

Archaeology in Modernity  
Two World Heritage Sites in Scandinavia as Cultural Identity?

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M.A. Thesis in Archaeology

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Spring 2017

Lund University



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## Abstract

The designation of World Heritage Sites overcomes a series of events in the life of each location. The social life of the sites that are designated brings a discussion about the characters that are responsible for the maintenance and preservation of the physical and ontological characteristics of the data and knowledge originated in it. Archaeology today involves certain characteristics that overcome the scientific research of the materiality and stratigraphy of the soil. It is the political, cultural identity and social paradigms that erupt as new fields of research. In the case of World Heritage Sites, Sweden and Denmark have shown a correlation of work, social involvement and a considerate amount of management and constant supervision over the development of these sites. Birka and Jelling are two archaeological complexes that represent the peak of the research in each country, and both are designated as representatives of the Viking Age culture. It is here where the intersection of this investigation begins, to understand the implications of modernity in archaeological research and the process of incorporating the public to engage with cultural heritage. To overcome the obstacles in this investigation, the record from UNESCO and set of publications concerning this topic are depicted and discussed to create a broad sense of the appropriate type of investigation and sense, archaeologists should incorporate in their research. Thinking about incorporating the public into the work or archaeology in the field and overcome a relationship of economic benefits and the marketing of World Heritage Sites, as part of the global and fluctuating environment of societies today in an expanding construction of human identity and the use of heritage categorize as being from everyone and for everyone.

Key concepts: World Heritage Site, UNESCO, Social archaeology, Public archaeology, Modernity, Cultural identity, Scandinavia and Viking Age.

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## 1. Introduction

*World Heritage Site*, a “designation” with international implications, responsibilities, rights and obligations; it signifies or at least attempts to show to the world that a specific location is an important element of humanity’s history and identity, and as such deserves to be protected and preserved for future generations.

Archaeologists today; have increased their sense of responsibility to improve their performance, in the field as well as in processing, analyzing and interpreting the archaeological data, in order to deliver an acceptable display to the public. This has both positive and negative implications. There is pressure, from new authorities in the political, economic and social structure to construct and safeguard cultural identities, national heritage and traditions. But what does that really imply? Where is the line between scientific archaeological work and using ancient sites and monuments for the business of tourism?

The 1972 UNESCO’s *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*<sup>1</sup> brought a system of international collaboration. National authorities signed the convention. The agreement requires legislation, organization, education and research to guarantee protection and preservation of natural and cultural heritage in those countries that signed the convention. Included was the requirement to inform the people about the convention and world heritage, and to increase the respect and protection of World Heritage Sites in other countries.<sup>2</sup>

Even though the UNESCO list includes places with characteristics that generally are not studied by archaeologists, the quantity of sites that are by name “archaeological sites, or zones”, demonstrates what society feels familiar with, and hence shows what the populace deems important. Thus, the importance of having a qualitative report of every site grew. It became necessary to understand the changes a site may suffer from increasingly modernized societies, particularly the technological advances and a society that changes rapidly.

The target of this investigation comes from the perspective of the influence of archaeology in the public and political scheme of international organizations, primary UNESCO, and the demand of considerations to a different set of values, intentions and missions in multiple spheres of society.

Reviewing the northern region of Europe, culturally known as Scandinavia or Nordic Countries, multiple eras of human history come to archaeological attention, in particular the time period designated as the Viking Age (AD 800-1050),<sup>3</sup> which knits together a significant quantity of current World Heritage Sites designated by UNESCO, representing to their countries and globally, cultural aspects of identity, nationality and history of human development. Therefore the Viking sites bring an essential opportunity to study the past and present society, where archaeologists and other field studies are imperatively involved.

The connection of these sites creates, together with modern concepts of identity, materiality, public archaeology, conservation, repatriation and digital technologies, the basis for this thesis. This allows one to examine the crucial role of archaeologists. This also allows for questions about the administration of governmental representatives, influences in education, creation of identity, knowledge and publications. However the most significant contribution might be the continuation

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<sup>1</sup> Nordic World Heritage 1996, p. 11

<sup>2</sup> World Heritage Site in Sweden 2014

<sup>3</sup> Svanberg 2003, p. 49

of research and investigation as the never ending process of understanding the history of society in order to benefit the present.

### **1.1. Main goal and research questions**

The main goal of this thesis is to study the implications of modernity in archaeological research and the process of incorporating the public to engage with cultural heritage. To understand the archaeological panorama in Sweden and Denmark, two cases of World Heritage Sites will be analyzed. What are the effects of the role of UNESCO as an international organization with the preservation, use and practice? What is considered Viking Age Heritage in the sites Birka and Hovgården in Sweden and Jelling mounds, runic stones and church in Denmark? The sites will be studied through the following questions:

- How are Birka & Hovgården and Jelling mounds, runic stones and church, affected by UNESCO, and what are their relationship with archaeologists?
- Who is responsible for safeguarding and managing cultural identities in a World Heritage Site?
- How can archaeologists involve the public and supplant the tourism factor in an archaeological site registered in World Heritage List?
- In what way is there a social archaeology in heritage today?
- What are the current ethical dimensions in Scandinavia for World Heritage Sites?
  - How do archaeologists explain the Viking Age today?
  - Can there be a final definition of Viking culture/Scandinavian heritage?

### **1.2. Criteria for selection of materials**

The Viking Age, a time period full of different cultural characteristics and social groups, defines a moment of human history and a sequence of changes across many aspects. The period includes changes of social organization, manufacturing of goods, construction, religion, language and identity. The Viking Age receives the attention of scholars around the world, though primarily in the countries that directly identify with the period, such as Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland. Have the Scandinavian/Nordic countries a specific sense of this history and a common unity? Do the set of monuments and ancient remains, both above and below the ground, have a specific connotation for the public today?

More specifically, with my choice to study this region of the world, from the vast majority of World Heritage Sites in UNESCO's list, countries like Sweden and Denmark denote a certain influence on each other. With this in mind, the closeness between them and their fair share of historical events is part of their national history. The sheer number of archaeological field sites and collections of monuments has increased the knowledge of this specific time period. The cultural phenomenon provides parameters to start questioning the current conditions and the positive and negative aspects of the sites. What is presented to the public? What image and what kind of identity are presented to citizens in both countries?

I have chosen to study Birka and Hovgården in Sweden, and Jelling mounds, runic stones and church in Denmark because of their visibility in the construction of the national identities. These sites have provided important background knowledge to their respective academic and national populations, both prior their UNESCO designation; as well as afterwards, and both countries have associated these cultural sites with aspects of their cultural identity. Most importantly, these sites create a connection with the image and site of research for the Viking Age.

Historically and currently these two sites have helped to encourage the public to be more aware and involved, to understand their past, present and how it might be their future. For both citizens and foreigners, these places have helped to determine standards of archaeological investigation and archaeological resource management, with the image of a distinctive culture and social behavior that these countries share in some extent.

Birka and Jelling have been chosen to facilitate the perspective that archaeologists tend to leave aside, to focus on more specific research questions in the field. Archaeological research involves a series of processes, from documentation, digging a trench, processing and analysis, writing reports, diffusion of information to different channels of media, academic and regular broadcast, all the way to directly talk to visitors about finds, and the extension of their labor. I consider Sweden and Denmark be able to provide enough information about their respective characteristics and abilities to study and control situations in this two cases, such as the way they extend the information and relation to society.

### 1.3 Methodology

Taking into account the selected case studies, Birka and Hovgården in Sweden and Jelling mounds, runic stones and church in Demark, it is imperative to get acquainted with the background of each nomination process. As well, it is important to acquire information on concrete activities performed and about the current status of archaeological investigation and social involvement.

I have chosen to undertake a survey to a number of people that are in direct connection to these sites and to the heritage management regulations. The comparison of their response, in relation to each location in specific, will help me understand their current position and what is depicted among scholars and authorities. This questionnaire was developed after considering my research goals; the approach intended is to involve each character in the conversation as will be visible in the analysis, trying to convey if a consensus existed, and to find a critical argument to the topics of each World Heritage Site.

By analyzing publications, such as articles and book reports, as well as UNESCO's set of publishing in the matter, I have an overview to understand the extent of my main goal and the implications of an international organization that concerns with humanity's complexity. Since 1972 there has been modifications inside UNESCO and World Heritage Convention (WHC), and an account of their actions is what sets up the bar of knowledge and self-awareness for scholars in archaeology and heritage management and their role in a more political spectrum.

The format this document presents, where in each chapter the attention taken place considers multiple aspects and concepts associated with current archaeological theory and reviews in specific points of view from authors concerning this topic.

Chapter 1 outlines the research questions and main goal, and serves as a guideline to consider the course of this document. It furthers outlines the importance this topic has, and its application to answer questions about a specific situation and problems that may seem relatable not only to archaeologists. These sites are important to anyone concerned with heritage and culture identity and the use of World Heritage Sites in a community sense, as well as in a political, economic and social scheme. In hand to it, the criteria for the selection of the materials will present the starting point to consider and reflect on Viking Age, culture and materiality, as case studies will be assessed.

Next, the methodology and theoretical perspectives chosen to conduct this research will be discussed and critically challenged, in order to have a systematic course for a better understanding of the different sources and characteristics, which the research questions attempt to answer based on the case studies. Correspondingly the methodology points out the concrete engaged actions, at the fullest extent possible to produce a *corpus* of materials possible to handle with the time provided, with the intention to discuss and analyze the issues previously presented.

Concluding the first chapter of this investigation, there's a recollection of previous studies and publications, concerning and targeting similar issues. As a result, the background of my research can be perceived as a current topic that concerns in the academic scene of archaeology, cultural heritage studies and social development of identity.

Further, Chapter 2 presents the materials that after rigorous attention were selected as alternatives to construct a frame to support and critique the main purpose of study. Here, a conducted survey to recent political and cultural authorities and representatives, as well as specialist in the matter is described, to understand the conditions and positions that are currently taking place, and to understand forthcoming endeavors.

In detail, UNESCO's work organization in relation to the Convention for World Heritage, the scheme of their process of nomination, integration and revision of activities is presented, as the main correspondence to understand the previously named *designation*, and implications to our case studies. Equally related, the different legislations of both Sweden and Denmark in matter of Cultural Heritage, their outline of work, and representation will be assessed, to convey in a panoramic scene of procedures and standpoint considered by neighboring nations, working with what are consider sites with a similar cultural identity.

The last element of materials to be mentioned is the archaeological background of both case studies, *prior* and *posterior* to the UNESCO nomination and designation, how archaeological research together with cultural heritage management have been modified and affected, particularly supported by the previous survey.

With this in mind, Chapter 3 presents an analysis from the survey conducted, with the opinions from key people in the field, and related to the case studies in particular. Afterwards, Chapter 4, concerns the actual discussion, considering both perspectives, as will be presented further, comparatively positive and negative attitudes treating the archaeological perspective from a theory of modernity and the application of technological advances to cultural heritage management. Likewise, the fundamental source for considering the labor of the field to contribute to the building of identity. Moving the argument forward, the engagement of the public in archaeological research is treated as a mechanism for improvement of relations outside the academic society with the explanation of "community projects" and as before, comparative arguments will be presented.

Dealing with political, economic and social characteristics of two countries, with their own legislation and sovereignty, a crucial argument to consider is Ethics, which includes the ability to designate what is the best or least damage or change possible to take place, in order to satisfy needs in specific. The main purpose of this chapter of the discussion is to talk about the labor of Museums and Cultural Tourism, linked directly with our case studies, for future researchers and investigations, this interpretations can work for them and contribute. Clearly the political perspectives will be hand in hand with this topic, but with certain limitations, so the conversation won't exceed the space and time, and won't set the archaeological vision aside.

Finally in Chapter 5 there are the project conclusions, with reflections on what is archaeology today, and who should be directed to, what is the opportunity found in a World Heritage Site as both research and economic assets; taking into account the previous arguments, the consideration and interpretation of Scandinavia as a cultural region in the world, its purpose and benefits to humanity. As equally valuable, the countries that are directly related and across the borders; this research is intended to pursue a current topic of discussion, and is not near to be considered complete or provide definitive results and solutions; but to argue in a systematic and critically perspective the subjects considered.

#### 1.4. Theoretical perspectives

This investigation is designed by different approaches, with the purpose to provide sense of continuity. According to different perspectives of thinking, archaeology has been transformed into a more social and yet scientific argument for interpretations and understandings of both archaeological finds and the role it plays in society today. Let's not forget that archaeology can have powerful applications as a medium to encourage critical thinking, among scholars and general population.<sup>4</sup> In relation to my case studies, two World Heritage Sites, in neighboring countries sharing historical and cultural aspects. The next section is presented as a matter of thinking and an approach of actions to manipulate the chosen and collected documentation.

Implications on how to target the social character of archaeology are not new to the discipline. It is possible to come across certain attempts to perceive materials and objects, integrated to a social arena, or landscapes with a societal outlook; where the actions and thoughts of past societies have taken place. For the purpose of this investigation, Birka and Jelling as case studies, are both the subject and object that certain theories acknowledge as creations from and for social groups, both in the past and present. This social perspective makes it possible to explore ultimate destination of the engagement, and as experience providers to human characters, and developing a growing cultural sense.

The main argument considered is social archaeology, which by the spectrum of the concept, certain implications from different authors exist. In the words of Ian Hodder: "In contemporary social theory in archaeology everything is social".<sup>5</sup> With this statement the conversation to understand what is the role of World Heritage Sites opens up, giving character to both a location and the totality inside them, naming: monuments, constructions, modern museums and exhibitions, archaeologists, and the engagement visitors take place.

Throughout developing *social archaeology theory*, different schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries felt a social responsibility to provide museums for wider publics, even if the message advocated in those places was paternalistic, nationalist, and imperialist,<sup>6</sup> which is how Archaeology as discipline first developed its recognition and affordability.

The notion of *social* as part of culture remained in the New Archaeology and in processual archaeology. The *social* was now often identified as a subsystem within an overall system. The frequent use of the term "socio-cultural system" to describe it as a whole, perhaps, identifies an increased emphasis on the *social* in processual archaeology. A good example of a processual archaeologist is Colin Renfrew, he defined *social archaeology* as: the ability to reconstruct past

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<sup>4</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 272

<sup>5</sup> Hodder 2004, p. 36

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* p. 24



social systems and relations, trying to identify the degree of social ranking in society and the systems of exchange between elites and social groups.<sup>7</sup> For this reason, conception of social archaeology is relevant when it comes to understand the agency of this two World Heritage Sites.

It is possible to find expressions back from a post-processual point of view and suggestions that ever since there is something which could be called a *social archaeology*, there's a tendency to set a sight on what might be seen as impressive targets; social organization, ranking, stratification and empires. In a post-processual perspective the aims are perhaps yet greater, as everything becomes social. But on the other hand, according to Hodder, stating from Julian Thomas, in practice, the focus becomes less grand as every mundane aspect of daily life is explored for social meaning.<sup>8</sup> Here is acknowledgeable the risks of considering everything as social, but as mentioned above, the contrasting arguments sustained the position to embrace the magnitude of our case studies, as a constructed system providing a new experience to every different visitor, as will be explained by the following paragraphs.

Since many archaeologists have been influenced by the phenomenology of M. Heidegger, some of the most important aspects of discussion have been the critiques of binary oppositions between culture and nature, and between mind and body. What this means in archaeological applications is attention gained focus on the ways in which bodies move around sites and landscapes. Rather than looking at the plan of a monument, attention is paid to the ways in which people moved around and experienced the monument.

Emphasis is placed on the way relations of power are served, in the layout of monuments and landscapes. In this account it's suggested that social actors are forced to perceive the world and to interact with each other in certain ways because their movements are constrained by the built environment. But different subjects moving around the same landscape or monuments may not see it in the same way.<sup>9</sup> This argument is useful to understand the complexity of understanding a World Heritage Site that is continuously visited, by people from all kinds of backgrounds. It is hard to make people understand a standard and comprehensive explanation of a culture, location and period of time in history. Archaeology needs to be flexible in providing a set of meanings, and to recognize that not everyone will acquire the same knowledge they formulate in the way they might expected.

Much depends on the social meanings and values that are given to sites in the landscapes, and much depends on the specific social positioning of actors. But phenomenological approaches have their own problems; in particular, they need to be sensitive to radical cultural and social difference in basic ways of seeing the world, and they need to be reflexively critical about the different ways that people can experience the same monuments and landscapes.<sup>10</sup>

Having said that, the purpose of UNESCO to provide a Humanity Heritage, with the sensibility of everyone to enjoy it, whether a citizen of the respective country or a foreign visitor, comes to challenge with the nationalistic approach and the boundaries that each Nation have established. Borders in relation to language, law enforcement and norms of social behavior to name an example. Considering the current situation of immigration that Scandinavia as a region has, the

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<sup>7</sup> Hodder 2004, p. 25

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* p. 26

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid* p. 35

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* p. 36

efforts to engage different publics in relation to a standard history of Vikings sets an example of how complex the current occupation of World Heritage Sites becomes.

In order to explain these two World Heritage Sites, the category of *cultural landscape* was designed to recognize the many landscapes that are the combined work of nature and human kind, and that express a long intimate relationship between people and their natural environment. Cultural landscapes both reveal and sustain the great diversity of the interaction between human and environment. They protect living traditional cultures and preserve the traces of those that have disappeared.<sup>11</sup> Which is why when I talk about World Heritage Sites, is important to keep in mind cultural landscapes.

Part of the reason to consider a wider spectrum from theorizing work from social landscapes, is because it refers to the interaction between physical environment and human presence;<sup>12</sup> further ado, in landscape research most theory comes from economic geography, ecology, and anthropology, for examining social and economic dimensions of land use. Location and distribution of material resources figure significantly, with growing attention to monuments and rock art or other symbolic markings, and to landscapes materializing ideology or meanings.<sup>13</sup>

There are many implications to the relations of landscape and society, but considering archaeologists point of action, our case studies are one conglomerate of cultural and natural factors. Where the development and management of resources are of great subsistence to research, conservation and reflective image to visitors, alongside colleague scholars. Pointing out that each World Heritage Site has a delimited area of work, with boundaries that concentrate different aspects, like the respective historical society, time-frame of humanity, architectonic structures, and mostly the cultural representation that gives its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV).

Continuing on our theoretical frame, to study and understand how the flow of work is been undertaken in Birka and Jelling, the concept of modernity is used. The intention here is to visualize the entanglement with national patrimony and the limitations in modernist projects of nation states,<sup>14</sup> which by reviewing the history of this two countries, is possible to understand the state of recognition these sites have.

As a contemporary phenomenon, archaeology is deeply implicated in the workings of the modern world, with ‘modernity’ defined by J. Carman as: a shorthand term for industrial civilization, portrayed in more detail, it is associated with: a certain set of attitudes towards the world; the idea of the world as open to transformation, by human intervention; a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; and a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy.<sup>15</sup>

Is crucial to think and state that Archaeology is an activity on global and modern scale, with implications and correspondence, to a multiple number of factors, but still, it starts in a local level. Transcending into a modern world, full of professionalism and policies that manage and try to control an investment of assets, in this sense, Heritage becomes an economic enterprise. To this extent our case studies are entitled to be used and control at the service of the country it belongs

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<sup>11</sup> Meskell 2013, p. 251

<sup>12</sup> Ashmore 2004, p. 255

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid* p. 258

<sup>14</sup> Meskell 2013, p. 244

<sup>15</sup> Carman 2015, p. 186

to by law. This is what Modernity implies, the co-relation of Governmental representation and Economic stipulation to create benefits from a certain market.

Connections can be made in retrospective, when talking about the public aspects of archaeology, World Heritage Sites receive a vast amount of audience where the senses could be consider the first impression and the pragmatic answers to the number of questions people have. There are many influences and assemblage of actions that have been in practice in many location in the world, exemplifying how society, without having a deep knowledge or training in archaeology, are capable of engaging in the process of creating archaeological knowledge and increasing collections of artifacts, with archaeologist responsibility to find a way to make useful for posterior work.

I found important the use of Public and Community archaeology, where at first view, both sound as the same, but with their respective characteristic, this two outlets, have a natural connection. Since interested local groups are simply subsets of a larger, interested public;<sup>16</sup> which has helped develop the face of a modern archaeology, with positive results in relation to social recognition and political attention.

“Public archaeology” was coined by C. R. McGimsey in the early 1970s, it primarily meant, archaeologists’ efforts to record and preserve archaeological remains that were being threatened by development works, on behalf and with the support of the public.<sup>17</sup> From there, public archaeology has so far developed predominantly in English-speaking countries, where post-processual archaeology and the postcolonial discourse have been influential.<sup>18</sup> A basic reference to conceptualize and visualize the connotation of this branch of our discipline comes from the single word “public” which can have two separate and yet interrelated meanings, such as “officialdom” and “the people”,<sup>19</sup> hence the ambiguity that surrounds it and may complicate scholars as well as non-academic people to take a stand in to what constitutes public archaeology.

The definition and understanding that I agree for *public archaeology*, comes as follow: it is the relationship between archaeology and contemporary society, the varying socio-political conditions under which archaeology operates in each country or area, which by each of their individual characteristics will contribute to different and distinctive forms of public archaeology; it involves education, public relations, critical and multivocal approaches. In addition, agreeing with Matsuda and Okamura, in order for success, there has to be dialogues with members of the public, involving a two-way process. Public archaeology can also be defined as social engagement by archaeologists, in a way to determine which direction it should move in, and the constant need to be under critical examination.<sup>20</sup>

As mentioned above, public and archaeology have different meanings in different cultures and countries. The theoretical underpinnings for archaeology vary across the world, therefore our practice differs greatly due to the varying economic and socio-political conditions under which archaeologist work. Rescue archaeology for example, is bound up with development works, and private funding.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Pyburn 2011, p. 30

<sup>17</sup> Matsuda & Okamura 2011, p. 2

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid* p. 9

<sup>19</sup> Matsuda & Okamura 2011, p. 3

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid* p. 14

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid* p. 2

What I intend to establish, by stating the difference among countries, comes from considering there is an actual UNESCO convention signed by countries since 1972 to this date. Since in some countries, tourism capitalizes on archaeological resources, it yields a significant part of the national and local income. Having as consequence, an influence on the practice of archaeology by requiring concentration on well-preserved, high profile sites, meaning more preservation and infrastructure needs to be managed to receive visitors. What archaeology means to the public in each country is contingent on the history of its development in the local context.<sup>22</sup>

The importance of public archaeology, derives from the need to examine the extent, to which the subject has become familiar to archaeologists in various countries/areas in the world, as well as, how it has been accepted and adapted in each local context.<sup>23</sup> As indicated by Matsuda and Okamura, the intention of public archaeology is to know, what past(s), should public archaeologists engage with, on what grounds, and on behalf of whom?<sup>24</sup>

Partly, the establishment of public archaeology can be determined and composed by different set of elements, like emotional engagement, active participation, and first-person narratives of real people, these are some of the ways to use exhibitions and help visitors connect their individual experiences to the experiences of people in the past.<sup>25</sup>

Accordingly, the concept of *community archaeology*, as a subset of the previous one, provides certain characteristics to my framework, with the possibilities an archaeologist can take over, to engage with the public in relation to World Heritage Sites in particular. One key point is the definition of *community* itself, and the challenge it can be, the term has been defined with a description of a particular set of people or simply left undefined.<sup>26</sup> Its origins come from both USA and Britain, where everyone identifies archaeological remains with local as well as national history and often with cultural, or biological ancestors.<sup>27</sup> Community archaeology encourages us to ask questions of the past we wouldn't otherwise consider, to see archaeological remains in new light and to think about how the past informs the present.<sup>28</sup>

Turning the conversation to Ethics in archaeology, the perception from the *European Association of Archaeologist* (EAA) is relevant, since it provides a standard measure and code of actions to different sectors where scholars are directly involved. In chapter 2.4 is the information concerning legislation and code of actions according to each country, referenced to the archaeological research background. The EAA text was approved by the members of the *Association at the Annual Business Meeting*, held in Ravenna, Italy, on 27 September 1997, and amended at the Annual Business Meeting in Riva del Garda, Italy, on 19 September 2009. For the EAA, the object of the Code is to establish standards of conduct for the members to follow, in fulfilling their responsibilities, both to the community and to their professional colleagues.<sup>29</sup> A brief example of the Code, is the next general statement, where members of the Association must adhere to high standards of ethical and professional conduct in their work, and must refrain from conduct, which could bring the archaeological profession into disrepute.

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<sup>22</sup> Matsuda & Okamura 2011, p. 3

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid* p. 7

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid* p. 14

<sup>25</sup> Barbara Franco 1994, in: Moyer, 2007, p. 270

<sup>26</sup> Pyburn 2011, p. 29

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid* p. 30

<sup>28</sup> Marshall 2002, p. 218

<sup>29</sup> The EEA Code of Practice, Web-site

Another key point, used as connection for the Ethics, in relation to archaeological labor and to World Heritage Sites that concerns this investigation, is the time scenario from Academic associations. At the time of development of these sites as places for visitors, and cultural endeavors. Comparatively with EAA standards of actions, there are a certain number of American displays of the same caliber. Which as explained before, is where the construction for public and archaeology has its foundations. I consider important to use them and mention some of their perspectives, as part of the frame, to keep a level of professionalism, despite the general conception some members of European Academia might have from perspectives from other continents and different ideologies.

The beginning of the 90's saw the emergence of different organizations interested to create a more systematic and interdisciplinary discipline, which involves setting together rules and boundaries that gave to archaeology a legitimate image to society. Beginning with the *Archaeological Institute of America Code of Ethics* from 1990; which states that the responsibilities to the public, associated to the archaeological record, represents the heritage of all people, it is the responsibility of professional archaeologists to communicate with the general public about the nature of archaeological research and the importance of archaeological resources. Archaeologists also have specific responsibilities to the local communities where they carry out research and field work, as well as to their home institutions and communities.<sup>30</sup>

Continuing with, the Society of Professional Archaeologists Code of Ethics from 1995. It depicted Archaeology as a profession, and the privilege of professional practice, which requires professional morality and professional responsibility, as well as professional competence, on the part of each practitioner.<sup>31</sup> Here the statement on archaeologists' responsibility to the public is, to support and comply with the terms of the UNESCO Convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export, and transfer of ownership of cultural property, as adopted by the General Conference from 14 November 1970 in Paris. Next is the archaeologist's responsibility to colleagues, employees, and students.<sup>32</sup> Where the commitment is to, communicate and cooperate with colleagues having common professional interest and, knowing and comply with all federal, state, and local laws, ordinances, and regulations applicable to their archaeological research and activities.

Finally, the *Society for American Archaeology Principles of Archaeological Ethics* had their "Ethics in Archaeology Committee" in 1995 where a full document with principles resulted in standard procedures for archaeological performance. I have chosen just an example from it.

*Principle No. 4: Public Education and Outreach:*<sup>33</sup> Archaeologists shall reach out to the public to:

- *Enlist its support for the stewardship of the archaeological record,*
- *Explain and promote the use of methods and techniques of archaeology in understandings human behavior and culture,*
- *Explain archaeological interpretations of the past.*

Alongside the previous depiction, the concept of Civic engagement, is connected to the performance of archaeologists, and the measure of results it actually provides to society, together with the great deal of public interest in the past, and even trust in the lessons learned from historic

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<sup>30</sup> Vitelli 1996, p. 262

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid* p. 253

<sup>32</sup> Vitelli 1996, p. 254

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid* pp. 264, 265

places and their remnants. Helping to create a usable, broadly conceived past that is civically engaging, that calls a citizenry to participate in debates and decisions about preservation and development.<sup>34</sup>

I agree with the idea that a socially useful heritage can stimulate and empower both local community members and visitors to make historically informed judgments about heritage and the ways that we use it in the present.<sup>35</sup> A valid reason for civic engagement is to keep places relevant, to transform World Heritage Sites by making them active centers of democracy and citizen engagement, where reflections about identity and citizen responsibilities can take place. Civic engagement through history provides the gateway for archaeology to research and tell stories that are more complete and possibly accurate. The fullness of the nation's history and culture connects heritage to contemporary environmental, social, and cultural issues, in order to move toward an inclusive history where experience is contextualized and people can relate to the lives and histories of others.<sup>36</sup>

At many archaeological sites, archaeologists can contribute to an environment in which visitors can have a civic engagement experience, teaching a more holistic version of the past, and allowing them to make linkages between the past and contemporary time.<sup>37</sup>

There are many scholars that concern ethics and civic engagement as preamble for a needed improvement of the discipline and performance of archaeologists. For example, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, connects the role of archaeology to discerning the truth in the violent past. And he thinks that civically engaged archaeology goes beyond public outreach, as it promotes social justice.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Kelly Britt explores the difficulties of top-down heritage management and the potential of historic sites and museums, as places for heritage tourism, and as “new town halls”.<sup>39</sup> Patrice-Jeppson highlights the need for self-reflection by all archaeologists, working toward new historical interpretations.<sup>40</sup> What I mean by this, is that it is possible to understand what are the foundations to consider for a World Heritage Site, where the integration of knowledge, and peoples' engagement is crucial for a positive result from all persons involve.

Provided the previous perspectives, to which are applied to certain case studies, and in the way they support to answers of my research questions and main goal. To gain perspective, I have covered the necessary means to analyze the function and social implications of World Heritage Sites, and it is important to state the conditions I use, as an agreement to define these sites.

According to Teresa Moyer, any cultural institution that uses archaeology in its presentations to the public, included national and state parks, museums, living history sites, and historical societies; uses exhibitions as a translator between what curators and archaeologists expect the public get to know, and they assume how visitors understand, relate to and apply this information.<sup>41</sup> Considering that World Heritage Sites are inscribed in the World Heritage List (WHL) as properties with a body of information and structure, I believe that the site is classified as an Institution, like a museum, in some cases. In some cases, they do have their own Museum *in situ*; and to what they

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<sup>34</sup> Little 2007, p. 1

<sup>35</sup> Little 2007, p. 2

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid* p. 5

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid* p. 6

<sup>38</sup> Little 2007, p. 14

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* p. 15

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid* p. 16

<sup>41</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 263

have to offer to visitors is related to museum exhibitions. The idea is that the exhibition embodies a group of professional working people to ensure the well-being and careful management of pieces, archaeological records and in a more clear sense, monuments and archaeological remains from constructions.

In this sense, archaeologists can set the groundwork for visitors to find meaning and channel it, into an ethic for activism. World Heritage Sites could offer a “safe space” for groups to confront historical injustices.<sup>42</sup> Civic engagement in exhibitions, combines artifact reminders of past peoples with interpretations that teach skills and cultivates an ethic in contemporary viewers for community activism. Civic engagement requires skills, such as the ability to become informed about issues through research, and reading, the ability to talk about issues, and understand situations from multiple angles.<sup>43</sup>

Overall, the previous sets of theoretical perspectives come to set the standard toward this investigation. The intention is to answer several questions about the actions and implications, from a bilateral relation between archaeologists and the public in World Heritage Sites. This investigation also connects with general questions about the relevance of their heritage work to contemporary society.

### 1.5. Previous research

UNESCO’s performance and ramifications of their work and involvement in countless regions of the world, include more than the 100 State members that have signed and engaged in addressing and postulating their fair share of World Heritage Sites, as what they consider be part of their historical heritage with OUV. As one might expect, within their own record of publications, UNESCO claims the attention is required to the continuous work and challenge to keep a record of responsibilities, tasks and both positive and negative results that each country might have encountered.

As part of precedence for my research, *World Heritage, Benefits beyond Borders*, exemplifies the previous statement and helped me relate and direct my research questions with my case studies, regardless the lack of representation from Scandinavia, is possible to perceive the interest to improve and take advances on the implications this international phenomenon has in society today. The publication represents the issues of twenty-six case studies showing the global spread of constructive and engaging examples of work and development. The case studies were selected according to the Editor, on the principle of representativeness: outstanding universal value; inscription criteria; economic, social and environmental sustainability; inscriptions as natural, cultural and mixed sites; landscape as well as scientific and industrial heritage; and a regional balance of examples from around the world taking into consideration environmental, linguistic and cultural diversity.<sup>44</sup>

The first section, “Bridging Nature and Culture”, with case studies of conservation, community engagement, the challenges of protecting what is consider Living World Heritage and the possibilities of Cultural Landscapes.

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<sup>42</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 265

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid* p. 271

<sup>44</sup> Galla 2012, pp. 1-3

The second section, “Urbanism and Sustainable Heritage Development”, with an approach targeted to the issues that historical cities and mainly architectural problematic of conservation is presented from a diverse set of locations.

The third section, “Integrated Planning and Indigenous Engagement” presents a perspective related to landscapes and the legacy that certain cultural groups remain and represent a cultural living system. Section four, “Living Heritage and Safeguarding Outstanding Universal Value”, presents examples from South Africa, Mexico, Korea, China and Japan, where according to the Editor, a meaningful and sustainable community engagement at World Heritage Sites, the living heritage of stakeholder communities and their taking ownership is crucial for safeguarding the outstanding universal value of the sites.

Last section, “More than the Monumental”, with a general overview of sustainable development, provide cases from Egypt, Netherlands, UK, Cambodia and Brazil. This publication is an overall review of different World Heritage Sites, where each case study assesses what is important for sustainable development with regard to the site concerned; the management framework required for ensuring and enabling sustainable development and community engagement; benefits to local communities and ecosystems; lessons for sharing with other World Heritage Sites; and the anticipated way forward in bringing together local and neighboring communities through the environmental, economic and social dimensions of sustainability.<sup>45</sup>

In general basis, the study and concern to deeply understand the fundamentals of UNESCO into actions on World Heritage Sites, goes in hand, with the management of every place. Having as resource a Management Plan able to assure the preservation of the OUV, considering this the main reason for nominations and an international agenda. But as considered in the publication by Leask and Fyall,<sup>46</sup> where the approach refers, to how a heritage property or resource becomes designated, from the initial suggestion to the final inscription by the World Heritage Committee (WHCE). The publication continues by exploring the differences in implementation of the WHC between State Parties, investigating what the designation means for a country as well as a site. One key element is the implications of designation, what they are, how they are measured and how they can be optimized appropriately to the World Heritage Site. Does a site attract more visitors following World Heritage Sites inscription, and what other implications might there be, for example in matters of legislation.

This and many other topics concerning the management of resources inside and out the sites, implicates the involvement of many public and academic figures. It is here where archaeologist are hard to find, meaning that, the position they take can be overshadow by Government Officials and their accountability to be able to display as important and necessary figures to improve the preservation of the high standards of OUV, which are at the end the main goal for most of the research.

As a matter of fact, one important example, showing the concerns from scholars, towards the issue of UNESCO and World Heritage, and the social implications it has on sites, come from, *World Heritage Angkor and Beyond, Circumstances and Implications of UNESCO Listings in Cambodia*.

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<sup>45</sup> Galla 2012, pp. 1-3

<sup>46</sup> Fyall & Leask 2006, pp. 1-3



According to the main editor, Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, their research took the transformation of culture that takes place when it is turned into property, and especially into “heritage”.<sup>47</sup>

It is explained that, the “heritage industry” produces something new that still may be, in the material sense, the same as before, but it receives a number of new aspects and meanings, and new owners, namely, in the case of World Heritage Sites, the state and, in a metaphorical way, “humanity”. According to the editor, such a site becomes transformed into a public space visited by tourists from all over the world in a similar way to a museum. Thus, the sacredness of the space that determined its former use becomes superseded by a profanity that underlines the economical dimension of such newly created “cultural products”. The same counts for living cultural practices if they are reproduced by state parties in the process of making them intangible heritage, a concept that is afflicted with Western standards and principles, to make them ready for tourist consumption on the basis of the state’s norms and ideals. The preamble of the publication is to introduce the reader to the famous site of Angkor Wat, today called “Angkor Park”, which has been a symbol of national identity for a long time and the temple of Angkor Wat is the emblem of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The inscription on UNESCO’s prestigious list of World Heritage has highlighted and consolidated the association of today’s nation state with the glorious past of the Khmer 1000 years ago.<sup>48</sup>

The importance of these publications comes from the whole team of researchers consisting of Aditya Eggert from Göttingen, Keiko Miura from Tokyo, Baromey Neth from Phnom Penh and Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, which were interested to learn in what ways a monument or an ensemble of monuments, such as Angkor or the temple of Preah Vihear, and with it their particular geographic and socio-cultural setting, are subject to change when they become inscribed as World Heritage on UNESCO’s list.

They wanted to know what happens when the regulations set up by UNESCO are implemented; for example, the whole area of a site which becomes inscribed as World Heritage needs to be organized according to zones, in order to protect the archaeological and architectural locations. A World Heritage Site becomes very quickly attractive for international tourism; Hotels and restaurants usually spring up immediately and, if there are no regulations, everywhere, and they are preferably built as close to the monuments as possible. Thus the zoning regulates the protection and use of the monuments for the sake of sustainability.

Many questions can be found throughout their research, and some of them are about, the implications that have the zone on people’s everyday life that previously was not organized according to the new boundaries. Also, the implications that a World Heritage Site is incompatible with private ownership since it becomes a “heritage of humanity”, in most cases a State property.<sup>49</sup>

Their concern with Angkor seems to be related to the establishment of World Heritage Sites by UNESCO that was conceived as a means to stimulate economic development and prosperity. UNESCO’s ideals are rooted in notions of democracy, equality of a state’s citizens and also equal economic chances for all, including education and the improvement of the situation of the poor. Definitely the factor of tourism and the setting up of its infrastructure and its maintenance is connected to the preceding statement.

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<sup>47</sup> Hauser-Schäublin 2011, p. 1

<sup>48</sup> Hauser-Schäublin 2011, p. 2

<sup>49</sup> Hauser-Schäublin 2011, p. 3

Another part of the project touched the further development of living cultural practices that are believed to originate in the Angkor Period and have received the status of Intangible Heritage from UNESCO. The issue that arises is what happens with a living art form if it is appropriated and politicized by state actors on the basis of its elitist norms and values?<sup>50</sup>

The first section of their book contains "Nominations", dealing with the historical and political circumstances under which Angkor and Preah Vihear were nominated as World Heritage Sites and finally became inscribed on UNESCO's prestigious list. Here Aditya Eggert explores the cultural concepts of the actors who intend to nominate an intangible heritage, fine arts, to UNESCO.<sup>51</sup> In the second part, "Implementation and Implications", Keiko Miura discusses the issue of competing notions of ownership and heritage as applied by different actors on a local, national and international level, and how they interact with each other and with what consequences.<sup>52</sup> The Third and final part, "Development", raises the issue of development as an anticipated outcome of a World Heritage nomination, and goes beyond about the employment policies and the opportunities local people have, to make a living out of it.<sup>53</sup>

It is relevant to say that, the issues concerning my investigation are not entirely new, at least not in the international community of archaeology and in certain areas of the world, far from Europe, and from its history in the matter. But is appropriate to mention that, the implementation of my research questions, and knowledge on the different applications archaeology has shown over the years, is my goal to increase the set of awareness to World Heritage Sites, just as the previous characters mentioned.

## 2. Materials

According to the research questions, and the current situation of the case studies, Birka and Jelling as World Heritage Sites. Both inscribed at the beginning of the 90's. Hence, the sites have more than a decade of work, archaeological projects, diverse policies and countless visitors from all over the world. The challenge was to acquire the appropriate set of records, documents and views from academia and political areas, to find out more about the management and research assets of each site.

A survey with direct questions to Scandinavia personalities, a review of UNESCO's Convention, the nomination process and integration of Birka and Jelling, with an overview of how archaeological investigation has taken place over the last decade, is presented in the following pages as frame for the discussion.

### 2.1. Survey among Political and Cultural Authorities and Representatives

The following questions in Table 1 represent the concerns of this investigation, and taking into account the social perspectives that archaeology must regard when working with a World Heritage Site. One important consideration was the selection of people to be interviewed, bearing in mind that their opinion presumes as a standard to be taken serious, as to be critique in our discussion.

The list of questions that was sent to a variety of key people from both Sweden and Denmark, each question and their respective answer and discussion will be separated and addressed in detail throughout Chapter 3 and 4. *Analysis* and *Discussion*; separating the common information and the

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<sup>50</sup> Hauser-Schäublin 2011, p. 3

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid* p. 4

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid* p. 5

<sup>53</sup> Hauser-Schäublin 2011, p. 5

contrary arguments, taking into account that, the response we got back as part of acknowledgment to our topic of research speaks also as results, meaning the time taken to provide insights on this inquiries, in my opinion, is part of the involvement and consideration this World Heritage Sites portrait among scholars and public attitude.

Table 1. List of questions sent as survey to key people.

1.	What have been the implications of UNESCO designation in your archaeological research/cultural heritage responsibilities today?
2.	Have you encounter an increase in economic funding and public recognition since the designation?
3.	Do you consider there's been a progressive or conservative perspective for the tradition and performance in visualization of Birka/Jelling because of its International denomination?
4.	In your opinion, how have archaeological projects created a sense of place and pride in local communities like Birka and Hovgården/Jelling Mounds, Runic Stones and Church?
5.	Which is the current branch of archaeology you consider to be the most appropriate to use in projects in situ and with materials recovered?
6.	Do you consider there is an archaeological narrative in service of the State in your country today? If such, in what way?
7.	What's the local government view in the ethics and collaboration with local people in contrast with immigrants?
8.	Is there a hierarchy when it comes to authority characters in the site? And where would you position archaeologist and scholars?
9.	What is the legacy you could project for the next 10 years in the site's infrastructure and its Heritage visualization?
10.	What are the joined efforts between Scandinavian academia to work with Viking Age Heritage?
11.	What do you think is the cost of <b>not</b> using, studying or manage heritage in Sweden/Denmark?

In Table 2, is listed the name and detail information of each of the people that sent a response, to show the participation of such personalities.

Table 2. List of people who responded the survey.

	Name	Position	World Heritage Site asked about
1.	Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson	Researcher. PhD. Dep. of Archaeology and Ancient History. Uppsala University	Birka

2.	Ingrid Gustin	Researcher. PhD. Historical Archaeology Department of Archaeology and Ancient History. Lund University	Birka
3.	Jeanette Susanne Gimmerstam	Researcher, Leicester University.	Birka
4.	Lena Flodin	National Property Board Senior Advisor Cultural Heritage	Birka
5.	Anne Pedersen	Senior Researcher. PhD. National Museum Denmark.	Jelling
6.	Charlotta Lindblom	Museum Curator, Vejle Museum. Denmark.	Jelling

The relation of this intervention from Scandinavian Academia is a direct link and an attempt to establish a matter of contact from an inside perspective. It is important to contrast the opinion and expertise the people above have, and to construct a discussion that involves and present, data from publications and communication. This survey is important to set a current image for Birka and Jelling, to establish and compare how together two countries see Viking Age, and to consider the parameters that Heritage creates in both places. The approach they have encounter as interaction with me, is a conduct of ethics that also represents the convention to our case studies.

## 2.2. UNESCO's Convention

On November 16, 1972 the *Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (the UNESCO World Heritage Convention) was adopted. The Scandinavian or Nordic countries have ratified the Convention in the period of 1977-1995.<sup>54</sup> In April 2017, 40 World Heritage properties are inscribed in the WHL. Considering that Sweden is the one with the higher number with 15 and Denmark in tie with Norway with 8.<sup>55</sup>

The objective of the UNESCO Convention concerning World Heritage is to help to protect irreplaceable expressions of former cultures, and of natural landscapes of great importance and beauty, considered as OUV. Where culture and nature form two parts of a compound entity is the case of what is being designated, but hardly defined as cultural landscape.

UNESCO was the result of an increasing need for international agreements, to protect priceless and irreplaceable natural phenomena and cultural objects from destruction. The emblem of the convention reflects this. The circle represents Nature, the Earth and protection. The square inside it represents the values created by mankind.<sup>56</sup> With its own forms of regulation, it is used to identify properties protected by the WHC and inscribed on the official WHL, and represents the universal values for which the Convention stands.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Suul 1996, p. 11

<sup>55</sup> Number of World Heritage properties in each State Party, Web-site,

<sup>56</sup> Suul 1996, p. 29

<sup>57</sup> World Heritage Emblem, Web-site

Designations can only take place if it is part of more far-reaching national protection in the individual country,<sup>58</sup> about 145 countries have signed and ratified the Convention, with extensive global response.

Some of the obligations for the member countries include:

*“To ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated in its territory, each State Party to this Convention shall endeavour, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country”* (Paragraph V of the Convention states the obligations of the member countries)

*To give a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes. Develop scientific and technical studies and research, and to work out such operating methods as will make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage.*<sup>59</sup>

Considering a key factor in my research, is important to mention the perspective UNESCO incorporates into Birka and Jelling, is possible to conceive that the layout and certain characteristic of the organization, these two properties as well as the majority inscribed, presume to have, is because of the standards imposed and ratified by the State parties. This could represent the establishment UNESCO has as international organization that stipulates in some extent to the representatives on each country, without referring those National Agencies or Institutions of Culture. UNESCO wouldn't be able to do so without them. But in retrospective, the essential parameters set the path to keep constructing an identity for both the heritage site and the culture it intends to disseminate to its citizens.

Another aspect is the presentation of information provided by UNESCO, as a regulatory and international organization, in charge of assigning a badge to different locations in the world. The diffusion of information is important to establish a conversation between experts in the matter, and regular public interest in the location. So, at the end of visiting, walking around and acquiring images, and sensations; people, regardless their background, are able to determine and have concepts to process their identity or the identity of others.

Table 3, is just an example of the information provided by publications that are targeted to Nordic countries, and to general public, in specific Birka and Jelling, listed with the other current sites that are inscribed.

Table 3. Comparison of World Heritage Sites after inscription.<sup>60</sup>

<b>Name of area</b>	<b>Municipality – County - Country</b>	<b>Type of object</b>	<b>National protection status</b>	<b>Listed</b>
Birka and Hovgården	Ekerö, Stockholm, Sweden	Viking period town and royal estate	Protected through the Cultural Heritage Act and nationally through the Natural Resources Act	1993

<sup>58</sup> Suul 1996, p. 15

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid* p. 29

<sup>60</sup> Suul 1996, pp. 62-63

Jelling Complex of Monuments	Jelling, Vejle, Denmark	Complex of historical cultural monuments	Protected through the Nature Conservation and Churches Acts and by a Local Preservation Plan	1994
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Density of population, history and traditions as well as geographical differences, works as an aid to the designation of a World Heritage Area (WHA). UNESCO has prepared a set of recommended guidelines, the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, which are constantly being revised for a coherent national strategy. Being designated, as World Heritage must not, therefore, be something that takes place instead of an otherwise desirable national protection, but must underline and perhaps strengthen such protection.<sup>61</sup>

Through this Convention, UNESCO wishes to direct attention to the most valuable areas and to develop effective international cooperation to create the best guarantees possible that the World Cultural and Natural Heritage will be protected and handed down to future generations in a good state.<sup>62</sup>

An essential component of UNESCO is the World Heritage Committee (WHCE). Composed of 21 delegates from countries that have ratified the Convention. These delegates are elected at a general conference of State Parties to the Convention during the UNESCO General Assembly and one-third of the delegates are replaced every alternate year. The World Heritage Center in Paris acts as the secretariat for the World Heritage Committee.<sup>63</sup>

UNESCO, as an international agency, is responsible for inscribing World Heritage Sites, responsibility for their management and protection lies with the nation states of the participating countries. International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) advises the respective agencies. A prerequisite for inscription is the preparation and adoption of a World Heritage Sites management plan. In most cases a steering group consisting of local organizations and interest, with the help of national advisory bodies, prepares this locally. Then it needs to be approved by UNESCO Conservation Committee.<sup>64</sup> One detail to keep for later, is that Birka has currently a management plan, which will be mentioned further down, showing the consistence and sense of responsibility that persist in the site and among the authorities in charge.

There can be multiple issues that affect directly and or indirectly a World Heritage Site, the community around it, and the cultural policies that each country has. This could be because, despite the interventions of global institutions and transnational agencies, whether the UN, UNESCO, the IUCN or the IMF, there is still a deeply constrained by the sovereign power and status of nations. Whether an archaeological site is nominated for inscription on the WHL or a human rights issue is brought before an international court, each process relies on the juridical and political recognition of statehood. State desires for expanded mineral wealth, foreign investment, income generation, and local employment trump the concerns of some local communities, archaeological and conservation activists, as well as those in tourist sector.<sup>65</sup> Bringing to discussion, the political

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid* p. 19  
<sup>62</sup> *Ibid* p. 30  
<sup>63</sup> Suul 1996, p. 31  
<sup>64</sup> Belcher 2014, p. 192  
<sup>65</sup> Meskell 2013, p. 255

aspects and concerns that archaeologists, in my opinion should be more involve, because without knowing what are the policies that could affect our work, much of the efforts that are primary scientific will be as well affected.

It could be said that, no other institution does more to bring global heritage policies in touch and often also in sync with each other, and the commitment to heritage conservation, both verbal and actual, in the world is stronger than if World Heritage had never been invented.<sup>66</sup> But it is important to say that, the only power UNESCO can exercise over World Heritage Sites, after the official designation, is to remove them from the WHL. As mentioned before, their protection depends on legislation adopted by the nation state. With some of the measures, dealing with the wider historic environment have effectively been delegated to the local level.<sup>67</sup>

As a way to reflect on this topic, while the purpose of the WHL is to protect global cultural and natural heritage of OUV, two of the main causes for a country to work and develop one site in particular, is the international recognition as well as potential economic benefits from marketing their World Heritage Sites for tourism.<sup>68</sup>

The politicization of UNESCO is one vast topic that could and have called the attention of many scholars from different disciplines, since the multiple goals and projects that this organization undertakes, have affected the life of countless number of people. Whether in a positive or negative way, the implementation and consistent attention it receives, deserves more investigation. Having said that is the expectation that my work could represent an addition to matter.

### 2.3. World Heritage List, Nomination and Integration

The national state registers and draws up the nomination applications on a nomination form specifically prepared by UNESCO. The material is submitted to the Government of the State party before 1 July. Strict requirements are written down concerning documentation of the protection merits and the environmental status at the time of the nomination. The drawing up of nomination material will normally involve all the involved parties, from landowners and the local population to authorities at local, county and national levels.

UNESCO makes use of three international advisory working groups which assess the protection merits in a global context: ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM. When these groups of experts have delivered their reports, the final consideration of the nomination application is undertaken by the WHCE, which approves or rejects new objects and areas at its annual meetings in December.<sup>69</sup>

The process corresponding to Birka and Hovgården and Jelling mounds, runic stones and church in particular is possible to review in UNESCO’s website, according to each statement. The documents that can be consulted in each case, corresponding to the different steps that has been performed and evaluated from their application process at the beginning of the 1990’s and onwards until the recent decade are in Table 4:

Table 4. Submitted documents for each World Heritage Sites.

Birka and Hovgården	Jelling Mounds, Runic Stones and Church
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<sup>66</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 27

<sup>67</sup> Belcher 2014, p. 194

<sup>68</sup> Bertacchini 2016, p. 124

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid* p. 31

Advisory Bodies Evaluations	
1993 – Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS)	1994 – Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS)
Maps	
1989 - Birka and Hovgården – map of the inscribed property	2007 – Jelling Mounds, Runic Stones and Church, scale 1:200
Decisions	
1993 – Report of the 17 <sup>th</sup> Session of the Committee 1993 – 17COM XI – inscription: Birka and Hovgården (Sweden)	1994 – Report of the 18 <sup>th</sup> Session of the Committee. 1994 – 18COM XI – Inscription: Jelling Mounds, Runic Stones and Church (Denmark). 2008 – 32COM 8D – Clarification of property boundaries and sizes by States Parties in response to the retrospective inventory. 2009 – 33COM 7B.98 – Jelling Mounds, Runic Stones and Church (Denmark) (C 697). 2010 – 34COM 8E – Adoption of retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value
Periodic Reporting	
2006 – (Cycle 1) Section II Summary 2013 – (Cycle 2) Section II	2006 – (Cycle 1) Section II Summary 2013 – (Cycle 2) Section II
State of Conservation Reports	
Not apply	2009 – State of conservation reports 2009

The table above shows the similarities and differences in each site, a correspondence of actions, regulations and a supervision to prove the level of responsibility that UNESCO stipulates to each country. There is input from each item on this list, but to my consideration the first and last document are of greater significance for my research questions. They show what the original presentation was, the first encounter and proposition from the country to the WHCE; opposition to this, the last report presented to the same figure.

After almost a decade, is possible to review the results and contributions, to a Site that is denominated Patrimony of Humanity. One of the main points that each country presents to Committee is their justification, the relevance of importance the candidates will represent to the world and to society. It is important to declare what the main contributions are to history and the goal of its nomination.



On 1 January 1996, a Nordic World Heritage Office opened in Oslo. This three year pilot project was based on a cooperation agreement between UNESCO and Norway. It is intended to build up a network of Nordic experts, which will help to safeguard the World Cultural and Natural Heritage astride national boundaries.<sup>70</sup>

Justification by State party – Sweden.<sup>71</sup>

*As the most extensive and complex prehistoric site in Sweden, Birka is unique as a well-defined proto-town, mentioned in Frankish documents as early as AD 870. St Ansgar founded the earliest known Christian congregation in Sweden there, in 831. Its location on a small island had preserved the entire site from modern development and exploitation. The conservation work that has been in progress continuously since 1931 and its history relevance make it a well-known tourist site. The history connection with Birka and the historical events since the medieval period at Alsnö make the ensemble of Adelsö Hovgården and Birka unique in Swedish history and of great significance in European history.*

The WHC's *Justification for inscription (1993)*

*The Birka-Hovgården complex bears exceptionally well-preserved testimony to the wide-ranging trade network established by the Vikings during the two centuries of their phenomenal economic and political expansion. Birka is one of the most complete and undisturbed examples of a Viking trading settlement of the 8th to 10th centuries AD.*<sup>72</sup>

Justification by State party – Denmark.<sup>73</sup>

*The complex of Jelling mounds, runic stones, and church is a unique illustration of the transition between the old Nordic religion and Christianity; linked with this is the creation of the national state of Denmark. One of the two large grave-mounds lying on either side of the church was probably the burial place of King Gorm the Old; however, his body was removed, most likely by Gorm's son, Harald, for Christian reburial in the church.*

*The two runic stones by the church are connected with the burial mounds. The smaller stone was erected by Gorm as a memorial to his queen, Thyre. The larger depicts a Nordic dragon on one side and on the other there is the earliest image of Christ in Scandinavia. The runic text describes how Harald brought Denmark and Norway together and Christianized the Danes”*

The WHC's *Justification for inscription (1994)*

*The complex of Jelling mounds, runic stones, and church is a unique illustration of the transition between the old Nordic religion and Christianity; linked with this is the creation of the national state of Denmark. One of the two large grave-mounds lying on either side of the church was probably the burial place of King Gorm the Old; however, Gorm's son, Harald, for Christian reburial in the church, removed his body, most likely.*

*The two runic stones by the church are connected with the burial mounds. Together, they form a complex of imposing cultural monuments. The smaller stone was erected by Gorm as a memorial to his queen Thyre. The larger stone depicts a Nordic dragon on one side and on the other there is the earliest image of Christ in Scandinavia. The runic text describes how Harald brought Denmark and Norway together and*

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, p. 41

<sup>71</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 1993

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>73</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 1994

*Christianized the Danes. The mounds were “cleared” of buildings in the 1950’s and a general plan was drawn up for the area.*

This formed the basis for the Local preservation Plan that is currently in force. The area is not listed in the land register and is owned by the nation. It is protected under the terms of the Nature Conservation Act.<sup>74</sup>

As part of the responsibilities and available documents to assess the status of actions of each World Heritage Sites, a periodic reporting, demands each site to be the subject of an assessment every 5 years. It considers the state of the site and the management of its attributes, in order to identify issues of concern. Where problems become significant in advance, a delegation of inspectors is sent to assess the situation. This can lead to a Site being placed on the World Heritage SitesDL (World Heritage Site Danger list) or to be removed from the List.<sup>75</sup> To reiterate the exercise that each site will eventually participate in, beyond the recognition and the increase in visitors, this is a sight of the backstage actions, that visitors and people outside academia and political organizations may not be aware of it.

The following statements correspond to the History and Description, Management and Protection, Conservation and Authenticity, Evaluation with respective qualities and comparative analysis, and final Recommendations from ICOMOS to further actions, a draft map of the location,<sup>76</sup> and its boundaries comes along at the end, and here is possible to have a first look of what is delimited and consider to be the extension of the site.

#### **2.4. Archaeological research background**

As part of the background to understand Birka and Jelling, these case studies represent, what their countries have to offer to the world, as outstanding, aesthetical and nonetheless archaeological investigation. This proves or at least intends to, signify the work and challenge archaeologists and other scholars face, to deliver certain results to an audience of citizens, which in general, are more familiarize with the subject, eventually to foreigners visitors and new immigrants too, with a curiosity about, Viking Age.

In a cultural-historical context, the designation of World Heritage covers a span of several thousands of years, from rock carvings and rock paintings, relicts of prehistoric hunting cultures, the Viking period, medieval fortifications and stave churches, castles, palaces, and timber built towns, to one of the most outstanding examples of the 20th century Nordic functionalistic architecture.<sup>77</sup> Advanced shipbuilding techniques, facilitated the expansive phase of the Nordic countries in the Viking period. Occurrence of extensive forests, in combination with a low population density, has meant a sustainable power resource and important for cultural development.<sup>78</sup>

In this section, and relating to our main focus of my analysis, the descriptions about Birka and Jelling, as World Heritage Sites, will come from official documents, submitted at the moment of their nomination, as previously mention; as well, from their current Web-sites, which to my

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<sup>74</sup> Suul 1996, p. 43

<sup>75</sup> Belcher 2014, p. 192

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix

<sup>77</sup> Suul 1996, p. 12

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid* p. 17

opinion are part of the main impression these places, have to the public, giving a social perspective, to what people can expect, and learn in first hand from them. Finally the summary of both countries legislation in matter of Cultural heritage and preservation, to understand the frame of work and legal status these places currently hold.

Archaeological means of knowledge for these World Heritage Sites, covers an extensive set of records, which by the format of my investigation, the topics concerning, materials, temporality, and nearly the main finds these places have to offer, will be shortly mentioned. Without leaving in mind that, these and more archaeological research is what keeps the sites relevant to society and scholars.

#### 2.4.1. Birka and Hovgården

Most publications about Birka as an archaeological site, and the extensive magnitude of research that has been done over decades, represent it as one iconic place, where social groups intersected, going through a set of changes that shaped the State organization, as part of the foundations for Swedish society today.

The Birka archaeological site is located on Björkö Island in Lake Mälaren and was occupied in the 9th and 10th centuries. Hovgården is situated on the neighboring island of Adelsö. Together, they make up an archaeological complex that illustrates the elaborate trading networks of Viking-Age Europe and their influence on the subsequent history of Scandinavia. Birka was also important as the site of the first Christian congregation in Sweden, founded in 831 by St Ansgar.<sup>79</sup>

The date of the foundation of the settlement at Birka, on the island of Björkö in Lake Mälaren, is uncertain. Archaeological evidence suggests that it began in the closing years of the 8th century AD. It was certainly flourishing when the German monk Ansgar (later to be canonized) went there in 829 from Denmark, where he had been sent by the Emperor Louis the Pious to evangelize the Danes. His successful mission is recorded in the *Vita Ansgari* written shortly after his death in 865 by his successor, Rimbert. The chronicler Adam of Bremen, writing around 1070, records later missions in the 930s and the 1060s, and Birka is referred to in an interpolation in the Anglo-Saxon translation of the *Geography of Orosius* prepared at the request of Alfred the Great of England in the second half of the 9th century.<sup>80</sup> This is also mentioned by publications which depicts the total number of Heritage Sites in Sweden, where it states that Birka was founded in the mid-8th C and abandoned in the late 10th C, as well that, the area bears witness to the extensive trading journeys and long-distance networks of the period.<sup>81</sup>

Merchants and tradesmen came to Birka with goods from all over Europe and other parts of the world. This is known, through archaeological excavations, were they found Arabic silver, beads from Eastern Europe, beautiful glass goblet, ceramics and exclusive fabrics. These goods were traded for exclusive goods that are exhibit *in situ*, for example, iron, skins, horns and fur. In the city worked, many different kinds of craftsmen like comb makers, blacksmiths, weavers and others. They lived in simple houses that were arranged in rows down towards the docks.<sup>82</sup> During two hundred years Birka was a thriving city and Sweden's most important place for trade throughout northern Europe. The city had a perfect location because it was centrally located, but

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<sup>79</sup> UNESCO documents, Birka and Hovgården General.

<sup>80</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS) 1993

<sup>81</sup> World Heritage Site in Sweden 2014, p. 38

<sup>82</sup> About Birka, Web-site.

also well protected in the Baltic Sea. Birka had about 700-1000 inhabitants, which today can be compared to the Swedish island Visingsö in Lake Vättern.<sup>83</sup>

The description at the time of the nomination is as follows: the proto-town of Birka occupies much of the western part of the island of Björkö, which measures some 1.5 by 2 km. The surface evidence is confined to the ramparts of the hill-fort, used as a refuge in times of danger, the long ramparts of the town wall, with gaps where timber gate structures existed formerly, traces of stone jetties and harbors along the shore, and some 3000 burial mounds and stone settings surrounding the area of the main settlement. There are no standing remains of the settlement itself, with its timber buildings, but its location is vividly indicated by the so-called "Black Earth", composed of the layers of human occupation and the remains of wooden structures that are common on other sites of the period, such as Anglo-Scandinavian York, as revealed by excavation over the present century.<sup>84</sup> Birka is connected with the nearby Hovgården/Alsnöhus site on Adelsö Island. This Viking Age and Medieval royal estate is centered on Adelsö church, and the visible remains include the foundations of the 13th century brick palace, several large burial mounds, and an Early Medieval harbor with a runic inscription.<sup>85</sup>

The publication by Lena Holmquist-Olausson, gives an overview of the research history, from 1976 to 1989, with a background that goes beyond into written sources and the enterprises by Swedish Kings, antiquarians, and some of the first archaeological investigations. It is interesting to find the comparisons, and what Birka actually represents in the academic community, in relation to other places in Europe and not just Scandinavia.

Some of the main features that can be found in Holmquist-Olausson's work, show that, Birka has been studied according to certain questions. One of the main considerations, as trading settlement, in northern Europe and around the Baltic Sea; with components in the process behind the formation of states and a transition, from classical towns to medieval towns. How the town-like/non-agrarian settlement arose? What was its interaction with the hinterland? What was the relation between Birka and Hedeby, Germany (also a World Heritage Site), as archaeological source of material. What were the general conditions for Birka's establishment?<sup>86</sup>

According to the archaeological materials recovered from what is called, Black Earth layer, covers ca 200-250 years. Birka must not be treated as an isolated phenomenon, because of its evidence of occupation and activity before and after what is considered its rise and abandonment.<sup>87</sup>

As an area of national interest, Birka has been target of all kinds of archaeological methodology, with the process of studying maps, written sources, including archives, historical sources, and reading rune stones. The fieldwork consists of excavations, test pits, phosphate mapping, archaeological excavation of settlement remains and graves; as mentioned earlier, with the jurisdiction of the Central Board of National Antiquities.<sup>88</sup>

Understanding Birka's strategic location, from a communications standpoint, has often been emphasized since it lay at the confluence of several channels.<sup>89</sup> The context of this site, helps to

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>84</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 1993

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>86</sup> Holmquist-Olausson, 1993, p. 9

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, p. 10

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27

find the correlation and development of previous, current and future investigations. The island Björkö is 3.7 km in length and at the most, 1.5 km in width. It can be divided into two parts, the northern and the southern. They are separated by a 700 meter-wide area which today consist of low lying cultivated fields. Björkö is one of the Mälars islands, which also include Adelsö, Ekerö, Helgö, Färingsö-Svartsjölandet, Lovö, and Munsö. Björkö is located west of Ekerö, east of Adelsö, and northwest of Södertörn. To the east of Björkö is the strait Hovgårdsfjärden and to the south, the strait Södra Björkfjärden. Adelsö and Björkö are separated by Björkö Sound, which is 500m wide.<sup>90</sup> The island was first surveyed for ancient monuments in 1951 and very little were changed in the area when the survey was renewed over a few days in 1979-1980.<sup>91</sup>

The chronological classification of monuments, presented at this stage of Holmquist-Olausson's publications states that, the first group, the Birka-complex, dates from the Viking Age, i.e., the period commonly defined as the years from 780-1050. In the literature the term Birka Period, i.e. 775-975 AD is used, where the Early Birka periods delimits 775-875 and the Late Birka Period 875-975 AD.<sup>92</sup>

Name changes reflect a desire to glorify the prehistory of Sweden during its period as a great power and the importance of Sweden's first town. Name changes that occurred in the 17<sup>th</sup> C continues to exist into the 20<sup>th</sup> C. and have steered perceptions about the function of the various sites. In Holmquist-Olausson's opinion, it is not relevant to continue to discuss Birka as a trading settlement equipped with three harbors on Björkö. Neither is it possible, based on the present assumptions, to say anything about the function of different places without archaeological investigation.<sup>93</sup>

The importance of written source material, a necessary factor in archaeological investigation, describes and deals with Birka-Björkö can be sparse, much used, discussed and interpreted. The types of sources go from, written ones in connection with the Christian mission, and the accounts of Arab travelers, as well as information on Birka's geographic situation and organization. The most contemporaneous source with Birka's existence is Vita Anskarii, the life and history of the Christian missionary, Ansgar.<sup>94</sup>

Concerning the way in which Birka is named, there are several names in the text. Rune stones, and Early Christian research were performed using historical sources, such as names, church, castle names and the union of Birka and Adelsö, as when the lake was frozen, the continuation combined one area to another, being the latter where the King house was. The rune stones are scattered and fragmented, which gives no possibility to understand their message, in relation to names, and how places were acquired. The Christian factors of Birka are complicated to assume, just base on the description by Ansgar, the missionary character.<sup>95</sup>

### Sweden's Legislation

Sweden ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1984. In 1986, the Government gave the National Environment Protection Board and the Central Board of National Antiquities the task of

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<sup>90</sup> Holmquist-Olausson 1993, p. 27

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*, p. 30

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, p. 34

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, p. 35

putting forward proposals for objects for inclusion in the WHL. This has so far resulted in fifteen cultural objects,<sup>96</sup> and is expecting another one on the tentative list to be approved.

According to the nomination document, the nominated areas are in public ownership and are protected under the provisions of the Swedish Cultural Heritage Act 1988.<sup>97</sup> And as mentioned in Table 3, the area is protected through the Cultural Heritage Act and nationally through the Natural Resources Act.

The Swedish National Heritage Board, under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, serves since the 17<sup>th</sup> century as Sweden's central administrative agency in the area of cultural heritage, cultural or historic environment. Its assignment includes ensuring that the cultural value of buildings and landscapes is preserved, utilized and developed, and watching over the interests of the cultural heritage and cultural environment in community planning and construction.<sup>98</sup>

### *Heritage policy*

Cultural heritage protection and management in Sweden aims to preserve and manage sites of historical, architectural or archaeological significance and to empower cultural heritage as a force in the evolution of a democratic, sustainable society<sup>99</sup>. The national cultural environment goals are:

- a sustainable society with a great diversity of cultural heritage sites which are to be preserved, used and developed,
- people's participation in cultural heritage management and their potential to understand and take responsibility for the cultural heritage,
- an inclusive society with the cultural heritage as a shared source of knowledge, education and experiences,
- A landscape management perspective in which cultural heritage is utilized in the development of society.

### *Roles and responsibilities*

The Swedish National Heritage Board works for a sustainable society and looks after the interests of the cultural heritage in community planning and construction, distributes grants, supervises, monitors and supports regional cultural heritage management and works to increase knowledge based on research and co-operation with other parties such as universities and international organizations. The majority of decisions concerning the local and regional level pursuant to the Historic Environment Act are made by the 21 County Administrative Boards, which are state authorities with regional responsibility for matters including cultural heritage management.<sup>100</sup>

Ekerö municipality is responsible for Birka and Hovgården utilized in planning, that is, when, for example, new construction or alteration of individual buildings or entire environments are going to be changed. Municipalities can also form the cultural and nature reserve. The municipality wants to make residents more involved in world heritage by developing sites as attractive places to visit and encourage activities directly related to the historical heritage. First was the Drottningholm

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<sup>96</sup> Suul 1996, p. 55

<sup>97</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 1993

<sup>98</sup> Swedish National Heritage Board, Web-site

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*

Palace area which in 1991 became the country's first World Heritage Site. Two years later, in 1993, were also Birka / Hovgården on the list and therefore Ekerö is the only Swedish municipality with two world heritage.<sup>101</sup> The conservation and development of World Heritage Sites require interaction. The municipality, together with the National Heritage Board and the Stockholm County Administrative Board has described this work in a management plan for Birka and Hovgarden 2013-2018.<sup>102</sup>

The Environmental Code constitutes a modernized, broadened and more stringent environmental legislation aimed at promoting sustainable development. It came into force on 1 January 1999. It replaced fifteen previous environmental acts, which were amalgamated into the Code.<sup>103</sup> Legislation has for many years been the key tool in Sweden with which principles of environmental policy have been converted into practical action. The previous environmental legislation was, however, insufficient to tackle some of the environmental problems that have been identified in the vision of sustainable development. One of the main ideas behind the reform of the Environmental Code was to modernize and update Swedish environmental legislation. Gathering the key environmental laws into a code and making substantial systematic and judicial changes to them are just part of the reform. The fact that working with the Code has encouraged a much needed broadening and tightening-up of central legislation is probably of greater significance.<sup>104</sup>

#### 2.4.2. Jelling Mounds, Runic Stones and Church

Similar to the previous case study, the information provided comes from the documents at the time of the nomination. Meaning the knowledge of Danish archaeology, will intend to be related to Swedish archaeology, from reports that convey into Viking Age history.

Located in central Jutland, Jelling was a royal monument during the reigns of King Gorm, and his son Harald Bluetooth, in the 10th century, and may possibly pre-date this era. The complex consists of two flat-topped mounds, 70 meters in diameter and up to 11 meters high, which are almost identical in shape and size and construction, being built of turf, carefully stacked in even layers, with the grass side facing downwards. After introducing Christianity into Denmark, and integrating Norway with the country, Harald Bluetooth proclaimed his achievements by erecting a stone between the two mounds and building the first wooden church at Jelling.<sup>105</sup>

Archaeological investigations have been ongoing since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The North Mound has a Bronze Age mound as its core, into which a richly furnished wooden burial chamber was dug in 959. The South Mound, constructed in the 970's, is empty except for a large stone V, part of a huge ship-setting, 354 meters or 12,000 Roman feet long.<sup>106</sup>

Immediately to the south of the North Mound is a stone church of around 1100 built on top of a series of large wooden churches, among the earliest in Denmark. The oldest, cathedral sized,

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<sup>101</sup> Ekerö kommun (1), Web-site

<sup>102</sup> Ekerö kommun (2), Web-site

<sup>103</sup> The Swedish Environmental Code, Web-site

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> UNESCO Documents, Jelling General, Web-site

<sup>106</sup> Randsborg 2009, p. 127

church holds a chamber tomb with the bones of a secondary male burial (with artefacts from about 970) maybe from King Harald. The church, on the other hand, dates to the 980's.<sup>107</sup>

The present church, which archaeological excavation, has shown to have been preceded by at least three churches built of wood, all of which were destroyed by fire, is a simple whitewashed structure built of calcareous tufa, an easily quarried local material. Its reconstruction began around 1100, when it consisted of a chancel and nave; the tower at the west end was added in the early 15th century. Mural paintings dating from around 1100 (and thus the earliest in Denmark) came to light on the walls of the chancel in 1874-75.<sup>108</sup>

In 2013 the gigantic palisade, the ship-setting and the houses built under the reign of Harold Bluetooth were marked in the landscape. Here the mounds, the church and the two rune-stones have been visible for more than a thousand years.

Archaeological surveys done from 2006 to 2013 have shown that the monument area was surrounded by a 1440 meter long palisade. Within the fenced area there was room for 20 football fields. The North Mound is situated in the middle of the palisade enclosure and it is also the center of a 356 meter long ship-setting.

The giant stones from this ship-setting still lie under the top-soil in the Northern end, while the rows of stone to the South are hidden beneath the South Mound. The Kings Gorm the Old and Harold Bluetooth erected their runestones and built the monuments in the years from around 950 to 970 AD. A hectic period that led to fundamental changes in the Danish society. To protect the stones from the weather, they are now placed in display cases. In the evening, lights in the ceiling are lit, which clearly displays the runes and images.<sup>109</sup> According to the official website from the National Museum of Denmark, as one of the main custodians of this World Heritage Sites. The magnitude with which Jelling is describes goes as follows: more than a thousand years ago, the monuments in Jelling were created in order to show posterity.

Here, the country was gathered into a kingdom; the name "Denmark" makes its appearance for the first time; Christianity became the official religion of Denmark; the king, the progenitor of the current Danish house of royalty, was presented; here it stands the symbol of the founding of the Danish nation; and the change from a Nordic pagan society to an European civilization marked out. The Danish nation was born and created in Jelling, and there is no similar monument to be found anywhere else in the World.<sup>110</sup>

One of the most recent attention that this site has is with the joined work "The Late Viking-Age Royal Constructions at Jelling, central Jutland, Denmark", where the multiple authors address the current trend of investigations that benefits best the archaeological complex. In their words, History and archaeology bear witness to several important events related to the Jelling dynasty, where the written sources recorded diplomatic exchange and conflict between the Danish rulers and their contemporaries. While excavations have revealed evidence of numerous and impressive buildings works requiring both extensive resources and technical knowledge.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 1994

<sup>109</sup> Kongernes Jelling, National Museum of Denmark, Monument area, Web-site.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, UNESCO World Heritage. Web-site.

<sup>111</sup> Kähler Holst 2012, p. 474



According to these authors, more than any other site in Denmark, the royal monuments in Jelling epitomize the development and the transformation of contemporary society. Probably for that reason, the monument complex has been extended and modified over time to include both a Christian and rune stone. Nevertheless, Jelling never evolved into a major town or centre in the church administration but the site continued to play a significant role as a royal memorial and focus of Danish identity up to modern times.<sup>112</sup> This reassures my position to use the site as a case study and the importance for a social research with archaeological implications.

Throughout this article the authors target many components of the monument complex, like the different set of rune stones and fragments of the same kind, the North and South mound, the church area, the group of standing stones, a Palisade, the remains of Long houses and a set of other buildings. With this in mind they come to develop a history in three parts. This extended work presents an opportunity to understand that Jelling appears to represent a very deliberate use of a wide range of well-established symbols of royal authority in a new composition. And that the new findings appear to support the special character of its dynasty, as well as offering a unique basis for the characterization of the scale of the complex and intensity of degree of transformation, which the site underwent over a short period of time within the later part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>113</sup>

### Denmark's Legislation

Denmark ratified the UNESCO Convention by Royal Decree on 1 June 1979.<sup>114</sup> The country now has eight properties containing monuments on the WHL and is expecting another seven on the tentative list to be approved.

At the time of the nomination as it is today; the mounds are owned by the Danish state and the church and churchyard, together with the runic stones, by the Evangelical Lutheran Danish Church. The mounds and the runic stones are protected under the provisions of the Protection of Nature Act 1992, which prohibits any activities which may damage or disturb the monuments and provides for a buffer zone of 100 m radius round them, within which nothing other than normal agricultural activities may take place.<sup>115</sup>

The church is surrounded by a buffer zone of 300 meters under the same statute which prohibits the erection of buildings over 8.5 meters high. A conservation order is in force for the area to the north of Jelling for a distance of 1000 m to prevent the erection of any building or afforestation, so as to provide an uninterrupted view of the monuments from this direction.<sup>116</sup>

The church and the churchyard, including the runic stones, are protected under the Churches and Churchyards Consolidated Act of 1992, which requires any alteration to the church or churchyard to be approved by the diocesan authorities after consulting the National Museum. The church, the monuments, and the surrounding area come within the provisions of the Local Plan of Jelling Municipality, which was a mandatory status under the Planning Act 1991. Jelling and its environs, especially to the north, are designated an area of special cultural interest in the Regional Plan of Vejle County, which is also backed by the 1991 Act.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Kähler Holst 2012, p. 474

<sup>113</sup> Kähler Holst 2012, pp. 501-502

<sup>114</sup> UNESCO World Heritage. Web-site

<sup>115</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 1994

<sup>116</sup> Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 1994

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*

The National Forest and Nature Agency of the Ministry of the Environment is responsible for the management of the mounds. The church and churchyard, including the runic stones, are administered by the congregational council of Jelling church, under the supervision of the diocesan authorities, who are advised by the National Museum. The land immediately surrounding the site is owned and managed either by the National Forest and Nature Agency or Jelling Municipality.<sup>118</sup>

A committee composed of representatives of the National Forest and Nature Agency, the congregational council, Jelling Municipality, Vejle County, the National Museum, and the rural deanery coordinates management of the area. The committee is also consulted on all restoration projects and site interpretation facilities.<sup>119</sup>

According to the summary report from 2006, to inform about State of Conservation of World Heritage Properties in Europe, the legislative and administrative arrangements, is addressed to the Protection of Nature Act; Local Plan no. 104 of 1989; Special Preservation Order from 1947.<sup>120</sup>

Being managed in part by the National Museum of Denmark, the Consolidated Act on Museums, Executive Order No. 1505 of 14 December 2006.<sup>121</sup> Comes relevant to understand their procedures in regulation by law as follow:

*Part 8. Safeguarding the cultural and natural heritage in connection with the physical planning and preparation of construction work, agriculture and forestry activities, etc., including archaeological and natural-history investigation tasks in relation thereto.*

*27 - (1) The archaeological cultural heritage includes traces of human activities left from earlier ages, i.e. structures, constructions, groups of buildings, settlements, graves, burial places, movable objects and monuments and the context in which these traces are placed. (2) If traces of ancient relics or monuments are found during construction work, agriculture and forestry activities, the work must be suspended to the extent that it affects the ancient relic or monument.<sup>122</sup>*

This is some of the examples of legislations, regulating the work and development of archaeological and cultural heritage in Denmark. An important similarity between our case studies is that their management, and investigations endeavors, is correlated between local authorities, and the main Museum institution in their respective country.

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<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>120</sup> (Cycle 1) Section II Summary, 2006

<sup>121</sup> Kultur Ministeriet, Consolidate Act on Museums, Web-site

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

### 3. Analysis of UNESCO, two Scandinavian World Heritage Sites and archaeologists.

Fundamental opinions, regarding the conservation, the state of action and social implications of World Heritage Sites, are the steps to reach an answer to the question of, how does UNESCO affect Birka and Jelling? And what is the relationship with archaeologists?

To start understanding the position this two World Heritage Sites hold, there were several aims to accomplish when the sites were nominated and they became listed on the UNESCO list. The inclusion of a site on the list represents the most favorable outcome for a country, as it provides several types of benefits, ranging from international prestige to additional financial resources from tourism or international aid for conservation.<sup>123</sup> The purpose of this analysis is to find if there is a relation and truth about this statement.

Additionally, a heritage site will, according to law, be a protected area. In many countries the law refers a site, as a common heritage. Therefore, all citizens should protect the site. Nevertheless, one issue that can be encountered is that, not in every country, the law establishes, how all people or its citizens can use it.<sup>124</sup> And on the contrary, the problematics of law enforcement could diminish the work of researchers and heritage scholars that could have development as part of their projects. Due to this, there is a need for dialogues, between the official heritage management and particular interests in society. Archaeologists need to be visible in society, in order to realize the fact that, they are part of it.<sup>125</sup> This could represent an opening statement, to put in context some of the topics related to what is the social archaeology that can be encounter today in my case studies, and in relation to others with similar conditions of organization.

As mentioned in chapter 2.1, the survey conducted represents a stand point and a personal opinion from key people in Sweden and Denmark, both sides of the current situation that Birka and Jelling present to academics. In this chapter my purpose is to present their opinion in relation to my main goal. Providing my comments and to understand the situation ahead as basis for the discussion in the next chapter. Some of the questions will be reference to the discussion in their respective time, and this is a preliminary assessment of the information that Birka and Jelling have embodied over the years, as is stated, this two location represent archaeological and historical foundations for research and social development.

My intention is to find, the parameters responsible to safeguard and manage, cultural identities portrayed in this two World Heritage Sites. Given that the production and maintenance of heritage is fundamental to the archaeological endeavor, and certainly more complex when it involves, crafting pasts for other communities.<sup>126</sup>

Considering that, one of the premises of this thesis is, to try and recognize archaeologist's relations to heritage sites, as well as the connection to creating and preserving identities. The labor of safeguarding and managing cultural identities, from everything and everyone connected to a World Heritage Sites, is linked to how a place is considered to lose its identity, when not being used. Where a place is only important as long as people use it, regardless of what monuments and buildings are found in the location. It is the activities that give life to a place and make it important

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<sup>123</sup> Bertacchini 2016, p. 102

<sup>124</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p.75

<sup>125</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 84

<sup>126</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 317

and valuable, and our aim as archaeologist, must be to make heritage sites as active meeting places, where interesting discussions can take place, among academics and non-academics.<sup>127</sup>

I agree that, local communities play a role in identifying and safeguarding heritage resources, within large heritage management processes. And given that in some cases, community members are practitioners of traditional heritage management in their own right.<sup>128</sup> This and other types of involvement of the public are addressed in the following chapters.

As a first approach to my case studies, this analysis presents the answers from my survey, and are correlated to view, the perspective from each person. This is the main thread throughout the rest of this chapter, as well as in the following chapter, where the use of the communication with key peoples, addresses vital perspectives on my two case studies and the discussion that intends to answer my main goal and research questions.

Starting with the implications of UNESCO in these two World Heritage Sites, and the circumstances that surround the increase of funding and public recognition, the state of sense of pride and some of the political issues are presented, first with perspective from Sweden and then from Denmark, with the archaeological element always relevant to the opinions now presented.

First is the case of Sweden, which I found that, even though, Birka has been a protective site since the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>129</sup> And as mentioned previously, listed in WHL in 1993, which by then “The Birka Project”, that has six seasons of excavation in the town area, had been running for 3 years.<sup>130</sup> This project had a lot of attention in media from the start and the amount of tourists visiting Birka/Björkö area was very large as long as this campaign was running.<sup>131</sup>

As mentioned before, Birka has been of National interest for a very long time and is protected by Swedish law both as a National heritage site and as a nature reserve.<sup>132</sup> The National Property Board (Statens fastighetsverk, SFV) has been managing the site since January 2015, until then it was for many years managed by National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet, RAÄ). SFV is the manager, but is not involved in research, nor in keeping the site open and showing it to visitors. The research and excavations are done by the Swedish History Museum, the Maritime Museum, and universities, mainly the Archaeological Department at Stockholm University. Strömman is a company that functions as tenant and responsible for the visitor management, guided tours and administrative responsibilities.<sup>133</sup> This is just an example of the progressive set of changes the cultural sector of a country takes, something that is I certain level normal and appropriate, as long as the state of conservation remains or even improves.

The four people that answered my survey showed an agreement about the implications of UNESCO’s designation in Birka. According to them, the situation has not changed drastically, due to permissions for excavations and archaeological research being very restricted by the County Administrative Board in Stockholm.<sup>134</sup> Partly, UNESCO has not been beneficial nor hurtful to the

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<sup>127</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 81

<sup>128</sup> Meskell 2013, p. 252

<sup>129</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>130</sup> Gustin 2017, personal communication

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>133</sup> Flodin 2017, personal communication

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

acquaintance of budgets, or changes in literature and publications.<sup>135</sup> Even though Birka is an iconic site, an important archaeologically and represent the Viking Age period, Swedish government does not allocate special funding for World Heritage Sites. It does often get public recognition, mainly from foreign visitors, the site however did not have an increased economic funding, but Birka and Hovgården has been for many years an attraction in itself.<sup>136</sup>

The organization and the structure to produce new investigations, publications and bring attention from scholars, is still dependent on personal initiative, Swedish universities and museums. Is visible that the situation differs from country to country, due to the fact that even though a site is inscribed to the list as a World Heritage, with global interests, the main responsibility lays on a national level. So basically it is up to each nation to decide which heritage site they see as a national treasure.<sup>137</sup> The attention Birka receives can be because Viking heritage has been seen for a long time as a national identity.<sup>138</sup>

Nevertheless, an important aspect is the existence of the “World Heritage Management Plan Birka and Hovgården 2013-2018”<sup>139</sup> (in Swedish, Förvaltningsplan för världsarvet Birka och Hovgården 2013–2018). It was developed and signed by the National Heritage Board, Ekerö Municipality and Stockholm County, (lacking the summary in English that is mentioned in the table of context). Regardless, this is an example of the effort from the Swedish authorities to develop and improve the conditions, and the urgent need to interpret and update the visualization, to make the place interesting and attractive from a visitor’s point of view, but due to lack of funding it has not been done.<sup>140</sup> As noted in the UNESCO convention, a management plan is one of the requirements, to preserve not just the conditions of the cultural heritage, but to maintain its status, as a well-organized and outstanding valuable asset to humanity.

I consider that, after a site is being listed, some of the changes that could appear, will be related to how the investigations is being done and the infrastructure to present results to the public, also the respective diffusion channels to reach people from different backgrounds and far destinations. Since in this case, Viking Age information is looked upon from all over the world. In this sense, one example is the guided tours, where the company in charge, Strömman, tries to keep updated and broaden the picture, but that’s also a question of resources and competence.<sup>141</sup>

Another informant, Ingrid Gustin mentions that the UNESCO designation helped making the authorities aware that there was a big need for a museum/visitors center on the island. A large number of tourists were coming to the island due to the excavation in the Black Earth. The museum was built and the exhibitions were created in 1995-96; and before that, there were only guided tours on the island.<sup>142</sup> Certain changes over the structure of the site, as a visitor center with a museum, may need certain influences into the display of the information, meaning that, the dialogue that can start between archaeological knowledge and public is controlled in certain matter by the people in charge of the site. Where different actors are respected as specialists of different areas, but as public managers SFV must follow the law and their assignments which of course

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<sup>135</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson, Gustin, Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>136</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson, Flodin 2017, personal communication

<sup>137</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> World Heritage Management Plan Birka and Hovgården 2013-2018, Web-site

<sup>140</sup> Flodin 2017, personal communication

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> Gustin 2017, personal communication

implies authority.<sup>143</sup> This can implicate political views ahead of others, and teaching a lesson directed to just citizens, instead to a wider public with people from other countries.

Having said that, the opinion from Jeannette S. Gimmerstam, refers that the media attention the site receives, has been a conservative perspective for a very long time. The public perception, even though it is now changing it may take a bit longer. This conservative perspective is what she calls an “archaeological myth”, which is deeply rooted in the national identity, e.g. that Vikings helmets had horns.<sup>144</sup> The issue with these archaeological myths is revealed, when archaeologists discover new evidence that contradicts previous research on a heritage site connected to national identity. A difficult task ahead of scholars is trying to convince the public opinion why the new evidence is pertinent and why the complete history of the site will be rewritten. According to Lena Flodin, the influence is by the archaeological view and museum traditions at the time when the presentation was done. For this reason it needs to be revised and updated to match new trends.<sup>145</sup>

In terms of, the international denomination having influence on the history created on site, Gimmerstam thinks, it does. As stated before, Scandinavia’s Viking heritage is a predominately factor in marketing of the World heritage site, the global perspective on Scandinavia is deeply connected and always will be generally associated with Vikings.<sup>146</sup>

One of the main reasons, for me to focus, in the social inclusion and structure that occurs in this two World Heritage Sites is based on the premise that, heritage of international standing, may be perceived locally as irrelevant, and even regarded with hostility. With the use of scarce local resources for its safeguarding, may therefore be considered unimportant or even immoral compared with meeting the needs of local public services.<sup>147</sup> These and other issues of funding, involve some of the modern implications of social involvement, and could represent some of the consequences of UNESCO’s designation.

Turning now to the case of Denmark, the situation is quite different, the opinion comes from two people who answered my survey. Is interesting to see their agreement showing a difference with the one from Sweden.

The immediate implication is among others a clear national interest in the site of Jelling, which means a focus in the area and also a governmental interest. Likewise the latest archaeological excavations and research (2006-2013) has had a tremendous impact on the UNESCO’s heritage; which according to the latest research and excavations will be “expanded” in a new “boundary modification”.<sup>148</sup> For information on cultural heritage responsibilities, the local authorities and the local Vejle Museum, is the responsible group for the local region.

Anne Pedersen mentions that, working as a researcher in Jelling, is a privilege, being permitted to work on such a unique site; and an obligation, in that, special care has to be shown, when choosing research objectives and methods, so that as much as possible is preserved and nothing is destroyed without purpose and scientific documentation, since new investigation campaigns are subject to intense scrutiny; considering the results of previous campaigns.<sup>149</sup> It is clearly a sense of

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<sup>143</sup> Flodin 2017, personal communication

<sup>144</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>145</sup> Flodin 2017, personal communication

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Belcher 2014, p. 193

<sup>148</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>149</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

professionalism and scientific responsibility, for a site that has provided many years of work and material for researchers.

The funding situation has a different scenario than in Sweden. According to my sources, it has been easier to receive public funding since it is a national site with a national narrative. But, this is not only due to the designation. Accordingly, there has been an increase in public recognition of the site, including local acceptance and pride in the monuments, due to the latest research project (Jelling Project 2009-2017), which has brought new results and new stories for mediation, and resulted in a changed perception of the complex and its significance in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>150</sup>

Following upon results of the research project and the need to protect the rune stones from further weathering and damage, the heritage authorities, local municipality and exhibition center have received, extensive economic funds, independently of the research project.<sup>151</sup> But clearly the UNESCO status of Jelling helped greatly in achieving funding.<sup>152</sup>

Relations of UNESCO and World Heritage Sites are complicated as it is, and to find a balance between local authorities and international guidelines is one of the main difficulties for archaeologist and respective managers in each site. Provided that the different political perspectives, that national and local administration assume, are concentrated in the mapping of peoples and cultures across space and time. As evidenced by the distribution of artifacts, households, settlements, and monuments, is one of the most basic forms of archaeological analysis. The result can be a new appreciation of the politics of location and the social construction of space and place.<sup>153</sup>

This argument about place and borders, can be conceptualized as barriers or bridges, real or imagined and can be accordingly marked or unmarked, permeable or impermeable. They can be the sites of control, sites of identity, or sites of transgression, and simultaneously all three.<sup>154</sup> So by definition, a World Heritage Sites is where the creation and management of identity takes place, and is the case of Birka and Jelling to present that status of creation, and conceptualize, both the benefits and problematic that gets involve with the preservation and continue survey of information. In the mode of archaeological projects on the field, which will be seen further on, is a way of destruction of historical record, a complex process of creation and destruction of information.

According to Jasper Chalcrafts, the assumption that World Heritage status protects the physical sites to honor should be taken with some caution, since destruction is a matter of definition.<sup>155</sup> Giving me reference to understand the relationship that is needed between all the agencies and institutions involve in the managing and conservation of these two World Heritage Sites.

Another important element of my research is to find a continuity to the life of these World Heritage Sites, a type of legacy that could be control, manage or measure, an approximation of how the society will interact with these features in the near future, or even in many generations ahead.

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<sup>150</sup> Lindblom, Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>151</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>152</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>153</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 216

<sup>154</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 220

<sup>155</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 25

The point of view of my informants from Sweden presents the urgent need for finding funding, and to update the presentation of the site in order to put Birka and Hovgården in a wider context and to make it more interesting for the visitors.<sup>156</sup> Additionally, a need for new ways of mediating the site and the results from research and excavations, including more digital visualization tools to help create a better knowledge and understanding of the site, improved by reality-apps, digital resources in open access and continuous publications, given that digital visualization tools are very useful when presenting how the site has changed throughout the years.<sup>157</sup> Also that the National Board of Heritage and the Historical Museum in Stockholm need to be more active and involved in the presentation and maintenance of Birka and Hovgården as cultural heritage, instead of letting it out to private companies, e.g. Strömman. In relation to this is the existence of the fear for its development to an entertainment park where information based on research could have a minor role.<sup>158</sup>

It could be difficult to understand where this concerns come from, but one crucial aspect is their contemporary relevance. And the perception they portrayed, as archaeologist and specialist sense could be the imperative actions to be performed. As mentioned before, the management of the site is recently taken over by SFV and they are making some changes to the maintenance. It is clear that the feature that is most interesting to visitors is ongoing archaeological excavations. During the 1990's there were large excavations that were ongoing for several years, with the attention from TV documentaries describing the site and the ongoing activities. Whenever these are reported in media, the number of visitors is influenced by it. Since then the number of visitors has declined, leaving the heritage site to recuperate.

The situation in Denmark is quite the opposite, here the continued interest in the site increases. Some changes in the town infrastructure and visualization of the site in the Kongernes Jelling are already in place. It is to be hoped that a balance will be achieved over the next years.<sup>159</sup> A new plan for the Heritage visualization and the sites infrastructure was launched in 2010-2012 and is still partly under construction and is being developed consecutively.<sup>160</sup> A range and diversity of sites and phenomena which may be considered as part of the Viking Heritage, the interest in the Viking period in the countries which deem themselves to share in such heritage.<sup>161</sup> One clear aspect, is the connotation that in two sites Viking culture has, the target of research and the presentation of information is tied to the set of interpretations and tradition of knowledge.

The next question is about the joined efforts between Scandinavia academia to work with Viking Age Heritage. Here is where the social aspects of archaeology come to the scene. In Sweden, there are several research projects concerning the Viking Age. This projects are aimed at enhancing the knowledge of the driving forces and societal structures that introduced the Viking Age. It is called the "Viking Phenomenon" and is a 10-year project based at Uppsala University. Like this example, there are many formal and informal groups of researchers focusing on questions relating to the Viking Age, as mentioned before is a topic that is also of great international interest.

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<sup>156</sup> Flodin 2017, personal communication

<sup>157</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>158</sup> Gustin 2017, personal communication

<sup>159</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>160</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>161</sup> Sindbæk 2011, p. 82



According to Hedenstierna-Jonson the research collaborations resulted in a variety of workshops, seminars, conferences and publications as well as joint excavations and surveys.<sup>162</sup> Gustin agrees with the existence of joint ventures. But she refers that when it comes to research, these have been private initiatives and have little to do with UNESCO's denomination.<sup>163</sup> Finally Gimmerstam considers that there are collaboration projects within the Scandinavian countries concerning the Bronze Age as well as rock art and some collaborations between different kinds of museums in southern Sweden and Denmark.<sup>164</sup>

From Denmark, the idea of Viking Age heritage has a high priority today. According to Pedersen, there is a great awareness of the need to cooperate across borders on specific subjects and material groups. Many academics are directly or by external advisory boards involved in research projects, publications, teaching, etc., there are numerous projects, workshops and conferences with participants from different countries and scientific disciplines. The Viking Age community extends beyond Scandinavia, including researchers from many other countries.<sup>165</sup> Lindblom on the other hand, mentions the small amount of joined efforts between the Scandinavian academia to work with Viking Age Heritage.<sup>166</sup>

After the previous statements, it can be conceive that the Viking Age has its own particular place within popular culture and the general public, and it has become increasingly important to engage in the general discussion, not least in that the Vikings have been both used and misused in political discussions and as a means of defining the Scandinavian culture and identity. For what could be consider of vital importance that scholars take part and clear the image given, providing a fact-based alternative to the one given by some groups.

Another important issue in my thesis is the review of consequences from the lack of focus and the disintegration that the situation of heritage could resulted in from not having focus or interest. Meaning to understand what could be the cost of not having a heritage structure in these two countries.

Sweden has a broad sense of responsibility to its heritage and identity. For Hedenstierna-Jonson managing, using, studying and mediating the heritage in Sweden is vital for keeping the heritage, and gaining a general approval of the maintenance of these sites. The cost of not doing this is the loss of comprehension that these heritage sites are important to all people, as a link to a shared history and the role of that history in the greater narrative.<sup>167</sup> The opinion from Gustin is that not studying and managing Birka and Hovgården correctly and instead turning the sites into a commercial amusement park where knowledge and research play less and less role, would be to miss out on the advantages and potentials of these two sites.<sup>168</sup> For Gimmerstam the loss of history is a lost identity. For her the cost of not using, studying or manage heritage worldwide is a great lost for future generations. She also believes that UNESCO has participated in creating awareness of the people of the world's history. Where now we know more about the entire World's History

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<sup>162</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>163</sup> Gustin 2017, personal communication

<sup>164</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>165</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>166</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>167</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>168</sup> Gustin, 2017, personal communication

than we did a couple of years ago on a global scale. For that reason is highly important to know each other's history in order to understand each other.<sup>169</sup>

In the case of Denmark, the position that researchers take in relation to the loss of heritage, and the situations that could encounter are similar to Sweden, coming to a Scandinavian perspective, Pedersen reflects that a country without a sense of the past, will lack a depth of understanding in their current situation. Without management and regulations there is the risk that much of the heritage will deteriorate or be destroyed.<sup>170</sup> This will go beyond the immediate economic potential of an interesting heritage in terms of tourism. Since there is a great interest in the Viking Age among the public, the subject brings people together on many different levels and in very different walks of life. This interest is fueled by data and interpretations offered by scholars, while at the same time scholars benefit from the public interest and initiatives. Which is why it would be expensive not to have a useful heritage, since the information is still far from being all collected.<sup>171</sup>

Other points from my survey are used in Chapter 4, as examples for the discussion and the characteristics that relate directly to my case studies. The previous analysis represent the agency that this sites currently have, from a sample of important people that have granted me time from their work to provide their knowledge and concerns.

I consider this survey as an important element of my materials, given that it presents the opinion from people that have been or are involve in the management and/or research of Birka and Jelling. My intention to contact these people is to get acquainted with the sites, and to review the attention they get when they are the subject of an archaeological investigation with social implications. The people that answered have provided me with information that is not possible to find directly in publications, at least not in English and at present published. I attempt to protect the value of this comments into consensual opinions, with an insight into my main goal and research questions.

This chapter represents the both sides of the heritage situation in two countries of Scandinavia, the results are part of the achievement of my investigation, which is understanding the implications of World Heritage Sites with archaeologists. It shows how Scandinavia Academia visualize their own heritage, the system that is in controlled of it, and it forms a self-reflection to the needs and solutions to their problems. It could be consider that, the perception of World Heritage Site in Sweden and Denmark, is connected to conceptions of modern technologies, social inclusion, contemporary theoretical perspectives and an improvement of interpretations of the materials.

In the next chapter, the discussion take stands into several concepts that I consider could answer the main questions of my research, and in the process, set in perspective the situation that Sweden and Denmark, as political and cultural colleagues could portrait in order to find a common solution to their different circumstances. To find a better unity of support between them and extent the work of research about Birka and Jelling into a more global perception.

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<sup>169</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>170</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>171</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

#### 4. Discussion

Throughout my investigation, I encountered certain characteristics and categories, on how archaeology has influenced the relations between society, their past heritage, and their present identity. It's a matter of discussion among many scholars, in all regions of the world; which enables the contradiction of paradigms for archaeologists.

The question in my investigation of how can archaeologists involve the public and surpass the tourism factor in an archaeological site, registered in World Heritage List? It is deeply connected to understand the perspectives and implications of social archaeology. Since, one of the foundations of actions of World Heritage Sites is to be open to the public, and engage in a bilateral conversation about the knowledge that has been acquire through exhaustive research.

As I have stated before, I consider Birka and Jelling to involve more factors than just cultural heritage, being that their official denomination from UNESCO. The concept of cultural landscape, I believe is relevant to use as well, since, they are not isolated objects that one can find in a museum or a gallery. There is a certain involvement of the environment and as such, the actual boundaries of the area, delimit the space, hence the use of the concept in the social sciences have tended to emphasize the landscape as the physical or ecological setting for social action.<sup>172</sup>

It is within the location and the environment where, besides the outside visitors, exists the local communities, the people that could be characterize to be more involve and connected to their respective World Heritage Sites. Considering that each site will be located in very different geographical circumstances, the entanglement that archaeologists, scholars and managers of the site create to these communities is important. This relationships, is the evidence of what identity the site has, together with the identity that local people may or may not assume as their own.

As part of the relations and implications that local inhabitants can come to realize, is that living in the surroundings of a World Heritage Sites, could entails some adversity, despite their initial hopes for improvement, through benefits acquired from tourism development. But local inhabitants are not the only people expected to profit from certain lucrative jobs, which are mostly offered to urban dwellers or people with type of preparation, one more directed to a higher degree of tourism, management and business, where connections to owners and managers could play a significant role.<sup>173</sup>

Another possibility is that local people are more concerned about the everyday life experience, eating and living well, as well as their own memory that make the archaeological space a meaningful space.<sup>174</sup> What I think this means, is that, in some cases the relation from a local community and how they conceived being around a World Heritage Site, that offers many opportunities of visual aids and self-reflection, has something to do with the level of appropriation and affiliation to the culture and historical social group that is depicted from the archaeological research. Providing, a more free flow of interpretations and self-image and self-identity to both, the community and the World Heritage Site.

According to my case studies, Sweden and Denmark, among the Nordic countries, denote a sense of ownership, towards the conglomerate of Viking Heritage. In particular, the case studies that have been develop in this investigation, Birka and Jelling, share particular qualities. One of the

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<sup>172</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 219

<sup>173</sup> Miura 2016, p. 133

<sup>174</sup> Wang 2016, p. 188

similarities that I encounter is the sense of pride among the citizens of each country, towards each World Heritage Site.

In relation to create an identity to society inside a country, the correlation of archaeological heritage with nationalistic agendas, and the conservation of those values, is a sense of pride over a certain past, one that could give glory, sentiment and reflection, to what society has become over time. In Sweden and Denmark, as mentioned before, with a shared series of historical events, that could represent, the parameters for their respective archaeological investigations in the field.

It exists a nostalgic embrace of the past that produced the world heritage buildings and remains, for archaeological sites, these pasts may be simply too remote in time, pride in the site and its global recognition is universal, despite their lacking share in the tourist business.<sup>175</sup> This nostalgic perception, in my opinion is visible at Birka and Jelling, as have been stated before, this two particular sites, have represent in many occasions, a sense of history and continuity, that provided to Swedish and Danish government and society, a self-reflection and foundations to their political and social organization.

One way to view this sense of pride comes from my survey, where my references, have stated that, there is definitely a sense of pride in the local communities in the municipality of Ekerö (Birka),<sup>176</sup> and it has emerged an increased a sense of pride and interest in the municipality Vejle (Jelling).<sup>177</sup> In both cases, the cause is mainly, the results that the ongoing excavations and research take part, providing additional data for the interpretation of the monument complexes.

Being more specific, the case of Birka have shown an increased interest in education, having resulted in a World Heritage School (Munsö skola), with a special assignment to work with and represent the site, sometimes also link to projects *in situ*.<sup>178</sup> With this local association promoting the historical heritage of Birka and Adelsö, schools in the area have been engaged in work with exhibitions for the museum on Björkö.<sup>179</sup>

The specific case of the Jelling mounds and rune stones is that they have been known and discussed for a long time. New investigations demonstrate the extent and unique nature of the site, thus emphasizing its significance in the past. With this in mind, the sense of pride comes along with a certain critique and concern among many locals, feeling that their community is changing because of the increased focus on the monuments, and that the monuments have taken over the original center of the town, wondering how will affect their daily lives; as to others the increased number of visitors offers additional income.<sup>180</sup>

There is a certain ambiguity, about the case studies I present and the rest of world, especially in countries that could have a lower economic development and a more complex legislation. In agreement with Gimmerstam, the sense of pride differs from place to place as well as whom you ask. Since there are World Heritage Sites where local pride exist amongst the inhabitants with a certain heritage. In contrast, there can be, local indigenous populations, as well as the descendants from certain communities, that do not feel the same connection to the site.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 26

<sup>176</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>177</sup> Pedersen, Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>178</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>179</sup> Gustin 2017, personal communication

<sup>180</sup> Pedersen, Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>181</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

In most cases outside Europe, the perspective of colonization and historical events of domination, over other populations of the world is visible, in the rhetoric and lesson presented in each World Heritage Site. One of the issues about creating, pride and ownership from cultural heritage from the past, is that humanity, in its entirety, is assumed to acquire rights as well as duties over these sites. Where tourists, conservationists, scholars, journalists and political leaders come and visit, in often much larger numbers than before and have influenced many key decisions from a distance.<sup>182</sup> Despite the label that society glues from heritage onto specific material, performativity or intellectual units, extracted from the vast expanse of cultural manifestations, “traditions”, “customs”, “culture”, that can be found in their site and around its infrastructure.<sup>183</sup>

For this reason I agree with Peter Probst, when he says that heritage needs to be understood as a relationship, embedded in spheres of exchange, that generate both social and material forms of value.<sup>184</sup> Although, his conception attempts to identify historical “homelands” for all ethnic groups through archaeological research, supports an ideology that could led to designation, is conceivable for World Heritage Sites that are still outside the WHL, and with a context of marginalization from their respective authorities, since they are the direct connection to UNESCO and the process to be listed as patrimony of humanity.

Returning to my point of interest, about the social archaeology that could be found, and in some matter needs to be established, as part of archaeological investigations, whether or not the site is under research or forms part of the WHL. The social units could be defined as “the main groups through and by which culture is shared and transmitted from one generation to another”<sup>185</sup> In the light that many archaeologist, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, felt a social responsibility to provide museums for wider publics, even if the message advocated in those places was paternalistic, nationalist and imperialist.<sup>186</sup>

The progress that has been done since then, is represented in the openness to new type of spectators and from a range of different involvement from government officials and private sector of the population, whom understand what heritage stand for, from different perspectives, while the first prioritize physical remains, such as archaeological materials and monumental structures are still important national heritage to protect.<sup>187</sup>

One consideration that combines the factor of tourism and the concerns of a proper participation of the public in World Heritage Sites is that, the global recognition by UNESCO, is used strategically when guiding foreign tourists, but local tour guides, are able to sense and critique a lack of organization.<sup>188</sup>

Continuing with the idea of landscape, as socially constructed and emphasizing that, the same piece of ground holds different attachments and contrasting meanings for different people and groups. The location and distribution of material markings, figure importantly in most landscape writings, especially stone monuments, construction and rock art, and material expressions commonly coupled with rituals.<sup>189</sup> Evidently, my perception of World Heritage Sites as landscapes

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<sup>182</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 2

<sup>183</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 7

<sup>184</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 21

<sup>185</sup> Grahame Clark 1939, in: Hodder, 2004, p. 24

<sup>186</sup> Hodder 2004, p. 24

<sup>187</sup> Wang 2016, p. 187

<sup>188</sup> Salazar 2016, p. 165

<sup>189</sup> Ashmore 2004, p. 229

in a social context is clear, and will be addressed further, in connection of the use of museums and exhibitions.

Before continuing with the discussion on the social archaeology of World Heritage Sites, I must present two statements that could stay in mind and help visualize social archaeology's conception. To coincide with Lynn Meskell, the social or contextual archaeology is premised on the recognition of local patterns of meanings-in-practice.<sup>190</sup> In addition, as Barbara Little mentions, socially useful heritage can stimulate and empower both local community members and visitors to make historically informed judgments about heritage, and the ways that we use it in the present.<sup>191</sup> Their respective ideas about the social life of archaeology, conceptualize the frame to the main goal in my thesis.

#### 4.1. Social archaeology and World Heritage Site

It's considered that only recently, has the heritage field begun to embrace such factors as economics, cultural change, public policy and social issues. The advantages of an ethnographic approach in this aperture is that, it can focus on the way values function, in everyday life and in particular on the deliberations in which they are formed and expressed.<sup>192</sup>

UNESCO's World Heritage insists on meaningful place, and clearly fixed and bounded. In addition, world heritage properties are delimited pieces of land, and maps specifying their outlines are a fundamental part of how they are represented in nomination files and on the official website.<sup>193</sup> The state of preservation of a heritage site is relevant to multiple factors, as archaeology is not a neutral or purely a scientific discipline, but it is a process affected by the aims of its practitioners, who are deeply enmeshed in contemporary intellectual, social and political agendas.<sup>194</sup> Part of the complexity of heritage is its status as both global and local. The main heritage sites of the world are known and recognized worldwide, regardless of their location. All global heritage sites are also local.<sup>195</sup> Which brings to the discussion the issues of public engagement, and the ethics challenges ahead for heritage managers and archaeologist to their research visualization and representation.

Colin Renfrew presents the idea of a *social archaeology*, where societies were still presented as bounded entities which are constituted through the actions of individuals. It is precisely when a number of individuals do interact fairly strongly in a number of different ways, and less strongly with others outside that number, that we can begin to speak in terms of a social group.<sup>196</sup> It can be mentioned that social archaeology concerns itself with a past in which territorially bounded social groups were formed by autonomous citizens, very like the modern nation-state.<sup>197</sup>

The conceptualization of social archaeology brings the opportunity for a high level of social interaction, team work and as means in which to develop individuals' communication, leadership and collaboration skills.<sup>198</sup> In this chapter the discussion bring challenges for archaeological

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<sup>190</sup> Meskell 2004, p. 124

<sup>191</sup> Little 2007, p. 2

<sup>192</sup> Salazar 2016, p. 164

<sup>193</sup> Brumman & Berliner, 2016, p. 3

<sup>194</sup> Kane 2003, p. 9

<sup>195</sup> Carman 2002, p. 11

<sup>196</sup> Colin Renfrew, 1977 in: Thomas 2004, p. 116

<sup>197</sup> Thomas 2004, p. 117

<sup>198</sup> Cunningham 2010, p. 16

practice, as practitioners and public seem encourage to formulate their own interpretation about this discipline and in particular to a site, the culture that is inscribed to it.

#### *4.1.1. Public engagement in community projects*

There are many concepts that represent the point of view of public and community archaeology. I intend to disseminate the important ones that adequate to my research questions, and to the case studies I have chosen. One simple one is archaeology by the people for the people.<sup>199</sup>

Some of the conceptions that correspond to community archaeology show that, it allows great deal of public participation, creating a lot of experiences, as people involved may deal with something they have not before. A contemporary project often relies on the public, telling about the sites and sharing information.<sup>200</sup> Which corresponds to my opinion to a positive public engagement, and determines a tone of actions and self-awareness directly to the site and the people that works there in all the different areas, from administrative office, to museums if the case, and research.

One more concept to deal with is the one of sustainable development, which was initially discussed in the sphere of environmental protection and development, implying the sustainable use of natural resources, and then gradually incorporated in the culture sector. Sustainable use of natural and cultural resources in tourism and by local communities is one constant need to be stressed, and there is an emphasis on community participation in the planning and approval of sustainable tourism and heritage management.<sup>201</sup>

As it will be deploy, the involvement of public, have many ways of representation and ramifications, and ideology based on a common goal. The sustain of cultural heritage, located in the center of a particular environment and surrounded by people, which encounters many forms of attachments, and in certain way there are also levels of connection.

In relation to my last comment on the levels of connection, it is important to mention that one of the different ways when local people have no benefits or an unfavorable position, is when these are excluded, from the planning process. Some of the causes for that could be the lack of knowledge and financial capital, an interethnic or interclass rivalries, the extra-local competition for the most amount of benefits, and the rivalry over power with state appropriation and their governmental policies.<sup>202</sup> I found it relevant to use these arguments, as an example, for the complications, and consequences possible to be encountered after a World Heritage Site is enlisted. This could happen also when a government probably has not a consensus in their heritage, their policies and who should be the beneficiaries of each policy. If a dysfunctional relations gets developed, one of the consequences as well, is that heritage could get directed to belong to a certain group of people, opposed to the purpose of UNESCO to make it possible to reach out to even other groups.<sup>203</sup> Creating and presenting a more varied and nuanced picture of the past, could be a start point to a solution and reflection from both the academia of each country and their government representatives, and considering that their heritage is a more social concept that just a profitable asset to sell to the best buyer.

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<sup>199</sup> Cunningham 2010, p. 15

<sup>200</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 76

<sup>201</sup> Miura 2016, p. 137

<sup>202</sup> Salazar 2016, p. 151

<sup>203</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 81

Moving on, one of the reasons to engage in projects of public archaeology, has to do with the role archaeologist can take, which could be, to use the advantage of the public's curiosity and interest, by integrating the ethic of community activism into exhibitions. Archaeology could give people a new perspective on modern events that are sensitive, difficult, or personal, and that happened relatively recently in history.<sup>204</sup> According to this, the variety of fields of study, such as historical archaeology, or archaeologies of the recent past, presents its findings to have sociopolitical articulations and many researchers could feel encouraged to engage with living communities.<sup>205</sup> Increasing the chances of developing a more social archaeology, giving strength and a better character to researchers and their work, mainly in public's perception.

One of the challenges that can emerge is to sustain public participation and interest. This can come from the perceived usefulness of heritage. It could be that, participation continues only as long as people find heritage useful. The concept "useful" has not been limited to economic terms, through tourism or paid admissions, which to certain sectors of the political and cultural administration can be a legitimate goal and concern. Barbara Little mentions that, what is useful could be weighed in terms of public meaning and in political and social inclusion and action.<sup>206</sup> To a certain level of professionalism, and realistic vision, archaeologists should be concerned and take in mind the success a World Heritage Site is having economically, since the support and attention a place gets, is reflected upon new research funds, materials to work with, and possible campaigns for bigger endeavors. Something that the survey I made, brings insight in this particular topic, when I asked about how the increase in economic funding and public recognition has been managed.

Considering the process of engaging the public in archaeology brings interrogations about what is the best perspective to take in stand. Here I have decided to agree with Christopher Gosden, when he argues that, the ways in which social groups interact with landscapes are partly structured by how previous social groups interacted with the landscape.<sup>207</sup> What I consider with this is, the connection will make with World Heritage Sites today, is consciously related with academia and scholars, but for public in general it can be an unconscious decision to feel connected or have a sense of ownership over a landscape, an archaeological site, or a monument in particular.

It is simple to say that public archaeology is concerned, with the ways in which archaeological knowledge is communicated and disseminated, through a variety of media including formal education, museums and heritage sites, print and broadcast media, and popular culture.<sup>208</sup> And it is the decision, to choose the best channel of communication, which could be a challenge for archaeologists, when they are not the ones in control of education, media publications and the doctrine that wants to be taught to people in a country.

The sector of education is the main purpose, that archaeologist could rely to get their results and insights to the general public, in and out of the borders of the site and crossing barriers of language and backgrounds. Yet, there can be teaching on sites, with the aim of outdoor education. Something that researchers could strive for, in order to empower the public with greater control of its own learning. This can be done if archaeologist and historians are willing to share their intellectual tools when interpreting sites. With these tools, people could participate in the creation of historical knowledge and in the definition of the historical context of both themselves and their culture, and

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<sup>204</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 272

<sup>205</sup> Meskell 2004, p. 126

<sup>206</sup> Little 2007, p. 17

<sup>207</sup> Gosden 189 in Preucel & Meskell, 2004, p. 219

<sup>208</sup> Moshenska 2013, p. 212



in turn this will produce a greater sense of well-being.<sup>209</sup> The main point of this perspective on education is to challenge the tourist characteristics, which create the sense of just an attraction and something beautiful to admire in display, whether in a museum, World Heritage Site, or temporal exhibition.

Archaeology can humanize the past, to motivate people and engage with the present, using archaeology as a way to encourage people to talk about the tough topics.<sup>210</sup> This comments by Teresa Moyer, explain and put in perspective, the type of attitude I consider, archeologist should take. In my opinion archaeology have so much potential to not just engage with the public and present a nice story, but to build a relation of the people with the elements that we encounter in the different techniques of investigation and tools, that as professionals have to our disposal. Archaeologist's role in many ways, could take the position of creating and modifying the discourse of identity to people, both the ones directly involve and active participating, and the ones that, by different reasons found themselves in this World Heritage Sites, foreign visitors and new citizens.

Archaeology is embedded in popular culture. It is up to archaeologists to create the means with which to communicate the past and archaeology to the public, and one way to achieve this is through community archaeology projects. By emphasizing the methods used by archaeologists to investigate the past, we make the past become more relevant, increase understanding and, hopefully, establish a lifelong interest.<sup>211</sup>

Through research, excavation, heritage centers, museums displays and exhibitions, archaeology is in a unique position to communicate the past to the public. Through direct participation and engagement with archaeological methodologies, archaeology can also provide the public with a multi-sensory experience of the past.

Archaeological methodologies can be used to engage members of the public in archaeological research and to gain a greater understanding of the past. Through workshops that are designed to equip people with research and practical fieldwork skills that are mainly aimed at local archaeology and history societies. As mentioned previously, to teach a variety of archaeological methods to children and to other adult members of the community who currently find archaeology difficult to access is a way to improve the relations between all people involve.<sup>212</sup>

One of the concerns that could across in my case studies and in the rest of World Heritage Sites is how can archaeologists also gain from a high level of public understanding of the past and the importance of opening up communication between archaeologist and members of the public. This is why community archaeology is the name given to any archaeological project that has a degree of public involvement. One possible scenario is that archaeology resides in an elitist environment, where archaeologists may enlist the help of community volunteers and/or create outreach projects that are designed to answer both research questions and to engage a wider-section of the community in direct participation, in this way to secure a higher level of funding for research projects.<sup>213</sup> It could be the means for why archaeologists in Scandinavia should get as new priority to involve the public and create a channel of interaction.

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<sup>209</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 84

<sup>210</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 276

<sup>211</sup> Cunningham 2010, p. 26

<sup>212</sup> Cunningham 2010, p. 13

<sup>213</sup> Cunningham 2010, p. 14

A complication with the level of community participation and the relationship between academic/professional archaeologist and community volunteers is not one that be easily defined. There is no standard or typical community archaeology project which one can use to define and categorize. According to Cunningham, some communities and/or local history/archaeology societies, who have little professional involvement, design, implement and fund their own community archaeology projects. Others projects may be run by archaeological unites, a museum or university and have a higher level of professional involvement. As we seen from Sweden and Denmark, the responsibility relies with the National Museums of each country.

As a profession, archaeology has a set of standardized methodologies that have to be learned and require a certain level of skill and training, thus there is always a hierarchical structure to any community project. Community archaeology is about the public having an opportunity to do archaeology. It encourages greater heritage awareness and communicates archaeology to those outside the profession. This is a very simple explanation to what entails community archaeology, and the relationship that involves with the public and archaeologists doesn't get resolved in simple understanding, as one complication could be that often a community archaeology project provides an inclusive activity to only a small section of our society.

The magnitude of this topic revolves around contemporary archaeological projects in many locations of the world and is funded by different theoretical perspectives and research questions that couldn't have a consensus. Which is why I found relevant to conclude this discussion with an advice for archaeologist to look for innovative ways of engaging as many members of a community as possible.<sup>214</sup> Through various media such as television, internet and museums, excavations and artefacts that are portrayed to the public as the most exciting aspect of archaeological practice, the tangible proactive experience that engages several senses, including sight, sound, touch and smell and enables participants to experience a variety of different emotions, including excitement, joy, frustration and confusion.

#### *4.1.2. Implication of archaeology in modernity*

The core of my investigation, as previously mentioned, is to find the implications of modernity, as it presents itself in archaeological research and its relationship with the establishment of World Heritage. To start the discussion on this wide topic, is important to determine the parameters that implicate the word Modernity, from there, is crucial to point out, the contradictions and complications that have been found, not just in relation to my case studies, but in other World Heritage Sites, that have been affected negatively.

Modernity describes a way of living and experiencing life deeply affected by urbanization, industrialization and secularization, demonstrating the oppositional trends towards revolutionary and reactionary positions. It recognizes the impacts of degeneration and reformulation through the process of fragmentation and rapid change, dynamism, insecurity, chaos and cultural upheaval.<sup>215</sup> This is one definition and helps understand the concept of Modernity, used by Lynn Meskell. I believe it is appropriate to use it according to my main goal, since it opens up the discussion to understand the uses of cultural heritage, the fundamentals for a modern society, and the changes that could be needed to overcome and stay useful and relevant.

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<sup>214</sup> Cunningham 2010, p. 15

<sup>215</sup> Childs 2008, in: Meskell, 2013, p. 245

One question that emerges in the matter of modernity is how in the process of globalization and nationalization, local populations and the state, each develop a sense of belonging with reference to the same physical space.<sup>216</sup> I consider this one key point to start challenging those relations, between the ownership of a site, and the character that acts as authority. After all, archaeology and heritage are fixed in modernist structures, whether the nature/culture division or between past/present, not to mention the implacability of static structures and imaginaries.<sup>217</sup>

Under those circumstances, globalization, as put it by Roland Robertson, it refers to a new consciousness of the growing interdependence, between people and places. He regards the global field as consisting of four elements, the self, the national society, the world system of societies, and humankind.<sup>218</sup> It could be said that archaeologists have engaged with the processes of globalization in two main ways. The first is a focus on the modern world system and the second is a focus on heritage.<sup>219</sup> Which is basically, what my thesis is trying to establish as fundamental parameter for archaeologists, and as a perspective or ideology that should be considered currently and in the future.

To make a connection from the concepts and implications of modernity in archaeology, and the changes that the discipline has undertaken over the last decade, we need to focus on some of the examples that come from the work in the field. As the main provider of data and archaeological records, for analysis and interpretation, the different techniques that can be used to obtain the most accessible information, represent an improvement in the way we preserve historical remains.

Despite their proclaimed universal value, some World Heritage Sites, even neighboring ones, can have different values and meanings for different groups of actors, at local, national and global levels. Partly based on the nature of the sites and points to the importance of historical contingency.<sup>220</sup> Here is one of the main ideas, my thesis is based on, using Birka and Jelling, two World Heritage Sites that are referred to portray one similar culture, and time period in history in these two countries, Viking Age, but that in detail, both represent different aspects of archaeological research, one difference that may not be visible to the public, but that is certainly understood by each respective academic group of researchers.

In view of this, I return to the information provided by my survey, having the case of Sweden's organization, it is only possible to do research excavations with situated and well defined research questions. This means that the academic institutions perform the excavations taking place at the site. Then the material recovered must be treated in accordance with the same requirements that apply to all archaeological excavations in the country, and that is stipulated by the Historic Environment Act.<sup>221</sup> The finds from the excavations are kept in the Swedish Historical Museum (SHM) and there's an extensive project to make the finds and their contexts available in open access through the infrastructural project, the "Birka Project".<sup>222</sup>

The finds from future excavations on the site will continuously become part of the SHM's collections and thus made available to researchers as well as the public. Permits to excavate on

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<sup>216</sup> Wang 2016, p. 187

<sup>217</sup> Meskell 2013, p. 255

<sup>218</sup> Robertson 1992 in: Preucel & Meskell, 2004, p. 224

<sup>219</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 224

<sup>220</sup> Salazar 2016, p. 164

<sup>221</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

Birka are very restricted as the site is protected, ensuring that there will not be exploitation or construction in the heritage area. Only new and pointed research questions can come into consideration.<sup>223</sup>

These expectations from future field work, where excavation is involve, being sometimes, what attracts more visitor to the sites, some researchers have chosen, other tools and methodologies of work. Gimmerstam states a preference for digital archaeology in that it creates minimal disruption to the site and there's no direct damage.<sup>224</sup> The technique, as well as being able to cover larger areas, during an investigation of the site makes it possible to get a broader picture of the context. Nevertheless, this and other technological advances increase the price of equipment, training and may suffer from malfunctions that interrupt the process of work in the field.

In similar conditions, Denmark's researchers have chosen to incorporate, in any way possible, non-destructive methods. However, the site of Jelling, as any other archaeological site, has shown that, there are still hidden elements, the significance and extent of which could only be revealed through excavation, and other investigations that could damage the integrity of the site. Parts of the site have remained *in situ* and are protected. Most of the material from Jelling consists of scientific documentation, which should and could be made accessible to scholars and the public in a variety of ways.<sup>225</sup>

Researchers in Jelling have used metal detecting with success, and also magnetic surveying. Another possibility is the use of geo-radar, which are more "non-destructive and non-invasive" methods. Researchers have also applied for dispensation to drill in the burial mounds in order to attain samples for scientific analysis.<sup>226</sup>

Heritage inhabits spatial, temporal, cultural and economic domains. However, the notion of cultural good is often synonymous with economic success. Heritage is embedded within narratives of ownership and, like other natural, non-renewable resources, is depicted as a scarce commodity or property.<sup>227</sup> As can be seen from this, the implications of modernity in archaeology represent a new status to what the discipline and researchers can do with heritage and for its benefits. It is important not to be afraid to engage in conversations of economy, political and social regulations. Since it could be argued that archaeologists do have the responsibility of being productive agents in contemporary society by working with the public, but some of the nation's most well-visited historical institutions fail to do so.<sup>228</sup> Or at least, the results they accomplished are relatively positive with the goals that are set at first.

The important factor here is to understand that archaeology is embedded in a modern frame work thinking and methodology of work, and archaeologists, without considering which period of history they study, or which culture of the world, need to accommodate themselves, to overcome and be prepared to handle situations and problems.

Similarly, modern societies need to understand how they have come to be as they are, they need a rational explanation, involving causes and effects, and fixed in linear time. History and archaeology exist in the modern world because modern science requires a context to distract

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<sup>223</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>224</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>225</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>226</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>227</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 317

<sup>228</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 276

attention from its groundlessness. Having the past serving as the fixed point of origin for metanarratives that extend into the future. The inquiry into the past serves to substantiate that the path that we project into the future is credible.<sup>229</sup>

Julian Thomas has a wide discussion of modernity and archaeology, and his work has been resulted beneficial to my discussion on this topic, finding the complexity that archaeology represents when dealing with modern needs from society and the usefulness of heritage, in his work it is possible to find determinations that prove the agency of modernity in archaeology, as well as the element of crisis of modernity. He argues that archaeology dramatizes and elaborates the conflicts and contradictions of modernity, because it embodies so many of the key aspects of modern thought.

Part of the complications with modernity is that it seeks order and stability, but ends up creating a social world that is unstable, restless and unresolved. Modern science has stressed the need for knowledge to be based upon firm foundations, but these foundations have turned out to be metaphysical. The time for modern politics has attempted to resolve the conflicts by bringing opposing views into dialogue, but very often this has simply confirmed that they are incommensurate. The progress which has unquestionably been achieved in technology, communications, healthcare and standards of living has always been bought at a price: increased social divisions, the ‘dumping down’ of culture, the impoverishment of the Third World, and environmental degradation.<sup>230</sup> This issues that relate to the state of modern thought, may seem not applicable to archaeological concepts, but is important to consider that today, an archaeologist is a political character who can proceed in a dialogue with cultural paradigms, which are shaped by these previous arguments.

The agency of politics in modernity affects can be seen in many parts of the world, as the modern scientific innovations appear to have been adopted without necessarily requiring the introduction of liberal democratic political arrangements. As Bruno Latour argues, we have never been modern because we are still struggling to achieve the state of “being modern”.<sup>231</sup> And as modernity has become established in other places, new groups of people have begun to create new forms of modernity<sup>232</sup>

In this sense archaeology legitimates itself by positioning its activities within a series of metanarratives. Narratives that provide foundations for the nation-state, political institutions that do not have recourse to the narrative resources of traditional societies. Archaeology is also distinctively modern because it asserts that new knowledge can be created from the observation of material things.<sup>233</sup> In this case, World Heritage Sites are the conjunction of material things, representing the modern set of knowledge that new research brings to the discussion in matters of national identity.

The idea that archaeology is embedded in more political views than some scholars may think, is what brings to my attention the notion of the nation-state that has been modernity’s characteristic form of political organization, combining national identity and a bounded territory with the organizational characteristics of the state. A number of authors have pointed out the significant connection between archaeology and nationalism, Kohl and Fawcett in their work *Nationalism*,

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<sup>229</sup> Thomas 2004, p. 41

<sup>230</sup> Thomas 2004, p. 46

<sup>231</sup> Latour 1993 in: Thomas 2004, p.51

<sup>232</sup> Miller 1994 in: Thomas 2004, p. 51

<sup>233</sup> Thomas 2004, p. 53

politics and the practice of archaeology, and Diaz-Andreu and Champion with Nationalism and archaeology. The length of this work do not permit extending into reviewing in detail but is visible the relevance and need for archaeology to discuss these concepts and its political agency.<sup>234</sup>

According to Thomas, the concept of Nationalism relies on the supposed existence of a latent reservoir of national authenticity, with which it hopes to re-connect. Promoting the folk culture of those supposedly still connected with the past, in preference over cosmopolitan hybridity. Archaeology can be consider a modern phenomenon given that relationship with the past that nationalism nurtures is itself distinctively modernist.

Something interesting and relatable to one of my case studies, is that the development of national museums comes from the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> C. In Denmark, for instance, Fredrik III had created a *kunstkammer* or cabinet of artworks in 1663, collecting together objects of artistic merit or historical significance which had been collected under treasure trove law, and which hitherto would have been melted down to fill the royal coffers. Danish nationalist sentiments were at that time very strong, following the defeat at the Battle of Copenhagen in April 1801, which had been received as a national calamity. Such national museums and displayed sites and monuments are of the greatest importance since they gave the national past a visibility and a material presence.<sup>235</sup> It could be said that the rise of nationalism in Europe coincided with the transformation of antiquarianism into archaeology.

As concluding statement in this discussion, it is fair to say that archaeology is a constituent part of the process by which the modern world came into being. It produces a past which serves particular ends and interests, it aspires to the creation of factual knowledge which can be drawn on as the grounding for contemporary projects and identities. The object that archaeology studies, the past, is absent, and the discipline continually strives for a degree of certainty that it finds hard to deliver. It demands precision, unambiguous resolution, universality and the transcendence of local conditions.<sup>236</sup>

#### 4.1.3. Role of archaeology to create cultural identity

The universal narrative associated to World Heritage, where outstanding sites ‘belong’ to the world, but are situated within national boundaries, reflects a contradiction commonly found within United Nations rhetoric. As it vacillates between equating cultural identity with national identity on the one hand, and presenting cultural identity as a surface manifestation of an underlying universalism on the other.<sup>237</sup> The conversation of identity has a big spectrum, and my investigation, intends to direct it, as an element that contributes to the perception of society and the heritage site itself.

The background of archaeology as a discipline was forged in conjunction with burgeoning national identity and state formation in Europe and elsewhere, in itself a very specific and reductionist construal of identity.<sup>238</sup> To which some extent, have to do with the conformation of studies and different schools of archaeology, the process of creating and applying different theoretical frames to materials, sites and cultures.

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<sup>234</sup> Thomas 2004, p. 96

<sup>235</sup> Kristiansen 1985 in: Thomas 2004, p. 109

<sup>236</sup> Thomas 2004, p. 247

<sup>237</sup> Salazar 2016, p. 147

<sup>238</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 316

Although UNESCO introduced the category of ‘intangible heritage’ in 2003, it still emphasizes the material aspect of ‘intangible’ heritage. UNESCO policies and State Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage can sometimes focus on the materiality of buildings, sites and other tangible material forms without identity and social history that are attached to the sites. Official narratives and popular memory attached to each place are often in contrast.<sup>239</sup> This information is associated with my question on the responsibility to create, manage and safeguard the cultural identities in World Heritage Sites. This includes the total amount of heritage sites that are associated directly to archaeology, and those where the history of a past society comes to our eyes.

Several contrasting versions of identity and place-based temporality co-exist as heritage markers, and visitors expect a permanent heritage past, while local people connect to meanings of the place in the present. Visitors are expected to see the fully excavated archaeological site, or as the reconstructed heritage site, local inhabitants living in the present connect to the place through their everyday experiences.<sup>240</sup> Every heritage site is in charge to provide these markers, and is with these elements, that gives a clear identity, one that is easy to recognize and associate with. Heritage markers could work as a way to attract people’s attention, and to teach a connection, directly or indirectly, to the construction of modern society, and by consequently the identity shared as a nation.

This heritage identity generated by local communities, may not be similar to the historical narratives nor the monothematic heritage sites. Locals’ perceptions of the world are generated in a continuous process, and are structured by both the state’s continuous writing of official narratives and the state’s continuous work of spatial reconstruction.<sup>241</sup> The creation of identity that Birka and Jelling show, is connected to a long history of each country, one that is not just about the locals, but to the formation of government, religion, and social values, that could be consider as official narratives. This type of narrative creates historical awareness, memories of place and everyday practices that in the present reinforce peoples’ place identity. The case of Sweden and Denmark, as part of Nordic countries and Scandinavia region, engages in so many perspectives; e.g. traditions, behavior and political views.

Some of the implications that identity brings into discussion are the stage of theorizing it. Since theory forms a critical nexus in contemporary academic discourse, bringing together sociologist, anthropologist, political scientist, psychologist, geographers, historians, and philosophers. This proves that identity can be simultaneously a productive and challenging concept, since it crosses multiple theoretical frames and embodies contradictory and heterogeneous definitions.<sup>242</sup> Not just in the concept itself, but in how to construct a certain identity, to the subject of study, in archaeological sense, the culture of the past that a researcher is concern about, and to the World Heritage Sites that is directly inside.

In framing identity today, archaeologists and other scholars who concern themselves with the social world, investigate how individuals and collectives are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities. But identity remains an elusive term, embodying contradictory and heterogeneous definitions. This brings the problem not only to academic interest but also serious real-time effects for living people, descendant communities and relations among

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<sup>239</sup> Wang 2016, p. 188

<sup>240</sup> Wang 2016, p. 189

<sup>241</sup> Wang 2016, p. 190

<sup>242</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 121

diverse interest groups. Could be related to the existence of something or someone when is identified and allocated into a classification or category that fits in the idea of that social group.<sup>243</sup>

Focusing on the social domains that are crucial for the formation of people's identity, family, sexuality, race, nation, religion. Archaeologists cannot assume *a priori* that what 'we' consider as natural, no matter how institutionalized, is fundamental.<sup>244</sup> Archaeologists have found it difficult to extricate themselves from 'naturalized power' in the discourses of identity that are fundamental to our own culture.<sup>245</sup> This problematic could be the cause for most scholars to acknowledge certain identities. We all have a number of social identities, which entail constant negotiation and organize our relationships to other individuals and groups within our social world.<sup>246</sup>

The creation of identity involves different aspects of culture, one of them is "Multisitedness", according to Preucel and Meskell, is the fact that culture is always in motion and differentially expressed across space. Incorporating the practice of "place making" is widely regarded as a central process in identity formation, and integral to the construction of social orders. Archaeology is well positioned to produce accounts of place making, since it is directly involved in constructions of identities and meanings over the long term and the subsequent histories of spatiality.<sup>247</sup> This is directly associated with the work that is done in World Heritage Sites, where a place is made by the implementation of research. This brings data and identifies a culture, giving names, status, and perspectives that characterize the space in question. Once a place is created the continuous development of identities doesn't stop. Challenging to incorporate any new aspect from investigations and to accommodate to different kind of people that visits and tries to understand what there is to see and why.

In relation to this, it can be said that monuments and landscapes are reinterpreted by each generation. Various ways in which physical persistence in the landscape articulates with social relations. Here the role of archaeology in building identity is related to World Heritage Sites, since the "afterlife of monuments" is not simply the physical formation of ruins, but integral to understanding landscape as social history.<sup>248</sup> And just like Birka and Jelling, that has been in the spotlight for many decades, the efforts to keep them relevant to society, and alive in the collective memory, proves the positive implications of being enlisted in UNESCO's list.

Summarizing the concept of national identity and the foundation of the European nation-states in the early modern period, created for the first time a series of very large social entities that could understand and represent themselves as integrated communities possessing a distinctive shared identity.<sup>249</sup> This serves the foundation to continue the discussion about the identity of other European World Heritage Sites, that can be in the cross row of utility and re-interpretation of their materials and agency among their local and foreign visitors.

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<sup>243</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 122

<sup>244</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 123

<sup>245</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 123

<sup>246</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 124

<sup>247</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 215

<sup>248</sup> Ashmore 2004, p. 262

<sup>249</sup> Anderson 1983, in: Thomas 2004, p. 106



## 4.2. Ethics in Sweden and Denmark

The arguments that are presented hereafter, intend to disseminate the type of ethical concerns and civic engagement that archaeologists should present to the public and to themselves, when working in the field, specifically at World Heritage Sites. With this in mind, some opinions refer that, archaeologists have traditionally assumed a role, where they are not implicated in the concerns of specific living peoples, and instead are contributing to the production of a universal world heritage.<sup>250</sup> This brings ethical guidelines to cover several key components of archaeological practice: stewardship, accountability, commercialization, public education and outreach, intellectual property, preservation and publication, these come alongside the concern of making things public.<sup>251</sup>

Contrary there is the option to produce knowledge behind closed doors, which raises questions of identity, authority, trust and consent, which lie at the hearth of the democratic projects.<sup>252</sup> This is a preamble to a wider thematic that involves all archaeologists, and my intentions are to start the conversation and the idea to be aware of ethical responsibilities, from professionals and from the public.

Taking into account Sweden and Denmark as examples that ethics are as important as new technologies or new methods of extracting information in fieldwork. The next three sections are an introduction to three factors I consider are important to relate to World Heritage Sites, each with its fundamentals to incorporate and enrich the labor that is done in these landmarks.

### 4.2.1. Museums

I want to begin with a question. What does the public typically perceive about archaeology through the help of museums and World Heritage Sites?<sup>253</sup> This is the basic concern, and the attempts to answer this question, result in all the type of exhibitions and display cards, that one can find next to pieces, monuments and symbolic constructions.

The target of Birka and Jelling as World Heritage Sites, involves the creation of archaeological data, one that is presented to the public in an understandable and simple way. In this sense, archaeologist and heritage practitioners are implicated in various collecting agencies including, museums, galleries, universities, and research institutions.<sup>254</sup>

The importance of museums and archaeology, have historically held the shared goal of engaging public interest, through the presentation of artifacts in order to interpret the past. And considering that archaeologists need to reflect on the potential of museums exhibitions as a tool for civic engagement, and using their anthropological and ethnographic skills to learn about the type of visitors and all of it multiple features.<sup>255</sup> The work that can be done in places that have the structure to support such demands, provides the magnitude of professionalism, archaeologists and other researchers need to take in consideration, when creating and programing new projects of investigation. The standards become high, and the competition to have a proper body of work increases the challenges for new and senior researchers. These standards are elevated in my

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<sup>250</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 322

<sup>251</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 323

<sup>252</sup> Moshenska 2013, p. 212

<sup>253</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 268

<sup>254</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 325

<sup>255</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 263

consideration by the level of integration the public and the government has over a set of cultural assets, in this case the attention given to heritage sites.

Museums and archaeologists have a responsibility to the public to make their work useful and relevant. For that reason, looking at museums and their roles differently can reintegrate those stories that are untold, and make museums places where our work is useful and relevant.<sup>256</sup>

Another key point is the definition of Landscape. One of the essential descriptions includes human involvement, which helps distinguishing landscape from environment. Prominent themes include landscape as ecology, palimpsest, meaning, memory, identity, social order, morality, and social transformation.<sup>257</sup> The social life of these institutions, just like the life of heritage sites, and cultural landscapes, is related and specified to tell a story to visitors. It is here where the telling of stories, by firsthand witnesses, makes the museum ask the community for help in putting together artifacts and cultural perspectives for its exhibits. A museum shares its building with community actions and social groups. This proximal relationship offers potential for future collaborative and anthropological work. They focused in particular asking locals to rethink their role in history.<sup>258</sup>

Something that is not unknown in archeological academia is that, there is a variety of types of museums, and each has its benefits and disadvantages. In this investigation, I consider World Heritage Sites as a cultural landscape and as museum institutions. I have chosen to take a stand in using some of the characteristic from the *Model of Historical Museums*. Which are known for providing a safe space in which to discuss controversial or difficult topics. Museums offer structure to these conversations and archaeology contributes the media, such as artifacts and oral histories.<sup>259</sup>

According to Ed Chappell, “At their worst, historical museums make evil in the past seem romantic and inequality in the present seem inevitable. At their best, they help people to understand the rifts that separate us from one another”.<sup>260</sup> This quote can makes us reflect on the usefulness of museums, and the discourse that is engaged inside them, the story told on a daily basis, from the entrance of a heritage site, to the last corner of the area surrounded by a fence. In all the areas that visitors are allowed to enter, and the difference with the rest, where only staff and authorized personal is permitted. I think that museums and World Heritage Sites represent the necessity of the discipline of archaeology to stay visible to local groups, and being a part of discussions on civic issues. This concern enables museums to be better informed about the kind of programs and exhibitions to construct. As well as to the type of archaeological projects to develop and manage, for existing projects with previous seasons of work, and for new projects that seek for an establishment and a recognition from the academia and scholars.

Museums as well as heritage sites, offer a place for visitors to learn about how archaeologists decipher the types and contexts of artifacts and sites. Exhibitions can frame objects, particularly those recovered in archaeological investigations, to emphasize that real people lived in the past and that they too, experienced prejudice, a feeling of difference or insecurity, and a sense of community.<sup>261</sup>

According to Susan Pearce, exhibitions have to be intelligible to the visitors in the most basic sense, close enough to general experiences and assumptions to “make sense”, they tend to take a

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<sup>256</sup> Little 2007, p. 17

<sup>257</sup> Ashmore 2004, p. 256

<sup>258</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 266

<sup>259</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 264

<sup>260</sup> Ed Chappel in: Little 2007, p. 5

<sup>261</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 267

comfortable choice from the range of contemporary options, and to include ideas about moral progress and the absolute value of technological change. End up preserving a stereotyped idea of the past, and conforming a particular point of view of the nature of the present.<sup>262</sup> In retrospective, is it worth it to conserve a stereotype idea of the Vikings as a population, or is it our duty to break the barriers and confront old narratives to bring to the light, sort of speak, the approximation archaeologist have made over the extended period of time they have investigate.

Finally an appropriate perception on museums and World Heritage Sites is as a powerful influence on the public's conception of the past, and its relevance to contemporary society, the goal of encouraging public activism beyond these institutions requires techniques in exhibitions that go beyond the label-and-tell approach.<sup>263</sup>

The installment of World Heritage Sites, with characteristics that are usually associated with museums, may be discourage or a disagreement for members of the scientific community, and my intention is not to state that this two way of organization are the same. Nevertheless, I consider I have proportioned enough information to provide my point of view, which is to create a relation and a new perspective to work with the materials and the type of presentation and diffusion of information to the public and to fellow researchers.

#### *4.2.2. Cultural Tourism*

Archaeology is considered a practice concerned with the production of archaeological commodities in a variety of forms, including archaeological experiences, a category that include field schools and volunteering, visits to excavations and heritage tourism.<sup>264</sup> The issue with cultural tourism and its implementation in World Heritage Sites is a very wide theme. Here my main argument is related to ethical contributions, since, tourism has to do with management corporative and very specific policies that estimate values to different points in the area.

Although the economy of heritage tourism is often a motivator for community involvement, community archaeology is about more than heritage tourism. The progress of tourism in a World Heritage Site is in my opinion, relatively measured, even before the nomination process. Let's not forget that many of the sites that are on the WHL, were national attractions and sites of historical importance many years before. Just like Birka and Jelling were for their respective countries.

What is important to analyze is that these sites are transformed to be able to manage and receive an increased amount of visitors, on a daily basis and for the long term. For that reason is important to estimate different kinds of impacts and consequences that may develop. Such as environmental sustainability, basic services of sanitation, food services and potable water, parking space and possibly a kind of accommodation. These type of necessities represent not just changes to the site itself, but also to the local communities, whether is a very historical village, or a new modern urban development. The people that live in the surrounding area will be affected in a direct or indirect way. And as responsible for the area, if the case, archaeologist could take advantage of the situation and promote a positive engagement with the site and what it represents.

One of the issues with the involvement of local communities and descendant groups has to do with the variety and at times competing interest.<sup>265</sup> The type of benefit everyone wants to gain from it,

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<sup>262</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 268

<sup>263</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 271

<sup>264</sup> Moshenska 2013, p. 214

<sup>265</sup> Marshall 2002, p. 215

and which group wants to be in control of the majority of the property. I don't consider this rivalry an uncommon factor, and I believe is part of the disagreement and lack of information, from all parts, to try and manipulate the information there is to their benefit.

Particularly, and relating to the manipulation I just mentioned, World Heritage properties and their media and virtual representations are key anchors for many people's imaginations of the world.<sup>266</sup> Meaning that, the mass media channels are one key factor in the disinformation and construction of both ethical foundations and identity of the place and the people whom the channel is directed at.

The point for these arguments is what can come as negative consequence, which is the disruption of local senses of place and grounded history, in favor of more monumental visions, and hoped for tangible benefits through tourism or support for conservation, remaining elusive for considerable segments of the local populations.<sup>267</sup> In more particular cases, and as an ethically appropriate argument, specific groups could constitute appropriate custodians, because they have legitimate cultural or spiritual responsibility for the cultural property at issue.<sup>268</sup> This in specific, is connected to the sense of ownership from local populations or more directly to native groups, which even though the heritage site could be older in history, and very difficult to prove a direct link of lineage, some communities have identified themselves as direct descendants from the possible builders of the archaeological remains.

On the contrary, and focusing us again in my case studies, Birka and Jelling are two locations with a history that is older in time to be connected directly to members of the community, which is not a negative aspect, but the relation that can be created with tourism and some of the activities that serve as an attraction for national and international visitors, needs to have a more conscious foundation. One example is the re-enactment of Viking raids, which involves the use of outfits and personifications of different characters. This thematic is popular in Scandinavian countries and relates to people that is fan of the time, the folklore of it and intends to give a close enough experience as from daily life and certain rituals and activities that are inscribed in the historical sources, oral tradition and makes a community to which locals and people involved find economic benefit and social recognition.

#### *4.2.3. Political perspectives in heritage*

Furthermore with the issue of ethics and the engagement of the public in archaeology, comes the discussion of political spectrum. An area that may be difficult for archaeologist to be involve with, but as mentioned, to reach a possible understanding of the implications that UNESCO has in sites likes Birka and Jelling, is important to target this issues, as this international organization, deals with many aspects that are political. From each country signing the Convention in 1972 and agreeing to the different policies, to the assignment of delegates for the WHCE, then to work on their own to reach an appropriate level to present a nomination and then continue working a management plan to secure the preservation and maintenance of the site.

The structure of World Heritage Site is a political one, and archaeologists are the characters that need a stronger voice. Using and taking advantage of the stage that UNESCO provides to develop what needs improvement and create if needed an actual web of institutions that will take care of

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<sup>266</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 3

<sup>267</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 23

<sup>268</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 322

the situation. Particularly in European countries, world heritage often adds only a thin layer to long established national conservation frame works, and decades or even century's old local adaptations to a heritage regime. Which in certain level has to do with, how heritage discourse, practices and policies get disseminated, translated and adopted.<sup>269</sup>

When archaeology is used as a tool for civic engagement, the local politics will likely be involved.<sup>270</sup> Here, B. Little is right, which in many countries like Sweden and Denmark, most of the fundamental decisions and responsibilities are in hands of the local authorities, both inside the academic sector and the public office of representatives.

Trying to explain the fundamental issues with ethics in archaeology has not been easy, and probably, it would take an entire volume to reach, if possible, an agreement in the subject. Regardless of how complicated and variable ethics and civic engagement is to archaeology, the intention to understand the characteristics to my case studies has certain relations, to how archaeology is being used by the government. Which is why here I return to one question from my survey where I ask about the existence of an archaeological narrative in service of the state.

In the case of Sweden, the government is promoting topics that include perspectives on cultural diversity and cross-cultural contacts in the past,<sup>271</sup> with more focus on minorities, migration as well as cultural and ethnic diversity.<sup>272</sup> This does not have a great effect on archaeology but influences museum exhibitions and to some extent research grants.<sup>273</sup>

The ministry of Culture has a set of political goals, which are determined for cultural institutions all over the country to follow, on a national as well as regional level. It is implemented by each region through a culture management plan. Eventually, the archaeological narrative disseminated to the public is set by those political goals.<sup>274</sup>

Comparatively, in Denmark, Jelling as a cultural heritage site forms a cultural and historical identity for the country, given space for a narrative in service of the state.<sup>275</sup> It could be said that, to emphasize on the importance of archaeology and the impressive results of Danish archaeologists, there could be regarded as a narrative related to pride in archaeological achievements.<sup>276</sup> This said, there are political parties that show a great interest in Danish identity and history, thus also a focus on core national monuments. The views of these parties are not necessarily shared by all, and there may be a conflict, between the need to raise funding for archaeology, and the political motifs in some circles for promoting that funding.

The politics of heritage and archaeology is a complicated area, which includes many type of considering and theorizing its body of work, such as the Neo-liberalization of heritage agenda. Where World heritage properties are considered property in all senses of the world.<sup>277</sup> This is something that may not be visible in Birka or in Jelling, since they are designated by law, to be State property.

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<sup>269</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 14

<sup>270</sup> Little 2007, p. 2

<sup>271</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>272</sup> Gustin 2017, personal communication

<sup>273</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>274</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>275</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>276</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>277</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 18

Even with an established set of rules, and group of work with a chain of command. One possibility is a fragmented distribution of authority, leading to multiple problems, including the development of ill-planned tourism infrastructure. Consequently, local tour guides have a hard time handling the increasingly diverse group of international tourist.<sup>278</sup> And cases of vandalism, which is one of the best indicators that the education about the site, and all it represents isn't working, or at least having a safe reaction, which in retrospective, it could be consider that, negative reaction is better than no reaction at all.

As part of the politicization of World Heritage Sites, the status of hierarchy in situ, defines the organization to follow, to make decisions, to talk with investors and even to create new forms of engagement with the public.

The site of Birka is managed by SFV and supervised by RAÄ. Every permission to excavate is granted by SFV and the county council. Archaeologists and scholars very much define what the narrative of the site is and the results of research and excavations are at the heart of communicating the site.<sup>279</sup>

There are different aspects to why there are national differences in managing and researching World Heritage Sites. That is, there seem to be one authoritarian character on-site. There are several experts, within different fields and different perspective on the site, sometimes, no visible authoritarian character. However, in some cases, there is a character in charge of the archaeological matter on-site. There is also a scholar, which is also the lead authoritarian. Earlier in Scandinavia, it applied that archaeologists were very territorial on their research subjects, but has gradually changed and scholars are more open to share research subjects.<sup>280</sup>

The hierarchy in Denmark headed by the local authorities and the State Heritage Agency. Archaeologists and scholars are responsible for research. They may influence developments, but have no direct voice in major decisions unless employed in other roles. When granted permission to investigate, scholars and archaeologists are required to submit data for instance, the visualization and presentation of the site and results. In view of the significance of the preliminary results, the time schedule set for a new exhibition may be short, a presentation preceding the completion of analyses and publication.<sup>281</sup>

In Jelling, the management of the heritage site is conducted by a Cooperation Council with members from the church, Deanery, The Municipality of Vejle, Vejle Museum, The National museum, Agency for Culture and Palace. The "operational tool" used is a "Management Plan". These are classified as primary stakeholders. Secondary stakeholders are among others researchers and scholars.<sup>282</sup>

Authorities in control, meanings ascribed and economies attached have shift multiple times. Ethnographies of encounter focus on the dynamics and interactions generated by a supranational body, part of United Nations system.<sup>283</sup> The integration of all members of society and from the

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<sup>278</sup> Salazar 2016, p. 151

<sup>279</sup> Hedenstierna, 2017, personal communication.

<sup>280</sup> Gimmerstam, 2017, personal communication.

<sup>281</sup> Pedersen, 2017, personal communication.

<sup>282</sup> Lindblom, 2017, personal communication.

<sup>283</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 4

community in one functional work group is an essential responsibility of the local Government, representing their views and values on ethics.

One emphasis is the integration and contacts between local people and immigrants. In Sweden there is an initiative from the local government to support private initiative for integration called “Islands without borders”, since the municipality is situated on several islands in the Lake Mälaren.<sup>284</sup> One of those goals they have in the Swedish political and cultural scene is diversity, and from a state level to a local municipality level, all cultural institutions are inclined to work with integration. According to Gimmerstam there are no ethical issues concerning collaboration with immigrants. On the contrary it is quite the opposite, it has been very rewarding.<sup>285</sup>

The local government of Vejle’s view is that, collaboration is important at all levels, especially in order to create a sense of ownership, which is considered important. It is important to use the locals as ambassadors.<sup>286</sup> As of immigrants is concern, there appears to be awareness that the importance of site requires experience and funding beyond the means of the local community, therefore any research needs to be based on collaboration. Although, as mentioned before, the local community has concerns about the increased attention on the site. While wanting to attract visitors, there is also the risk that there may be too many. There are studies from Aarhus University, which have considered the subject of Danish heritage and immigrants, for instance, if immigrants are people from abroad of non-Danish origin and how their children perceive the monuments in the Danish landscape.<sup>287</sup>

Some complications that could be encountered after policies have been implemented is that, local practices and rights can be increasingly restricted, making resettlement almost inevitable, and the new opportunities in tourism often benefit recent immigrants and outsiders more than communities of longer standing.<sup>288</sup> When locals are often excluded from management decisions, but fully exposed to their consequences. Their everyday lives are transformed by conservation based restrictions, place-based personal memories unhinged by forced relocation.<sup>289</sup> This can contribute to a local antipathy, mainly because of exclusion from economic benefits. Iconoclasm takes a number of forms and different levels of intentionality.<sup>290</sup>

Furthermore the topic of political implications and the ethical foundations of archaeology, brings to attention the case of heritage regimes and tourist appropriations, where the called ‘exo-nostalgia’, is the longing of outsiders for a past they have not experienced themselves.<sup>291</sup> This involves conversations with participants that can reveal useful insights into the relationship between past and present, individual and society that could influence the scope of future applied history projects.<sup>292</sup>

Investigating ethnicity, answers circumstances and it forms a locus for exploitation to contemporary political questions about origins, legitimacy, and ownership and ultimately rights.

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<sup>284</sup> Hedenstierna-Jonson 2017, personal communication

<sup>285</sup> Gimmerstam 2017, personal communication

<sup>286</sup> Lindblom 2017, personal communication

<sup>287</sup> Pedersen 2017, personal communication

<sup>288</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 17

<sup>289</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 18

<sup>290</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 20

<sup>291</sup> Brumman & Berliner 2016, p. 26

<sup>292</sup> Moyer 2007, p. 266

Developing out of social, political and intellectual movements such as black activism, historic preservation legislation, academic interest in ethnicity, and the role of public archaeology.<sup>293</sup>

A hierarchy to assessments of heritage has evolved from the international through national to local levels. Since in many cases, international values have to be protected by the application of national systems of legislation. National legislation makes limited reference to the concept of world heritage, and this causes confusion at the local level, where politicians who know what they like, may not grasp the significance of an international attribute.

One example is the destruction of World Heritage Sites in the Middle East, and elsewhere as a result of political and religious conflict, which has emphasized the need to safeguard such international treasures through awareness, education and physical protection. An appreciation of local values through the consumption of local goods, could be built upon to further this understanding of others.<sup>294</sup>

Finally, cosmopolitan theme of protecting natural and cultural heritage sites of “outstanding universal value” as World Heritage Sites, which is to be achieved through good local management practices. Have as contradiction that global ideas, freeze many traditional local practices in the ground, intensifying conflict between managing authorities and local inhabitants.<sup>295</sup>

After having this long discussion on the topics I consider relevant to answer my research questions and as an attempt to reach my main goal, I believe it is crucial to summarize the points that were presented. The first is the utility of the concept of social archaeology and the involvement it represents for the practice of public and community archaeology. Implementing a broad spectrum for what the discipline can represent and be useful for society. Secondly is the concept of modernity, and its main implications with politics and the narrative of nationalism, globalization and current trends of archaeological work. The third issue included in the social life of archaeology is the creation of cultural identity, and it is here where the different mechanism and correlations between the work from archaeologists and the creation of knowledge encounters a target. The identification of people and to put them in certain categories that later on will be recognized as the identity of a communities and in case the identity of a World Heritage Site. Moving with the discussion the next part is Ethics in Sweden and Denmark, where I intend to put in conversation both sides of the situation, which concerns the code of actions that archaeologists should portrayed in relation to their representation inside and out the area of World Heritage Sites. The discussion takes turn to present the case of museums, as an alternative perception to these institutions and the benefits from it. Then the factor of cultural tourism gives a small taste, of the controversies from the creation of a market that sells and promotes heritage sites as assets to be commercialize. Finally the political perspectives represent another important aspect of the ethics, having the direct connection to a narrative that could set the boundaries of an investigation and how an archaeologist could overcome or get more involved in the game of politics.

The most important character throughout this discussion, is considering archaeology as a social manipulator that has the potential to create and manage a bigger role inside a modern society and inside a political scene which could be founded in the stage of every World Heritage Site with a history of archaeological investigation.

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<sup>293</sup> Meskell 2004, p. 129

<sup>294</sup> Belcher 2014, p. 195

<sup>295</sup> Miura 2016, p. 125



## 5. Conclusions

The main goal in this thesis is to study the implications of modernity in archaeological research and the process of incorporating the public to engage in Cultural Heritage. I have found this topic to be interconnected to many alternatives when it comes to political and economic values. The politicization of heritage is intrinsic, into a web that archaeologists might not be aware, or choose not to pay attention to.

My main finishing arguments are divided in three parts. The first one, World Heritage Site, a research opportunity or economic asset, is related to what I think, the use and purpose of this cultural sites should represent, how they should be taken care of, and the possibility it will represent to the future and benefits of all parties involve. The second argument is, Social target of archaeology, and here my thoughts are about the social life or archaeology. Another fundamental point of my investigation considers these entities of World Heritage Sites as subjects to study a self-identity, and a constructed agency, that creates a community, and support others to become identified with. The third and last argument, Reflections and future research, is based on the image of Viking Age heritage, some of the perspectives that are currently in place about this set of cultural elements, the representation they have, and some of the archaeological concerns that are still pending to be undertaken, in relation to the work and development of World Heritage Sites.

Other arguments that I want to use as part of my conclusive thoughts are connected to my vision of archaeology, which as an academic field of research, there are more opportunities than most disciplines to cross many interdisciplinary borders.<sup>296</sup> I am convinced that archaeology is more than just investigating the life of past societies through the physical remains we found in the ground. It crosses to the point of using other disciplines' methodologies, something that is not unknown, but what could be different is the mentality of archaeologists to get in discussion with other scientists outside the Humanities. For our research results to have the same validity as other sciences consider hard fact, we need to give that value first and have the security that what we do, affects people's live today and tomorrow.

Archaeology has always been identified with the study of material culture and, probably more than any other discipline, it has problematized material culture with the highest degree of sophistication.<sup>297</sup> This is a characteristic that, unlike the past types of archaeology from the 20<sup>th</sup> c, archaeology today represents a level of integrity and ethical standards when it comes to handling materials, studying them and presenting them to the public. I think this relate to the perception that archaeologists have decided about certain materials and the process to give them their definition.

One important factor in my investigation is the concept of cultural landscape as matter to refer to World Heritage Sites, and when it comes to relating nature, culture, and society, most archaeologists consider landscape a product of human interaction with the environment.<sup>298</sup> Just like my idea that landscape is fundamentally a social entity as well, hence has a life that needs to be nourish. To consider a World Heritage Site more than just a cultural heritage is important to reach a better construction of identity and to be aware of all the aspects that conforms it. Archaeologist should be involved in certain degree in every aspect of its sustainability.

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<sup>296</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 83

<sup>297</sup> Buchli 2004, p. 179

<sup>298</sup> Ashmore 2004, p. 259

Moreover, for any archaeologist whom perhaps imagines that our discipline might be kept faultless from the political arena, recent events underscore the intensely political nature of the archaeological enterprise.<sup>299</sup> This statement is essential to conclude the perception of what is archaeologists' job today and in the near future. It would be irresponsible from scholars not to get involved in politics and social situations or problems.

Archaeology as it is currently practiced is not simply a product of modern technologies and social relations. Archaeology relies upon a series of central ideas of modernity, without which it could not have come into being.<sup>300</sup> I'm confident to say that the vision I have for archaeology and its current trend of modernity and social interactions, will promote a better characterization of the labor we as researchers we enter.

### **5.1. World Heritage Site, a research opportunity or economic asset**

Throughout my investigation I found the notion of World Heritage Sites is a multifaceted one. Some of the visions that heritage sites have received, are similar, when they are considered of outstanding value to the culture and patrimony of the hosting country, its citizens and to humanity. Besides the increased scholarly attention, is needed to address the fact that World Heritage Sites, despite their proclaimed universal value, have different meanings for different groups of actors.<sup>301</sup> As I have mentioned before, the different characters involved in the management of this places, come from different backgrounds and have distinctive goals and responsibilities to perform.

One of the basis to understand and establish the idea of the implications of modernity and World Heritage Sites, comes from Ian Hodder, since he regards the idea of universal heritage as exemplified by World Heritage Sites, being part of the global networked economy, that depends upon a dispersed, deregulated, de-unionized process of labor. With one of the consequences being, the visualization of a "theme-park" of history and the past. He sees the notion of national and local heritage as a reaction against homogenizing tendencies associated with the dispersal and concealment of power.<sup>302</sup> I agree with the notion that he presents, and the process it engages the consumption of heritage as a product in the market, where this is one that still shows some difficulties to manage the demand and offer of its products and how to educate the customers.

Besides the previous notion, is fair to say that, the majority of World Heritage Sites, being archaeological or not, have a history with a purpose. Their history is embedded in a political location. And these places of heritage are intensely political spaces, where links are forged across temporal, material and symbolic landscapes.<sup>303</sup> This is why the consideration, to create awareness among scholars and then to the public, about the problematic that happens in reality, and the background behind the display of monuments, constructions and archaeological pieces.

The foundations of what a heritage site represents, comes from the need to create a story and a culture to a society, something that archaeologists do, both to past social groups as well as to modern ones. The concept of nationality comes from this construction, and this embeds a set of legal rights and obligations to the people that are inscribed as citizens. With this legal structure, each country can defend itself and in theory should guarantee the protection and access to the heritage sites and to the frame of culture it represents. A connection that exist has to do with the

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<sup>299</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 315

<sup>300</sup> Thomas 2004, p. 52

<sup>301</sup> Salazar 2016, p. 164

<sup>302</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 224

<sup>303</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 316

nature of the World Heritage listing process, and the fact that countries are the only authorized representatives of their “heritage values”. This is a conduct that could result in local conflicts, between states and their people over meaning, and what to preserve and how to use the heritage space and resources.<sup>304</sup>

In this investigation, the presentation and references of UNESCO is not to declare it as the only international organization, or the only structure of protection for heritage. One example that exemplifies the interest and vast group of work that has been done in this matter is the 1954 Hague Convention, which states that, damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever, means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its own contribution to the culture of the world. For this reason, the loss of heritage can easily be denoted as a crime that affects multiple generations, erasing cultural memory and severing links with the past that are integral to forging and maintaining modern identities.<sup>305</sup>

What’s the cost of not using heritage?<sup>306</sup> That is a question that summarize the implications of the political scene for heritage sites. The previous statements and the ones according to the legislation of Sweden and Denmark, with the details of the protection of Birka and Jelling, gave me space to think and make the previous question, directed to the people in my survey. To find out what could the consequence in two countries with a long tradition of legal protection could be, and what are the possible outcomes to the loss of heritage, as well as the expectations or projections that these scholars, with experience on the sites can think of.

One distinctive way to conceive identity construction, at a World Heritage Site, is related to the opinion from Barbara Bender, where she says that, landscapes are an outcome of the practices of identity formation since “people create their sense of identity, whether self, or group, or nation state, through engaging and re-engaging, appropriating and contesting the sediment pasts that make up the landscape.”<sup>307</sup> And as I have stated before, cultural and social landscapes, are in certain degree a characteristic of World Heritage Sites.

## 5.2. Social target of archaeology

Why is the discussion of the social situation at World Heritage Sites smaller than the discussion about the excavation or the new methods of documentation in the field? This question is what comes to my mind, when trying to find the conclusions that are related to my main goal, the engagement of the public in archaeology. And the answer is not simple to redact, but the path that has led me to this final statements, have showed me the possibilities in connecting the interest of archaeologists to the curiosity of the visitors.

Present day local communities, are primarily seen as a tool for conservation rather than a privileged beneficiary, and the unquestioned assumptions remains that, external experts know the sites best, and that while local communities should be involved, they do not naturally sit in the driving chair or have veto rights.<sup>308</sup> I consider this assumption part of the current situation at Birka and Jelling, where local people are involved and have a big connection to the site, but the responsibility and even the important decisions are not in their role. Having social bystanders, in places that receive a grant amount of attention, can lead to certain concerns. Remembering the comments from my

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<sup>304</sup> Miura 2016, p. 11

<sup>305</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 317

<sup>306</sup> Holtorf & Fairclough 2013, p. 202

<sup>307</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 219

<sup>308</sup> Brumann 2016, p. 299

survey about the sense of pride that exists in this sites, the balance can shift in both directions, even when the academic actions are in the right track, the reactions that society can have are as fluctuant as the information and data that archaeologist recollect from investigation.

Which is why a social archaeology, can contribute to a new understanding of place, once that is contoured by the lived experiences of past and present social actors, as they mutually constitute one another through the processes of place making.<sup>309</sup> Meaning that, the conversation needs to be balanced, without archaeologists and other researchers giving out their role as leader of a project of investigation. In certain way, it could be simple to say and keep people out of a project because their knowledge is limited and it will be a time consumer, to educate and train them in basic techniques of documentation or even analysis. Instead, the position that should be taken from all parts is to feel part of the decision making, without interfering with the work of specialists. The role of visitors comes to the position of a type of ambassadors, which can promote the information that is provided.

Additionally, my perspective to conclude the question about the social target of archaeology, implicates an appreciation of the cultural variability that occurs between individuals, whom experience different life histories, and cultural consensus emerging out of further experiences in shared social fields and common social discourse.<sup>310</sup> This stimulates my idea that, it would be very difficult to construct one basic way of archaeology, one that could be understood to everyone, since, people have different backgrounds and preconceive knowledge and perceptions of what the past was about, and what is the type of feelings and reactions they want to have from it.

The heritage industry and the institutions for cultural preservation, have a mandate to deal with the totality of the multifaceted human transformation of landscape, where infrastructure, industry, leisure experiments and scientific installations are well part of it.<sup>311</sup> But it is possible I believe, to create a story about a particular heritage that can be taught to everyone, and even though it could take time to sink in people minds and cognitive knowledge. It is up to archaeologists to mold the narrative that we uncover in the field and with the time that takes analyzing it.

Moreover, a politicized social archaeology represents one of the most significant growth areas in our discipline. It represents our contemporary engagement with other fields and audiences, and fulfills part of our ethical responsibility as public figures charged with the stewardship or trusteeship of the past.<sup>312</sup> In agreement with this opinion by L. Meskell and R. Preucel, the conception of archaeology as a fundamental portion of current political speech, represents the incursion of archaeologist as agents of the modern society, bringing archaeology and our knowledge of past societies to the present, the one that is filled with technological advances, and a population that always seek for stimulation, financial benefits, and a sense of community.

Who we are, what we study, and the questions we ask have a real time effects. The politics of location is central to our understanding of archaeological subjects and affects us as practitioners today.<sup>313</sup> Taking this assumption is a proper way to close this interpretations, and I believe the trend social archaeology needs to continue is into a better access to create public archaeological

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<sup>309</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 225

<sup>310</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 323

<sup>311</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 83

<sup>312</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 326

<sup>313</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 315

projects that get the community and scholars engaging with a sense of responsibility towards one another.

### 5.3. Reflections and future research

How do archaeologists explain Viking Age today? Can there be a final definition of Viking culture/Scandinavian heritage? The answer to this questions, will need a different focus and a wider frame of investigation, one that could embrace the multiple records and representations of the Viking Age, their material culture, settlement patterns, language, daily life, and many more.

But after my investigation, that takes two heritage sites associated to Vikings and located in Scandinavia, the relationship that I am able to describe, is one funded by the information provided by my informants, documents that talk about the Vikings as a unity in different countries, and certainly not as an isolated incident in history of humanity.

Over these reflections, the conceptions of culture in Europe as a continent and as key element and changing factor in the history of the world, and the events that have led the human race to what it is now. It is important to clarify that during the early development of European archaeology, the mapping of ethnic regions and population movements, was central to understanding national origins and identities.<sup>314</sup> The purpose and in many cases the reason why Europe and the diversity of social groups, including the Vikings, can be considered to acquire resources that would make their group stronger and as owner of more land.

“Vikings” is a term that has been argued to have considerable power as a contemporary ancestral image in the Scandinavian countries, the North Atlantic Islands and some British Isles.<sup>315</sup> To Scandinavians, the Vikings are indeed a heroic ancestral image, maintained since the 19<sup>th</sup> C and in some contexts even since the renaissance. Celebrated in art and literature, films, comic books, re-enactment, computer games, and in scores of museums and historical sites across the Nordic countries. Well-visited museums such as the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo, Norway, Ribe’s Vikings and Roskilde Viking Ship Museum, Denmark.<sup>316</sup> The field of archaeological visualizations focuses on the use of images such as maps, plans and photographs as well as subjects as diverse as film, dioramas, performances, artistic reconstructions and virtual images.<sup>317</sup>

Viking Heritage can be seen as a legacy of pan-European and indeed global appeal. Historical heritage relates to a development, which was neither exclusively Scandinavian nor European. One of the current trends that identify this ancient society is the idea of Vikings as global maritime heritage. Being in a global perspective, the maritime developments seen so far to characterize “Vikings” and the Viking Age, to some extent in contrast to what has been considered real European history. An extraordinary archaeological testimony to this “global Viking Age” is the lavish, Chinese cargo of the Arab wreck, which sank off the Coast of Belitung Island in Indonesia in the second quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> C. It is an essential challenge for the 21<sup>st</sup> C archaeological research and heritage management to explore and present these developments in a world perspective.

The Vikings can be retraced as historical champions of cultural models beyond the vision of a lost Roman identity implied by the concept of a Middle Age in which a single European civilization

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<sup>314</sup> Preucel & Meskell 2004, p. 217

<sup>315</sup> Sindbæk 2011, p. 81

<sup>316</sup> Sindbæk 2011, p. 82

<sup>317</sup> Moshenska 2013, p. 212

arose and flowered.<sup>318</sup> Is important to examine how this examples, can be related to how Vikings are presented as a social group in World Heritage Sites. Birka and Jelling can be responsible as many other places to hook their audience by exploiting the romantic caricature of the mysterious archaeologist, digging for objects left by people who lived long ago and far away. In this case, artifacts of daily life, agriculture, construction and in some cases different materials that amaze both the researcher and the visitor.

As part of my final reflections, the next statements are some of the many ideas and thought I agree with as a way to embrace the work of different archaeologists before me, and to motivate the ones that follow. I feel confident that these last paragraphs, help to introduce and establish my position as an archaeologist and researcher that is concerned about the investigation of heritage around the world and that I believe our discipline is about to enter a new stage of development and interpretation.

All World Heritage Sites are first and forever local places, and we should work for involving ourselves with the communities that have an active engagement with the sites, in order not to leave anything to be desired.<sup>319</sup> We need to break the boundaries of identity categories, blurring the crucial domains of identity formation, be they based on gender, sexuality, kin, politics, religion or social systems.<sup>320</sup> In order to manage in a better systematic way, and with more credibility the construction and manifestation of identities that eventually could affect the life of the physical remains in the sites and the life of local populations.

Concepts such as culture and ethnicity still have interpretative power, and power has repercussions in contemporary society.<sup>321</sup> Which is why archaeologists need a constant reflective attitude towards their research of choice, and not just about the materials they are trying to uncover, or the interpretation from ancient types of communication, or the process of agriculture and husbandry. The struggle to define ethnicities and to modify or to create an identity can use those elements and interpretations that could be useful to modern society.

In that sense, archaeologists have shown that ethnicity is not always synonymous with a single language, race, location, or material culture. Some markers are more telling than others for archaeologists, such as styles of food, or household arrangements, rather than language or pottery.<sup>322</sup> For the purpose of my choose of study, and being aware that, Viking Age and Scandinavia, involves more than just two countries, and two World Heritage Sites, the entanglement that is perceivable in the set of attempts that institutions and scholars from the Nordic countries and other regions of the world have manage to take in action, in order to establish parameters and standards of investigation.

Some of the ethical situations that I consider are still in process to get a damage control, but already are in the mind of researchers, are the issue of intellectual property rights, commonly associated to native communities, and descendants groups; also the way in which archaeologist control information about the past.

A discussion of commercialization, resolving the problems of looting, the loss of data, and the vices of antiquities market are urgent. Since archaeologists are producers of data, we play a greater

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<sup>318</sup> Sindbæk 2011, p. 85

<sup>319</sup> Brumann 2016, p. 314

<sup>320</sup> Meskell 2004, p. 123

<sup>321</sup> Meskell 2004, p. 126

<sup>322</sup> Meskell 2004, p. 129

role in the circulation of our products.<sup>323</sup> Of course one could argue that, all this problems are not encountered in all the regions of the world, specially where the education of the population has proven to be adequate to conduct themselves and are not in the need to create a market to loot pieces or to harm intentionally a monument for political reasons. But it is then when the international organizations like UNESCO and group of academics should get involve and support others in need.

And yes, one cannot simply prepare a universal mandate for the practice of archaeology in the global environment. All archaeological engagements must be examined in context.<sup>324</sup> Since is relevant to see the progress that the concept of Heritage has been mainstream since WWII. Representing many values ranging from nostalgia to reminders of the darker side of human nature. It evolved over the last 40 years to cover the most prized works of human genius as well as most beautiful natural places.

Using archaeology as a tool in a learning process has a lot of advantages as it offers many different approaches and possibilities for outdoor activities. Material remains in the landscape, offers one way of starting up discussions of contemporary matters, important to children and youths of today.<sup>325</sup> As final statements in this investigation, I would like to mention three questions that conceive the next chapter of research. Which I consider needs to be addressed in a wider spectrum. Some interpretations that may not have an answer soon, but that are essential to signify what archaeology can do today for society and to itself.

A heritage site appropriate for everybody is impossible?<sup>326</sup> This concerns a utopic idea for several reasons, given the current political situation that many countries have encountered over the last decade. Unfortunately, society is based in two spectrums, politics and religion, and this two entities, in my opinion have never reach a consensus that actually works to create inclusion and equity to all the different range of social identity and representation. Nevertheless, as archaeologists we need to pursue the goal to reach to all type of people, to create a conversation in their minds and daily life about the incidents of the past. As a way to educate and improve human interactions.

The field of heritage management and historic preservation, has to redefine its mission, not about preventing change, but managing change.<sup>327</sup> In relation to political changes and human confrontations, the challenge of preserving a World Heritage Site or any type of historical location in the world, becomes a heavy task. It is impossible to stop the pass of time and the deterioration of materials. I believe the real struggle is the continuation of a legacy that is more in words and images in people's minds. To continue using and talking about a certain topic, in the hope of not reaching oblivion. When something is forgotten it is very hard to recover and to make it relevant to society. For that reason archaeologists and curators need to challenge their abilities to learn new and improve techniques to manage change and loss of heritage, to reach with time an understanding that heritage may not exist forever, but only as long as is relevant and useful.

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<sup>323</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 324

<sup>324</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 327

<sup>325</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 80

<sup>326</sup> Synnestvedt 2011, p. 82

<sup>327</sup> Holtorf & Fairclough 2013, p. 199

Being a foreign archaeologist, with a background from Mexico, I treat archaeology as a global endeavor. Is this tied to the notion of a global world heritage and will erase local specificities?<sup>328</sup> This last statement is a way of presenting the global scale that archaeology represents personally, the level it can reach when someone from another country and background presents interest in improving and understand deeply the relations of society and culture.

## 6. Summary

This investigations began with the main goal to study the implications of modernity in archaeological research and the process of incorporating the public to engage with cultural heritage. It became important to understand the archaeological panorama in Sweden and Denmark, with the help of two cases of World Heritage Sites. The effects of the role of UNESCO as an international organization and the consideration of Viking Age Heritage in the sites Birka and Hovgården in Sweden and Jelling mounds, runic stones and church in Denmark, formed the foundation to analyze and discuss the materials that were provided by a survey to key people, and the set of publications that concern with the topic of World Heritage as a paradigm that affects and creates a conversation in the life of every heritage site and society.

The concepts of social archaeology, public and community archaeology, social landscape, cultural heritage, modernity and cultural identity; are the pillars for the theoretical perspectives that conducted the analysis and discussion. As an attempt to answer the research questions which represent a personal point of view for the role archaeologists should embrace in a modern complex of research and as essential characters in the life of society.

The materials of this investigation were shaped in order to create an agency to the discussion and correlate the perspective of the people that answered the survey; the publications from UNESCO; and the set of publications that have discussed a similar relation in other World Heritage Sites and the implications in the society and scientific research, expresses all together, the current alternatives that archaeology has to offer.

The discussion of this investigation took the previous concepts, and it was based on the assumption that archaeology in World Heritage Sites should become a paradigm with more social implications and an approach for the public and for archaeologists themselves as a mechanism to turn these sites and improve the current situation, extending the quantity of research at the same time as providing acceptable levels of professional presentation, with a rate of approval from both local population and foreign visitors.

My final comments in the three part conclusions, represents the approximate set of achievement I concluded from investigating this particular topic. It is my belief that I reach a certain level of understanding about the relation archaeologists have with the public in World Heritage Sites. That I understood the complexity of social archaeology embedded in a modernized infrastructure of politics, economic gaze and technological advances.

Overall, the region of Scandinavia and these two World Heritage Sites, Birka in Sweden and Jelling in Denmark, are in my opinion, the continuation from a long history of researchers that are interested to use it as a tool for research, and at the same time a mechanism to instruct the public about its usefulness. The social relations that can be constructed in this type of institutions, must

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<sup>328</sup> Meskell & Preucel 2004, p. 317



start with the interest of archaeologist to be able to provide a sense of scientific humanistic approach.

## Acknowledgments

Given thanks and sincere appreciation after two years of hard work, dedication and valuable knowledge, words of encouragement and personal growth is prove of how much I have grown during my education at Lund University.

I would like to greatly appreciate the support and directions given by my supervisor Kristina Jennbert during the process of developing and concluding this investigation, where her valuable opinion motivating me to finish this piece of document, that I proudly presents. Also to all the professors I have encountered in all my courses at this University. Showing me the level of professionalism I aspire to reach in my career as an Archaeologist. Thank you for all that you have taught me.

Thank you to all my colleagues, from day one until last day, you have helped me grow as a professional and as a human being, always showing me how to enjoy life and be a better person. More than colleagues I know very good long lasting friendships came out of this two years.

Finally but not least, to my family, without you I wouldn't be here this day fulfilling my goal, my personal accomplishment is yours and dedicated to you. Thank you for all you have given me and I aspire to make you at least half as proud as I feel about you.

Gracias.

Thank you!

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### List of abbreviations (English & Swedish)

#### English

1. ARM – Archaeological Resource Management.
2. EAA – European Association of Archaeologist
3. ICCROM - International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property
4. ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites
5. IUCN – International Union for Conservation of Nature
6. OUV – Outstanding Universal Value
7. SHM – Swedish Historical Museum
8. UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
9. WHA - World Heritage Areas
10. WHC – World Heritage Convention
11. WHCE – World Heritage Committee
12. WHL – World Heritage List

#### Swedish

1. KUM - Kulturministeriet (Danish Ministry of Culture)
2. RAÄ – Riksantikvarieämbetet (Swedish National Heritage Board)
3. SFV - Statens Fastighetsverk (National Property Board, Sweden)

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Convention 1972

- [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=13055&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13055&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) (4/19/2017. 8:51pm)

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Ekerö Kommun

- (1) [http://www.ekero.se/Uppleva\\_och\\_gora/Varldsarv/?action=setcookieinfocookie](http://www.ekero.se/Uppleva_och_gora/Varldsarv/?action=setcookieinfocookie) (5/7/2017 – 4:34 PM)
- (2) [http://www.ekero.se/Uppleva\\_och\\_gora/Varldsarv/Birka-Hovgarden/](http://www.ekero.se/Uppleva_och_gora/Varldsarv/Birka-Hovgarden/) (5/7/2017 – 4:37PM)

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Kongernes Jelling, National Museum of Denmark

- Home page- <http://natmus.dk/museerne/kongernes-jelling/> (4/4/2017. 2:07pm)
- UNESCO World Heritage <http://en.natmus.dk/museums/kongernes-jelling-home-of-the-viking-kings/jelling-an-unesco-monument/> (4/4/2017.1:05 PM)
- Visitor Information <http://en.natmus.dk/museums/kongernes-jelling-home-of-the-viking-kings/visitor-information/> (4/4/2017. 1:05 PM)
- Monument Area <http://en.natmus.dk/museums/kongernes-jelling-home-of-the-viking-kings/the-monument-area/>

Kultur Ministeriet (Denmark)

- Home Page - <http://english.slks.dk/english/> (4/4/2017. 1:44)
- Cultural Heritage <http://english.kum.dk/policy-areas/cultural-heritage/> (4/4/2017.1:04 PM)
- Public Cultural Appropriations <http://english.kum.dk/cultural-policy/public-cultural-appropriations/> (4/4/2017.1:04 PM)
- Legislation <http://english.kum.dk/services/legislation/> (4/4/2017.1:05 PM)
  - Consolidate Act on Museums  
[http://english.kum.dk/uploads/tx\\_templavoila/Consolidated\\_Act\\_on\\_Museums\\_Executive\\_Order\\_No.1505\[1\].pdf](http://english.kum.dk/uploads/tx_templavoila/Consolidated_Act_on_Museums_Executive_Order_No.1505[1].pdf) (5/7/2017 – 12:00 PM)
  - Promulgation of the Act on Listed Buildings and Preservation of Buildings and Urban Environments  
[http://english.kum.dk/uploads/tx\\_templavoila/Bygningsfredningsloven\\_ENG%20camera%20ready.pdf](http://english.kum.dk/uploads/tx_templavoila/Bygningsfredningsloven_ENG%20camera%20ready.pdf) (5/7/2017 – 12:00 PM)
- World Heritage Sites <http://english.slks.dk/index.php?id=22686> (4/4/2017. 1:32)
- Jelling Monuments <http://english.slks.dk/cultural-heritage/sites-and-monuments/world-heritage-sites/jelling-monuments/> (4/4/2017. 1:33 pm)
- Heritage Areas <http://slks.dk/fortidsminder-diger/arkaeologi-paa-land/arkiv-sider/kulturarvsarealer/> (4/4/2017. 1:45pm)

Historiska museet

- Världsarvet Birka och Hovgården. <http://historiska.se/birka/vad-ar-birka-hovgarden/birka-varldsarvet/> (4/4/2017. 1:07 PM)
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National property Board (Sweden) <http://www.sfv.se/sv/fastigheter/sverige/stockholms-lan-ab/ovriga/birka/> (5/9/2017 – 12:36 AM)

Number of World Heritage properties in each State Party.

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/stat/> (4/28/2017 – 1:38pm)

Swedish National Heritage Board

- World Heritage <http://www.raa.se/in-english/world-heritage/> (4/4/2017. 1:29 PM)



The Swedish Environmental Code - <http://www.swedishepa.se/Guidance/Laws-and-regulations/The-Swedish-Environmental-Code/> (5/7/2017 – 4:50PM)

Visit Vejle. <http://www.visitvejle.com/In-int/vejle/vikings-jelling> (4/27/2017 - 7:14 pm)

UNESCO documents.

- Birka and Hovgården, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/555/documents/> (4/17/2017 - 12:10 AM)
- Birka and Hovgården General <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/555> (5/7/2017 - 12:44 PM)
- Jelling mounds, runic stones and church, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/697/documents/> (4/17/2017 - 12:10 AM)
- Jelling General <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/697/> (5/7/2017 – 5:43 PM)
- Convention 1972 <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf> (5/4/2017 - 3:30 PM)
- Birka Map [http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/555/multiple=1&unique\\_number=653](http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/555/multiple=1&unique_number=653)
- Jelling Map [http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/697/multiple=1&unique\\_number=825](http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/697/multiple=1&unique_number=825)

Welcome to Birka. <http://www.birkahovgarden.se/welcome-to-birka-hovgardens-gille/> (4/4/2017. 1:06 PM)

World Heritage Emblem. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/emblem/> (4/28/2017 – 4:15pm)

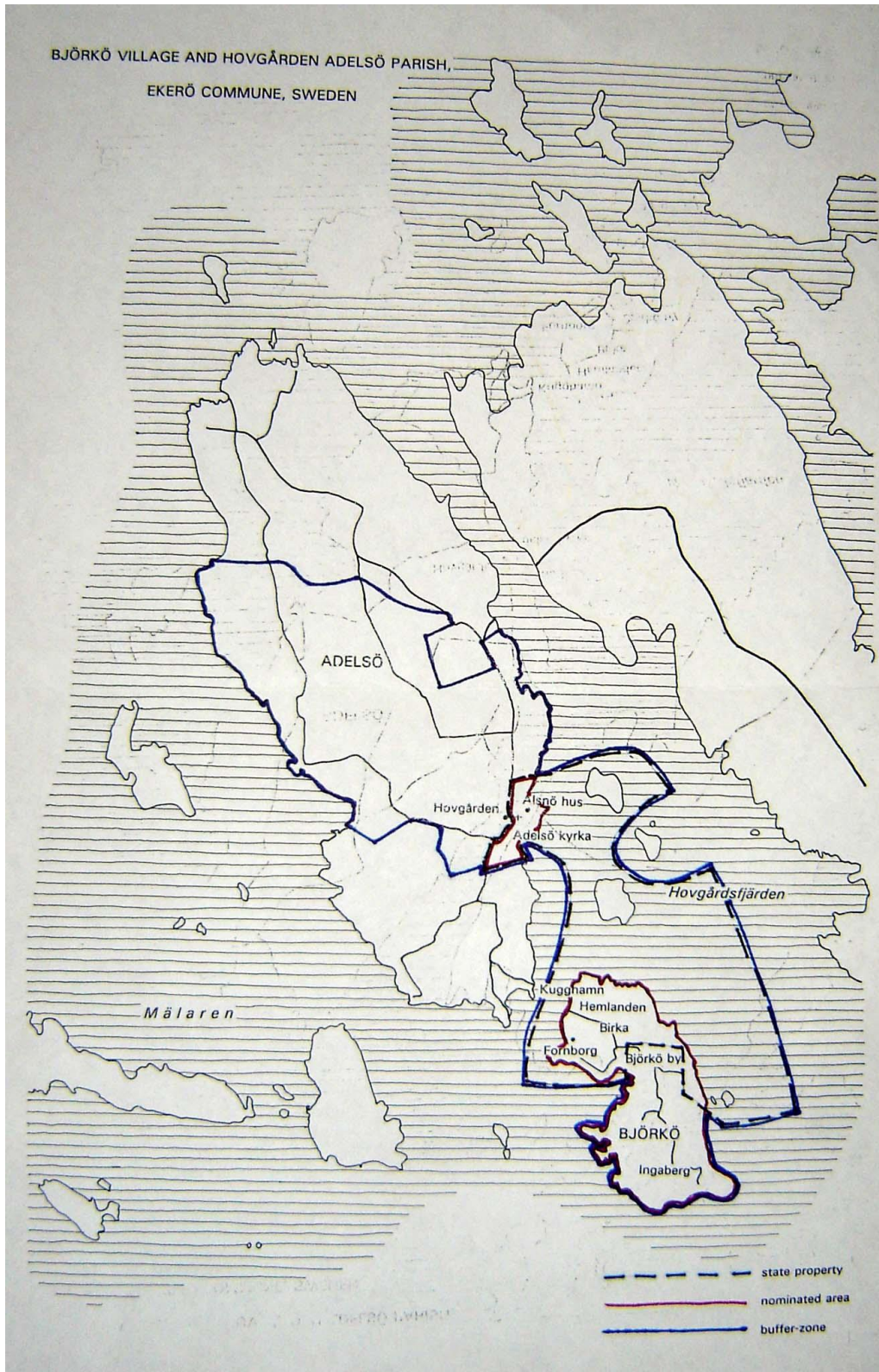
World Heritage Management Plan Birka and Hovgården 2013-2018 (In Swedish)  
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(5/7/2017 10:17 PM)

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Appendix

A) Birka and Hovgården - map of the inscribed property. UNESCO documents, Birka Map.



B) Jelling Mounds, Runic Stones and Church, scale 1: 2000, UNESCO documents, Jelling Map.

