The Role of Cultural Heritage in Development and Underdevelopment; An Analysis of UNESCO and World Bank Policy and Projects in a Middle Eastern Context, with a Case Study of Jerash, Jordan.

Katie McLoughlin

The cover photo of this thesis is taken from the South Decumanus street in Jerash. The South Bridge is visible in the middle-ground and the modern city is visible in the background. This image aptly reflects the juxtaposition of ancient and contemporary in Jerash. Source: https://farm8.staticflickr.com/7169/6801020569_54f76c97cc_b.jpg accessed 21/05/20

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

This chapter will begin by introducing the reader to the topic of this thesis by providing background to the study. I will then present the research problem and the overarching aim and purpose of this thesis. I will discuss the significance of the study and relevant terms will also be defined. After this, I will introduce the methodology adopted to achieve my objectives and the theoretical framework will be presented. I will conclude this chapter by outlining the scope of the study, limitations and assumptions, and finally I will outline the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Background of the Study

Heritage is undoubtedly a social process. The practice is no longer simply associated with monuments and landscapes; today heritage is a people centred creative action in which everyone can and should be involved (Kiddey and Schofield 2015, 40). There is a popular belief that cultural heritage is for everyone; unfortunately, however this idea is simpler than practice and application. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), estimates that there are 70.8 million people forcibly displaced worldwide as a consequence of persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations; however, in terms of cultural heritage, in policy document after policy document, consideration of forcibly displaced people is lacking and their presence is often meagre. This figure is large; however, the reality is that there are most likely to be many more forcibly displaced people as countless go undocumented and unaccounted for. More than a third of the world's displaced people come from Africa (UNESCO f 2019) and only five countries account for almost two thirds of displaced people: Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia (UNHCR a 2017). Jordan currently hosts the second largest Syrian refugee population per capita in the world (Refugee International 2020). The refugee crisis is undoubtedly at its peak on our planet and every two seconds one more person is displaced (UNHCR b 2018). We find ourselves in a situation incomparable to what has come before in reference to displacement and although the idea is overwhelming at best, therein lies the urgency and the relevance of this thesis. This thesis approaches this crisis within a framework of policy and practice about cultural heritage in Jordan in the Middle East.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This thesis explores the role of cultural heritage in development and underdevelopment by examining UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organisation) and World Bank documents using critical discourse analysis and archival analysis. In Jerash, a town in northern Jordan, the Jordanian government with the help of international organisations such as the World Bank, have promoted and celebrated the Classical Roman archaeology in the area under the perception that this is what attracts Western tourists and thus generates profit. However, it has been noted by previous scholars (Abu-Khafajah 2014; Aerts 2014; Al-Saad 2014; Corbett 2015; Downes and Sezgin 2004), that the local community in Jerash feel left out of this narrative as there is also a rich Islamic past in Jerash which has been overlooked and left to ruin. Social cohesion in the area is poor, this which has been attributed to continuous growth and the influx of refugees, asylum seekers and forcibly displaced people. Interaction between visitors to the archaeological site and the residents of the modern town is essentially non-existent for a multitude of reasons: inadequate infrastructure, ethnocentric policies and attitudes being the most dominant influencing factors (Abu-Khafajah 2014; Aerts 2014; Al-Saad 2014; Corbett 2015; Downes and Sezgin 2004; World Bank a 2005).

This disjunction between the tourist town and the modern town means that the local community are not benefitting from their rich past. I am interested in exploring the role cultural heritage has played in development in a non-Western context and why local stakeholders can go unheard for such a prolonged duration as a result of Western organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO. By evaluating the systems of power behind such organisations, I aim to understand how local narratives are being diminished, especially in situations of forced displacement. I am also curious to investigate whether heritage practices and processes can have any positive impact for people facing forced displacement in terms of assimilation within their host countries.

Cultural heritage is an expansive field, however, regardless of the specialisation, its relevance to global challenges and crises should be at the forefront for cultural heritage studies to address problems relevant to society. Forced displacement has been marked as a development crisis, not only a humanitarian one as the majority of displaced peoples are hosted in developing countries (World Bank f 2020). In spite of the severity of the refugee crisis, this thesis illuminates how this narrative of displacement is typically left out of cultural heritage and development policy. Critiques of heritage highlight the gap between promoted heritage and local heritage; however, for the industry to be sustainable, it must be a collaborative process shared by an open community which accepts both conflict and change (Harrison 2010, 18). The problem with promoted forms of heritage is not ‘bogus’ history but that it is generally geared towards creating a national narrative in response to globalisation on one hand and local on the other (ibid.). This gap between promoted and local, which is

thought to attract tourists and generate revenue can overlook local communities and for them, is in no way sustainable. To evaluate this gap, I will explore the authorising and Western nature of UNESCO and the World Bank through their policy documents using critical discourse analysis and qualitative data analysis software (Atlas.ti). Doing this will allow me to explore the role cultural heritage plays in development and underdevelopment in a Middle Eastern context.

There is a general consensus amongst cultural heritage scholars that the discipline is distancing itself from ideas of top-down heritage practices that are transfixed with buildings and monuments (Atalay 2008; Harrison 2010; Kiddey and Schofield 2015), however, in my own experience of European systems of learning and teaching, the norm is still typically geared towards ideas of Western nationalism that are ingrained with the outlook that we still need to "civilise" certain parts of the world that are different or do not equate to our systems of living in the West. By attempting to unpack the systems of power that legitimise authorising bodies such as UNESCO and the World Bank, I hope to better understand the politics behind Middle Eastern projects that are being run remotely from the West.

1.3 Aims and Purpose of the Study

The aim of this thesis is to examine the role of cultural heritage in development and underdevelopment in a Middle Eastern context. By exploring the intersection of cultural heritage and development through policy documents and programmes, this thesis addresses the general research question of what role cultural heritage plays in international development, with particular reference to Jerash in Jordan. Three sub-questions are tackled to investigate this problem, as follows:

1. What are the local outcomes of the World Bank's 'Third Tourism Project' in Jerash?
2. Are narratives about displaced people present within cultural heritage and development discourse and what role are they assigned?
3. Can cultural heritage have any positive impact for refugees and asylum seekers?

In order to engage with these questions, I have drawn inspiration from twentieth-century development scholar, Arturo Escobar, who unpacks 'development' using three axes; "*the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories and the like; the systems of power that regulate its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which the people come to recognise themselves as developed or underdeveloped"* (1995,

10). I draw on this conceptual approach to understand heritage in a similar way and explore the role heritage plays in development. Drawing on Escobar's (1995, 10) three-pronged definition of development, I formulate the following objectives:

1. "*the forms of knowledge that refer to it"* - my first objective will be to explore the development discourse surrounding authorised cultural heritage policies and practice by engaging with relevant secondary literature from prominent scholars. This first objective will allow for a better understanding of the role development plays in the cultural heritage sector.
2. *"the systems of power that regulate its practice"* - my second objective is to analyse the work of UNESCO and the World Bank Group through their policy documents relating to the Middle East and Jerash in Jordan more specifically.
3. *"the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse"* - and finally, I will bring my attention to the people of Jerash who are included and excluded both directly and indirectly by cultural heritage practices and the related discourses about development that intersect with cultural heritage. This objective will provide insight for sub-questions two and three

Through these three objectives, I intend to highlight the processes of UNESCO and the World Bank Group which are built on Western consensus that can be difficult to identify at first because of how ingrained they are in our ideas of cultural heritage and development and underdevelopment.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies with the impact that heritage-related policy and practice have for local communities and the urgency of the global displacement crisis, which has been noted as both a humanitarian and development challenge. The potential role that cultural heritage can play in narratives of displacement is a topic of study that is still within its germinal stages. Despite a plethora of critiques already existing in relation to the issues surrounding global approaches to regional challenges (Groot 2008; Groot 2017; Smith 2006; Walsh 2002), UNESCO and the World Bank Group continue to operate in such a fashion and the case study presented in this thesis is a quintessential example of all that is wrong with such an approach; the case study will highlight how locals go unheard through processes of bureaucratic wrangling and instead what is promoted is something believed to attract revenue through Western tourism. The World Bank project that I examine has been

presented before, however, not through the lens of critical discourse analysis. By approaching the pitfalls of such a project through critical discourse analysis, I intend to highlight the subtle processes of denouncement and erasure which justify decades of development and the existence of bodies such as UNESCO and the World Bank.

1.5 Definition of Terms

Development: For the purpose of this thesis, development is approached as a political and economic practice that is rooted in Western colonialism. Ideas of The Third World, the First World and the Developing World have essentially been created during the post WWII period by post-colonial governments in order to justify a Western dominated market powered by consumer led capitalism, while taking advantage of regions they considered "underdeveloped". These evolutionary ideologies, which literally ranks Western society and culture (First World) above all else, have encouraged the comparison of regions across the globe for decades and until the 1980s, these practices went unquestioned (Escobar 1995; 2012). By engaging with development and underdevelopment under such a definition, I expect to better recognise those that become erased through its ethnocentric processes. Development as a process of subtle Western supremacy will be returned to in section 3.3.

Discourse: Discourse as its most basic definition can be described as language and the forms of power that influence its different uses. Critical discourse analysis looks critically at language and its relationship with power, which can result in the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others. Similarly to development, this term will be referred to in a political and economic sense. Critical discourse analysis is most commonly used to evaluate systems of social and economic control; section 3.1 will look more closely at discourse, its meaning and its application.

Neo-colonialism: In parts of this thesis I refer to neo-colonialism, which can be defined as the continuation of forms of control and domination despite these formerly colonised regions having now gained geographical and political independence (Wickens and Sandlin 2016, 276). In certain instances, this control can be subtle and in others it is more striking; through critical discourse analysis, I intend on revealing the more discrete forms of neo-colonialism on behalf of UNESCO and the World Bank that is masked by humanitarian goodwill and entrenched ideas of development and underdevelopment.

1.6 Methodology

This section will briefly introduce the methodology of my thesis, which is discussed in greater detail in chapter two. The methods required to explore the research questions presented fall under three categories: archives, critical discourse analysis and qualitative data analysis software (Atlas.ti). The archives I analyse are from the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries and relate specifically to cultural heritage in Jerash, Jordan. The sources are predominantly UNESCO and World Bank reports and policy documents, and I also make use of secondary literature in the fields of development and cultural heritage. A majority of the World Bank documents relate to the Third Tourism Project that was carried out in Jerash, however, the UNESCO documents relate more generally to the Middle East and Jordan as an Arab State. My approach to analysing these archives falls under theories of 'amodernism', which is described in more detail in the following methodology chapter under section 2.1.

Critical discourse analysis is the method I have chosen to evaluate the practices of UNESCO and the World Bank in a Middle Eastern context. This kind of approach allows the researcher to critically unpack certain themes, in the case of this thesis, development and cultural heritage, and thus a better understanding of practices can be formulated, which may otherwise go unnoticed. This approach views language and its use in a politically driven and bureaucratic manner, allowing those interested to evaluate the systems of power that are currently upheld and justified through particular discourse. For the purpose of this thesis, it was the method of analysis that would function best with my objectives as it allows the researcher to work below the level and read between the lines.

Atlas.ti is the software I have chosen to apply methods of critical discourse analysis to the archives folder for this thesis. As technologies advance, so too must the academic methods of anthropology and archaeology, two once predominantly paper-based sciences that have rapidly been digitised over the last decade. As I was handling a large amount of documents when carrying out this research, the use of a computer software such as Atlas.ti meant more efficient organisation of the project folder and greater ease of use, which in turn resulted in a better formulated analysis.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

My motivation for the topic stems partly from a concern that archaeology can sometimes be an outdated practice reminiscent of its colonial roots and tends to overlook present day issues and challenges (Lydon and Rizri 2010; Meskell 1998; Trigger 1989). I am also aware that there can be an exclusivity to the practice, especially when it comes to

authorised heritage. If we are not learning about the past to engage with the present as well, then our purpose as archaeologists is diminished. Although my research does not necessarily include indigenous peoples or native lands, the approach of my research will be that of indigenous archaeologies. The approach, in its collaborative manner, has the potential of bringing to archaeology a more ethical and engaged practice from a viewpoint that is far more inclusive rather than exclusive (Atalay 2008, 30). I attempt to align my research with this inclusive and open approach, rather than from nationalist viewpoints, as I think it is this kind of approach that is more relevant in today's social climate than any other. My research will also take an approach grounded in critical realism, similarly to Smith (2006) who advocates clearly that actions and discourse have material consequences.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study begins by approaching critiques of development and cultural heritage discourse through predominantly Western secondary literature. Further on, in order to contextualise the issues raised within the discourse, the study will then focus on Jerash in Jordan and the World Bank's Third Tourism Project from 2005. This project and its pitfalls will aptly demonstrate the role of cultural heritage in development while revealing the problems that come with applying universal standards regionally. The main limitations of this thesis will be a lack of first hand accounts from local stakeholders, time-restraints and my own Western-centric education and background. As this thesis is being completed as part of a ten month MA programme run by Leiden University, I do not think there is sufficient time to include conducting interviews and collecting primary data despite that fact my research could benefit from it. There is also the added limitation that I am completing this study while being based in Western Europe and so my own Western-centric education and background will be taken into account during my writing.

1.9 Assumptions

My previous experiences of evaluating UNESCO and the World Bank during my MA studies meant that I already had some presumptions of the organisations. Themes that I presumed I would uncover fell under the commodification of heritage, the erasure of subaltern narratives or non-Western narratives and the problematisation of poverty.

1.10 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is composed of six chapters including this introduction chapter. Chapter two provides a discussion of the methodology aspects of this thesis, which fall under three

themes: archives, critical discourse analysis and computer based qualitative analysis. In this chapter, I will describe how I carried out these methods and my reasoning for choosing them. I will also offer some critiques of the methods according to scholars. In chapter three, I begin approaching the discourse surrounding cultural heritage and development. Prevalent critiques that pertain to the thesis topic are presented. This brings the chapter into a discussion of authorised heritage discourse, which is crucial to include in order to set context and analytical approach in this study. Development is concisely outlined after this and the chapter concludes by succinctly discussing UNESCO and the World Bank Group. Chapter four contextualises what has been offered in the previous chapter by presenting a case study of the town of Jerash, which is located in Northern Jordan. This town has a rich archaeological past, yet the local community is deprived of benefits that may come with such cultural resources. This case study in chapter four will demonstrate the issues surrounding UNESCO and the World Bank Group, which are discussed in chapters one and three. The case study will contextualise the common critiques prevalent within heritage practice and discourse. The fifth chapter discusses people that have been left out of the cultural heritage narrative by organisations such as UNESCO and the World Bank. Despite the fact that Jordan has a history spanning centuries of people resettling and seeking asylum in the Jerash area, their presence in policy and development programmes is almost non-existent. At present, millions of people currently find themselves displaced within Jordan and the analysis will show how UNESCO and the World Bank Group have largely either airbrushed this from their cultural heritage discourse or presented the influx of people as endangering heritage. The sixth and final chapter will discuss the topic analysed and draw conclusions. The concluding chapter also considers alternatives and solutions to the pitfalls that have been highlighted and informed by my findings, suggests changes and alterations to policy and practice involving cultural heritage management in the area.

This chapter has provided an outline for the thesis, setting out the main research question and sub-questions and the three objectives necessary to answer those questions. This chapter has also briefly discussed the two approaches that I adopt for the methodology: critical discourse analysis and archival analysis (using Atlas.ti software). The next chapter will discuss the methodological approach for this thesis in greater detail.

Chapter 2 – Methodology

This chapter will describe the methods required to achieve the three objectives that were outlined in chapter one. During this chapter, I will describe the methodology and also any prominent critiques that exist of such methods.

2.1 Archival Research

In the past two decades, archival and recordkeeping research has become more popular across a diverse range of disciplines; it has gained prominence as a rapidly growing and generative research approach (Gilliland and McKemmish 2017, 32). In Europe, recordkeeping has roots in the Roman Empire (ibid. 36), however, the idea behind physical memory making text spans back up to almost 40,000 years ago in Aboriginal Australia in the form of pictograms on rocks and in caves (ibid. 34). The age of digitalisation meant that archivists began to work with materials in a softcopy format; this transition from paper to screen began to highlight key downfalls of long-established paper-orientated models of archival research, such as the life cycle model (ibid. 41). The life cycle model, which was most commonly used in the United States and Western Europe during the 20th century, assumes that all archives go through three stages: “creation and capture within an organisational recordkeeping system; storage and maintenance – semi-active, inactive; disposition-transfer to an archives or discarding and destruction” (ibid. 40). This move away from paper, also meant that archives have become much more accessible and collaborative because of their cross public-private boundaries (ibid. 41).

One author has succinctly identified three typical approaches to archival research: modernist, postmodernist and amodernist (Mills and Mills 2018, 2). The modernist approach is focused on the belief that the past has an ontological basis in fact and these facts can be explored through archival analysis (ibid.). The postmodern approach considers the past to be ontologically unavailable as what we recreate through history is heavily based on the present (ibid.). Under this approach, the archivist believes that there is a considerable disjuncture between the past and history and history can only produce a diluted and skewed version of past events (ibid.). The third and final approach is amodernist, which views knowledge of the past as something socially constructed through a series of human and nonhuman actors: the historian and the archive (ibid.). The archival analysis in this study is grounded in both postmodern and amodern approaches.

The archives I have analysed and coded relate to development and heritage in a Middle Eastern context and the type of archives include photos, book reviews, policy

documents, reports, policies and both primary and secondary literature. The project folder holds 197 documents in total and has been divided into twenty document groups (figure 1). My thesis in an independent study, however, I have formulated my research questions in order to take advantage of an archival project called JARchival at the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University. The folder I am selecting my data from is compiled of sources gathered for the purpose of this project, which focuses on cultural heritage in 19th and 20th century Jerash and Palestine. From the JARchival folder, the two most applicable document groups for my own research are the UNESCO and World Bank groups, as it is their discourse surrounding heritage and development in the Middle East that is most relevant to my aims and objectives. In order to investigate the research problems discussed in chapter one, such as the authorising and excluding Western nature of governing cultural heritage bodies, I have closely examined the language that is used in the World Bank reports relating to the Third Tourism Project. For UNESCO, I have evaluated and coded documents relating to Jordan and the Middle East and more specifically, I have coded documents relating to the two unsuccessful attempts at World Heritage inscription for the ancient city of Jerash during 1984 and 1993.

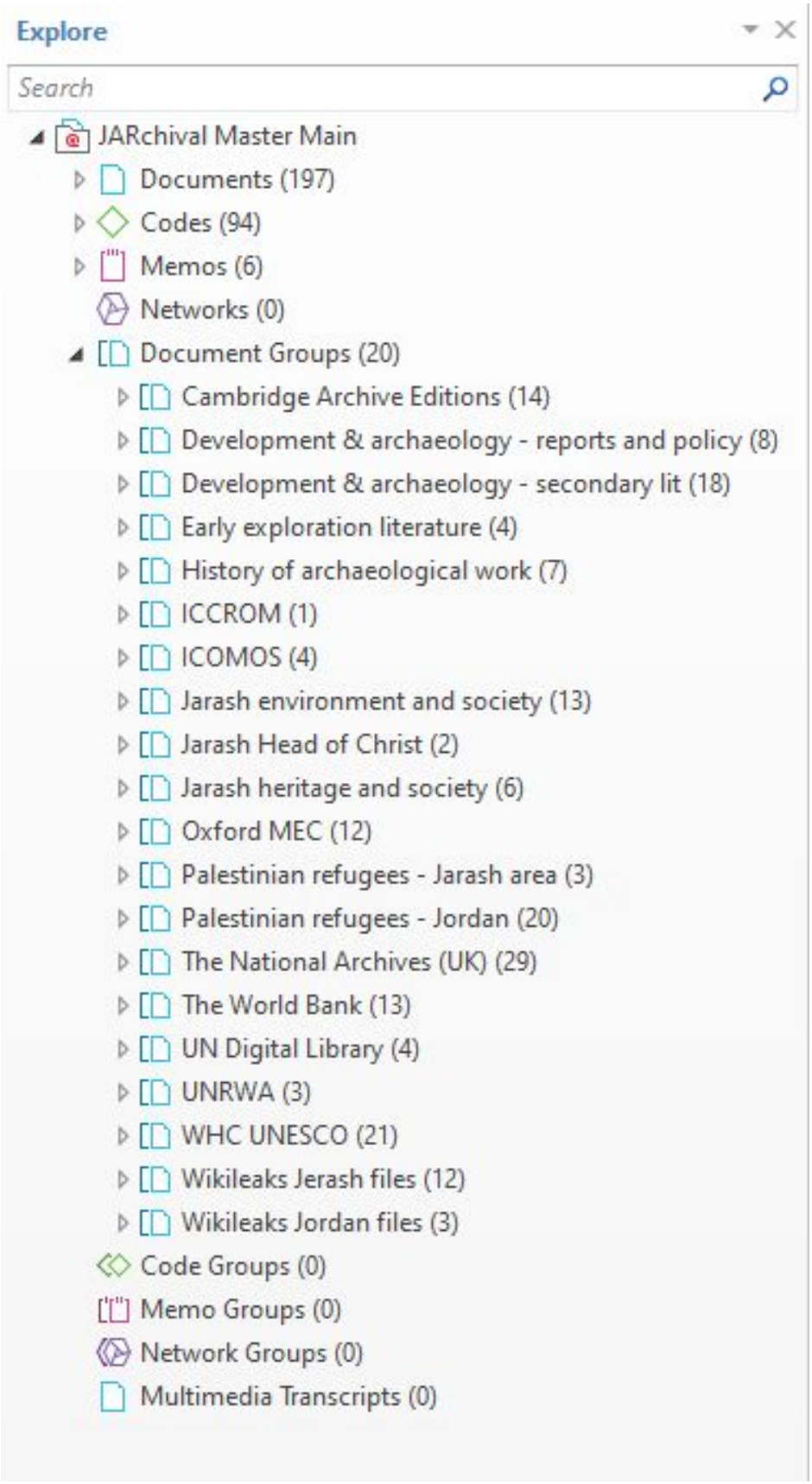

Figure 1 is a screenshot taken from Atlas-ti which displays the document groups.

2.2 Computer-assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software: Atlas.ti

In this section I will discuss the medium through which I interacted with the JARchival folder of 197 documents. I will explain the benefits and limitations of such a method and how this relates to my thesis topic. Atlas-ti is an alternative tool for qualitative data analysis. Specifically, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis package that mirrors the typical paper-based processes that qualitative researchers in the past have traditionally used (Guerrier 1996, 252). For this reason, the tool is quite popular amongst researchers. Large files of documents can be explored through this flexible software which allows the user to code and annotate data in a systematic fashion, thus allowing the researcher to easily investigate themes and relationships by creating networks for the codes they have created (ibid.) Coding is a method used in qualitative research that helps to generate an original theory from your data. By searching through the codes a researcher has generated, it is possible to see what themes can be woven together from your chosen data. The purpose of coding is to transform data into writing that relates to a specific problem but speaks to wider and more generalised audiences. The feature I used the most when interacting with the software is the manual coding function. To code something, the user must simply highlight a sentence or word, this can even be a full paragraph or image and then a new code is created relating to the highlighted words or you can assign them to an existing code. Once you have coded all your data, it is possible to select a code and then all the associated text will appear in a separate window. This function is extremely useful, especially when you are working with a vast amount of data and documents.

As with many methods of data analysis, I was aware that my results would depend greatly on how much effort I was willing to put into my initial coding and my persistence throughout the project was crucial to producing valuable analysis. My analysis of the file would depend immensely on the codes I would create and apply in the beginning in order to transform the data into meaningful categories for my analysis and interpretation (Blair 2015, 16). As there has been a substantial amount of time between my Atlas.ti and the beginning of my project, three months to be exact, before I began coding documents again I referred to the workbook (Evers 2019) that had been provided during training to familiarise myself once again with the interface and common functions. As with many qualitative researchers, in order to make sense and explore the meaning behind my data, I began by coding each document (Blair 2015, 14). The order in which I approached each document depended on the order they appeared on the left-hand side of the interface (Figure 2). I also approached

documents according to their document group (Figure 3). Their grouping provided great convenience and ease of access when I came to writing the different chapters of my thesis. During my Atlas.ti training, I found that having multiple documents open at one time resulted in a chaotic interface so to avoid this during my own project, once I initially coded a document I would then close it before moving onto the next. I have coded the documents in a combination of two approaches: grounded theory (emergent coding) and framework analysis (structured coding). The Grounded Theory Method involves answers emerging as the researcher repeatedly codes, refining and reviewing their coding process as they work (Blair 2015, 17). Atlas.ti was developed based on this method, for which the most important characteristic is that the springboard for theory building lies in the very beginning of analysis, or coding (Evers 2019,4). Naturally, due to my interest in the project and the training days during which I was working on the same file, I had a number of codes already in mind, such as displaced people, political unrest, and development. As I began coding and wading through the project file, naturally many more codes emerged and they became more specific and relevant to my research problem as the project progressed.

Atlas-ti is not only for coding, the idea behind coding your data in the first place is to explore the relationships between the codes you have created. To explore these relationships, one can also use the network-building feature, which is aimed to function as a support for theory-building, however, I will not be using this function for my own project (Guerrier 1996, 252).

In a 1990s review of the software, one critic has highlighted how she felt the only reason researchers were using the software at this time was in order to keep up with the times and the fear of being left at a disadvantage by not at least trying such software (Guerrier 1996, 253). This author remarks that although she can appreciate the idea behind Atlas.ti, it makes it more difficult for her to think about her data (ibid.). Upon reading this section of the author's review, I could relate to this feeling of a technological impedance between myself and my data. I am not much older than the review itself, which means I have experienced the majority of my academic life through a computer screen, however, during my training days, I could not overcome the idea that the Atlas.ti was creating an obstacle between myself and the data I was attempting to analyse. Like I mentioned previously, the interface is straightforward, but it can be chaotic, with several windows being open at once on top of each other. To overcome this for my project, which was to be completed at home due to the global situation with COVID-19, I acquired a twentyseven inch monitor for my personal workspace. The larger screen meant a larger less chaotic interface, eradicating any feelings of cognitive resistance.

Figure 2 is a screenshot taken from Atlas.ti which shows the documents in the order I approached them before they were organised into groups.

Figure 3 is a screenshot taken from Atlas.ti which displays my codes in alphabetical order.

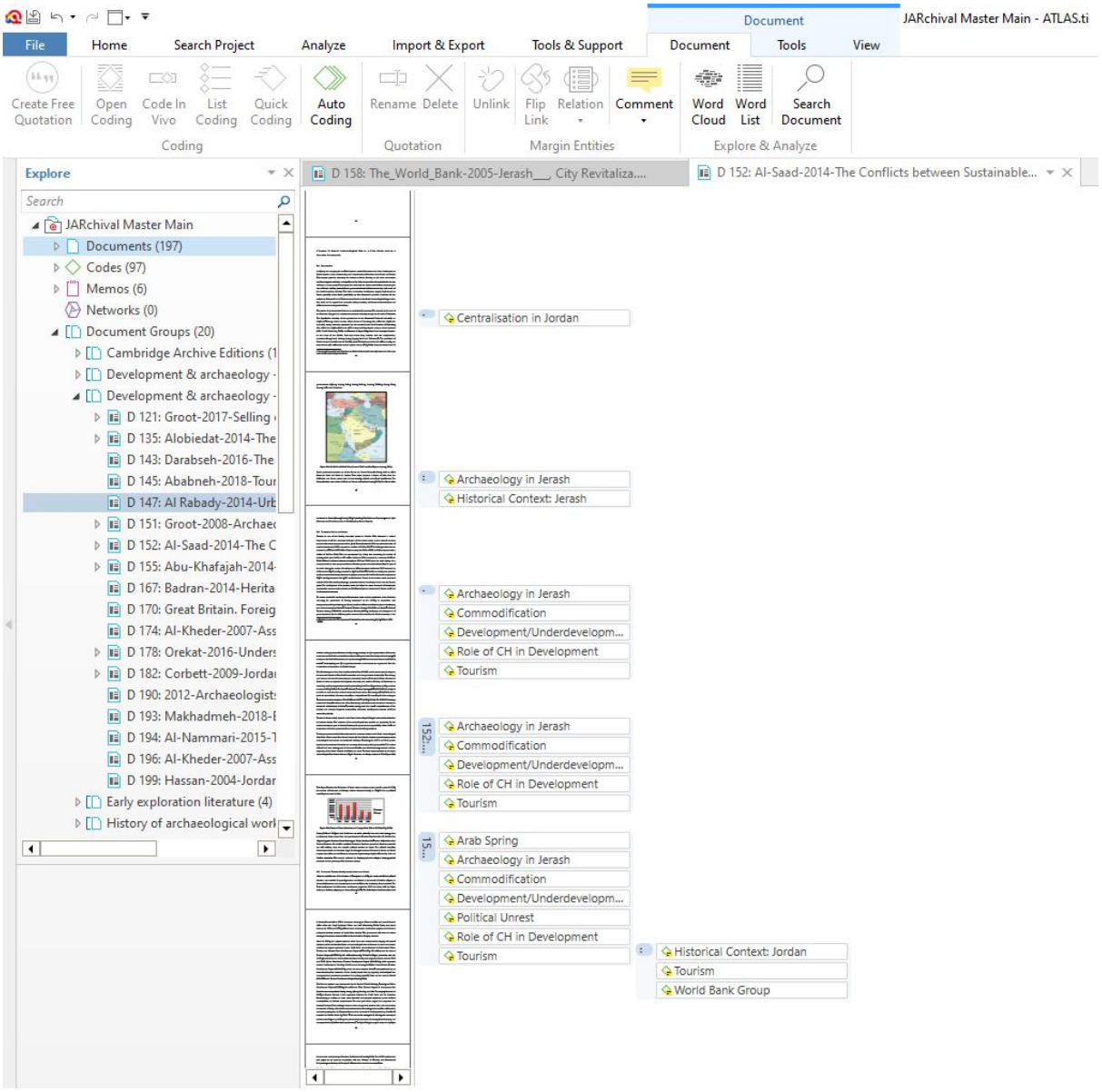

Figure 4 is a screenshot taken from Atlas.ti which displays how a document looks once coded.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Michel Foucault is considered to be one of the most influential writers on discourse analysis; his work, which reached its academic peak in the 1980s, focused on relationships of power expressed through language and behaviour. He argued “that discourses are forms of expertise, collected into different disciplines, which deal with the construction and representation of knowledge” (Smith 2006, 14). Critical discourse analysis can be defined simply as an exploration of the way we speak and write about subjects or more specifically, the way that power and social processes impact the language we use. It has established itself as a multidisciplinary practice and is used regularly in social sciences and the humanities (Chauliaraki and Fairclough 1999, 1). The use of critical discourse is extremely broad, and it can be used to explore a diverse range of social issues. Critical discourse analysis is essentially an analysis of texts and interactions, however, it does not start from texts and languages, rather the framework begins with “social issues and problems, problems which face people in their social lives, issues which are taken up within sociology, political science and/or cultural studies” (Fairclough 2001, 26). For example, in the case of this research, I begin with the authorising and hegemonic nature of cultural heritage policy and practice and build my framework upon that problem within cultural studies.

Fairclough, whose social approaches are deeply embedded by systemic functional linguistics (Reisigl 2013, 1), states that discourse is a form of social practice as he assumes that any case of language is a communicative event (Fairclough 2001). He has proposed a model for critical discourse analysis which involves three interrelated dimensions or categories; the dimensions are: the object of analysis or literal texts or words, the discourse practices surrounding that object and finally the societal impacts as a result of dimensions one and two (Fairclough 1989, 1995). For these three categories, Fairclough offers three different kinds of analysis for each: text analysis or description, processing analysis or interpretation and social analysis or explanation (Janks 1997, 239). It has been noted that what is useful about this framework offered by Fairclough is it allows the analyst to assess their data from multiple points of analytic entry and the approach one begins with doesn’t necessarily have to be the one used throughout as long as all approaches interconnect; it is usually in the interconnections between approaches that the researcher will find their most interesting disjuncture that require explanation (ibid.)

Discourse is a form of power and it also has the ability to tie us into certain communities or even exclude us from particular parts of society. The idea at the forefront of critical discourse analysis is that any text that includes interpretations and language is not neutral; there are values and ideas hidden beneath the text. Of course, language is

obviously a way of literally communicating a message, however, there can be many underlying meanings and interpretations to text which can only be understood through critically analysing its discourse. One of the most powerful tools of critical discourse analysis is its ability to expose the way that certain discourses can ‘naturalise’ certain accounts of reality (Cameron and Panvoić 2018, 17). For example, the ways UNESCO may naturalise the categorisation of heritage or the way the World Bank Group naturalise the problematisation of poverty. This method of legitimising certain realities and ideologies is an extremely persuasive tool in maintaining social hierarchies, however, the ability of critical discourse analysis to highlight these processes reflects just how necessary it is in a world so engulfed in bureaucracy, corruption, and political agendas. In light of how established and common place critical discourse analysis has become in scholarly writing in an institutional sense, it is important as a writer to be aware that the tool may in the future become part of a hegemonic project and may risk losing some former dimensions of critique due to its former oppositional approach.

This chapter has presented the methods necessary to achieve the three main objectives for this thesis. My approach to archival analysis takes on an amodernist approach and it is through critical discourse analysis that I unpack the systems of social and economic exclusion that uphold organisations such as UNESCO and the World Bank. Atlas.ti was used throughout the course of this thesis, which allowed me to easily identify trends and themes across a large folder of documents. The next chapter will discuss literature relevant to the topic in order to contextualise my study and to also understand the intersection of cultural heritage, development and underdevelopment.

Chapter 3 - Discourses of Cultural Heritage and International Development

This chapter will discuss literature relevant to my thesis topic beginning with cultural heritage and its critiques, and then moves on to discuss international development and UNESCO and the World Bank Group. The main ideas and concepts I engage with here are cultural heritage and the authorising discourse surrounding the sector, inclusions and exclusion through heritage, development and underdevelopment and then I will look more specifically at UNESCO and the World Bank Group. I will conclude this chapter by providing a framework of development and heritage governance. Overall, this chapter reveals a predominantly Western discourse which enables the authorisation of one narrative over the other and it is important to understand how this happens before the case study on Jerash is presented. Development is also briefly explored as a process of economic domination by post-colonial powers, which feeds finally into UNESCO and the World Bank, two global institutions that are both concerned simultaneously with cultural heritage and development.

3.1 Cultural Heritage and Critical Discourse Analysis

"Heritage, I want to suggest, is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process" (Smith 2006, 44).

Uses of Heritage, an influential book in heritage studies, begins with the bold statement that "there is no such thing as heritage" (Smith 2006, 11) and goes on to explain that heritage is used in a socially constructed fashion. The work explores the relationship between material culture and identity based on qualitative and ethnographic data, which in turn, highlights how people are less passive in heritage than has previously been assumed. An important way in which this happens is that a discourse surrounds heritage and this discourse tends to validate a certain white, Western way of thinking, practicing, and performing, and through this active promotion, alternative and subaltern ideas of heritage are compromised and undermined (ibid.). Smith adopts a position of critical realism in her poignant arguments which are anchored in the belief that social relations are material and have material consequences; the author is adamant that these consequences require exploration (ibid. 13). She subtly critiques Foucault after knighting him one of the most influential writers on discourse and intentionally avoids his postmodern approach; she points out that Foucault's work overlooks the existence of things as a result of placing too much

emphasis on where knowledge or meaning comes from (ibid, 13-14; Hall 2001, 78). Foucault takes an ontological approach in the majority of his work, whereas Smith's approach is more epistemological. Smith also refers to other critiques of Foucault's work concerning a lack of clear methodology in relation to the links between knowledge, practice, and social change (2006, 15). Smith (2006) offers critical discourse analysis as a solution to Foucault's lack of clear methodological approaches and emphasis on how we acquire knowledge; instead, critical discourse analysis allows for the assessment of the relationship between knowledge and practice (ibid.). Critical discourse analysis approaches language as a tool for exploring social and political relations and change, as has been discussed in the previous chapter.

Ethnocentric consensus and hegemony in cultural heritage policy and practice eradicates alternative heritages. The most prevalent critique amongst heritage scholars is the dichotomies of authorised and unauthorised heritage (Abu-Khafajah 2014; Atalay 2008; Kiddey and Schofield 2015). Multiple heritages exist; however, it is clear from several critiques of the sector (Harrison 2010; Smith 2005; Waterton and Smith 2009), that generally one form of heritage is promoted and authorised, usually resulting in the uneven distribution of benefits, both socially and financially. Local communities are usually those who benefit the least while multinational companies and the private sector reap the rewards. The list of negative knock-on effects of this is long and both people and heritage are impacted. In order to critique heritage, it is important to first understand what heritage studies are or rather, what they are perceived to be. Harrison remarks that "critical heritage studies should be concerned with officially sanctioned heritage discourses and the relationships of power they facilitate on the one hand, and the ways in which heritage operates at a local level in community and identity building on the other" (2010, 5). This definition of critical heritage studies from Harrison is somewhat reminiscent of Foucault's (1991) concern with the relationship between power and knowledge and how knowledge can be identified as a particular technique of power. In this thesis, the World Bank and UNESCO act as the officially sanctioned discourse for the purpose of my case study on Jerash and through the lens of critical discourse analysis, I apply this definition of critical heritage studies in order to understand how they operate at a local level.

Harrison (2010, 24-25) discusses several common pitfalls of heritage including the commodification of heritage having a distancing effect and the promotion of nationalistic ideologies through heritage practices as a reaction to globalisation. Commodification of heritage is a popular critique amongst scholars (Baillie et al 2010; Bunten 2008; Walsh 2002) and through its process of cultural reproduction, what many aim to protect is diluted and eroded. There are many examples of tourist-centred heritage projects resulting in the

destruction of authenticity and enchantment; Machu Picchu, Santorini and Mount Everest are three typical examples of destinations where tourism has taken on an extractive and unsustainable role. Harrison (2010, 11) also goes on to make an interesting remark that, as a result of authoritative bodies such as UNESCO, Getty Conservation, the World Bank Group, an important aspect of heritage as a practice is a necessitative, impulsive and continuous tendency to categories.

In order to be recognised, protected and apparently appreciated, according to organisations such as the World Bank and UNESCO, heritage must meet rigorous criteria for which the list is almost as long as the one referring to negative knock-on effects of heritage authorisation for locals. This type of discourse falls under authorised heritage discourse and is essentially the process of protecting a specific narrative of the past for future generations. It instils western ethos, values and systems of thought by promoting the idea that the past and present need to be protected for future generations, however, this can only be done by *experts*, seen as stewards and caretakers of the past who adhere to a certain pre-approved process of preservation (Smith 2006, 29). Heritage is a social practice; it is both intangible and tangible and is something to be inherited but unfortunately, the reality is that heritage is defined by certain authorities and experts, and nationalism is the root of most problematic cultural and social constructivism.

As heritage is considered to be socially constructed and determined, it becomes difficult not to question its authenticity; if something is socially constructed, does that make it unnatural? Restructuring of the economy during the 1980s and 1990s resulted in increased mass consumption of certain types of heritage which served to enhance a selection of ideas of communal identity and evoked nostalgic feelings of a past that continued into the present (Walsh 2002, 127-128). Walsh argues that the heritage that was propagated was and still is bland and homogenous, and relates these promoted feelings of communal identity to corporate identity endowed in traditional values (ibid, 128). Authorised heritage discourse excludes the general public from having a role in preserving the past and focuses generally on aesthetically pleasing or monumental things; a quick glance of UNESCO's World Heritage List is testament to this elitist practice built on excluding tendencies. Authorised heritage discourse, particularly in the role of the World Heritage listing, due to the singular character of the discourse, enforces roles of national identity by having too narrow a focus on what heritage is, thus denying the incorporation of what they consider lacking in "outstanding universal value" (Groot 2017, 32; Smith 2006, 30)

There is an obsession within authorised heritage discourse for preserving things for the future, however these assumptions have begun to be questioned and critiqued by some

authors. In their 2014 work, Holtorf and Högberg, explore these presumptions that future generations will appreciate the past and our present as much as is projected by highlighting the simple fact that we can never anticipate what these people will appreciate, what languages will be understood and poses the question of whether our species will even continue to exist (639-640). The cultural sector tends to fall short in relation to what they interpret the 'future' to be; the majority only consider two or three generations or only a few centuries (Holtorf and Högberg 2014, 642). Bringing to light this lack of future consciousness encourages the reader to ponder the immensity of cultural projection that cultural policies and practices are shrouded in.

3.2 Inclusion and Exclusion through Heritage

Among heritage policy makers, there is another assumption that community inclusion and local outreach results in a more effective policy, the term community is used rigorously in policy making and has been transformed into an over-simplified buzzword by organisations such as the World Bank. The use of the term has been described as a means of maintaining the status-quo and with its use, it creates a smokescreen for the complexities of modern social reality; the romantic term is considered a cure for all manner of social problems such as deviance, drug-use, crime, poverty and exclusion and the result, similarly to authorised heritage discourse, is a process of authorising a certain type of society or community and condemning what does not fit in (Waterton and Smith 2009, 6-7). Its use, in the traditional sense "can lead to misrecognition, discrimination, lowered self-esteem and lack of parity in any engagement with heritage" (ibid. 9). A seminal issue brought up is that fast theories as a result of its use are creating an artificial reality that is reinforcing differences in race, class and gender (ibid. 5); rather than bringing people together, it is actually classifying them and pushing them apart and intensifying feelings of otherness. Heritage "invokes inclusion and exclusion, a division into 'us and them'; heritage is elitist and splits the world into above and below, into global and local" (Krauss 2008, 245). White and middle classes are being automatically granted fuller status through the heritage process as misrepresentation of communities are being institutionalised (Waterton and Smith 2009, 12). The alternative posed by the authors is the adoption of models of recognition thus dismissing the blanketing effect the term community can have (ibid.). The term community is safe and cosy, and its positive connotations are never used in a negative light. For the term to be effective the approach must be focused on doing *with* a community as opposed to *for.*

What is revealed from critiques of heritage is a series of processes resulting in excluding practices. For decades, the dominant voice in decision making has been Western,

white, and male resulting in methods of subtle bureaucratic discrimination. As writers explore the authorising nature of the cultural heritage sector, these once accepted norms of valorising one set of ideologies over the other are unpacked and thus alternatives can be drawn. We can also begin to move away from idea of heritage and culture as something desperately fragile that needs to be rigorously protected as authors begin to agree that cultural heritage is a process (Smith 2006, 44), meaning it can never truly be lost as it continuously adopts and adapts (Harrison 2010, 36).

3.3 Development and Underdevelopment

Development is a term which comes with many meanings; a common understanding of the term is physical infrastructure and the idea of change and improvement. However, when we consider these very tangible attributes of development, we must also consider the processes and institutions involved and how they have also been created and strengthened overtime (Head 2008, 14). In Escobar's 1995 book, "Encountering Development", the invention of development is mapped from its beginnings in the 1940s, through exploration of the knowledge we use to discuss it, the bodies which claim to govern it, and the subjects who come to consider themselves as either developed or underdeveloped. The concept Escobar (1995) presents that development and the Third World was essentially created by the United States and Western Europe as an act of economic and cultural domination over any region they considered not to fit into their perceptions of 'developed' – is an incredibly poignant way of encountering development. Beginning the book with a quote from Harry Truman, which describes the lives of those in the Third World as miserable, inadequate, primitive and stagnant, the author marks this post WWII era as the starting point of dichotomies between developed and under-developed areas (Escobar 1995, 4). The speech quoted is from 1949 and the author remarks that today, it is easy to recognise how the then President's language is endowed with ethnocentrism, however today we are not as far from these repressive and victimising ideologies as we would like to imagine; stereotypes and biases are ever-prevalent when we consider the 'Third World' and compare economies.

The book examines development through modern economic processes and considers how the Third World is produced socially through paths of knowledge and action in the developed and then consequently in the underdeveloped world. The three axes which define development are the forms of knowledge which refer to it (words, studies, scholars, ideas, biases, presumptions), the systems of power and governing bodies that deal with it (governments, NGOs, charities) and finally those subjected to it and in turn consider themselves either from a place developed or underdeveloped (local communities, politicians,

aid-workers, scholars, students) (Escobar 1995, 10). It is this definition of development that has inspired my three main objectives for this study: exploring development discourse surrounding authorised cultural heritage policies and practice, analysing the work of UNESCO and the World Bank in a Middle Eastern context and revealing those that have been subtly included and excluded through these processes of stigmatisation and denouncement.

Escobar also outlines problems with the roots of anthropology and its encounter or avoidance with development discourse (ibid, 14-17). Aspects of anthropology have been equated with colonialism in former decades, and the similarities are undeniable when we consider the intimacy anthropology is built on between researcher and subject and how this relationship is generally built on ideas of development (ibid, 15). Anthropology has been born out of cultural contestation and identity construction operating within traditional ideas of development. Escobar notes that during the 20th century, there had been an unfortunate absence of anthropologists in discussions relating to development acting as a method of representation and it is for this reason he boldly compares present day Third World representations to their colonial predecessors (ibid). This is no longer the case, as many researchers now explore processes of representation and development in anthropology. However, it is still valuable to understand both archaeology and anthropology's roots in European colonialism (Lydon and Rizri 2010; Meskell 1998; Trigger 1989) as I believe these origins influence the projects that are being run across the developing world today, for example in Jerash.

The idea of development has become a global discourse due to top down organisations such as the UN, IMF and the World Bank and their methods of granting aid to regions they have deemed less developed than others but only if they adhere to certain programs. Such programs would then supposedly pave the way to economic growth, thus a wealthy and healthy democracy, which is always the end goal. Wealthier, corrupt, and past colonial governments have been empowered through the process of development while marginalised societies and those facing poverty have been oppressed, which we will see during the case study. Development has been described as a problematic grid through which the more impoverished parts of the world are known to the developed (Ferguson 2006), a warped lens through which we manifest our stereotypes and prejudices. There is a plethora of cultural assumptions within development discourse and the modernisation of poverty meant those classed in such a way were increasingly being viewed as a social problem and something that needed intervention (ibid, 22-23). Development is a historical event beginning in the post-World-War II era and brought with it the problematisation of poverty.

The dominant solution provided to these problems was economic growth and this has resulted in an overly capitalist-led culture and the establishment of a dominating Western market. Due to the rapid advancement in some parts of the world during this period, globalisation became a political focal point and a long history of conservation in heritage began. Globalisation as the product of persistent and inevitable development was recognised as a threat to fragile and non-renewable heritage; and so this period also saw the beginning of development and heritage in contest with each other.

Many researchers have promoted the concept of cultural heritage for development, however, it has been noted that this kind of approach should only be taken in regions where the minimum socio-economic development goals and basic needs have been already provided (Cleere 2001; McMinn 1997). This kind of increased development is believed to bring positive growth and benefits, however, if other aspects of society are not growing at the same rate, for example health care, education, water and waste management, the results threaten cultural heritage as opposed to protecting it (Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004, Mire 2011 cited in Groot 2017, 41). The idea of improving the everyday well-being of local communities before fixating on promoting landmarks as a means of creating revenue through tourism would seem like the most logical order of steps, however, in developing regions, the opposite is the reality and projects to improve infrastructure for visitors and tourists are being prioritised while local stakeholders continue to struggle with basic human needs such as water, waste-management, employment, health, education and safety. This positioning of profit from tourism over the general well-being of local stakeholders is one major flaw that we will see during the case study in the following chapter.

“Development continues to play a role in strategies of cultural and social domination” (Escobar 2012); through my use of critical discourse analysis in this thesis I will provide poignant examples of this form of cultural and social domination in a Middle Eastern context. When development is considered in such a way (as a process of Western cultural and economic domination), it becomes easier to understand the discourse behind UNESCO and the World Bank; two multi-billion corporations both established in the West but have projects established across the globe. Through their problematisation, commodification and erasure of subaltern heritages, both organisations have further marginalised certain communities as a method of justifying their positions of power and authority in “underdeveloped” settings, such as Jerash.

3.4 UNESCO and The World Bank Group

This section will turn to the authorising bodies of UNESCO and the World Bank. I will provide a brief history of those organisations and both will be discussed in relation to my research problem. The information provided here will set context for the case study that will be presented in the next chapter.

3.4.1 UNESCO

November 1945, not long after WWII, saw the first United Nations Conference where thirty-seven countries founded the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The political upheaval from WWII marked the composition of the founding Member States of UNESCO and these Western countries decided to come together to establish the "intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind" and thus the prevention of another world war (UNESCO h 2020). It was not until the late 1950s, just over a decade after the founding of UNESCO, that they began focusing on natural and cultural conservation. After globally recognised successes in Egypt and Sudan, its never-before-seen world support for ancient site preservation was the starting point on its long history of all that is monumental and grand (Keough 2011, 954). In 1972, the World Heritage program was established as UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Meskell 2018). This could be considered the starting point for the categorisation of heritage and has been noted to be a crucial milestone in the development and institutionalisation of the heritage discourse (Smith 2006, 27). One of UNESCO's mandates is to pay particular attention to global threats to natural and cultural heritage and so, since the 1970s, UNESCO has also been exploring the relationship between heritage and development (2011, 1). Through its eyes, globalisation is viewed as a major threat to heritage, which manifests itself in the attrition of societal values, identities and cultural diversity (ibid). UNESCO is so concerned with the negative impact globalisation is having on heritage that it was the main theme of the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in Kyoto in 2012, 'World Heritage and Sustainable Development: The Role of Local Communities'. When speaking of cultural heritage, it is always described as something fragile, crucial, and non-renewable which makes it difficult to resist the urge to protect whatever they are considering heritage to be. The challenge of preserving and conserving is described as necessary for the benefit of society, and the idea is presented in a valorous manner but critiques of the convention reveal an organisation whose successes are quickly dwindling and being replaced by bureaucratic wrangling and underhanded deals for money

and influence between the Committee and the Member States (Keough 2011, 954; Usborne 2011).

The original aim to protect natural and cultural heritage resulted in the creation of the World Heritage List, however, it is clear from several sites that inscription onto the prestigious list directly intensifies tourist numbers and in countries where sites are not adequately managed, this inevitably results in extractive tourism and ironically impedes the site's authenticity and Outstanding Universal Value which is what earns a site its inscription during the nomination process. The organisation has been described as favouring materialism and pacification, which is partly what renders it and member state parties unable to adequately protect what they had been preoccupied with classifying as endangered in the first place (Keough 2011, 594; Usborne 2011). Increased tourism through listing, meaning greater visibility and the politicisation of sites, can even result in intentional destruction and targeting during several different kinds of conflict or unrest (Groot 2017, 40). The mis-use of World Heritage funding is also another common occurrence because once state members meet the broad yet specific UNESCO criteria, UNESCO has no way of making sure that funds are used specifically for the preservation and safeguarding of the listed site in question and a lack of strict accounting standards makes the funds subject to mishandling (Keough 2011, 603-604). There are also tendencies for funds from other projects already within the Member State to be substituted towards listed sites meaning those unlisted face falling into decline (Groot 2017, 41).

Crumbling under the weight of outside influence, bureaucracy and political agenda, the Convention's aim to make the World Heritage seal a guarantee of preservation is now a far-fetched reality and the long entrenched problems within the organisation are so complex that any hope of re-assessment and eventual over-haul from within seems implausible (Keough 2011, 598-600). The list is dominated by Western locations which mirrors just how unbalanced the process is. As discussed in the case study of this thesis, Jerash's failed attempts at inscription are just one prime example of the cultural inadequacy of the entire World Heritage Programme which is unquestionably Western favoured. The list not only reflects the deep Eurocentrism the Convention is grounded in and how much authorised heritage discourse dominates the process, but also their attempts to assert the perception of a European culture to 'world civilisation' (Smith 2006, 98-100). The vague and broad language used in the 1972 Convention has resulted in greed and power-politics and has been described as the perfect manifestation of the problems surrounding UNESCO's entire World Heritage Program in print (Keough 2011, 600).

The message that is at the very core of UNESCO is diversity through unity, but how can we move synchronously towards diversity and unity? If all heritage belongs to everyone, then it also risks becoming no one's. This threatens indifference and what is instead encouraged is a move towards a focus on diversity as the foundation to understanding universal heritage (Groot 2008, 19). In the following chapter, we will see the authorising nature of UNESCO manifested through Jerash's two failed attempts at World Heritage Inscription. This site, which is undoubtedly of Outstanding Universal Value, has been denied the organisation's seal of preservation and the proposed reasoning behind these failed attempts is linked to the organisation's obsession with Western standards of beauty and aesthetics and inability to escape their own ethnocentrism.

3.4.2 The World Bank Group

"*Vision… becomes unregulated gluttony; all seems not just mythically about the god trick of seeing everything from nowhere, but to have put the myth into ordinary practice"* (Haraway 1988, 581).

The World Bank, the largest international development agency (Escobar 1995, 163) is made up of 189 member countries and proudly advertises that they have staff from more than 170 countries and offices in over 130 locations (www.worldbank.org). They ambitiously promote their mission as two main goals: ending extreme poverty and promoting shared prosperity in a sustainable way (ibid.). They have funded over 12,000 programs in relation to development (ibid.) and they have been described as a blueprint for development discourse (Escobar 1995, 19). Their loans are self-described as low-interest and include investment in areas such as education, health, public administration, infrastructure, financial and private sector development, agriculture, and environmental and natural resource management and their lending commitments so far for 2020 almost exceed €32 billion (Projects). Inspecting the World Bank website, it is difficult to not be impressed with the plethora of humanitarian work they proudly advertise, however, studies of World Bank programmes show that the reality is far from what is propagated.

During the 1990s, the main critique of the World Bank was focused on their neoliberal mandates and today those perceptions are still prevalent (Oise 2007, 47). The most common critique for this international lending agency is the fact that their lending programs are predominantly focused on developing countries, however, the World Bank organisation is managed in majority by some of the most powerful global powers, for example the United States, Japan and the United Kingdom. Similarly to UNESCO, the

organisation has Western origins during the aftermath of WWII. In 1944, the World Bank was created at the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire with the initial purpose of rebuilding countries that had been devastated by the war. The first loan from the World Bank was to France for post-war reconstruction in 1947 (World Bank g 2020). Their work has been described as “the god trick of seeing everything from nothing”, this message is powerful and perfectly describes the top down, elitist fashion in which this organisation is run. This quote also describes their handling of the Third Tourism Project in Jerash, which will be discussed in the next chapter. In 1948, they declared two-thirds of the world’s population as poor by claiming that any country with an annual per capita income of below $100 as inadequate and insufficient (Escobar 1995, 24). This became a benchmark for social classification and a defining feature of the Third World as it suddenly transformed two thirds of the world into poor subjects or even peasants (ibid.). It was from this point that over two thirds of the world were suddenly seen as something in need of Western intervention. This can be considered as the beginning of the problematisation of poverty, which has been briefly discussed above and today the World Bank continue to include poverty line demographics within their policy documents to measure the urgency of their financial interventions, which we will see in the next chapter. The aim of their organisation is modernity and they achieve this not by controlling and disciplining individuals but instead by attempting to transform the lives of people into something with productive outcomes in a normalised environment (ibid. 156).

Their prejudicial modernising and capitalist led under(over)-tones are evident throughout their policy documents; economic development is always the key objective and the basic needs of local residents and communities are always considered thereafter, if at all (Bigio and Licciardi, 2010; Cleere 2001; McMinn 1997), which we will see in the following chapter. Another recurring theme of their publications is blaming those facing poverty for problems such as urban decline and the erosion of certain aspects of cultural heritage. For example, they blame poorer communities for the decline of medinas in the Arab world (Bigio and Licciardi, 2010). Many of these medinas have suffered from poor preservation in recent years and the World Bank blame the incoming of lower earning communities, whereas surely this problem lies in government downfall rather than the inability of these people to afford their upkeep. "Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that local communities do not value and do not preserve their cultural assets” (World Bank a 2005, 5), condescending statements such as this are frequent, and “pauperisation” is a process that is repeatedly discussed. The World Bank has created a gaze through which those facing poverty are branded peasants and paupers and turned into spectacles through processes of

stigmatisation and denouncement (Escobar 1995, 155). In the following chapter we will see these practices contextualised in Jerash in Jordan, where the World Bank has injected funds aimed at revitalising social and economic life. We will also see this condescending Western gaze focused on those facing forced displacement, refugees and asylum seekers.

3.5 A Framework of Development and Heritage Governance

What has been revealed in this chapter is two Western organisations that emerged from the political rubble of World War II. UNESCO strives for global unity through diversity and the World Bank creates a smokescreen of humanitarian led goodwill that acts as a cover up for neo-colonial politics. What is highlighted in both organisations is something ethnocentric and both seem to be driven by bureaucratic greed. It is clear from what has been discussed in this chapter that there are many issues surrounding the cultural heritage sector. In the next chapter, the case study of this thesis is presented, which focuses on Jerash in northern Jordan, a modern Middle Eastern city with a rich archaeological past. It is with this case study that we can contextualise the issues raised previously; how UNESCO and the World Bank have approached issues surrounding cultural heritage and development in Jerash demonstrates the hegemonic and ethnocentric qualities of their documents and programmes. Jerash has been subjected to several of the critiques that has been raised during this chapter on behalf of UNESCO and the World Bank such as the problematisation of poverty, hegemonic and eurocentric ideologies and tourism development being prioritised over local development at the detriment of residents. The following chapter on Jerash will allow the reader to envisage the problems that have been discussed here within the framework of international governance relating to heritage.

Chapter 4 - Case Study on Jerash, Jordan: A Middle Eastern Context

This chapter will present a case study on Jerash, a city in northern Jordan. The aim of this chapter is to place the topic problems discussed in the previous chapters in context at Jerash and identify pitfalls in policy and documents in a Middle Eastern setting. I will present my analysis of UNESCO and World Bank documents, which I have examined using Atlas.ti software and by applying the methods of critical discourse analysis outlined earlier in chapter two. I will begin by providing a concise history of Jerash and its inhabitants and some of the local issues there related to cultural heritage and development, including unsustainable tourism and poor social cohesion. This chapter will act as an introduction for chapter five, which will discuss communities that have been problematised and subtly left out of the heritage and development narrative for Jordan by authoritative cultural heritage bodies such as UNESCO and the World Bank, which I have discovered through my analysis of their documents and will be presented as a finding in chapter five.

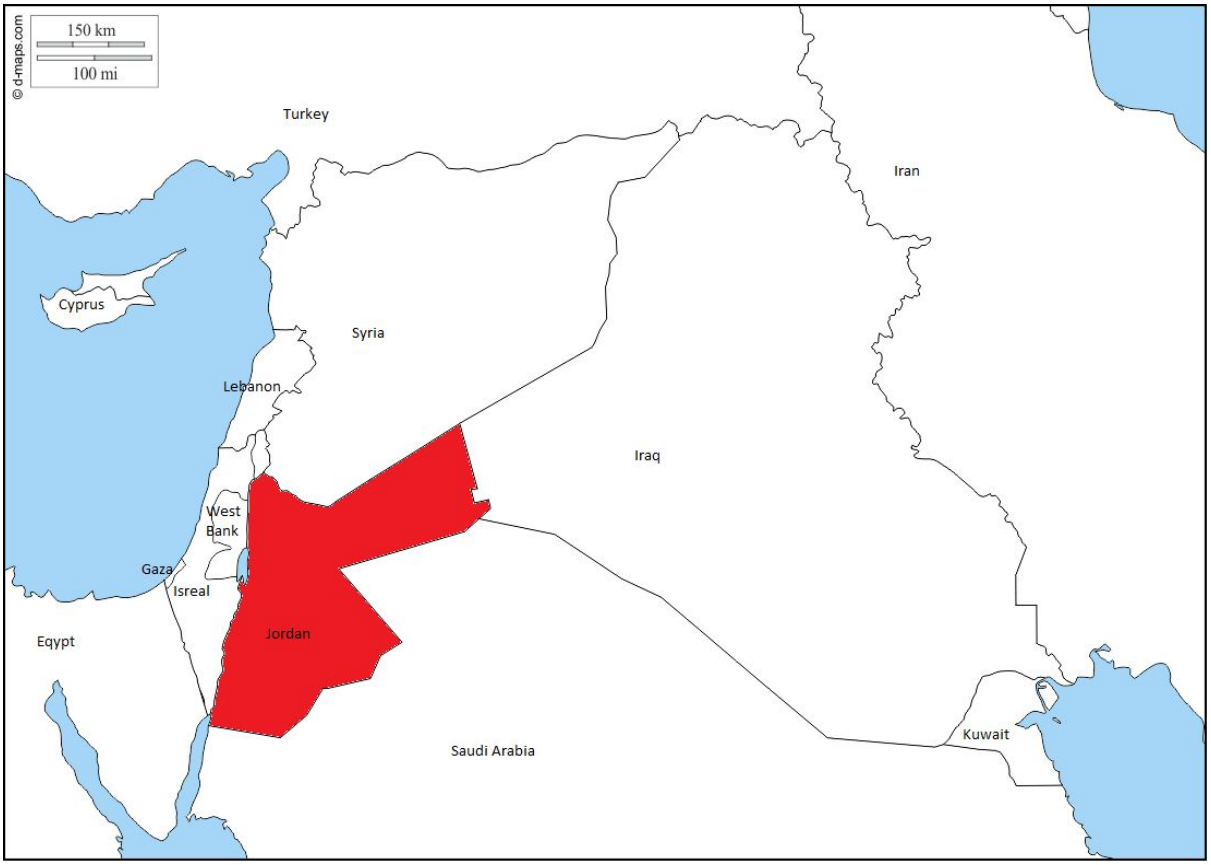

Figure 5 A Map of the Middle East with Jordan shown in red (maps.com/carte).

4.1 Jerash, a Social and Historical Introduction

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a small Middle Eastern state which finds itself nestled within a region of intense political unrest due to its position at the crossroads of what most Muslims, Jews and Christians consider to be the Holy Land (Downes and Sezgin 2004, 43). The Kingdom shares a border with Syria to the north, Saudi Arabia to the south and southeast, Iraq to the east and to the west, Jordan is bordered by the occupied territories of the West Bank of Palestine and Israel (Figure 5). The population of Jordan has been growing rapidly during the last fifty years and currently stands at 6.1 million with 2.4 million living in the capital Amman; the state is divided in twelve administrative governorates: Ajloun, Aqaba, Balqa, Kerak, Mafraq, Amman, Tafilah, Zarqa, Irbid, Jerash, Ma'an and Madaba (Al-Saad 2014, 46-47). Jordan is located in an area with a rich cultural heritage, with well-preserved remains of the first human settlements in prehistory, as well as historic periods as the area was an intersection between the ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilisations (Khraysheh 2000). The area was a part of the Ottoman Empire until 1918 when it came under the British Mandate for Palestine and Transjrodan, gaining independence from the United Kingdom in 1946 (Massad 2001). Today, there are over one hundred thousand archaeological sites registered and Jordan's varied eco systems and diverse range of geographical terrains spanning the Dead Sea, the Rum desert and the Abarim mountain ranges (Greenway and Ham, 2003), which makes it an attractive location for both national and international visitors. Unlike many countries in the Middle East, Jordan benefits from a diverse climate, which also acts as an extra tourism advantage (Al-Saad 2014, 57), however, it has been noted that economically, the region struggles with limited resources, rapid population growth and regional instability (Downes and Sezgin 2004, 42). Water is a considerable issue for the Kingdom in terms of problems with flooding, contamination, and access to drinkable sources (Hammouri and El-Naqa 2008, 88; Khraysheh 2000; World Bank c 2005, 12; UNESCO d 2012). Also, unlike some of Jordan's neighbours, there are no oil reserves in the country. However, the recent decline in international oil prices means the country's balance of payments are showing significant improvement according to the World Bank's website (worldbank.org). Unemployment is another issue frequently highlighted as requiring intervention (Bigio and Licciardi 2010; UNESCO e 2013, 3; World Bank a 2005, 4). Figures of unemployment have been increasing and stood at 19.1% in 2019 compared to 18.6% the previous year; the worst impacted groups being females, youth, and university graduates (worldbank.org). In June 2020, the World Bank approved financial assistance of almost €100 million in an attempt to tackle unemployment in the region, which had been climbing even more rapidly due to the COVID-19 crisis (ibid.).

Unlike in Western contexts, where archaeology is largely approached at both administrative and public levels, it is not uncommon for local communities to go unconsulted in post-colonial and undemocratic contexts (Abu-Khafajah 2014, 150). When it comes to understanding the heritage and archaeological sector in Jordan, it is important to be aware that “archaeology is managed by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, rather than by the Ministry of Culture, or the Ministry of Education” (Abu-Khafajah 2010, 225). This choice of the Jordanian government reflects their top-down, commodifying relationship with built and natural heritage, as such is the case for many countries where the economy relies substantially on revenue generated by tourism. In many developing countries such as Jordan, there is a tendency to exploit certain aspects of cultural heritage under the impression that commodification of certain sites will generate enough income to boost the economy but this usually only benefits investment bodies such as the World Bank and private companies while local populations are overlooked (Escobar 1995, 163-167). This uneven distribution of benefits will be expanded on in section 4.2.2. It is also important to note that in Jordan, the Law of Antiquities only protects built heritage which dates before 1700 AD, meaning that any monument built after this period is not under any legal protection, which would include heritage belonging to the Ottoman Period (World Bank a 2005, 5.) One Jordanian scholar (Abu-Khafajah 2014) describes the history of the country's approach to archaeology as a blind copy of the conventional Western approach, which is assumed to be a science-based value-free discipline.

The city of Jerash, is located in the northwest of the country, roughly 45km north of the capital Amman towards Syria (Al-Saad 2014, 55; Figure 6). The governorate of Jerash is home to what is arguably one of the most impressive and well known Roman Decapolis cities (Aerts 2014, 68; Downes and Sezgin 2004, 68), which were trading centres during the Hellenistic and Roman period with great commercial, political and cultural significance (Al-Saad 2014, 47). There are currently six known Decapolis cities in Jordan, two in Syria and two in Israel (ibid.). Rediscovered by Western Archaeologist Ulrich Jasper Seetzen in 1806 (Al-Saad 2014, 58), Jerash is a city whose human occupation dates back as early as the Neolithic period during the 6th and 7th centuries (Aerts 2014, 68; Al-Saad 2014, 58; Downes and Sezgin 2004, 68). Yale University and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem together carried out excavations at Jerash between 1928 and 1934 (Kirk 1939, 266; UNESCO a 1984). During the 1980s, the Joint Petra-Jarash Project implemented a five-year plan which aimed to transform Jerash and Petra into Jordan’s most visited tourist attractions resulting in large scale excavation and reconstruction (Downes and Sezgin 2004, 69).

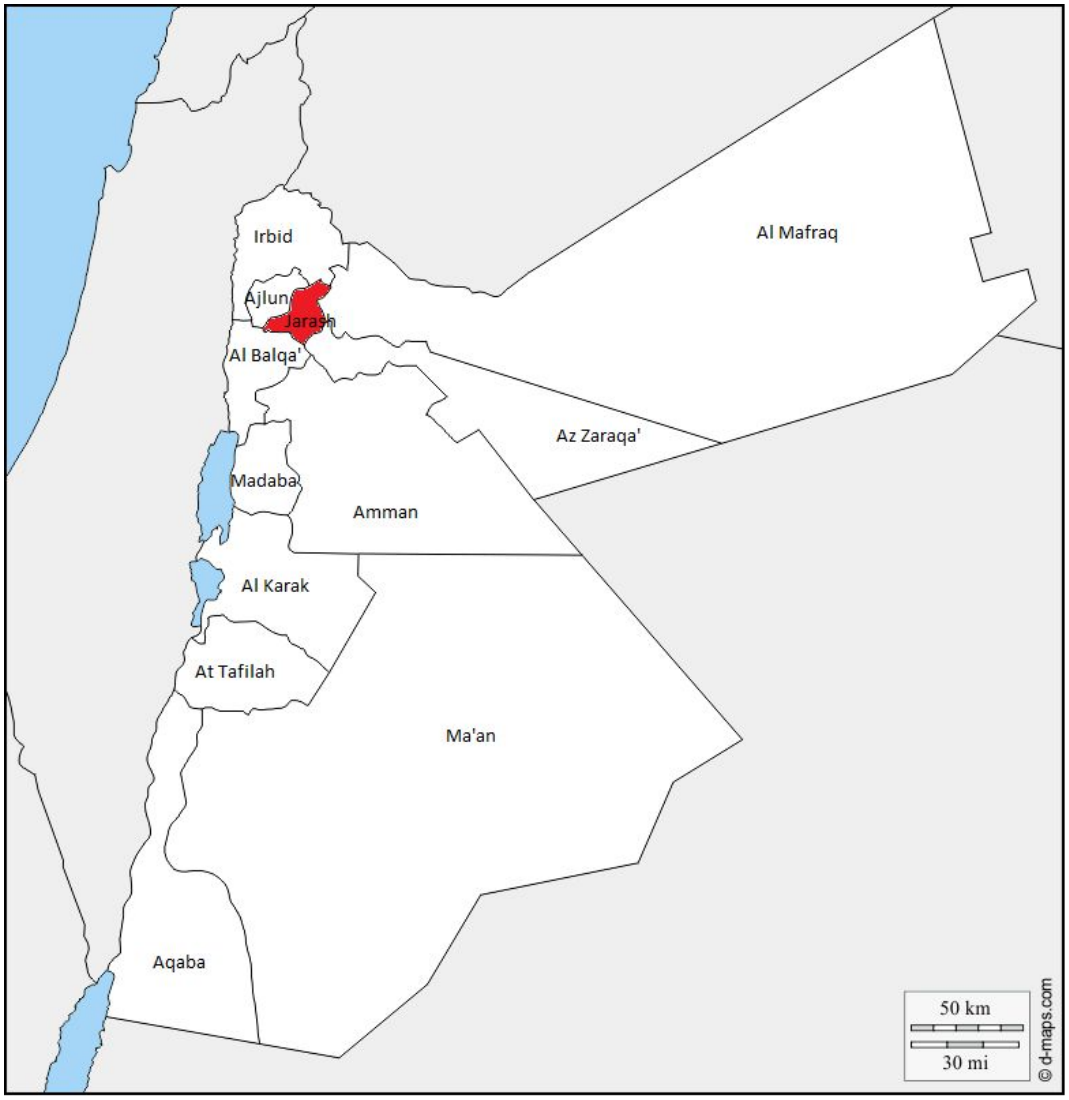

Figure 6 depicts the 12 governorates of Jordan with Jerash shown in red (maps.com/carte).

Ottoman authorities resettled Circassian refugees on the east bank of the wadi in Jerash in 1878, which resulted in the growth of what today is the modern town and a large proportion of the modern city's population is descended from this group, who consisted of agrarian refugees from the Ottoman conflicts with Russia (Aerts 2014, 68; Al-Saad 2014, 53, Corbett 2015, 137, 188; Downes and Sezgin 2004, 69; Myers et al. 2012, 16; World Bank a 2005, 6). The Ottomans also resettled other groups of Muslim refugees impacted by their conflicts with Russia such as Chechens and Turkmen into northern Jordan resulting in great prosperity for several cities as growing populations attracted merchants from Palestinian and Syrian cities (Corbett 2015, 14-15). The Circassians were attracted to Jerash for a number of reasons including the fresh abundance of water, forest areas, and supplies of readily available cut stone which could be used for building houses (World Bank a 2005). These new incomers settled with the ancient parts of the city. Today they are considered the most

centralised minority community in Jordan (Al-Saad 2014, 53). Syrian immigrants known as "Shwams" were arriving during the same period (ibid. 53-54). Political unrest in neighbouring and nearby countries such as Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq has meant a continuous influx of refugees, asylum seekers and displaced people to Jordan which continues to this day; in 2013 it was estimated by King Abdullah II that Syrian refugees account for one seventh of Jordan's population (Assawsana Daily Newspaper 7 November, 2013). Due to two major events, Al-Nakba and and El-Nakseh, hundreds of thousands of displaced Palestinians have been finding refuge within Jordan since the 1940s and today the Jordanian demographic favours a Palestinian majority (Aerts et al 2014; Al-Abed 2004)

It is clear that there is a long history of refugee resettlement in Jerash and it is unsurprising when considering the abundance of fresh water, nearby forests, strategic location within a trade network and the fertility of the soil (Aerts 2014, 68). However, for Jerash, this is not celebrated in the city's narrative, rather the city is continuously marketed as an ancient Roman town while other narratives, such as the Islamic period, which begins with the Persians arriving in 614 AD (Al-Saad 2014, 58), are suppressed. The Jordanian government actively participates in the celebration of the Colonial Classical past as they are under the assumption that this is what attracts Western tourists and therefore is the best approach for generating profit (Abu- Khafajah 2014, 152). Authoritative feelings of continuity are evoked from the Classical era however this celebration of succession seems to end at the Islamic period. Images of the Roman ruins have appeared frequently on stamps and currency across the decades, mirroring the government's ideas of Jordanian heritage and identity (Corbett 2015, 134). On the first of July 1950, the dinar became the official unit of Jordanian currency and the one dinar note proudly depicted the Roman ruins of the Oval Forum of Jarash (ibid. 182, 187). This newly independent Arab state recognised how powerful the notion of antiquity as legitimacy could be, which is an ideology borrowed from the West (ibid. 192). This use of heritage has a distancing effect and the promotion of nationalistic ideologies through this use of the Oval Forum on something so intensively circulated such as currency or a stamp is explained by Harrison as a reaction of globalisation (2010, 24-25), which has been discussed at the beginning of chapter three.

Studies which include collaboration with the local residents of Jerash have highlighted how communities feel left out of the promoted narrative and feelings of misrecognition are commonplace (Abu-Khafajah 2014). In 2002, a mosque dating to the 8th century AD was uncovered in the middle of the Roman city, however, during one author's study ten years later, local residents had no knowledge of the significant Islamic discovery (ibid. 152).

"We always think of Jerash as a Roman city, as if no one lived here but the Romans, but it is also Islamic. There is the Ottoman part, it is beautiful, but now they have evacuated it and introduced souvenir shops instead… [The recognition of the mosque] will make us feel valid… If what you say is true, then while the tourists look at the Roman athar they will see an Islamic mosque … This is good, to see a mosque near a church near a temple. It is good for us and for our image as Arabs and Muslims" (Resident from Jerash quoted in Abu-Khafajah 2014, 153).

The contemporary city of Jerash is predominately Arab and Muslim so such a discovery would hold great significance for the local residents there; they agreed that it was important for people to know about the mosque as it validated their Arab, Islamic and Muslim identity, which is reflected in this quote (ibid. 152-153).

"Sustainable tourism means a protection of our archaeological site from any potential threat in the future. We are the guardians of the site because it is our past, but we also want to feel that it is really our site and to benefit financially from it" (Local resident quoted in Al-Saad 2014, 113).

It is also clear from this quote that residents are taking ownership of the Roman period, thus making it even more important that they are the ones who benefit from it.

Jerash is one of the main destinations chosen by tourists in Jordan due to its various activities and great historical significance (Orekat 2016, 86), however, the ancient city lies in the shadow of Petra as the most visited tourist destination in Jordan. One of the most predominant reasons for this is short-stay tourism. Jerash is marketed as a day-tour attraction meaning that the majority of international tourists, which come as a part of pre-organised tours, arrive in the ancient city, stay for approximately two to four hours, and then leave again for another destination. Short-stay marketing means that the local residents of Jerash do not benefit financially from the ancient city on their doorstep as all activity is concentrated within the archaeological park and visitors are not encouraged to experience life in the modern town due to tour guide attitudes and time restraints. Local residents have expressed their concerns over this problem and explained that if tourism is to be any way sustainable in the city, visitors and those living around the park must be better integrated (Al-Saad 2014, 113-114).

UNESCO considers Jerash to be home to the best preserved Roman provincial town in the Middle East (UNESCO a 1984), however, in 1984 and 1993 the organisation deferred

the nomination of the site for inscription onto the World Heritage list (Al-Saad 2014, 125). The topic of nomination deferral by UNESCO will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1 The Third Tourism Project, funded by the World Bank, aimed to improve the lives of local residents by renewing and improving traffic, solid waste collection, storm drainage, water supply, sewage, electricity, public lighting and telecommunications (World Bank a 2005), however, in the eyes of local residents, the project had fallen short on all accounts and the issues of poor integration between the archaeological park and the modern city still persist (Al-Saad 2014, 180-183). The following section will look at UNESCO and the World Bank in detail, while paying particular attention to the Third Tourism Project which was organised alongside the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

4.2 Jerash in Development and Heritage Discourse

In this section I will present my findings from my analysis of both UNESCO and World Bank documents relating to the Middle East and more specifically, the city of Jerash. During my evaluation on UNESCO, I will discuss in more detail the site's failed attempts at World Heritage inscription and my exploration of the World Bank will discuss how this organisation has approached issues in Jerash through tourism led intervention. This section will attempt to highlight the hegemonic and Eurocentric themes throughout both organisations by critically analysing their discourse surrounding heritage and development.

4.2.1 UNESCO

As discussed in chapter three, an important characterising aspect of heritage is the necessitative, impulsive and continuous categorising as a result of authorising bodies such as UNESCO and the World Bank (Harrison 2010, 11) and the World Heritage list is a perfect manifestation of authorised heritage discourse in practice. Any cultural or natural heritage site only has three attempts at World Heritage inscription (Al-Saad 2014, 4). As mentioned above, the ancient city of Jerash has already had two unsuccessful attempts in 1984 and 1993. In order to achieve UNESCO's acclaimed stamp of Outstanding Universal Value, sites must jump through rigorous hoops and meet certain criteria in order to be recognised, protected, and apparently appreciated. "Gerash is the best preserved Roman provincial town in the Middle East. Regular colonnaded streets, theatres, temples, baths, and a nymphaeum are characteristic features of the town" (UNESCO a 1984); this is a quote taken from a 1984 document which clearly reflects the significance of the site and also directly mirrors UNESCO's recognition of the importance of the site. "To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of Outstanding Universal Value and meet at least one out of ten selection

criteria" (UNESCO g 2020); the ancient Decapolis city of Jerash meets three out of the ten criteria for Outstanding Universal Value outlined by UNESCO (Al-Saad 2014, 4):

- criteria i - the site "*represents a masterpiece of human creative genius*",
- criteria ii - the site "*exhibits an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design*" and
- criteria iii - the site "*bears a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living, or which has disappeared*" (UNESCO c 2011, 14).

However, due to issues with boundaries, management plans and assurances regarding restoration policy not meeting universal standards, the site has failed to meet their standards and thus has not been inscribed (UNESCO b 1985, 12). As discussed in section 3.4.1, one of UNESCO's mandates is to pay particular attention to global threats to natural and cultural heritage and so, since the 1970s, UNESCO have also been exploring the relationship between heritage and development (2011, 1). The World Heritage Committee have denied Jerash World Heritage status due to the fact that poor management is failing to safeguard the site from the impacts of urban expansion, which contradicts their pursuit of protection from development. Protection from development is one of one of their overarching principles of the 1972 convention which proclaimed that sites should retain a function in current community life while being conserved for transmission to future generations, which essentially means that ancient and contemporary can exist in the one space while both simultaneously complimenting each other rather than tarnishing or diminishing each other's integrity.

The decision by UNESCO to defer a site as significant as the ancient city of Jerash, despite meeting three of their ten criteria for Outstanding Universal Value is a perfect example of Western-instilled authorised heritage discourse in practice; despite recognising the impeding urban development of the modern city as a threat to heritage they refuse to protect one of the most famous Decapolis cities in the Middle East, thus contradicting their own Mandate from 1972, however, they are also simultaneously undermining the life of modern Jerash. For UNESCO, contemporary Middle Eastern life is too close for their liking and thus hampers the "*integrity*" and "*authenticity*" of the site; two commonly overused UNESCO buzzwords, which are both somehow vaguely defined or specifically precise depending on the context. This box ticking process championed by UNESCO is a literal

manifestation of authorised heritage discourse, a singular, bland, and homogenous practice run by "*experts*" in positions of power and privilege conscientiously adhering to a pre-approved process of preservation.

After the first deferral in 1984, ICOMOS, the International Council on Monuments and Sites, sent four reports to the Jordanian government outlining the three reasons for deferral: unclear boundaries and buffer zones, the 1982 restoration policy not meeting international standards and the absence of a management plan; ICOMOS made it clear that if the first two reasons were met, it would be enough for inscription (Al-Saad 2014, 125). Then in 1995, the committee deferred the nomination a second time. Their first reason remained the same; the issue of boundaries and a buffer zone, at least fifty meters but preferably one hundred meters surrounding the site, the second referred to effective corporation and planning between the Department of Antiquities and the Ministry of Tourism, along with the Jarash Festival Committee and the final reason requested to the removal of all permanent structures associated with the Festival and instead organising for erection and dismantling of temporary structures during the festival.

Some argue that the blame for unsuccessful inscription falls on the Jordanian government for not preparing their nominations accurately and that the committee are so subconsciously ethnocentric that other Greco-Roman cities consistently act as an example to be compared to; "urban encroachment on an ancient archaeological site is normal due to the succession of civilizations" (Al-Saad 2014, 128, 131). It is possible to walk around the Historical Centre of Rome and the Acropolis in Greece, both World Heritage Sites, and see evidence of modern day urban expansion (ibid. 128), however, in Jerash, the visible urban development does not adhere to UNESCO's Western-standards of aesthetics and thus the site is not worthy of inscription and in turn protection. The ancient city's unsuccessful attempts at inscription are an exemplar of all that is illogical with approaching different parts of the world with universal standards. As discussed in section 3.4.1, at the core of UNESCO's 1972 Convention is diversity through unity, however, this is impossible to achieve; especially when the World Heritage process is based on rigid criteria which cannot be applied fairly at a universal level. It is very clear from inspection of the World Heritage website that the entire process is favoured towards inscribing sites in Europe and North America (Figure 7; Figure 8). Europe and North America account for an outstanding 47.9% of all inscribed sites; Arab States account for only a disproportionate 7.67%. When considering the example of the failed nominations for a site as significant as Jerash, it is easy to understand how the organisation has ended up with such a Western-skewed list. Programs such as ATHAR, Conservation of Cultural Heritage in the Arab Region, which is

organised by ICCROM, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, essentially UNESCO's little sister, have aimed at addressing issues in the conservation and management of heritage site in the Arab region since 2004 (ICCROM 2016, 5), however, there doesn't seem to be any concrete progress being made as European and North American sites currently account for almost half of all inscriptions and the tradition of a globally disproportionate list continues, as is clearly shown in figures 7 and 8.

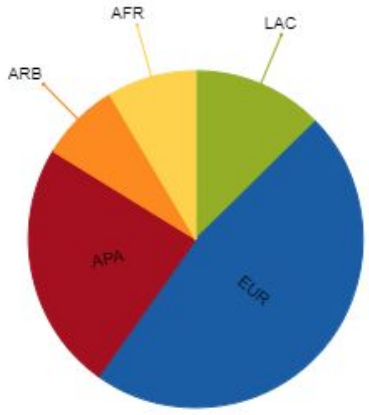

Figure 7 is a pie chart taken directly from the UNESCO World Heritage website. Each section represents the number of World Heritage Sites in each region: EUR (Europe and North America) - 47.9% (529), APA (Asia and the Pacific) - 23.91% (268), ARB (Arab States) - 7.67% (86), AFR (Africa) - 8.56% (96) and LAC (Latin America and the Caribbean) - 12.67% (142) (UNESCO g 2020).

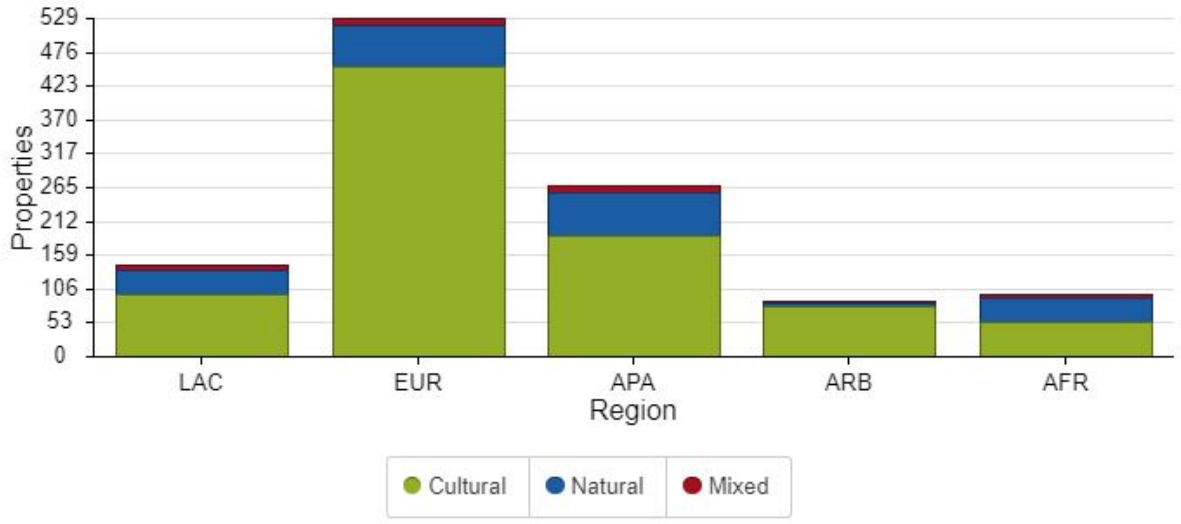

Figure 8 shows the same information as figure 7, however, in bar chart style and site categories are displayed (UNESCO g 2020).

4.2.2 The World Bank

This section will turn to the World Bank, who are considered to be the world's largest international development agency and are made up of 189 member countries with staff from more than 170 countries and offices in over 130 locations (Escobar 1995, 163; worldbank.org). On their website they proclaim that they are working for, not with, all the people of Jordan to create more and better opportunities for all. I will look closely at the language this organisation uses especially how they frame their approach in such a way that people facing poverty are blamed for heritage going into degradation and how urban informality in the Middle East is perceived in the West. Their use of the word "pauperisation", which has been mentioned in the previous chapter, and the consequences that may have is something that I found the most interesting when analysing their heritage and development discourse and so this word and how it is used in order to justify the existence of an organisation such as the World Bank will purpose as an underlying theme for the following section. In order to contextualise what has been discussed in previous chapters, this section will focus specifically on the Third Tourism Project, which the World Bank has undertaken in Jerash since 2005. By doing this, I intend to highlight how often agendas of multinational organisations such as the World Bank are granting themselves priority over local knowledge, benefits, and practice.

The World Bank has financed over 241 projects since the 1970s which have featured investment in cultural heritage at the forefront; in 2001, they created a regional strategy dedicated to the Middle East and North Africa titled “Cultural Heritage and Development: A Framework for Action in the Middle East and North Africa” (Bigio and Licciardi, 2010). As of September 2019, the World Bank had ten active projects in Jordan which are valued at almost €3 billion (worldbank.org). In terms of regional challenges facing Jordan, the World Bank focuses primarily on the continuous influx of Syrian and Iraqi refugees, which creates greater health and education costs and disruption to trade routes (ibid.). They define Jordan as “a middle-income country, without significant natural resources, that relies primarily on its human capital for development. However, unemployment and underemployment remain high, and pockets of poverty persist throughout Jordanian territory, including the centres and peri urban areas of its cities” (World Bank a 2005, 4). This definition frames the country in a considerably grim and negative light, however, this is understandable when considering that the organisation relies on the use of such language to obtain funding and even justify their existence (Gilbert 2007). This definition was used in a document relating to the Third Tourism Project which, as the name suggests, was the third program organised with the aim of improving all aspects of tourism in the area. As mentioned previously, integration between visitors and locals in Jerash is almost non-existent and so creating an integrated network of pedestrian paths on Bab Amman Street, King Abdullah Street and Wasfi Al-Tal Street was a main objective of the project (Al-Saad 2014, 147). “Urban population growth and uncontrolled urban expansion” is highlighted as an issue that needed immediate intervention (World Bank a 2005, 4). This coupled with little economic opportunity for the younger population in the city leads to “pauperisation” and in turn the deterioration of the traditional urban core. The document then goes on to describe the continuous influx of people, who again are portrayed as a threat to the fragile and precious cultural heritage in the area. “Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that local communities do not value and do not preserve their cultural assets” (ibid. 5).

The approach taken by the World Bank to describe Jerash and its occupants is problematic for several reasons. Those “below the poverty line” are described as a danger to heritage due to their “pauperisation” of historically significant buildings, displaced people are described as an additional threat to heritage and are blamed for poor social cohesion, local people are even portrayed as not appreciating their own cultural assets and when discussing local businesses, not only do they describe the shop fronts as “rather unattractive”, they refer to the merchandise, mostly car parts, food stuff and clothes or shoe ware, mostly with the same imperious and patronising tone (World Bank a 2005, 5). “Residents do not see

anything that makes their city special or worth living in. There is a sad atmosphere and a sense of defeat and helplessness… Therefore, the city is now suffering from a closed society composed of communities that are not willing neither to support each other nor to cooperate with the authorities that may help them" (World Bank d 2005, 8-9). With this demeaning and condescending tone, the organisation places blame on locals for their own "*suffering".* The World Bank describes an uncooperative and depressed population and accuses them of being in conflict with each and reluctant to receive any form of help. The referral to refusal of help also insinuates that the people of Jerash will not prosper without outside intervention from bodies such as the World Bank, furthering their belittlement.

Further on in the same document, they even mix up the name of the city the entire document and project are related to, referring to Madaba instead of Jarash, which is located over almost eighty kilometres to the south (Figure 9). Understandably, everyone makes errors, however, when it comes to a multibillion-euro organisation, the very least they could do is proof-read their documents and double-check they are referring to the correct Middle Eastern city. In the context of this research, this oversight and subtle act of negligence mirrors the agency's detachment from the project and strengthens the critique that "the World Bank generates knowledge and transforms it into policy and practice by means of a remarkably closed, insular and elitist process" (Gran 1986, 277).

The outcomes of the Third Tourism Project and the negative impacts felt by local residents further reinforces critiques of the World Bank as a top-down politically driven organisation that works towards generating jobs in the First World rather than helping those in the Developing World and the Third World. The project aimed at improving the lives of locals and visitors however, when interviewed, local stakeholders expressed feelings of anger towards the organisers of the project and felt they were in no way taken into consideration during the planning stages of the project (Al-Saad 2014, 147-152). Their approach to projects and their style of work has been described as learning about a country's problems through a lens of neo-colonial economics (Escobar 1995, 156). When analysing reports relating to the Third Tourism Project, one page of their analyses included in the Main Report was dedicated to the "Social Assessment" and the rest was devoted to technical and economic assessments without any attempt to discuss in any real details the underlying causes of the problems the city is facing (World Bank a 2005, 26-37), which is insightful when understanding the opinions of the residents, especially local entrepreneurs.

Although acknowledging disruption to small enterprises and craftsman sectors during the realisation process (ibid. 33) and stating in section 6.3 of the Economic Profile Report, "Potential Involvement and Cooperating of the Community", that financial compensation is

the first issue to consider in terms of expropriation of land or relocation of business (World Bank b 2005, 22), little was done to alleviate or compensate those negatively affected (Al-Saad 2014, 149). Local people spoke about being optimistic at first, however, once work began, digging and construction caused such severe traffic congestion that consumers avoided the centre and thus many businesses had to declare bankruptcy (Al-Saad 2014, 148-149). Uninterrupted digging caused health issues for some residents and the widening of pedestrian paths meant that during emergency situations, ambulances were unable to reach certain parts of the Municipality area, poor signage of construction work resulted in accidents and the overall slowness of the projects implementation caused irrefutable distrust and conflict between locals and those involved with the project (ibid. 147-152). The displacement of people and business during and after the project is referred to, however, the Municipality are designated all responsibility relating to resettlement (World Bank e 2007, 74).

In section 5a of the Project Appraisal Document, the demolition of “visually invasive” buildings is proposed in order to “restore the visual unity and integrity of the relationship between the archaeological site and the Eastern Bath Plaza” (World Bank e 2007, 74). When describing everyday life in the contemporary city, words such as “unattractive”, “disorganised” and “cluttered” are often used and some of the aims are the “beautification of landscape” and providing “a more dignified foreground to the adjacent archaeological site” (World Bank a 2005, 16; World Bank b 2005, 33; World Bank e 2007, 73). Descriptions such as this infer that the city in its current state is ugly and lacking dignity and therefore is unacceptable and will only improve or be beautiful and dignified with the intervention of the organisation. This is an appropriate example of why authorised heritage discourse can be problematic because describing the standards of living in such a way implies the same characteristics upon the residents that are living in the “unattractive” and “disorganised” urban space and that they also need to meet certain ideas of Western aesthetics and beauty in order to improve their livelihoods. One marker for development which I found peculiar was whether or not households had a television. Under section 5.1 of the Economic Profile report, “Household Conditions”, it states “around 95% of the households owns a TV while 22% owns a satellite receiver. Telephone services cover all planned residential areas. The number of subscribers has reached 10,970 units in 2003” (World Bank b 2005, 18). By including this statistic, the World Bank is implying that to be considered above the poverty line, a household must have a television, which is an undoubtedly Western-centred standard. Just because it was considered a standard at the time in the First World to have

one or more television sets in a household does not mean that this standard can be inferred globally. This standard reflects the capitalist led, ethnocentric values of the organisation.

When discussing the culturally diverse demographic of Jerash, which is only so diverse due to the influx of people from nearby regions, the accumulation of different ethnicities and cultures is either problematised or commodified; for example “under such circumstances (the demographic), it is hardly surprising that local communities do not value and do not preserve their cultural assets”, “these elements (continuous population inflow), in turn, further undermine the local socio-economic base, and cause a new spiral of community decline” and “the living cultural activities of the Syrian, the Circassians and the Jordanians can easily *brand* the city with their specialties”; these communities are either condemned for erosion to cultural heritage or seen as a commodity to exploit for tourism revenue by turning them into a brand (World Bank a 2005, 5, 10; World Bank b 2005, 21). Those facing unemployment are also described in such a way to encourage the reader to think that being unemployed is a choice they are actively making themselves; for example “economically inactive persons *believe* there are no jobs around”, “the poor *do not seek work* as much as before” and “moreover, at present people are *pulling out* from the economically active sector (World Bank a 2005, 7; World Bank b 2005, 10-11).

There is also conflicting ideas presented in relation to the hospitality of the local community; in one report they are described as hostile and unwelcoming: "Moreover, other aspects play a role such as the lack of appropriate tourist services and the closed attitude of the community" (World Bank a 2005, 8) and in another report it is written that the local community are so hospitable that they would even welcome visitors in their own homes: “the residents are generally welcoming people. Almost all interviewed citizens indicate that they would welcome tourists in their city, neighbourhood, and businesses and 75% of them *would even welcome them in their house*. They also have positive views of tourism and generally expect no problems as results of it” (World Bank a 2005, 23). This statement from the Main Report is not at all reflected in any of the other documents, where locals are continuously described as being annoyed by visitors and tourists and perceiving the entire sector as a nuisance.

Under the section, “Cultural Assets”, there is also no direct mention of the Mosque, as mentioned above, in any of the reports, which further instils the authorised Roman narrative of the city (World Bank b 2005, 20-21). Local stakeholders have also expressed interest in the archaeological site receiving World Heritage inscription, however, construction of a twenty meter high concrete wall near the Ancient Roman Bridge has further impinged on the “integrity” and “authenticity” of the site, which places the project in direct contradiction of

World Heritage standards (Al-Saad 2014, 131-134). Despite linking ancient and contemporary being one of the main objectives of the project, the construction of such a wall has further alienated them from each other.

Inadequate consultation and non-existent collaboration with the local community in Jerash has resulted in an impressively ineffective project and one of the main aspects locals showed enthusiasm about, the construction of a multi-level car park, was not completed due to a disagreement with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (ibid. 148). It has even been recorded that despite the blatant dissatisfaction of local stakeholders, complaints regarding the project were barred by the local authorities and when World Bank deputies made a visit to Jerash for an evaluation of the project, local people were not allowed to attend any meetings with them (ibid. 182). It is clear from the many pitfalls in the Third Tourism Project how little the World Bank is concerned with "creating more and better opportunities for all". As is proudly written on their website, the World Bank is working for the people of Jordan, as opposed to with or alongside them. This approach is laden with top-down, elitist connotations and the outcomes of the Third Tourism Project is a perfect manifestation of everything that is wrong with such an approach. The project, which is a perfect example of authorised heritage discourse in practice, allegedly aimed to improve social cohesion and the lives of local people in Jerash but instead businesses were left bankrupt, complaints were silenced and locals were left angry and disappointed. Through a narrow Western gaze enabled by authorised heritage discourse and explicit lack of collaboration with the community, they created conflict and through their problematisation of poverty and incoming populations and commodification of communities, they ironically intensified the poor social cohesion in the area and strengthened the marginalisation of already marginalised communities.

This chapter has presented my analysis of both UNESCO and World Bank documents relating to Jerash in Jordan. What has been revealed by both organisations is an incredibly narrow Western gaze that has problematised poverty and displacement. In the next chapter I will focus on those who have been erased from the Jerash narrative, those that have been displaced from their home countries and currently find themselves living in Jordan.

3. Development objectives

3.1. VISION AND CONCEPT

The main challenge that the historic core of Jerash is facing is to recover its urban centrality, address the disconnection of the two halves and be revived with a new "social and economic mission" within its regional context.

Form a **social** point of view, the revived historic core must contribute to build social cohesion amongst the different social groups providing a common federating space for the entire population, where the cultural heritage is preserved and enhanced in both its symbolic and economic role, and urban space is improved for the benefit of residents and visitors.

From an **economic** point of view, the revived historic core will contribute to addressing the current economic stagnation, boosting the existing and potential tourism activities, which are now concentrated mainly on the visit to the archeological site, re-establishing the broken relationship between the core and the archaeological site and expanding the visitors' experience on the east side of the wadi to include the East Baths complex, the suq and the main commercial spine.

Form an **urban** point of view, the focus is on the improvement of the socio-urban fabric and the improvement of the urban environment as a high quality civil space.

The project aims at achieving this vision through a structured city revitalization program, that includes: (a) regulatory actions; (b) physical actions; and (c) capacity building actions.

3.2. DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVE

The project development objective is to improve local economy and social cohesion in Madaba by creating conditions for a process of sustainable revitalization of the historic core and tourism development.

The project objective will be achieved through assisting the GJM to rehabilitate the historic core and to improve the capacity to manage and maintain the public and heritage assets.

In this context, we assume that city revitalization is a positive transformation process of decayed urban areas, whose expected outcomes include: improved quality and livability of the historic core to benefit all city residents, occasional visitors and tourists; economic benefits for the target groups; preservation and improvement of the cultural assets; improved municipal management framework; and involvement of the private sector and the community in the city revitalization process.

3.3. KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

The main impact/outcome indicators, selected to monitor the progress of the project towards the achievement of the objectives, are the following:

1) increased local employment;
2) increased employment in the economic sectors involved;
3) increased value added of the economic sectors involved;
4) increased local employment of the women;
5) increased local employment of the youth;
6) increased incomes.

Figure 9 is a page from the World Bank's Third Tourism Project; highlighted is their mistaken reference to "Madaba" which should read "Jerash" (World Bank a 2005, 11).

Chapter 5 - Cultural Heritage and the Forcibly Displaced

This chapter will discuss those living in Jordan as a result of being forcibly displaced. I will evaluate and discuss their presence and absence in the documents I have analysed using Atlas.ti and methods of critical discourse analysis. Three recurring themes emerged during my analysis: the problematisation of inward migration, the commodification of alternate cultures and the complete erasure of displaced people's existence. In this chapter, I will begin by providing a brief history of displacement in Jordan and then I will move on to the implications of eradicating subaltern narratives, in this case that of refugees, asylum seekers and displaced people. I will also examine more closely the role cultural heritage can play in displaced narratives and whether it can have any positive impact for these communities. The erasure of these groups from certain authorised narratives and their problematisation in heritage and development policy is a prime example of how authorised heritage discourse is used as a tool to further marginalise certain communities and diminish their rights.

Before I begin this chapter, it is important to clarify the difference between a refugee, an asylum seeker, a migrant and a displaced person. Refugees are defined as any person that cannot return to their country of origin in fear of persecution, conflict, violence, or other circumstances that have severely disturbed public order and as a consequence of this, the person requires 'international protection'"; and it is because of these circumstances that this person is in fact protected under international law (UNHCR c 2018, 1). The word refugee is not interchangeable with migrant as a migrant is a person who is living out of their country of origin but does not fear returning to their home country, thus they do not require the same international protection as refugees. There is also an important difference between 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker'. An asylum seeker is a person who has arrived in a foreign country and has not yet been recognised as a refugee under the 1951 Refugee Convention and so is awaiting that decision (ibid, 2). The blurring of 'refugee' and 'migrant' is unfortunately common in several discourses such as the media and as we will see in the following chapter, cultural heritage and development discourse also. This fluidity of terms impacts the rights of refugees and asylum seekers by diminishing their entitlement to international protection (UNHCR c 2018, 1). The UNHCR's definition of a refugee does not include those fleeing natural disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis or the impending consequences of climate change and so comes the term "displaced person". Interchanging these terms has the ability to erode specific legal protection especially from refoulement and from being penalised for crossing borders without authorisation in order to seek safety (ibid. 2). In this chapter, for the

majority, I will either use the term refugee or displaced person, as the people I am discussing cannot safely return to their countries of origin and so the use of the term “migrant” should be avoided. As discussed throughout this paper, language is powerful and the words, phrases, and terms we choose to use, either consciously or subconsciously, have very material consequences - this point will be reiterated and discussed in the conclusive chapter of this thesis.

5.1 A Brief History of Displacement in Jordan

The history of political refugees finding refuge in Jordan dates back as far as 1878, when the Circasians resettled on the east bank of the Wadi as a result of conflict between the Ottoman Empire and Russia (Al-Saad 2014, 53, Corbett 2015, 137, 188; Downes and Sezgin 2004, 69; Myers et al. 2010, 16; World Bank a 2005, 6). Today Jordan is a relatively small and peaceful state which finds itself geographically in the middle of considerable political unrest and upheaval and because of its location, to this day many people are still seeking refuge there. When discussing displacement in Jordan, it is important to discuss Palestinians in particular as today, over half the population of Jordan is made up of people that have come from Palestine, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank (Al-Abed 2004). Two significant historical events are crucial to be aware of when exploring this topic. The first important event happened in 1948, two years after Jordan gained independence from the United Kingdom, which saw the Declaration of Independence for Israel; this was an event of great historical significance for Palestinian people which is referred to as “Al-Nakba”, or “the Catastrophe” (Aerts et al 2014, 26). Jewish Zionists, mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, flocked to Palestine under the protection of the new Israeli state; consequently approximately 900,000 Arab Palestinians are forced to resettle and over 100,000 of these refugees flee to Jordan; five refugee camps are subsequently established in the following period (Al-Abed 2004; Hamed El-Sian 2004; DPA 2004 both cited in Aerts et al 2014, 26). All those who arrived in the aftermath of Al-Nakba were granted Jordanian citizenship (Al-Abed 2004; El-Abed 2006, 17).

The second event which saw another influx of Palestinian refugees into Jordan was the 1967 war when Israel occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula (Al-Abed 2004). This event is referred to as “El-Nakseh”, meaning “set back” or “defeat”; this event is also commonly referred to as the Six-Day War (Aerts 2014, 27). Many that were displaced as a consequence of El-Nakseh came from refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza and so this was actually a second displacement for many. These people were officially classified by the UN as “displaced persons”, which they defined as

those “who have been unable to return to the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967” (ibid.). It is estimated that over 300,000 Palestinians were displaced from the West Bank and travelled to Jordan and seven more camps were consequently established; bringing the total to thirteen, however, only ten are currently recognised by the UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, meaning only ten of thirteen receive any kind of relief or aid from this organisation (Aerts 2014, 27; Khawaja 2002, 12). Unlike the response to Al-Nakba, those displaced as a consequence of El-Nakseh were not automatically registered as citizens (Aerts 2014, 27). The main differences between these two types of displaced Palestinians in Jordan is their accessibility to different services; Palestinian refugees of 1948 have full access to services, however, Palestinian refugees of 1967 require work permits, their university fees are different to that of full residents and ownership is only available through the approval of a ministerial council (ibid.). These two events irrefutably changed the Middle East forever and since then, the demographic in Jordan had been comprised of a Palestinian majority; a people who have lived in displacement for over seventy years and survived through experiences of exile, statelessness, long term impermanence and dispossession (Feldman 2016, 1). The annexation of Palestine by Israel continues today in spite of their occupation in Palestinian territory being recognised as unlawful under international law. For many, their yearning to return home reverberates through new generations as they express longing to return to a place they have unjustly never had the opportunity to physically exist in (Farah 2005, 99).

It has been estimated that as of January 2020, there were 745,673 refugees living in Jordan; 83.4% were living outside camps in urban areas and 16.6% were living in only three camps in Jordan: Azraq, Zaatari and the Emirati Jordanian (UNHCR d 2020, 1). Of course, Palestinians are not the only group of displaced people that are hosted by Jordan (Figure 10). It has been calculated that Syrian refugees account for 655,216 of the population, which is almost 7% of the entire country’s demographic. The influx of Palestinians in 1948 and 1967, Iraqis in 1991 and 2004 due to the Gulf war and Syrians in 2011 are successive waves of refugees which have resulted in several drastic changes in the region post World War II and the Modernisation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Aerts 2014, 71; Helly and Lane 2014, 4; Khawaja 2002, 27). As already mentioned, Jordan has thirteen refugee camps, ten of which are recognised by the UNRWA, they are: Zarqa (1949), Irbid (1950), Hussein (1952), Wihdat (1955), Madaba (1956), Prince Hassan (1967), Souf (1967), Baqa’a (1968), Hitteen (1968), Jerash (1968), Talibieh (1968) and Sukhneh (1969); Prince Hassan, Sukhneh and Madaba are the three camps not recognised by the UNRWA (Khawaja 2002, 13). Set up in the aftermath of El-Nakseh, Gaza Camp and Souf Camp are two Palestinian

refugee camps situated within the governate of Jerash (Aerts 2014, 78). Jerash Camp, known locally as Gaza as the majority of inhabitants are from that region, was established as an “emergency camp” about five kilometres outside the city of Jerash for refugees entering Jordan from Gaza as a result of El-Nakseh (Aerts 2014, 27; Marshood 2010, 68; UNRWA 2020). Unable to handle the pressure of such unforeseen demographic growth, these camps which were intended to be only a temporary solution, however, they are still standing today and have become very permanent landmarks and are considered part and parcel of the regional landscape (Aerts 2014, 71). In the Gaza Camp, what were once tents have been replaced with over 1,500 prefabricated shelters so that people could better face harsh winter conditions (UNRWA 2020). Although more permanent structures made of concrete have replaced tents, feelings of impermanence and dispossession are commonplace amongst people who have been displaced and find themselves living within camps (Farah 2005; Feldman 2016, 16). The camps in Jordan have been mentioned as a part of the landscape but life in the city of Jerash compared to life in one of the two nearby camps are incomparable. The disparities in population density is an appropriate way to contextualise this difference in the quality of living standards; the city of Jerash and Gaza camp have an astonishing 410 to 23,602 persons per square kilometres (UNRWA survey, 2007 cited in Aerts 2014, 78). It has been estimated that over 30,000 residents are living within the Gaza Camp (Marshood 2010, 68). Despite being the smallest Jordanian governorate in terms of surface area, Jerash has the second highest population density of all twelve governorates which has been attributed to Gaza Camp and Souf Camp (Aerts 2014, 78).

It is evident from this brief history on displacement in Jordan that the demographic is largely comprised of refugees, asylum seekers and displaced people. Palestinians in particular have lived lives of severe disruption since 1948 and Jordan hosts the largest number of Palestinian refugees outside the occupied territories of Palestine itself (Farah 2005, 89). Unfortunately, however, as we will see in the following section, this narrative of displacement is largely erased from the cultural narrative in Jordan through Western centric discourse.

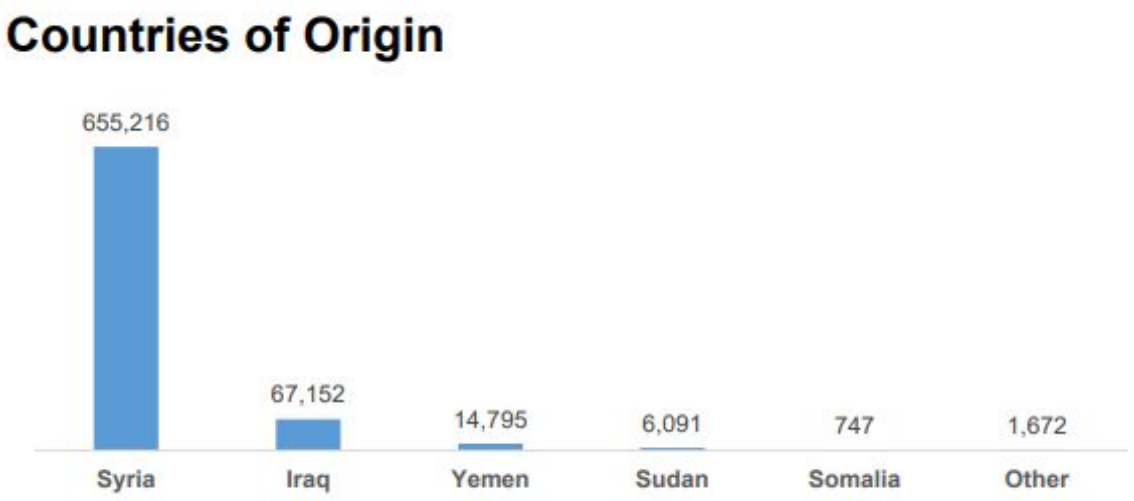

Figure 10 displays the countries of origin for refugees living in Jordan in January 2020 (UNHCR d 2020).

5.2 Displacement in Policy - Erasure, Problematisation and Commodification

"*Apart from consoling the Global South that they will achieve a fairer wealth distribution, international business institutions such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization, United Nations and European Union have failed in their roles as the panacea of international development*" (Bandyopadhyay 2019, 327).

This section will discuss in more detail my findings from World Bank and UNESCO documents, which I have analysed using Atlas.ti and critical discourse analysis. Three recurring themes emerged throughout my analysis in relation to displacement in policy, they were:

1. erasure - something I noticed was camps and displaced people, refugees and asylum seekers would go utterly unmentioned when discussing demographics and social profiles,
2. problematisation - the influx of people from other countries was often described as a threat to the economy and local traditions and finally,
3. commodification - an approach I noticed largely from the World Bank, the differing cultures were seen as a brand to be capitalised as a means of generating revenue and moving towards a "developed" economy.

As discussed briefly in the previous chapter, the World Bank and UNESCO have problematised and commodified the continuous influx of different populations into Jordan through their narrow Western gaze. This section of the thesis will largely focus on erasure of communities and what implications that can have for local stakeholders.

"Jerash faces a number of key issues affecting its social and economic development, including: (1) low social cohesion due to rapid growth and continuous immigration of new population" (World Bank e 2007, 41). This quote is taken directly from a World Bank Document relating to the Third Tourism Project which has been discussed in the previous chapter. "The convergence of people from adjacent villages to live in the city… is lowering even more the level of education and culture of the city communities and introducing more religious attitudes and conservatism" (World Bank e 2005, 11). Not only does the organisation say that continuous immigrations are the number one problem Jerash faces in terms of education, social cohesion, and culture, but they also erase the fact that this "continuous immigration" is attributed to asylum seekers, refugees, and displaced people. From all my analysis of the Third Tourism Project that was funded by the World Bank, I never read either of the three terms: "asylum seeker", "refugee" or "displaced person". "Rapid growth"; except for one example in the Social Assessment report; "the Palestinians arrived in two waves, around 1948 and 1967. *They settled in two refugee camps*: one close to Souf, approximately 2 km north of the outskirts of Jerash, and the other, the Jerash Camp, 5 km south" (World Bank d 2005, 9). The Social Assessment report is a thirty one page document devoted entirely to Jerash and its inhabitants, however, only once did they manage to use the word refugee, and even then term was not used in a direct referral to a displaced population, instead it was used in reference to where Palestinians *settled,* once again inferring choice to their movements and eroding their rights as refugees and asylum seekers and the disadvantages they face on account of their political displacement. In a classist and generalising move, this same paragraph then goes on to stereotype Palestinians as "peasants, working men, and more recently traders and craftsmen", " people of different origins still have different life attitudes and way of thinking: the Syrians are known for their carefulness with money and shrewdness in business, the Circassians for their stubbornness, closure, and shying away from the new, and the Jordanians for their simplicity and generosity" (ibid. 9-10). For some unknown reason, the organisation is obsessed with typecasting the people of Jerash, which could only cause the chasm between communities to grow, rather than bring them closer together.

"*Continuous immigration*", "*people of different origins*", "*new population*", "*groups*", "*tribes*", "*migrants*", "*families*" and "*localities*" are all lingual smokescreens for the very real

refugee crisis that the world is facing, and the World Bank refuses to refer to it explicitly; similar to how the word community is commonly used in literature as a blanket term to avoid referring to all manner of different societal issues (Waterton and Smith 2009). As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the term refugee and migrant are not interchangeable. The World Bank's repeated use of the term "immigration" is not literally incorrect; however, it does infer that the incoming population, who are resoundingly composed of refugees and asylum seekers, are coming to Jordan as a choice. The use of the terms aforementioned implies that those coming to Jordan are not doing so out of fear of their countries of origin, rather they are doing so out of choice. This erasure of terms diminishes the rights of refugees to seek protection and of asylum seekers to seek asylum and by blaming them for negatively affecting social and economic development; these people are further marginalised and othered as they are accused of "weakening" the "social fabric" and the "social structure" and are blamed for "community fragmentation" (World Bank a 2005, 10).

What we also see from the World Bank is the commodification of alternate cultures. Although they are mostly hesitant to discuss the various cultures within the city of Jerash, when they do, it is from a wholly capitalistic perspective. Communities are referred to as a "cultural supply" that can be "enlarged"; "the living cultural activities of the Syrian, the Circassians and the Jordanians can easily *brand* the city with their specialties (World Bank b 2005, 21). Again, we see no attempt to address any underlying cause of the main issue, nor any reference to these communities as refugees, asylum seekers or displaced people, thus eradicating their rights and visibility as communities already facing severe disadvantages. The World Bank practices neither subtly nor discretion when advising and encouraging the commodification, or to use their own term, the branding of other cultures and ethnicities for financial gain and by objectifying the cultural heritage of displaced people in such a way without any reference to why these people are in Jordan, their stories of displacement, exile, annexation, resilience, strength, cultural assimilation and long-term impermanence are silenced.

When turning to UNESCO, their approach is much more linguistically inclusive, however, there are undertones which suggest certain feelings of Western centric superiority and inclinations towards the white-saviour complex. In two newsletters from 2012 and 2013, UNESCO refer to the "*plight*" refugees in Jordan are facing and how they are involved with lessening that "*infliction"* of displacement on these communities (2012, 1; 2013, 1). The white-saviour complex is rooted in ideas of superiority and the practice of "*experts*" intervening in situations they themselves have no experience of (Bandyopadhyay 2019). The use of the word plight not only alludes to Amero-Euro-Christian-Western centric superiority, it

also enables the writer to avoid referring directly to any negative consequences of displacement, either forced or voluntary. There are connotations of this kind throughout both newsletters, however, for the majority of the documents I analysed, UNESCO did attempt to amplify voices of displacement rather than silence them; for example the organisation of "Syrian Hour", which was organised in 2013 as a radio show "hosted by Syrians, for Syrians" (UNESCO e 2013, 7).

5.3 The Role of Cultural Heritage in Displacement

Millions of people have been forced to leave their homes in recent years due to political unrest and armed conflict. In Arab states and sub-Saharan Africa, attacks to cultural heritage and diversity are common (Chatelard and Hassan 2017, 4), however, it is possible that the initial reasons for which people are being displaced could somewhat ironically be the reason that they prosper and assimilate well in their host countries. This section will explore the role of cultural heritage in experiences of displacement. A survey carried out which involved interviews of over sixty displaced Syrians and members of host communities has discussed the role intangible cultural heritage can play in coping with displacement and enhancing bonds between refugees and host communities (ibid.). In literature relating to displaced people, it is usually mentioned that the majority are hosted in developing countries and thus these hosting communities are described as having little resources to face such an influx of people, resulting in crises of differing kinds: poverty, overpopulation, and low quality of general well-being (Al-Abed 2004; Downes and Sezgin 2004; Feldman 2016; Helly and Lane 2014; Marshood 2010). In literature, "developing" countries are regions that seem to be described as stuck in the eternal purgatory of Western centric development limbo; they are unfortunately never affluent or privileged enough under Western standards or aesthetics to be considered "developed" and the people are never quite burdened or poverty stricken enough to be classed as "underdeveloped" either. For the displaced communities that are hosted within these "developing" regions, life can be considerably different than those who find themselves in developed or "First World " countries and one attribute that can help new communities assimilate is the similarities between these neighbouring regions as well as the hospitality of host populations (Chatelard and Hassan 2017, 14-19). As these developing countries that have the most displaced people are usually neighbouring the source of the initial displacement due to conflict, political upheaval or cultural prosecutions it seems that this cultural closeness can make it easier for people in neighbouring countries as there may be some comparisons in cultural heritage and so more difficult for those forced further afield.

The responses from this survey demonstrate how cultural heritage can play a hugely significant role for displacement; cultural heritage, which can be undeniably damaged by war and conflict, has been passed down through generations of displacement. This is evident from third generation displaced Palestinians who express yearning to return to Palestine despite having never been there; a longing which is the result of listening to oral histories from older relatives. Displacement often leads to a heightened awareness of the value of cultural heritage and of the need to transmit it to exiled youths (Chatelard and Hassan 2017, 23). Intangible cultural heritage is even more valuable to people who have experienced displacement due to its portable nature. The survey on Syrian displacement demonstrated how people turn to their cultural heritage as a method of coping with such disasters and some even found cultural expression therapeutic (Chatelard and Hassan 2017, 5). Traditional storytelling has the ability to create social ties by highlighting similarities but also celebrating differences, trades such as stone masonry and carpentry can act as portable trades to financially help people in their host countries, the performing arts can help people adjust to their new surroundings by giving them familiar bearings and food and cooking can also provide an intense sense of belonging and place which is incredibly important for those that have been abruptly uprooted from their homes (Chatelard and Hassan 2017, 15-18). These are only some examples for shared cultural heritage which has acted as a catalyst for the development of friendship and respect between Syrian refugees and their Jordanian hosts (ibid).

Unfortunately, when it comes to policy, there are few details about the effects of displacement on the intangible cultural heritage of the millions of people who have fled the most recent conflicts (Chatelard and Hassan 2017, 4-5). “While the text of the (UNESCO) Convention (for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage) includes provisions for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in situations of emergencies, it does not make explicit reference to armed conflicts, nor to migration, either voluntary or forced, as possible threats leading to the deterioration, disappearance or destruction of ICH” (ibid. 5). The displacement of people has always been an issue on our planet, however in recent years, the crisis has increased both complexity and size on an unprecedented scale (Joint Data Centre 2018). “The interviews of the Syrians surveys proves that intangible cultural heritage has the ability to provide a sense of belonging, mitigate psychological, social and economic resilience, and, in many cases, helps mediate conflicts by fostering intercultural communication and mutual appreciation, however, there needs to be more support is ensure the continued transmission of intangible cultural heritage in the particular circumstances of displacement, which entails encountering a new context and host community. A

recommendation by the author is that there needs to be informed by an in-depth understanding of the importance and roles of Intangible cultural heritage, particularly in situations of displacement (ibid, 28). “There is a global consensus on the need to invest in better data on forced displacement and to build a library of evidence on ‘what works” (Joint Data Centre 2018), in the following chapter I will present my own recommendations and a personal reflection on the topic.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion and Discussion

This final chapter will return to the research problem that was presented at the beginning of this paper. I will offer a discussion surrounding whether or not I have made any significant contribution to the problem that was stated. I will reflect on the research questions and three aims outlined in chapter one and will also discuss whether or not these have been and answered and fulfilled. It is during this final chapter that I will critically evaluate my own experience of using Atlas.ti software and critical discourse analysis as forms of desk-based methodology. To complete this thesis, I will present my own personal reflection during which I will honestly discuss my own stance within the field and recommendations and suggestions for further research will be provided as well as alternatives to the issues raised.

The research problem presented in chapter one concerns authorised heritage discourse and the impacts this can have for local stakeholders. In order to evaluate the authorising nature of the sector and to answer the main research question that asked what is the role of cultural heritage in development, three objectives were formulated:

1. to explore literature and prevalent critiques surrounding development and cultural heritage,
2. to critique the handling of UNESCO and the World Bank in a Middle Eastern Settings by contextualising their authorising discourse with a case study on Jerash and finally,
3. to highlight the stigmatising and denouncing practices these organisations are liable for by focusing on those that have been forgotten, problematised or commodified: refugees, asylum seekers, and forcibly displaced people.

Heritage is undoubtedly a social practice governed by authorising Western bodies such as UNESCO and the World Bank. I believe my evaluation of these bodies in a Middle Eastern setting has reiterated prevalent critiques of both organisations and demonstrated how UNESCO and the World Bank are not passive in heritage practices that prioritise a certain set of narratives over another. In chapters one and three, I fulfilled my first objective. These two chapters, which presented prominent approaches to cultural heritage and development critiques, provided an analytical framework for my case study on Jerash and offered the information necessary to approach themes such as authorised heritage discourse and critical discourse analysis, which before undertaking this study, I had had limited experience working with. Chapter four realised my second objective. It was during this chapter that I presented my findings from UNESCO and World Bank documents. Lingual manifestations of their stigmatising nature were revealed through my examination of documents using Atlas.ti and methods of critical discourse analysis. Chapter five fulfilled my third and final objective.

Through the course of the study and my evaluation of UNESCO and the World Bank, what emerged was the process of a development and cultural heritage discourse validating a certain Western way of thinking, practicing and performing which concurrently erased, problematised and commodified subaltern narratives, which in this case was that of refugees, asylum seekers and those that have been forcibly displaced.

My analysis of UNESCO and the World Bank, which focuses on cultural heritage and development discourse in a Middle Eastern setting has demonstrated their inextricable relationship. These Westerncentric bodies are unquestionably influenced by ideas of development that are rooted in the post-WWII period and my analysis of their treatment of local communities in Jerash has denoted their excluding and alienating cultural heritage processes. The local outcomes of the Third Tourism Project and Jerash's two failed World Heritage inscriptions have shown how local narratives are diminished while Western ideas of development are prioritised under the assumption that this is the best way to improve the economy and generate revenue. My critical discourse analysis has also highlighted the fact that displaced communities are erased, commodified and problematised within cultural heritage and development policy. Recognition of these pitfalls in policy and management from within these organisations would be the first step to a more inclusive practice that benefits both the organiser and local communities, as recognising conflict and taking ownership of oversight is the first move towards resolution. More intensive community outreach, collaboration from the beginning of projects and the use of language that identifies refugees and asylum seekers would allow for greater compassion and transparency between all stakeholders. As discussed in the previous chapter, the positive impacts that cultural heritage can have for people facing displacement in terms of assimilation within host countries is a potential of cultural heritage that requires more attention.

When considering my two main methodological approaches, critical discourse analysis and archival analysis using Atlas.ti software I quickly appreciated how well both methods complimented each other and aided organising ideas and themes. During my Atlas.ti training, I had some codes in mind, however, unsurprisingly many more codes emerged as I progressed through my project, read more literature and began to understand better the processes of authorised heritage discourse and how cultural heritage and development are entwined with each other. During my use of the software, to remain as organised as possible, once I created a code, I would immediately use the function, "edit comment", which essentially meant I defined what the code meant. For example, I defined the code "Jerash WH Nomination" as "anything relating to the two times Jerash was nominated as a World Heritage site, which were both deferred". I would return to these

definitions throughout the project to ensure I was not creating too many overlapping codes. I also found this feature similar to journal keeping and it became a useful attribute to recording my ideas in relation to the project on a larger scale. One remark I would make is that at the beginning of this project I was working with only one desktop screen and it was considerably small and not fit for the proposed project. Instead I would recommend working with dual monitors or one large monitor. During my two days of training for Atlas.ti, I found I was being hindered by the programme as opposed to it organising my thoughts and ideas, however, with continued use and upon acquiring a larger monitor for my personal workspace, I did appreciate more how the software managed the large amount of data I was dealing with and I also found that the software coupled very well with methods of critical software analysis.

When considering my findings, my own biases and background, both culturally and academically is something that has to be taken into account as it was something I reflected upon almost every day when I worked on this thesis. At times, I found myself feeling somewhat hypocritical; I was critiquing these organisations for their narrow, white, Western gaze, however, as a white person with an education that is irrefutably Western-centric who has never even been to the Middle East, I began to realise that it is difficult, perhaps impossible to fully escape our own ethnocentrism, especially in the circumstance of this research where I had no opportunity to engage or collaborate with the community I was discussing and whose voices I was attempting to amplify. During the course of the study, I also became hyper aware of my own critical gaze and the impact this was having on my analysis when approaching UNESCO and World Bank documents. My expectations of top-down elitist practices were met; however, it is through my own (overly?) critical gaze and lingual “nit-picking” that my argument came to life. Had the time and resources been available to me, I thoroughly believe that this study would have benefited exponentially with interviews and first-hand community collaboration and this is a recommendation I propose for further research.

There is an unfortunate gap in research relating to displaced heritage, however, I do believe that there is valuable potential for studies relating to cultural heritage in such narratives of long-term impermanence and cultural dispossession. I also believe there is a need for studies in relation to comparing displacement in neighbouring regions, which may be culturally similar, and displacement in further away regions where cultures may differ more. When reflecting upon processes of systematic oppression such as Direct Provision, an abhorrent privatised regium of refugee and asylum seeker detainment in the Republic of Ireland; I think a comparative analysis between the role of cultural heritage for displacement in a “developed” setting and a “developing” setting would produce not only interesting results

on the importance of cultural heritage within displaced narratives but such a study would also bring much needed attention to these systems of refugee imprisonment in the developed world. As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, it is important that our sector is engaging with global challenges and crises in order to remain relevant in an ever-changing social and political climate; I believe that interaction with such systems through practices of cultural heritage is a widely unheard of sector and that desperately needs attention through processes of community collaboration and empowerment.

Abstract

This thesis explores the role of cultural heritage in development and underdevelopment by examining UNESCO and World Bank policy and practice using critical discourse analysis and archival analysis. It focuses on Jerash, a modern town and a well-preserved Roman city in northern Jordan. At Jerash, the ancient site and tourism are seen as crucial to the modern development of the town and have been a focus of international and national development policies. The study examines the local outcomes of World Bank development projects in Jerash and the exclusion of displaced people within cultural heritage and development discourse, and considers how cultural heritage has impacts for refugees. Archival sources pertaining to heritage and development are examined using Qualitative Data Analysis Software and critical discourse study. By conducting a case study of Jerash, the thesis investigates why certain local narratives and social contexts are diminished within policies and practices of cultural heritage and development, especially in situations of forced displacement of people. By reading between the lines through the lens of critical discourse analysis, the thesis attempts to unpack embedded regimes of Western development discourse and thereby allow alternatives and critiques to be drawn. The significance of this study lies with the impact that heritage-related policy and practice have for local communities and the urgency of the global displacement crisis as a humanitarian and development challenge.

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Figures

1. **Screenshot taken from Atlas-ti Software:** taken by author.
2. **Screenshot taken from Atlas.ti Software:** taken by author.
3. **Screenshot taken from Atlas Software:** taken by author.
4. **Screenshot taken from Atlas Software:** taken by author.
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