and to be sure, this organization's interventions produce a rush for diversification since local and national actors tend to emphasize the specificity and exceptionality of their cultural practices in order to meet UNESCO's criteria. However, UNESCO is itself a powerful agent of homogenization of heritage practices all over the world, for it promotes a standardization of principles and procedures of conservation (p:402).

Heritage is promoted as a global and all-pervasive concept. Within this framework, an important question to ask is; how meaningful is it to attribute universal value if cultural heritage sites are located within the borders of countries and governments primarily play a role in their administration? For international environmental regime, it is meaningful as oceans, atmosphere and non-residential areas in the world are global commons of all humanity. However, for cultural heritage it is not the same, they are located within the boundaries of the national state and the responsibility in the international agreements is largely over the country in which they are located. On the other hand, there is something far beyond physical limits on the issue of cultural heritage; global attribution of the heritage. UNESCOization, the term used by Berliner (2012) can be seen as an example of cultural globalization. The globalization of world politics has been experienced especially in the 20th century in different areas mainly economic, military, ecological, cultural, legal and social spheres. The world experiences a cultural globalization "simultaneously with the reassertion of nationalism, ethnicity, and difference" and it is "a complex mix of homogenization and increased heterogeneity", (McGrew, 2014:21). Therefore, as a result of this cultural globalization, cultural heritage rises a universal value

Despite in most of human history it has been perceived as a national value, cultural heritage is presented as a universal value in the last decades. Starting from the Middle

Ages, cultural and historical objects and properties are built and cherished in local, civilizational, imperial or national contexts. Nationalism has had a great impact on the rise of cultural heritage as an international concern, just as its function as a legitimization of nationalist movements. Nation states needed heritage “to consolidate national identification, absorb or neutralize potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions, combat the claims of other nations upon its territory or people, while furthering claims upon nationals in territories elsewhere” (Graham et al., 2000:183). “Heritage belongs to the nation” and “national heritage” terms were reinforced by nation states in order to legitimize their nationalism. Shared heritage and past is central to nationalists’ use of heritage. Along with the discourse about “common past”, cultural heritage appears as a perfect tool in order to give a physical representation to the reality of nation, as Candelaria (2005) argues:

Supporters of cultural nationalism argue that sovereignty and possession remain with the state for the following reasons: (1) because cultural property is an expression of a civilization that existed or is currently existing within a state, its citizens thus have a stronger claim based on identification and national pride; (2) retention of sovereignty provides the context of cultural property; and (3) cultural property usually has utilitarian qualities, including market value, that may be harnessed by the state and its people (p:267-8).

In this regard, the past is the vital resource and legitimization tool of nationalism. In order to regulate and shape the political actions, nationalism needs to use the past and associate it with collective memory. Tangible witnesses of the past, cultural heritage objects and archaeological knowledge are mobilized as concrete means by authorities and policy-makers to govern identities, legitimize the present and promote desired version of the history through the state designed institutions and regulations. Just as legitimizing the policies and values, heritage can also be used to change cultural values or challenge certain values and identities of various communities or groups (Smith, 2006). It is an indispensable part of nationalism and is of extreme importance for nation states existence in international arena. As Kulevicius (2015) explains in the following

passage, heritage functions as a supporter to pursue sovereignty claims and a mobilizing factor:

History and heritage are becoming an important, if not the most important, source of the nation's commonality justification and sense of community. In this case, heritage performs not only a legitimate but also a community mobilizing or constructing function. This is the mission of heritage, benefits of its for nationalism (p:4).

Cultural heritage might also be used as state propaganda, which is "a persuasive communicative act of a government directed at a foreign audience" (Martin, 1971:61-70) and legitimizes nationalist discourse and policies. Similarly, as archaeology use to govern the societies and identities, archaeological knowledge can be regarded as a "technology of government" (Foucault, 1979), which refers to "the complex of mundane programs, calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents and procedures through which authorities seek to embody and give effect to governmental ambition" (Rose and Miller, 1992:175). This technology may be used by authorities to legitimize, reinforce or suppress any policy or action in accordance with their interests. Scientific and technical emphasis of cultural heritage management system enables authorities to represent their policies as non-political, objective and rational. By representing heritage as the scientific and technical knowledge (mainly archaeology) and as the method to evaluate the source, policies can be de-politicized and heritage can be transformed into something governable.

It is argued that contrary to UNESCO's efforts and aims to universalize the heritage as a common value, cultural heritage is highly shaped by tradition of nation states and reproduces the national intentions. Despite the discourses of universalist principles, nation states stay as the main actors through cultural heritage management. On the other hand, this friction has in turn created a unique multifaceted regime. Global unification and national fragmentation compose the complementary aspects of cultural heritage.

3.4.2. Peace vs Conflict

When current challenging cases of conflictual cultural heritage cases are considered, whether cultural heritage sites solely contribute to peace between different parties or mitigates conflicts is an important question to ask,. Cultural heritage, especially when it concerns more than one party, may be, directly or indirectly source or part of conflict. While it must be the symbol of peace and harmony, conversely heritage may “become war by another means” (Ahren, 2013). Williams (1970) describes conflict between parties in three forms; fight, game and debate. In parallel to this definition, in case of cultural heritage, conflicts may be grouped as three reasons similarly, as described by Chaudhuri (2017):

In a broader sense there are three conflict situations, firstly, when opponents try to deprive, control injure, destroy, or otherwise harm; second, when two or multiple parties try to maximize their interest and win over other(s) through competition; third, when stakeholders aim to convince or persuade each other of the rightness or correctness or attractiveness of one’s views or claims through debate and come to consensus through cooperation.

Conflicts caused by multifold interests are common in international cultural heritage regime. They are caused both by internal structure of the regime and also by external governed ones originating from individual nation states politics. World heritage system itself put states into a race where inscription is made as a prize and it brings certain advantages such as prestige, political superiority and funding possibilities. On the other hand, independent from the system itself, cultural heritage can be the subject of the conflict, originating from the actors' own policies.

Cultural heritage may be direct targets for certain groups for various reasons like looting, illicit trade, intimidation of the opponent, tour de force or destruction of “the other”. Cultural heritage sites, both tangible and intangible, play a significant role in shaping community identities. When identity conflicts of the parties lead to the armed conflict,

cultural heritage sites, which are important parts of the identity, become important targets. Destruction of the heritage plays a critical role as an important psychological weapon and a supremacy indicator. Destruction of cultural property of “the other” can be considered as an important step to eradication of the opponent. In other words:

All features or cultural claims of a certain community disappear via the destruction of religious property, archaeological remains and other cultural property. When these features are erased, the (re)constructed version of history, which empowers the claim of the remaining communities to the territory, becomes easier to believe in (Meskell, 2015:4).

It is conflicting that World Heritage, as an application to designate universal value to cultural and natural sites of the world by global cooperation and international alliances, could itself become a source of conflict and tensions between states and other actors. Inscription and management of heritage sites involve larger exchanges and transactions that States Parties are involved with different orientations. This poses a threat to the usage of cultural heritage as a tool during conflicts, as experienced in destruction of Palmira in Syria, Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan or Timbuktu in Mali. Therefore, the role of World Heritage as a mediator for promoting peace and cooperation is a reductive argument, as explained by Meskell (2015):

Posing more uncomfortable questions: might the creation of World Heritage for the purposes of peace and cooperation actually be just as constitutive of conflict and competition? One UNESCO delegate posed this question during the 2014 World Heritage Committee meetings regarding the destruction in Syria, asking: did World Heritage status transform such sites into targets? While no straightforward answer was forthcoming from the experts in the room, the current international situation appears to be escalating. So has the ambition of global peace through a shared World Heritage failed? One response is that it increasingly falters when sovereign states want to shore up their own power at the expense of others, either within or beyond their borders (p:234).

Lastly, there are some other specific cases in which the lessons of traumatic events are employed to cooperate and resolve conflicts. Negative heritage sites, which negative

memories associated with the sites are the main reason of their existence, are used and exploited by nations in order to emphasize the world peace. Although represented by the symbol of world peace by taking lessons from traumatic events, this type of heritage is the subject of deeper political debates and managed by power relations.



CHAPTER 4

NEGATIVE HERITAGE IN WORLD HERITAGE LIST: THE CASES OF AUSCHWITZ BIRKENAU GERMAN NAZI CONCENTRATION AND EXTERMINATION CAMP AND HIROSHIMA PEACE MEMORIAL

As a result of the twentieth century's wars, conflicts, disorders and clashes; commemoration has become an obsession around the world. Cultural heritage sites, which are an essential part of this process, are used not only for concretizing the memory but also for shaping and managing the perceptions of communities. In this respect, the negative heritage sites are being used by authorities and they are considerably politicized. In this chapter, negative heritage sites are studied by first taking a look at UNESCO's negative heritage management system and then inspecting two specific cases.

The chapter is divided into four main parts. Firstly, negative heritage concept is detailed. Collective memory, commemoration and negative heritage relation are analyzed. Afterwards UNESCO's management of negative heritage is presented by introducing the criteria system, selection process and negative heritage sites that are inscribed and on tentative list. Following to the general information regarding negative heritage in UNESCO system, the cases of Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp in Poland and Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) in Japan are examined. The conflictual nature of these two World Heritage Sites is deliberated historically along with the inherent contradictions defined in the context of

this thesis. Lastly, challenges, critiques and limitations of negative heritage sites management are presented.

4.1.Negative Heritage and Sites of Memory

Cultural heritage as the representation of cultural continuity and diversity usually occupies a positive position. Similarly, heritage sites are promoted as “source of pride” and “cause for celebration” generally. Therefore, we typically hold that heritage is good and generally imbued with “positive associations”. It is also observed intensely in UNESCO World heritage system. However, heritage is not always good, as stated by Harrison (2013) as follows:

In addition to appearing as something that is desirable, and that has a commercial, political or social value, heritage is often invoked in the context of debates and protests about things and practices that are considered to be threatened or at risk (p:7).

Remembrance and commemoration of shameful events of the past brought the idea that heritage is not only related to celebration and glory, as stated by Murray et al (2011):

The recognition of heritage is not always born out of the accumulation of uplifting experiences and memories of a past that one would like to preserve unchanged for the future. On the contrary, people may be drawn to the consequences of violence, destruction, and death strongly enough to feel the need to memorialize it” (p:474).

Commemoration as an important part of cultural heritage field is mostly related to negative events or traumas that challenges the core of traditional cultural heritage concept. Consequently, memorization in its current form implies that cultural heritage has two conflicting sides; positive and negative associations. In this part of the chapter, less common yet quite crucial side of it is going to be addressed; negative heritage.

The concept of “Sites of memory” is significant in understanding negative heritage. The term, “sites of memory” (*lieu de mémoire*) was defined and popularized by Pierre Nora

(1997) in his three-volume collection “Les lieux de mémoire”. He describes sites of memory as “any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (in this case, the French community)” (Nora, 1996: XVII). Considering both physical and intangible entities, sites of memory could include buildings such as temples, cathedrals, mosques, palaces, memorials museums; concepts such as rituals, commemorations, memories and lastly objects such as flags, emblems, symbols, etc. Sites of memory is defined as “a specific location with architectural or archaeological evidence, or even specific landscape characteristics which can be linked to the memorial aspects of the place.” by ICSC (2018).

Negative heritage is a type of sites of memory that is only associated with negative memories such as trauma, genocide, wars, mass killings, suffering etc. Although referred mostly as negative heritage in this study, there are other usages for this term such as “sites of memory” (Nora, 1989) “sites with negative associations” (Rico, 2008) , “sites associated with memories of recent conflicts” (ICOMOS, 2018), “negative heritage” (Meskell, 2002), “dissonant heritage” (Turnbridge & Ashworth, 1996), “ambivalent heritage” (Chadha, 2006), “contested heritage” (Rico, 2008), “sites of wounded memory” (Ogle, 2008) and “sites of conscience” (ICSC).

Negative heritage can be defined in its broadest term as sites, fields, monuments or areas that are interpreted as a reminder of conflicts, trauma, negative memories, injuries or disasters of recent times. The term is defined by Meskell (2002) as “a conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary” (p:598). In the discussion paper of ICOMOS, *Evaluations of World Heritage Nominations related to Sites Associated with Memories of Recent Conflicts* (2018), “Sites associated with memory” is described and presented as below:

Sites where it is the memory or memories that primarily give or gives the property its main value, or its potential Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). The place or site associated with the memory thus may be incidental to the source of the memory– such as where a battle, trauma, massacre, genocide or other event happened to occur. This could mean that what is nominated is a site that before the event had other uses such as a school, field, offices, etc., but where the value of those structures and uses are now overshadowed by memories of the event.

4.1.1.Types and Classification of Negative Heritage

The history of humanity is full of violent events including wars, atrocities, mass murders, disasters, human rights abuses, bombings and intentional destruction of buildings and cities. There are various types of negative heritage sites varied from archaeological sites to twentieth century memorial sites. Hence, it is possible to classify negative heritage in various ways. An inclusive and detailed classification done by ICSC (2018) is presented in *Table 3*. In this table, sites are classified according to the type of conflicts they witness.

Table 3: Sites With Memorial Aspects Related to Conflicts or Dramatic Events

War sites (battlefields, war cemeteries)
Places of human rights abuse
-Discrimination (racial, ethnic, religious, gender, minorities)
-Slavery
-Crime against humanity (genocide)
-War crimes, mass murder
-Ethnic cleansing, displaced peoples
-Colonial repression
-Forced labour, labour exploitation, indentureship
-Crimes under dictatorship, repression of free speech, state sponsored terror
severe conditions of detention, internment, incarceration
Places of escape, refuges (Maroon sites, US Underground Railroad, Anne Frank’s house)

Table 3 (Continued)

Places that celebrate accomplishments -homes of renowned activists -sites of resistance -sites of reconciliation and peace building)
Places that record the deliberate destruction of heritage (Bamiyan, Palmyra, Timbuktu, Mostar)
Others

Source: ICSC (2018) *Interpretation of Sites of Memory*

4.1.2. Collective Memory, Commemoration and Negative Heritage

Why tragedy and violence should be remembered, for which reasons, how and who to choose which memory to remember and which to forget are important questions to be posed. As Wertsch argues, remembering as an important part of heritage, is a process, in which the past is reinterpreted and negotiated by the needs and experiences of the present (Wertsch, 2002). In other words, the past can never be fully understood only in its own context; the present rewrites the meaning of the past and the memories and stories we build in the context of the present. Why would communities and people prefer to remember and monumentalize tragedies, loss and negative events has various aspects such as power, interests and exclusion.

Collective memory involves knowledge, politics and moral values. Memory, both collective and individual can be easily manipulated. It has been prioritized both by authorities to legitimize their sovereignty and by the victims of conflicts and struggles. It is shaped by those who hold power as they have the power to direct which memory should be remembered and which to be erased. Heritage of conflicts and violence evoke stronger and intense emotions intrinsically. Suffering and painful experiences are often constitute important parts of the identities of communities. Collective memories are especially strong when associated with the periods of oppression and human rights violations.

Collective memory is anchored in spatial frameworks. Space, more specifically commemorative places and memorials are tangible witnesses of the past and holds the power to shape memories. Memory industry including memorials, sites associated with memories, cultural landscapes, museums, archives, records and testimonies play a crucial role in keeping the memory alive in present and future generations. This process of keeping memories alive through physical representations is called as “historical theming” by Macdonald (2013), which is “representing places through sets of public memories in order to configure what are assumed will be identifiably individuated ‘lands’” (p:4). Similarly, monuments serve as “reminders of the past and harbingers of the future” (Meskell, 2002). With monuments, past is rebuilt, redirected and arranged as desired in the minds of societies. Especially the ones that symbolize societal trauma, negative events and heroic points are significant means for creation of collective and common memories, as claimed by Stier and Landres (2006):

Control of sacred places is central to the articulation and revision of memory and through it the writing and rewriting of history. As such, both the physical excavation of place and the social excavation of memory are fraught with conflict....atrocities render places religiously charged, indigestible in their toxicity, while their commemoration creates of those sites sacred spaces, variously digestible in and through their memorialization and contestation.

Monuments and memorials, which are associated with negative events, are dynamic, politicized and open to negotiation. As stated by Gough (2008), “when considering how warfare might variously be commemorated, it is clear that every act is highly contested” (p:216). They are important contributors of collective memory formation process of nation states and societies, as explained by Ashworth (2008):

The most important use of all public heritage, and the main reason for its intentional creation by public authorities, is the creation and strengthening of group identity. People are encouraged to identify with a social group, place or ideology. The heritage of violence is likely to be a particularly effective instrument for achieving such goals of social cohesion, place identification or political legitimation because of its memorability and the powerful emotions it

evokes for the reasons already argued. An awareness of being, directly or indirectly, a victim of violence both strengthens solidarity with others of the perceived victimized group, and distinguishes this group clearly from outsiders and particularly from the nominated perpetrators and their descendants (p:238).

Memory Sites are recognized and memorialized by their communities. The values linked to them, which have greater effects on identities and histories of communities, may be local or national. On the other hand, recognition may be broader as in international and global scale. At the international level, nation states are the prior actors promoting or restraining the recognition. Heritage of struggle or suffering, which symbolizes freedom fight or national independence along with its “accompanying pantheon of steadfast heroes and treacherous villains, as almost a sine qua non of the ‘birth of a nation’” (Ashworth, 2008:233) are important tools of nationalist ideologies and dominant groups. In global scale, memories, which have universal value and of great importance of all humanity, are related to extreme violence and mass murders. Extreme violence cases, in which one side uses disproportionate force to other, which leads to traumatic events, needs to be represented and recorded as it is because “recollection of the traumatic event is, in most cases, extremely faithful and rigorous in its use of detail” (Araujo and de Santos, 2009:85). These kinds of events such as Holocaust, massacre of Tutsis in Rwanda, using atomic bombs or massacre of Bosnians in Srebrenica have global scale memorization and repercussion.

Growing concern for collective memory has began in the twentieth century with conflicts and post-world wars memories. Memorialization and commemoration has been important issue areas in which place, landscape and space are embodied. Demarcation and memorization of war sites and ruined structures in order to urge physical remains of the past is a recent phenomenon (Gough, 2008). During this period when collective memory phenomenon and commemoration activities accelerated, these endeavours were carried out intensely, especially in Europe. Europe as the “memoryland”, has been obsessed with land and cities which “have filled up with the products of collective

memory work – heritage sites, memorials, museums, plaques and art installations” (Macdonald, 2003:1).

Over time, sites, objects or properties that were ruined or destroyed had been restored, demolished or kept as memorials. They served as symbols of national suffering (Moshenska, 2015:77) and symbols of tragedy and loss. Documents and testimonials such as archives, memorials, collections, sites and museums has started to be managed in order to create collective memories and keep the business alive.

In this regard, memories of the two world wars deserve a special attention because of their increasing role in heritage policies. The two world wars left vast scale of memories such as ruined towns, cities, buildings and areas that witness the traces of war, genocide and human rights abuses. Devastations were in a large scale that the world did not experience such destruction before. These ruins are important means that past, present and future correlation is built upon. For instance, bombing of British cities by Germany, bombing of Berlin by Soviet army, destruction of Dresden and demolition of Warsaw has created some significant examples of “curated ruins”. Demolition of Warsaw in 1944 by Nazi occupiers can be accepted as the largest scale destruction of this kind. Thousands of buildings and constructions including of cultural and historical significance were destroyed by German troops and it had left around one tenth of city standing. Another example is the village of Oradour-sur-Glane in France. After the war, it was decided to not rebuild destroyed village and construct a new one close to the previous. The old village was decided to be turned into a “national memorial” as a reminder of the past. And it currently serves as a tourist attraction (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 2007).

4.2.UNESCO and Its Management of Conflictual Sites

Heritage has been perceived as a positive concept by UNESCO and associated with affirming references in a very large period of time. Heritage is described to celebrate and unify the world peace in the light of diversity and this is also evident in the content and language of the 1972 Convention (Rico, 2008:346). A great majority of the World Heritage sites have positive connotations and emphasize uplifting experiences. However, as explained in Chapter 2, the need to memorize the negative experiences led by the rise of memorization in 1960s brought the necessity to include negative side of heritage into the agenda. The fact that positive perspective attributed to cultural heritage ignores the “dark side of cultural heritage” has been brought to the agenda during World Heritage List discussions. It is also detailed by World Heritage Centre’s *International World Heritage Expert Meeting on Criterion* (2012):

A heritage strategy for this landscape full of history and memory faces specific time, space, form and content related challenges that go beyond the traditional interpretation of the concept “heritage”. It opens the door to a charged debate about heritage with a negative connotation, and confronts us with an ethical dilemma: how do we deal with the relics of war? This is a question society needs to answer. (p:118)

However, negative heritage has been a matter of discussions and inscription of negative heritage has always been approached cautiously and hesitatingly by UNESCO. Inclusion of negative heritage in World Heritage list is deeply political as there are wide essential discrepancies between discourse, action and management. This type of World Heritage sites are inclined to be a source of violence and conflict along with their nomination, listing and management process. In the next part, the issue is elaborated in terms of inscription process and current situation of the List.

4.2.1.Criteria and Selection Processes

What considerations and factors are effective in inclusion of negative sites on world heritage list and what kind of evaluations are followed, are important questions to ask. As explained in Chapter 3, sites should be of “outstanding universal value” and meet one criteria at least out of ten, in order to be included on World Heritage List. Among all, criterion applicable for negative heritage is criteria (vi), which is:

(vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria) (UNESCO-Criteria for Selection)

What distinguishes the criterion (vi) from others is that it is the ideas, beliefs and traditions, (which can be named as associative measures) that should have outstanding universal significance. It is the reflection of these associations on tangible property that have universal significance. It is indicated in *International World Heritage Expert Meeting on Criterion* (2012) as follows:

Referring to the inscriptions on the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion (vi) and associative values, there must be an authentic and unambiguous relationship between the values of the historic event and the site itself. In extending the List, one should take into account both the Outstanding Universal Value of the event and the ability of maintaining awareness of its significance together with the ability of maintaining of the site itself.

Since the beginning, use of criterion (vi) has brought debates and discussions that clarification regarding its scope has been questioned. Therefore, UNESCO remains cautious in recognition of sites with this criterion. Concerns and issues arised regarding this criteria are described by World Heritage Committee Information Document WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.13 (2001) as:

...lack of consistency of application due to different perceptions of the role and application of the criterion, concern that restrictions to its application create a

bias in favour of monumental heritage and limit the criterion's application to heritage related to living traditions, ideas and beliefs, a desire to protect against political and nationalistic uses of the criterion, and concern that there will be too many inscriptions using cultural criterion (vi) if restrictive wording is not adopted (pp:1-2).

History of the criterion, the changes to it and tendencies to its usage shed light on the working of the World Heritage Committee and relationship between inscriptions and international and domestic politics. As this type of heritage is highly contested and political, most of the inscriptions had been controversial. Even the changes on the criterion were shaped and managed by certain Member States and influenced by inscription of certain sites. Therefore, negative heritage sites and their management represent a perfect example of how political the world heritage list is. Main controversial areas and topics are detailed below.

Emphasis put on universal significance on associations brings various questions along with it. The main question and concern is “is it just associations and ideas themselves are of universal significance, independent from tangible property, or is it the associations combined with the physical evidence of the site together that have universal value and considered for inscription?”. If it is the first case, than it means that there are some fundamental problems to be questioned about the criterion. This brings the necessity to compare between associations but how to compare beliefs, ideas and traditions and to decide which one is more important than the others? Therefore, it should be the second case, mixture of tangible and intangible associations, meant by criterion (vi). Although intangible ideas are somehow associated in all cultural criteria, among all other criterion, (vi) is the one intangible associations are most ranked and emphasized. That is the reason for taking it as the “sole intangible criterion”. As explained *International World Heritage Expert Meeting on Criterion* (2012):

Examples such as Gorée Island, Auschwitz Concentration Camp, Robben Island and Hiroshima Peace Memorial are properties where there is tangible evidence

that evokes the ideas or beliefs but where those ideas or beliefs are of greater importance than the tangible remains. In other words it cannot be said that the structures are outstanding manifestations of an idea or association, but rather they reflect an outstanding idea or association in a tangible way (p:41).

Criteria (vi) initially designed as an autonomous criterion. However, over the years, its usage became problematic. Therefore, the criterion has changed many times in history, which also lead to confusion about its meaning, content and implementation. Wording and content of the criteria had been changed many times, criteria had been discussed in World Heritage Committee sessions and working groups were created special to this topic. In other words, criteria (vi) has caused controversy since the Convention was adopted and it has been much debated and brought various discussions along with it. The evolution of criterion (vi) in time is presented in *Table 4*.

Table 4: Amendments to criterion (vi) (“In The Various Versions Of The Operational Guidelines For The Implementation Of The World Heritage Convention, 1977-2017”)

Date	Wording of criterion (vi)
1977	“be most importantly associated with ideas or beliefs, with events or with persons, of outstanding historical importance or significance”
1980	“be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considered that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria). ”
1983	“be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria).”
1994	“be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions , with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria).”

Table 4 (Continued)

1996	“be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural).”
1997	“be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural).”
2005	“be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria).”

Source: Cameron and Herrmann (2018) *Guidance and Capacity Building for the Recognition of Associative Values Using World Heritage Criterion (vi)*

Main changes in the text of criterion (vi) are listed below. The sites inscribed during the mentioned period are also presented.

- During 1977-1980 period, **persons** were also included along with the beliefs and events. Also, “**outstanding historical importance or significance**” was used in order to describe the importance of the site. During this period, Island of Gorée (Senegal), L’Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site (Canada), Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions (Ghana), Auschwitz Concentration Camp (Poland) and Independence Hall (United States of America) were inscribed on the List only on the basis of criteria (vi). Island of Goree, symbolizing the slave trade has been visited by important officials from different countries including former French prime minister Michel Rocard, Pope John Paul II, Nelson Mandela, Barack Obama, Bill Clinton and George W Bush (BBC, 2013). Resonating in a number of contexts including national and

international, African, European and American; Goree may revolve around different contexts such as rescuing the colonial states from their darker history, commemorating slave ancestry or singularizing historiography. Inscription of Independence Hall as representing the “universal principles of the right to revolution and self-government” may be interpreted as an effort to take advantage and establish superiority against the USSR, by putting America's principles, history and values in the foreground and associating them with global values. Auschwitz Concentration Camp was inscribed and decided to be the symbol of suffering of people, all other similar sites are accepted to be symbolized through Auschwitz. Most of the inscriptions during that time, excluding the natural heritage sites, have political dimensions.

- In 1980, “historical importance or significance” has been replaced by “**universal significance**”. Association with “persons” has been removed from the initial version. Restrictions on its use in “**only in exceptional circumstances**” or “**in conjunction with other criteria**” has been added. From 1980 to 1994, three sites are inscribed on the list, respectively Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (Canada), Rila Monastery (Bulgaria) and La Fortaleza and San Juan Historic Site in Puerto Rico (United States of America).
- In 1994, “**living traditions**” and “**artistic or literary works**” has been added to the wording. Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) (Japan) was inscribed on the list only on the basis of criteria (vi). Inscription of Hiroshima was controversial as inscription of this type of heritage was limited with the inscription of Auschwitz. Disagreements over the appointment of Hiroshima at the twentieth session of the Committee in 1996 led to a reduction in criterion (vi). This in turn has led the change in wording for restriction and usage of the criteria. Exceptional circumstances **or** in conjunction with other criteria has been replaced by exceptional circumstances **and** in conjunction with other criteria. Thus, inscriptions made only on the basis of criteria (vi) were quite restricted.

- In 2005, exceptional circumstances **and** in conjunction with other criteria has been replaced by “**preferably** be used in conjunction with other criteria”. Following to this change, in 2005, Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) was inscribed on the list only on the basis of criteria (vi). Mostar’s symbolic power was described as “an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds” (UNESCO, Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar). During this period, regional turmoil and disputes in the region were ending, EU peacekeepers were taken over the peacekeeping duties from NATO but the ethnic tensions were still high. Inscription of Mostar was made to include all the nations living in the region on a unifying and peaceful base. In order to do that, the restrictive scope of the criterion should have been loosened.

The scope, interpretation and application of this criterion are quite subjective and open to manipulation. Because it creates the need to compare different values, beliefs, events and values, it leaves “ample room for a multiplicity of interpretations” (Labadi, 2013:2). All of these changes, from the major one to a small word change are done under the influence of certain events, policies and countries. Criteria (vi) is an explicit example of how UNESCO and World Heritage Committee are intertwined with politics. Criterion (vi) is a considerable criterion, whose content has changed many times in order to include or not to include specific sites on the list. Details of some of these changes are presented in case studies, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Hiroshima Peace Memorial.

4.2.2.Negative Heritage in UNESCO World Heritage List

Although quite limited and contested, inclusion of sites associated with recent conflicts are not absent in World Heritage List. Currently there are nine sites inscribed in the list in this context; including Island of Gorée in Cape Verde, Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) in Japan, Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration Camp in

Poland and Timbuktu in Mali. Inscription of these sites is not current phenomena. On the contrary, it has been on the agenda for a long time. Date of inscription of sites goes back to early years of the establishment of the list; Island of Gorée in 1978 and Auschwitz in 1979. However, number of sites nominated and included on tentative list increased especially in the last decade. Negative sites inscribed on World Heritage List are presented in *Table 5*. There are also several sites in the tentative list and upon evaluation process such as Çanakkale (Dardanelles) and Gelibolu (Gallipoli) Battles Zones in the World War I, Mamayev Kurgan Memorial Complex, Cellular Jail, ESMA Site Museum - Former Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture, and Extermination and Genocide Memorial Sites: Nyamata, Murambi, Bisesero and Gisozi, Rwanda. Negative sites on Tentative List are presented in *Table 6*.

Table 5: Negative Sites Inscribed on World Heritage List

Site Name	State Party	Date of Inscription	Type	Criteria
Island of Gorée	Cape Verde Region	1978	Places of human rights abuse	(vi)
Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp	Poland	1979	Places of human rights abuse	(vi)
Site of Palmyra	Syria	1980	Places that record the deliberate destruction of heritage	(i)(ii)(iv)
Timbuktu	Mali	1988	Places that record the deliberate destruction of heritage	(ii)(iv)(v)
Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)	Japan	1996	War Sites	(vi)
Robben Island	South Africa	1999	Places of human rights abuse	(iii)(vi)
Cultural Landscape and Archaeological Remains of the Bamiyan Valley	Afghanistan	2003	Places that record the deliberate destruction of heritage	(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(vi)
Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2005	Places that celebrate accomplishments	(vi)
Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site	Marshall Islands	2010	War Sites	(iv)(vi)

Table 6: Negative Sites in Tentative List

Site Name	State Party	Date of Submission	Type	Criteria
Sites mémoriaux du génocide : Nyamata, Murambi, Bisesero et Gisozi	Rwanda	2012	Places of human rights abuse	(iii)(vi)
Çanakkale (Dardanelles) and Gelibolu (Gallipoli) Battles Zones in the First World War	Turkey	2014	War Sites	(vi)
Les Plages du Débarquement, Normandie, 1944	France	2014	War Sites	(iv)(vi)
Mamayev Kurgan Memorial Complex "To the Heroes of the Battle of Stalingrad"	Russian Federation	2014	War Sites	(i)(iv)(vi)
Cellular Jail, Andaman Islands	India	2014	Places of human rights abuse	(iv)(vi)
The Walk of Peace from the Alps to the Adriatic – Heritage of the First World War	Slovenia	2016	War Sites	(ii)(vi)
Camp de concentration du Tarrafal, Cabo Verde – camp built as a prison camp and for extermination	Cabo Verde	2016	Places of human rights abuse	(iii)(vi)
Cuito Cuanavale, Site de Libération et Indépendance	Angola	2017	War Sites	(iii)(vi)
ESMA Site Museum - Former Clandestine Centre of Detention, Torture, and Extermination	Argentina	2017	Places of human rights abuse	(iii)(vi)

4.3.The Two Cases of Negative Heritage

Politicized nature of the negative heritage sites are tried to be exemplified by two cases: Auschwitz Birkenau Nazi Concentration Camps and Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome).

4.3.1.Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp

After German invasion of Poland in early 1940 that marked the outbreak of World War II, Nazi forces established a concentration camp. The main and initial intention was to incarcerate opponent Polish people. Later in the wake of German-USSR war, Soviet prisoners were sent to the camp. Afterwards, in 1942 large number of Jews from lands under German occupation started to be sent to the camp. In the end, Auschwitz concentration camp became a huge depot for people from various national and ethnic origins where prisoners were forced to work as slave labor or murdered systematically. In January 1945, Auschwitz was liberated by Red Army. In total 1.5 million people have been systematically murdered, tortured and starved. Around 1 million Jews, which make 92% of the all deaths, were murdered. This is followed by murder of 75.000 Poles, 20.000 Sinti and Roma, 15.000 Soviet prisoners and many other smaller groups including prisoners of European nationalities and homosexuals. There were various other concentrations camps established by Nazis such as Belzec, Treblinka, Chełmno and Sobibór but Auchwitz was the largest and most international one among them.

After the World War II ended in 1947, Auschwitz and Birkenau was declared as sites of memorial and turned into state museum and exhibition space by Polish government. In the first years, site had a global emphasis to some degree. It was promoted as the symbol for socialist heroism and communist struggle. However, after 1950s, especially after Stalin's death to the collapse of communist rule in Poland in 1989, camp was an

important symbol of suffering of Polish people under Nazi occupation (Webber, 2016). During this period, main emphasis was on Polish martyrdom and message was highly nationalistic and less universalist (Trojanski, 2019). During both of those two periods, Jewish victimhood was not emphasized as it is today. In Zwigenberg's (2013) words, "commemoration was left to the Polish political prisoners, the Church, and the fledging communist regime, all of which could agree at this point on only one theme: Polish suffering" (p:207). Auschwitz was not fully commemorated in international arena and Holocaust was far from unified until end of 1950s as expressed by Zwigenberg (2013):

...in the 1950s, Israelis' relation to the Holocaust was far from unified. Although the 'never again' lesson was certainly hegemonic, religious groups, camp survivors, partisans of the right and the left and others all had their own peculiar lessons. In the 1950s, different groups held different memorials telling 'their stories'.(p:205)

In this period from the liberation of the camp until 1960s, establishment of Jewish state in Israel was the main and biggest struggle of Jewish people. Holocaust and its representation was not among the prior issue areas especially regional turmoil in Middle East originated from Arab-Israeli conflict and changing balances between regional powers, USSR, the US, UN and NATO and many others are considered. Holocaust would only be possible to take its place in official agenda of Israeli state, or at least on a large scale, after conflicts during Arab-Israeli Wars (1947-1949) ended and state building process after the establishment of State of Israel in 1948 is completed. Following the capture of Adolf Eichmann and his trial in 1961 in Palestine, Holocaust began to take a central part of Jewish consciousness. In this regard, 1960's can be accepted as the beginning of the awareness of Holocaust worldwide and concretization of it in public domain.

In all respects, Auschwitz was the largest among all concentration camps of World War II and it had the largest number of victims. Therefore, it became a symbol of the mass murder of people systematically during World War II by Nazi system. What happens in

the camp, “with the direct participation of specific perpetrators and their victims” is a unique and great manifestation of dark side of history and human nature (International World Heritage Expert Meeting on Criterion (vi) Report, 2012:100-101). Auschwitz Birkenau was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1979 on the bases of criterion (vi) and justified in the Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS (1979) by the following statement:

Auschwitz-Birkenau, monument to the martyrdom and resistance of millions of men, women and children, is not a historical museum in the usual sense of the word; it bears irrefutable and concrete witness to one of the greatest crimes which has been perpetrated against humanity; the example, by excellence, which undeniably elucidated an essential aspect of that historical phenomenon which is Hitlerism.

Especially end of the communist rule, the site started to be commemorated primarily as suffering of Jewish people worldwide (Trojanski, 2019). After the dissolution of USSR, Poland was independent after 200 years. That brought many changes such as reformulation of Polish culture. New relations started to be developed with other countries, including Israel. With the help of the development of cultural and political relations with Israel, collaboration over Auschwitz has been accelerated. This period can be accepted as the beginning of the transformation of Auschwitz towards its current state. After 1991, when victimhood issue was acknowledged in detail, it was found out that actually Polish victims were 8% of the total. Archives were opened to Israel, site was cleaned and regulated, Hebrew was added to signage around the site and Jews victim's majority was emphasized in inscriptions (Webber, 2015). Auschwitz became the symbol of Holocaust and transcended the borders. Currently its inscription is defined by criterion (vi) as follows:

Auschwitz Birkenau, monument to the deliberate genocide of the Jews by the German Nazi regime and to the deaths of countless others, bears irrefutable evidence to one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against humanity. It is also a monument to the strength of the human spirit which in appalling conditions

of adversity resisted the efforts of the German Nazi regime to suppress freedom and free thought and to wipe out whole races. The site is a key place of memory for the whole of humankind for the Holocaust, racist policies and barbarism; it is a place of our collective memory of this dark chapter in the history of humanity, of transmission to younger generations and a sign of warning of the many threats and tragic consequences of extreme ideologies and denial of human dignity. (Auschwitz Birkenau Page, UNESCO)

Evolution of the representation of Auschwitz in time has always been parallel with the politics. Three phases of the representation of Auschwitz shed light on the politicized and sliding nature of negative heritage sites. Firstly as the traces of communist struggle, it had a more universal scope. Later as the symbol of Polish martyrdom, it was purely nationalist. Recently as the suffering of Jewish victimhood, it can be considered as nationalist but gained a universal value and visibility.

Auschwitz-Birkenau has many multifaceted considerations in various levels like local, national, international and global and it includes various internal contradictions in it. Webber (2015) makes a comprehensive assessment and elaborates Auschwitz's contradictory nature as follows:

It is inclusive of all of these. There is not, and probably never can be, just one single authority to whom Auschwitz morally belongs. The Auschwitz memory needs to address many issues at once – both the local and the universal; both the specific and the more general; both one's neighbor and those who are far away; both the names of the particular individuals who are known to have perished, and also an understanding of the wider historical processes which brought about the catastrophe; both the empirical facts of the deliberate, systematic, and planned rationality of mass murder, and also a making sense, in the perspective of the victims, of the fundamental incomprehensibility and meaninglessness of Auschwitz and the entire genocidal enterprise. The Auschwitz memorial site is thus in this sense a very strange place – and, in terms of its mission, understandably so (p:130).

What is unique about its inscription is that, Auschwitz Birkenau was one of the earliest inscription example of negative heritage type in the list in 1979, after Island of Gorée in 1978. Therefore, it served as a symbol for similar sites. Inscription of sites associated

with particular events was restricted after Auschwitz Concentration Camp was inscribed to the list with the following statement:

Particular attention should be given to cases which fall under criterion (vi) so that the net result would not be a reduction in the value of the List, due to the large potential number of nominations as well as to political difficulties (UNESCO, 1979a).

It was with the inscription of Auschwitz Birkenau when all the arguments regarding limitation of criterion (vi) had started, or at least escalated. As also noted in Comparative Study of Nominations and Criteria report prepared by Vice Chairman Michael Parent for the World Heritage Committee in 1979, Auschwitz was accepted as a distinctive case and inscription of similar sites were limited:

In order to preserve its symbolic status as a monument to all the victims, Auschwitz should, it seems, remain in isolation. In other words, we recommend that it should stand alone among cultural properties as bearing witness to the depth of horror and of suffering, and the height of heroism, and that all other sites of the same nature be symbolized through it (UNESCO, 1979b).

Auschwitz's multidimensional and multilayered past and content makes it deeply contested and complex. Vast number of actors and issues involved also makes its analysis difficult and challenging one. What does Auschwitz mean for people from different ethnic and national backgrounds is a vital question to ask in order to apprehend its contribution in world peace.

Importance of human rights and dangers of fascism are the universal messages of Auschwitz. On the other hand, main groups affected by Auschwitz, Jews and Polish, do not share a common approach. For Jews, it is the result of terrible human nature that ended up in genocide of Jewish people. It is much more as an extensive customized reality for them, rather than a general lesson for humanity. On the other hand, different from Jewish case, it represents the danger of fascism, but includes heroism and martyrdom to Poles. During communist era, Polish perspective regarding victimhood in

Auschwitz was on the basis of nationality and Jews were listed as “one of the” other nationalities, not as the majority. Main point was the danger of fascism, not mass murder of Jewish people. Therefore, for Jews and Polish people, Auschwitz is not generally placed in universalist reference. On the contrary, they share two different perspectives in the context of different political and ethnical bases regarding Auschwitz with one feature in common, the sense of patriotism.

Besides Jewish and Polish people, every other nations and communities have different feelings about Auschwitz. Their perspectives are shaped by national consciousness, national history, domestic and foreign politics of the governments and political atmosphere of the period. As stated in Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum website, there are basically two types of exhibitions in Auschwitz. First one is the main exhibition in which universal value and history of Auschwitz is represented by general information about the operation of the camp. Second type of exhibition is the “national exhibitions” which is a lot bigger than the main one. It consists of different parts presenting different associations of Auschwitz prisoners including Jewish, Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Austrian, Slovakian, Dutch, French, Italian and Roma. This exhibition demonstrates various ways to understand Auschwitz from different perspectives. Coexistence of those two types of exhibitions, one universal, and another national, is a proper example of national-universal contradiction. As a result, “Every aspect of the camp, even its shape and location, is a subject of contention and conflicting interpretation” (Dwork and Robert, 1998:687).

Despite the fact that there are all these particularistic and nationalistic emphasis on Auschwitz, it is also rather globalized at the same time. For example, “Never Again” (Huener, 2003:50) phrase used by Polish Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz at the opening of the Auschwitz museum in 1947 in emphasizing the tragedy of the mass killing of people in Auschwitz became a slogan worldwide representing a reaction to atrocities, human rights violations and crime against humanity (Mookherjee, 2011:72).

Holocaust has universal representations in all around the world. Anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, 27 January, was designated as “International Holocaust Remembrance Day” by United Nations General Assembly in 2005. There are also other commemorative ceremonies with participation of foreign delegations and state representatives held regularly since the Auschwitz museum is established. Although main message of the ceremonies all around the world is universal, ones in Auschwitz and Israel are highly nationalistic. As described by Webber (2015) these ceremonies are mostly associated with national contexts:

Known as the March of the Living, the event now attracts about 10,000 teenage Jewish participants from around the world, waving Israeli flags, singing “Am Yisrael Chai” (“The Jewish People Lives On”), and listening to speeches that emphasize “Jewish victory over Nazism” and “the triumph of life over death”; that is, post-Holocaust Jewish survival and, in particular, post-Holocaust Jewish achievements in the state of Israel (p:120).

Another contradiction exists between Auschwitz’s negative memory as the symbol of horror and genocide and World Heritage List’s focus on peace and harmony. Inscription of Auschwitz as a World Heritage Site was paradoxical, or at least exceptional as World Heritage concept has generally been perceived as admirable and adorable. Accepting the site as an “evidence to one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against humanity” in the nominating documents, it was proven, or at least objectified that darker and negative parts of human history should also be included in cultural heritage. In addition to admire, restore and conserve, this inscription brought a second role to heritage. It is mainly emphasizing suffering for world peace, significance of human rights and threats of fascism, state sponsored violence and xenophobia. This brought the new complexities and dilemmas such as the challenge to memorialize monuments via intangible values or associations where a human rights abuse or atrocity is committed, as stated below:

Today, conservators are open to experimentation with different forms of memorialization to help interpret the spiritual and intangible aspects of monuments. This has particular significance and challenges when there has been

an atrocity committed on a site or a site is associated with an ongoing conflict between two identities. Added to these complexities of interpretation is the issue of who owns or controls a controversial site (Ogle, 2008:1).

After the liberation of the camp, at first it was mostly intangible in the minds of people, mainly formed by memories of the survivors that made the Holocaust memory, or knowledge. After Israeli state began to systematize and internationalize the issue in 1960s, Holocaust gained a tangible asset with the international recognition. It was concretized with the help of tangible, such as concentration camps, memorials, objects, memorials and media coverage. Auschwitz was one of the most important one among them. Auschwitz occupies an important position for Jewish people; it is accepted as the symbol of Holocaust and a representation of darker part of world history. On the other hand, the site itself is visited by millions of people all around the world and one of the most important memorials for Jewish people. Therefore, Auschwitz is a symbol and a real place at the same time.

Auschwitz and other memorial sites have formed the most significant contributors of embodying Holocaust. The artifacts exhibited in the museum like bump of hair, worn out shoes or suitcases of the prisoners are tangible representations of suffering. Current area of Auschwitz composes of different kinds of physical remains. It composes of heavily renovated and reconstructed buildings and ruins. Mostly the associations or memories brought the importance to negative heritage sites, more than its physical features. It is the same for Auschwitz. Importance of the physical space of the site is negligible when compared to its meaning and its moral importance. Therefore, physical remains are only the subsidiary of the associations. Webber (2015) expresses this tangible-intangible dilemma as:

After all, no original structures remain at all of the death camp at Belzec – does this mean that once the physical realities are gone, its meaning vanishes also? What actually is Auschwitz, then? In one sense it is obviously a cemetery, probably the largest cemetery known to humanity. But of course Auschwitz

heritage is atrocity heritage; the site was never intended or treated as a cemetery. So Auschwitz is a cemetery, but at the same time it is not a cemetery. (p:127)

Although Auschwitz is understood in a universal and humanist framework in official channels, especially in UNESCO agenda and documents; it is particularistic and nationalist. It includes political visions and perspectives of all kind and it makes it difficult to make a single unified understanding of it. With all these internal and external discrepancies and contradictions, discussions regarding site of Auschwitz remain contested.

4.3.2.Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)

In August 1945, Allies detonated two nuclear bombs on Japan cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki and it ended World War II. It was world's first and hopefully will be the last atomic catastrophe. Hiroshima and Nagasaki have experienced the worst bombing of the human history, which left thousands of deaths, many people suffering from serious illnesses, radiation effects in the region causing health problems and left a totally destroyed city. Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall was among one of the few structures that were not completely destroyed. Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall, currently called as Genbaku Dome, A-Bomb Dome or Atomic Bomb Dome serves as a symbol or memorial to the people who died or suffered from Hiroshima bombing. After the end of the World War II, Hiroshima became a symbol of peace and rebuilding in post-war Japan.

As already stated in Chapter 2, during 1960's, collective memory of the war, victimhood and physical remains were started to take their places in national and international politics. Accordingly, in Japan Genbaku Dome started to be considered in politics. As stated by Zwienberg (2013), "in both the Holocaust and Hiroshima cases, the promotion of survivor testimonies as a cultural practice changed global memory culture" (p:196).

In January 1963, four Japanese men including a veteran of the Japanese imperial army and a Buddhist monk marched to commemorate of the liberation of the camp. They travel from Hiroshima for around 10 months and over 3000 kilometers (Zwienberg, 2013:195). During their journey, they visited sites from World War II and met various survivors in order to “unite the victims and places of tragedy of the Second World War”. (Yuzo and Shingo, 1965, cited in Zwienberg, 2013) Organizing committee in Tokyo declared the aim and content of the march as follows:

We Japanese, as both aggressors and victims of the war, should have a special duty in calling for world peace ... we, who are of young age, went through the bomb and occupation ... but at the same time must reflect on the sin of aggression that we committed ... thus we decide to set on this march and: 1) to tell ... as many people as possible about the horrors of Hiroshima and Auschwitz; 2) record the suffering of different people we witness in various countries; and 3) to tell people about [Hiroshima] and others' suffering and to hold peaceful gatherings in all places we will be; 4) to make international connections based on the world religious conventions in Prague and Tokyo. (Yuzo and Shingo, 1965, cited in Zwienberg, 2013)

As being a symbol for the anti-nuclear war demonstration along with the emphasis on world peace, Hiroshima became a popular tool for international initiatives and activists in order to protest the pro-nuclear war initiatives. Military confrontation as a result of Cuban Missile Crisis on the one hand, and human rights initiatives on the other brought civil protests all around the world. With the important transformation of the international system after 1990s (a transition from bipolar system to one that is a combination of capitalism and globalism internationalism), World Heritage List has become more widespread. Accordingly, negative heritage sites had also started to be considered more and efforts to inscribe Hiroshima have been brought to the agenda.

It is reported that in 1993 US proposed to Japan to have a joint nomination of the Hiroshima and Trinity Site, where the bomb was first tested (Domicelj, 2002) to

highlight the importance of these areas in ending of the World War II. Later, Japan submitted its nomination independently in 1995, with the following justification:

Firstly, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial, Atom Bomb Dome, stands as a permanent witness to the terrible disaster that occurred when the atomic bomb was used as a weapon for the first time in the history of mankind. Secondly, the Dome itself is the only building in existence that can convey directly a physical image of the tragic situation immediately after the bombing. Thirdly, the Dome has become a universal monument for all mankind, symbolising the hope for perpetual peace and the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons on earth. (UNESCO Nomination Dossier, 1995, no:775)

However, US efforts continued in order to get involved to the process and shape it according towards their national interests. US efforts continued with the reconsideration of joint nomination and later objections regarding inclusion of war sites to the list. Objection of the inclusion of war sites on World Heritage List was legitimized by the reason of lack of historical perspective and it was stated that “inscription of war sites (are) outside of the scope of the Convention. We urge the Committee to address the question of the suitability of war sites for the World Heritage List” in Annex V of World Heritage Committee Report (1996). However, US also did not want to damage the relations with Japan. It was also reflected in the official statements as follows from the same Report:

The United States is dissociating itself from today’s decision to inscribe the Genbaku Dome on the World Heritage List. The United States and Japan are close friends and allies. We cooperate on security, diplomatic, international and economic affairs around the world. Our two countries are tied by deep personal friendships between many Americans and Japanese. Even so, the United States cannot support its friend in this inscription (WH Committee, 1996).

When these efforts did not get any desired result, US suggested the ICOMOS that nomination should be changed to reflect a wider perspective of the events led to use of atomic bomb with the following statement:

The United States is concerned about the lack of historical perspective in the nomination of Genbaku Dome. The events antecedent to the United States' use of atomic weapons to end World War II are key to understanding the tragedy of Hiroshima. Any examination of the period leading up to 1945 should be placed in the appropriate historical context (WH Committee, 1996).

Oppositions of the US would be driven by various political reasons. During this process, US aimed to protect her own prestige and interests by changing the content of the inscription as it may cause an anti-American focus on the use of atomic bomb and US's position at World War II (Beazley, 2007). When US could not prevent Japan to get a nomination, failed to alter the context and wanted to maintain the relations with Japan at the same time, efforts were not pursued any longer.

Different parties contested inscription of this site by various reasons. China was another State Party opposed to the nomination, for different reasons than US. China opposed to the inscription with the following statement:

During the Second World War, it was the other Asian countries and peoples who suffered the greatest loss in life and property. But today there are still few people trying to deny this fact of history. As such being the case, if Hiroshima nomination is approved to be included on the World Heritage List, even though on an exceptional basis, it may be utilized for harmful purpose by these few people. This will, of course, not be conducive to the safeguarding of world peace and security. For this reason China has reservations on the approval of this nomination (WH Committee, 1996).

China asserted that the representation of the Dome by Japan masks the real memories and suffering of other people. This opposition was a reflection of the tensions between China and Japan started from 1980's that continues today. However, this opposition was only done by the official statement, there is no evidence regarding lobbying activities of Chinese delegation or any further efforts for prevention of the inscription. China's regression may be explained by the restraint of any kind of regional conflict, which would destroy her economic growth and "opening the world" policy at that time.

At the end of all these events, Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) was inscribed on the list in 1996 by criterion (vi) with the following statement:

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) is a stark and powerful symbol of the achievement of world peace for more than half a century following the unleashing of the most destructive force ever created by humankind. (Decision: CONF 201 VIII.C)

As being entangled and closely associated with politics, its nomination and inscription processes was shaped by the international relations of the period and states involved, mainly US, Japan and China.

Hiroshima Peace Memorial was one of the most internationally disputed and contested inscription of UNESCO. As explained before, inscription of cultural heritage sites “bearing witness to the depth of horror and of suffering, and the height of heroism, and that all other sites of the same nature” were limited and decided that Auschwitz-Birkenau would be the symbol of all similar sites. However, Hiroshima was inscribed in the list with similar discussions as Auschwitz. Therefore, inscription of a site with similar nature was controversial.

As explained in criterion (vi) part earlier, after the inclusion of the Dome, usage of criteria (vi) “only in exceptional circumstances **or** in conjunction with other criteria” were replaced by “only in exceptional circumstances **and** in conjunction with other criteria”. State Parties’ efforts and policies regarding the inscription of the site and attempts to control the process emphasize the political nature of the process and nomination in general (Beazley, 2010:53). Inscription of the Dome and changes in criteria (vi) afterwards emphasize how international politics and the political influence of certain countries are influential to shape the World Heritage List process. This particular example also disproves the ongoing claim that the List is depoliticized.

Similar to other negative heritage sites, the peace-conflict paradox applies to Hiroshima as well. Genbaku Dome is overall contested. It takes its source from traumatic and catastrophic memories but its message and use is evaluated in a positive and peaceful context. Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Construction Law was enacted in 1949 just right after the end of the war aimed “to construct Hiroshima as a city that symbolizes lasting peace and Japan’s renunciation of war” (UNITAR, 2015), just the opposite of the atomic bomb’s consequences. Even the name of the inscription includes internal contradictions of peace and conflict, as stated by Beazley (2010):

The name on the nomination document, Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome), mirrors this contestation, and reflects the antithetical nature of the heritage legacy of the place. Hiroshima Peace Memorial articulates peace; Genbaku Dome – translated from the Japanese to mean Atom Bomb Dome – articulates war (p:47).

Parallel with the intangible emphasis on criteria (vi), significance of Hiroshima Peace Memorial also is fully associated and reflected on associations, and not on the physical features of the site. What is important regarding its inscription is regarding the memories and its message as the continuation of world peace, as stated in Annex V of WH Committee Report (1996):

The overriding significance of the dome lies in what it represents: the building has no aesthetic or architectural significance per se. Its mute remains symbolize on the one hand the ultimate in human destruction but on the other they communicate a message of hope for a continuation in perpetuity of the worldwide peace that the atomic bomb blasts of August 1945 ushered in.

Just as the international objections and oppositions, contestation also exists in regional and local level about the inscription of Hiroshima. Other memories associated with Hiroshima such as the death of non-Japanese people are silenced and not represented in the inscription by Japan’s dominant discourse, practices and efforts. The message of the inscription itself may be the contradiction in its entirety, as described by Masayuki (1986):

..the city is disgracing itself in the world's eyes; it also indicates the shameful nature of Japan and its people, that they cannot imagine any victims other than their own kind. While proclaiming on the one hand, 'Rest in peace, as we shall not repeat the evil', the city is on the other hand already committing an 'evil', an evil which is called ethnic discrimination ... How can Korean atom bomb victims rest in peace when treated in such an unjust manner? (Onishi Masayuki, 1986 cited in Yoneyama, 1992: 173)

No common truth exists glorifying one side entirely and accusing the other. Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will remain, without no doubt, as a major shame and unacceptable crime against humanity, nature and biosphere. On the other hand, there are countless factors and actors to consider. Each actor has different perspectives and interpretations affected and shaped by their national history and culture. For Japanese people, it symbolizes only the murder of thousands of civilians but also political and physical reconstruction (Dower, 1996). On the other hand, bombing of Hiroshima symbolize ending of World War II and maybe achievement of peace for US. Some others may see it as a result of aggression in the region, as stated by Utaka (2009):

...appeals from Hiroshima to the global community have been sometimes questioned: can Hiroshima be allowed to stand alone as a place of victims or should it be recognised as also an assailant – a military city from which Japan invaded neighbouring countries during the war (p:38).

From its message represented by official channels and its physical features as a museum to its inscription process as a world heritage site, Hiroshima Peace Memorial includes various inherent contradictions in itself and is highly politicized.

4.4.Challenges, Limitations and Critiques

Whether and under what circumstances the sites related to conflicts or negative memories should be included in World Heritage List are challenging questions. Although there are such sites already inscribed on the list and others waiting for

evaluation on the tentative list; discussions regarding their evaluation and inscription have certain challenges, limitation and critiques.

Absence or limitation of negative heritage can be explained by various reasons. First of all, there are limitations and obstacles derived from the system itself. Positive impression and discourse of the world heritage system does not give enough space for “negative memory”. The sites inscribed despite the negative memorization attached to them are done along with their undeniable aspects of universal importance. Secondly, there are practical obstacles derived from the implementation. As negative heritage includes at least two and more parties, they are open to trouble and friction between parties. Therefore, their nomination and inscriptions subject to more complicated processes. As State Parties are the main responsible for nominations, sites that would harm the nation’s prestige, are approached carefully. Their inscription may be prevented by official initiative or lobbying activities or their context may be altered in order to serve the national interests.

As stated by Rico (2008), “the process of nomination of sites to the List has not been devoid of contestation” (p:346). Four main challenges can be described regarding negative heritage and its inclusion on World Heritage Convention. Those challenges are *politicized nature of negative heritage*, *recency*, *commonality problem* and *comparability problem*, respectively.

World heritage sites, from nomination to inscription and later management is highly politicized, but negative heritage is even more politicized both at the national and international level. As conflicts happened in recent times and negative memories associated to them most likely concern more than one parties each defending their own truths, inscription might mean to favor one party over another. Heritage places have dissonant memories as while privileging a certain memory, others are excluded or silenced. As nomination process is highly dependent on State Parties, in its current form

there is not enough room for equal and fair representation of all actors. Besides, these kinds of inscriptions have possibility to transform World Heritage List as a race, which creates winners and losers between the parties (ICOMOS, 2018).

One challenge faced for interpretation of recent conflicts is the recentness problem. It is difficult to evaluate negative heritage sites in a wide historical context as a great majority of the inscribed negative heritage sites are the result of recent conflicts. Recent history is inclined to change and evolve in the light of new developments and social, economic and political conditions. A certain time should pass in order to fully realize and evaluate the content, outcomes and importance of the event, and also creation of common values attached to it.

It is difficult to meet the commonality feature, which attributes value for the whole of humanity, for negative heritage as it concerns more than one opposing parties. Included in description of outstanding universal value as “common importance for present and future generations of all humanity” and emphasized in World Heritage Convention; the idea that sites belong to humanity as a whole arises as a distinctive feature of the Convention. However, commonality is difficult to apply to recent conflicts for certain aspects. First of all, it is the associative measures (ideas, beliefs, and traditions) that should have outstanding universal significance in negative heritage. Therefore, it would be quite difficult and challenging to find a value, which is of “universal” importance, in a conflicted site. Besides, an important part of these sites is the “loss” or “extent of the conflict”. It is not possible to make a comprehensive and meaningful comparison of the loss.

Likewise, as the definition of negative sites include a wide range of sites from antique sites to twenty-first century monuments, it is difficult to make a comparative evaluation and analysis. While some of them are spread over a large area and consist of numerous individual sites as in funeral and memorial sites of the World War I, some of them are

single monuments or buildings. Those challenges also apply to other types of heritage, but scope and impact are more intense for negative heritage.

In short, when negative heritage is considered, it would be deduced that politics is more involved and the whole process is politicized even more than any other type of heritage. Accordingly, UNESCO approaches negative heritage cautiously and hesitatingly for various reasons. Auschwitz Birkenau Nazi Concentration Camp and Hiroshima Peace Memorial are striking cases in exemplifying politicized nature of negative heritage. Although conflicts of these two sites originated from different dynamics and relations, they have two things in common. Firstly, both of them were inscribed “using their victimization as a badge of authority and, more crucially, abstracting and turning mass death into a unifying experience” (Zwigenberg, 2013:211). Secondly, instead of examining the suitability of these sites for the acceptance of their candidacy, the content and scope of the relevant criteria have been changed accordingly. This proves how political and state-based the world heritage list is.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Heritage is defined by Cambridge dictionary as “features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings that were created in the past and still have historical importance”. Although it is ascribed to a particular culture or society in this description, its scope is indeed much wider. Cultural heritage as a concept is ambiguous and variable, and it is continuously evolving. In its broadest sense, cultural heritage is abstract and concrete facts and entities that are evidence of people's ties to the past. It is made, created or perceived by the human consciousness. There are two main types of cultural heritage; tangible and intangible. In the content of this thesis, only tangible heritage sites are considered. Negative heritage is the focus of this thesis.

Development of cultural heritage is examined in three main periods. First period is from Antiquity to 17th century in which cultural heritage concept was mostly perceived by emotional oriented thoughts. It was with the Renaissance when historical and cultural artifacts started to be valued systematically. During the second period from 17th until 20th century, independency and decolonization movements all around the world has brought nationalism as a significant phenomenon of the new political order. First concrete steps towards cultural heritage management were taken at that time. However, current cultural heritage system has evolved to a great extent in the twentieth century.

Cultural heritage is a modern concept; negative heritage is even more recent. Every age throughout history, transformations and changes are experienced. However, from the 20th century onwards, the world is facing epochal changes that affect all parts of society,

including the areas where cultural heritage is created, preserved, collected, maintained and exhibited. Therefore, the emergence and development of the concept of cultural heritage management in the current sense takes its roots largely from the twentieth century onwards. In the first half of the twentieth century, because of the emergence of new nation states and decolonization process, competition between states has increased and cultural heritage was started to be utilized in nationalism discourses and policies. Starting from the second half of twentieth century, internationalism and globalization of world politics is also reflected in heritage practices. Acceleration of internationalism of cultural heritage after World War II, forced states to exist in this atmosphere and international cooperation in different channels increased.

Cultural heritage management has emerged in the international arena through UNESCO and World Heritage List. UNESCO built a system of heritage management whose rules and framework are drawn by conventions, charters and practices. Current cultural heritage system can be accepted as an international regime whose foundations are started to be established in 1970s officially with the adoption of Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Since then, UNESCO created a particular cultural heritage system and developed a particular approach towards heritage that formed a universal understanding. Diffusion of cultural heritage is mostly dealt and brought into international agenda by international organizations and adopted substantially by nation states. Cultural heritage sites are managed in a systematic and controlled manner through the list. As UNESCO and World Heritage List became prestigious and legitimate way to conceive the culture and cultural heritage, states adapted the system and got involved. In this process; definition, content, regulations, significance and approaches are diversified.

However, current system holds nation states as the main actors and does not overcome the dominance of nationalist agendas. On the contrary, it even enhanced them. Although UNESCO coordinates this process in general, management and protection of heritage

sites remain as a state responsibility. Nominated sites are chosen by states and “the great majority of the nomination dossiers also stress the monumentality and importance of sites in order to provide an image of the nation as heroic, grand and powerful” (Labadi, 2007:161). In other words, “alleged universalism” of the World Heritage Convention is used for nationalistic ends (Askew, 2010:6). Although listing and heritage discussions revolve around universal values, nomination and inscription process are highly national and territorial.

World Heritage List becomes a race between nation states, “because it is a form of both cultural and natural wealth that focuses on the socially and historically constructed value judgments people make about countries, which serve as marks of distinction among nations” (Reyes, 2014:43). World Heritage system turned out to be a tool for nation states to pronounce their national heritage by a legitimized system and “negotiate their sense of ‘place’ in relation to each other” (Smith and Waterton, 2009:293). As Meyer et al. state, “contemporary constructed ‘actors,’ including nation-states, routinely organize and legitimate themselves in terms of universalistic (world) models like citizenship, socioeconomic development, and rationalized justice” (Meyer et al., 1997:148). To sum up, universal heritage understanding has not overshadowed national focus and interventions on heritage.

When negative heritage is considered, in this study it is demonstrated that politics is more involved and the whole process is politicized even more. Although there are a number of sites inscribed in this type and many other are on tentative list, World Heritage List system fails to present a comprehensive evaluation system for this type of heritage. It is vital to discuss “contested interpretations and negotiations” (Rico, 2008:346) of cultural heritage, which gained even more importance with the discussions regarding negative heritage sites. UNESCO approaches negative heritage cautiously and hesitatingly.

Cultural heritage is driven by internal contradictions in itself. As an attempt to analyse the conflictual nature of the cultural heritage better, two main inherent contradictions are identified namely *nationalism-internationalism vs universalism* and *peace vs conflict*. In time, cultural heritage has become an issue area between nationalism, internationalism and globalization. Contradictory nature of heritage revolves around national, international and global levels are detailed in the study. Heritage sites are presented positively and symbolizing world peace, through world heritage concept. However heritage sites themselves may be the reason of the conflict or may contribute to conflicts. Peace and conflict paradox is also deepened in the study and used to understand the heritage politics.

Politicized and conflicted nature of negative heritage sites is exemplified by two cases; Auschwitz and Hiroshima. Both of the sites had been subject to discussions during and after their inscription. Inscription of Auschwitz is conflicting because it represents various associations and communities. Accordingly, states attribute varying levels of importance to it. Since its liberation, the concentration camp was presented in various ways: As a symbol of danger of fascism, Polish martyrdom and suffering of Jewish people respectively. The process from its liberation to its inscription and afterwards has been shaped in the light of politics. For Hiroshima, it was mostly the nomination process and the presentation method of the site that was contested. During its nomination process in 1990s, Hiroshima caused discussions between different Member States. The US did not want to harm its prestige and wanted to present the site as a symbol of the end of World War II, rather than mass killing of people. China, on the other hand opposed the inscription on the grounds that the nomination does not represent the death of people from the nations other than Japan. Those two cases are convenient examples of how international politics and national perspectives are entangled with international management of cultural heritage. They also shed light on the politicized nature of criteria system and working of World Heritage List.

There are certain challenges and limitations to evaluate the sites associated or related with recent conflicts. The nomination and inscription of the sites associated with particular memories and events are strongly influenced by nationalism and accordingly it creates conflicts and discussions between the Member States and organization. In other words, negative heritage sites may easily be manipulated by the Member States in order to meet their interests and subjugating the others (Labadi and Long, 2010:63). Besides, it is difficult to evaluate the intangible values and adhere them a universal value. Moreover, memories attached to sites evolve continually in the light of new developments, experiences and interpretations. Therefore, it may be misleading or deficient to make a comprehensive evaluation before adequate time elapses over the event. This might be valid for other inscriptions as well, for cultural or natural heritage sites but evaluations of sites associated with recent conflicts are more inclined to evolve during post-conflict process because of the dynamic changing nature of policies of recent history. Evaluation structure, mainly criteria and tools to evaluate the nominations is insufficient in its current form, not only because of its extent but also because of questions it raises regarding scope and objectives of the World Heritage Convention.

Considering the points presented in this thesis, it is made clear that cultural heritage, and more specifically negative heritage is highly politicized and contested. It subscribes to the notion that the fact that cultural heritage presented as nonpolitical and global is actually deeply politicized and under the control of the nation states. Although UNESCO and its management of cultural heritage are unique and valuable, it does not overcome the nation-state domination, most of the responsibility and authority lies in the hands of nation states. As an attempt to analyze the politicized nature of the cultural heritage, two cases of negative heritage from UNESCO world heritage list were involved into the study through considering inherent contradictions identified throughout this work.

Although heritage deserves a wider place in International Relations discipline, it does not have much coverage. Studies related to heritage are mostly analyzed along with

culture studies or covers only legal areas. However, heritage contains various issue areas, actors and considerations enables it to study from this discipline. This thesis aims to present a descriptive analysis of politicized nature of cultural heritage with respect to negative heritage sites. Therefore, it tells more about the cultural heritage and nation states politics, but less about different heritage sites and other actors included in the process. Therefore, there are various issue areas for a further analysis on the heritage's place in international politics.

This study may be further developed by widening the focus to other issue areas that have international dimensions such as intentional destruction of cultural heritage sites. Other actors such as NGOs, private entities, local communities, ethnic or religious groups or terrorist organizations can be included in the analysis. In this way, international dimension of the cultural heritage would be presented in a broader sense.

Arm conflicts between two states, which was the dominant form of conflict since the beginning of modern international system slowly has brought its place to more multifold forms and motives of conflict. Twentieth and twenty-first century conflicts are diversified with world wars, internal disorders, civil wars, terrorist acts, ethnic cleansing, etc. Besides, existence of multiple actors in addition to states also characterize the twentieth century conflicts. Role of these "new" actors, including communities, ethnic or religious groups, terrorist groups, international organizations and private groups vary as mediator, peacekeeper, perpetrator, provoker or neutral element. This, in turn, brought destruction of cultural properties in various contexts e.g. in the former Yugoslavia, Israel/Palestine, Cyprus, Syria, Iraq, Colombia and Afghanistan. Accordingly, factors threatening cultural heritage have also multiplied.

Besides political and religious factors, destruction of cultural heritage has another important aspect: illicit trade and looting. Looting of cultural heritage has a long history going back to Middle Ages but with the acceleration of archaeological studies and

excavations at the end of nineteenth century, it has become a competition between states, especially among Western powers. Illicit trade of cultural heritage network is a complex one which many parties profit from it. Western powers legitimize this action by protecting the historical artifacts and uses it to sanctify their colonial pasts. Besides, illicit trade provides funding for informal and underground economies and illegal groups (Stone&Farchakh, 2008). In other words, resources raised through illicit trade of cultural property fund and prolong the armed conflicts. Therefore, intentional destruction of heritage sites and looting of cultural heritage can be interesting topics to be studied from International Relations perspective.

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APPENDICES

A.TURKISH SUMMARY/ TRKE ZET

Kltrel miras modern dnyada tarihi, siyasi, sanatsal ve bilimsel alanlarda deęerlendirmeye aık nemli bir konudur. Srekli evrilen anlamı, ierięi ve ynetimi ile ok eřitli konu alanlarına yayılmıştır ve insan hayatında nemli bir yer edinmiştir. Kltrel miras endstrisi ise eřitli miras trlerinin tanımlanması, korunması ve ynetimi etrafında gelişmiştir. Kltrel miras yerelden blgesele, ulusaldan uluslararası ve kresel dzeylere kadar farklı aktrler ve birimler arasındaki iliřkilere ıřık tutar.

Bu tez, kltrel miras alanlarının uluslararası boyutunu ve uluslararası iliřkilerdeki yerini incelemektedir. Daha spesifik olarak, UNESCO Dnya Mirası Listesindeki negatif miras alanları UNESCO ynetimi ıřığında incelenmektedir. Bu baęlamda Auschwitz Birkenau Alman Nazi Toplama Kampı ve Hirořima Barıř Anıtı vaka incelemeleri olarak belirlenmiştir. Kltrel mirasın siyasi ve kurumsal boyutlarını ele alarak, uluslararası kltrel miras ynetiminin tarihsel gelişimi ile ulus devletlerin uluslararası politikaları arasındaki iliřkiyi arařtırmak amalanmaktadır.

Uluslararası iliřkiler disiplinde kltrel mirasın neden ve ne lde nemli ve incelemeye deęer bir konu olduęu sorusu nemlidir. Bařlangıta olduka yerel ve ulusal dzeyde ynetilen kltrel miras konusu oęunlukla arkeoloji, tarih, antropoloji ve mimarlık gibi disiplinler tarafından alıřılmakta idi. Ancak, kltrel miras ynetimi kurumsallařmaya bařladıka, lke sınırlarını ařarak uluslararası ve global bir konu olarak algılanmaya bařlamıştır. lke sınırlarında yer alan kltrel miras alanları, ulusal ve uluslararası otoriteler tarafından ynetilmekte ve kresel bir konu alanı olarak

sunulmaktadır. Bu nedenle kültürel miras, uluslararası ilişkilerde düşünülenden çok daha önemli bir yer tutar. Bu sebeple, kültürel mirasın çok yönlü ve karmaşık doğasını anlamak için konuyu literatürde çok fazla tartışılmayan uluslararası ilişkiler perspektifinden analiz etmek önemlidir.

Bu tez toplamda beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde, çalışmanın geri kalanını aydınlatan kavramlara genel bir bakış sunarak literatür taraması yapılmaktadır. Ayrıca kültürel miras uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri ışığında analiz edilerek konunun uluslararası boyutu incelenmektedir. Son olarak bu tezde kullanılan yöntemler, çalışmanın limitleri ve kısıtları anlatılmaktadır. İkinci bölümde kültürel mirasın kısa tarihsel arkaplanı sunulmaktadır. Antik Çağ'dan yirmi birinci yüzyıla kadar uzun bir dönemi kapsayan süre boyunca uluslararası siyaset ile kültürel mirasın gelişimi arasındaki ilişki araştırılarak önemli gelişmeler ve dönüm noktaları incelenmektedir. Bu bölümde özellikle yirminci yüzyıla odaklanılarak dönemin siyasi dinamiklerinin kültürel miras kavramının gelişimindeki önemi vurgulanmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde ise kültürel mirasın uluslararası arenada nasıl ele alındığı ve yönetildiği konusu incelenmektedir. Kültürel miras yönetiminin en önemli ve etkili aktörü olarak UNESCO ve UNESCO yönetiminin bileşenleri ve prensipleri genel bir çerçeve olarak sunulmaktadır. Bu bölüm dört ana bölüme ayrılmıştır. İlk bölümde UNESCO'nun kültürel miras yönetimine ilişkin genel bir çerçeve çizilmiştir. UNESCO'nun kuruluşu, yasal girişimler dahil kültürel miras yönetim sisteminin bileşenleri, önemli aktörler ve Dünya Mirası sistemi hakkında genel bilgiler özetlenmiştir. UNESCO ve yönetim sisteminin açıklanmasının ardından, Dünya Mirası sistemi ve UNESCO yönetimi değerlendirilmekte ve eleştirilmektedir. Kültürel mirasın evrenselliği ile ulus devletlerin çıkarlarının baskınlığı arasındaki çatışma ve UNESCO'nun iddia ve uygulamaları arasındaki tutarsızlıklar tartışılmaktadır. Üçüncü bölümde, UNESCO ve kültürel miras yönetiminin uluslararası bir rejim olarak kabul edilip edilemeyeceği sorusu sorulmaktadır. Ayrıca kültürel mirasın çatışmalı doğası

ayrıntılı olarak ele alınmış ve bu tezi yönlendiren temel çatışma alanları belirlenmiştir. Bu çatışmalar ulusal, uluslararası ve evrensel alanların çatışması ile barış ve çatışma olarak iki gruba ayrılmıştır.

Dördüncü bölümde negatif miras alanları detaylı olarak ele alınmaktadır. İlk olarak, negatif miras kavramı ve bu kavramın toplumsal hafızaya paralel olarak tarihsel olarak yükselişi ele alınmaktadır. Daha sonra negatif miras alanlarının UNESCO dünya mirasındaki yeri, değerlendirme süreçleri ve listede bulunan negatif miras alanları açıklanmaktadır. Bu bölümün devamında iki miras alanı; Auschwitz Birkenau Alman Nazi Toplama Kampı ve Hiroşima Barış Anıtı üzerinden negatif miras alanlarının ve UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'nin siyasi yapısı incelenmektedir. Son olarak, negatif miras alanlarının miras listesine dahil edilmesi ve değerlendirilmesi konusundaki sorunlar ve sınırlamalar tartışılmaktadır. Son bölümde tez argümanlarının genel bir değerlendirmesi yapılmakta ve konu üzerinde çalışma yapılabilecek diğer alanlar konusunda önerilerde bulunmaktadır.

Kültürel miras sınırları oldukça geniş ve tartışmalı bir kavramdır. Anlamı, yorumu, içeriği, kapsamı ve sınırları sürekli gelişip değişmektedir. Kültürel miras çeşitli şekillerde tanımlanabilir, sınırları farklı bağlamlarda belirlenebilir ve resmi ve gayriresmi formlara sahip olabilir. Bireysel, yerel, bölgesel, ulusal ve evrensel seviyelerde aktörlerin karmaşık ve çok yönlü ilişkileri sonucunda ortaya çıkar ve onlardan beslenir. Çoğunlukla ulus devletlerin geçmişleri ve bugünleri ile olan ilişkilerinin somut ürünleri olarak algılanmasına rağmen, aynı zamanda uluslararası ve evrensel alanlarda da önemli bir konu haline gelmiştir. Kısacası kültürel mirasın çok çeşitli olgusal, mekansal, boyutsal, zamansal, alansal ve kurumsal ölçekleri vardır.

Kültürel mirasın siyasallaştırılmış yapısı bu çalışmanın merkezinde yer almaktadır. Bu çalışmada kültürel mirasın birçok alana yayılmış ve yerel, ulusal, bölgesel, uluslararası ve küresel arenalarda temsil edilen oldukça politik ve tartışmalı bir alan olduğu öne

sürülmektedir. Tez kapsamında kültürel mirasın siyasi dinamikleri iki temel başlık altında tartışılmaktadır. Birincisi, mirasın özü olarak toplumsal bellek, yalnızca uluslararası alanda değil, aynı zamanda ulusal arenada da oldukça politiktir. Neyin hatırlanıp neyin unutulacağı, kimin hatırlayıp kimin unutulacağı, hangi kısmın hatırlanıp hangi kısmın unutulacağı, ne kadarının hatırlanıp ne kadarın unutulacağı konuları kültürel miras politikasının temel dinamiklerini oluşturmakta ve içeriğini şekillendirmektedir. Bu soru ve endişelerin tümü dönemin otoriteleri ve dinamikleri tarafından belirlenir ve şekillendirilir. Aynı sit alanı farklı zamanlarda farklı şekillerde hatırlanabilir, farklı anıları sembolize edebilir ve belli anılar ve kişiler unutturulabilir. Diğer bir yaklaşım ise uluslararası alanda kültürel mirasın önemli bir siyasi araç olarak rolüdür. Kültürel miras, uluslararası arenada doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak farklı şekillerde kullanılmaktadır. Kültürel miras alanları ya da objeleri müzakere, diplomasi ve uluslararası ilişkilerde doğrudan pazarlık konusu olabilir. Öte yandan, ulusal çıkar sağlamak amacıyla dolaylı olarak da uluslararası ilişkilere konu olabilir. Ulusal çıkar; prestij sağlama, belirli ülkeler veya topluluklar üzerinde üstünlük sağlama, ekonomik destek elde etme, siyasi söylemleri güçlendirme gibi amaçlara hizmet edebilir.

Kültürel miras, negatif miras, toplumsal bellek, anma ve milliyetçilik kavramları birbirinden beslenen ve iç içe geçmiş kavramlardır. Kültürel mirasın uluslararası boyutunu anlamak için bu kavramlar arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamak önemlidir. Ulusların “hayali topluluklar” olarak ortaya çıktığı 19. yüzyılda, ulusların geçmişlerine dair somut kanıtlar olan kültürel eserlere olan ihtiyaç arttı. Bu bağlamda, kültürel miras yaratma kolektif hafıza oluşturmak için kullanılmaya başlandı. Kolektif bellek milliyetçi söylemlerde ve ulusal inşa süreçlerinde önemli bir rol oynadı. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası savaşın travmaları ve ulusların dünya siyasetinde var olma çabaları “hafıza endüstrisi” nin kurulmasına yol açan önemli kaygılar haline geldi. İki dünya savaşı, Soğuk Savaş'ın bipolar ortamı ve tüm dünyada yaşanan çeşitli kapsamlardaki çatışmalar yirminci ve

yirmibirinci yüzyıllarda belleğin somut ürünlerinde büyük bir artış yaşanmasına sebep olmuştur.

Globalleşen ve sınırların gün geçtikçe önemini yitirdiği modern dünyada sorunların ulus devletlerin ötesine geçen ve etkili işbirliği gerektiren çözümlere ihtiyacı vardır. Ancak, kültürel miras her zaman işbirliği ve ittifaklara değil; aksine parçalanma, sorun veya yıkıma da neden olabilir. Kültürel miras batılı güçler, terörist gruplar ya da milliyetçi hareketler gibi aktörler tarafından sömürgecilik, arkeolojik yağma, yıkım, çatışmalar ya da propaganda gibi amaçlarla kullanılmaktadır.

Kültür uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri tarafından farklı bağlamlarda analiz edilmektedir. Bazıları kültürü önemli bir konu alanı olarak önceliklendirmezken diğerleri doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak kültürü tartışmalarına dahil etmektedir. Öte yandan, kültürel miras özel bir konu alanı olarak teorik tartışmalara dahil edilmemiştir. Kültürel mirası yalnızca kültür tartışmaları kapsamında ve dolaylı kanallar üzerinden analiz etmek mümkündür. Kültüre yönelik genel yaklaşım, kültürün yapısalcı doğasına odaklanır ve konuya sosyal konstrüktivist teori ışığında yaklaşır. Ancak kültürel miras, yapısal doğası dışında da dikkate alınması gereken çeşitli dinamiklerden oluşmaktadır ve konuya farklı teorilerle yaklaşılması gerekir. Kültürel miras yapısal doğası odağında konstrüktivizm, uluslararası rejim ve işbirliği odağında neoliberalizm ve ulusal çıkar odağında realizm paradigmaları ile incelenmektedir. Tez kapsamında kültürel mirasın temelde üç teori ışığında incelenmesi gerektiği savunulmaktadır.

Sosyal konstrüktivizmin temel savları kültürel mirasın özü konusunda önemli perspektifler sunmaktadır. Kültürel miras; kimlik, sosyal normlar ve çıkarlar tarafından sosyal ve tarihsel olarak inşa edilir. Kültürel miras, çeşitli sosyal ve kültürel yönleri olmadan düşünülemeyen, yapılandırılmış bir kavramdır. Uluslararası ilişkiler disiplininde kültür ve kültürel mirasa ilişkin genel tartışmalar büyük oranda konstrüktivizm teorisi çerçevesinde yapılmasına rağmen bu tez, kültürel mirasın yalnızca

konstrüktivizm teorisi ile analiz edilmesinin yanıltıcı ve eksik olacağını savunmaktadır. Bu tez mirasın özünün ve doğasının inşa edilmiş olduğunu kabul ederken, kültürel mirasın neoliberalim kurumsallaşma ve işbirliği ile realizmin devlet çıkarları odaklı yaklaşımı ile de tartışılması gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır.

Kültürel miras birçok farklı faktör ve aktörün dahil olduğu, yasal düzenlemeler, uluslararası norm ve ilkelerin belirlendiği ve uygulandığı uluslararası bir rejim olarak kabul edilmelidir. Rejim teorisini kültürel miras çalışmalarına uygulayan sınırlı sayıda çalışma vardır. Kültürel mirasın rejim boyutu ile ilgili çalışmalar, konunun uluslararası disiplini kapsamında incelenmesi açısından önemli kaynaklardır. Bu çalışmada uluslararası kültürel miras rejiminin, kültürel miras konusunun uluslararası ilişkiler disiplinindeki öneminin anlaşılmasında önemli bir nokta olduğu savunulmaktadır.

Devletler tarihsel kimlikte neyi anacaklarını siyasi bir şekilde belirler ve yönetirler. Ancak bunun yapılandırılmasını takip eden süreçte bu politikalarını realist bir şekilde savunur ve yönlendirirler. Doğası gereği yapısal olması ve işbirliği ile uluslararası yönetim gerektirmesine rağmen; kültürel miras, ulusal çıkarların ve ulusal perspektiflerin baskın ve önemli faktörler olduğu çatışmalı bir konu alanıdır. Kültürel miras, ulusal kaygılarla şekillenen ve birçok açıdan ulus-devlet politikalarıyla yönetilen bir alandır. Bu nedenle kültürel miras devletler arasındaki çıkar mücadelesi ve devlet çıkarlarını en üst düzeye çıkarma isteği gibi realist vurgulara hizmet etmektedir.

Kısacası kültürel miras, yerel, ulusal, uluslararası ve global alanlarda yönetilen çok yönlü bir konu alanıdır. Konu kültür ve kimlik açısından ele alındığında, literatürde çoğunlukla yapısal vurgu ve yaklaşımlar çoğunluktadır. Bununla birlikte, kültürel miras öncelikle uluslararası müzakere ve çıkar çatışması gibi realist paradigmlar tarafından siyasallaştırılır. Her ne kadar neoliberal kurumsallığın işbirliği ve uluslararası rejim meselesi kültürel mirasın çok önemli bir parçasını oluştursa da, kültürel miras alanlarını tanımlama ve listeleme süreçleri büyük ölçüde uluslararası müzakere ve ulusal çıkar

politikalarıyla şekillenmektedir. Bu sebeple konu ne yalnızca ulus devlet çıkarlarıyla ne de sadece evrensel değerlerle değerlendirilemez. Bu bağlamda bu tez, farklı uluslararası ilişkiler teorilerinin tartışmaları ile kültürel miras alanındaki paradigmalara nasıl içiçe geçtiğini göstererek kültürel miras konusuna farklı bir pencereden bakmaktadır. Bu tez uluslararası ilişkiler alanındaki kültür eşittir konstrüktivizm anlayışının dışına çıkarak kültürel miras konusunda karşıolgusal bir tartışma sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Mevcut kültürel miras yönetim sistemi, geçmişteki gelişmelerin toplamıdır. Tarihi eserlerin korunmasına yönelik eylemler, insanların anıt inşa etmeye başladığı zamandan itibaren var olmuştur. Kültürel miras politikaları her zaman dönemin dinamikleri doğrultusunda şekillenmiştir. Her ne kadar öne çıkan ilk neden geçmişini korumak ve devam ettirmek olarak yansıtılmış olsa da, tarihi eserlerin korunması ve restorasyonu ile ilgili kararlar veya eylemler zamanın ekonomik, sosyal ve politik koşullarına göre alınmış ve şekillendirilmiştir. Ana sebep bir dönemde inanç ve din odaklı olabilirken, diğerlerinde ulusal duygular veya ekonomik çıkar olabilmektedir. Yine de kültürel miras yönetiminin tarihini toplumların konuya verdiği öneme göre dönemlendirmek mümkündür.

Yirminci yüzyıla kadar, kültürel mirasın korunması konusu çoğunlukla sistematik bir düşünce olmaksızın inanç, din, kültür ve gelenekler gibi odaklar ile yönlendirildi. On yedinci ve esasen onsekizinci yüzyıldan sonra kültürel miras devletler için önemli bir politika alanı olmaya başladı. On sekizinci ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıllarda koruma ve restorasyon çabaları güçlendi ve sistemselleşmeye başladı. Ancak kültürel miras yönetiminin kurumsallaşması ve uluslararası bir konu haline gelmesi tam anlamıyla yirminci yüzyılda gerçekleşmiştir. Yirminci yüzyıldan itibaren dünya, kültürel mirasın oluşturulduğu, korunduğu ve sergilendiği önemli gelişmelere sahne olmuştur. Bu nedenle, kültürel miras yönetimi kavramının mevcut anlamda ortaya çıkışı ve gelişimi, köklerini büyük ölçüde yirminci yüzyıldan almaktadır. Bu çalışmada belirli dönüm noktaları göz önüne alınarak yirminci yüzyıl üç döneme ayrılmıştır. Yirminci yüzyılın

ilk yarısına karşılık gelen ilk dönem, kültürel mirasın büyük oranda devlet kontrolü altında olduğu ve kavramın uluslararasılaşmasının temeli olarak kabul edilebileceği dönemdir. İkinci dönem, dünya savaşlarının sona ermesinden 1970'lere kadar olan dönemdir. Bu dönemde tüm insanlığın ortak sorunları olan çevre, hukuk, insan hakları, kültürel çeşitlilik gibi konuların önem kazanmaya başladığı ve buna paralel olarak uluslararası örgütlerin yükseldiği döneme denk gelmektedir. Bu geçiş döneminden sonra, üçüncü ve son aşama olan 1970 sonrası dönem ise, kültürel mirasın kurumsallaştığı ve uluslararası bir konu haline geldiği dönemdir. Bu dönemde “dünya mirası” kavramının ortaya çıkması ile birlikte kültürel miras artık tamamen uluslararası ve evrensel boyutlara ulaşmıştır.

UNESCO'nun Dünya Mirası sistemi, ortak felsefenin küresel, yönetimin uluslararası olduğu ve ulusal perspektiflerin yönlendirildiği çok katmanlı bir sistemdir. Dünya Mirası süreci, komiteler, çalışma grupları, kurum içi ve dışı kuruluşlar, üye ülkeler, STK'lar, özel kuruluşlar, uzmanlar ve profesyoneller de dahil olmak üzere geniş bir aktör yelpazesi tarafından yönetilmektedir. Sözleşmeler, tüzükler, bildiriler, öneriler ve kararları içeren yasal belgeler yönetim sürecinin belirleyicileridir. Miras alanlarının listelenmesi, finansmanı, yönetimi ve takibi, araçsal yönetim birimlerine ve yönetime ihtiyaç duyan birçok sürece tabidir.

Dünya Miras Listesi sistemi kültürel miras yönetiminin uluslararası bir konu olarak dünya siyasetinde yer almasında önemli rol oynamaktadır. UNESCO, kuralları sözleşmeler, tüzükler ve uygulamalar tarafından çizilen bir uluslararası kültürel miras yönetim sistemi oluşturmuştur. Mevcut kültürel miras sistemi, 1972'de resmi olarak Dünya Kültürel ve Doğal Mirasın Korunmasına Dair Sözleşme'nin kabulü ile kurulmaya başlanan uluslararası bir rejim olarak kabul edilebilir. Sözleşmenin yürürlüğe girmesi ile birlikte UNESCO sistemsal bir kültürel miras sistemi yaratmış, mirasa yönelik evrensel bir anlayış geliştirmiştir. Kültürel miras bilincinin yayılması çoğunlukla uluslararası örgütler tarafından yapılmış, uluslararası bir gündem haline getirilmiş ve

büyük ölçüde ulus devletler tarafından benimsenmiştir. Kültürel miras alanları liste aracılığıyla sistematik ve kontrollü bir şekilde yönetilmektedir. UNESCO ve dünya mirası listesi kültür ve kültürel mirasın prestijli ve meşru bir yol ile uluslararası arenada tescillenmesi fonksiyonu ile birlikte devletler sisteme adapte ve dahil olmaya başladılar. Bu süreçte; kültürel mirasın tanımı, içeriği, yönetimi, önemi ve yaklaşımları sürekli olarak gelişmiş ve değişmiştir.

Öte yandan, mevcut sistemde devletler ana aktörler olarak yer almaktadır ve süreçte milliyetçi perspektifler çok önemli rol oynamaktadır. Her ne kadar bu süreci genel olarak UNESCO yönetse de, miras alanlarının yönetimi ve korunması bir devlet sorumluluğu olmaya devam etmektedir. Aday alanlar devletler tarafından seçilmektedir ve bu alanların büyük çoğunluğu milliyetçi söylemleri güçlendirmek ve ulusal imajı sağlamlaştırmak gibi amaçlara hizmet etmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, Dünya Mirası Sözleşmesinde öne sürülen evrenselcilik ilkesi milliyetçi amaçlar için kullanılmaktadır. Listeleme ve miras tartışmaları evrensel değerler etrafında dönmesine rağmen, adaylık ve listeye dahil olma süreci oldukça ulusaldır.

Dünya Miras Listesi, sosyal ve tarihi normlarla inşa edilmiş kültürel ve doğal miras alanları aracılığı ile devletleri ayrıcalıklı konumlara sokan bir yarış haline gelmiştir. Dünya Mirası sistemi, ulus devletlerin ulusal miraslarını meşrulaştırılmış bir şekilde ve resmi kanallar aracılığı ile tescil ettirmeleri fonksiyonuna bürünmüştür. Devletler de dahil olmak üzere pek çok aktör, vatandaşlık, sosyoekonomik kalkınma ve adalet gibi evrensel değerler üzerinden kendilerini düzenli olarak meşrulaştırırlar. Özetle, evrensel miras anlayışı ulusal perspektif ve çıkarları aşamamış, aksine bunların ışığında şekillenmekte ve yönetilmektedir. Negatif miras alanları konusunda ise siyasetin daha fazla etkili olduğu ve tüm sürecin daha da siyasallaştırıldığı görülmektedir.

Kültürel miras, kendi içinde farklı çelişkiler barındırmaktadır. Kültürel mirasın çatışmalı doğasını daha iyi analiz etmek adına, bu çalışmada iki temel karşıtlık tanımlanmıştır. Bu

karşıtlıklar milliyetçilik-enternasyonalizme karşı evrenselcilik ve barışa karşı çatışma olarak belirlenmiştir. Zaman içerisinde kültürel miras ulusal, uluslararası ve küresel boyutlar arasında evrilen bir alan haline geldi. Kültürel mirasın milliyetçi ve ulusal boyutu ile özellikle UNESCO tarafından vurgulanan evrensel boyutu arasında hem teorik hem pratik anlamda çelişkiler bulunmaktadır. Olumsuz olaylar, dünya barışını simgeleyen kültürel miras listesi yolu ile olumlu bir şekilde sunulmaktadır. Miras alanları barış, birliktelik ve evrensel değerler gibi mesajlar ışığında yansıtılırken, miras alanları aktörler arası çatışma ya da sorunların ana kaynağı olabilmekte, hatta direkt olarak olumsuz deneyimler bu alanların miras alanı olarak kabul edilmesine sebep olabilmektedir.

Yirminci yüzyıl savaşlar, çatışmalar, toplu katliamlar, afetler, insan hakları ihlalleri, bombalamalar ve binaların ve şehirlerin kasıtlı olarak imhası gibi şiddet olaylarıyla doludur. Bunun sonucu olarak anma ve merasim olguları popüler hale gelmiştir. Toplulukları yönetmek için toplumsal belleğin kullanılmasının çeşitli yolları vardır. Bu bağlamda, kültürel miras alanları hafızayı ve anıları somutlaştırmak ve algıları yönetmek için önemli araçlardır. Bu nedenle, negatif miras alanları otoriteler tarafından kullanılmaktadır ve oldukça politikleştirilmiş alanlardır.

Negatif miras alanları UNESCO tarafından daima dikkatli ve tereddütle yaklaşılacak tartışmalı bir konu olmuştur. Söylem, eylem ve yönetim arasında temel tutarsızlıklar bulunduğundan, dünya mirası listesine negatif mirasın dahil edilmesi son derece politiktir. Bu tür dünya mirası alanları, aday gösterme, listeleme ve yönetim süreçleriyle birlikte şiddet ve çatışma kaynağı olmaya meyillidir. Negatif miras alanlarını değerlendirmek için kullanılan ilgili kriterler (vi) kriteridir. Kriter aşağıdaki şekilde tecüme edilebilir:

(vi) olaylarla veya yaşayan geleneklerle, fikirlerle veya inançlarla, olağanüstü evrensel öneme sahip sanatsal ve edebi eserlerle doğrudan veya somut olarak

ilişkilendirilmek. (Komite, bu kriterin tercihen diğer kriterlerle birlikte kullanılması gerektiğini düşünmektedir)

Başlangıcından bu yana, (vi) kriterinin kullanımı, kapsamına ilişkin açıklamanın sorgulandığı tartışmaları beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu nedenle, UNESCO miras alanlarının yalnızca bu kriterle listeye dahil edilmesi konusunda temkinli davranılmaktadır. Kriter üzerinde yapılan değişiklikler ve kriterin kullanım eğilimi UNESCO Dünya Miras Komitesi'nin çalışma dinamiklerine ve UNESCO'nun değerlendirme sisteminin uluslararası ve ulusal politikalar ile arasındaki ilişkiye ışık tutmaktadır. Kriter üzerindeki değişiklikler bile belirli üye devletler tarafından şekillendirilmiş ve yönetilmiştir. Bu nedenle, negatif miras alanları ve bunların yönetimi, dünya mirası listesinin ne kadar politik olduğuna çok iyi bir örnektir.

Oldukça sınırlı ve tartışmalı olmasına rağmen, negatif olay ve olgularla ilişkili siteler Dünya Mirası Listesine dahil edilmektedir. Şu anda bu bağlamda listede dokuz miras alanı bulunmaktadır; Cape Verde'deki Gorée Adası, Japonya'daki Hiroşima Barış Anıtı (Genbaku Dome), Polonya'daki Auschwitz Birkenau Alman Nazi Toplama Kampı, Mali'deki Timbuktu ve Marshall Adaları'ndaki Bikini Atoll Nükleer Test Sitesi gibi. Bu alanların listeye dahil edilmesi uzun zamandan beri gündemdedir ve listenin ilk ortaya çıktığı yıllara kadar uzanır. Örneğin Gorée Adası 1978'de, Auschwitz 1979'da listeye dahil edilmiştir. Ancak, geçici listeye aday gösterilen ve dahil edilen alan sayısı özellikle son on yılda artmıştır.

Bu çalışmada negatif miras alanlarının siyasallaştırılmış ve çatışan doğası iki vaka ile örneklenmiştir; Auschwitz ve Hiroşima. Alanların her ikisi de listeye dahil edilmesi sırasında ya da sonrasında büyük tartışmalara sebep olmuştur.

Almanların 1940 başlarında Polonya'yı işgal etmesi ve II. Dünya Savaşı'nın patlak vermesinin ardından Nazi kuvvetleri bir toplama kampı kurdu. Kampın kurulmasındaki ilk amaç, karşıt Polonyalıları hapsetmektir. Alman-SSCB savaşı sonrasında Sovyet

mahkumları da kampa gönderilmeye başlandı. Daha sonra 1942'de Alman işgali altındaki topraklardan çok sayıda Yahudi kampa gönderilmeye başlandı. Sonunda, Auschwitz toplama kampı, mahkumların köle işçi olarak çalışmaya zorlandığı veya sistematik olarak öldürüldüğü çeşitli ulusal ve etnik kökenlerden insanlar için büyük bir hapishane haline geldi. Ocak 1945'te Auschwitz Kızıl Ordu tarafından kurtarıldığında toplamda 1.5 milyon kişi sistematik olarak öldürülmüş ve işkence görmüştü. Ölüm % 92'si yani yaklaşık 1 milyonu Yahudi olmak üzere 75.000 Polonyalı, 20.000 Sinti ve Roman, 15.000 Sovyet mahkumu ve Avrupa uyruklu ve eşcinsel mahkumlar da dahil olmak üzere daha birçok gruptan insandan oluşmaktadır.

II.Dünya Savaşı 1947'de sona erdikten sonra, Auschwitz ve Birkenau Polonya hükümeti tarafından anıt ilan edildi ve devlet müzesi ve sergi alanına dönüştü. İlk yıllarda alan, bir dereceye kadar küresel bir vurgu yapan sosyalist kahramanlık ve komünist mücadelenin sembolü olarak tanıtıldı. Bununla birlikte, 1950'lerden sonra, özellikle Stalin'in ölümünden sonra 1989'da Polonya'da komünist yönetimin çöküşüne kadar kamp Nazi işgali altında Polonyalıların mihnetinin önemli bir sembolü oldu. Bu dönemde, esas vurgu Polonyalıların şehitliği idi ve mesaj oldukça milliyetçi ve daha az evrenselciydi. Bu iki dönemin her ikisinde de Yahudi mağduriyeti bugünkü gibi vurgulanmamıştır. Bu süreçte Auschwitz uluslararası arenada tam olarak anılmadı ve Holokost 1950'lerin sonuna kadar dünya çapında bilinirlikten çok uzaktı. Auschwitz'in Yahudi soykırımının sembolü olması ise ancak 1990'lardan sonra mümkün olmuştur.

Bu dönemde kampın libere edilmesinden 1960'lara kadar İsrail'de Yahudi devletinin kurulması Yahudi halkının en öncelikli mücadelesiydi. Holokost, Arap-İsrail Savaşları (1947-1949) sırasındaki çatışmalar sona erdikten ve 1948'de İsrail Devleti'nin kurulmasından sonra devlet inşası sürecinden sonra ancak İsrail devletinin resmi gündeminde yer alabildi. Adolf Eichmann'ın 1961'de Filistin'deki duruşmasının ardından Holokost, Yahudi bilincinin merkezi bir parçası olmaya başladı. Bu bağlamda, 1960'lar dünya çapında Holokost bilincinin başlangıcı olarak kabul edilebilir.

SSCB'nin dağılmasından ve komünist yönetimin sona ermesinden sonra, Polonya 200 yıl sonra bağımsızdı. Bu, Polonya kültürünün yeniden inşası ve düzenlenmesi gibi birçok değişiklik getirdi. İsrail de dahil olmak üzere diğer ülkelerle yeni ilişkiler geliştirilmeye başlandı. İsrail ile kültürel ve politik ilişkilerin gelişmesiyle Auschwitz üzerinde diyaloglar arttı. Bu dönem Auschwitz'in mevcut duruma dönüşümünün başlangıcı olarak kabul edilebilir. Öldürülen kişilerin ayrıntılı çalışması yapıldı ve gerçekte Polonyalı mağdurların toplamın% 8'i olduğu ortaya çıktı. Arşivler İsrail'e açıldı, alan temizlendi ve düzenlendi, kampın etrafındaki tabelalara İbranice eklendi ve yazıtlarda Yahudi kurbanının çoğunluğu vurgulandı. Auschwitz Holokost'un sembolü oldu ve sınırları aştı.

1979'da UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'ne dahil edildiğinde alan, Hitler rejiminin insanlığın en büyük suçlarından toplu katliamı gerçekleştirmesi ve bu alanın milyonlarca insanın katledilmesinin sembolü olarak kabul edildi. Ancak 1990'lardan sonra Yahudi soykırımı gerçeğinin ortaya çıkması ve alan üzerindeki tartışmaların bu yönde değiştirilmesinden sonra UNESCO Dünya Mirası'nda Yahudi halkı öncelikli ve çoğunluklu olmak üzere daha bir çok halkın Hitler rejimi tarafından katledilmesi ve soykırımın sembolü olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Auschwitz'in zaman içindeki temsilinin gelişimi ve sembolize ettiği olgular her zaman politika ile paralel olmuştur. Auschwitz'in temsilinin üç aşaması, önce komünist mücadelenin izleri, daha sonra Polonya şehitliğinin sembolü olarak ve son zamanlarda Yahudi halkının soykırımı, negatif miras alanlarının politik ve değişken doğasına ışık tutmaktadır.

Ağustos 1945'te Müttefikler, Japonya şehirleri Hiroşima ve Nagasaki'ye II. Dünya Savaşı'nı sona erdiren iki nükleer bomba attı. Hiroşima ve Nagasaki, insanlık tarihinin en kötü bombardımanını yaşadılar, bu da binlerce ölüme neden oldu, birçok insan ciddi hastalıklara maruz kaldı, bölgedeki radyasyon etkileri sağlık sorunlarına neden oldu ve

ardında tamamen yıkılmış şehir bıraktı. Şu anda Genbaku Dome binası Hiroşima bombalamasından ölen veya acı çekenlere bir sembol veya anıt olarak hizmet vermektedir. II. Dünya Savaşı'nın sona ermesinden sonra Hiroşima, savaş sonrası Japonya'da barışın ve yeniden inşanın sembolü oldu.

Toplumsal bellek, iki dünya savaşından sonra iç politika ve uluslararası ilişkilerde önemli bir faktör olmaya başlamıştır. Özellikle II. Dünya Savaşı'nın anıları ulus devletler tarafından önceliklendirmeye başlanmış ve tüm dünyada sivil hareketlere ilham vermiştir. Birçok çatışma ve travmatik olayın hatıraları yerel söylemleri aşarak uluslararası ve evrensel öneme sahip olmaya başlamıştır. Aynı şekilde Japonya'da da, savaşın hatırası ve fiziksel kalıntılar önem kazandı ve siyasete dahil olmaya başladı.

1960'lar süper güçler arasındaki artan Soğuk Savaş gerginlikleri ve insan haklarının yükselen hareketlerinin bir sonucu olarak kültürel mirasın siyasallaştırılma biçimi için oldukça önemliydi. Hiroşima, nükleer savaşın sembolü olarak dünya barışına yapılan vurgu ile uluslararası girişimler ve aktivistler için nükleer savaş girişimlerini protesto etmek için popüler bir araç haline geldi. Bir yandan Küba Füze Krizi'nin bir sonucu olarak askeri çatışma, diğer yandan insan hakları girişimleri tüm dünyada sivil protestoları beraberinde getirdi.

Hiroşima, UNESCO'nun en tartışmalı alanlarından biridir. Alanın adaylık süreci ve sunum yöntemi Hiroşima'yı tartışmalı hale getiren iki faktördür. Adaylık sürecinde Hiroşima, farklı üye devletler arasında tartışmalara neden olmuştur. ABD bu sürece aktif olarak dahil olmuş ve süreci yönlendirmek için çeşitli girişimlerde bulunmuştur. ABD'nin çabaları Hiroşima ve Trinity alanlarının II. Dünya Savaşı'nı sonlandırma anlamında önemini vurgulayan ortak bir adaylık sunmak, savaş alanlarının Dünya Mirası Listesine dahil edilmesine itiraz etmek ve son olarak, adaylığa yol açan olayların daha geniş bir perspektifini yansıtacak şekilde değiştirilmesini içermektedir. Hiroşima'nın listeye dahil edilmesine itiraz eden bir başka ülke ise Çin'dir. Çin,

Hiroşima'nın Japonya tarafından temsil edilmesinin, süreçte ölen ve acı çeken diğer milletten insanların gerçek anılarını ve acılarını temsil etmediğini belirterek bu sürece karşı çıkmıştır. Sonuç olarak üye devletler arasındaki ilişkiler adaylık tartışmalarını şekillendirmiştir ve Dünya Mirası Komitesi'nin çalışma sistemini gösteren bir süreçtir. Hiroşima Barış Anıtı, kendi içinde çeşitli karşıtlıklar ve çelişkiler içeren son derece politik bir miras alanıdır.

Bu iki miras alanının çatışmaları farklı dinamiklerden ve ilişkilerden kaynaklansa da, ortak iki noktaları vardır. İlk olarak, her ikisi de mağduriyetlerini ve kitle ölümünü birleştirici bir deneyime dönüştürmüştür. İkinci olarak, bu alanların adaylıklarını gerekli kriterleri karşılayıp karşılamadığını incelemek yerine, ilgili süreçler bu alanları listeye dahil etmek için yönetilmiştir. Bu, dünya mirası listesinin ne kadar politik ve devlet temelli olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır.

Negatif miras alanlarının değerlendirmesi konusunda bazı sorunlar, zorluklar ve kısıtlamalar bulunmaktadır. Belirli anı ve olaylarla ilişkili alanların adaylığı ve listeye dahil edilmesi büyük ölçüde milliyetçi politikaların dahil olduğu bir süreçtir. Bu sebeple negative miras alanları devletlerarası tartışma ve çatışma yaratma kapasitesi olan alanlardır. Başka bir deyişle, negatif miras alanları, ulusal çıkarlarını elde etmek ve üstünlük sağlamak için üye devletler tarafından kolayca manipüle edilebilir. Ayrıca, somut olmayan değerleri değerlendirmek ve bunlara evrensel değer addetmek oldukça zordur. Ayrıca, negatif miras alanlarının büyük çoğunluğunun yakın geçmişteki olayların sonucu olduğu düşünüldüğünde, bu alanların yorumlanması ve değerlendirilmesinin yeni gelişmeler ve deneyimler ışığında değişme potansiyelini barındırdığı bir gerçektir. Bu nedenle, alana konu olan olayın ya da deneyimin üzerinden yeterli zaman geçmeden önce kapsamlı bir değerlendirme yapmak yanıltıcı veya eksik olabilir. Bu kısıtlamalar ve zorlukların bir kısmı kültürel ve doğal miras siteleri için de geçerlidir, ancak bu faktörler negative miras alanları için çok daha güçlüdür. Tüm bu değerlendirmeler ışığında, kriter sistemi ve değerlendirme süreçleri dikkate alındığında,

negative miras alanlarının dünya mirası listesine dahil edilmesi konusu tartıřmaya açık ve mevcut haliyle süreçler ve yöntemler yetersizdir.

Bu tezde sunulan argümanların bir sonucu olarak, kültürel mirasın ve özellikle negatif mirasın son derece siyasallařtırıldıđı sonucuna varılmaktadır. Politik olmayan ve evrensel olarak sunulan kültürel mirasın gerçekte derinden siyasallařtırıldıđı ve ulus devletlerin kontrolü altında olduđu fikri vurgulanmaktadır. UNESCO ve kültürel miras yönetimi benzersiz ve çok deđerli olsa da, ulus-devlet politikalarının hakimiyetinin üstesinden gelememekte ve süreçteki sorumluluk ve otoritenin çođu ulus devletlerin elinde bulunmaktadır. Kültürel mirasın siyasallařtırılmıř dođasını analiz etmek için, UNESCO dünya mirası listesinden iki negatif miras alanı, tez kapsamında belirlenen çatıřmalı alanlar da dikkate alınarak incelenmiřtir.

Bu çalıřma, kültürel miras alanlarına kasıtlı olarak zarar verilmesi gibi uluslararası boyutlara sahip diđer konu alanlarına odaklanarak genişletilebilir. STK'lar, özel kuruluşlar, yerel topluluklar, etnik veya dini gruplar veya terör örgütleri gibi diđer aktörler analize dahil edilebilir. Bu řekilde kültürel mirasın uluslararası boyutu daha geniş anlamda sunulabilir.

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