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EDITORIAL

The sixth issue of PCA presents the material from two conferences held in different European countries last year.

*The volume opens with some of the papers presented at The British School at Rome (April 2014) at a conference on The Recycling and Reuse of Materials during the Early Middle Ages. The meeting – organised by Alessandro Sebastiani (who has collaborated as guest editor for this section), Elena Chirico and Matteo Colombini – dealt mainly with productive structures related to the transformation of glass and metal in Italy (papers by Alessandro Sebastiani, Stefano Bertoldi, François-Dominique Deltenre and Lucia Orlandi). Other international experts have agreed to add their contributions to the subject: Robin Fleming on the reuse of construction material in early medieval graves, Sarah Paynter and Caroline Jackson offering a synthesis on the reuse of glass, and the team of Carmen Fernández-Ochoa in Spain presenting the early medieval productive structures at the villa of Veranes (Gijón). Two papers by Florin Curta and Michele Asolati, dealing with exchange in the Byzantine Mediterranean, have been published in the *Variae* section.*

After the catastrophe of World War II, many international institutions were founded: the United Nations, UNESCO, the European Community. All these organizations are today immersed in a transitional phase in the systemic crisis which affects the entire Western world, a crisis to which the nihilist and relativist positions have contributed and which has (rightly) delegitimated the imperialism on which the West had built its dominant position. In this crisis, the recovery of shared historical memories is increasingly revealed as a central element in the defence of a rational world, which, although it may have abandoned the utopias of the 1900s, at least safeguards the principles of freedom and the pluralism of values. Today, there is wide debate, even among archaeologists, over how to present cultural heritage in a globalized society while nevertheless pre-

...serving its multiple identities and cultures. The discussion of these matters was the purpose of the papers dedicated to the World Heritage List. This collection, guest edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu, results from a workshop of the EU-project JPI–JHEP Heritage Values Network (H@V) held at the University of Barcelona in February 2015. The main question, summarized in the title of the paper by Díaz-Andreu, is whether the inclusion of social values and local communities in the management of cultural heritage is an impossible dream. Is it a utopian vision, typical of the historical processes which gave birth to the international organizations and their initiatives to hold back the spectre of a World War III? In many of these contributions, the watchwords still conform to this direction: the participation and involvement of stakeholders in the hope that local communities will be led to a positive valuation of assets and their public use.

The different directions of the debate move between the two poles of economic management and cultural enrichment of local communities. Too often, it is difficult to find a balance between touristic exploitation and a useful cultural proposal for local communities, as happened in the telling example of the Daming Palace in China, developed by Qian Gao, winner of the 2016 PCA young researcher award.

Direct involvement is often difficult in a globalized and multicultural society that has lost its historical roots. Most of the contributions consider that a proper balance can be found between global strategies promoted by UNESCO, based on the decalogue of general principles under which to file an application for protected sites, and the feeling and evaluation expressed by the local community (the focus of Torgrim Sneve Guttorsen, Joel Taylor, Grete Swensen on Heritage Routes and Matthias Maluck and Gian Pietro Brogiolo on organizational proposals in the interventions).

Also related to the subject of cultural heritage and the public is the project section of this issue, a homage the Poggibonsi Archeodromo. A project developed in recent years by the team of Marco Valenti (University of Siena), this is a unique living archaeological park recreated from archaeological evidence, presenting the life of an early medieval village, an initiative that clearly demonstrates the social and economic benefits of good practices in public archaeology in Italy.

Finally, the retrospect section, which addresses the history of early medieval archaeology in different European countries, is this year devoted to the fascinating recent history of early medieval Archaeology in Russia, with an extensive study by Nadezhda Platonova (St Peterburg).

Heritage values conceptualised as heritage routes. Visions and challenges towards public diversity

TORGRIM SNEVE GUTTORMSEN*
JOEL TAYLOR
GRETE SWENSEN

Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage
Research (NIKU), PO Box 736
Sentrum, N-0105 Oslo, Norway
*Corresponding author: torgnim.guttormsen@niku.no

This article critically examines the visions and challenges of 'heritage routes' and 'cultural trans-boundary sites' as a European and World Heritage concept. We will consider how this concept is defined, expressed, and represented in terms of its impact on public values. We will discuss the challenges connected to deciding what is to be included in and excluded from a transnational heritage inscription. We will describe three examples – the Silk Roads World Heritage Site, the European Route of Industrial Heritage, and the Santiago De Compostela Pilgrim Routes through Spain and Portugal – that highlight some challenging aspects of heritage routes when the concept is implemented in practice. The examples will serve as a background for discussing the relationship between global or international heritage strategies, and local uses and interpretation of heritage.

Keywords: routes, transnational heritage sites, pilgrim routes, industrial routes, Silk routes

L'articolo esamina criticamente la vision e le sfide delle "vie del patrimonio" e dei "siti culturali transfrontalieri", concettualizzandole e individuandone la definizione, l'espressione e il loro impatto sui valori pubblici. Discuteremo inoltre le sfide connesse con l'inclusione o l'esclusione nella lista del patrimonio transfrontaliero. Tre casi studio - la via della Seta, la via Europea del Patrimonio Industriale e il cammino di Santiago De Compostela tra Spagna e Portogallo - evidenzieranno alcuni significativi aspetti problematici della realizzazione pratica del concetto. Questi esempi serviranno come background per discutere la relazione tra strategie globali e internazionali, usi locali e interpretazione del patrimonio.

Parole chiave: itinerari, siti UNESCO trasfrontalieri, vie di pellegrinaggio, itinerari di archeologia industriale, via della seta

1. Introduction

Cultural routes, a relatively recent approach to promoting transnationality in the cultural category of World Heritage, blend common narratives with diverse locations. Cultural routes often comprise a cluster of sites under one intangible narrative, but draw out intangible

connections between them. They have come to embody some exciting sites, which present concepts and narratives that can move beyond those traditionally fixed to nation states. As Graham *et al.* (2000, p. 55) state, 'Modernity attempted to fix space through the creation of rigidly territorial nation states which attempted to subsume differences through representations of homogeneity'. This emphasis on national identity has occasionally led to instrumentalising heritage in order to create a unified political identity, contributing to tension and conflict. The advent of polyvocal approaches to heritage has engendered a move away from fixed physical markers with singular narratives and brings with it a number of advantages. This includes interpreting heritage outside the confines of the nation-state in fluid, less defined forms, and therefore engaging a wider range of values, communities and histories. The accommodation of the diverse values of different communities sharing a territory has emerged from policy and management that previously considered heritage as monuments and national symbols. Presenting sites that are defined by a concept or period, rather than a territorial boundary, allows the potential for the values embodied by heritage sites to be the focus, rather than the material. There is also the potential for increased cooperation between countries and shared histories to be engaged, rather than excluded. In this article, we will consider how this emphasis on transnationality and intangible narrative sits with the values embodied in individual sites, with regional values, and approaches of nation states. The comparatively unexplored development of cultural routes will be considered in terms of the aims, decisions and implications related to these heritage sites.

In this article, we will first give a short historical background to the UNESCO concepts 'heritage routes' and 'cultural trans-boundary sites' in order to provide insight in the visions of these concepts within the authorised world heritage discourse. Secondly, we will describe three examples that highlight some challenging aspects of heritage routes when the concept is implemented in practice. Finally, we will summarize our study with a short discussion¹.

2. Heritage routes

In 1987, the Council of Europe launched the research programme on 'cultural routes' as a concept embracing the grand idea of a common

¹ This paper is based on a presentation given at the workshop 'Heritage Values and the Public' held in Barcelona February the 19th and 20th 2015, arranged by the 'Heritage Values Network' (H@V), the Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage (JPI-CH), accessed March 4, 2016, from <http://www.heritageportal.eu/Browse-Topics/HERITAGE-IDENTITY/Heritage-Values-Network-.html>.

heritage of Europe. Since 1998 this project has been facilitated by *the European Institute of Cultural Routes*². The concept of 'cultural routes', however, has a history behind it. A Pan-European concept of 'routes' had already been promoted by the Council of Europe as early as in the 1960s. This early scheme was linked to the rapidly emerging leisure culture of Post-War Europe, and combined scenic routes with visiting of archaeological and historic sites (European Institute of Cultural Routes 2002).

In 2007, the Council of Europe promoted routes as a common umbrella for diverse European values, stating that:

... the identification of European values and a common European cultural heritage may be achieved via cultural routes tracing the history of peoples, migrations, and the spread of the major European currents of civilisation in the fields of philosophy, religion, culture, the arts, science, technology and trade (Council of Europe 2007).

This concept of 'cultural routes' as defined by the Council of Europe connects the experiences from visiting archaeological/historic places with historic travels described in travelogues, itineraries, and travel books and the experience of travelling through present landscapes. This alludes to a broad concept of travel through the European continent that unifies diverse experiences and values.

'Cultural Route' is a term used to denote social, cultural and historical aspects of cultural encounters, tourism and migration. They are constructed as unified historical connections and territories of shared ideas that associate travelling in the present as tourists to the historical movements of societies and individuals influential in the evolution of Europe. It is thus as much an imaginary, intangible and a literary and metaphorical concept as well as the remains of actual historic and cultural events and periods, which is noted in the Council of Europe's programme on 'cultural routes' (see also Swensen, Daugstad 2012).

The *Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes* was the first route (in fact, a set of linked routes) designated in the Council of Europe's programme in 1987. Since then a number of routes with very different content and thematic breadth have been included in the programme. Other examples include fortification routes in military strategic geographies, such as the Vauban and Wenzel routes, transport routes such as the Iron Route in the Pyrenees, local routes defining historical

² See Council of Europe's website *Culture, heritage and nature, Council of Europe Cultural Routes*, accessed March 4, 2016, from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/default_en.asp. In addition, see the institution *European Institute of Cultural Routes*, accessed March 4, 2016, from <http://www.culture-routes.net/>

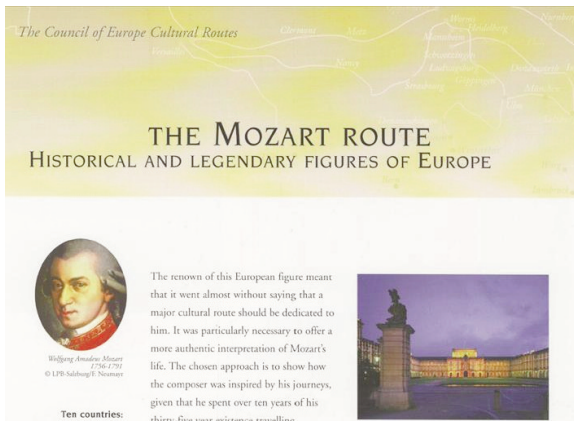


Fig. 1. The Mozart Route, an example of many routes prepared by the Council of European Cultural Routes³.

territories (Transromanica, Phoenicians, built geography in the Alps), as well as a number of historic roads and routes, including the Viking raids, the Hansiatic League trade routes, pilgrim routes, and Roman roads such as Via Regia (Council of Europe 2014).

The Council of Europe's programme also includes historic routes through Europe that are based on various narratives and biographies in the landscape which connect to historic figures such as the travels of Charles the Great or Mozart, or even fictional characters such as the travels of El Quijote, the wandering legend created by Cervantes. In the Council of Europe's understanding of heritage are literary (fictional), mythical and historical figures and events becoming a common reservoir for present experiences of the historical landscape. Cultural routes are also defined by historic narratives associated with ethnic groups and communities of shared culture on the move through European landscapes. Many of the projects under the Council of Europe's programme have perspectives on migration, which resembles a unified concept of culture similar to that of the 'Kulturkreise', accepting diffusion as a mode of cultural expansion. Examples of this are the route that defines the original area and course of migration of the Castilian language in the Mediterranean region, the historical diffusion of garden/park designs through Europe, and the migration history of the olive landscape within the Mediterranean area⁴.

³ Pamphlet from the *European Institute of Cultural Routes*, under the heading *Historical and Legendary figures of Europe*, accessed September 2, 2015, from http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_do_downld.php?ref=00003707/00003707.pdf&saveas=8.%20Mozart.pdf

⁴ Council of Europe 2014. Other projects under the Council of Europe's programme which examines relationships of movement and peoples' territories are difficult to immediately understand as designation of cultural route, for example, 'the Jewish peoples' heritage' as a cultural route (a distinct Jewish archaeology and history in Europe) or 'European migration history' as a heritage defined by cultural routes.

During the 1990s, UNESCO also commenced with the inclusion of routes under the context of a shared universal World Heritage. Both natural routes (e.g. the migration of birds) and cultural routes of various kinds (e.g. the Silk Roads, the slave routes) are currently included in international strategies for the protection of a world heritage related to migration, also called 'heritage routes' (ICOMOS 2002, 2008).

A notable year for cultural routes was 1993, when UNESCO policy recognised heritage routes through the nomination of the 'Santiago de Compostela' pilgrim route – the first route that gained a World Heritage status. During the expert meeting the following year, it was noticed that there was a prevailing conceptual confusion about what might be included as a World Heritage route, and the need for guidelines was pointed out (UNESCO 1994).

In UNESCO's Operation Guidelines from 2005, 'heritage routes' were included in strategies for the protection of a World Heritage concept that related to historical migration and movement. In the view of ICOMOS, the criteria that defined a heritage route would be, "... the duration of the route, and perhaps how often it is used nowadays, as well as the legitimate wishes for development of peoples affected" (UNESCO-WHC 2005, p. 89).

According to the World Heritage Committee, a 'heritage route' will, in other words, be identified by omnipresent needs connected to contemporary uses of the route and the people's wishes. However, the practical implications of this strategy must be considered. There are characteristics that relate to how values are engaged and acknowledged, which differ from more traditional 'cultural' sites. This connects with a broader trend of inscribing transnational World Heritage 'cultural' sites that has grown considerably this century. With the exceptions of the Jesuit Missions of the Guaranis (Brazil and Argentina, 1984) and the Historic Centre of Rome (Italy and the Holy See, 1990), all cultural transboundary sites have been inscribed since 1999, starting with the Belfries of Belgium and France. Since then, there have been 14 transboundary cultural sites inscribed on the list (Council of Europe 2014). Whilst cultural sites and their management had previously been related to specific nation-states, transboundary sites had long been the case for natural World Heritage sites, but only where geographical features cross national borders. Several of the transnational cultural sites do not overlap modern borders of nation-states, but encompass narratives embodied in different countries, such as empire defences, prehistoric Pile dwellings, outposts of trade and enterprise, and cultural routes.

Although sites of memory were once thought to be fixed, the designation of routes and transnational sites complements a plurality and

mobility of discourse that can affect the ways in which sites are perceived, managed and presented (as discourse that is multi-layered and negotiable). Heritage sites are not necessarily defined by the physical location, but by a community or event that connects them, such as the Frontiers of the Roman Empire (inscribed as World Heritage in 2005, expanding the original Hadrian's wall site from 1987, and comprising Germany and the UK) that could potentially span a range of sites through its narrative arc. The tentative list currently includes a nomination for Viking Monuments and Sites, intended to span six nation-states, which relates to the dispersed remains of early maritime society (UNESCO 2011a).

This growing trend of routes and transnational sites offers a range of solutions and challenges to the differences between public values at local, regional, national and international scales. The opportunities for international cooperation are also evident. However, the extent to which the focus on transnationality and mobility remove the emphasis from individual sites, fixed physical entities and state parties is difficult to determine. Furthermore, the transnational concept of 'routes' has the potential to imply a more uniform approach to management that subsumes regional diversity, which can present new challenges to embodying values of geographically disparate sites. The need to include an over-arching narrative framework may marginalise some sites or narratives, and create dissonance between different parties involved. The idea of shared public values is a complex one that could potentially be complicated further by bridging different sites in this way. Are those sites or regional-specific values maintained or submerged? This comes with political implications of dominant discourse and limiting perspectives on the individual sites. Despite the potential benefits that transnational routes can bring in communicating public values, they cannot be taken for granted and some considerable challenges can be identified in the creation of such sites.

We will consider the way transboundary routes are defined, expressed, and represented in terms of their impact of public values using three examples of heritage sites that focus on transnationality and mobility. We will discuss the challenges connected to deciding what is to be included in and excluded from a transnational heritage inscription in order to examine how overarching narrative might influence the definition of the site using the recent World Heritage inscription of the Silk Roads; secondly, we will describe the potential for dominant narratives to narrow or sanitize the diverse public values that are represented the European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH); and finally, we will consider the problems of valorizing heritage that subtly reinforces narratives that legitimize a problematic political and cultural identity by examining the Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes. The examples will serve as a

background for discussing the relationship between global or international heritage strategies, and local uses and interpretation of heritage by building up a picture of some of the challenges involved and also the potential for problems to emerge. The three examples denote routes connected to commerce, social history and religious (political) heritage, presenting a broad selection of the kinds of heritage themes that have been addressed through transnational heritage sites. They also represent a range of organising bodies and geographic regions that have been influenced by the advent of transnational routes, from the recent and ongoing serial nomination of the Silk Roads World Heritage Site to the earliest route of the Council of Europe's programme, the Pilgrim Routes. Moving backwards allows one to see the contemporary challenges of decision-making and possibilities for international cooperation, but also the consequences of fundamental problems that have emerged over time.

2.1. Example 1: the Silk Routes

The complexities in creating a transboundary site can be seen in the serial nomination of the Silk Roads World Heritage site. Designated in 2014, The Silk Roads site – a network of land routes and settlements that fostered two-way commerce between East Asia and the Mediterranean for two millennia – is currently represented by Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and China. However, a number of other state parties could eventually join, including, amongst others, Afghanistan, India, Iran and Japan. Because of the complexity of the site, and the number of countries involved, a serial-nomination approach has been adopted to allow manageable, incremental increases. It also helps navigate some complex issues. The increased complexity, in comparison with single sites, requires a serial nomination. This is likely to be the case for many transboundary sites, as it can lend further flexibility to a process that moves away from the static nomination of physical sites. Some of these complexities will be discussed below.

There are many routes that are connected to the Silk Roads network. Some 54 corridors have been identified by the interested state parties (UNESCO 2011b), including buffer zones, so considering the scale of the site is complex. There are different interpretations on the breadth of the Silk Routes, with a split focus of scholarly interpretations on either Central Asia, or a wider interpretation encompassing India and Europe. Furthermore, the amount of evidence for the existence of sustained trade varies amongst routes (Whitfield 2007), so the extent to which one can be sure that a site was part of the Silk Route system is often arguable. This is a complication that is not experienced in static, single locations, as there is a risk of individual sites being erroneously included



Fig. 2. A section of the Silk Road: steep, curved stretches of road in Zuluk, Sikkim on the Silk Route from India to China (photo: Soumya N. Ghosh. Used with permission).

or excluded from the inscription. As well as these variations, there are changes to the routes over the centuries and also seasonal differences in routes due to river swells and other climatic phenomena (Williams 2012). This has led to a network of roads that fluctuate in their usage. Consequently, there is not necessarily always a single defining route that can be used to represent the site.

An addition to this complexity is that, although the early trade moved through the Taklamakan land route, much of the economic activity became maritime over the period of its usage. This included some northern and eastern countries in Africa, such as Egypt, and also Greece (Whitfield 2007). As an acknowledgement of Marco Polo's role in the western narrative of the 'Silk Road', Italy could also be included. An advantage of the serial nomination is that transnational sites are not rigid, as a single nomination might be. However, these countries have not yet been represented in meetings. Academic debate in the definition of the routes has focussed on the geography and politics as much as the economic activity, which (possibly in conjunction with the coinage of the term 'Silk Road' in 1877) has shaped the definition to feature land routes spreading eastwards from Central Asia (Whitfield 2007). The nomination documentation tends to refer to 'routes', but the name of the inscribed world heritage site is The Silk Roads. The Taklamakan region is the basis of the first stage of the serial nomination, which represents common ground between divided opinions on the extent of the Silk Route network. Although it is in some ways misleading to isolate land from sea, decisions have to be made and this has involved an initial focus on the nucleus of the network. The narrative arc has the potential for negotiation and adjustment from this point.

Defining nodes for the routes is not an exact science (Williams 2012), as there are many practical considerations. One matter is that some regions have many sites and some stretches have very few sites that can be directly related to the Silk Routes, so representation can be uneven. As well as this, some of the most famous and well-preserved

sites have their own specific narrative, and gaps are also prevalent in other regions. The routes include sections of the Great Wall and the Magao grottoes, which have already been inscribed as World Heritage (indicating that a single site can be part of two narratives).

Another challenge is the differences between regions, since some areas are very distinctive and have their own geo-cultural systems that do not necessarily connect with a grand over-arching narrative. Conservation efforts related to the Silk Routes in the past have focussed on technical issues, noting that a shift to conservation on a scientific basis was “both inevitable and desirable” (Cather 1997, p. 82). However, this offers a uniformity that supersedes regional variation. Again, difficult decisions must be made in order to progress.

As well as the different speeds at which state parties can progress their nominations for such a huge site, there is national legislation to consider. This can also move at different speeds, have different expectations and vary in infrastructure for support. This has included discussion of revising national laws “to achieve the desired standards of preservation” (Vileikis 2016, p. 518). At the extreme end, the western terminus of the land route is largely agreed to be Palmyra, Syria, which is a World Heritage Site. The political challenges of inclusion here have been present for some time, but this has been exacerbated with recent conflict and destruction of the site. Again the definition of what is considered part of the site faces challenges that are hard to accommodate.

The Silk Roads transboundary site is highly ambitious and has interest from a wide range of countries, which demonstrates the desirability of the outcome. However, it still requires decisions that limit the scope of our understanding, based on fixed geographical parameters (despite the lack of a single site), contested interpretations and the smoothing of a narrative that dynamically changes over time and place. Decisions about how to represent public values through designation are made in complex environments. This takes considerable effort to manage. The process has undergone intensive documentation, which has required significant funding from varied sources and numerous studies (Vileikis 2016) that will allow for further inclusion and adapt to change. This project outlines the amount of work and support necessary for success in developing a transboundary site.

The influence of these designation decisions on public values will be difficult to detect as the infrastructure grows. Whether smaller narratives become submerged, and the extent to which a more flexible approach can accommodate change (even removal of specific locations), can only be revealed over time. This exciting and ambitious endeavour demonstrates the challenges, possibilities, and also the work involved in the nomination of a transboundary site.

2.2. Example 2: European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH)

Industrial European Routes were established in accordance with a series of initiatives taken by European political and administrative bodies, and was one of numerous EU-funded projects on industrial heritage (e.g. ReSource, SHIFT-X, Second Chance. See SHIFT-X 2013, pp. 3-4). The ERIH initiative is based on a model that was developed in Germany in 1999; the *Ruhr Route der Industriekultur*. This route was designed to lead visitors around the industrial heritage venues of the Ruhr region, linking all the outstanding sites together. Many of the disused factory sites were transformed into lively venues and attractive centres for cultural activities (Buckley 2008). The economic basis for this initiative was secured with funding from various European Interreg programmes (1999-2008). A network was formed during this period between partners from Germany, The Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (2003), which in 2005, lead to the formal establishment of *the European Route of Industrial Heritage*. David Buckley, the coordinator in the UK during the period 2004-2008, described the objective of ERIH:

... to use the potential of European Industrial Heritage for stimulating sustainable local and regional economic development in the former industrial regions. This includes raising the profile of industrial heritage; improving the economic potential and attractiveness of former industrial sites; establishing industrial heritage as a European tourism brand; developing cross marketing approaches between industrial heritage sites; and increasing the numbers of visitors to them (Buckley 2008, p. 3).

To achieve these goals, three target areas were chosen: branding, marketing and promotion, and spatial development. The emphasis on the latter was made through three channels: formulating national Anchor Points in a series of European Countries, developing 'Regional Routes', and also 'Theme Routes'. The Anchor Points are sites of national or international importance, chosen according to agreed quality criteria. They are, according to Buckley, 'the best and most attractive industrial sites' (Buckley 2008, p. 3). In 2009, 72 Anchor Points were established and more than 800 sites had been identified in 32 European countries as potential Anchor Points (Soyez 2009, p. 43).

Soyez (2009) has questioned the extent to which transnational linkages that justify many of the European funded projects can succeed in establishing a European character. He bases his arguments on a close-up study of ERIH, and claims that the objects and sites included are



Fig. 3. The ferry "Ammonia" (1929, protected 2009) is an important link between Notodden and Rjukan, two neighboring industrial towns based on easy available hydroelectric resources. They were assigned status as World Heritage Sites in 2015 (photo: NIKU Sveinung K. Berg).

designated as European simply because they are located there. According to Soyez, it is essential to bring forward a broader perspective on transnational issues (Soyez 2009, p. 49). His main criticism, however, concerns the way the industrial heritage is presented: The dark sides of European industrialisation processes are seldom properly represented, which result in industrial heritage being pictured as 'sanitized heritage'. The point he particularly calls attention to is the role that industrial enterprises have played during wars. There is no focus on the 'disquieting realities of war and occupation or the ordeals of prisoners of war or forced labour'. According to Soyez, there is an abundance of industrial sites that will evoke dark memories across Europe. He uses this as an illustration of the dissonance that much heritage holds. In his article, Soyez identifies alternative ways of thinking about and representing industry in the heritage field (Soyez 2009, p. 44).

The European Industrial Heritage Route can be seen as one of a series of initiatives that took place to rejuvenate resources from the industrial era, which were becoming dilapidated. Many of the other enterprises were local, small-scale initiatives that started up as matter of necessity for artists and for small-scale craftsmen requiring cheap workshops (Berens 2011). Together they have succeeded in creating an understanding of the potential that such sites hold.

However, there is always a risk in heritage work for producing highly reductive versions of history. When the agreed criteria in ERIH were 'the best and most attractive industrial sites', it gives reason to raise fundamental questions about what narratives are being selected as representative when old industrial sites are being rejuvenated, and what impact these criteria will have on the understanding of industrial pasts and contemporary culture. The majority of industrial buildings and structures, in the city, town or countryside, will depend in the future upon new, appropriate and imaginative uses. Industry has played an important role in the formation of individual and collective identities, but there is 'a need to move beyond the documentation of machines and the history of technology, to create stories that highlight the individual and collective social experience of industrial worlds that are now fading, but still cast a long shadow over our post-industrial lives' (Symonds 2005, p. 53). The history of these places has a potential that can be incorporated into new ways of activating historical knowledge. On both the individual and collective level, identity formation takes place within the interplay between present day occurrences and past experiences.

2.3. Example 3: pilgrim routes

A heritage concept based on routes does not just disseminate the tourist gaze (cf. Urry 2002) of a diverse public. The narration of routes is the subject of present regional or continental political uses of the past, where identity and societal development are significant factors at stake. A Pan-European concept of identity is, for example, expressed in the way trans-European Roman road history is used to create legitimacy for present trans-European road planning projects (Guttormsen 2007).

The concept of 'cultural routes' is, however, also used for more educational supranational goals of identity politics. For example, a focal point of the Council of Europe is the idea that:

...the heritage of the different countries and cultures of Europe contributes to a shared cultural heritage. The Cultural Routes put into practice the fundamental principles of the Council of Europe: human rights, cultural democracy, cultural diversity and identity, dialogue, mutual exchange and enrichment across boundaries and centuries⁵.

In similar terms, UNESCO states that its heritage routes are about migration, cultural encounters, and exchange of global communication.

⁵ Council of Europe's website Culture, heritage and nature, Council of Europe Cultural Routes, accessed March 4, 2016, from http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/default_en.asp

Their conception of these World Heritage Sites expresses the idea that they represent universal human values; how concepts related to travel can be a source for dialogue and reconciliation. As articulated by UNESCO:

a). The concept of heritage routes is shown to be a rich and fertile one, offering a privileged framework in which mutual understanding, a plural approach to history and a culture of peace can all operate. It is based on population movement, encounters and dialogue, cultural exchanges and cross-fertilization, taking place both in space and time. b). The nature of the concept is open, dynamic and evocative, bringing together the conclusions of the global strategic study striving to improve the recognition within Heritage of the economic, social, symbolic and philosophical dimensions and constant and countless interactions with the natural environment in all its diversity (UNESCO 1994).

The above-mentioned world heritage intentions correspond with the personal motivations identified by many hikers when they describe how cultural routes function as sources of healing through *walking*. The experience of walking these routes provides new spiritual, philosophical and religious experiences for them, and the opportunity to meet people who have similar needs - the longing for a deeper meaning of life. In this context, pilgrimage denotes a 'cosmopolitan longing', meaning the search for the individual to be included as a citizen of the world. This was for instance the central theme of the motion picture 'The Way', written, directed, and produced by Emilio Estevez (2010).

Despite good intentions, the concept of heritage routes can be a concept that excludes before it includes public groups. Selecting the 'Santiago de Compostela' pilgrim route as a case study, Sven Grabow (2010) demonstrates how the political intentions of using the pilgrim route to create bounds and connections between people and countries in Europe can, in reality, produce the opposite effect. A pilgrim is a person who prepares or makes a journey to a holy place for spiritual causes. Pilgrim comes from the Latin word *peregrinus*, meaning 'stranger' or 'foreigner' (literally one who has come from afar).

According to Grabow (2010), pilgrim routes like the 'Santiago de Compostela' promote a policy that is based on an obsolete concept of cultural identity that is constructed on the basis of a narrative that defines 'a European Christian world'. As a pilgrim route, the narrative promotes a geopolitical history of Christianity that disseminates a 'Fortress Europe', which is separated from the Muslim world ('the

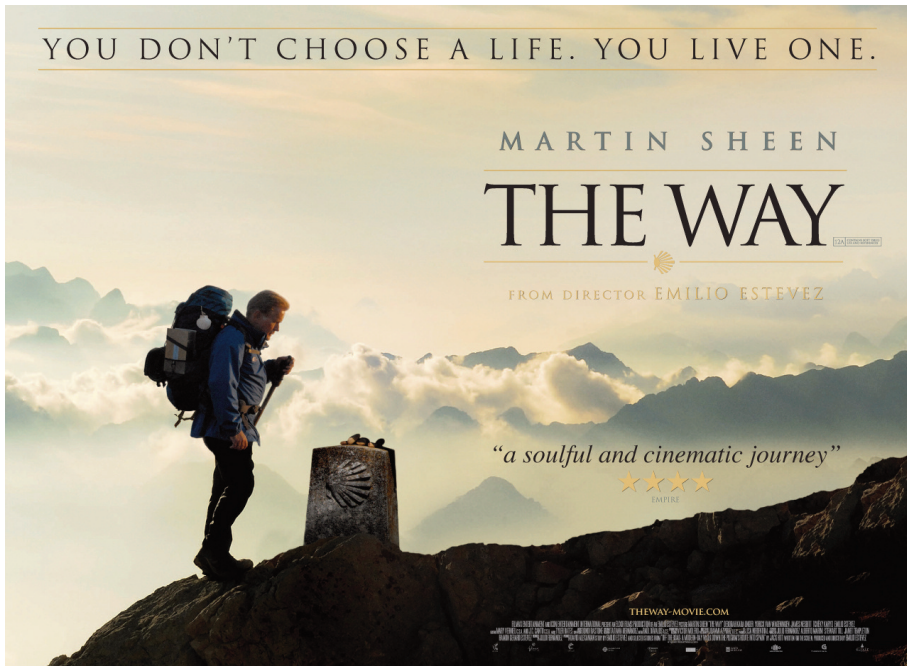


Fig. 4. The Way (2010). Mourning after the loss of his son, Tom goes for a pilgrimage from the Pyrenees, to Santiago de Compostela in the north west of Spain. While walking The Camino, Tom meets other pilgrims from around the world, all broken and looking for greater meaning in their lives (retrieved from <http://filmmusicreporter.com/2011/>

Other'). In this context, Islamism would be understood as synonymous with the historic invasion of a Christian World and therefore is represented as the 'barbaric', aggressive, and destructive threats to European culture and the core ideals of Christianity.

An unintentional result of the routes such as those analysed by Sven Grabow is, therefore, that Pan-European ideas of heritage based on the pilgrimage concept do not contribute to the good intentions and the spirit of the Council of Europe's policy, which is to promote multiculturalism and cultural diversity that, historically as well as today, define European culture. According to these critical arguments, the Pilgrim project does not comply with the shared values that define European ideals and the principles of identity today, which are about religious tolerance, openness, inclusion and cultural bridge-building. The statement may however be modified since pilgrim routes produce not only a singular grand sanitized narrative, but also multiple narratives that include many perspectives, from local to supranational political framework.

3. Discussion and conclusion

The concept of heritage routes and transboundary sites has generated several questions about how the vision that is put forward in heritage policies relates to how these routes are managed in practice. We will now consider some of these discrepancies between policy and practice. Although there are positive outcomes, great care must be taken to identify the lessons of the past.

One of the main reasons for developing a heritage concept based on routes and transboundary sites was to meet the demands of increased tourism. These intentions have potentially gained added economic values for local heritage industries and other businesses that can take advantage of the stream of tourists travelling these routes (see Lois-González et.al 2014). The extent to which the implementation of heritage routes causes prosperity among local communities using heritage to attract the tourist market remains to be seen, although a limited number of large companies benefitting from these projects is a distinct possibility. Heritage routes projects have provided a platform for the local cultural heritage management to gain a voice in what should be important heritage seen from the perspective of the traveller. European heritage projects have been a tool for promoting heritage that is valued on a local scale to gain influence for a wider user group (e.g. Council of Europe 2013, p. 1, 4). Based on this, local businesses and political bodies meet public demands by implementing commercial rhetoric, rhetoric that takes advantage of an often sanitized (stereotyped) narration with public appeal and where the past becomes a popular and branded cultural product. Heritage routes fit well with political motivations of using heritage for promoting economic sustainability. Sanitization can serve as a tool for exclusion as much as inclusion, as shown when the dark sides of European industrialisation processes are poorly represented in the selection and narration of heritage routes. Processes of exclusion by sanitization also contain another challenge when it is used for promoting cultural identity; that of disseminating shared public values.

Although there is the potential to link diverse values in new ways, which has great benefits, the notion of transboundary routes does not necessarily remove emphasis on static, physical entities in practice, and ideas of heritage can be displaced in different scales rather than synergized. 'Roots' (place attachments, inheritance, and ancestry) and 'routes' (migration, diaspora, and transitional memory cultures) are both concepts that define how heritage becomes the means for creating shared public values (Gustafson 2001). Whereas 'roots' have usually been connected to the symbolic repertoire of the nation, the symbolic content of 'routes' has been associated with the trans-boundary, trans-nationality, internationalism, and

globalism. The latter fits well with the World Heritage concept, whereas it seeks to embrace cultures world-wide and across boundaries.

Nevertheless, movements of past peoples have, as a heritage concept, become a resource in legitimizing present-day geopolitical ideologies (e.g. the European Union, the United States of America) and cultural-political connections (e.g. Silk Roads as means for renewed East-West collaborations), and for creating shared identity in present societies (e.g. being 'European' or 'Nordic'). The emphasis of heritage routes on disseminating grand narratives of nations (or other cultural-territorial distinctions) could promote ideological projects of unified identity through stereotypes, where a concept of 'routes' that distinguishes the authentic or original becomes the essence of 'roots' that symbolise the nation-state.

The example of heritage routes shows an important aspect regarding what happens when heritage is created from below (Robertson 2012); the personal experience of being on the move becomes a social resource that maintains inter-human needs which conceptualises being connected in the wider world. These are complex matters, however, also the uncertainty over the extent to which heritage routes can operate as expressions of shared, public values. How far heritage routes could be considered a forum for promoting hybridity before purity – in other words, where public participation is defined through shared, but separate, identities – is important to consider. That should include narration about cultural blends within (for instance) nations or regions that are made by movements and transcultural connections. Ensuring that public values at all levels are considered takes considerable planning and work from many parties during the designation of a heritage route and long after.

With the advent of this relatively new phenomenon, a lot of questions remain in terms of the ultimate impact of connected routes. These are issues that must be monitored and considered over time, such as the impact on local communities and the ability for transnational sites to adapt. Over-arching narratives may offer compelling connections, but the implications on local values and communities need to be examined over time. Although these narrative structures can expand or be renegotiated, the socio-economic impact on the communities that surrounded these smaller sites must be ignored. How negotiable are those narratives over time, and do they bring state parties together, or simply shift the borders to exclude different groups? Can these sites change their physical markers and boundaries over time, especially if new information is revealed?

Perhaps more than other kinds of site, routes require a balance of top-down and bottom-up processes, and balance between scales of identities (e.g. national, regional) with each factor having the flexibility to accommodate the other. Without this flexibility, advantages of multiple narratives and sites can be diminished.

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