Report from the 2nd International Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS), December 2nd – 4th, 2014, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

Michelle L. Stefano, Ph.D.
Assistant Director, Maryland Traditions, Maryland State Arts Council
Visiting Assistant Professor, American Studies, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
mstefano@msac.org

A sign at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, Canberra, November 29th, 2014. Author's photo.

Introduction

This report discusses highlights from the 2nd International Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS), which was held at the Australian National University in Canberra from December 2nd – 4th, 2014. The 3-day conference consisted of roughly 250 participants, and was diverse in scope and geographical focus. Sessions explored themes, such as heritage and human rights, memorialization and commemoration practices, heritage and 'authenticity,' heritage and multiculturalism, digital heritage, virtual mapping technologies, and critiques of heritage studies curricula, to name only a few. While each day comprised several concurrent sessions, I will focus on two

burgeoning areas of the critical heritage discourse that were well represented: critical examinations of the intangible cultural heritage (hereafter ICH) framework, shaped by the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and explorations of the connections between heritage and emotion.

Having completed my graduate and post-graduate work in heritage studies in Sweden and the UK, respectively, and now a proud folklorist working in the US, I am interested in how the theories and practices of folklore/public folklore can contribute to – and further enrich – the international heritage discourse, and vice versa. It has become apparent that a stronger connection between the two is needed, particularly in terms of a greater exchange of theories, methods, challenges, and approaches between US-based researchers, professionals, and students in folklore/public folklore (and related disciplines), and those researching and working elsewhere within heritage studies and its associated sectors. Indeed, strong overlaps can be argued to exist when taking into account the growing international ICH discourse.

As such, I have made it a priority to keep abreast of heritage issues, developments, and approaches at the international and national levels, as well as with respect to more local and 'alternative' initiatives from around the world. Similarly, I seek opportunities to share the work in which I have been fortunate to be involved at Maryland Traditions and the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC) with international audiences. In this light, I thank the American Folklore Society for supporting my participation in the 1st and 2nd international conferences of ACHS.

The first conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS), held at the University of Gothenburg (Sweden) in June 2012, served as the official "kick off" for ACHS and included over 400 participants from Europe and beyond. Eighty-four sessions were organized under topics ranging from World Heritage, 'dark heritage/tourism,' postcolonial heritage negotiations, and ICH, to sessions on nation-specific heritage issues. From urban to rural settings, and from international to local issues, papers examined the power relations involved in constructing, using, representing, promoting, and safeguarding heritage – from tangible to intangible, and what lies in between.

The association was established in 2011 by a group of scholars from the UK and Australia with the purpose of developing a "global network of researchers and scholars working in heritage and museum studies" in order to promote "heritage as an area of critical enquiry." Moreover, ACHS seeks a 'wider range of intellectual traditions, such as sociology, anthropology, and political science, among others, to be drawn on to provide theoretical insights and techniques to study 'heritage," in addition to other aims. [1] As noted, folklore and public folklore should also be included.

During the past two years, ACHS has grown, especially with respect to the number of national/regional chapters that have been established, including one that focuses solely

on ICH.[2] Inspired by the Gothenburg conference, I was able to co-found the US Chapter of ACHS in early 2013 along with James Counts Early and Meredith Holmgren of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (CFCH).[3] ACHS-US remains in its infancy; nonetheless, one of its main aims is to help strengthen the connections between US-based scholars, students, and professionals who are interested in heritage issues and practices and the international heritage discourse, which can be argued to be thriving outside of the US. As part of this, I organized a session on critical heritage studies and practices in the US for the Canberra conference, which at the time of abstract submission and approval, grew to also include contributions focused on these issues in Canada. This session, *Critical Heritage Studies in North America: Issues, Ideas, and Forward Thinking*, will be briefly examined later.

Critical Heritage Studies in Canberra

Before discussing the conference, it is important to mention that its location, Canberra, the capital of Australia, provided an interesting backdrop for many of the ideas of which the association seeks to raise awareness. Most significantly, Canberra is home to several national museums (and related institutions): the National Museum of Australia, the National Portrait Gallery, the Museum of Australian Democracy, and the National Library of Australia, which produces exhibitions, among others of national standing. Visits to these institutions provided opportunities to examine Australian Authorized Heritage Discourses (AHD) – or 'official' narratives of national identity and associated history – at work, as theorized by Laurajane Smith in her influential book, *The Uses of Heritage* (Routledge, 2006).

For instance, the Museum of Australian Democracy, which is located within the Old Parliament House, seeks to:

> Help people to understand Australia's social and political history by interpreting the past and present and exploring the future. We achieve this by: bringing alive the importance of Parliament in the lives of Australians; interpreting, conserving and presenting the building and our collections; providing entertaining and educational public programs; and providing a range of other services that enhance the visitor experience.[4]

The exhibition spaces, which are structured both chronologically and thematically, are centrally located and include several rooms (preserved *in situ*) that were used – up until the late 1980s – for parliament. As examples, exhibits are dedicated to conveying information about past Prime Ministers and significant political events since Australia's establishment as a colony in the late 18th century, as well as exploring concepts such as citizenship and equality, including historical milestones in the fight for Indigenous rights and freedoms.

Most interesting, however, is the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, which is sprawled out on a

portion of the building's front lawns, a mere couple hundred feet from its main entrance. The Embassy, a gathering of tents, makeshift homes, a pole with the Aboriginal flag proudly waving, and various protest signs, was established on Australia Day (January 26th) in 1972 by indigenous activists protesting the neglect of their land ownership rights (see Figures 1 and 2). Though it was inactive for a period of time in the 1980s, the Embassy has occupied the same space since 1972, and has developed up through today into a gathering space for both short and long-term residents who wish to raise awareness of a whole range of Indigenous issues. On one of the days I visited, I was able to talk with an inhabitant who mentioned that he had been staying there for the past two weeks.

Figure 1. A view of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy with Old Parliament House in the background, November 29th, 2014. Author's photo.

Figure 2. A view of the central portion of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, the Aboriginal flag and sovereignty sign, from Old Parliament House, November 29th, 2014. Author's photo.

It is important to note that, for obvious reasons, the Embassy took root before parliament moved to a newer building, and long before the now Old Parliament House housed a museum. In this light, I was curious to see what kind of relationship exists between the Embassy and the museum: are they completely separate, or does the museum engage with it, perhaps even working with Embassy inhabitants to help amplify their causes? It could be argued that for the museum, the Embassy – this living expression of democracy out on its front lawns – provides a tremendous opportunity for engaging with the many facets of democracy and citizenship in Australia, especially in terms of exploring Aboriginal political history and rights. Here would be a chance for the long-standing Australian AHD that has omitted Aboriginal narratives of history, culture, and identity up until recent decades within the museum and heritage sector to not only include this *living* heritage, but to recognize its equal importance as constituting Australian experiences and identity.[5]

Inside the museum, I had asked a staff member at the information desk if mention is made of the Embassy in its exhibition content. It was a good question, as he was unsure. I proceeded to look for any explicit connections and found little discussion of it despite there being an informative exhibit dedicated to historical milestones in the fight for Indigenous rights, as noted earlier (see Figure 3).[6]

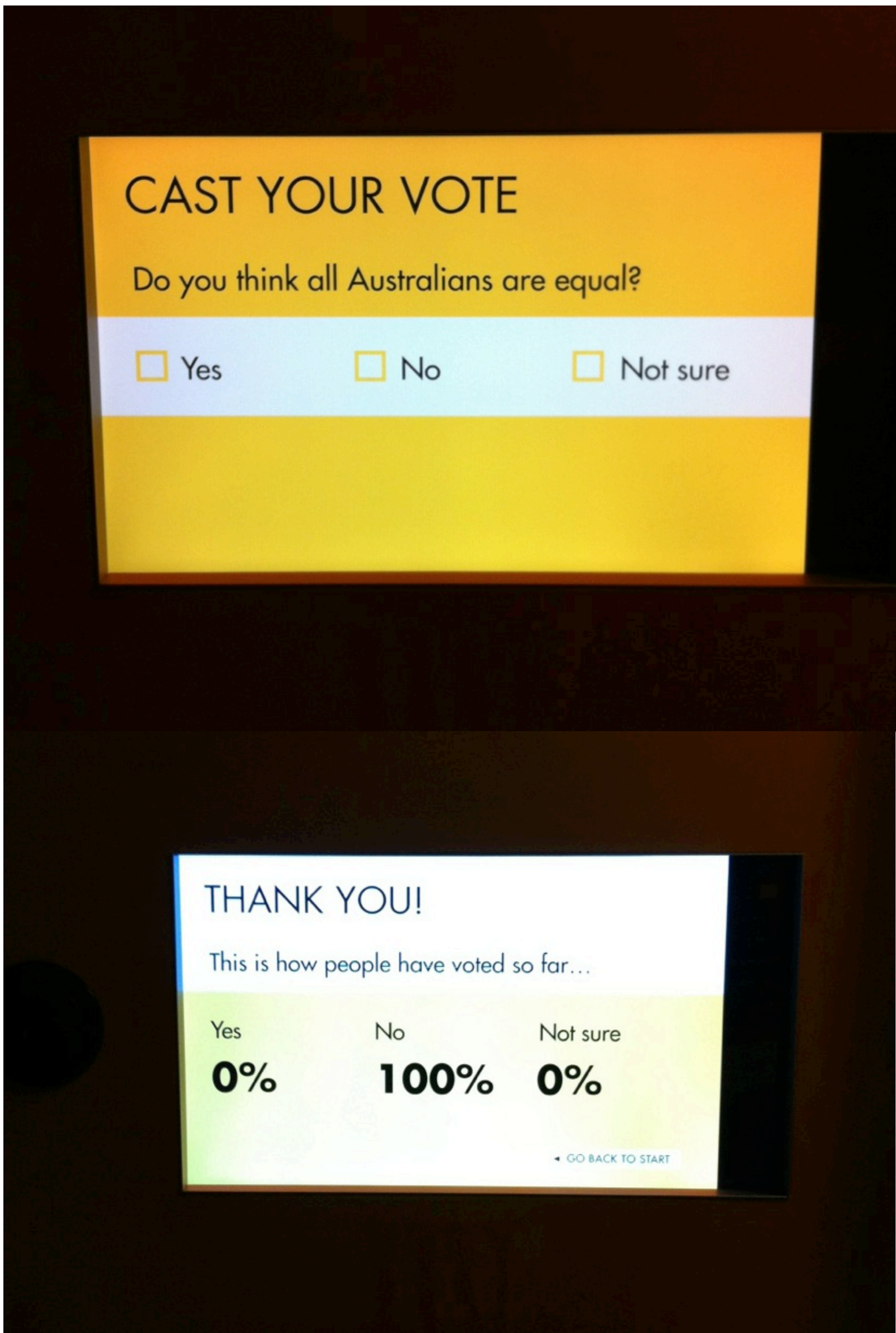

Figure 3. Before and after images of an interactive display in the exhibit dedicated to equality and milestones of the indigenous rights movement, Museum of Australian Democracy, December 1st, 2014. Author's photos.

While this was not an in-depth study by any means, many questions inevitably arose. It is interesting that the Embassy remains in its original place and did not move along with parliament, if that was at all possible. In a way, its presence outside of the Museum of Australian Democracy serves to politicize the museum space, whether that is desired or not. It reminds each and every visitor that there are ongoing issues that Aboriginal communities, groups, and individuals, as well as others, want addressed. Visits such as these underscore how political heritage is, especially in terms of the decisions that are made in its construction at the national level. Furthermore, these opportunities to informally examine the parameters of Australian AHDs at various institutions in Canberra complemented the themes of numerous papers at the conference. Presenters drew attention to the politics of heritage-making at various levels, and focused on stories, memories, experiences, and voices of 'hidden,' or neglected, heritages, including projects that seek to promote them, in a wide variety of geographical contexts and scales.

Conference Highlights: Critiquing ICH

Reflecting a popular thread within the current international heritage discourse, several sessions examined the promotion and safeguarding of ICH in its variety of forms, as well as ICH-making processes at local/regional, national, and global levels. Indeed, the ICH-related discourse is gaining momentum since its introduction to the heritage field in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Currently, 161 States Parties have either ratified and/or adopted the 2003 Convention, a fact that signals its potential in becoming a standardizing set of guidelines for conceptualizing highly specific living traditions, practices, and expressions and approaches to their safeguarding.[7] At the same time, thanks to these developments, great attention is being given to the importance of culture and its vast constellation of nuanced expressions, and how in the face of larger homogenizing forces we can help to ensure that they continue to be vitalized.

It is also important to support research projects that seek to critically examine the UNESCO-ICH concepts, principles, and processes. In order to better understand how living traditions can be most effectively and *appropriately* sustained for the future, it is worthwhile to investigate how the increasingly dominant framework for their promotion and safeguarding is unfolding, and who its key players are. This is especially pertinent at the local level where arguably ICH expressions are most often given their lifeblood. Additionally, since the adoption of the 2003 Convention, concerns have been raised about its vague wording pertaining to local-level involvement in its implementation;[8] that is, if communities, groups, and individuals embody their ICH, then they should be involved with its safeguarding at every step.

Examining these ideas further was a series of papers presented within the two-part (morning and afternoon) session, *Rethinking Intangible Cultural Heritage in Asia*. The Asian context provides ample opportunity for studying 2003 Convention implementation processes due to the fact that several nations, such as Japan, South

Korea, and China, have been involved with its development and promotion since before its enforcement.[9] Moreover, the three nations have successfully nominated numerous ICH "elements" for the two international lists of the 2003 Convention: the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* and the *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*.[10] Indeed, China leads the world with 38 listed elements, with Japan (22) and South Korea (17) not too far behind.[11]

One enlightening paper, *Rethinking "Community" in the Heritagization of Mazu Belief in China*, given by Ming-Chun Ku (National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan) investigates the process of nominating Mazu beliefs and related practices for inclusion on the Representative List in 2009 and, thus, turning a particular living tradition into state-mobilized and internationally-recognized ICH. As described, these expressions, which are anchored by legends concerning a particular sea goddess, Mazu, and were once viewed as superstitious and banned by Mao, are distinct to southeastern China and diasporic communities overseas, having been revived since the late 1970s. A key location for this tradition, as also stated by UNESCO, is Meizhou Island, where it is believed Mazu lived in the 10th century.[12]

As outlined in Chapter 1.2 of the 2012 *Operational Directives*, a companion document for guiding 2003 Convention implementation and related activities, when nominating a living tradition for the Representative List, the "element has been nominated following the widest possible participation of the community, group or, if applicable, individuals concerned and with their free, prior and informed consent."[13] In this light, Ku examines what constitutes the 'community' of Mazu belief in relation to this consent requirement of the nomination process – that is, who consented and why?

In terms of nominating certain living traditions for ICH recognition, Ku briefly took her audience through the process within the context of China. She noted that the dossier, or nomination file, typically originates at the provincial level via "local actors" who most often hire cultural experts and/or scholars to compile the needed information based on the UNESCO-endorsed criteria, including the gathering of community consent.[14] Indeed, it is uncommon for local actors to "understand the criteria" and produce the dossier themselves, according to Ku. From there, the file is passed to government representatives in Beijing who 'decide on the quality of the dossier on the basis of its ability to compete' with other dossiers put forward (in China). Ku argued that the dossier preparation process entails a certain "cultural translation": that is, the file represents a form of Chinese AHD whereby "state-mobilized" concepts and language, deriving from the global UNESCO-ICH framework, are utilized for describing and arguing the importance of the living tradition at hand. On this note, one might wonder if there is a budding – albeit niche – market for compiling ICH dossiers within China due to the fact that, as mentioned, it is very active in proposing traditions for international recognition.

In any case, Ku researched the key stakeholders in the process of preparing the dossier for the Mazu belief living traditions. In particular, those who gave their consent during the nomination process comprised four main groups: a village collective of Meizhou Island, local elderly associations, a "folk belief" organization, and overseas ritual groups. Without going into too much detail, Ku brought to light the connections each of these groups have with the government, at both local and national levels. For instance, since the mid 1980s, associations of the elderly have received official recognition by the Chinese government. Since 1999, 70% of village governments are affiliated with such associations. Moreover, as Ku elaborated, they oftentimes operate under the local governing party and, thus, government leadership. She also highlighted that folk belief organizations developed after Mao as part of government-sanctioned folk revivals, or revitalization movements focused on reinforcing local and/or regional identities. At the village level, it is common that these organizations are based in temples, she described, operating as "2nd tier local governments" since they 'provide services, raise funds, and mobilize communities to participate in collective rituals.'

Due to these ties, Ku argued that the notion of "community" with respect to the Mazu belief ICH dossier is constructed through highly political motivations and needs. In other words, it may not be as inclusive, or "grass-roots," as the term often connotes in the heritage discourse. She suggested that diverse local-level opinions, including dissenting views, may not be represented. Here, the motivation of the Chinese government to successfully gain international ICH recognition may influence the shaping of the process at the local level and, as such, a Chinese AHD pertaining to the definition and uses of ICH is being solidified.

Another paper, *Rethinking Authenticity in Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding in China*, argues that the concept of 'authenticity' within the UNESCO-ICH framework, as well as within recent Chinese heritage laws, ought to "allow cultural evolution in order to safeguard people's cultural rights, agency, and subjective experiences, which are central to the meaning and value of ICH," according to its author, Jay Junjie Su (Deakin University, Australia). In addition to analyzing various documents associated with national and regional ICH nominations and designations in China, Su conducted interviews with government representatives and members of the Naxi ethnic minority who are "engaging tourism" in the 800 year-old Lijiang town, a UNESCO World Heritage site in Yunnan Province.

Su's research helped to illustrate that authenticity is understood by "ICH inheritors" in the Naxi community in diverse ways, as opposed to the strictly "object approach" perspective of government representatives. In particular, it was found that officials rely on the judgment of experts in defining what is authentic or not within the ICH framework, and that oftentimes ICH is understood in genealogical terms: that is, as an immutable set of practices and/or expressions that are passed down over time with little input, or change, by those who embody their meanings and values. However, Su

mentioned that dialogue is being encouraged by local officials to better understand how ICH expressions are defined and used by the Naxi community.

It was also brought to light that certain values that are added through touristic endeavors, such as "cultural exchange," "economic rewards," and a "sense of achievement," strongly resonate with the needs, and values, of Naxi community members. Here, Su suggested that further dialogues on community perspectives of their living traditions and how they define effective safeguarding and promotion activities can help to influence broader understandings of ICH authenticity at national and global levels. Paraphrasing another session participant, Hua Yu (Shanghai International Studies University), who so poetically described the delicate balance of these issues as the following: 'those who embody ICH make a web of traditional culture, and it is the tourism industry and the international experts and related discourse that are drops of rain hanging on to that web, which can ruin it, but it is only the community who can restore it.'

Conference Highlights: Heritage and Emotion

In a three-part session entitled, *Emotion, Affect, and Empathy in Museum and Heritage Studies*, organized by Laurajane Smith (Australian National University) and Gary Campbell (independent scholar), focus was placed on the need for research on the connections between heritage and emotion, as well as various facets and impacts of this relationship. Kicking off the sessions was Smith, who set the stage for the following papers by stating:

> If we accept that heritage is political, that it is a political resource used in claims for recognition and struggles against misrecognition, then understanding how the interplay between emotions and remembering are informed by people's culturally and socially diverse affective responses must become central in a politically informed critical heritage studies.

As such, numerous papers investigated a range of 'sites' – museums and heritage sites, as well as the interfaces and overlaps of scholarly disciplines – where emotion is studied, used, and evoked through heritage processes. While I could not attend all papers, I found their focus inspirational for thinking about the benefits of researching the impacts of heritage work on emotional wellbeing, particularly at the community level. It is good to know that these traditionally understudied aspects of heritage and culture work are given a spotlight.

On this note, it was difficult to not think of the beneficial contributions folklore and public folklore theories and practices can make to this bourgeoning component of critical heritage studies. It is common for folklorists to work closely with cultural communities and, in turn, gain insights into the links between the expression of their cultural knowledge, beliefs, and practices, and emotional wellbeing. Often, we can see

firsthand the senses of pride, belonging, and place, among others, that are developed and/or heightened through the promotion of cultural traditions and expressions within source communities, as well as for the public. This is not to say that our work is without negative consequences, but by drawing on this body of research and documentation, there is great potential for folklorists, and others in related fields, to advocate for the importance of culture (and research, scholarship, and applied work focused on it), especially in the face of widespread budget cuts and diminishing resources. Similarly, due to the public component of public folklore, it is important to also realize the opportunities folklorists have in helping to heighten empathy and compassion in 'audiences' through teaching, programming, and other heritage-related projects.

Critical Heritage Studies in the US

In the session, *Critical Heritage Studies in North America: Ideas, Issues, and Forward Thinking*, participants, James Counts Early (CFCH), Meredith Holmgren (CFCH), Hilary Soderland (University of Washington School of Law), and myself, made use of key aspects of the international heritage discourse to frame projects and related issues within the context of the US.[15] I began the session with a presentation on the ongoing project, Mill Stories, which I have been fortunate to co-facilitate with my colleague, William Shewbridge (UMBC).[16] Mill Stories aims to help document, promote, and safeguard the memories and stories of former workers, and associated community members, of the Sparrows Point Steel Mill (Dundalk, Baltimore County) through its website, which showcases digital stories based on recorded ethnographic interviews, documentary films, radio programs, and community-based screenings and discussion events. Run by Bethlehem Steel for 114 years of its 125 year-old life, the mill was once the largest in the world, producing steel for ships used within both World Wars, and well-known structures, such as the Golden Gate Bridge and the Empire State Building, among other products. In 2012, the mill closed after a succession of various owners, economically and socio-culturally impacting its community to this day.

Using the ICH discourse, as well as Smith's AHD concept, I framed these memories and stories of former steelworkers – as well as their shared experiences of the labor, civil, and women's rights movements – as components of the *living* heritage, or ICH, of the mill. The mill's complex of buildings on the Chesapeake Bay are in the process of being dismantled and imploded, but it is the intangible – these memories, values, meanings, and significance of the mill – embodied by those who know it best that lives on. First, I aimed to underscore the importance of revealing and promoting these neglected narratives in not only the broader discourses of deindustrialization, especially with respect to mainstream media, but also in the heritage sector; that is, the heritage of the working class and industrial boom and bust needs to be further examined and recognized. Second, I sought to use Mill Stories as a means for arguing that an AHD may exist within the UNESCO-ICH framework. Echoing the arguments of other scholars, I raised questions about the acceptance of steelworker ICH in the global UNESCO paradigm: are the stories, memories, and experiences of Sparrows Point workers too

common, or ‘unexotic,’ to be given ICH recognition?[17] As such, I considered the potential rigidity of the ICH definition and framework, and that in the US – and Maryland in particular – there exists a certain flexibility in defining and conceptualizing living traditions in collaboration with those who embody them. In other words, I sought to shed light on top-down aspects of the UNESCO-ICH framework by grounding my critiques through the Mill Stories project. Finally, during the question and answer period, I was also able to elaborate on some of the emotional benefits of Mill Stories for its participants, that the project is less about products as it is about operating as an emotional process for healing and grieving, connecting to the aforementioned theme of heritage and emotion at the conference.

In addition, Holmgren shared preliminary insights into the current pan-institutional grant-funded project, *Intangible Cultural Heritage at the Smithsonian* (ICH @ SI), for which she serves as its Principle Investigator and Project Manager. The project “examines the milestones, challenges, policies, and practices of institutional engagement with living cultural expressions,” and has great potential for enriching discussions concerning the roles museums can play in promoting and safeguarding ICH, an important component of the broader ICH discourse for over a decade.[18] Holmgren’s paper also serves to signal that, despite the US having yet to adopt, or ratify, the 2003 Convention, there are professionals in the US heritage and museum sector engaging with its concepts, and contributing to its development.

Using case studies from the US, Soderland brought discussions to the discipline of archaeology, particularly with respect to how, oftentimes, law and ethics are separated – or “out of sync” – in guiding archaeological and heritage management theory and practice. Her paper complemented the aims of critical heritage studies by demonstrating how globally “law and ethics can coalesce to achieve a metric of ‘cultural rights’ and obligations that better guide difficult yet critical issues facing heritage and archaeology in the 21st century.” Closing up the session, and leading us to an engaging question and answer period, was Early, who spoke of how the critical heritage studies movement should not only produce critiques and, thereby, become too “insular,” or separated from the more mainstream policy-making structures and institutions that commonly guide heritage construction. Instead, he argued for the need to negotiate with official structures, policies, and narratives of the heritage sector through a mobilization of citizens and residents, at the community level, in our diverse range of work.

In this light, while other discussions were sparked, the conversation during the question and answer period did also turn to the possibilities and outcomes of US adoption, or ratification, of the 2003 Convention. While many expressed that the US should officially join this growing discourse, along with the UK and Australia, I felt the need to draw attention to the pre-existing decades’ long tradition of the national, state, and regional folklife program ‘system,’ and raise questions about why another system – albeit international in nature – is needed. In this light, I asked how the 2003 Convention could

be implemented without being made redundant? What would cultural communities living and working in the US, and their living traditions, practices, and expressions, gain? The discussions were very fruitful and, again, it was important for US-based scholars and professionals to get more involved in them.

The conference represented an exchange of theories, methods, and ideas between its international network, an event that ought to happen more regularly at national and regional levels, as well as in different forms. Luckily, I was blessed with a long return flight for pondering how stronger connections can be made to this thriving heritage discourse, and for advocating its beneficial contributions to the issues we grapple with and the work we do here, in the US. How can the US Chapter of ACHS be used as a vehicle for facilitating such exchanges, as well as for expanding heritage studies to include the concepts, guiding principles, and methodological toolkits of folklore, public folklore, American studies, public history, applied anthropology, among others? Reflecting on Early's points, how can this movement for a more critical heritage studies be drawn upon for increasing communities', groups', and individual's access to and involvement in the decision-making processes that shape cultural policies and structures? As scholars, researchers, professionals, and students, what roles should we play, and how should we better use the resources to which we are fortunate to have access? How can we better support the tent embassies, and the issues they strive to make known, all around us?

---

[1] http://criticalheritagestudies.org/site-admin/site-content/about-achs
[2] See http://criticalheritagestudies.org/information/links
[3] See http://achsus.umbc.edu
[4] Museum pamphlet.
[5] For an insightful history and analysis of the relationship between the Embassy and the museum, see Message, 2012; for discussions on post-colonialism in Australian museums and heritage sites, see for instance Simpson, 2012; Smith, 2006.
[6] From a search on the museums' website, http://moadoph.gov.au, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy is included in its online historical timeline. It also appears that it is discussed within several oral testimonies of former Parliament workers.
[7] See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00024; Stefano, 2012.
[8] See for instance Article 15 in UNESCO, 2003; Blake, 2006.
[9] Both Japan and China became States Parties to the Convention in 2004, with South Korea accepting it in 2005 (the Convention was enforced in 2006); see http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?KO=17116&language=E
[10] "elements" is the term used for ICH expressions in the 2003 Convention and 2012 Operational Directives.
[11]See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00559
[12] See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00227
[13] See UNESCO, 2012.

[14] Based on reading the nomination form for "Mazu belief and customs," it appears that "local actors," who began the application process, refers to the Regulatory Committee of Meizhou

Island and the Board of Directors of the First Mazu Temple of Meizhou and that "in 2006, during which *the Initiative on the Application of Mazu Belief and Customs for World Non-Material Cultural Heritage* was jointly proposed by over 30 research institutions of Mazu culture, more than 60 representatives from Mazu temples and participating experts"; see http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00227

[15] It is important to note that, originally, the session included two contributions from colleagues whose research is based in the Canadian context. Unfortunately, they were unable to make the trip to Canberra, so the session became focused solely on the US.

[16] See www.millstories.org

[17] For similar arguments see for instance Deacon, 2004; Brown, 2005; Hafstein, 2009.

[18] http://www.folklife.si.edu/cultural-heritage-policy/ICH/smithsonian

References

Blake, J. 2006. *Commentary on the UNESCO 2003 Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Leicester: Institute of Art and Law.

Brown, M. 2005. Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 12 (1), pp. 40-61.

Deacon, H. 2004. Intangible Heritage in Conservation Management Planning: The Case of Robben Island. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10 (3), pp. 309-319.

Hafstein, V. 2009. Intangible Heritage as a List: From Masterpieces to Representation, In L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds.) *Intangible Heritage*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 93-111.

Message, K. 2012. Exceeding the Limits of Representation? Petitioning for Change at the Museum of Australian Democracy, In R. Sandell and E. Nightingale (eds.) *Museums, Equality, and Social Justice*, pp. 227-242. London and New York: Routledge.

Simpson, M. 2001. *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-colonial Era*. Revised Edition. London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, L. 2006. *The Uses of Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge.

UNESCO, 2003. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Online. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00022 [Accessed 18 January 2015].

UNESCO, 2012. *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Online. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00026 [Accessed 17 January 2015].