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Sammendrag
Dette er en rapport som oppsummerer de mest relevante innspillene og diskusjonene som ble presentert under det internasjonale seminaret med tittelen Contentious heritage, i dag. Nye kamper, nye utfordringer, arrangert av KoS-NIKU 7., 14. og 21. oktober 2021. Seminaret samlet en gruppe internasjonale forskere med bred ekspertise på omstridt kulturarv som forskningstema som innledet hver sesjon samt deltakere fra forvaltning og fagfelt for å diskutere spørsmål rundt dette emnet som del av prosjektet Contentious heritage as a social process – deconstructing the Y (YCON).Denne rapporten oppsummerer strukturen til hvert seminars økt, introduserer gjesteforeleserne (f.eks. bakgrunn og interesse for emnet under diskusjon), temaene som ble utviklet i hvert seminars økt, og dens endelige konklusjoner. Som endelig levering av selve seminaret (WP1-D2) er målet med denne rapporten å belyse innsikten opparbeidet gjennom seminaret som et bidrag til å kvittere ut leveransen som er lovet i beskrivelsen av YCONs WP1.

Abstract
This is a report summarizing the most relevant topics insighted by the expertise on contentious heritage during the international seminar titled *Contentious heritage, today. New disputes, new challenges*, organized by KoS-NIKU on the 7th, 14th and 21st of October 2021. The seminar gathered a group of experts in the theory, management and social outcomes of contentious heritage and the heritage of contentiousness to openly discuss the issues surrounding this topic, and to the project *Contentious heritage as a social process – deconstructing the Y (YCON)*. This report summarizes the structure of each seminar's session, introduce the guest speakers (e.g., background and interest in the topic under discussion), the topics of developed in each seminar's session, and its final conclusions. As final Delivery of the Seminar itself (WP1-D2) the aim of this report is to provide the most relevant topics insighted by expertise on contentious heritage to fulfil the requirements of YCON's WP1.

Emneord
Skriv her

Keywords
Contentious heritage, Y-block, conservation, consensus building, dissonance, urban development, people-centred valuation

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In the context of Task 2 of WP1 an international seminar was organized on the 7th, 14th and 21st of October 2021. The seminar was titled *Contentious heritage, today. New disputes, new challenges.* It aimed to gather a group of experts in the theory, management and social outcomes of contentious heritage and the heritage of contentiousness to openly discuss the issues surrounding this topic, and to provide a rich reflection background for YCON project, *Contentious heritage as a social process – deconstructing the Y* (2021-2023). The seminar has been organized around three sessions, each of it focusing in one aspect of the topic under discussion.

The seminar had a dialogue format where two guest speakers introduced each session topic from his/her perspective, and then a chairperson discussed the topic together with the guest speakers, as in a dialogue. After invited assistants participated in the debate posting questions or comments to the guest speakers. Each session lasted ca. 2 hours and due to COVID-19 travel restrictions/uncertainties each session was hold online (via Teams). Each session was recorded, and the videos are now part of the YCON project archive and accessible via NIKU Norway's YouTube channel at:

https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLg4Z4NbX2JIvmau2hKCnVH8G-k7CRTr0_

The seminar was organized by Laia Colomer under the supervision and assistance of Sveinung Berg. Around 20 persons from different parts of the world attended each session and participated with questions and comments (in the Teams chat).

This report summarizes the structure of each seminar's session, introduce the guest speakers (e.g., background and interest in the topic under discussion), the topics of developed in each seminar's session, and its final conclusions. As final Delivery of the Seminar itself (WP1-D2) the aim of this report is to provide the most relevant topics insighted by expertise on contentious heritage to fulfil the requirements of YCON's WP1.

Innholdsfortegnelse

1 Sessions' content design and guest speakers

The first session, October 7, 2021, was titled *The origins of contention/Where does contention lay?* And was designed to explore issues on both the politics of contentiousness, and the politics of contentious heritage, focusing on the following questions: What is it actually contentious? Is heritage contentious, or is the process of valuing heritage that is contentious? Is heritage the top of an iceberg hiding political contentious processes beyond heritage? Or is heritage another element/expression of (political) contentiousness? Is contention an expected (desired?) reality in heritage valuing? Or is contentiousness an inherent nature of any democratic processes? Are there levels (or stages?) of contention? If so, how they affect/are expressed in heritage? Are there different levels of contentious heritage? If so, what these levels represent? Where contentiousness occurs?

For this session two international scholars were invited:

John Pendlebury. He is Professor of Urban Conservation, at Newcastle University, UK. His research also focuses on conservation values and social purpose and the way this translates into strategies of management. This work divides in two topics: the interface between cultural heritage policy and other policy processes, e.g., social inclusion & regeneration; and, how the planning and architectural qualities of historic cities are balanced with modernising urban and cultural forces. See
https://www.ncl.ac.uk/apl/people/profile/johnpendlebury.html
Initially we asked Prof. Pendlebury to give his insights on both the politics of heritage in conserving, regenerating, forgetting, de-listing, revalorizing, and demolishing cultural heritage, and the interface between contemporary cultural heritage policy and other urban policy processes in decision processes of conservation/demolition/redesigning heritage elements.

Tracy Ireland. She is Professor of Cultural Heritage at the University of Canberra (Australia), and Director of the Centre for Creative and Cultural Research. Tracy is known internationally for her research on heritage practice, ethics and the social values of heritage and she has published on the archaeology and heritage of colonialism in Australia, New Zealand, and in Cyprus. See
https://researchprofiles.canberra.edu.au/en/persons/tracy-ireland

We asked Prof. Ireland to comment of the heritage ethical issues surrounding these practices and how heritage ethics help to define what is contentious or uncomfortable in heritage, and vice versa, how contentious issues define the ethics of heritage in conserving, regenerating, forgetting, de-listing, revalorizing, and demolishing particular aspects of cultural heritage, and how these decisions create tensions.

The second session, October 14, 2021, was titled *How to manage contentious voices? / How to manage voices in contentious heritage?* and it was designed to discuss issues regarding power relations in contentious heritage and the management of conflict in/throughout heritage, and how democratic societies articulate accountability of top-down decisions processes. It aimed to explore questions like Who are the "involved parties"? Who decides who is an "involved party"? Do all voices have the same value? How disfranchised voices speak and are listened? Are different ways of valuing the contentiousness depending on the actors involved? Which values are more valid, and for what/whom? What is the role of heritage managers/expertise when dealing with contentious heritage or heritage immersed in contentious situations? How to avoid polarization when managing contentious heritage?

For this session two international scholars were invited:

Stacie Nicole Smith, who is Managing Director at the Consensus Building Institute (US), where she has more than 20 years of experience as a mediator, facilitator, coach, trainer, and researcher on a broad range of public issues in the U.S. and internationally, including the heritage sector. She specializes in facilitating highly complex and contentious multi-party disputes around substantively challenging technical issues, where identities, values, and interests intertwine. See https://www.cbi.org/about/bio/stacie-nicole-smith/

Initially we asked Dr Smith to give her insights in relation to conflict resolution thorough the practice consensus building in multi-sector communities. We have invited her to specially discus on the crashes of imposing a power-based approach in heritage disputes in democratic societies more in favour of developing interest/needs-based approaches to conflict resolution.

Trinidad Rico. She is Associate Professor at the Department of Art History, and Director of Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies, at Rutgers University (US). Her areas of

research in critical heritage studies include risk, Islamic materiality, ethnography and the vernacularisation of heritage discourses and expertise and heritage ethics. She has been ethnographically exploring both the professional narratives of heritage-at-risk and the socio-cultural, historical, and political agendas behind post-destruction narratives. See https://arthistory.rutgers.edu/faculty-menu/full-time-faculty/492-trinidad-rico

We asked Dr Rico to comment on the position of the expertise in these processes of consensus building (or its absence) in heritage decision making regarding, particularly in the role of stakeholders and expertise in defining heritage values, and how disputes on heritage values affect public authorities' decision-process on the preservation or destruction of cultural heritage.

The second session, October 21, 2021, was titled *The uses of contentious heritage for society*. This session will focus on the public vision of contentious heritage, evaluating how different stakeholders use contentious heritage once this is conformed in practices of tourism, memorialization, identity, and education, among many. Therefore, this session aimed to answer questions like: What should be the (expected?) role of heritage in contentious situations? Does contentious heritage act as a unifying force, or does it foster divisions (and disaffection towards heritage)? In which way it does unify and/or divide; and why, or how? How can contentiousness foster or detach the public from participating in heritage matters? Does contentious heritage help to revaluate contentious situations? Does contentious heritage help people to reimagine different futures?

For this session two international scholars were invited:
Dacia Viejo-Rose. She is Associate Professor in Heritage and the Politics of the Past at the University of Cambridge (UK). Dacia's research interests lie particularly how cultural heritage can be a vector for violence both as a target and instrument - including dynamics threat, fear, anxiety, uncertainty, and risk. She is particularly interested in how cultural heritage is used, and abused, during armed conflicts to divide, exclude, and intimidate. She regularly collaborates with NGOs and international organisations on matters of cultural heritage, especially as they relate to conflict and humanitarian interventions. See https://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/directory/dv230
Dr. Viejo-Rose was asked to examine contentious issues from the aftermaths of heritage management decision process. Particularly to further reflect on both how actually terms

like 'reconstruction' or 'reconciliation' apply to contentious heritage, and on what are the effects on the parts (citizens) involved of simply accepting the decisions taken by authorities even they do not agree on the terms or proceeds.

Siân Jones. She is Professor of Heritage at the University of Stirling (Scotland). Her research focuses on the role of the past in the production of power, identity, and sense of place. Her early work focused on the archaeology of ethnicity and the invention of national traditions, whereas today her work focuses on the politics and practices surrounding social memory in local communities. These themes intersect with topics like cultural significance, social and communal value, authenticity, conservation practice, and community heritage. See https://www.stir.ac.uk/people/257398

We asked Prof. Jones to add to this dialogue her experience regarding the uses of contentious heritage for the community building. Particularly on how heritage and the forum that generates conflict situations intensifies processes of community belonging and/or excluding, or of producing, reproducing or redefining community identities and boundaries.

2 Session 1. The origins of contention/Where does contention lay?
Session chaired by Kristin Bakken, manager-director of NIKU.

2.1 Summary of JOHN PENDLEBURY's introductory talk
Short overlook to the origins of contentious heritage:

- Contention around heritage has always existed, even before scholars started to study it.
- From 1980s the topic reached heritage studies, basically when heritage was acknowledged academically as a social construction. See Turnbridge and Ashworth 1996 and Smith 2006.
- Issues like post-colonialism, cultural and political identities (in the 1990s) and political allegiances and populism (today) are on the basis of many contention layers in heritage.
- Examples of today: war of statues and BLM.

Uncomfortable heritage, as the notion to consider in relation to the use, re-use or destruction of (listed) buildings: the act of reuse buildings makes uncomfortable heritage because reuse involves giving buildings new uses as well as new meanings. It creates changes both in the fabric and the heritage narratives, which not always are welcomed (e.g., Shanghai Municipal Council abattoir 1933; Pendlebury, Wang & Law 2017). See also Joseph, Kearns and Moon 2013 on the notions of strategic forgetting and selective remembrance.

2.2   Summary of TRACY IRELAND's introductory talk

Prof Ireland analysed the notion (origins) of contestation focusing on the ethical intersection between affects and values, based on Australia ICOMOS Code on the Ethics of Co-existence in Conserving Significant Places 1998, and the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance 1988 (known as the Burra Charter). Her talk draws also on the Australia's post-colonial and Aboriginal dispossession/rights context, where two affective intensities emerge, that of pride and shame in relation to Australian colonial past and the encounters with Aboriginal people. The key question pointed by Ireland was: "*How heritage practices/methodologies and heritage listing frameworks dealing with the materiality and the meanings of heritage (using methodologies like significance assessment) deals with the contestation driven by emotions that actually the heritage itself spurs up?*"

Basically, she argued that emotions must be also understood as a driver in social conflict in heritage studies. Whereas heritage managers seem to be well equipped with tools for manage competing or contested issues in heritage (i.e., following the recommendations of both the Burra Charter and the Code on the Ethics of Co-existence), these are not present among the general public: "The embedded heritage management and mediation processes ultimately have proved to be effective at the stakeholder level [after Burra's notion of significance and the advocacy of community involvement, and to allow the co-existence of contested narrative in heritage]. At national level of political media discourse these processes had very little impact on how the debate played out, and how these debates where actually tiring nation's issues [of pride and shame] on colonial history" (Ireland)

Contentious processes in heritage have then become publicly and ethically accountable. And yet, controversial, emotionally controversial (after Thrift and Ahmed on the politics of transpersonal affects). In the case of colonial Australia, emotions of pride and shame, which have driven public disguise on how, for example, the Museum of Sidney interpreted the archaeological remains of the first government house (1788): protesters argued that the Museum was not celebrating enough the national founding and the national founders.

To answer the key question posed early by herself (see above, in italics), Ireland points out that heritage studies need to acknowledge the emotions and desires that its raises, but not only to analyse or record them neutrally (as representing the past, for example, in terms of desire of recognition, of reparation, of social justice, for visibility) but "to enact a 'here-and-now' in which museums and heritage places are instrumental in shivering people and to reveal how these emotional intensities coexists".

During the **debate after their presentations** several issues were raised:

- Is there any kind of typology of contentious heritage, as it seems that some heritage places are more contentious than others?
- Ownership as a source of contentious
- Heritage listing as a source of contentious
- Is contentious binding or dividing society?

The potential of contentious is everywhere and in each heritage asset but not always is manifested neither is significant or profound enough to come up. In the context of the cases raised during the previous presentations (UK and Australia) it is clear that contentious are to be track back to legacies of unsolved pain of the consequences and loss of the British Empire Generally speaking then it is in relation to today's politics of colonialism and post-colonialism.

Issues of ownership, in this context of post-colonialism, roots directly to Western/Capitalism and non-Western understanding of attachments (i.e., land occupation and property vs. belonging and emotions to place)

Issues about listing heritage assets as a source of conflict relates to Smith's notion of AHD: listing have influenced and mediated the impact of capitalism and power in heritage

discourses. And yet, these listed places not necessarily are the most relevant or significant to people, on the contrary.

If contentious heritage is binding or dividing society will depend on how it is understood and managed. Tracy Ireland declares that heritage has potential to articulate sustainable futures and of becoming a creative force for social futures.

3 Session 2. How to manage contentious voices? / How to manage voices in contentious heritage?
Session chaired by Laia Colomer, NIKU.

3.1 Summary of STACIE NICOLE SMITH's introductory talk
Dr Smith noticed that she does not come from academia, but she is a practitioner. She and the Consensus Building Institute (CBI) work as mediators and facilitators of collaboration when parties are on disagreement but aim to solve the conflict.

The sources of conflict over (public policy) heritage are:
- Incompatible interests: i.e., who gets what (allocation of resources), and how to balance conflicting priorities.
- Disagreement over 'facts': i.e., what happened (in the past), what is valid (sources, methods), what is legitimate (is it 'true'), and what it means (how is it interpreted).
- Classes of values: what is worthy/unworthy; what is right or wrong, and who has moral or legal right to do something
- Relationships and identities: sense of disrespect, historic tension or wrongs, lack of trust, misperceptions among groups, and identity-based polarization.
- Process challenges: lack of/insufficient voice or representation, unequal control of power, authority and resources in the process; time frames not matched to pace demographic, economic and political change; and gap between knowledge between the people are making the decisions and those that know about the resources under conflict and the conflict itself.

Accordingly, CBI has categorized three categories of stakeholder concerns:

1. Interests: underlying desires or needs that individuals and groups aim to achieve. This concept is very different (and it is aimed to be separated) from the notion of possession, what is a thing that you aim to be an outcome to be. In the case for example, of the 2020 'war of statues' in the US, a possession is to wish the statue to be removed/stayed, whereas the interest lay on why these statues should be removed/stayed.

2. Values: Deeply held views about the way the world is or should be.

3. Identities: Frames that members of a group use to name or describe themselves. For example, which groups you identify with.

Once you have this range of contested history or heritage, what we actually do. That is in the field of strategies for responding to that conflict. We could operate unilateral, either from a power perspective (authority and administrative power, by lobbying, by election changing political representatives, by violence, or by civil protest and grassroots power) or from a right claim process (exercised either legally in court or by moral appeal). We could also operate from negotiation, collaboration, and consensus building, which is the framework that CBI operates. This is not to say that the power or right claim approaches are wrong approaches cause sometimes those are the right process to have an outcome. But sometimes these approaches are less likely to lead to achieve a fair or sustainable solution. So the, there is this other approach that tries to put all the parts together and tries to reach a solution that will work in the near future. This is a process by which parties, with conflicting and compatible interests, seek a mutually acceptable agreement to reach, a voluntary agreement on a decision or transaction. This works specially when the parts in conflict have some kind of compatible values. It the parts are purely conflicting, if there is no space for compatibility and no interest in values, could be very difficult, if not impossible, to reach any kind of agreements. In fact, this becomes requirements for consensus building process.

Introduction a set of frameworks for collaborative approaches to managing conflict over heritage, that is how CBI does consensus processes, to reach agreements voluntarily. CBI follows the Mutual Gain Approach (MGA). MGA is a process model that lays out four steps for negotiating better outcomes while protecting relationships and reputation. A central tenet of the model, and the robust theory that underlies it, is that a vast majority of negotiations in the real world involve parties who have more than one goal or concern in mind and more than one issue that can be addressed in the agreement they reach. The

model allows parties to improve their chances of creating an agreement superior to existing alternatives (Susskind 2008. See further details at https://www.cbi.org/article/mutual-gains-approach/ and https://www.bie.edu/sites/default/files/documents/idc2-087657.pdf).
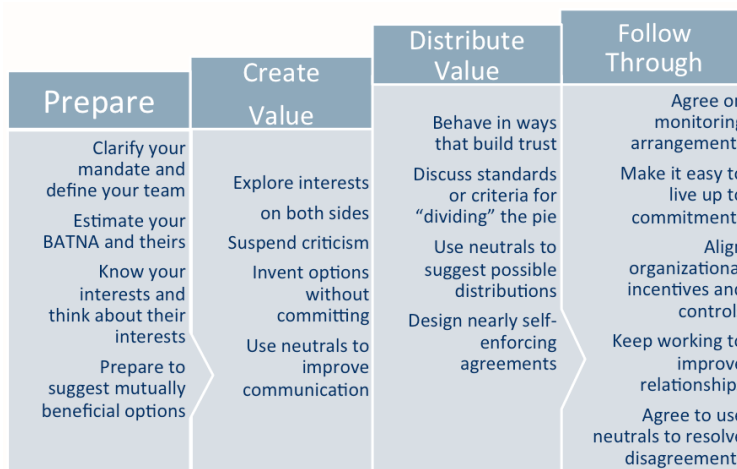
MGA is a four-step model set in a sequence:

1. Preparing effectively: analysing what is really important to each party and imaging what be possible as outcomes during the negotiating table and after the negotiation table.
2. Creating value: this moment is not about sitting and negotiating, it is beyond the negotiation table or of generating options to negotiate. It is separate from any kind of already possible agreement. But it is about generating as many possibilities as you can for potential solutions.
3. Distributing value: evaluating the options and start narrowing which set of options could be more valuing so we can live with it, and on which basis we do this.
4. Follow through: happening during the process itself not as an evaluation after it. It is about asking how it will be implemented and what might go wrong, or what could be the challenges to be face.
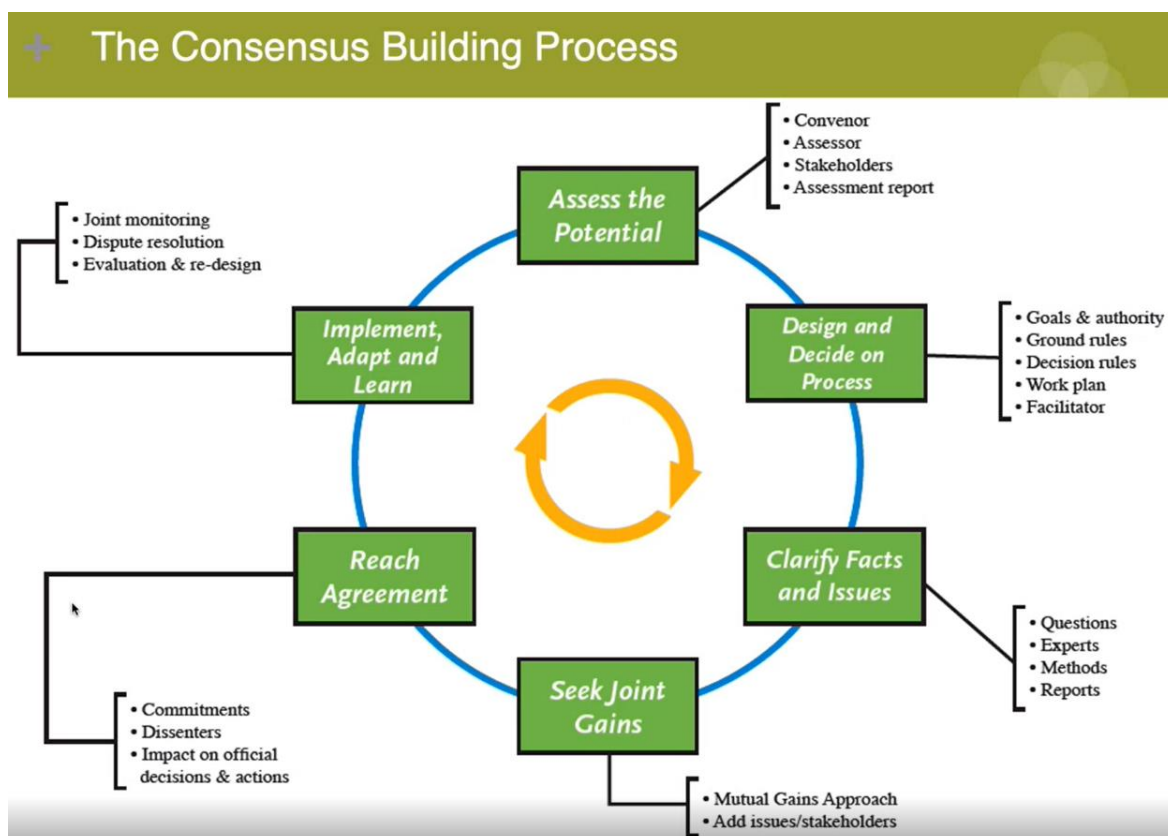
Key elements of MGC:

- Moving from positions to interests: from "here is *what* I want" to "here is *why* I wanted it". Basically, is to ask, "what is important to you?". Once we arrive to the underline motivations, it is easier to find solutions or to compromise options;

- Understanding BATNA (=Best Alternatives to a Negotiated Agreement): to know both what are the options that are in the table, and those that are away from the table. The latter value those that are actually possible in the table, but also they provide the best alternatives to negotiated agreements (like Plan B);

- Inventing options without committing (← creating value): asking "what if…"

- Jointly developing criteria for making decisions: "how we based these decisions on?"

- Preparing 'predictable surprises': asking "what might it go wrong?".

- Using contingent agreements: ways of managing uncertainties about the future.

- Self-enforcing mechanisms, joint monitoring and dispute resolution: "what we do to be sure that we work together?

Prepare	Create Value	Distribute Value	Follow Through
Clarify your mandate and define your team	Explore interests on both sides	Behave in ways that build trust	Agree on monitoring arrangements
Estimate your BATNA and theirs	Suspend criticism	Discuss standards or criteria for "dividing" the pie	Make it easy to live up to commitments
Know your interests and think about their interests	Invent options without committing	Use neutrals to suggest possible distributions	Align organizational incentives and controls
Prepare to suggest mutually beneficial options	Use neutrals to improve communication	Design nearly self-enforcing agreements	Keep working to improve relationships
			Agree to use neutrals to resolve disagreements

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Tools for responding to contested heritage' situations:

- *Situation assessment*: diagnose process in order to get the right people into the right conversations in the right ways. It requires a neutral examination and analysis of a conflict/issue/situation (= learning what is going on here, what are the parties' interests). It is based on confidential interviews with stakeholders, and mostly include helping stakeholders to identify the key issues, understand their interests and those of other, clarify their range of initial options, and determine whether and how they might engage constructively with each other. In the heritage sector this

process in not basically report on the history of the site (the true) but more on the perception of the site by stakeholders (values, significance).

- *Joint Fact-Finding*: a collaboratively process followed for dealing with differences on how we see facts. Facts are mostly used by each side of a conflict to back up their views ("the truth") and easily the situation ends up in a sort of "duelling scientists" process where each 'truth' is confronted, and more data is added to favourably support each truth (= biased assimilation of knowledge). The interest here is to come together to agree on what the facts are in a very explicit and collaborative way. The base is that the facts here are not making the decision but to inform the decision, so that we have a legitimate set of facts, a set of fact that people all see as legitimate, and credible and salient together.

- *Consensus building*: the heart of the MGC model for how CBI seeks alignment and build agreement across diverse interests. It brings together representatives of all key stakeholders to identify issues of concern, to clarify underlying interests and values, to develop value-creating options, and to evaluate and decide among a range of options. It leads also to outcomes that are wiser, durable, and more acceptable. It has 3 key characteristics: it is *inclusive* (include all viewpoints but also has the presumption that participation will influence the outcome); it is *informed* (it develops and rely on the best information available, and provides equal opportunities to share views and mutually learn); and it is *deliberative* (people listen to each other and explore the rationality of competing views, at the same time that they frame the solutions and work together to solve problems).

- *Process support*: a tool for dealing these processes, that is, neutral assistance to promote meeting engagement and manage conflict.

3.2   Summary of TRINIDAD RICO's introductory talk

Dr Rico started noticing that she is very much interested in exploring the unsuccessful of these conflictual encounters rather than analysing how they succeed. In fact, critical heritage studies has longer focused on the irreconcilable differences, and is more interested in voicing and analyse (and therefore to teach to students, that is future managers) what actually might happen when managing heritage in conflictual contexts.

One of the first elements that Dr Rico aimed was to challenge the notion that we need to accept that consensus is necessarily achievable. This narrative has dominated heritage discourses for decades. And, secondly, she aimed to remember us that consensus remains as a sort of idealistic goal because it has not been proven to work in the meaningful way that matters for heritage studies. So, her presentation showed examples that dramatically did not work, and argue that the actual lack of consensus has not been incorporated into our problem-solving mind.

Historical review of the complexity of consensus seeking:

To recognise that since 1960s the language in practice of heritage conservation, preservation, and management in the international arena has been that of consensus, and never that there are initial contested situations, and that any solution could be also a contested solution. For example, UNESCO's work is wrapped with the idea of universal human values and very little embraces the idea of heritage values by different interested groups. Here there has been a careful manicure of dissonance that makes it out of the scope of what UNESCO is going to work on. Examples like Abu Simbel (Egypt) when nations were gathered to coming together with a solution for the sake of humanity shows these statements of universal values drive consensus, but also the tens of conventions, recommendations and standards based on the idea that consensus is a 'natural' process in heritage making. In fact, the language of heritage management itself implies a self-evident agreement around relatively strict ideas of significance.

To recognise that this management language around consensus pre-dates most of the most serious cases of irreconcilable conflict that we have witnessed. So that means that most of the international conventions/agreements have been shaped without having any conflict in mind. The first decades of 21st century has instead witnessed several situations

where consensus was not in the agenda, like the destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan (Afghanistan, 2001) or other forms of conflict situations like the reconversion of Hagia Sophia (Istanbul, Turkey) from being a heritage place to a place of cult. These last decades are characterised by a deeper awareness of the consequences in heritage and its management of colonial and post-colonial thinking. This raises key issues on the idea of consensus: that multiple heritage values exist and need to be hierarchized one way or another. It is not so much about the recognition of competing values, as this might be the easy part, but to figuring out where heritage preservation as an ideology stands in relation to the fact that it had to be hierarchized. In this new scenario thus, we have an increase degree of uncertainties regarding consensus, and this comes across with concerns about heritage ethics which generally question the ability of heritage experts to mediate dissonances in the ways that consensus was previously approached. It is a crucial and humble turning point moment for reflecting on what it is the role of heritage managers in these decision-making processes, and our power capacity.

Since the 2000s heritage management has then turned into the management of heritage values (e.g., de la Torre 2002). Here the basic principle now in that "the views of experts, citizens, communities, governments, and other stakeholders can be voiced and compared more effectively" (Mason 2002: 9). However, the major aspect that is problematic in the way we think that producing this dialogue is the idea that everyone is invited to this inner circle of decision making. The theory and protocol of stakeholders' value-based assessment has been clearly designed but mostly is difficult to put in practice which ends up undermining the full consensus mission. For example, how to identify the stakeholders to invite to the inner circle of decision making? Or what happens when the discriminated stakeholders are not willing to participate in the circle of decision making, when they intentionally refuse to show and expose their authority in the process? There is so little literature in our field to help us to discriminate who are interested parties. It has been over simplified that stakeholders will manifest themselves, that it has not been clear how to identify them if they do not manifest or only few do (then lack of representation of voices).

So, the value-based assessment process raises already some epistemological concerns that undermines the consensus ideal in itself: we have basically an issue with heritage methods. In fact, the existence of a corpus of methods in heritage studies is still very primitive. And as a result, heritage methods, generally speaking, maintain consensus as

a benchmark, with little consideration for failures from the ontological position as a discipline for preserving the past, and epistemologically, as in finding our (neutral) position in the inviting spaces [inner circles] for debating the conservation and management of heritage. Altogether undermines the possibility of an equity assessment of values.

Another element to consider is the power position created by the fact that it is the heritage manager the one in charge in defining the inner circles, those spaces where other voices are to be listened. And this is so because as heritage managers our primary goal (our professional's ethic ethos) is to preserve cultural heritage, which not necessary might be the primary aim in the case studies affected controversy, especially when the contentious lays in the intention of precisely destroying the heritage under debate. So, we might think of heritage manager as another of the stakeholders, instead of as the one who invite the parts that need to come into dialogue.

Another element to revise is that if we consider that consensus is the natural process in heritage management, then 'negative heritage', that is the heritage that shows contentious or polarised positions, is an anomaly, not something that it is actually embedded in all processes of constructing heritage. Calling something negative heritage raises different interesting issues:

- It calls for intervention, that is to put the controversy on the table and to take decisions that need to be argued
- It also indicates a responsibility for heritage expertise to find some kind of resolution
- To be aware that the evaluation of heritage values will also come into trouble, and it can lead to non-satisfactory outcomes but at least ones that people can bear.

During the **debate after their presentations** several issues were discussed:

- Are heritage managers ill-equipped when managing contentious voices around heritage places because they are only concern with the managing of the historic place? Should heritage managers be heritage mediators? Dr Smith comments that actually building consensus is a very complex process, time and energy consuming which includes very many skills and expertise. Next, heritage manager might need to accept the resulted outcome is not necessarily maximum

preservation. If the goal of the heritage managers is maximum preservation, then it might be that MGC is not your tool because it might not be shared by all, and therefore be a matter of negotiation.

- Scales of conflict: Are there degrees of conflict, that is moments when consensus is possible because the conflict has not escalated to positions where negotiations are impossible, and moments when it is impossible to negotiate anything because the radicality of the positions, and therefore decisions are taken through exerting power? It does not mean either that everything is negotiable. And also, that with consensus building process one will change people's strong willing of doing something (like destroying a heritage place). To make consensus building operative all parts need to agree that things need to be negotiated and that in this negotiation the parts will give up some of their priorities. Consensus building is a place to figure better outcomes when stakeholders are stock in contentious situation. In extreme situations however, there must be some counter benefit (not necessarily in heritage terms) that might help the parts in conflict to come to the table, talk and negotiate.

- Stakeholders invited to the table sometimes have been seen by heritage managers as the way to avoid later problems, for example when (heritage) decisions are taken. In these cases, there is a power difference. Dr Rico therefore expresses her reluctance to the efficiency of these supposedly 'consensus building' processes. Other experiences have been those of inviting the stakeholders to the table, and then telling (aka teach) them what the values are, which is a form of ideology transfer. In these kinds of consultations there is then a lot of epistemological, linguistic, and ideological dissonances, even if they are mild (in terms of language) and other deeper (like naming the values). So, the steps described by Dr Smith consensus building are very valuable as operational processes, but anthropologist will find these tools very problematic in terms of truly communicating with somebody else's value system, because by the time that the value in question finally enters into the circle of consensus building process, it has so much been "massaged" into a value that speaks to the heritage management world/ landscape and it does not seat as a value in a neutral space that communicates to all parts.

- Traditionally it is seen that in contentious heritage the problematic is the stakeholder (e.g., the local community, the local religious authority). Instead, in so

many cases, the problematic is actually the international heritage community imposing views on heritage management more related to Western conceptions of heritage conservation, and not willing to give these conceptions up. Accordingly, we have very little cases where, for example, destruction was a good decision, or at least to see destruction or not doing anything, for example, as one of the options on the table. And if happens, then it needs to be excused as part of an extreme ontological (religious) reason. Said this and acknowledging these scenarios described by Dr Rico, Dr Smith adds that the solution to these problems is precisely on the process, on how the tables are constructed, on how the engagements are constructed. So, after listening the critique, then the question that raises is what is the alternative to consensus building is, is there any better option to consensus building in a conflictual situation. Consensus building is so far the answer, even it is not perfect and needs to be improved assuming that nothing is pure and crystalline, and clean of political interests.

- How we do find missing voices in contentious processes?: The answer is very dependent on the situation. Mainly, is about mapping, meeting stakeholders, asking them for further needed/missing voices, and so on, amplifying the circles as broadly as possible.

4   Session 3. The uses of contentious heritage for society.

4.1 **Summary of SIAN JONES's introductory talk**
Prof Jones talks started making some blond points from which her presentation was building further:

- All heritage is dissonant.
- Every day's dissonance produces ongoing frictions and tensions.
- Contentious heritage should therefore be seen as one end of a spectrum, as part of one of the conflict but not separated off.
- More entrenched conflicts often emerge when heritage is mobilized in respect to identity, memory, place and belonging.
- Understandings of loss, thread and (in)justice heighten conflicts, especially when these relate to issues of identity, belonging and memory.

- ‘perspectivism’ is the dominant way of understanding dissonance and contentious heritage but we need to look also beyond because dissonance and contention derive from different conceptions of the object of conservation.
- Different matters of concern and care, produce multiplicity in respect to the conservation objects. So, we cannot only thinking on meanings and values in relation to the asset under debate but also in terms of conservation of the object of debate.

The talk continued with a case study, the Glasglow Cathedral. It will help to highlight some issues of interest here. The building is highlighted as one of the [religious and pilgrimage] finest building in Scotland to survive from the 13th century" (Statement of Significance by Historic Scotland 2005). But the building has also a religious significance for the congregation or visitors of Christian faith: the sense of being where God is present, the sense of a continued place of worship and faith. Two senses: one anchored in the past, a building of medieval faith, and the other anchored in the present, as a place of existing and practised faith. Senses that might create frictions and tensions ("without the congregation it will be only a beautiful shell", or the fact that wax candles were forbidden due to conservation reasons, upsetting the congregation) but also might be combined (e.g., Christian faith from the past until the present). So, the topic raised questions on whether it was a matter of static preservation or dynamic preservation: how one blends them together without them bumping into each other. Here there are different perspectives, with different value, meaning and identity interest conflicting with other perspectives, significances and interests. There are multiperspectives and values, and what perspectivalism does is leaving the physical (the building, the fabric, the artefact) on the top, or alone, as untouchable in the middle of the circle, and leave the rest of perspectives as those to be negotiating their values, meanings and identities accordingly (after Mol 2002). The object is the same thing ultimately in this model. But even to it there are different ways of understanding its care. The heritage manager will aim to protect and keep it as its historical value is understood, whereas the congregation care of the building as a place of faith, and this might include both other forms of embellishment (like commissioning new pieces of painting, sculptures, stained glasses, etc.), and include other furniture to help the congregation to feel comfortable while praying.

Another example is the village of Hilton of Cadboll (north Inverness, Scotland) and its cross slab, which illustrate issues on memory and identity. The 9th century slab stands

today in the Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh), whereas the remains of the chapel and enclosure are in Hilton of Cadboll. Until the 19th, the slab was at Invergordon Castle before sent to the British Museum, and then recently repatriated to the Museum of Scotland. Meanwhile the village has a strong sense of loss and marginalisation, socially and economically, that the missing slab was both representing the feeling and increasing it. Also influenced by the fact that other villages in the surrounding have their cross slabs but Hilton of Cadboll did not. So since early 1990s there has been a popular movement to move the slab to the village. As the Museum of Scotland not allowed its repatriation to the local community, a replica was commissioned in 2000. But in 2001 archaeological excavations recover the missing parts of the original slab. This produced more conflict on what is going to happen to these new parts: to send it to Edinburg or stay in Hilton. Narratives related to the ownership of this object were on belonging and identity, putting it as a symbolic figure in the community. The metaphor behind the slab is that it is pieced, it was moved and then repatriated but still standing away from the community, like the population of Hilton itself. So, Hilton's slab and the conflict around it is serving the local community to signify and address senses of loss, memory-work, and place-making still going on. But also, to see retrospectively justice for past wrongs, even the object is not directly associated with the historic conflict or the context of the painful memories. But it is also about future-making, thinking through alternatives futures.

4.2   Summary of DACIA VIEJO-ROSE'S introductory talk

In order to talk about the uses of contentious heritage for society, Dr Viejo-Rose presented Guernika case study (Basque Country). As all civil wars, the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) was about 'us' and 'them', creating divisions, and where heritage is instrumentalized to create or reinforce these divisions. The town of Guernika was bombed in April 26, 1937 by the Franco's fascist factions. The town itself was relevant before the bombing, in terms of daily life but also because it was relevant historically: the hearth of Basque political democratic identity and civil liberties in front of the Spanish ruling elites, symbolized by the Oak of Guernika. So, the destruction in 1937 was not only aimed to hit the civil population but also the symbolic capital of the town. This plurality of levels put also the interpretation on the motivations of its destruction, and its symbolic

meaning, into different (sometimes confronted) angles, depending on what heritage's monument is to be emphasized: war target cause a gunfire factory, Basque nationalism, civil rights, the Republican government, peace, etc. Guernika has thus different regimes of memory ("Guernika in Guernika") that merge and emerge, a fragmentation of different themes and interpretations, uses and relevance. And here, the facts matter but they matter to a point, but in terms of heritage the fact matter less than the interpretation of the facts, what people think happened, why they think it happened. Also the interpretation of the facts and what elements of the significance of the heritage shift also in the present, depending on current relevance to present situations. Each year, Guernika is memorialized because and for different reasons depending on the political and social context. And in this process, other narratives/facts can be neglected because they clash with those narratives that are relevant in each particular moment (e.g., the gunfire factory known but not 'remembered' enough)

From this case study, 4 main issues were concluded:

1) Dissonance in heritage is unavoidable (hence so is contestation), and trying to avoid it is futile. This creates an ostrich phenomenon exemplified by many international organizations when managing the heritage of humanity try to cover dissonances and try to de-politicize something that is fundamentally political. So, igniting dissonance can actually ignite tensions, frustrate expectations, and result in violent confrontations because heritage is sometimes used as a proxy space for other conflicts.

2) Problematic dissonance results from singular narratives clashing and competing, not from plurality. Dissonance is not necessarily problematic. It becomes problematic when a particular reason is the only identify. And one of these reasons is singularity, that is, when there is only one heritage narrative, and it is imposed. Heritage dissonance becomes problematic when heritage management is seen as a zero-sum struggle over a scarce resource rather than as multidirectional, that is, subject to ongoing negotiation and cross-referencing.

3) Interpretation can make dissonance part of the appeal of heritage. Interpretation as the associative value of heritage has become more important than (static) protection and authenticity (see Sarr & Savoy 2018, Rothberg 2009, Pantazatos 2015, Mouffe 2013).

4) Dissonance can be productive and constructively harnessed, if it does not manage to fix essentialisms. How can heritage in contentious could be productive? There are different ways of answering this question. First, the perceived harms (past and on-going) can be heard through heritage, and could be useful to both discuss openly how these legacies continue to affect people in the present (that is, it is not about discussing if it was right –in the past, but how that affects the present), and help to shape inclusive decision-making about the future. Secondly, plurality is not a thread to heritage: it is not necessary because it is plural that is dissonant. However, the question necessarily when managing this conflict is instead whether are there limits to this plurality? can we include every voice? Are there voices that are too offensive, violent, aggressive that cannot not be included?. And finally, in order to be available to carry and made possible the productivity of contentious heritage, we need to acknowledge that heritage is not only a rational but also an emotional and political process. We cannot simply rational it, and not allowing the emotional and the political to be included. We need to engage with that level and pretend that we are rational, and heritage can only be rationalised.

Dr Viejo-Rose argued then for understanding heritage as an ecosystem, where everything is connected and you cannot talk of a particular (in Guernika, the painting, the bombing, the place, etc) without refereeing to each other and to each and polysemic symbology (peace, nationalism, place-making, etc.).

During the **debate after their presentations** several issues were raised:

- What is the relation between dissonance and contention? (Prof Jones) Affections and tensions of every day around heritage cause cannot imagine heritage without forms of dissonance, and these forms of dissonances they produce different meaning and values, and so the question becomes when the disagreement is incommensurable. But research shows also that people move in and out of these positions, including understanding each other's positions and being stock in one position. It is useful then to think of places going along a spectrum because it requires us to rethink what heritage is at root, rather than to say that there is some kind of contest there. It is not about competing narratives and perspectives; neither is about defence of meaning and narrative. Taking it to a post-human direction, it is about what that does to the very objects that you are caring for. And

here, Prof Jones says that she is using the term care strategically keeping in terms of being in care, because there is an ethics and a politics of caring. By caring, they are making it into slightly different object that very much intersects, and that is where the frictions and tensions arise, but nevertheless a different object with different futures associated with that. So, in order to negotiate conflict to need to recognise that, one cannot only negotiate different narratives and meanings. One needs to understand (and accept) that you are doing something different also to the material thing.

- Dr Viejo-Rose answers the question on the position of heritage experts. We need to reconsider where the heritage expert seats, as in some many cases the heritage expertise does not seat with the people that "wear the hat", that is, live daily with/in the heritage place. Instead, the expertise seats with the people who are dealing with heritage conservation or management. It is relevant to consider that heritage places are mostly daily spaces, and therefore decisions made on the heritage affect daily live aspects of citizens living near or in heritage places. But we need to consider not only the fabric and its conservation and management in terms of daily live, but also to consider of the symbolic of the heritage: maybe it is not about a wall, or an old building, but it has generated a relevant symbolic capital for the community. And the symbolic capital is also self-divided between different values, different levels, and different interests. It is all about of bringing people into share practices. Prof Jones adds to this topic of the role of heritage expertise mentioning the need of distributing this sense of expertise among heritage managers and lay people, in terms of co-design practices of caring for heritage which recognises multiple forms of expertise (See also Crooke and Maguire 2018, on North Ireland where museums and heritage institutions worked on shifting issues on how has the knowledge and how to be listened, creating spaces for those to need to be heard by the others in the conflict, as in processes of co-creating narratives).

- In terms of co-designing practices of care, next to acknowledging conflict situations among the stakeholders, there are also contentious situations among the expertise themselves. They negotiate what to do, because only one action/intervention would be possible when caring for the heritage place or the object (in a museum). All this process is behind the scenes. And it is not only not recognised as dissonance or contentious but not screamed off. Neither it is seen

in the museum rooms open to the public or discussed as a final decision. So, it is interesting to recognise that there is dissonance and frictions all the time and everywhere, not only between stakeholders' and experts' views or among stakeholder positions, but also among heritage expertise and managers on their curatorial decisions (including the power and political relations). Worth then to critically refer curatorial decisions among expertise before heading to contention debates with stakeholders, and therefore avoid thinking that all dissonances exclusively laid in the spaces of interaction with non-expertise.

- One of the challenging of heritage is that we always offer the same language to mean very different things, and therefore it is encouraging to move away from protection and conservation and encounter care. Because protection raises the question of what you are protecting from what and from whom: are you protecting a narrative, and why it needs protection. Whereas in care one is caring for the object separately from the narrative.

- (Question from the audience to Dr Viejo-Rose): How do you see the process of coming to the point that the dissonant heritage is used in a productive way and is constructively harnessed? Who leads this process? Who initiates? Specifically, in post-conflict, post-war contexts where e.g., international community is present as a mediator between the conflicting parties. How can this process be productive and owned by the communities, and not only formal and often unproductive when it is mediated by the international community? Shall we have the courage to believe that this is possible at all?. The answer is definitely yes: if we do not have the courage to believe but it is also true that most of the times the so-called international community is a problem, cause it is still few decades behind in terms of understanding heritage. Last week examples [see Trinidad Rico presentation] showed that the problem laid in that they believe that the community speaks in one single and homogenous voice, that they tend to interact with spoke-persons appointed by them or by themselves (which are not often representative of the community), etc. But for Dr Dacia-Viejo the main problem is about time and consultation. It is not about someone else coming from the outside (the international community of expertise) and acting in the name of heritage conservation or reconstruction, in order to reconstruct or preserve, as much economically and efficient way (most of the time patronising way) for the heritage item per se, but to construct a local community of practice that can define and

create the heritage, and therefore own it. This process of co-creation in a participative way requires time and consultation. But also the sense that the curatorial action is not done for the heritage item, its conservation/preservation, but for the community, asking them what they want.

- Another participant commented and asked: "I think the distinction/relationship that Siân flagged between ethics and politics is important - pluralism and inclusion may be part of ethics, but bringing in power is what makes it politics, which is what actually matters in how things happen". Prof Jones commented on this observation by saying that part of the literature on care is useful to frame this topic because to allows to look at different ways at the parts involving the care of an object. And this relationship is embedded with politics because ethics and politic concerns always go together in practices (after Puig de la Bellacasa 2017), because what to do is both a political question and an ethical one (see also Tronto 1993, 2015). But it also is difficult to know what is 'best practice' in that notion, because what is a good or a bad care is always specific to context, in relation to and within relations of (people), to practices of doing, to specific logics and the ideologies of bad and good.

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6   Additional online material

http://www.1933shanghai.com/en/index.php?history.html

http://hiddenarchitecture.net/1933-shanghai-slaughterhouse/

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