

This is an Accepted Manuscript of the following article:

Herdis Hølleland, Jessica Phelps.

Becoming a conservation 'good power': Norway's early World Heritage history.

The article has been published in final form by Taylor & Francis in

International Journal of Cultural Policy on 01/02/2018,

available online:

<https://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/10286632.2018.1431223>

© 2018

It is recommended to use the published version for citation.

---

# Becoming a conservation ‘good power’: Norway’s early World Heritage history

Herdis Hølleland<sup>1</sup> and Jessica Phelps<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Heritage and Society, Norwegian Institute of Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU), Oslo, Norway*

States stand at the core of the World Heritage Convention and the multifaceted interstate relations have been a central subject in contemporary World Heritage research. Less research has been directed towards intrastate relations, that is relations between agencies and actors within a State Party. Spurring from the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Norway’s ratification of the World Heritage Convention, this paper utilizes governmental archival records to explore the intrastate relations and transactional authority at play within the State Party of Norway. Inspired by recent research in international relations and political science, it analyses Norway’s ratification process (1972-1977) through its early years as an observer (1978-1983) to its first committee tenure (1983-89). Currently known as one of the spokespersons for scientific advice, returning to the 1980s provides an opportunity to reflect on how Norway laid the foundations for becoming a conservation ‘good power’ through its actions and responses to other states’ lobbying efforts.

Keywords: World Heritage, intrastate relations, Norway, good power

## Introduction

Upon entering its third term on the World Heritage committee, Jørn Holme, the Director-General of Riksantikvaren and newly elected delegation co-head, summed up Norway’s position arguing that whilst ‘there is political pressure on the committee from many of the States Parties to inscribe new World Heritage sites contrary to the scientific advice not to... Norway will work for listings which follow scientific-professional (*faglig*) standards’<sup>1</sup> (DCH 2017). Fully aware of the politics at play, Norway therefore aims to maintain tradition, serving as conservation ‘good power’ and a spokesperson for scientific-professional decision-making. Drawing on primary sources from national

---

<sup>1</sup> All quotes in Norwegian are translated by the authors.

governmental archives, this article explores the historical roots of this tradition discussing Norway's ratification history (1972-1976), the formative years as an observer (1977-1983) which led to its first term on the committee (1983-1989). Thus attention is directed towards the crucial entity of the State Party and the interactions and negotiations between organisation-agencies and individual agents *within* one State Party. Moreover, it explores a) how international relations impact intrastate actions and negotiations and; b) how intrastate relations and bureaucratic traditions inform how a State Party acts internationally. As the first of the Nordic nations to ratify the convention, Norway is an interesting case whose early actions and reputation as a spokesperson for acting on scientific advice has since become a baseline for the Nordic States Parties' tenures on the committee (e.g. Schmitt 2009, Brumann 2014, 2184, Bertacchini et al. 2016, 101). Insights into the intrastate relations that enabled this way of practicing the convention emerge by following organisation-agencies, individual agents and decisions of the 1970s and 1980s.

In terms of structure, the article starts by briefly situating the case within the wider context of World Heritage research before providing an overview of the empirical material. In order to frame the empirical discussions, central analytical concepts drawn from international relations and political science are then presented before the empirical sections follow: The first centring on the Norwegian ratification process, the second on Norway's early years as an observer and the final concerns Norway's first committee tenure. While the focus is on the intrastate handling of World Heritage matters, the wider multilateral context is evident in all periods, and in particular the last.

### **The World Heritage Convention and the States Parties**

Since Askew (2010, 22) tentatively noted that 'UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage Programme is as much, and probably more, a creature of its member states and their agendas as it is an instrument of UNESCO's specialists...', numerous case studies and aggregated studies of decision-making and nomination practices have confirmed the central yet contentious position of the State Party within the convention, both internationally and within nations (e.g. Aplin 2004, Bendix, Eggert, and Peselmann 2012, Bertacchini and Saccone 2012, Bertacchini, Liuzza, and Meskell 2017, Bertacchini et al. 2016, Brumann, 2014, Claudi 2011, De Cesari 2010, Frey, Pamini, and Steiner 2013, Gaillard and Rodwell 2015, Green 2009, Hamman 2017, Hølleland 2013, 2014, Johansson 2015, Labadi 2005, 2007, 2013, Logan 2013, Maswood 2000,

Meskeil 2012, 2013a, b, 2014, 2015b, a, 2016, Meskeil et al. 2015, Meskeil, Liuzza, and Brown 2015, Nilsson Dahlström 2003, Schmitt 2009, Schorlemer 2008, Turtinen 2006, Brumann and Berliner 2016, Breglia 2006, James and Winter 2017, Hølleland and Johansson 2017): Because the State Party is the only entity that can identify and nominate sites, heritage sites become enmeshed in national agendas (e.g. Labadi 2007, Aplin 2004, Logan 2013). Furthermore, the State Party is also the only entity that can serve on the World Heritage committee ('the committee'), the governing body of the convention. As a crucial committee task is to establish and keep up to date the World Heritage List, the scene is set for intense 'jockeying' for the 21 seats on the committee (e.g. Meskeil, Liuzza, and Brown 2015). This becomes evident when considering that States Parties on the committee on average put forward more nominations than non-committee members. Increasingly the committee has also acted contrary to the advice of the Advisory Bodies of ICOMOS and IUCN that evaluate incoming nominations (e.g. Strasser 2002, Jokilehto 2011, Bertacchini et al. 2016, Bertacchini and Saccone 2012, Meskeil et al. 2015, Cameron and Rössler 2013). Thus exploring the intricate interstate relations and the 'hyperconnectivity' of heritage sites (Meskeil 2016), recent research has highlighted how the States Parties are very much the crux of convention practice and politicking. Despite the central role of States Parties, less research has focused on interactions *within* States Parties. Bureaucratic interactions and traditions within a state impact interstate relations and therefore deserves more attention (e.g. Faizullaev 2014, 285). Thus this piece aims to explore how Norwegian governing structures and internal relations influence how it practices the convention.

The very location of the archival material in three ministries<sup>2</sup>, an agency, and the parliament, reveal a close-knit intrastate network in Norway and the numerous handwritten, typed, telexed, and telefaxed memos and correspondences help unpack the relations between ministries, the agency, Norwegian and foreign embassies and UNESCO's headquarters. Together these records form the core of the empirical material. Two remarks about the period under review are useful to spell out: The 1970s and 1980s is a period characterized by establishment of convention practice, both internationally and within States Parties (e.g. Leblanc 1984, Bedding 1991, Titchen 1995, Batisse and Bolla 2005, Cameron and Rössler 2011, 2013, Hølleland 2013,

---

<sup>2</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Climate and Environment. The records from the two latter are kept at the National Archives.

Gjelsvik 2014). Furthermore, recollections gathered through Cameron and Rössler's (2013, loc 4377-4403) oral history project indicate that the 1970s and 1980s is often recalled as radically different to today, being seen as more scientifically oriented. This narrative of difference combined with the hints of Norwegian resistance towards politicking inspired a more thorough review of the delegations during Norway's tenure, focusing on the relationship between the diplomatic<sup>3</sup> vs. heritage<sup>4</sup> expert. While the make-up of State Parties' delegations by grouping individuals as belonging to heritage vs. diplomatic domains cannot be viewed rigidly<sup>5</sup>, it nonetheless provides a lens to comparatively situate the Norwegian delegation on the committee. Thus the statutory records from the committee sessions serve as a second set of primary sources whose information has been coded and converted into databases and charts. Before delving into the empirical material, however, central analytic concepts used to frame the State Party discussion are introduced.

### **Intrastate interaction within a small, unitary yet decentralised state**

Even though Norway is a unitary state, Norway is also an extensively decentralised state of which one feature is particularly central for this discussion: Authority is commonly delegated to agencies (Lægreid, Roness, and Rubecksen 2006, 237). As an analytic concept, an agency refers to 'a structurally disaggregated body, formally separated from the ministry, which carries out public tasks at a national level on a permanent basis, is staffed by civil servants, is financed by the state budget, and is subject to legal procedures' (Christensen and Lægreid 2006, 12). Importantly, Egeberg and Trondal (2009, 673-675) have shown that agency officials in Norway are less exposed to political control than officials in the ministries and tend to 'give priority to professional considerations rather than to political concerns'. This organisational form has a long history in Norwegian heritage governance; since 1912 authority has been

---

<sup>3</sup> Following Neumann (2012), a diplomat is the title given to an official representative of a state working within the field of foreign affairs, at home or abroad. Thus all individuals working on the permanent delegation to UNESCO, at in-country embassies, in foreign ministries, or with titles that included words to indicate an international job focus, were categorized as diplomatic experts.

<sup>4</sup> Individuals categorized as heritage experts include academics, individuals working for ministries of environment and cultural heritage at levels below the title of minister, and individuals with historic monuments in their title.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that the methodology in determining heritage expert vs. diplomatic expert is inexact and challenging due to title changes of participants. To exemplify further: During his years of involvement biologist Ralph Slayter's institutional home changed from being Australian Ambassador to UNESCO to professor at ANU. Thus the educational background of diplomats may well be in a heritage related discipline.

delegated to the national heritage agency of Riksantikvaren<sup>6</sup> (Christensen 2011). During the period of investigation, authority was first delegated from the well-established Ministry for Church and Education, however, starting 1 January 1973 authority was delegated from the then newly launched Ministry of Environment, established in May 1972 (Julsrud 2012, 78). Hence as negotiations for ratification took shape, a brand new type of ministry served as the political principal of an agency many decades its' senior. Furthermore, as an *international* convention, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and its embassies abroad, played central yet shifting roles throughout the period under review.

A central premise within this intrastate set-up of Norwegian heritage governance is what Carpenter and Krause (2015) term *transactional authority*. Put briefly, transactional authority 'rests on the premise of bargaining and mutual exchange that reflects a partnership—albeit sometimes a contested one—between principal and agent' (Carpenter and Krause 2015, 8). Authority, understood as the 'capacity to evoke compliance', is both relational, conditional and an item of negotiation which through repeated interactions evolves dynamically through time (Carpenter and Krause 2015, 8, 10). Within the field of diplomacy, Faizullaev (2014) also highlights the importance of interaction and negotiations within a state. As *state-actors* act through *organisation-agencies* and *individual agents* the coordination between the three are paramount. Here the primary concern is exposing how authority is negotiated between organisation-agencies such as ministries, agencies and embassies and individual agents. Furthermore, Faizullaev notes how the state's notion of 'self' – its 'conception of identity, values of interests' – is constructed through the various agencies and agents involved in the negotiations (Faizullaev 2014, 275). Theorising status seeking of small states such as Norway, De Carvalho and Neumann (2015, 5) argue that it can be understood as 'a sub-category of state identity politics'; 'masquerading' as a great power, it seeks to be acknowledged as a *good power*. That is being acknowledged as useful for great(er) powers. For Norway this role as a good power is often structured around being just and coming from high(er) moral involvement (De Carvalho and Neumann 2015, 1-2, 6, 10). As discussed below, Norway's insistence on the '*faglig*' sides of practicing World Heritage can be tied to precisely this.

---

<sup>6</sup> In English, Riksantikvaren is currently known as the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. As its English name has changed during the period of investigation, the Norwegian name is used throughout.

### **Contested transactional authority: The Norwegian ratification process**

A ratification of an international convention rests on the establishment of a mutual and burgeoning partnership between the authority of the given issue area, in this case Riksantikvaren, and its political principal, the Ministry for the Environment (ME). Ideally, the latter is to act upon the former's advice and thereby secure that the two jointly exercise authority. The international nature of the World Heritage convention, did, however, mean a second principal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). Initially, during Norway's ratification deliberations, there was mutual concern over the World Heritage Fund among the three parties (DCH 1974, ME 1972). However, the relationship between the organisation-agencies became tense as the three's position parted. This was fuelled by Riksantikvaren's multiple apprehensions against ratifying:

Riksantikvaren is in serious doubt as of whether Norway ought to ratify the convention, as it forces the member states to assume a standardised form for how to work with cultural and natural heritage preservation. ... [Furthermore,] with limited staff at Riksantikvaren's disposal, it probably cannot commit to knowledge exchange and exchange of youth studying preservation. Finally, one notes that in other UNESCO departments one has experienced that a membership steals (*stjeler*) a lot of staff capacity in order to respond letters, answer multiple surveys, and that this does not stand in any reasonable relationship to the benefits of the convention. (DCH 1973a)

Over the next few years, the argumentation shifted somewhat and Nordic relations became more central (DCH 1974, 1975a). As the Swedish and Danish heritage agencies were not prepared to ratify the convention, Riksantikvaren remained hesitant. Yet at the same time the agency's interest in international conservation was rising: In parallel to the ratification process, Riksantikvaren was lobbying the ME to establish of a national ICOMOS commission (e.g. DCH 1973b, 1975b), eventually succeeding (ME 1976a). The reason for concentrating its international efforts through ICOMOS was also one of Nordic relations; other Nordic countries were actively involved in ICOMOS. As such, Nordic relations indirectly impacted intrastate relations as the young ministry adhered to its senior, adopting its view every time the issue of ratification was put forward. The international nature of the convention eventually made the heritage agency's resistance an issue for the MFA.

Just as Riksantikvaren's resistance was partly founded on Nordic relations, MFA's international entanglement at the time made it push the ratification: As Norway served on UNESCO's Executive Board (1974-1978), the MFA was deeply invested in UNESCO matters and increased its intrastate pressure for a Norwegian ratification when on the board, partly fuelled by UNESCO's (1974, 1975) recurring invitations to ratify. Having singled out Riksantikvaren as the kernel of resistance, the MFA put

pressure on the latter: In an internal briefing note passed on to the ME, the MFA reported that it had requested Riksantikvaren to inform the ME that the ministry should 'disregard' his [i.e. its Director-General] earlier position' (MFA 1974b). Despite the pressure, the original 1974 deadline set by UNESCO was not met (e.g. MFA 1974a), and it became clear that as long as the MFA pursued ratification through technocratic channels, Riksantikvaren's resistance was given authority by the ME. Consequently the MFA altered its approach. Rather than continue to follow the formal bureaucratic structure, the MFA joined forces with the Ministry of Church and Education (MCE), the home ministry for UNESCO affairs. As the MCE moved the issue of ratification from the realm of technocracy to the one of politics, authority shifted: The politically appointed State Secretary of the MCE, Halvdan Skard, wrote to his equal at the ME, Tore-Jarl Christensen, noting that '*Politically it is now a question of whether Norway really does not want to join in*' (MCE 1976b, emphasis added). The issue of ratification thereby became one of political will rather than technocratic practicalities.

Responding, Christensen, accepted the political dimension of the matter, and gave his support, on the conditions that Norway abstained from article 16 (World Heritage Fund) and had clarified the Nordic position on ratification (ME 1976c). While taking note of the ME's lingering reservations, the MCE reported to the MFA that ratification should proceed independently of a coordinated Nordic ratification (MCE 1976a). Shortly thereafter, the ME reported that Swedish and Danish ratification was set 1977 and therefore maintained the desirability of a coordinated ratification. The ME it nonetheless gave its support for the *bevaringspolitiske innhold*, 'preservation political content', of the convention (ME 1976b). The MCE's 'politicisation' of the ratification process had succeeded: On 22 October 1976 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Per Kleppe, presented the case to the Parliament. Whilst taking note of the heritage agency's capacity problems he deemed, using the elusive phrase coined by the ME, that the *bevaringspolitiske innhold* important enough for Norway to ratify despite (St.prp.nr.29 1976-1977). The convention was ratified on 30 November 1976, abstaining from Article 16-1 (Innst.S.nr.104 1976-1977), and the following year Norway attended the very first committee session, as the sole Nordic country and one of only two observing States Parties (UNESCO 1977). With this, a new phase of intrastate collaboration began.



### **Status seeking: Jockeying for a seat on the committee**

Over the following years, the MFA, through the Embassy in Paris, served as the principal organisation-agency for convention matters: Early career diplomats attended sessions, wrote up and passed on Norwegian memos from the statutory records to the ministries and pushed—first intrastate and then interstate—for Norway’s committee candidacy (e.g. UNESCO 1977, 1978b, 1980a, b, and table 1). Considering Norway’s role on UNESCO’s executive board, the Embassy’s drive for enhanced World Heritage involvement is unsurprising. Its first attempt stalled at home, however; playing by the rules set out in the convention’s article 9.3, calling for ‘persons qualified in the field of cultural or natural heritage’, the Embassy approached the ME for possible candidates. While not in such a position, the ME opened for reconsideration in 1980 after discussions with Riksantikvaren (ME 1978). These early steps highlight how the Embassy served as a facilitator for establishing a new principal; gradually moving the centre of instruction from the MFA via the ME to the authority of the issue area, Riksantikvaren. [insert table 1]

Another central intrastate shift occurred in 1978 as Stephan Tschudi-Madsen was appointed Director-General of Riksantikvaren. More internationally oriented than his predecessor, Riksantikvaren’s resistance was replaced by interest. By 1980 Tschudi-Madsen was willing to stand as a Norway’s candidate for the committee (ME 1980b, DCH 1980, MFA 1980). However, having been absent from the committee sessions in 1978-1979, despite having several nominations up in the latter, Norway had not positioned itself well for the 1980 election (UNESCO 1978a, 1979, 1980a). Furthermore, neither the candidate nor the ME was in a position to attend the election. Rather, upon the request of the ME, Tarald O. Brautaset, from Norway’s permanent delegation to UNESCO, attended (UNESCO 1980b, ME 1980a). Brautaset’s evaluation of the election process is indicative of his diplomatic position: Faced with nearly 20 states ‘jockeying’ for the seven seats, Brautaset reported back that

After a break with consultations, a number of countries withdrew their candidacies. I considered it likely that at most one Western European state could be elected, and decided to withdraw the Norwegian candidacy rather than suffer a ballot defeat. This was clarified over phone with the Director-General (*ekspedisjonsjef*) Colding. Another argument moving in the same direction is the current composition of the committee. (ARdN 1980)

This argumentation follows the logic of the UNESCO electoral system and diplomatic practice, even if the committee, meant to be a committee of ‘experts,’ did not adhere to

the regional election system of UNESCO at the time (Meskell, Liuzza, and Brown 2015, 442). Notwithstanding the withdrawal, this election altered the intrastate relations: The ME took a more active role, requesting the MFA to send a representative from the Embassy in Canberra to the 1981 Sydney session because it ‘put a certain weight on participation... as Norway from next year most probably will be elected as the Nordic member’ of the committee (ME 1981).

While Norway failed to attend the 1981-1982 sessions, its international standing had altered significantly heading into the 1983 election: Personally, Tschudi-Madsen’s international engagement had been extended considerably: He had been elected the Chairman of ICOMOS’ Advisory Committee (1981-1989) and had sat on ICCROM’s council (1980-81; 1984-89). Furthermore, Tschudi-Madsen and Riksantikvaren were central in the hosting of ICOMOS’ international wood symposium in June 1983<sup>7</sup> (DCH 1982, ICOMOS\_NO 1983, Lunde 1993). Examining the coming of the symposium help illustrate how the developing intrastate relations enabled heritage to emerge as facet of Norway’s ‘cultural diplomacy’ (see e.g. Luke and Kersel 2013, Akagawa 2015 American and Japanese examples). Following a meeting with UNESCO, the embassy secretary reported home why a Scandinavian host, Norway in particular, host was preferred:

The reason is that one wants to get away from the traditional education centres for preservation and that a Scandinavian country would be a natural choice considering their long tradition for wooden architecture. A further argument for choosing Norway is its three memorials to wooden architecture included on UNESCO’s “World Heritage List”. (RNEP 1983)

The pioneering effort for the convention, reflected in its ‘wooden World Heritage’, was thereby recognised and the symposium functioned as a ‘status enhancing event’ leading up the election (Leira 2015, 35): As the host of an event firmly rooted on the scientific-professional side of the conservation, Norway could assert its moral authority as an internationally recognised professional preservation player. Additionally, by making itself useful, serving the international heritage community by taking on responsibility for wood conservation, Norway could be seen and acknowledged as conservation ‘good power’ (De Carvalho and Neumann 2015, 1). The efforts paid off, and despite the fact that neither the candidate nor the ME was present at the election, the Deputy Permanent

---

<sup>7</sup> The following year this was redeveloped to the International Course on Wood Conservation Technology (ICWCT) as a collaborative effort between ICCROM and the RA, originally funded over UNESCO’s budget for 1984-85. Since 1984 it has been hosted every other year.

Delegate to UNESCO could inform the MFA over telex that Tschudi-Madsen had been elected on the first ballot (MFA 1983). With the successful election, a third stage begins where the close intrastate relations continue with Riksantikvaren serving as the convention authority.

### **Conservation good power in the making: Norway on the World Heritage Committee and Bureau**

As a means to situate Norway on the committee and the bureau, this section first provides a general overview of the composition of the committee and bureau at the time. Drawing on the statutory records, some observations can be made: From 1983-88 the average number State Party delegates is 74, with 57% being committee members and 43% observer states. In stark contrast to today, the de facto full committee was 20 members because Malawi, elected on the second ballot in 1983, did not send a representative to any of the sessions. Furthermore, the sessions held away from Paris averaged fewer participants. Considering the costs of a plane ticket from Paris to the 1984 Buenos Aires meeting at 17 000 NOK (the equivalent of ca. 5200 USD today) (ARdN 1984a), States Parties with limited financial resources to a greater extent relied on local embassy staff. When held in Paris the number of diplomats also increased as more States Parties sent observer from their national delegations to UNESCO, already stationed in Paris. In different ways, the locations of the sessions thus catered for diplomatic presence; in fact diplomats outnumber heritage experts at all but the 1983 the session [insert figure 1 & table 2]. Keeping in mind that States Parties are to choose as committee members qualified within heritage, it is interesting to note that with the exception of 1984, the majority of committee delegates (ranging from 51% to 66%) came from diplomatic domains. Additionally, it is clear that different States Parties prioritized different types of delegations; as detailed in table 2, at least 20% of the Heads of Delegations of the committee members, including Australia, Cyprus and Turkey, were Ambassadors (to UNESCO or in country). Discussed further below, this is suggestive of how some States Parties viewed the committee as inherently political, enough so to warrant the use of higher level diplomats. Others such as Norway and Bulgaria clearly prioritized technical heritage expertise for their delegations. Headed by a heritage expert, Tschudi-Madsen, and including an architect, turned diplomat, Oda Sletnes, the Norwegian representation model is indicative of the *high national value* it places on having a strong '*faglig*' representation (Faizullaev 2014, 287). The term *faglig*

is distinctly Norwegian and forms the backbone of Norwegian heritage bureaucracy. There is no direct equivalent in English, but it refers broadly to the scientific-professional basis of actions and decisions. The *faglig* focus of the delegation reflects its close ties to the professionally oriented agency and also helped Norway enhance its status as a just conservation player internationally.

Finally, a word on the difference between the bureau meetings, all held in Paris, and committee sessions is warranted. Reflecting on the two, Jane Robertson Vernhes remembers the bureau meetings as ‘very much the technical meetings, clearing the workload... of the committee... Those were people who were experts in cultural heritage or natural heritage’ (in Cameron and Rössler 2013, loc 4378). Indeed, the bureau served as a good outlet for Norway’s attention on the *faglig* sides of the convention through the issue of authenticity, initiated as part of a broader evaluation of the criteria for World Heritage listing (ICOMOS 1984). Through his various roles, one can follow Tschudi-Madsen’s push for a refined definition of authenticity; from ICOMOS’ expert meeting on criteria in February 1984 to the bureau in October 1984. The celebration of the latter expose how of individual agents become the state, as it were, with Tschudi-Madsen in his own minutes highlighting ‘the Norwegian’ victory, noting that ‘...the views of authenticity Norway has been a spokesperson for now has been accepted and incorporated’ (DCH 1984b, 2). The following year he sat on a working group looking into the rise in the number of nominations and the impact on management and preservation for already inscribed properties (UNESCO 1985). Additionally, one can also see his scientific-professional commitment at other international meetings where he emphasised how his ‘contribution was to keep politicking at bay and put form to the *faglig* items [on the agenda]’ (ICOMOS\_NO 1984). [insert figure 2] Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to point out, as illustrated in figure 2, the bureau meetings shifted from consisting of only heritage experts in the 1970s towards a diplomatic majority at the end of 1980s. What emerges in the 1980s is thus a situation in which the convention is coming to serve a dual purpose as an arena for heritage conservation and international relations and where the heritage expert were increasingly ‘given the back seat’ (Cameron and Rössler 2013, loc 4437). This duality is causing tensions which are visible in the traces of interstate lobbying in the Norwegian records and help illustrate how Norway prioritised *faglig* considerations, condemning politicking.

The first case exemplifies how pre-existing foreign policy became entangled into convention matters through the symbolic action of extending invitations to host the sessions (Faizullaev 2014, 278, Winter 2015). Additionally, it illustrates De Carvalho and Neumann's (2015) argument of how small states take on the role of a 'good power' through acting as a 'problem-solver'. Cyprus first extended its invitation to host the ninth session (1985), marking the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its Department of Antiquities, in 1982 (UNESCO 1983, item xviii-57) and reiterated its invitation 1983 (UNESCO 1984c, item XIII). By the bureau session in 1984, however, another invitation had been extended by the newly elected committee member of Turkey (UNESCO 1984a). In the run-up to the eighth session, the MFA, serving as an intrastate boundary spanner, passed on lobbying correspondences from the Embassy in Paris to Riksantikvaren (ARdN 1984a, b, c, DPdT 15.10.1984). The Turkish and Cypriot lobbying efforts reflect the rising importance of cultural legitimacy in the Cyprus conflict following the 1983 unilateral establishment of the Turkish republic of Northern Cyprus (Scott 2002). The two States Parties' active blame and shame of politicking is striking: Alluding to scientific-professional side of the convention, the newcomer Turkey noted '...the Committee has always avoided to be engaged in political trends or considerations. In such precedent cases the Committee has always preferred to cho[o]se a third country...' (DPdT 15.10.1984). The Turkish inquiry was followed up by the Cypriots arguing 'it is to be regretted that by this means a political dimension should have been artificially introduced at a late stage in an entirely non-political matter'(ARdN 1984c). Thus politicking was clearly negatively loaded at the time and completely absent for the official records: Merely alluding to the 'various circumstances' the diplomatically subtle, euphemistic language of the statutory records tucks away the sensitive nature of the issue, requesting 'its Bureau to fix the date and place of the ninth session...' (UNESCO 1984b, item XV). The Norwegian minutes provides further details, noting it was Norway and Guinea that made the proposal (DCH 1984a). This followed the general Norwegian instructions at the time avoiding increased politicization of UNESCO, seeking unifying solutions, promoting consensus and when possible act as a 'broker' (e.g. ARdN 1983). The 1985 bureau meeting resolved to hold the ninth session at the UNESCO headquarters. Thus both invitations were turned down, whilst UNESCO's budgetary difficulties was put forward as the reason for not moving forward with any of the invitations (UNESCO 1985). As such, both States Parties saved face, the committee came across as acting as financially responsible and Norway could nurture

its role as a useful good power. Following its active involvement as the vice-chair, Norway informally and tentatively approached the subject of a Norwegian Chairmanship and session hosting with the secretariat at UNESCO in 1985 (ARdN 1985). These efforts did not materialise, however, and the following year Norway withdrew from the bureau upon the ME's request (DCH 1986). Yet Riksantikvaren remained the convention authority, during one of the 'political highlights' of the 1980s, the 'Wet Tropics of Queensland' nomination.

The Wet Tropics case is a classic resource extraction conflict in which the multi-layered diplomatic environment of a federal state is exposed and an international arena used to settle intrastate conflicts (Hocking 1991). Put briefly, the Liberal state government of Queensland was keen to see the area extracted to which the federal Labor government responded by moving ahead with a World Heritage nomination (see e.g. Hutton and Connors 1999, 171-175 for a more detailed account). While the Queenslanders responded by taking the federal government to the High Court, IUCN recommended it for listing (IUCN 1988). It was at this point, following the evaluation and awaiting a court decision, that Norwegian diplomatic stations in Canberra, Paris and Brasilia were approached by Australian 'special envoys' from the federal and state governments (Malone 2000, 112). The Norwegian intrastate correspondence is telling of the efforts: Forwarding a report from the Queensland authorities to Riksantikvaren, the Embassy in Paris noted that 'there is another 2-3 kg of material' which could be sent if needed (ARdN 1988). Closer to the committee session, Australian lobbying efforts intensified: The Embassy in Canberra reported to the MFA that it had been summoned to a meeting with the Australian Minister of Environment who made it clear the nomination was moving ahead and that the federal government was the party to the convention, not the state of Queensland, and requested a meeting with the Norwegian delegation at the upcoming session in Brasilia (RNEC 1988). At the same time, the Australian Embassy in Stockholm issued a note to the MFA seeking 'the support of the Norwegian delegation for the nomination' (AES 1988). A few days later, the Embassy in Brasilia, which would represent Norway at the session, telefaxed the MFA noting that they had received a call from the Australian Embassy. Due to the large size of the Australian delegation, it was believed that a ballot would be called and thus the embassy requested a notification on how the Nordic countries may vote (ERdN 1988a). Following up, the MFA asked Riksantikvaren to advice on the vote. Here the tradition of following the *faglig* recommendations are expelled clearly: Tschudi-Madsen noted

that as IUCN recommended inscription, it should be listed, adding that Norway had always followed the scientific advice of the Advisory Bodies and that ‘it would be strange if we now depart from this scientific tradition and profile’ (DCH 1988). The MFA forwarded message to the Embassy in Brasilia (MFA 1988). On 2 December the MFA received another telex from the Embassy in Brasilia noting that they had received a visit from the Australian delegation. Upon review, it seems, likely it was lobbyists from Queensland that paid a visit as they argued that it was unclear whether the federal government had acted outside their scope of legal action and requested the nomination was postponed until the High Court decision was made (ERdN 1988b). The Embassy’s memo following the session confirmed this, noting that while there had been consensus for the listing, the 12 representatives from the Queensland government under the leadership of its Minister for Environment, were lobbying intensively outside the conference room (NEB 1988). That made a minimum of 21 officials from Australia in Brazil for the 1988 committee meeting, a formidable delegation at the time and one whose size and composition reflect the intrastate politics at play.

In closing, some observations on the nomination patterns can be made: While the data for nominations in the entire period of review, 1978-1988, is somewhat partial, 75% of the nominations put forward were inscribed [insert figure 3 & 4]. Contrasting the bureau recommendations on nominations with the committee decisions, it is clear that in 91% of the nominations discussed by both concur.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, as detailed in figure 5, the practice of committee members putting forward more nominations than observers is established during Norway’s tenure. Indeed, upon leaving the committee in 1983 the outgoing chair, Australian Ralph Slayter, reported on this tendency and suggested, that ‘whenever a State Party is serving on the committee, none of its nominations should be dealt with’ (Slayter in UNESCO 1983, 27-28). As recent research has made succinctly clear, Slayter’s recommendation has not been taken on board to any great extent (e.g. Bertacchini and Saccone 2012, Meskell et al. 2015, Bertacchini et al. 2016). As for Norway, Tschudi-Madsen noted in 1985 that once the Rock art of Alta was listed, Norway would have ‘sufficient coverage and should not present new proposals in the coming years’ (DCH 1985). However, even though nearly

---

<sup>8</sup> Only records of Advisory Bodies’ evaluations for sites inscribed are part of the online archive and thus it is difficult to judge the extent to which the bureau follow their advice.

20 years passed before the next Norwegian nomination, it is telling that it did come during its second tenure on the committee.

## **Conclusion**

Using the case of Norway, the article has directed attention towards the inner workings *within* a State Party as a means to explore how intrastate and interstate relations impact how a state practices the convention. The early Norwegian World Heritage history highlights how authority and intrastate relationships develop over time: Despite the, at least in hindsight, somewhat counterintuitive political resolution to the contentious ratification process, authority shifted from the diplomatic sphere to the heritage agency once on the committee. The strong emphasis Norway put on the scientific-professional decision-making on the committee is also a reflection of Norwegian heritage governance: Located at an arm's length from the ministry and operating within a long establish agency tradition of giving priority to scientific-professional considerations, Riksantikvaren's *faglig* focus was transferred to the international context. The delegation make-up, the bureau work and the response to lobbying highlight the how Norway cultivated a *faglig* just profile. This *faglig* focus was (and still is) further nurtured the wood symposium (and later course). The wood symposium and issue of 1985 session provided opportunities for Norway to act as a 'good power', lending a 'helping hand' to the international conservation community. What also emerges from the archival records is the impact international relations had on intrastate reasoning and actions. UNESCO and the Nordic heritage agencies are used both to push and delay the ratification. Moreover, during both the election and whilst on the committee, Norway is frequently presented as the 'Nordic representative'. The World Heritage committee thereby activates Norway's collective Nordic identity and the sense of responsibility to act on behalf of the block. Occurring at a time when not all States Parties of the block had ratified the convention, the Nordic emphasis at once follows well-established traditions and enables Norway to gain further legitimacy acting on behalf of a region. As the first of the Nordic States Parties on the committee, and through its Nordic focus, Norway laid the foundation for future World Heritage collaboration which prioritised scientifically sound decision-making.

## **Figures**



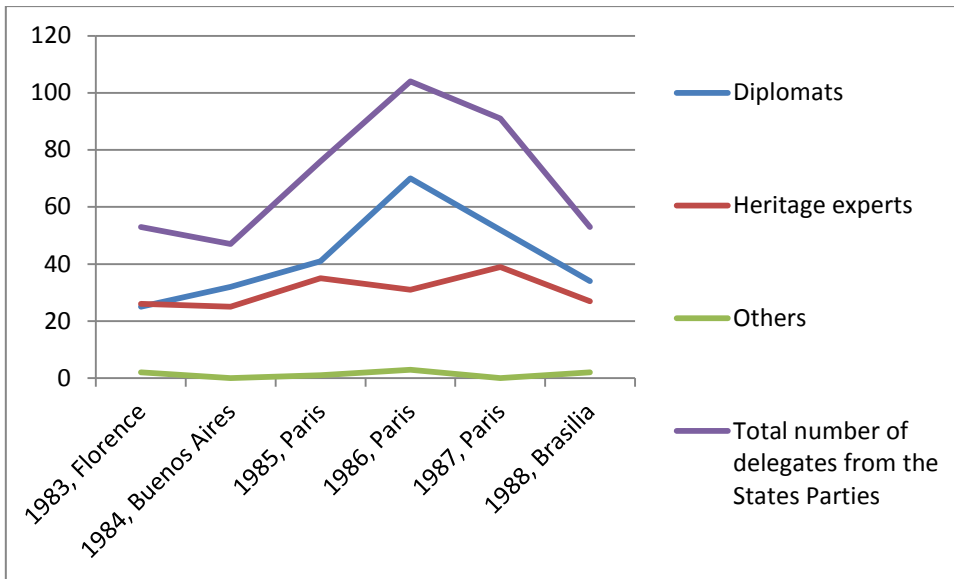


Figure 1: Overview of State Party delegates (committee members and observers) attending the session, during Norway's first tenure. The 1983 Florence includes four participants from the host-country; the 1984 Buenos Aires includes nine from the host-country; and the 1988 Brasilia includes ten participants from the host-country (and nine from the Australian delegation).

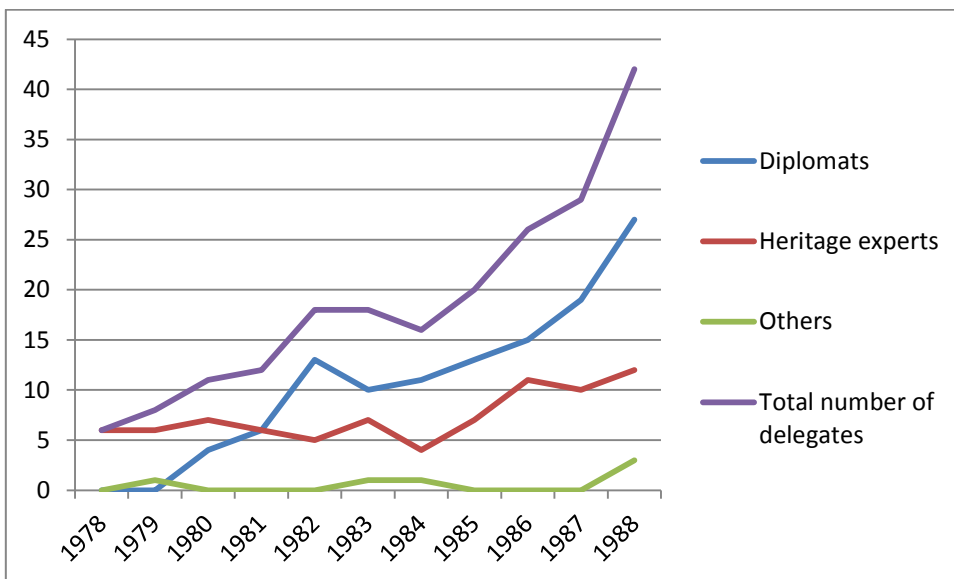


Figure 2: Overview of State Party (bureau members and observers) delegates attending the bureau sessions from 1978-88.

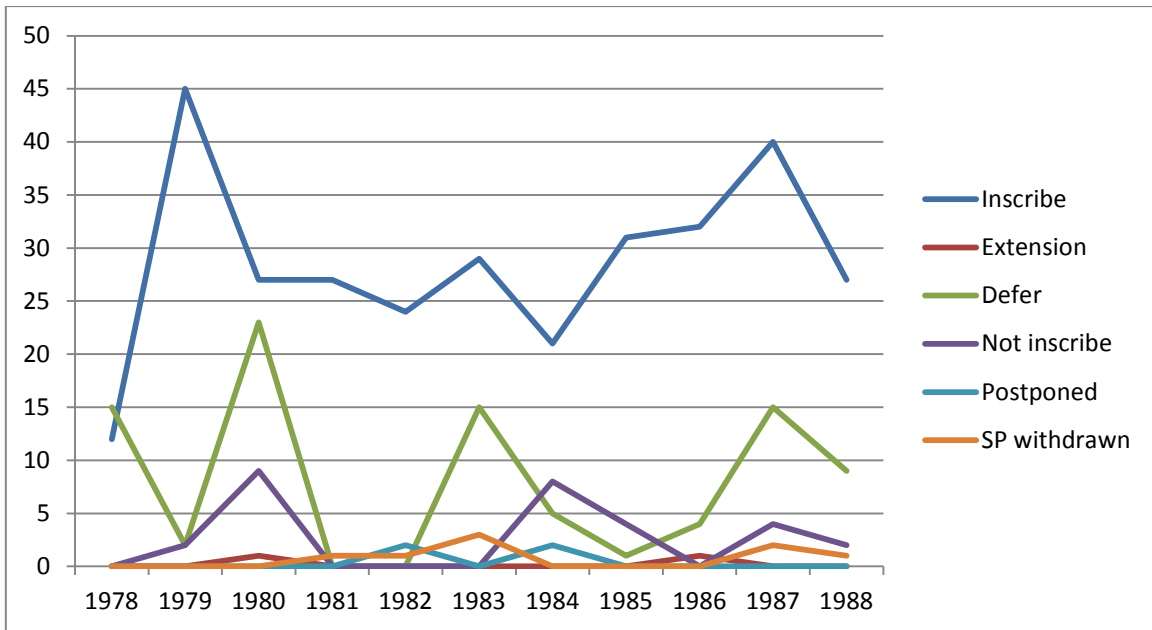


Figure 3: Overview of the committee's decisions regarding World Heritage nominations from 1978-88. N=447.

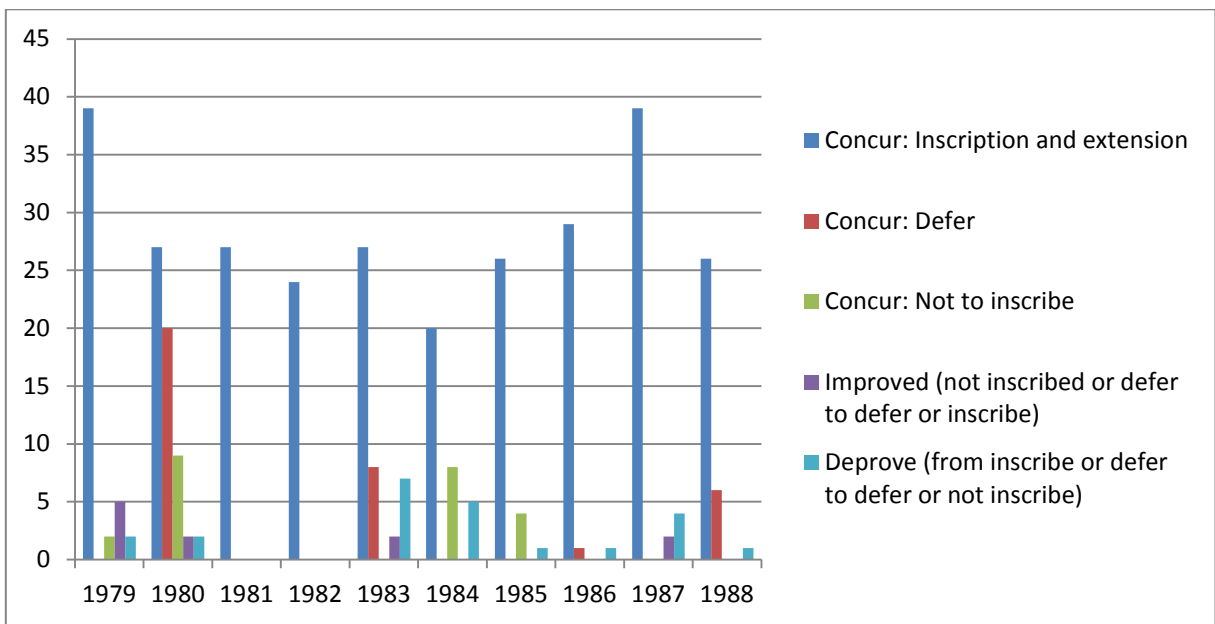


Figure 4: Comparison between bureau recommendations and committee decisions regarding nominations discussed at both the bureau meetings and committee sessions. N=376.

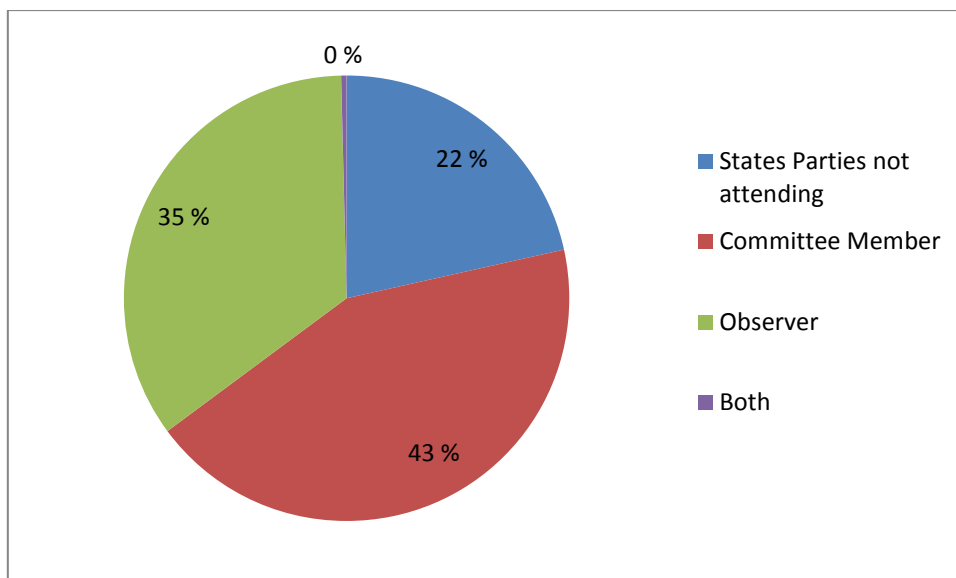


Figure 5: Total decisions regarding nominations divided by States Parties' roles and attendance at committee sessions from 1983-88. 'Both' refers to a transnational nomination in which one state party was a committee member and the other an observer. N=256

## Tables

Year	General Assembly	World Heritage Committee	World Heritage Bureau	Norwegian representation
July 1977		Paris (France)		<b>Diplomatic:</b> John Bjørnebye (First Secretary at the Royal Norwegian Embassy)
Oct 1978		Washington (USA)		<b>Absent</b>
Nov 1978	Paris (France)			<b>Diplomatic:</b> Tarald O. Brautaset (Deputy permanent delegate to UNESCO)
Oct 1979		Luxor (Egypt)		<b>Absent</b>
Sept 1980		Paris (France)		<b>Diplomatic:</b> Tarald O. Brautaset (Deputy permanent delegate to UNESCO)
Oct 1980	Belgrade (Former Yugoslavia)			<b>Diplomatic:</b> Tarald O. Brautaset (Deputy permanent delegate to UNESCO)
Oct 1981		Sydney (Australia)		<b>Absent</b>
Dec 1982		Paris (France)		<b>Absent</b>
Oct 1983	Paris (France)			<b>Diplomatic:</b> Rolf Willy Hansen (Deputy Permanent Delegate of Norway to UNESCO)
Dec 1983		Florence (Italy)		<b>Heritage:</b> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen (Riksantikvaren) <b>Diplomatic:</b> Oda Sletnes (Deputy Permanent Delegate to UNESCO)
June			Paris	<b>Heritage:</b> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen (Riksantikvaren)

1984			(France)	<b>Diplomatic:</b> Oda Sletnes (Deputy Permanent Delegate to UNESCO)
Oct-Nov 1984		Buenos Aires (Argentina)		<b>Heritage:</b> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen (Riksantikvaren)
June 1985			Paris (France)	<b>Heritage:</b> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen (Riksantikvaren) <b>Diplomatic:</b> Oda Sletnes (Deputy Permanent Delegate to UNESCO)
Nov 1985	Sofia (Bulgaria)			<b>Diplomatic:</b> Birgit Schjerven (Norwegian National Commission to UNESCO)
Dec 1985		Paris (France)		<b>Heritage:</b> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen (Riksantikvaren) <b>Diplomatic:</b> Oda Sletnes (Deputy Permanent Delegate to UNESCO)
June 1986			Paris (France)	<b>Heritage:</b> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen (Riksantikvaren) <b>Diplomatic:</b> Oda Sletnes (Deputy Permanent Delegate to UNESCO)
Nov 1986		Paris (France)		<b>Heritage:</b> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen (Riksantikvaren)
June 1987			Paris (France)	<b>Absent</b>
Oct 1987	Paris (France)			<b>Diplomatic:</b> Axel Mykleby (Norwegian National Commission to UNESCO)
Dec 1987		Paris (France)		<b>Absent</b>
June 1988			Paris (France)	<b>Absent</b>
Dec 1988		Brasilia (Brazil)		<b>Diplomatic:</b> Mrs. T. Rodrigues Eusebio, Norwegian Embassy in Brazil

Table 1: Overview of Norway's attendance as at the World Heritage committee (1977-1988), the bureau (1984-1986) and the General Assemblies (1978, 1980 and 1983). Norway attended as an observer from 1977-1983 and as a committee member from 1983-1988.

Year	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Total number of Ambassadors as head of delegations – Committee Members	5	5	4	5	7	4
Committee Members States Parties delegations led by UNESCO Ambassador	Australia, Cyprus, Germany, Sri Lanka, Switzerland	Australia, Cyprus	Australia, Cyprus, Mexico Sri Lanka	Brazil, Cyprus, India, Mexico, Sri Lanka	Australia, Brazil, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Yemen	Brazil, Sri Lanka
Committee Members States Parties delegations led by in-country Ambassador		Panama, Pakistan, Turkey				Lebanon, Turkey
Total number of Ambassadors as head of delegations – Observers	3	2	1	5	3	2
Observers States Parties delegations led by UNESCO Ambassador	Peru		Hungary	Bangladesh, Egypt, Nepal, Peru, Switzerland	Argentina, Costa Rica, Oman	Philippines
Observers States Parties delegations led by in-country or other Ambassador	Costa Rica, Holy See	Holy See, Honduras				Holy See

Table 2: The number of Ambassador's as Head of the Delegation and States Parties led by Ambassadors . \*Heads of Delegations as determined by the first name listed on the List of Participants for States Members of the Committee on Report of Rapporteur and denoted by H.E., S. E. or S.Exc.)

## References

- AES. 1988. Note No: N047/88 from the Australian Embassy in Stockholm, d. 25.11.1988. MFA's archive, 26/14/43 d. 1.8.84-30.4.1989, vol. 1.
- Akagawa, Natsuko. 2015. *Heritage conservation and Japan's cultural diplomacy: heritage, national identity and national interest*. London: Routledge.
- Aplin, Graeme. 2004. "Kakadu National Park World Heritage Site: Deconstructing the Debate, 1997–2003." *Australian Geographical Studies* 42 (2):152-174. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8470.2004.00258.x.
- ARdN. 1980. Letter from Ambassade Royale de Norvège to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 8.10.1980. Riksantikvaren's archive , C063.13, 233.
- ARdN. 1983. "Letter from Amabssade Royale de Norvege to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 19.9.1983."
- ARdN. 1984a. Letter from Ambassade Royale de Norvège to Det Kgl. Kultur- og vitenskapsdepartement, d. 17.9.1984. MFA's archive, 26/14/43, vol. 1.
- ARdN. 1984b. Letter from Ambassade Royale de Norvège to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 18.10.1984. MFA's archive, 26/14/43, vol. 1.

- ARdN. 1984c. Telex from Ambassade Royale de Norvège to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartementet forwarding a note from the Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Cyprus (23.10), d. 24.10.1984. MFA's archive, 26/14/43, vol. 1.
- ARdN. 1985. Letter from Ambassade Royale de Norvège to Director-General of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, d. 11.12.1985. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 241.
- ARdN. 1988. Letter from Ambassade Royale de Norvège to the Riksantikvaren, d. 27.6.1988. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13.
- Askew, Marc. 2010. "The magic list of global status. UNESCO, World Heritage and the agendas of states." In *Heritage and globalisation*, edited by Sophia Labadi and Colin Long, 19-44. London: Routledge.
- Batisse, M., and G. Bolla. 2005. *The invention of the "World Heritage"*. Paris: Association des anciens fonctionnaires de l'Unesco (AAFU).
- Bedding, Juliet M. 1991. "The World Heritage Convention and its implementation in Australia." PhD, University of Tasmania.
- Bendix, Regina, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann. 2012. *Heritage regimes and the state*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Bertacchini, Enrico, Claudia Liuzza, and Lynn Meskell. 2017. "Shifting the balance of power in the UNESCO World Heritage Committee: an empirical assessment." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23 (3):331-351. doi: 10.1080/10286632.2015.1048243.
- Bertacchini, Enrico, Claudia Liuzza, Lynn Meskell, and Donatella Saccone. 2016. "The politicization of UNESCO World Heritage decision making." *Public Choice* 167 (1):95-129. doi: 10.1007/s11127-016-0332-9.
- Bertacchini, Enrico, and Donatella Saccone. 2012. "Toward a political economy of World Heritage." *Published in cooperation with The Association for Cultural Economics International* 36 (4):327-352. doi: 10.1007/s10824-012-9169-3.
- Breglia, Lisa. 2006. *Monumental ambivalence : the politics of heritage*. Austin, Tex: University of Texas Press.
- Brumann, Christoph. 2014. "Shifting tides of world-making in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention: cosmopolitanisms colliding." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (12):2176-2192. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2014.934261.
- Brumann, Christoph. 2016. "Conclusion. Imagining the Ground from Afar: Why the Sites Are So Remote in World Heritage Committee Sessions." In *World Heritage on the Ground. Ethnographic Perspectives*, edited by Christoph Brumann and David Berliner, 294-317. New York: Berghahn.
- Brumann, Christoph, and David Berliner. 2016. *World heritage on the ground : ethnographic perspectives*. London: Berghahn Books.
- Cameron, Christina, and Mechtild Rössler. 2011. "Voices of the Pioneers: UNESCO's World Heritage Convention 1972-2000." *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 1 (1):42-54.
- Cameron, Christina, and Mechtild Rössler. 2013. *Many voices, one vision: The early years of the world heritage convention*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Carpenter, Daniel, and George A. Krause. 2015. "Transactional Authority and Bureaucratic Politics." *Journal Of Public Administration Research And Theory* 25 (1):5-25. doi: 10.1093/jopart/muu012.
- Christensen, Arne Lie. 2011. *Kunsten å bevare : om kulturminnevern og fortidsinteresse i Norge*. Oslo: Pax.

- Christensen, Tom, and Per Læg Reid. 2006. "Agencification and regulatory reforms " In *Autonomy and regulation. Coping with agencies in the modern state*, edited by Tom Christensen and Per Læg Reid, 8-49. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Claudi, Ida Breckan. 2011. "The New Kids on the Block : BRICs in the World Heritage Committee." MA MA, University of Oslo.
- DCH. 1973a. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, d. 18.06.1973. Jnr. 1231-C/-1973. IB/AaH. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.10, 227.
- DCH. 1973b. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, d. 23.11.1973. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0364.
- DCH. 1974. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 18.10.1974, 2506/DR/HBH/AW. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.10, 227.
- DCH. 1975a. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, d. 13.11.1975. Jnr. 1849 C-1975 STM:HH. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.10, 227.
- DCH. 1975b. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartementet, d. 8.10.1975. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0365.
- DCH. 1980. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, d. 10.11.1980. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 233.
- DCH. 1982. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 3.9.1983, 4014 C7063.2-83 ST-M/IT. MFA's archive, IA33, vol. 3.
- DCH. 1984a. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, Kulturminnekontoret; Utenriksdepartementet, Kulturkontoret, Kultur- og vitenskapsdepartementet, Internasjonalt kontor, d. 7.11.1984. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 239.
- DCH. 1984b. The World Heritage Committee. Rapport fra den 8. ordinære sesjon Buenos Aires 29. okt-2. nov 1984 (Buenos Aires November 1984). Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 239.
- DCH. 1985. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, Kulturminnekontoret & Den Norske Nasjonalkomiteé for UNESCO, d. 26.6.1985. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 239.
- DCH. 1986. World Heritage Committee. 10. sesjon 24-28.11.1986 (Paris) by Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, d. 11.1986. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 241.
- DCH. 1988. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 1.12.1988. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13.
- DCH. 2017. "Pressemelding. Norge nytt medlem av Unescos verdensarvkomité." accessed 15.11. <https://www.riksantikvaren.no/Aktuelt/Nyheter/Norge-nytt-medlem-av-Unescos-verdensarvkomite>.
- De Carvalho, Benjamin, and Iver B. Neumann. 2015. "Introduction: Small states and status." In *Small states and status seeking. Norway's quest for international standing*, edited by Benjamin De Carvalho and Iver B. Neumann, 1-21. London: Routledge.
- De Cesari, C. 2010. "World Heritage and mosaic universalism: A view from Palestine." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10 (3):299-324. doi: 10.1177/1469605310378336.
- DPdT. 15.10.1984. Note from the Delegation Permanente de Turquie Aupres de l'UNESCO, d. 15.10.1984. MFA's archive, 26/14/43, vol. 1.
- Egeberg, Morten, and Jarle Trondal. 2009. "Political Leadership and Bureaucratic Autonomy: Effects of Agencification." *Governance* 22 (4):673-688. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0491.2009.01458.x.

- ERdN. 1988a. Telex from Embaixada Real da Noruega to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 29.11.1988. MFA's, 26/14/43, vol. 1.
- ERdN. 1988b. Telex from the Embaixada Real da Noruega to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 2.12.1988. MFA's archive, 26/14/43, vol. 1.
- Faizullaev, Alisher. 2014. "Diplomatic Interactions and Negotiations." *Negotiation Journal* 30 (3):275-299. doi: 10.1111/nej.12061.
- Frey, Bruno S., Paolo Pamini, and Lasse Steiner. 2013. "Explaining the World Heritage List: an empirical study." *RISEC. Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Economiche e Commerciali* 60 (1):1-19. doi: 10.1007/s12232-013-0174-4.
- Gaillard, Bénédicte, and Dennis Rodwell. 2015. "A Failure of Process? Comprehending the Issues Fostering Heritage Conflict in Dresden Elbe Valley and Liverpool — Maritime Mercantile City World Heritage Sites." *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 6 (1):16-40. doi: 10.1179/1756750515Z.00000000066.
- Gjelsvik, Erlend. 2014. "Verdensarvens trange fødsel." In *Røros : refleksjoner etter 30 år som verdensarv*, edited by Erlend Gjelsvik, 85-97. Oslo: Pax.
- Green, Carina. 2009. "Managing Lapponia: A World Heritage Site as Arena for Sami Ethno-Politics in Sweden." PhD, Uppsala University.
- Hamman, Evan. 2017. "The role of non-state actors in promoting compliance with the World Heritage Convention: An empirical study of Australia's Great Barrier Reef." PhD, Queensland University of Technology.
- Hocking, Brian. 1991. *Localizing foreign policy: non-central governments and multilayered diplomacy*. London: Macmillan.
- Hutton, Drew, and Libby Connors. 1999. *A history of the Australian environment movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hølleland, Herdis. 2013. "Practicing world heritage : approaching the changing faces of the World Heritage Convention." PhD, University of Oslo.
- Hølleland, Herdis. 2014. "Mt Ruapehu's looming lahar. Exploring mechanisms of compliance in the World Heritage regime." In *Between dream and reality: debating the impact of World heritage listing. Primitive tider special edition 2014*, edited by Herdis Hølleland and Steinar Solheim, 75-92. Oslo: Unipub.
- Hølleland, Herdis, and Marit Johansson. 2017. "'...to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience': on insider research and the World Heritage Convention." *International Journal of Cultural Policy*:1-13. doi: 10.1080/10286632.2017.1301933.
- ICOMOS. 1984. Meeting on criteria. (Paris, ICOMOS 20-21 February 1984) Minutes of the meeting. edited by ICOMOS: Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 238.
- ICOMOS\_NO. 1983. ICOMOS internasjonal tresymposium i Norge 12.-18. juni 1983. Rapport, d. 23.6.1983. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dda/L0030
- ICOMOS\_NO. 1984. Letter from ICOMOS Den norske nasjonalkomiteé to Det Kongelige Miljøverndepartement. Rapport from ICOMOS General Assembly 1984, d. 4.7.1984. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dda/L0030
- Innst.S.nr.104. 1976-1977. Innstilling fra utenriks- og konstitusjonskomiteen om samtykke til ratifikasjon med visse forbehold av en konvensjon om bevaring av verdens kultur- og naturarv, vedtatt på 17. generalkonferanse i De Forente Nasjoners Organisasjon for Undervisning, Vitenskap og Kultur (UNESCO), Paris, 16.november 1972 d. 20.11.1976. Stortinget.
- IUCN. 1988. World Heritage nomination - IUCN summary. Wet Tropical Rainforests (north-east Australia). UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/153565>.



- James, Luke, and Tim Winter. 2017. "Expertise and the making of World Heritage policy." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23 (1):36-51. doi: 10.1080/10286632.2015.1035267.
- Johansson, Marit. 2015. "Life in a World Heritage City. A case study of discussions and contested values in Angra do Heroísmo, the Azores." PhD, Lindköping University.
- Jokilehto, Jukka. 2011. "World Heritage: Observations on Decisions Related to Cultural Heritage." *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 1 (1):61-74.
- Julsrud, Ottar. 2012. *Mellom himmel og jord. Glimt fra Miljøverndepartementets 40 år*. Oslo: Unipub.
- Labadi, Sophia. 2005. "A review of the Global Strategy for a balanced, representative and credible World Heritage List 1994–2004." *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 7 (2):89-102. doi: 10.1179/135050305793137477.
- Labadi, Sophia. 2007. "Representations of the nation and cultural diversity in discourses on World Heritage." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7:147-170. doi: 10.1177/1469605307077466.
- Labadi, Sophia. 2013. *UNESCO, cultural heritage, and outstanding universal value: value-based analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions, Archaeology in society series*. Lanham, Md: Altamira Press.
- Leblanc, Francois. 1984. "An inside view of the Convention." *Monumentum*:17-32.
- Leira, Halvard. 2015. "The formative years. Norway as an obsessive status-seeker." In *Small state seeking status. Norway's quest for international standing*, edited by Benjamin de Carvalho and Iver B. Neumann, 22-39. London: Routledge. Kindle Edition.
- Logan, William. 2013. "Australia, Indigenous peoples and World Heritage from Kakadu to Cape York: State Party behaviour under the World Heritage Convention." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 13 (2):153-176. doi: 10.1177/1469605313476783.
- Luke, Christina Marie, and Morag M. Kersel. 2013. *U.S. cultural diplomacy and archaeology: soft power, hard heritage*. New York: Routledge.
- Lunde, Øivind. 1993. Riksantikvar Stephan. In "*Honnør til en hånet stil*": festskrift til Stephan Tschudi-Madsen på 70-årsdagen, edited by Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, Alf Bøe and Øivind Lunde. Oslo: Aschehoug.
- Lægreid, Per, Paul G Roness, and Kristin Rubecksen. 2006. "Autonomy and control in the Norwegian civil service: Does agency form matter?" In *Autonomy and regulation. Coping with agencies in the modern state*, edited by Tom Christensen and Per Lægreid, 235-267. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Malone, David M. 2000. "Eyes on the Prize: The Quest for Nonpermanent Seats on the UN Security Council." *Global Governance* 6 (1):3-23.
- Maswood, S. Javed. 2000. "Kakadu and the Politics of World Heritage Listing." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 54 (3):357-372. doi: 10.1080/713613526.
- MCE. 1976a. Letter from Det Kgl. Kirke- og undervisningsdepartement to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement regarding UNESCO Konvensjon om bevaring av verdens kultur- og naturarv. Spørsmålet om ratifikasjon, dated 16.9.1976 ME's archive, folder RA/S-2532/2/Dcal/L0366.
- MCE. 1976b. Letter from Det Kgl. Kirke- og undervisningsdepartement to statssekretær T.-J. Christensen (Miljøverndepartementet) regarding UNESCO - Konvensjon

- om bevaring av verdens kultur- og naturarv - Spørsmål om ratifikasjon, dated 23.07.1976. ME's archive, folder RA/S-2532/2/Dcal/L0366.
- ME. 1972. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Riksantikvaren, d. 27.9.1972. Ref 405/72 A MT/KGL, with minutes from meeting, d. 25.9.1972. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.10, 227.
- ME. 1976a. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Riksantikvaren, d. 27.4.1976. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0365.
- ME. 1976b. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Utenriksdepartementet regarding, d. 17.9.1976. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0366.
- ME. 1976c. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Utenriksdepartementet, d. 8.9.1976. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0366.
- ME. 1978. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Utenriksdepartementet, d. 29.11.1978. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 233.
- ME. 1980a. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 8.8.1980. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 233.
- ME. 1980b. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 15.9.1980. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 233.
- ME. 1981. Letter from Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartementet, d. 15.9.1981. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0367.
- Meskeell, Lynn. 2012. "The Rush to Inscribe: Reflections on the 35th Session of the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO Paris, 2011." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37 (2):145-151.
- Meskeell, Lynn. 2013a. "UNESCO and the Fate of the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE)." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 20 (02):155-174. doi: 10.1017/S0940739113000039.
- Meskeell, Lynn. 2013b. "UNESCO's World Heritage Convention at 40. Challenging the Economic and Political Order of International Heritage Conservation." *Current Anthropology* 54 (4):483-494. doi: 10.1086/671136.
- Meskeell, Lynn. 2014. "States of conservation: protection, politics, and pacting within UNESCO's world heritage committee." *Anthropological Quarterly* 87 (1):217-243.
- Meskeell, Lynn. 2015a. "Gridlock: UNESCO, Global Conflict and Failed Ambitions." *World Archaeology* 47 (2):225-238. doi: 10.1080/00438243.2015.1017598.
- Meskeell, Lynn. 2015b. "Transacting UNESCO World Heritage: Gifts and Exchanges on a Global Stage." *Social Anthropology* 23 (1):3-21. doi: 10.1111/1469-8676.12100.
- Meskeell, Lynn. 2016. "World Heritage and WikiLeaks." *Current Anthropology* 57 (1):72-95. doi: 10.1086/684643.
- Meskeell, Lynn, Claudia Liuzza, Enrico Bertacchini, and Donnatella Saccone. 2015. "Multilateralism and UNESCO World Heritage: Decision-making States Parties and Political Processes." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21 (5):423-440. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2014.945614.
- Meskeell, Lynn, Claudia Liuzza, and Nicholas Brown. 2015. "World Heritage Regionalism: UNESCO from Europe to Asia." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22 (4):437-470. doi: 10.1017/S0940739115000247.
- MFA. 1974a. Letter from Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, d. 18.10.1974. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0364
- MFA. 1974b. Note from Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 26.6.1974.: ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0364.
- MFA. 1980. Letter from Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement to Det Kgl. Miljøverndepartement, d. 21.08.1980. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0367

- MFA. 1983. Telex to UD from amb paris, dated 31.10.1983 Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13, 238.
- MFA. 1988. Telegram from Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement to the Norwegian Embassy in Brasilia dated 2.12.1988. MFA's archive, 26/14/43, 1.8.84-30.4.1989, vol. 1.
- NEB. 1988. Note of orientation from the Norwegian Embassy in Brasilia ,dated 20.12.1988. MFA's archive, 26/14/43 1.8.84-30.4.1989, vol. 1.
- Neumann, Iver B. 2012. *At home with the diplomats: inside a European foreign ministry*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
- Nilsson Dahlström, Åsa. 2003. "Negotiating wilderness in a cultural landscape: predators and Saami reindeer herding in the Laponian world heritage area." PhD, Uppsala University.
- RNEC. 1988. Letter from the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Canberra to Det Kgl. Utenriksdepartement, d. 25.11.1988. Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.13.
- RNEP. 1983. Letter from the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Paris to Riksantikvaren, d. 1.1.1983. MFA's archive, 26/14/43 1.1.83-30.3.1983, vol. 5.
- Schmitt, Thomas M. 2009. "Global cultural governance. Decision-making concerning World Heritage between politics and science." *Erkunde* 63 (2):103-121.
- Schorlemer, Sabine von. 2008. "Compliance with the UNESCO world heritage convention: reflections on the Elbe valley and the Dresden Waldschlösschen bridge." *German yearbook of international law* 51 321-390.
- Scott, Julie. 2002. "World Heritage as a Model for Citizenship: the case of Cyprus." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 8 (2):99-115. doi: 10.1080/13527250220143904.
- St.prp.nr.29. 1976-1977. Om samtykke til ratifikasjon med visse forbehold av en konvensjon om bevaring av verdens kultur- og naturarv, vedtatt på 17. generalkonferanse i De Forente Nasjoners Organisasjon for Undervisning, Vitenskap og Kultur (UNESCO), Paris, 16.november 1972. Tilråing fra Utenriksdepartementet av 22. oktober 1976, godkjent ved kongelig resousjon samme dag. . Utenriksdepartementet.
- Strasser, Peter. 2002. "Putting Reform Into Action Thirty Years of the World Heritage Convention: How to Reform a Convention without Changing Its Regulations." *Int. J. Cult. Prop.* 11 (2):215-266. doi: 10.1017/S0940739102771427.
- Titchen, Sarah M. 1995. "On the construction of outstanding universal value : UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the identification and assessment of cultural places for inclusion in the World Heritage List." PhD, Australian National University.
- Turtinen, Jan. 2006. *Världsarvets villkor: Intressen, förhandlingar och bruk i internationell politik*. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.
- UNESCO. 1974. Letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affair from UNESCO's Director-General, d. 12.03.1974. ME's archive, RA/S-2532/2/Dca/L0364
- UNESCO. 1975. Letter from UNESCO to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ref CL/2459, d. 17.07.1975. . Riksantikvaren's archive, C063.10, 227.
- UNESCO. 1977. Intergovernmental committee for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. CC-77/CONF.001/9. UNESCO: [http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9\\_en.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9_en.pdf).
- UNESCO. 1978a. Intergovernmental committee for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. Second session 5-8.9.1978 Washington, D. C. (USA). CC-78/CONF.010/10Rev. UNESCO: [http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf010-10rev\\_e.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf010-10rev_e.pdf).

- UNESCO. 1978b. Second general assembly of the states parties to convention concerning the protection of the world natural and cultural heritage. 24.11.1978, Paris (France). CC-78/CONF.OII/6 UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf011-6e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1979. Report of the rapporteur on the third session of the world heritage convention. 22-26.10.1979 Cairo and Luxor (Egypt). CC-79/CONF.003/13. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1979/cc-79-conf003-13e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1980a. Report of the rapporteur on the fourth session of the world heritage convention. 1-5.09.1980 Paris (France). CC-80/CONF.016/10. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1980/cc-80-conf016-10e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1980b. Third general assembly of the states parties to the convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. 7.10.1980 Belgrade. CC-80/CONF.018/6. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1980/cc-80-conf018-6e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1983. Report of the rapporteur on the sixth session of the World Heritage committee. 13-17.12.1982 Paris (France). CLT-82/CH/CONF.OI5/8. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1982/clt-82-conf015-8e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1984a. Report of the rapporteur from the eighth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee 4-7.6.1984 Paris (France), dated 25.06.1984. SC-84/CONF.001/9. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1984/sc-84-conf001-9e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1984b. Report of the rapporteur on the eighth ordinary session of the World Heritage committee. 29.10-2.11.1984 Buenos Aires SC/84/CONF.004/9. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1984/sc-84-conf004-9e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1984c. Report of the rapporteur on the seventh ordinary session of the World Heritage committee. 5-9.12.1983 Florence (Italy) SC/83/CONF009/8. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1983/sc-83-conf009-8e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. 1985. Rapport of the rapporteur from the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee 3-5.6.1985. SC-85/CONF.007/9. UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/1985/sc-85-conf007-9e.pdf>.
- Winter, Tim. 2015. "Heritage diplomacy." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21 (10):997-1015. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2015.1041412.