Re-worlding World Heritage: Emergent Properties of ‘Kinservation’

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January 2019

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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For my grannies:

Granny Lois, one of many lost during this journey.

For her interest in this work, and ability to follow it well into her nineties.

For her irreverent creative energy, love of arts and her encouragement of mine.

For our phone poetry.

Granny Helen, for her inventive photography.

For our shared love of David Attenborough, the Dorset coast, fossils and geology.

For her pragmatic feminism: she 'just got on with it.'

For her idealism.

Cover image: Beach Marks: interwoven traces of a marine iguana, a human and an ocean Beach near Puerto Villamil, Isla Isabela, Galápagos.
Artwork: Author's own

Abstract

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Programme is forty-six years old this year, is one of UNESCO's most successful programmes, and has been at the forefront of global conservation efforts for much of that time, changing how we think about the world around us. However, there are many contradictions in the programme. In this thesis I draw attention to some of these and what work they, and the programme, does. I look at the history of the organization and how this has impacted a programme that is claimed to be for all people for all time. The League of Nations was developed as part of peace-keeping efforts following World War One and collapsed during World War Two to be replaced with UNESCO when the war ended. As such, the World Heritage Programme was a geopolitical project that developed primarily in western Europe and the USA, and drew on these cultures to imagine the world and attempt to bring peace to it. The world that was imagined was broken down into categories such as nature opposed to culture, and tangible as opposed to intangible; and administrable territories with clear borders. I argue that this has worked to maintain a hierarchical colonial world order that has shaped the concept and practice of conservation by imagining a separate, vulnerable world that needs protection, and that humans are removed from and can control. I counter this imaginary by arguing for a 'vibrant' earth that has its own trajectory, and that rather than being orderly, fixed and hierarchical, is chaotic, creative and collaborative. Here humans are one form of life on the planet rather than sitting at the pinnacle of evolution. In this world I argue rather than conservation, it is 'kinservation' that is needed in which all life is imagined as family, echoing many indigenous cultures including the Kitchwa-speaking peoples in Ecuador. I draw on the ability of artists and arts organizations to reimagine this world, and by doing so, bring it into being.

The thesis begins by outlining the key ideas and concepts that inform my thesis, pivoting around the work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, before turning to methodology and how this can address these imaginaries. I then introduce the field of geopolitics, and how more recent thinking has worked to pluralize the field. The empirical section of the thesis starts by exploring the history of UNESCO, and is then divided into three chapters that outline first how worlds can be congealed and stratified over time, how eruptions can break through the strata, and finally how the arts can mediate this process. The final chapter outlines how World Heritage can be re-worlded and re-worded.

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Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements are due to so many people for this piece of work, as like all my work and life itself, it is a co-production. First and foremost, to Deborah Dixon for believing in me and making this possible, for her friendship, wisdom, encouragement and patience as I have navigated the challenges of the last few years. Also to Simon Naylor for his warmth, flexibility and attention to clarity, and the rest of the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences at the University of Glasgow, especially Laura-Jane Nolan, Phil Nicholson and Angela Last. Thanks too to JD Dewsbury, Merle Patchett, Nina Williams, Andy Lapworth, Naomi Millner, Franklin Ginn and colleagues at the University of Bristol who warmly welcomed me into their reading groups and discussions. It all started though, with a conversation with Harriet Hawkins, who saw the potential for a collaboration with us at the Jurassic Coast, and re-opened the doors of academia via the partnership with Caitlin DeSilvey, Nicola Thomas and David Harvey at the University of Exeter, through which we delivered the Jurassic Coast Arts Programme CASE Studentships that taught me so much. Thanks also to the students, especially Jonny Croose who understood why the research into the multiple meanings of carnivals and their politics was needed, and who delivered it so well.

Thanks are given also to Richard Edmonds, Anjana Khatwa Ford, Sally King, Julia Pulman, Sam Rose, Sam Scriven and Ben Wyer, who worked with me in the Jurassic Coast Team, and Tim Badman now at IUCN, for getting me thinking and being there occasionally to bounce ideas off. Also to the wider Creative Coast community of partners and collaborators, especially Sue Kay for getting it off the ground and being so inspiring. Sian Ede and Birgit Arends for sharing their knowledge of arts and science collaboration with me, and Angela McSherry, Iain Dunn and the team at the Galapagos Conservation Trust who helped me to navigate my research in the islands. Navigating the islands closer to home, thanks to Fraser MacDonald for making me welcome on his undergraduate fieldtrip to St Kilda, and to Susan McBain and others for taking the time to talk to me.

In the Galápagos, thanks are again due to so many; to all the Vazquez family for being inspirational, following their hearts and challenging the status quo passionately and gracefully. To Iván Vazquez for his thought, knowledge, kindness and for opening so many doors for me, David Vazquez for his enthusiasm, support and orientation before the trip, Sonia Vazquez for making me so very welcome and looking after me. Most of all to Adrian Vazquez for seeing my work, understanding it and inviting me to Puerto Baquerizo Moreno to see some of his despite our language barriers. To all the people who helped me and gave me their time and insights, especially in Galápagos, many of you did not want to be named but you know who you are, and especially to Magno Bennett for his generosity, warmth, and collaborative manner; a true kinservationist! Also on my return to the UK, thanks to Marcus Coates and Marc Yeats for letting me quiz them about their arts practices.

Finally, on a more personal note, I am forever grateful to my parents for everything they have given me, but most of all music, art, and an insatiable curiosity in our world and its inhabitants. Thanks also to my siblings and friends who have supported, encouraged and shown interest when their worlds were already busy, they know who they are, especially Jo Singh and her eagle eyes, Ness Smith and Hannah Williams. To Caroline Reid and her emergent yoga teachings that have kept me on my toes and in my body. Most of all to Matt for supporting my academic re-worlding while his world, our world, was repeatedly turned upside down and shaken.

List of Abbreviations

Organization or phrase	Abbreviation
Galápagos Biosecurity Agency	ABG
Actor-network theory	ANT
Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty	AONB
Conference for the Allied Ministers of Education	CAME
Charles Darwin Foundation	CDF
Charles Darwin Research Station	CDRS
Council for Government of Galápagos	CGG
International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation	CICI
Darwin Animal Doctors	DAD
Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport	DCMS
Economic and Social Council	ECOSOC
Galápagos Academic Institute for the Arts and Sciences	GAIAS
Galapagos Conservation Trust	GCT
Gulbenkian Galápagos Artist Residency Programme	GGARP
Galápagos National Park Directorate	GNPD
International Bureau of Education	IBE
International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property	ICCROM
International Council of Monuments and Sites	ICOMOS
International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation	IIIC
International Labour Organization	ILO
Ecuador's National Institute for the Galápagos	INGALA
International Union for Conservation of Nature	IUCN
Jurassic Coast World Heritage Site	JCWHS
Special Law for the Galápagos (*Ley Orgánica de Régimen Especial de la Provincia de Galápagos*)	LOREG
Man and Biosphere	MAB
Non-Governmental Organization	NGO
Non-representational theory	NRT
Participatory Management Board	PMB
National Secretariat for Planning and Development	SENPLADES
National System of Protected Areas	SNAP
Site of Special Scientific Interest	SSSI
United Nations	UN
United Nations Environment Programme	UNEP

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	UNESCO
World Database on Protected Areas	WDPA
World Heritage Centre	WHC
World Heritage Site	WHS
World Wildlife Fund	WWF

Chapter 1
Introduction

Who told who to tell us not to feel?
tell us love's wrong, leads to suffering?
hate's wrong, leads to fire and battlefields?
and questions above all are wrong, lead to
deflected meditation on the order
we wait to see: who says? What use is order
to a chained world under a painted sky?
If any order's there we'd break it like
a shell to let some living touch emerge.

Morgan, Edwin. (2012: 194)
New Selected Poems, Carcanet

Before re-entering academia, I spent fifteen years working in the arts sector. For the last five of these years I led the Jurassic Coast Arts Programme: this was the first example (as far as we could find) of a 'natural' World Heritage site attempting to integrate arts practice[1] and artists into its management function, rather than simply hosting residencies or providing the backdrop to festivals and events. During this time many issues that revealed contradictions in the World Heritage Programme became apparent. There were issues of scale, insofar as the management of the site was expected to negotiate the local and the global in a 'world' programme. There were contradictions in thinking about heritage conservation as a category, not least its sub-divisions into natural heritage and cultural heritage, and tangible and intangible heritage, as well as the hierarchical structure and 'top down' practices of local and national governments and how these intersected with a 'world' programme. There were the difficulties in 'engaging communities' as part of an effort to 'fix' these heritage concepts in space. And finally, there was the challenge of understanding different kinds of knowledge production in a multi-disciplinary, multi-scaled management programme structure. This last issue made a situated understanding of arts practice and the subsequent facilitation of creative thinking and practice especially challenging; specifically, the translation between artists' understandings of conservation management, local government, and the mundane practices of science, and the managers' understanding of an open-ended, process driven arts practice.

[1] Arts is taken as a broad collection of practices and knowledges including, but not limited to, music, dance, visual art, community arts, participatory arts, theatre, carnival and street arts, digital arts, literature, poetry, and architecture.

Towards the end of the project I was invited by Professor Deborah Dixon to talk about my work in her session 'Curating the Cosmos' at the American Association of Geographers' annual conference, 2013. During a lunch break we began to discuss some of these issues and she asked me if I was to do a PhD following on from, and reflecting on, the work of the Jurassic Coast Arts Programme, what would it address? I emphasized that for me there were two important contradictions in the work I had been doing that needed to be critically interrogated. First, there was UNESCO's division of the world into categories, especially natural sites and cultural sites, and the subsequent insistence that the Jurassic Coast was designated for its importance to science rather than to culture, and that this needed to be reflected in all work that came under their brand. This insistence meant that arts projects, for example, needed to be about geology or geomorphology rather than broader ideas of landscape or place history that were felt to be the remit of other conservation organizations. There seemed to me to be a bigger picture that was being lost here, in that science was surely part of a broader culture that had created the notion of World Heritage. I was reminded of my choice between Anthropology and Psychology after two years' study as an undergraduate student. Because the world that I perceived worked on a level in which everything was connected and fluid rather than divided and fixed, I chose Anthropology: there seemed to be value in the insight gained by the deep subjective understanding that Anthropology, arts and humanities practices sought. In the case of the Jurassic Coast, surely, if the potential of naturally designated sites to reconnect people with their environment in the recently proposed Anthropocene epoch[2] was to be realized, scientific knowledge about the world needed to be not only widely accessible but *questioned and developed* through as many channels and perspectives as possible.

One of the artist led festivals[3] that I worked with peripherally on the Jurassic Coast coined the phrase 'moments not monuments,' which neatly sums up some of these concerns. Looking back from the vantage point of a PhD, it is reminiscent of the work of the philosopher Gilles Deleuze and psychoanalyst Felix Guattari who worked together on several volumes that underpin, to a large extent, the philosophy of this thesis. Writing together in the 1970s and 80s, Deleuze and Guattari drew on a broad range of literatures and fields – including complexity theory, music, biology, film, geology, and physics – to

[2] A proposed new geological epoch, following the Holocene, in which the future fossil record will not only record human life as fossilised skeletons, but its cultures' impact on the earth's surface through activities such as mineral extraction.

[3] B-Side Festival Moments not Monuments publication: www.scribd.com/document/138070187/Moments-Not-Monuments#download&from_embed

imagine the world in a constant state of becoming, arguing for the importance of attending to the process, or journey, over and against the purported destination or product. They argued for an ontology of immanence over and against transcendence. This philosophy of process over product had been prevalent in the ten years of creative teaching and learning work that I had been involved in, stemming, as I understood it, from the community arts movements of the 1970s and especially iconic community arts organizations like Welfare State International[4]. Having been frustrated by my own school education and its focus on the end-points of exams and qualifications rather than broader educational aims, this model made sense to me: our overall destination as living creatures is death, and while life is arguably about preparing for death, it is primarily about living and the processes of living. The decisions and actions that are taken in life matter. They have material consequences. As Ingold (2011: 4) explains, "it is of the essence of life that it does not begin here or end there, or connect a point of origin with a final destination, but rather that it keeps on going, finding a way through the myriad of things that form, persist and break up in its currents. Life, in short, is a movement of opening, not of closure."

The second contradiction that I described to Deborah was around the geopolitics of World Heritage. Despite a stated vision of a united and peaceful globe, and a mission to bring this about, certain ways of understanding the world have been valued over others by UNESCO, and so continue a coloniality. UNESCO is part of the UN family of international organizations that built on the work the League of Nations had done following World War One to bring about a community of nations that could work together on 'the world's' problems. UNESCO emerged just after World War Two, was based in France and was primarily influenced by the victors of the war; that is, 'Western', 'developed' cultures grappling with the end of Empire, the beginning of Cold War communism/ capitalism binaries, and industrialization and the resulting urbanization. Modernism was in full swing with the concept of progress at its heart and related assumptions of how 'the world' is, for example, hierarchical, linear, administrable, and importantly can be referred to with the definite article as though there is one definitive world in which the nation-state is the appropriate, even unquestioned, unit for international relations. These assumptions were actualised in the programmes of organizations such as UNESCO.

[4] Welfare State International worked on celebratory events in the UK from 1968 to 2005. They believed in and worked to provide universal access to a creative process, believing that people were as entitled to, and in need of this, as they were to education or health care. For more information see welfare-state.org/pages/aboutwsi.htm.

I have used the opportunity of writing this thesis to interrogate these two contradictions, to unpick how they play out in practice, and to explore alternative ways of imagining and working with our worlds. In the next section I introduce some of the key ideas, concepts and literatures that have helped me to shape my two main arguments: the nature-culture binary at the heart of the concept of heritage broadly, and World Heritage specifically; and the neo-colonialism of the practices of conservation that have developed alongside this concept of heritage. I then go on to discuss theories of practice, and outline the methodologies that I have used and why they were the most appropriate in this context, before laying out the structure of the thesis at the end of the chapter.

Key Ideas, Concepts and Literatures

Deleuze and Guattari's 'geophilosophy' is predicated on matter as it constantly becomes something else. This is a material unfolding, rather than the movement of distinct, separate things that emerge and then develop linearly over time. In Geography, their work has been used extensively in a move away from modernism and the cultural or literary turn, with its anthropocentric emphasis on meanings and signifiers, and towards material, milieu-situated modes of enquiry that can forge resonances between geography's two halves, physical and human (See for instance Doel 1996, Thrift and Dewsbury 2000, Dewsbury 2000, Whatmore 2002, 2006, Bonta and Protevi 2004, Anderson and Tolia Kelly 2004, Marston, Jones and Woodward 2005, Anderson and Wylie 2009). Such a geophilosophy could be said to represent a viable alternative to a pure culturalism where 'the world' is reduced to that which it signifies to human cultures, whilst still allowing for the avoidance of the grand narratives, such as structuralism or traditional Marxism, which were what the cultural turn was a response to (c.f. Hicks and Beaudry, 2010: 2). Moving from a structural approach, where it was thought that there is an underlying or overarching structure to human behaviour and relationships with others, primarily humans, but also non-humans, to a "post-paradigmatic" (Gregory 1989: 69) arena for research has changed the way that some academics perceive and interact with the world around us in many ways. For instance, the material and immaterial are often used as shorthand for tensions between "empirical and theoretical, applied and academic, concrete and abstract, reality and representation, quantitative and qualitative, objective and subjective" (Cook and Tolia-Kelly 2010: 100), which has in turn set up a tension between *doing* and *representing* in field science practice (see Hicks 2010: 98). Another key idea that emerges (see Pickering

2010, Latour 1999) is the need to move beyond brutal dualisms *per se* – such as doing *or* representing; language *or* symbol; nature *or* culture – and deal with the issues raised in a different way in order to understand our worlds which are real *and* tangible *and* intangible *and* imagined. The focus has shifted from the abstract relations between things, their symbolism and meanings to people in the context of culture, to "more 'thingy,' bump-into-able, stubbornly there-in-the-world kinds of 'matter'" (Philo, 2000: 33). The emphasis in geographic enquiry has thus changed from the proffering of representations towards a more embodied here- (as opposed to Philo's there) in-the-world way of encountering the earth; humans became part of it rather than separate, objective and superior. The 'here' is important here. It summons up connection and presence rather than objectivity and distance. Enquiry is here in my world rather than there in that world. What is more, such a mode of thinking moves away from an anthropocentric view of what things mean to people, for instance as gifts or possessions, and towards an acknowledgement of the presence of the material in and for itself (Hicks and Beaudry 2010: 19, Dixon, Hawkins and Straughan 2012: 242, Bennett 2010: 119).

Over the last thirty years or so, several ways of bringing substance back into relations have been developed, underpinned by concepts such as affect and percept, networks and assemblages. Both affect and percept in this context indicate the impact of something before it is processed, and so sit somewhere between physicality, emotion and thought. Percept refers more to physical sensation, and affect to feeling and emotion. As such they are intentionally difficult concepts to grasp and represent, with their dream-like quality of slipping away before they can be observed. Affect is often associated with the seventeenth century philosopher, Spinoza, who proposed that "conative bodies are also associative or (one could even say) social bodies, in the sense that each is, by its very nature as a body, continuously affecting and being affected by other bodies" (Bennett, 2010: 21). Wylie (2005) suggests that affect and percept are used to signal the non-rational and more-than-rational aspects of life and goes on to draw on Deleuze and Guattari to introduce the idea that they exist beyond the individual. They are more-than affection and perception, affected or perceived, where they become situated in a specific body. They occur before the body processes or internalizes them. Extending this, Dewsbury et al argue that the broader philosophical concepts of affect and percept are those "through which subject and object emerge and become possible" (2002: 439), each affecting and perceiving the 'other' separately and also together, conjuring it into being. Pointing to the process of living more explicitly, Lorimer (2008) argues that "life takes place with affects in its midst; or, more

radically speaking… life is composed in the midst of affects." In regard to the living body, affects are:

> properties, competencies, modalities, energies, attunements, arrangements and intensities of differing texture, temporality, velocity and spatiality, that act on bodies, are produced through bodies, and are transmitted by bodies. Our sensual worlds catalyse complexly and dissipate unexpectedly. Social fabrics and practices are not locked into rational or predictable logics, and often are visceral and instinctive. (2008: 552)

Affect and percept are what the human body senses before it is thought or felt in words, before it is understood or conceptualized. In these senses, so to speak, they have been valuable in challenging a view of the world as being something that can always be explained with logic and rationality. Matter and substance are allowed to become entities in their own right, rather than awaiting human reference or representation.

It is the difficulty in talking about affect that could be said to have influenced the development of Nigel Thrift's non-representational theory (NRT) (Lorimer 2008: 90). This draws on Butler's work on performativity and attempts to create a language that can be used to discuss those things in life that are hard to represent; can we somehow enact knowledge of the world rather than claim to straightforwardly represent it? The implication is that, as researchers, and to an extent just as people, what we do is to represent the world through writing, maps, diagrams and so on, and that these have been and sometimes continue to be presented as somehow 'true.' Yet, they 'work' through the inculcation of particular affects. What is not captured in this binary of true/false, is the messiness of the way that most of us interact with the world, with deadlines to meet, financial constraints, illnesses, emotions and events beyond our control. This limits what we can communicate about the world, which clearly means more to us than just a series of physical objects and events.

Deleuze was heavily influenced by Spinoza, writing two books on his philosophy. Later, in *What is Philosophy* (1991 [1994]), he and Guattari turn to art to explore affect and percept. They draw on the artist Cezanne's enigma "man absent from but entirely within the landscape" and explain that the purpose of art "is to wrest the percept from perceptions of objects and the state of a perceiving subject, to wrest the affect from affections as the transition from one state to another: to extract a bloc of sensations, a pure being of sensations" (1991 [1994]: 167). Dewsbury (2009) builds on this with reference to NRT, arguing that NRT crosses into the realm of art in attempting to go beyond representation and engage with affect, emotion and the other ways in which we interact with our worlds:

again, the focus is on process rather than product. Lorimer (2008) suggests replacing 'non-representational' with 'more-than-representational,' implying a more open term that allows for the reality of communicating our experiences of a complex world; "it is multifarious, open encounters in the realm of practice that matter most" (2005: 84). He talks of the busy-ness of these practices, and of exploring this new lively world with different practices due to different expectations. He concludes his argument by noting that he, ironically, is still left with too few words to express the geography that he practices, and the format remains academic texts, which have considerable constraints. Part of his impetus to collaborate with artists is the challenge to find a "new geographic literature that is, at the same time, original literature boasting new geographical sensibilities" (2008: 557).

It is notable here that Spinoza's contemporary, Descartes, conversely proposed what has come to be known as Cartesian dualism, primarily the separation of the process of thinking from other bodily processes, and so culture from nature. Similarly, later distinctions between art and science that have defined learning in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were shaped by a desire to categorize the world and reduce its complexity to neat, explainable, well defined, often opposing units. A new attention to the material world, rather than the theoretical or intangible, *is* arts and science coming together, the materiality of the world in all its complexity revealing the weaknesses in ordering, objectifying, classifying and separating, and representing. CP Snow, in his Rede lecture and associated essay The Two Cultures (1959), was one of the first to point out the weakness generated by the divide between the sciences and humanities, arguing that it would undermine the UK's ability to continue to modernize and develop, as skills in engineering and science became 'vocational,' subjected to snobbery, and their value eroded. His concepts of the arts as a 'cultured' human activity demonstrating the pinnacle of civilization, and the sciences as a more lowly activity implying crude practicalities such as earning a living, are in stark contrast to more recent writing about art, which gain strength in their connections, and which are now valued far less than science if public funding is the measure. Here the understanding of creativity is something that applies to all life, not just artists or even just humans, acknowledging the processual, which in turn calls for more than a bridge between the arts and sciences. It collapses the distinction between them, and in turn between ideas of the divisions between a natural and cultural heritage which, in turn, has obvious implications for the application of World Heritage.

Newer ways of conceiving heritage have been discussed by critical heritage scholars over the last couple of decades. Harrison (2015) draws attention to the collapse of the nature-

culture binary in heritage. He borrows from the work of Rose (2003, 2008, 2011) in this field to look at different perceptions of environments, especially those of aboriginal Australians and their sense of *kinship with* the world around them, rather than *control over* or *responsibility for* it, and he considers the questions thereby raised with regard to conservation and management. This contribution builds on Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006), which explores the work that the concept and practice of heritage does in the world and the politics inherent in it. She introduces the idea of an 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD), which she argues "takes its cue from the grand narratives of Western national and elite class experiments, and reinforces ideas of innate cultural value tied to time depth, monumentality, expert knowledge and aesthetics" and hence how this serves to exclude other views and interactions (2006: 299). The AHD carries power, and this works to legitimize and propagate "the experiences and worldviews of dominant narratives about nation, class, culture and ethnicity… [and] is a form of 'heritage' itself" (ibid). She goes on to explore the performativity of heritage, suggesting that it is through active interaction that heritage gains its meaning, and that these performances of heritage are two-way processes (2006: 304). Thus, all heritage is intangible, "an active, vibrant cultural process of creating bonds through shared experiences and acts of creation" (2006: 307-8). As Harvey (2001) concludes, heritage is processual rather than fixed in objects.

Harrison (2013) takes the argument a step further by suggesting that heritage is not only processual, and not only the subject of a discourse, but is dialogical. That is, heritage as a process takes place between, and is shaped by, humans and non-humans. He argues that it is therefore not a set of tangible or intangible things, but should be thought of as "relational and emergent in the dialogue between people, objects, places and practices" (2013: 226), and that this realization has implications for management as well as how heritage is thought about. He also argues that it is a 'modern' concern, in that it is brought into being by a linear sense of time that shapes what is thought of as 'old' and 'new,' and so frames conservation as necessarily the preservation of that which is 'old' and 'authentic' rather than part of a creative and dialogical process in which heritage is continually co-produced. In similar vein, DeSilvey (2017) proposes that it is possible, and in some cases (but emphatically not all) desirable, to 'curate decay'; that is, to allow, even encourage, and interpret the changing nature of our worlds as theories and monuments in flux. In her descriptions of what heritage is and could be, and how it is and could be conserved, she draws on Holtorf and Ortman (2008), who point out that it is the giving of care that produces value, rather than the inherent value that produces care-giving. Following this line of thought, the designation increases the value of heritage through its formal

acknowledgement that it is cared about. She also introduces an idea of 'compostheritage', arguing that decomposition and composition are two sides of the conservation coin, inextricably intertwined and interdependent (2017: 150-1). These ideas of heritage and conservation as something living with us (Poulios 2010) run throughout this thesis.

In a parallel move, though articulated in response to a planetary condition, Haraway (2016) also talks of composting in *Staying with the trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Responding to the concept of the Anthropocene, she talks about the idea of 'living with' rather than being separate from 'nature' in all its forms, and proposes 'making kin not babies' as a call to action in what she terms the Chthulucene. She argues that the Anthropocene, in its human-centredness, must be a boundary event rather than an epoch. Our work is to make it as thin as possible, and to make what comes next, the Chthulucene, a replenishing refuge for the refugees, human and not, that are proliferating. She calls on concepts such as *Gaia, Pacha Mama* and *Tangaroa*, to name just a few earth-wide 'tentacular powers,' that "entangle myriad temporalities and spatialities and myriad intra-active entities-in-assemblages" (2016: 101). Echoing ideas of deep ecology and cultures such as those of the Quechua-speaking peoples of the Andes that have influenced her thinking, she goes on to outline that "who and whatever we are, we need to make-with—become-with, compose-with—the earth-bound… Kin-making is making persons, not necessarily as individuals or as humans… all earthlings are kin in the deepest sense" (ibid.). In this way, she proposes that we think of humans as humus, implying that we are all multidimensional stores of nutrients in an ongoing process of collective fertility.

The 'not babies' part of this call has, however, been controversial, and there have been critiques of its implications. Lewis, in Turner's review for the *London Review of Books*, for example, accuses Haraway of "a decisive turn towards a primitivism-tinged, misanthropic populationism', 'apolitical', 'ethnocentric' and dismayingly careless ('In short, Haraway is trafficking irresponsibly in racist narratives')" (2017: 14), and goes on to imply that through her argument for global population reduction she is inciting genocide. However, for my purposes, 'making kin' is a compelling call for feasible individual action, and so, building on the work of Rose and Harrison, I borrow the term to suggest 'kinservation' as an alternative model for conservation. Here, all life, human and nonhuman (and indeed non-biological life, following DeSilvey's suggestion that the objects with which we share our lives also have lives [2017: 167]), might be imagined as kin.

In talking about the deployment of heritage, Smith proposes that "heritage is a subjective political negotiation of identity" (2006: 300), resonating with the second somewhat broader contradiction that I relayed to Deborah, which had again become clear to me through my work. As laid out above, this lay in the geopolitics, and ongoing colonialism, of World Heritage. Returning to the geophilosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, their work has drawn attention to how the State has been imagined and, via these imaginings, has influenced all spheres of life in its attempt to order society. They call this ordering 'stratification,' an idea I will explore in more depth throughout this thesis. Their work seeks to explore the world without this political organizing lens, and what it reveals is a condition in which the 'natural' world lends itself as an object of analysis, and prompt for speculation, to be sure, but also has a 'geopower' that subtends such activities. Somewhat paradoxically, and echoing Lorimer's observation above, it is difficult to write insightfully about Deleuze and Guattari's geophilosophy, insofar as writing is itself a representation and as such argued to be the product of a particular mode of stratification that fixes and linearizes its subject: thus, the effort to follow their techniques at 'breaking free' is undercut time and again, and here, my writing loops again and again around some of the same ideas, coming at them from different angles. Nevertheless, for Bonta and Protevi (2004) *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980 [1987]), and also *Anti Oedipus* (1972 [1977]) and *What is Philosophy* (1991 [1994]), alongside Deleuze's earlier works, form a geophilosophy that can be applied to efforts at articulating a 'minor geography'; that is, geography that is not doing the work of the state.

In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari build on Deleuze's earlier ideas of the 'virtual' and the 'actual,' 'territories' and their 'territorialization' and 'de-territorialization,' to introduce the concept of 'strata' and 'stratification,' and 'striated' and 'smooth' space. In brief, they suggest that there are two states that shape the 'real' world that we interact with, the 'actual' and the 'virtual.' The 'actual' is found in the material world around us: it is that which has congealed and 'stratified' into some kind of order, often hierarchical, forming 'striated space.' This term, like so many others used by Deleuze, is drawn from geomorphology, and specifically the landscape changing effect of glaciers as they move, thus suggesting, Bonta and Protevi write, that the labelling of the spaces and actions of the State as striated draws attention to the "glacial effects of the State and perhaps vice versa" (2004: 9). 'Striated' space relates to the centralised and hierarchical space in which subjects find themselves in relation to a centralised, transcendent State or its equivalent: this could be the 'paradigm' in academia, the 'global corporation' in business and so on. Striated space refers to a positionality that has become

stabilised; that is, existing in a 'steady-state' or equilibrium. The 'virtual' by contrast is far-from-equilibrium. Consisting of meshed multiplicities defined by 'lines of flight,' these are the behaviours and thresholds of material systems: in other words, these are capacities for action that offer a 'smooth' space that exceeds any easy positionality.

Both the actual and the virtual are equally 'real,' but because the virtual is by definition unstable, transitional, and creative, it is often obscured by the apparent permanence of the actual. Yet, the extensive actual, or stratified, world is necessarily the result of the morphogenetic congealing of intensive underlying flows in the virtual world of smooth space (Bonta and Protevi 2004: 16). One cannot exist without the other. Territorialization describes this congealing, while deterritorialization gestures to the pure creativity of the virtual: their ebbs and flows are caught in the process of stratification, much like the beach changes every time the tide goes in or out, and gradually becomes a feature in itself, larger than its constituent parts but a site where each part plays a role in making it what it is. Despite its constantly changing form and properties it is still something actual, the beach.

Where Deleuze and Guattari tend to play with the metaphorical (yet very much materially striking) resonances of 'coagulate' and 'concretize' to explore the capturing and constraining modalities of striation, in this thesis I build on the idea of the 'congealing' of smooth space looking specifically at the practice of conservation. Specifically, I argue that creativity and emergent worlds can be congealed and stratified into something more stable, which can then be striated by the transcendent forces of the state or international conservation field. I bring these ideas together with the geology of Galápagos, islands that were formed by the congealing of magma as it emerged through the Earth's crust. 'Congealing' was not a term used by Deleuze and Guattari, possibly as the cultures that they write about are well established and built up over time like sedimentary rocks, but rather Bonta and Protevi (2004) use it as a way of describing the process by which something can pass from a virtual state to an actual state. It has been used by others, for instance Spivak (1997), in the context of scale in subaltern geopolitics, and Nigianni (2005), in talking about fixing identities: the route from becoming to being. Munster (2002) talks of congealed affect. Here, however, I use it to talk about the material effects that the actions of international bodies such as UNESCO have on the world. In likening the visible process of congealing igneous lava intrusions as they protrude into sea or air to the congealing of smooth space, the formation of the actual from the virtual, this conceptual and metaphorical move also calls forth Deleuze and Guattari's concept of 'new

earth,' to which I will return. For now, it is of note that when visualizing our worlds, the congealments of space and materials do not reside solely in some abstract ideational space, but operate with the full force of fact. As mentioned earlier, Deleuze and Guattari often use geological terms to describe their concepts, and here, writing on Galápagos, I use the cooling, crystallizing, yet porous work of congealment in my attempts to illuminate relationships between conservation and arts practices in Galápagos.

Resonating with these ideas - and especially also Deleuze and Guattari's idea of the assemblage[5] - is Latour's concept of actor-network theory (ANT) developed at the beginning of the 1980's also in France (see Callon and Latour 1981). Originally called *acteur reseau* (Law and Hassard 1999) with slight but important differences in meaning when translated into the English 'actor-network theory,' it has also been called, more accurately, but somewhat less catchily, 'actant-rhizome-ontology' (Lynch in Latour 1999: 19). This refers to Deleuze and Guattari's concept of knowledge as having the properties of a rhizome (a multiplicitous and disordered multi-planar model) that is opposed with arborescence (a tree like binary and hierarchical model ordered under one principle). In arguing against the literary turn and its obsession with representation, Deleuze and Guattari propose: "The rhizome is an antigeneology… The same applies to the book and the world: contrary to a deeply rooted belief, the book is not an image of the world. It forms a rhizome with the world" (1987: 12), implying there is a mutual and ongoing non-linear relationship between representation and the world, with subsequent emergent qualities in both.

Finally, actor was used originally to suggest agency, but is closely associated with humans and so actant was later suggested to mitigate this. The actant in ANT is widely understood to be the idea that both humans and non-humans (for instance animals, rocks, buildings, planets, books, oceans) have what have previously been thought of as human qualities: agency, purpose, intention; and, importantly, that these are not possessed or owned, but only come into being through material connections (Powell 2007, Cresswell 2013, Dant 2005). Cresswell uses the example of a laboratory, the products of which (for example medicines and engineering solutions) come about through the combined presence of people and things. Agency comes about through the specific network rather than being the

[5] Bonta and Protevi define an assemblage as "an intensive network or rhizome displaying 'consistency' or emergent effects by tapping into the ability of the self-ordering forces of heterogeneous material to mesh together" (2004: 54). In simpler terms, it is a connected collection of (any)things.

possession of one human or a whole social structure (2013: 250). For instance, in the case of a World Heritage site, the manager of the site does not have agency over its work in and of themselves. This materializes through their relationships with all the other people and objects that make up both the concept of the site as having 'outstanding universal value' (UNESCO's term for what it is that the site is designated for), the laws and documentation relating to the site, the physical site to which it applies, and the entities that interact with it and care for it. Depending on the specific situation, this might include fish, coral, biologists, tourists, ocean currents, the local fishing industry, school children, plankton, UNESCO and government officials amongst many others. Each of these things, according to ANT, has agency, brought into being by their relationship with each other. In this manner, the network not only represents but constructs the social situation under study. Latour suggests that ANT allowed both a recasting of the social not as agency or structure but as a circulation (Latour 1999: 17-20), and an alternative way into thinking about scale. Rather than hold to a nested hierarchy that veers between the macro and the micro, scale could be likened to the waves and particles of light (1999: 19); it is impossible to have one without the other, and they need to be thought of together.

Taking assemblages, ANT and affect into account directs us to change the way that we perceive matter as fixed, inert, passive and malleable. Massey (2006) takes landscapes as a way to begin to think this through. She talks of the rock cycle and the movements of tectonic plates and questions whether landscapes are as fixed as we think. She suggests that we instead begin to think about landscapes as flowing, "the (temporary) product of a meeting up of trajectories out of which mobile uncertainty a future is – has to be – negotiated" (2006: 48). Such an approach has profound implications for thinking through the World Heritage programme at UNESCO, where specific places are designated for their unique contribution to the heritage of humankind. If these places are flowing and on the move, constantly negotiated by multiple parties both human and not, into becoming other, how do we legislate for their conservation for all people for all time? This challenge is neatly illustrated at the Jurassic Coast World Heritage site, where the sea cliffs are designated for their geology, geomorphology and record of life. Sea cliffs erode, and this is one of the 'natural processes' that gained the site its World Heritage status. The site is also legally protected by other *national* designations such as Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) and through the two Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs), both of which are defined through their map coordinates, which are fixed in space. As the Jurassic Coast 'naturally' erodes, its coordinates change; according to the map it moves 'inland,' out of these protected areas in some places. This makes the site difficult to define

in a fixed legal sense, again illustrating tensions between 'natural processes,' perception, representation, and 'stratifying' or 'congealing' entities such as planning procedures and national and international law.

In Jane Bennett's book, *Vibrant Matter* (2010), she talks of the vitality of matter (see also Whatmore and Hinchliffe 2010, Anderson and Wylie 2009), in that it is not only agential, but alive in some way. Things have the ability to act as "quasi agents or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own" (2010: viii). She then explores the effect this thinking might have on politics if it became the way that we think about things. She attempts to bring together Deleuze and Guattari's ideas of the 'virtual,' Foucault's notion of the 'unthought' and Thoreau's version of the 'Wild' as forces that are real and powerful but intrinsically difficult to represent, and show that how we think about things impacts how we behave towards and with things: "how would patterns of consumption change," she asks, "if we faced not litter, rubbish, trash, or the "recycling" but an accumulating pile of lively and potentially dangerous matter?" (2010: viii). The human is positioned as an assemblage itself, consisting not as an individual member of a species, but as a fluid collection of species; for instance, the bacteria cells in our guts outnumber all the cells in the rest of our bodies. This, she suggests, is a more helpful way to approach our relationship with our planet than environmentalism, which sets us apart from our environment. We are part of it, made from it, and what we do will impact what it does and what its constituent parts do as they impact us, whether consciously or not (2010: 112).

Returning to binary ideas of nature being opposed to culture, she speaks of nature, following Deleuze and Guattari, as '"an immense abstract machine" of generativity whose pieces "are the various assemblages and individuals, each of which groups together an infinity of particles entering into an infinity of more or less interconnected relations".' This differently agential way of thinking breaks down the duality with which nature and culture are viewed not only in geography, but in government and the United Nations including UNESCO. She notes that:

> as I shift from environmentalism to vital materialism, from a world of nature versus culture to a heterogeneous monism of vibrant bodies, I find that my old maxim "tread lightly on the earth" to be less solid. According to this maxim, I should try to minimize the impact of my actions so as to minimize the damage or destruction of other things with which I share existence. (2010:119)

This invites a more conscious and purposeful 'living with' as opposed to 'profiting from' nature (see also Haraway 2015) requiring a different way of valuing to the economic

model. If nature is active by definition, so are humans. Policy that does not account for this living, this constant change, cannot work. On these lines, Bennett concludes that she believes, "it is wrong to deny vitality to nonhuman bodies… that encounters with lively matter can chasten my fantasies of human mastery, highlight the common materiality of all that is, expose a wider distribution of agency, and reshape the self and its interests" (2010: 122). Many models for differently valuing nature have emerged over the last decade or two (for instance ecosystems services - see Costanza et al 1997, Ainscough et al 2018) and this, in one sense perhaps, is what the World Heritage programme attempts to do; to show people that this place is not just a pile of rocks, a place where you can get fish or another old building. The stories that these places (whether designated for nature or for culture) and arguably other places have to tell are our stories, one might say the stories of all expressions of life. The connection may be more easily made with cultural sites in our current anthropocentric mode, but all the stories on this planet, in this universe even, are about the elements that make us, how they move through our life cycle and other cycles, and what this means to us as both individuals and as assemblages of life.

Taking ANT, Deleuze's ideas around figurative and affective (im)materialities and similar to Bennett's animated or enchanted materialism, Anderson and Wylie propose that geography attend to matter conceived as turbulent, always moving in predictable and unpredictable ways, that is interrogative, questioning and agential; and as excessive, that is, independently creative without human animation (2009: 332). The philosopher Elizabeth Grosz uses Deleuze's philosophy to take this idea of creativity further, suggesting that the arts are in fact an inhuman activity and the product of an excessive material world:

> If philosophy, through the plane of immanence or consistency [smooth space], gives life to concepts that live independent of the philosopher who created them, yet participate in, cut across, and attest to the chaos from which they are drawn, so too art, through the plane of composition [striated space] it throws over chaos, gives life to sensation that, disconnected from its origins or any destination or reception, maintains its connections with the infinite it expresses and from which it is drawn. Twin rafts over chaos, philosophy and art, along with their more serious sibling the sciences, enframe chaos, each in its own way, in order to extract something consistent, composed, immanent, which it uses for its own ordering (and also deranging) resources. (2008: 8)

Bringing these ideas to UNESCO designations presents us with the challenge of seeing natural, cultural, mixed, tangible, and intangible heritage together with humans, laws, organizations and 'things' as part of a 'heritage assemblage,' which moves, changes, lives, dies, renews, fights and plays. This idea of heterogeneous agency is interesting and intriguing when we look at how sites are managed. Conservation becomes the application

of one kind of agency in an assemblage, the result of which cannot be known or measured in its entirety. Interpretation and engagement become co-managing or co-programming with other parts of the assemblage of both human and non-human agents, and activities emerge as the assemblage moves and changes. The implications of this for Management Plans and policy making on and for heritage sites are profound, as hierarchical structures become more immanent and it is recognized that expertise is located in networks and relationships as well as individuals. Individual World Heritage Sites engage with these ideas to different degrees, and UNESCO has arguably begun to apply some of this thinking, not least to newer designations such as Global Geoparks and designations under World Heritage's sister Convention of the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. However, much work remains to tease out structures and work patterns that engage with and optimise these ideas pragmatically.

Developing a Methodology

Acknowledging that the theory outlined above, which I apply to addressing these questions, calls for an open-ended research approach, as I read about recent creative geography practices it became clear that one way of doing this was through my methodology, drawing on some familiar techniques used by artists. As Deleuze and Guattari point out, "sometimes it is necessary to lie down on the earth, like the painter does also, in order to get the "motif", that is to say the percept" (1991 [1994]: 171). I therefore made an explicit effort to harness as many senses as possible in order to reveal different aspects of what the site could tell me. In the next section I outline the methodologies that I used in my attempt to move beyond the cultural lens through which my world is usually viewed, and reveal other experiences of the practice of conservation and arts development and what these do.

Ringrose and Coleman state that the work of Deleuze is "particularly helpful in thinking about *methodology*, because one of its key demands is to break down the false divide between theory and practice" (2013: 2). Coming from what is often referred to as a professional 'arts practice' to the academic field, in the knowledge that the practice would inform and be informed by the ideas and concepts encountered during my research, this spoke to me as having relevance to other binaries that I address such as nature/culture. This thesis could be framed as one outcome of ten years of action research, the first five as I developed and led the Jurassic Coast Arts Programme, and the second five as I built up to and undertook my PhD research. As such, it resonates with the application of a

geophilosophy that favours immanence, a constant emergence of the world, and a starting and finishing 'in the middle' of things. My methodology attempts to enable utilization of my prior experience and practice as research in itself and a 'thinking as doing' during my PhD also. The problematics I was grappling with, outlined above, had become clear through my practice, and their exploration began with this practice. The PhD enabled a different kind of research requiring a different mode of encounter, and different outcomes. As I transitioned from developing partnerships in order to deliver conservation goals, to exploring with more rigour the platform upon which the goals were positioned, the purpose of my conversations with colleagues changed; my encounters became less goal focused and also in some ways less political, certainly less bureaucratic. I no longer had to answer to funders, committees and partners in the same way; I was no longer a funder of others' work, and was able to pursue my own interests and creativity as the parameters constraining them shifted from conservation and arts development to knowledge production. I was keen to explore my creativity, having spent years facilitating that of others, and to experience for myself the 'theory' with which I was engaging. I was especially keen to facilitate a more-than-human creativity 'in the field' and a thinking about how this can be mobilized in the worlds of conservation.

Fieldwork-based research has long recorded and subsequently analyzed the moment of encounter with 'the field.' With my background in Social Anthropology, of particular note is the work of Bronislav Malinowski and the much-referenced lines from his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* in which he invites the reader to "[i]magine yourself suddenly set down surrounded by all your gear, alone on a tropical beach close to a native village while the launch or dinghy which has brought you sails away out of sight" (1922: 46). This book changed the new discipline of Anthropology from a largely remote, analytical one sometimes known as 'armchair anthropology' in which the experiences of other, usually lower status people are analyzed second hand, to a practice-based discipline in which fieldwork, encounter, and especially 'participant observation'[6] as a methodology, are fundamental building blocks of understanding and subsequent analysis and brought together in an ethnographic study. This change rippled across other social sciences and humanities over the following decades, as long-term open-ended fieldwork, participant observation and ethnography were borrowed, adopted, adapted and mutated.

[6] Very basically for now, this is when the researcher, to the extent that they are able, joins in with the practice of the group that they are studying, observing their culture through experience and proximity, or embodied practices.

Marcus (2010) compares ethnography to the methodologies of artists in recent years in the sense that the aesthetic properties of research and/ or fieldwork have become fundamental to 'observation' and artists have been exploring these ideas and how to communicate them to an audience for a long time now. He suggests that encounter has become more collaborative and open-ended through the borrowing of participant observation as a methodology or approach to research, acknowledging that an encounter happens to all parties involved, and that the implications of the encounter can resonate well beyond the defined piece of research being carried out (2010: 275). Ingold (2014) adds thoughts about temporality, arguing that encounters are always in the present. Ethnography is what happens after the encounter; the note taking, close remembering and diary keeping is what turns the encounter into 'data' that can later be drawn upon, but it is important to remember that this, however rough, is already not the encounter itself (2014: 386). It is interesting to question whether the same can be noted of other methods of recording that I suggest become entangled with the encounter such as photography, film and sound recording, noting that here the encounter is mediated through the equipment to some degree.

Geography has more recently drawn on some of this practice and methodology but is also concerned specifically with encountering the 'earth' and place as well as people. Historically its fieldwork has been a heroic discovery of the physical earth, its topology, geology and geomorphology (see Livingstone 2003, Naylor 2005b for further examples and insights). Think, for instance, of the work of 'great explorers' such as Humboldt, Scott, Shackleton and Livingstone and the way that it is presented and represented. These forefathers of Geography are usually known by their individual names, and although they travelled with and were supported by others, these people have remained at best in the background, or even unmentioned in the accounts of their heroic explorations of what are often presented as unknown unchartered lands, although this begs the question 'unknown to whom?' To be sure, the notion of fieldwork has recently taken a decidedly material turn as humans are considered immersed in and co-producing, rather than separate observers of, a physical earth, this immersion constituted from multi-directional, rhizomatic connections (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, Latour 1999, Bonta and Protevi 2004). In *Difference and Repetition*, Deleuze (1994) talks of intensity and virtuality and outlines his theory, following the book's title, of the unfolding of life as a series of repetitions each with differences, and the related notion of pure difference. Here difference is not a derivative of identity which assumes fixed qualities, but "difference in itself" where something is not compared with something else, or with itself at a different time, that is, different *to*.

Deleuze looks for an 'encounter,' a sensation - one might say an affect - that cannot be thought, that cannot find the empirical category under which an object can be recognized, to illuminate his ideas of difference. Intensity is the characteristic of the encounter, and sets off the process of thinking, while virtuality is the characteristic of the idea; what might come into being but has not yet.

These ideas around encounter and entanglement with our environments and how they are experienced and analyzed have been the subject of much discussion in the practice of geography over recent decades. Crouch, for example, proposes that "we get to know a place with both feet. In this way, contemplation and reflexivity are achieved through practical and embodied involvement in the world" (2000: 73). Taking this further, Carolan tells us that "mind is body; consciousness is corporeal; thinking is sensuous. In short, our understanding of space is more-than-representational. It is a lived process" (2008: 409). Carolan talks further about the ways we engage all our senses including smell, taste and hearing in our surroundings, and proposes that we can only develop this multidimensional understanding of a place through ongoing physical as opposed to theoretical interactions with it (2008: 419, See also Bonta and Protevi 2004: 12).

Dixon and Straughan, inspired by the work of Luce Irigaray, explore specifically geographies of touch. Here they suggest that

> …the body is no longer viewed as a primarily autonomous or self-contained, system for sensory data gathering and haptic assimilation. Instead, emphasis is placed upon the myriad interrelations that are thought to exist between and among the 'interiority' of the human body… and an 'exterior' world of other people, life forms and objects. Paradoxically, it is through these interrelations, it is argued, that a notion of the human is able to emerge. (2010: 450)

And, bringing us back to what geography offers this discussion, they continue,

> geographers have brought to these debates a sensibility to the spatialities of such work, particularly as it bears upon physiological, but also emotive, notions of distance, proximity and all manner of boundaries between self and other, natural and social, interior and exterior, same and different, normal and aberrant. (2010: 456)

They go on to talk about how touch gives one a very different, and possibly more egalitarian, notion of scale than other senses such as sight, which lends itself to a god's eye view (Marston et al. 2005). Touch, and the phrases associated with it (being in touch, losing touch, out of touch), lends itself to a "scale-less" presencing from which a 'world' heritage, with its notions of tangible and intangible, sites, buffer zones, boundaries and States Parties, could find productive. These notions are especially relevant in the context of the management functions of interpretation and engagement, which draw on notions of

identity and its relationship with the self, other and belonging. Here a geography of touch can question received ideas of boundaries and the tangible. In similar vein, Woodward, Jones and Marston (2010) apply Deleuzian ideas and especially that of pure difference to what they term a 'site ontology'; that is, ways of knowing a site. Preference is given to descriptions that capture something of the complex, multiple, dynamic nature of sites, as opposed to abstracted explanations that must, inevitably, fall short against the backdrop of an excessive materiality. They give the example of early scale theory, which focused on formal production (thereby missing the domestic realm and its major contributions to production) to illustrate their point that universalisms can gloss over the details that may produce the circumstances in which a system can get 'jammed': it is these details that are sometimes most interesting about a site and the politics that are at play within and around it. They go on to lay out four 'orientations,' exploring how this way of thinking about and knowing a site can be applied in practice by those doing field-based research.

The first orientation explains how Riemann's paradox - that is, the balancing of large scale and generalized accounts with small scale specific accounts - impacts on the kind of work that has been done and sets the scene for more contemporary work. They conclude that the pure difference of repetitions can become an active, productive element in research rather than being something to be controlled or managed in some way. The second orientation explores the politics at play in the labelling of subjects, drawing attention to the essentialising assumptions that lie behind labels such as 'white' 'male' 'young' and so on. This, it is argued, binds the subject to a transcendental view of subjectivity and its politicality, and directs the researcher away from the emergence of more subtle differences and the specificity that might illuminate a particular site. Rather than use preordained categories that can be applied as explanatory frames, a description of a site must seek out its "grounded specificities". The third orientation is a methodological bricolage: working with what is at hand. Here they draw attention to how methodologies can be dictated by the site rather than being applied to it, ensuring an openness to the specific encounter. Such an approach acknowledges that the site is a "processual bricolage of dynamic, continuous change" and that nothing is exactly repeatable; research is an ongoing process. Finally, the last orientation puts forward the case against the need to work at the same scale (the world) as the systems that are being questioned. That is, they contend that the way that things are changed, rather than the generalizations of politics, is through the specific material situations that can be described through localized observation. As these ideas imply, geography, literally as 'earth writing,' is not only knowledge for its own sake, but is

knowledge with which to do something about the things that are perceived to be wrong in the world.

David Harvey, building on the idea of psychogeography (see Debord 1958, Bassett 2004), talks of a geographical unconscious, a perception that the way that we think about time and space is somehow 'natural' and obvious. He illustrates this with the creation of suburbia in the US, and the production of a certain kind of citizen with a relatively predictable impact on the world around them through their politics and the things that they take for granted. He argues that the way that we think about space and place are not 'natural' but cultural constructs, and can therefore be changed.[7] Here the concept of 'nature' reveals its politicality: if an action is 'natural' it not only appears obvious, but needs no explanation and demands no responsibility to be taken. Harvey goes on to talk of a market driven attraction to spectacle and innovation, often associated with arts practice, and which in turn drive markets and therefore capital growth, often now referred to as 'place-making.' A connection between the domestication of space through gentrification or 'heritagisation' (Harvey 2001), 'development' and arts practice emerges here, where some arts practices are instrumentalised in the work of political entities such as the state or global corporations.

These ways of interacting with and coming to know and understand our worlds underpins this thesis. They impact on the way that I entered and interacted with my fieldwork site, how and where I gathered data and what counted as data. My response to the entanglements and assemblages of the Galápagos, which I go on to outline below, was to employ as many senses as possible in my experience of being there and recording and analysing this experience.

Encountering Galápagos

A few months before my trip to Los Angeles, in December 2012, I attended an exhibition of work that I had watched developing for several years, as a very different model for integrating artists into World Heritage Sites. The idea was to send artists out into the field for a couple of weeks to physically explore the meaning of conservation. It was called *Galápagos*, and showcased the work that had come out of twelve artist residencies in this 'iconic archipelago.' I was particularly drawn towards the work of Marcus Coates, who

[7] www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vs05Joehkyw

explores the relationship between humans and nature; as he put it "how we create nature to suit the needs of ourselves?" (Interview with Marcus Coates 12.12.16). There were three pieces in the gallery, *Human Report,*[8] a five-minute film made in 2008 whilst still in the islands, in which Marcus made a blue footed booby costume for himself using the materials that were available to him there (cardboard and marine paint), allowing him to get into character as a visiting bird observing the human populations of the islands and their behaviour and cultures, and mimicking the role that biologists take in relation to their objects of study. This was broadcast on a popular local TV channel the day that Marcus left, inviting viewers to think differently about some of the conflicts and contradictions of human settlement in the islands and the way in which 'nature' was being objectified. Here, he was questioning what it is to be human, a scientist, an artist, a conservationist, an exotic species, and a Galápagueño[9]. The second piece, *Galápagos Fashions*, was a series of photos of Marcus dressed in "the most glamourous outfit available on Santa Cruz island" (2012: 76), a fluorescent pink dress with a hat and sunglasses, standing next to the giant tortoises in their enclosure near his accommodation at the Charles Darwin Research Station. In 2016, he commented to me that this was a reflection on the tourist gaze and the lack of privacy of these animals that were always in full view of the tourists wandering around the breeding pens. Finally, reacting to his perception of the frequency and apparent hopelessness of their love making efforts, there was a looped film of tortoises attempting to mate. He called this *Intelligent Design*, referencing the creationist movement in Christianity where it is believed that, in view of the complexity of life, God must have created it. In addition to the apparent hopelessness of the tortoises' love making, this was a reference to the proliferation of evangelical Christianity in the islands and the bicentenary of Darwin's birth, which coincided with Coates's visit to the islands and was being celebrated along with the theory of evolution, a direct counterpoint to creationism.

We proceeded to have a long semi-structured conversation about his work, my research, the Galápagos and human-non-human relationships. Two things struck me about this conversation. Firstly, given my specialized interest in World Heritage and UNESCO, that although acutely aware of the highly-designated nature of the islands and the restrictions this imposed on residents, Marcus, like most of the other people who I interviewed, was

[8] vimeo.com/76642498 or www.marcuscoates.co.uk/projects (scroll down to 2008)

[9] In Galápagos, the term Galápagueño is used to refer only to people born in the islands rather than resident in them. It is often mobilized politically to refer to a hierarchy of belonging or even ownership. In this thesis, however, I broaden the term out to refer to those who might create a 'new culture' for Galápagos, and so it includes all residents of the islands.

less aware specifically of the World Heritage designation and how that connected to the detail of the islands' history and how they are perceived. This sense of distance from UNESCO illustrated a divided local/global geography of conservation that had also been clear to me on the Jurassic Coast. Secondly, and related to this, due to his descriptions of arriving at the content for *Human Report*, it crystallized my understanding of the ability of art to collapse the local/global dichotomy prevalent in much of UNESCO's conservation work through their situated practice that addresses far broader topics and thinking. Thirdly, there were his insights into human-non-human relationships that the trip to Galápagos, with its endemic species that showed no fear of humans, had illuminated, for instance his statement:

> So, to be in a position where you're not the one [for the animals] to be afraid of, it makes, it decentralises you. You're not at the centre of things, and you have to look elsewhere, and you're not affecting the place, you're not influencing the place and you feel that indifference even more, and I thought that was a very interesting state to be in because it really shifted my perspective of how I relate to nature… It took your status away from you… and made you super aware of the human influences that are on you, I think, so makes you aware of culture. (Interview with Marcus Coates 12/12/16)

Finally, we discussed art as a way into geography. That is, how it might be used as a methodological and visceral way of addressing questions of agency, affect, representation and performativity[10].

My final selection of Galápagos as my fieldwork destination was facilitated by the encouragement of a family who I had met through my visit to the Galápagos exhibition. The Vazquez's – a large family of artists and creative practitioners – had settled in Galápagos in the 1990s when the five children were still young, following a long-standing relationship with the islands and their fledgling community. One son, Adrian, visited the UK in 2012 to represent Galápagueños during the Galápagos exhibition, and as part of his trip had come to the Jurassic Coast to see England's natural World Heritage site, where I hosted him. Here we had talked at length about Galápagos and World Heritage; his experience and thoughts about being an observer of the project on his visit to the UK; and his family's work over the previous five years or so to develop *The Beagle Festival* in Galápagos that showcased Galápagueño creative work alongside work from other parts of Ecuador, with ambitions to become more international. It also built professional artistic development for Galápagueños into its mission rather than just

[10] Put very simply, how throughout life culture and thought patterns are constantly performed and enacted, and through this are brought into being.

showcasing works. We noted how the residency programme had 'parachuted' artists from Europe into Galápagos but had not formally connected with the arts infrastructure of the islands or of Ecuador more widely, and how this seemed like a missed opportunity for the residents of the islands. For instance, Marcus' visit had coincided with the first Beagle Festival, a connection that might have benefitted both.

In addition to the obligatory BBC programmes by David Attenborough about the Galápagos, and discussions with various friends who had visited, my expectations were substantially shaped by the Galápagos exhibition, and the conversations that I had with Adrian, and subsequently his older brother David and his wife Rose Cairns in the UK, and younger brother Iván who went on to become my translator for some of the trip. In this sense, Iván certainly co-produced aspects of this thesis through his knowledge of the islands and his recommendations for who to interview as well as his translations of the ensuing conversations. Both brothers, Adrian and Iván, initially outlined to me their view that the islands had the most incredible nature, hardly recognizable to European eyes, and this and their iconic role in the development of Darwin's work drew in tourists, but development in the archipelago had been too disorganized to be sustainable. They argued that the scientists who were flown in to study the islands, and now also the artists, were part of the problem as well as part of the solution. That the people who lived on the islands were perhaps the best placed to conserve them, if only they were better and more creatively educated and might therefore come to care more deeply for the environment that surrounds and nourishes them and behave more respectfully towards it. This resonated closely with some of the thinking that I had done around participatory work, engagement and interpretation, and the role of the arts. As such our discussions helped to frame and bring another context to the debates that I set out to untangle, especially the colonial nature of the UN and therefore of World Heritage.

In the context of Galápagos, it is important to note that much of the available literature on the site pivots around the writers' encounters with the islands hoving into sight, and being compared with their varying expectations. Many of the conversations that I had during my stay there, whether they were with first, second or third generation immigrants, also focused on what had brought people to the islands. In reading accounts it sometimes felt as though the length of time in residence on the islands and the memories of past ways of life there were a social currency, a valuing of being in place, perhaps belying a belief in a right to be in the islands (see foot-note 9). In some ways this talk of arrival is not surprizing given that I have focused on English accounts and the permanent population is

relatively small, recent, and Spanish speaking with a tendency towards non-literary occupations in tourism and infrastructure development, leaving writing about the islands primarily to the visitors and scientists. However, the impact is that the islands can be, and have been, fetishized by their visitors. They have been labelled as "The Islands that Changed the World" (Stewart 2007), a "mecca for ecologists" (Sauer 1969), "an island – Galápagos – Indefatigable itself – World's Very End" (Beebe, 1924), "The isles without fear… a Garden of Eden" (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1960), a "Living Laboratory" (widespread in the tourism industry, also the Galapagos Conservancy and various scholarly articles), and a "living museum, and showcase of evolution" (widespread, UNESCO website). If books form a rhizome with the world rather than representing it, these accounts and labels have interacted with the islands and caused them to change course, as, likewise, they have impacted on and subsequently changed their visitors. Unintentionally echoing some of the ideas introduced so far around networks, webs, and Deleuze's rhizomatic connection, one person who I interviewed said:

> But I did come here and I can only say that if you imagine that we're all on a string – we're all being pulled along a string somewhere, and at different times the strings intersect and sometimes they get knotted around each other and cannot be pulled apart. And that's the only way I can describe what happened to me when I came to the Galápagos is that the islands and I were heading in a non-parallel direction and got tied up, and so it took me about 11 years to realize that I might actually have to start calling the Galápagos a permanent place. (Interview with Ros Cameron. 05.06.15)

Many writers go on to discuss the contemporary challenges that the islands and their inhabitants face, and there have been some interesting cross-disciplinary studies that involve varying perspectives on their conservation (see for instance Ruiz-Ballesteros and Brondizio 2013, Hofkin et al. 2003, Gonzalez, Montes, Rodriguez, and Tapia 2008, Cairns 2011, Wellbeloved-Stone 2014, Bassett 2009, Nicholls 2014). However, despite the presence of the Institute for Arts and Sciences (a branch of the Universidad de San Francisco de Quito) on San Cristóbal, scientific research predominates over humanities or social science research on the archipelago, and with it an emphasis on objectivity, repeatable methodology and often the grand narrative of heroic encounter followed by an anthropocentric and still heroic rescue of the 'Paradise in Peril' (Cairns 2011). Indeed, Darwin himself likened the islands to 'the infernal regions' suggesting that redemption was needed:

> We landed for an hour on the NW end of Chatham Island. These islands at a distance have a sloping uniform outline, excepting where broken by sundry paps & hillocks. The whole is black Lava, completely covered by small leafless brushwood & low trees. The fragments of Lava where most porous is… reddish & like cinders;

> the stunted trees show little signs of life. The black rocks heated by the rays of the Vertical sun like a stove, give to the air a close & sultry feeling. The plants also smell unpleasantly. The country was compared to what we might imagine the cultivated parts of the Infernal regions to be. (Darwin's diaries. September 16th 1835. From darwin-online.org.uk/)

Historically encounters like this that 'other' the encountered are often followed by justifications for domination and assimilation, implying a certain control over and responsibility for the islands and their unique inhabitants; of protection and patronage, maybe even patronization. Indeed, Eibl-Eibesfeldt draws on Darwin's connection with the islands to claim that "the peculiar animal world of the Galápagos served to provide a fundamental concept for our view of the world's natural history" (1960:19). He then uses his descriptions of the islands' inhabitants and the threat of "Man, the most dangerous of all living creatures" (ibid) to justify his calls to the IUCN for a research station to be set up: "I drew a realistic picture of the situation and stated that only the establishment of a biological station with a permanent warden could, in the long run, provide effective protection" (ibid: 21). And so, the Ecuadorian government agreed to the 'National' Park being set up and managed by the Charles Darwin Foundation for its first nine years, before Ecuador took back control.

All of this and more bore on me as I made my own preparations to travel to undertake research. Due to a lack of funding, the 2014 Beagle festival, which had been intended to be the most ambitious yet with a fledgling partnership with the UK, and which I had been intending as the focus of my fieldwork, was cancelled in the end, meaning that the timing of my fieldwork was less fixed. As it turned out, this was quite a relief as a close family member had a sudden stroke the week before the festival had been scheduled, and subsequently died after three months in hospital. It also meant that my field trip to the site itself had to be limited to five weeks[11], take place after my own scheduled surgery rather than before, and that my partner had to come with me as I was not yet strong enough to carry my own bags. We flew first to Madrid, then long haul on to Quito where we stopped overnight before flying on to the Galápagos early the following morning. Everything seemed to go fairly smoothly as we found our way out of the airport in Quito and to the hotel car that was waiting for us.

The next morning we struggled to wake in the dark at 4am, but made it in good time to the airport, where we missed the calls (in Spanish, without any amplification, in my defence)

[11] Incidentally the same amount of time that Darwin spent in the archipelago on his Beagle voyage 180 years earlier.

for passengers on our flight to skip to the front of the queue that we had been standing in for two hours. This meant that we were 90 seconds late for the baggage drop, were not allowed to get on the plane, and we were suddenly officially 'no-shows.' Consequently all our flights from that point, including our return flights to the UK, were cancelled. We did not know it at the time, but this was our first run in with the Special Law for the Galápagos (LOREG). It was also a route into performative geographies of sound: if only the call had been amplified and our perception of it changed accordingly into something that we perceived to be more formal, that pervaded the space of the airport differently, we might have been more proactive in finding out what it was about. Instead, as the airline employees moved around the queue quietly speaking to various people as they went, it appeared through our cultural lens that they were approaching known passengers and passing on individualised pieces of information rather than calling for all passengers on the flight.

To travel from the UK to Galápagos was facilitated by increasingly joined up systems of transport, finance, and international cooperation, including healthcare, the world-wide web and other virtual connections, alongside the development of the tourism industry and the resulting development that has taken place to accommodate this over the last four or so decades. Nevertheless, the fieldwork arrangements were not straightforward and reflect, as ever, my own cultural assumptions. In part due to my lack of fluent Spanish and in part due to the expectation of the Galápagos National Park Directorate (GNPD) that all 'researchers' are 'scientists,' the GNPD found it hard to know how to advise me regarding formal requirements for a research visa for research in the humanities, and I found it hard to understand their advice. They kept referring to 'scientists' and I kept explaining that I was not a scientist until I realized, after I had arrived, that it was a simple error of translation and when they talked about 'scientists' I should understand it as 'researchers.' This resulted in my arriving in the islands after months of correspondence (broken up by helping with funeral arrangements, grieving family and surgery), under a tourist visa expecting the National Park Authority, who were charged with managing the World Heritage site, to issue me with a research visa on arrival. When I got to San Cristóbal I went to their offices as instructed, was told that I needed to come to the offices in Puerto Ayora once I arrived back on Isla Santa Cruz ten days later. I was then told to come back the following day, and then the day after that and several days later, that I needed to be working in partnership with an Ecuadorian researcher formally affiliated with an Ecuadorian research institute in order to be eligible. My partnership with the Vazquez family and their invitation to research their festival could not be formally

acknowledged. Clearly, it was not possible to broker an academic partnership such as this after my arrival with only three weeks of fieldwork remaining by the time we met, and I was advised to continue with the tourist visa, meaning that I could not have formal direct access to the GNPD staff and programmes. This series of events were a second encounter with the Special Law for the Galápagos, which was prominent during my stay, as it was being reformed. It also further encouraged me to concentrate on the lives of the people in the towns, which had already been intriguing me, steering me away from the official discourse of the GNPD, and towards the other people who live in Galápagos. This is an everyday 'living with' that is not a grand encounter with the "other" as 'a living laboratory' or 'an island paradise' or 'the infernal regions.'

Whilst I intentionally went into the field with some naivety, I had intended to spend more time before I left researching the islands, but this was compromised by other life events over which I had no control. I knew the archipelago was to be found in the Pacific Ocean about 600 miles west of, and belonging to Ecuador, straddling the equator, and that there were more than 100 islands and islets. I knew that they came into being around 5 million years ago, as the result of volcanic activity over a hotspot in the Nazca Plate near its meeting point with the Pacific, Cocos, Antarctic and South American Plates. That as the Nazca Plate moves towards and drops underneath the South American plate, the islands are sinking and being slowly ferried towards the east, leaving an underwater mountain range running along the sea-bed towards mainland Ecuador. I knew roughly what the climate would be like at that time of year, although I arrived in the middle of an El Niño event that wasn't confirmed until after I had left. It was raining more and the seas were warmer than was usual for the time of year. I knew that there were a lot of NGOs doing 'good work' on the islands, what some of these were and the kinds of work that they were doing. I knew that Darwin had visited 180 years before and that this had been an important part of the Beagle voyage that had led him to begin to theorize about the origin of species and evolutionary processes. I knew where the four inhabited islands could be found within the archipelago, and a little local history about them, their colonization, and influence of UNESCO, but in many ways I did not know what to expect, and this felt like the right attitude with which to meet the islands and my fieldwork given my circumstances and the philosophy that had influenced my work so far.

And so, finally, we arrived: exhausted, relieved, excited, vulnerable, frustrated, grieving. And this cacophony of emotions was mirrored in the wall of sounds, images, sensations, languages and expectations that greeted us. The following excerpt, written as

part of a blog in the immediate aftermath of arrival, and slightly edited for use in a talk on my return, displays something of this visceral encounter with Galápagos:

> I arrived in Galápagos on May 17th. My first experiences set the tone for the field trip. I saw a huge bird from the plane as we were landing. It was a great frigatebird riding the air currents above the tarmac of the runway. These are a common sight in Galápagos – more common than the tarmac at least. On leaving the plane we were hit by a wall of hot humid air. We waited in the immigration queue and to pay our entry fee to the National Park Authority which manages the islands and then got on a crowded bus at the airport that took us a few hundred yards down to the water where we all got a little ferry that took us across the narrow strip of sea from Isla Baltra to Isla Santa Cruz. On arrival on Santa Cruz, we had to get a pickup truck taxi to take us from the north to the south coast, to the main town of the island, and of the archipelago in terms of both tourism and population, so that we could get an inter-island ferry to Puerto Baquerizo Moreno on Isla San Cristóbal, the administrative centre of the archipelago, where the family live who had helped me to develop my ideas for my fieldwork, and with whom I had arranged to stay for the first ten days in their hostel.
>
> The ferry was due to leave in 33 minutes, and the drive normally takes around 35, so the taxi driver put his foot down and we sped along the dirt road, across the rocky green highlands; a landscape of sharp red-black boulders, with greenery growing out of every possible gap, blanketed by mist or *garua*. Soon we were driving through the agricultural area of Santa Cruz and then on down the hill into the town, and across it to the jetty where the water taxis and inter-island ferries leave from. We had one minute to go. After our experience in Quito, I tumbled out of the car and ran down the jetty to look for the man with the clipboard who Iván had told me to look out for. Matt paid the taxi driver, and followed me down the jetty with our bags. We found the man with the clip-board, and he pointed us down one of the ramps to the water taxi which took us and ten or so other people out into the harbour to the various ferries and cruise ships that were about to leave for all corners of the archipelago.
>
> Our 'ferry' was more like a speed boat, with three enormous outboard motors on the back and benches down each side seating about fifteen people. We sat down in the last free seats which were at the front of the boat, put on our life jackets, and the boat pulled out of the calm waters of the harbour and into the sea where five great ocean currents meet, creating some of the most iconic biodiversity on the planet. Today, though, these currents made their presence known to us by creating big waves that the little speed boat smacked into again and again, sending us flying out of our seats and then slamming back down into them as we passed Isla Santa Fé and finally saw San Cristóbal come into sight two hours later. Finally we slowed down, entered the harbour and pulled up at the jetty and there, to my great relief, waiting for us was Iván. He grabbed one of my bags, and we walked past the sea lions lounging around like vagrants along the jetty, past the bright orange sally lightfoot crabs that were dancing around on the black rocks, and along the *malecon* past another little sea lion colony on a beach and up the road to the house. Iván showed us how to use the water filter as the tap water often contains dangerous bacteria. We sat with him and talked about our trip so far and our plans, and got eaten alive by mosquitoes that had taken up residence in a nearby pool of water created by a partially finished building project. Eventually we got hungry and he recommended a restaurant. It was raining, soft warm rain. We walked the five minutes or so to the restaurant, where we sat soaked through, ate an enormous meal, and wandered back and to bed. In the night I woke feeling odd. Matt was

> feeling odd too. Food poisoning. We were up for most of the night. I won't go into detail, but needless to say it wasn't dignified.
>
> And so my fieldwork continued. Amazing animals and plants. The sun was so strong that it burned you in minutes. There was no fresh water on two of the four inhabited islands. Much of this I 'knew' before I arrived – I had done some background reading about the history, nature and politics of the archipelago and what the current issues were, and talked to several people about their experiences of the islands – but that didn't prevent the experience of arriving from having a huge, visceral impact on me. No wonder so many academics think of fieldwork as a heroic activity.

This excerpt evidences a series of expectations as to arriving at an unfamiliar place, and attempts to mediate this experience. Every sensation was new, the colours seemed brighter, the sounds clearer, time seemed to pass more slowly. Every animal was foreign but familiar from nature programmes, as was the language and culture, and there was a pressure to navigate this quickly. It also makes evident a related corporeal vulnerability that, I think, resonates to a degree with other narratives of encounter with these islands. Many of those who wrote about Galápagos were in search of water and food, and were often disappointed. An alternative name, *Las Islas Encantadas* (The Enchanted Isles), originally refers not to the romantic sense of 'enchantment' that is often assumed, but rather the currents, mists, jagged rocks, and the often-dehydrated hallucinogenic state of those approaching, that make the islands seem as though they are moving around, making the place so hard to navigate and potentially perilous. The foreignness of the islands heightened the senses, enabling and catalysing a multi-sensory interaction as I began my participant observation and ethnographic exploration of their conservation, and examined how it affected me and those around me.

Methods, planned

Thinking about, anticipating, reading about and talking with others on the subject of Galápagos are all components of an expanded notion of the field (c. f. Woodward et al 2010, Livingstone 2003, Driver 2000, Finnegan 2010). The field is not opposed to 'the desk' but entangled with it, and indeed my fieldwork included a significant amount of desk research as I trawled the UNESCO and Darwin online archives. In attempting to understand the overall 'field' of conservation and international politics broadly, as well as in the specific application of these fields in Galápagos, I wanted to approach the field in as open a manner as I could. This task hence included the archival exploration of the emergence of 'conservation' as a field, as well as grounded exploration of mundane

practices in Galápagos. These different methods, archival and encounter-based, informed one another throughout my thesis research, and so chapter three, in which I explore the history, structure and work of UNESCO, forms part of the fieldwork rather than part of the literature review, or a context setting exercise.

In addition to semi-structured interviewing with people in Galápagos, people working for IUCN or artists who had worked with the Galápagos in various ways, I planned methods such as immersive walking, journal keeping, sound, and expanded listening (Gallagher et al 2017), to bring my attention fully to my situation at hand, and to open up alternative ways of perceiving and thinking about the archipelago. This extended the palette of participant 'observation' to other senses, whilst maintaining something of the attention to co-production and immersive experience that the detailed journal keeping attempts to capture. Perhaps it could be called 'participant sensory immersion' or 'participatory aesthetics.' It also attempted to not only bring attention to other human life ways, but to more-than-human ways and paths. I also left space for informal methodologies that emerged during my time in the field as events unfolded in my personal life as well as in my surroundings. This openness and diversity of methodologies was an insurance policy against losing data or the fieldwork not going to plan. I start here with the methodologies that I had planned before arriving in the field, and will return to methodologies throughout as emergent in themselves, the result of singular events. My more inventive methodologies were informed by a pilot trip to the St Kilda archipelago off the west coast of the Outer Hebrides in 2014, where I experimented with sound recording, journal keeping and blogging, and thinking about islands and archipelago World Heritage Sites.

Ethnography and Participant Observation/ Multi-sensory Immersion

Ethnography, or literally, to coin Marcus and Clifford's (1986) term, 'writing culture,' is the practice of close 'observation'[12] in encountering the 'other' as well as the 'self.' Coming from Social Anthropology, it seemed 'natural' to me to write in the first person and include myself and my experiences in my write up in order to situate the research that I did and provide some familiarity with the circumstances that shaped it. Having been influenced by books such as *Never In Anger* (1960) by Jean Briggs and other early ethnographic, some might say autoethnographic, texts as an undergraduate, my work since has been somewhat personal and intuitive; my own voice and identity, values and ethics,

[12] Observation implies the visual, and participatory implies a more experiential exchange. Here I use the terminology for familiarity, but observation includes the other senses as laid out below, a sensory paying attention.

have played a central role to the work that I have done and the way in which I have done it. Pace (2012) points out that many artists have begun to use autoethnography as a way of giving weight to their work by formalizing the research that they undertake in the making of their art, situating it within an academically recognized methodology. In the other direction, it has spread from Social Anthropology into other Social Sciences; and, as pointed out by Butz and Besio (2009), an 'autoethnographic sensibility' continues to be used to situate the researcher within the research, as a key factor in what is recorded as data, how and also what is missed. By acknowledging the situatedness of the multiple voices, including that of the researcher, that make up the research, it has worked to level the field between researcher, object, subject, partner, collaborator and so on. Similarly, it has also enabled engagement with slippery subject matter such as emotions, affect, representation and an emergent world (Ellis and Bochner 2017) that are difficult to capture with more objective research methods. I am hesitant to call myself either an ethnographer (I was only in the field for five weeks) or an autoethnographer, as my sense is that these labels, like other categorizations, continue to work to over-simplify a complex world. What I have attempted here is to work in an emergent manner that I find intuitively fits within the theoretical framework outlined above.

For me this translated as keeping a journal in as much detail as was possible throughout the trip, noting my activities for each day, anything that struck me as interesting, and how I felt about events. I also recorded as much as I could visually and through sound and occasionally video. I tended to write my journal first thing in the morning for the previous day, having let things settle overnight and also taking advantage of the mornings in which I found myself better able to analyze and contextualise what I had experienced and encouraging thinking about the wider questions of my research before I started that day's activities. A day-by-day breakdown of my fieldwork can be seen in appendix 1. I had hoped that I would be able to employ participant observation to time spent with National Park Staff, in which I could observe closely what they were doing. However, as things turned out, my participant observation was mostly applied to the experience of being a tourist in the islands, booking hotels, taking a few excursions, visiting popular tourist destinations, trying to pick up and use more Spanish, talking to people in shops, buying food at the markets and restaurants. This drew my attention to how the infrastructure serviced different groups of people. I also used these techniques when I attended the 'Agents of Change' showcase (see chapter six) and went along on a few of the protests about the proposed changes to the LOREG giving me a feel for where these took place, how they felt and were organized, and who was taking part.

The excursions that I went on also brought me into close proximity with some of the animals and plants of the islands, gaining a better understanding of some of their habits and behaviours by, for instance, snorkelling with sea lions and turtles (see chapter six). Again this helped me to think about the conservation practices in the islands, and concepts such as all life having agency of some kind, and how this might play out. The bringing together of human geography with more-than-human studies, and an expanded concept of culture as it is assigned to animals and ecosystems, enabled the methodological use of ethnography beyond the study only of human culture, and with an expanded notion of 'writing.'

Semi-structured interviews

Participant observation and ethnography as outlined above, along with a series of interviews, formed the backbone of my planned research. Secord (2010) outlines that interviews are a good way to understand individual perspectives and for me gave a lot of flexibility in terms of fitting around the busy schedules of those people who could provide some insight into the various aspects of conservation practice. Before I left the UK, I set some questions and these formed part of my information sheet, which was given to all interviewees along with a consent form to sign either before we met or, on meeting, before we began the interview. I also supplemented this information with a verbal explanation of the project, my methodology, what to expect over the coming years regarding what was discussed, and an opportunity to clarify anything that was not clear. Examples of these form appendices 2 and 3. The questions on the information sheet were:

- What do you know about the natural history of the Galápagos? How did you gain this knowledge?
- How does your life interact with the nature of the islands? For example, is your work related to nature? Are your social activities related, walking, swimming etc?
- How has this interaction with nature shaped you as a person, your values, beliefs, sense of humour, career choice etc?
- What, if anything, does the fact that the Galápagos are designated a natural World Heritage Site mean to you? Are there other designations, for example "National Park", that mean more or less to you, or that have a greater impact on your life and behaviour?
- What is (or isn't) important about UNESCO designation?
- What do you consider 'heritage' and 'creative practices' to be? What do you think the role of creative practices are in heritage? What do you think creative practices can bring to the Galápagos World Heritage Site in particular?

- What (if any) projects incorporating creative practices have taken place around the Site, physically or conceptually, in the last five years or so and what history (if any) does this build on?
- What you would like to see happen at this site, for instance arts projects, more science, more or less regulation, better communication etc?

I was attempting to gain an insight into the views of the people I met around concepts of nature, culture, and conservation; as well as their perception of the islands that they call home, and of the story of their interaction with these islands. I used these questions to form the structure of interviews, asking some or all of them in each interview depending on relevance. For instance, asking a Naturalist Guide 'what do you know about the natural history of Galápagos?' would have used up all the time that I had with them, and whilst interesting would not address my research questions about creativity in conservation. So, on some occasions, I acknowledged questions and then skipped past them in order to make the best use of the time that people had very kindly allocated to help me with my research. As each interview unfolded, I also supplemented the questions with further questions to clarify their answers or to explore a perspective that emerged during the course of the conversation.

On arrival I talked with Iván, who had begun to set up interviews with a range of people who he thought would help with my research, based on his understanding of it. We agreed the people who I should meet in the first ten days of the research, which were spent with him on Isla San Cristóbal. He translated the form and questions into Spanish so interviewees could work in their first language. Most interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, although one or two lasted far longer with invitations to interviewees' houses and to share food. I carried out a total of twenty-five interviews during the course of the five weeks (see Figure 1). On return to the UK, I filled in a cover sheet for each interview, identifying how I had met that contact, what technology I had used in communicating with them, whether I needed to consider anything, for instance anonymity, in using the material generated. Some interviewees expressed a preference for anonymity, and where this was the case I have used pseudonyms. I also outlined what my hopes and expectations for the interview were, and what, if anything, had surprized me about the conversation we had. An example of this sheet can also be seen in appendix 4.

Many of the people I interviewed expressed a preference to work in Spanish. In San Cristóbal this was relatively easy, as I had arranged for Iván to work with me in both arranging meetings and translating. Generally he translated as we talked, so I recorded his

translation as well as the interviewee talking in Spanish. This worked well, as even when my Spanish improved, body language and context would be lost on my return, and there were subtle translations that were only clear to a fluent speaker. When, after ten days, I travelled to Santa Cruz, Iván had helped me to make contact with a Naturalist Guide and Magno Bennett; and, via snowballing, other interviewees came through them, followed by further recommendations. Finding further translators proved difficult in Santa Cruz, and so I relied on people's generosity or only interviewed people who could speak English, which obviously imposed limitations on my research. There was a musician, Jonathan Zielke, working with non-profit arts organization *Casa de la Cultura*, who was interested in the research and very generous in translating my conversations there. Another interviewee roped his son into translating. In Isabela, I found someone willing to take on the work, but the practicalities of fitting around other commitments proved difficult. Having a translator added another layer of knowledge and information, but meant that I do not have direct quotes from some of the interviews.

Figure 1: Interview timetable

Name	date of interview	How I found them	Language?
Adrian Vazquez	19/6	Original contact	Spanish
Hugo Idrovo	19/6	Through Iván	Spanish
Magno Bennett	19/6	Through Iván	Spanish
Amy L Kumpf	18/6	Through Iván	English
Pablo (El Pablito)	16/6	Through Iván/ Mary	Spanish
Xiomara	16/6	Through Iván/ Mary	Spanish
Pablo Valladares	16/6	Through Mary	English
Leonardo Garcia	16/6	Through Mary	Spanish
Junior Torres	16/6	Through Mary	English
Gaby Rivaolereira Gil	16/6	Through Mary	Spanish
David Puente	15 & 16/6	Through Mary	English
Gandy Guerrero	12/6	Through Ros	Spanish
Valeria Tamayo	11/6	Through Ros	English
Joachim Lastdrager	11/6	Through Ros	English
Ros Cameron	5/6 & 12/6	Through Ivonne	English
María Gonzalez	11/6	Through Ros	English
Viviana Varela	8/6 & 9/6	Through Magno	Spanish
Jonathan Zielke	5/6 & 8/6	Through Magno	English
Ivonne Torres	2/6	Through Iván	English
Iván Vazquez	26/5	Though Adrian	English
Tobias Idrovo	24/5	Through Iván	Spanish
Federico Idrovo B	24/5	Through Iván	Spanish

Milton Camilo Aguas San Miguel	23/5	Through Iván	Spanish
Jaime Ricaute	23/5	At the market	Spanish
Hipolito Ortiz	23/5	At the market	Spanish
Eduardo Toscano Soria	22/5	Through Iván	Spanish
Cecilio Quinapanta	21/5	Through Iván	Spanish
Paulina Cango	21/5	Through Iván	Spanish
Angel Quimis	20/5	Through Iván	Spanish

Expanding Expanded Sensory Immersion: Framing and Representing

When thinking visually of a place like Galápagos, due to our previous interaction with the islands through nature programmes and the tourism industry, or if we are one of the few people who knows someone who has been and has a first-hand account, we[13] expect to see images like this:

[13] Here 'we' refers to both people broadly from my culture in Western Europe, and also to Ecuadorians; several people during interviews said that they never dreamed that they would or could live there when they were younger, that in the Ecuadorian popular culture the Galápagos were thought of a remote place predominantly for scientists. One Ecuadorian, Valeria, said: "I thought about it as… something far away, as very untouchable, like a paradise I think that's part of something that happens on the mainland, but you don't have the opportunity to come here, you think that the Galápagos as being untouchable… Like, with very few people living here and they're all scientists and they're all in conservation… so you never think, and this happens to my family and to many friends that are like how are the animals like there and they're like how many people live there, and they are like shocked when I tell them this is like this … So images which the islands show and sell are not the real Galápagos."

Figure 2: Sea lions on the beach in San Cristóbal. 17 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

And are potentially a little disappointed with images like that shown in figure 3, taken a few metres away, but framed differently and looking at 90 degrees to the first image:

Figure 3: Sea lions on the beach in San Cristóbal. 17 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

To illustrate what thinking aurally and especially expanded listening bring to the frame, the sound recording that I captured after the first image and before the second, from the same location as the first picture reveals another dimension to this space (track one on memory stick)

This excerpt captures the sea lion colony, which (who?) sound a bit like sheep, their coughing at times[14], music that was being played over a PA in the square while de-rigging a community event, and children playing. The framing of this assemblage of sounds is a very different process to the framing of an image. It is framed and edited, but normally the framing is constrained by the medium being time-based and recorded as a whole, so far

[14] I was told by several people in Galápagos, including a Masters student that was studying this, that this colony was susceptible to colds, possibly the result of urbanization

harder to reduce to its individual elements than are images, for instance by zooming, or pointing away from and therefore excluding people and buildings. If people make a sound during a recording, it is captured and very hard to edit out. It therefore always captures something of the complexity and texture of the experience of being somewhere, and so lends itself to the more-than-human analysis.

Expanding Expanded Sensory Immersion: Sound Recording

> Geographers routinely listen to and make sounds… but in most cases these practices are not adequately theorized or subjected to critical reflection… As a discipline addressing the earth in all its diversity, geography needs to develop broader sonic sensibilities. Every space and place sounds and resounds, every living body and being vibrates, and every kind of material, object and surface has acoustic properties. Conceiving of listening in a narrowly anthropocentric way is wholly inadequate for understanding this profoundly polyphonic world. **An expanded conception of listening** concerns the *responsiveness of bodies encountering sound* – bodies of any and every kind, in different ways and contexts. (Gallagher, Kanngieser and Prior 2017: 2-3 original italics, bold emphasis my own)

I have been interested in ideas of sound in geography, and how it changes how we perceive and are affected by places for many years. I explored this further through my fieldwork, following some training with Michael Gallagher in 2014. Gallagher, Kanngieser and Prior go on to argue that a sonic sensibility "positions sound not only as inherently spatial, but also as a force that disrupts and reworks common spatial concepts such as boundary, territory, place, scale, and landscape"; what is more, "the phenomenology of listening, physical vibration in materials, and the meanings produced… need to be considered simultaneously" (2017: 3). Sounds thus "both produce spaces and are produced by them in all kinds of ways… Rather than reducing sound to fit a narrow set of listening practices, those practices must be expanded to encompass the diversity and multiplicity of sound" (2017: 4-5).

In further exploring theories of sound in geography, I was drawn towards work by Jones (2012, 2016) looking at affect, sound, memory and emotion (such as grief). He and the artist Louise Fairclough explore the role of sound in experiencing our worlds, cautioning against pitting it against any other sense, but attending to sound as it "folds together [with vision] in affective becoming" (2016: 102). Sound is, then, an important part of what makes a place distinctive, and shapes how one interacts with it, the memories that are made, and the experience of being with it:

> Listening provides an additional channel of knowledge, producing insights into scale, materiality and landscape morphology that are not available through other ways of knowing. (Gallagher et al 2017: 7)

They also suggest that sound "pervades environments in excess of, and irreducible to, any individual or group, destabilizing the notion of an individuated, 'conscious,' listening subject" (2017: 9). This again points us to think about co-producing our worlds, world here being an interaction between the body and its environment rather than an objective material thing. Using sound and all the senses perhaps gives us different ways into thinking more plurally about space and its properties. Adding to this, Jones and Fairclough argue that:

> sound has particular and complex relations to emotion and affect within the tensions of self-in-landscape. This is so of sounds received through the senses and sounds made through cries and other means. These can be multi-register and multi-directional from land to self and from self to land, and to others and affectively transmit grief and of course other emotions too – for example joy. (2016: 109)

They also suggest that hearing is a defensive sense that can pick up danger in the environment at the same time as we do something else, for instance sleep. In terms of re-framing the notion of threat in the context of conservation I found this interesting. What does the practice of conservation seek to protect and from what? Perhaps I could sense a different way of understanding value, threat, and protection by listening to rather than looking at or talking about the Galápagos. Responding to this, I decided to explore Galápagos through expanded listening at times, and facilitated this by taking a good quality sound recorder with me. I used this to record interviews and informal conversations, and also to record experiences and walks that I did through the towns and along tourist routes, giving an alternative data set for the participant observation and ethnography that I was undertaking.

Expanding Expanded Sensory Immersion: Photography

> What would happen to the way we think, to the things we know, to the relationships we enter, to our experience of time and space, if we fully took on board the idea that the world is for hearing rather than beholding, for listening to, rather than for looking at? (Smith, 2000: 615)

The contrast between the different senses is also highlighted by photography, which has always fascinated me, particularly the concurrent state of a photograph as material object, that objectifies its subject and subjectifies the assumed objectivity of the photographer – why that frame, what is being represented, by and for whom, with what purpose and to what effect? The dominance of vision in Western culture has been argued to be one of the reasons for the linear, analytic organization of Western worlds (Classen 1993: 5) and also any sense of objectivity – it is the sense furthest removed from our bodies (Ong 1969: 637) as light interacts with our materiality and perception not by chemically binding as smell

and taste do, or the two-way experience of touch, which is to both feel one's own body and something beyond it; finally, hearing is perceived through the physical interaction of the environment's vibrations and body parts, in this case the ossicles and cochlea. Vision externalises the world around us, rather than bringing it into our bodies, interacting kinetically or chemically, vision seems less of an exchange with the environment.

Photography emerged at the same time as the industrial revolution, Anthropology and the taxonomic ordering of the worlds that were being encountered as the Empire grew. It has therefore been used extensively in ethnography as a way of recording and representing. Through its 'realistic' capturing of an event, it became a way of communicating the 'truth' of these orderings and so justifying colonization. However, what were perceived and offered as 'truths' were two dimensional captures of four dimensional events, freezing time, and always from the perspective of the photographer. They therefore said more about their culture than that of those who they were immortalising, who were often dressed up for the occasion and carefully positioned to demonstrate their 'otherness' and primitivism. For instance, early Anthropologist Franz Boas asked his Kwakiutl subjects to dress in traditional clothes for his photographs, therefore presenting how he, and they, imagined their culture *had been* rather than how it was during his visit, and amplifying their difference. This changed as ethnography grew as a practice that valued depth in the study of cultures: as early as the 1930s, Malinowski argued that it was "a technique perceived as recording surface rather than depth, which was the business of the anthropologist" (1934: 461 cited in Edwards, 1992). By the 1990s acknowledgement was taking place of the processual emergent nature of photography (see Scherer 1992, Edwards 1995), in which not only the photograph but the process by which it was taken needed to be considered before any information can be gained from it.

I used photography, bearing these issues in mind, to communicate some aspects of the visual experience of the islands, and as a way of 'capturing' the habits of people and animals. I intended to use images with sounds and writing to capture as many aspects of place as I could whilst in the islands, both to remind me of what I had experienced whilst there, and to communicate something of this.

Expanding Expanded Sensory Immersion: Walking

> When did our walk begin? When will it ever end? We cannot remember and will never know. Walking in this regard is much like talking, and both are quintessential features of what we take to be a human form of life… Life itself is as much a long

> walk as it is a conversation, and the ways along which we walk are those along which we live… (Ingold and Vergunst 2008: 1)

Walking is a feature of what it is to be human. I would add that further to human, it is also a feature of what it is to be a large number of animals, and it is already more-than-human in a less literal way in that it is an unfolding. By walking through a landscape both we and it is changed. Building on this and ideas of the performativity of walking (Heddon 2012), Ingold and Vergunst go on to suggest "the landscape of inhabitants should be compared not to a stage that they perform *upon* but a tapestry *within* which their own lives are interwoven" (2008: 8). This idea of a processual 'being with' a place, and co-producing it with others as we move, is also explored by Wylie (2005) through various stages and moments of his walk along the south west coast path. He explains that as he walks through the woods they seem immediately endless, but when he stops they become endlessly immediate. He goes on to point out that walking in and of itself does not necessarily lead to an embodiment of the landscape, but it does impact the affect that the landscape has on a person, their perception of it and so their description and interpretation of it. Walking with a landscape is a different experience to sitting and looking at it, examining a map of it, or hearing, reading or looking at somebody else's account of it, and therefore can provide a different mode of analysis. He goes on to explore the spectrality of the walker, suggesting that the entanglements between walker and landscape continue to emerge even when the walker has turned the next corner. The walker and their footprints, traces of DNA, animals that they have unintentionally disturbed or protected, twigs that have snapped, branches that have snarled, become part of the walk, and so part of the landscape. Meanwhile, and as the memory and embodiment of the walk, limbs become fitter or feet have more blisters. Hence, "[t]o haunt a landscape is to supplement and disturb it. Equally, passing-through is at once passing into and emerging from" (2005: 246).

I walked almost everywhere on the islands, helping me to understand their geography, the relative distances and ease of travel between different areas of the town, and the aesthetic properties of the various parts of town, how and where these changed. On several occasions I planned a route to follow and observe, sometimes taking pictures, sometimes recording the sound of the whole walk, sometimes just moments of it. I also moved through the environment in other ways, for instance snorkelling, on boats, cars and planes. These constant encounters aimed to haunt the Galápagos and acknowledge its haunting of me, to consciously form a rhizome with the islands themselves and their people, animals and plants.

Geographies of Rhythm

As a way of drawing all my methodologies together, I want to turn very briefly to rhythm. Lefebvre argues that "Everywhere where there is an interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm (2004: 15 in Edensor 2010: 69)." Edensor (2010, 2014) explores the role that rhythm plays in our understanding of place and its time. His analysis draws on psychogeography in that he draws our attention to the rhythms that are all around us, the routines that we practice walking to work or school, eating, sleeping, shopping and so on, and draws on Crang to outline how "we can identify the distinctive characteristics of place according to its 'polyrhythmic ensemble'" (Edensor, 2014). Every place has a unique rhythm. Deleuze and Guattari talk about the rhythms pertained in the process of stratification, the ordering of chaos, and the "continual, renewed creation" (1987: 553) of the world. They go on to observe that "Classical artists are like God, they make the world by organizing forms and substances, codes and milieus, and rhythms" (ibid). Here, the rhythms connect the actual with the virtual, describing processes of territorialization and deterritorialization and the scales of time and space over which these occur. Observing these rhythms and also the polyvocalities at play in any space highlights the singularity of every experience as it interacts with the experiences of other beings.

Edensor's paper looks specifically at the rhythms produced through walking, but here I expand this to think about how the rhythms of a place can connect different modes of thinking; the rhythms that are revealed in the deep time of geology and the life cycles and migration routes of animals and plants with the rhythms of human daily and annual activities, bodily rhythms of walking, breathing and the pulse, the seasons and days, traffic lights, and bus and train schedules; and how these manifest simultaneously with a landscape and what this can reveal about it. For my thinking in Galápagos, there were human rhythms of cruise schedules and the allocated slots that people have at various visitor sites. There were the non-human rhythms of the migration routes of whales, sea birds and other animals as they arrive and leave the archipelago to breed and feed, climate and weather events such as El Niño, and the daily routes of the residents to and from work. Here the scale and singularity of the rhythms can give an insight into the priorities and patterns of different species and other cycles such as the rock cycle interacting with the islands, confirming ideas around a non-linear time and helping to put the human interaction in its place alongside other elements that influence the ecosystem of the islands and the marine reserve. These can be mapped over and against the more mechanical human rhythms of World Heritage, the annual conferences, subscription rounds for World Heritage status, and the related conservation patterns of reporting, management meetings,

Management Plans, research, fund raising and so on. These singular polyrhythmic ensembles of a place, of a World Heritage site, could perhaps reframe the threat inherent in conservation, to check the health of an ecosystem and how it interacts with management and conservation practices and policies; perhaps to re-world it by drawing attention to the interactions in the rhythms. For instance, if they become too mechanical, perhaps the islands are being dominated by human stratifications.

Piloting Methods at St Kilda

In 2014 I had the opportunity to travel to St Kilda, Britain's most remote World Heritage site. Like Galápagos, it is also an archipelago, situated off the west coast of Scotland, about 40 miles further out into the Atlantic than the Outer Hebrides. I used this as an opportunity to test out some of the ideas and theories that I had come across during my first year of research and before travelling to Galápagos. I subsequently wrote about my encounter with the islands (see appendix 5). This experience gave me the opportunity to test some of the methodologies that I wanted to apply, think through the implications of working with equipment in remote places, and think through the meaning of World Heritage without human resident communities, informing the more-than-human aspects of the work I went on to do. It also gave me some insight into the practicalities and philosophy of islands and archipelagos, the boats, the indifference of the oceans and their ability to connect as well as divide, the isolation of islands and their communities and how all species that live on them adapt to their singular conditions.

St Kilda struck me as a kind of reverse story of Galápagos. It had been populated for around 4000 years, but in 1930 the remaining community wrote to the Government to ask for their help with relocating them as life on the islands was no longer viable due to dwindling numbers. So, as the population in Galápagos was being established in the early part of the twentieth century, the remaining twenty-six inhabitants of St Kilda were abandoning their remote island and their way of life, which had adapted over several thousand years to their environment, and re-settling in the Scottish mainland. Despite this long period of occupation, the islands have historically been presented as remote and wild, and the people as different from other communities of the British Isles, with a strange diet and hunting practices, living in a 'state of nature' and therefore being more animal than other Britains (MacDonald 2001:162), and certainly than the 'civilized' people who could afford to visit the islands. People who have written about the islands have almost all been visitors there, many for less than a day, and yet have claimed authority in their knowledge of the islanders. With the fashion moving to more reflexive writing during the 1990s, it

has become more widely accepted that whilst they are interesting and provide some useful documentation of the history of the islands, these accounts should not be read as ethnographies (MacDonald 2001, Lawson 2011). They reflect the fashions and main stream culture of their day and their at best partial accounts of the islands are to be seen very much as their own perspectives (see also Mayhew 2007, Naylor 2005a).

Building on this, MacDonald (2001) argues that the way that the people of St Kilda have been presented can be linked to the Romantic movement in British history, the islands fulfilling the need to travel as a badge of status, to experience and perhaps overcome the world. He develops this as a felt need to experience the sublime, which the sheer cliffs and the force of the Atlantic certainly provide, but also that the framing of the people who live there as somehow savage, wild and in tune with nature, continues to situate the islands as 'the remotest of all the Hebrides,' 'on the edge of the world' or even, according to one traveller, 'out of the world' (2001:152), echoing Beebe's description of the Galápagos as 'the end of the world.' This 'othering' of people and place remains in the narrative of the islands as a World Heritage site, a place of singular beauty, natural and cultural heritage.

The islands were managed as a bird sanctuary from the time that the people of St Kilda, known as the Hiortaich, left (1930) until the present day, in one way or another. For twenty-seven years after 1930, the islands were unoccupied, sometimes visited in summer by those who had relocated to the mainland. This was followed by the temporary residence of MOD employees who looked after the radar station, and, in later years, a steward employed by the National Trust for Scotland who lived on the islands in summer, but no more permanent residents. St Kilda emerges as distant in time and space – mythical now to most, but still part of everyday life for some, mainly MOD employees who are not there primarily to conserve the islands' exceptional heritage but to manage the radar station now situated there. The employees are also intended to prevent looting and pillaging of both the natural and cultural heritage of the site (Management Plan 2012), and maintain sewerage, a clean water supply, electricity and the road. Others who have a day to day association with the archipelago are the boat crews who take visitors to the islands in the summer and employees of the National Trust for Scotland (NTS). Islanders from the Outer Hebrides relate to it through new initiatives such as the St Kilda exhibition held at Taigh Chearsabhagh, the North Uist Arts Centre, in summer 2014, and the proposed new visitor centre at Uig on the Isle of Lewis.

I went to St Kilda as a day trip with undergraduate geography students from the University of Edinburgh, led by Fraser MacDonald. We went a few days after midsummer, leaving early from North Uist and returning as the sun set. The boat journey took two or so hours in each direction. On arrival I remained with the group for the introductory talk given by the National Trust Warden, after which I carried out a semi-structured interview with him, which I recorded. I then walked through the old village and up the only road on the island to the radar station, stopping at intervals to record the sounds of the walk and take photographs. I met the undergraduates leaving as I was arriving and agreed to meet them in the museum later. After wandering around the peak of the island, getting as close to the edge as I could without upsetting the Arctic Skuas too much, and recording this experience in sound, I sat in the grass, listening, feeling and sometimes looking at my environment. I then descended the hill and found the students for the return trip via some of the other islands and islets in the archipelago. The experience cemented my knowledge that I would need to be meticulous in preparing my equipment for fieldwork, as well as in backing it up and filing it, and having a contingency plan if things failed.

Forming a Rhizome Between the Theory and the Field

One of the key things to come out of the pilot was a consideration of Deleuzian appreciation of islands. Deleuze wrote a short essay early on in his career called 'Desert Islands' in which he states that these are a battle between land and water, and that "humans can live on an island only by forgetting what an island represents. Islands are either from before or for after humankind" (2004: 9). He elaborates: "[d]reaming of islands - whether with joy or in fear, it doesn't matter - is dreaming of pulling away, of being already separate, far from any continent, of being lost and alone - or it is dreaming of starting from scratch, recreating, beginning anew" (2004: 10). This idea of recreating is pertinent here, and one that Deleuze builds upon throughout the essay, arguing that the island can be thought of as an egg in the sea, something from which all life can come. Finally, he questions whether they are indeed deserts, or deserted; that is, whether they are incapable of supporting life, or circumstantially devoid of humans. He points out that, because they cannot be a part of the intensive forces that produce the island, humans are always outsiders: thus, "the deserted island is imaginary and not actual, mythological and not geographical" (2004:12). Williams (2012: 220) draws attention to Deleuze's later thinking about the desert island in ideas of identity, and specifically the lack of others through whom identity can be described. Such a process becomes illustrative of Deleuze's ideas of the importance of pure difference, where difference as a form of relation forms a series of repetitions, and difference as a mode of alterity hinges on singular moments.

Territorialization and de-territorialization interplay with the arrival and evolution of species and practices, each body interacting with the islands and their existing inhabitants and climatic and social conditions. For instance, a deterritorialization is the invitation of the islands for a new species to arrive, as seeds or individuals become caught in a bird's wing feathers or drift across the ocean on a piece of wood and find a niche in the immature ecosystem of one of the islands; and reterritorialization is a matter of the survival of lifeforms as they make their homes and order their new worlds. In terms of conservation practices, a deterritorialization is the abandonment of certain practices, such as the separation of land and marine environments, that are not working; reterritorialization is the strategy to accept this knowledge and work with it in new conservation practices and strategies, for instance the new combined management plan.

Thinking forward to Galápagos, this site, with its lack of indigenous culture, offers a space for ultimate creativity in conservation practices. Deleuze and Guattari use earth (*terre*; the connection with territory and also reterritorialization and deterritorialization in the original French version is notable) to refer to the virtual, and the inherent creativity of the virtual plane. As Protevi explains:

> by insisting on the phenomenon of "non-organic life," that is, the appearance of phenomena of self-organization and novelty in physical, chemical, and geological processes, they disabuse us of any lingering humanist illusions and insert human affairs squarely in nature, parts of a creative "Earth." In other words, Deleuze and Guattari exorcize the ghost in the machine, but in so doing leave us with a different notion of machine… In this way the empirical and transcendental geophilosophies of Deleuze and Guattari provide us unparalleled opportunities for research, intervention, and creation, for finding a "new earth." (2001: unpaginated)

Galápagos could be said to be literally 'new earth:' an archipelago formed from the cooling lava flows of huge volcanic eruptions on the sea bed, bringing 'new earth' to the surface literally and metaphorically, where humans arrived recently and social stratification is relatively young and thin. Deleuze and Guattari talk of new earth as the ultimate deterritorialization, cutting off the lines of flight that can become strata, making creativity not only possible but inevitable. In Galápagos, then, creative conservation is not only possible but has been the norm as the islands have been at the forefront of the development of the concept and its practice for more than five decades, forming a laboratory for testing approaches. However, this creative conservation inevitably becomes stratified as conservation agencies such as WWF and IUCN and their notions of best practice, 'endangered earth,' heroism and a romantic sublime have become more and more established, requiring greater force in their eventual deterritorialization. At the same time, human occupancy of the islands also settles and stratifies. The two stratifications together

establish accepted delivery structures and political systems, and opportunities for creativity and innovation become more sparse. The labelling of Galápagos as being "at a crossroads" (Bassett, 2009), "paradise in peril" (Cairns, 2011), "infernal region" (Darwin, 1835) or "prison" exemplify this moment as the islands congeal from an egg in the sea into a territory, a moment where the opening up of smooth space in a new earth begins to striate, fold, and stratify, and lines of flight subsequently close down. More recently, this entanglement in a global web of activity can be seen in the move to designate the islands and their non-human inhabitants through programmes such as National Parks and the international diplomatic system of the UN and UNESCO through the World Heritage programme. Nevertheless, deterritorialization continues, with ongoing arrivals of non-native bodies, cyclical climate events such as El Niño and the adjustments that are required for life to continue during such fundamental if temporary changes in the ecosystem. Re-territorializations then follow, as the new status quo is inhabited and more striated space is created. The Galápagos becomes a matter of layer after layer of congealed sameness, giving rise to but also absorbing the interruptive work of 'holey spaces' which I will return to later in the thesis.

The Structure of the Thesis

My broad aim in this thesis is to unpack and critically reflect upon the two issues outlined above: first, UNESCO's structural division of the world into binaries – I focus on natural sites and cultural sites, but also notable are tangible and intangible heritage and the organizational separation of specialisms – and the place of creativity and arts practice therein; and second the continuing coloniality of UNESCO's policies and practices in the context of conservation. I am interested in what work they do in the multiple worlds of which they are a part. I argue that both issues fundamentally undermine the stated work of the World Heritage Programme:

> The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) seeks to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. This is embodied in an international treaty called the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 1972. (From whc.unesco.org/en/about Accessed 13.07.15)

Taking the continuing coloniality of UNESCO's policies and practices in the context of conservation first, there is an assumption that it is possible for humans to control our worlds, that conservation can, and is necessary, to the protection of a vulnerable world for

the future. This is built upon a long history of imagining the world as a series of wild territories that need to be conquered and tamed. I therefore explore notions of 'nature' and 'the wild', and how these have been mobilized alongside geopolitical ideas of an external threatening other that needs to be 'managed.' I argue that approaches of both conservation and preservation fall short as both are premised on protecting a vulnerable and objectified, rather than agential, 'world.' Drawing on the philosophy of Spinoza rather than Descartes, I follow Deleuze and Guattari and those who have elaborated on their thinking such as Latour, Thrift, Bennett and Grosz and present plural processual 'worlds' in which cycles of congealments and eruptions work to territorialize and deterritorialize. I aim to present a different way of imagining the world to that of realist geopolitics by exploring and critiquing site ontologies and ideas of land ownership, nationalism, borders, boundaries, cartography and categorization as well as how the static and orderly have been imagined as 'peace,' where the emergent and chaotic have been presented as states of conflict. I connect this back to UNESCO's core mission of bringing about a peaceful world and argue that this has been a post-colonial political project that works to maintain a colonial world order. That is, by following in the footsteps of an aggressive culture of domination, it works to favour the historically powerful over the historically powerless.

Moving on to the second issue, UNESCO's division of the world into natural sites and cultural sites, and connected to the preceding argument, I propose that this division is again rooted in the history of the organization and again the way of imagining the world that came before it. UNESCO was developed as a response to the two World Wars of the twentieth century, so again understanding a history of geopolitics is key to understanding their structural division of the concepts of nature and culture. I suggest that it is rooted in the philosophy that shaped thinking in Western Europe and the US, that is, the philosophy that emerged during the Enlightenment and the Reformation. This proposed a world of dualism, in which the mind is to be thought of as separate from the body, and so allowed a perception of division of a civilized culture from a dangerous and primitive nature. This division harnessed aesthetics in order to define what is civilized and what is not. An orderly and sensible world was situated as necessary to peace-keeping. I draw on ideas introduced earlier, that heritage has been conceptualized as linear and how these are being disrupted by debates around time (and so history) being non-linear and the implications of heritage imagined as process (Harvey 2001, Smith 2006), or dialogue (Harrison 2013) rather than a tangible collection of things. Here I draw on an alternative sensory rather than sensible aesthetics, worlds of sensations unfolding in the present rather than waiting for humans to sense them. This addresses discourse on the acts of framing and

representing our worlds and what these do, and explores the disruptive and generative power of arts practice.

Over the last few decades, the arts have been deployed as a way of creating both permanent and temporary spectacle, and, through this, have shaped and explored concepts of heritage and identity. Commissioning bodies such as local government, property developers, and also conservation organizations such as The National Trust in the UK have regularly worked with the arts sector to manipulate identity through 'place making.' I explore these practices, their relationship with conservation and the thinking that underpinned them; and attempt to understand the making of place in conservation, the creativity of conservationists and the 'worlds' that they conserve, noting that these are contested ideas and practices. I also explore the role of cultural development, both as a sector and as a concept and set of practices, exploring what these do and again noting that they are contested.

Applying what I outline above to conservation debates, especially around rewilding, I suggest that it is dewilding that is needed in re-worlding, acknowledging the wild within all life as opposed to situating it externally. I counter these assumptions with the notion of the geo or earth as being a lively, emergent, creative entity with its own agency rather than a source of materials for human consumption. Finally, I address notions of how humans and other species relate to their environments, and Haraway's (2016) call to "make kin not babies" to imagine all life as kin and as a result to collaborate with it rather than attempt to control it[15]. It is this that I refer to as 'kinservation.' This draws on a conservation model where responsibility lies with what Deleuze might call an 'arboreal' community of nations. Via professional arts practices and my own creative methodologies, I imagine how World Heritage might work in a more genuinely global sense, that is, as a 'rhizomatic' reflection on the value of the earth in a global community.

In the next chapter, I outline the history of geopolitics, looking at its classical, critical and finally more plural ways of thinking about territory in order to inform the concept of 'the world' as it becomes many 'worlds' and draw attention to the assumptions inherent in the way that territory and earth are utilized. I then turn to the work of the arts and aesthetics in re-framing how this territory is seen, whilst acknowledging that it remains more binary and

[15] This notion is developed in the Kitchwa notion of all life on the planet being treated as one would treat a mother, although I note that in some families collaboration does not necessarily follow.

confrontational in mainstream rhetoric. In chapter three I outline the history of the United Nations, UNESCO, and the World Heritage Convention, unpicking where and when these organizations emerged, what they emerged from, and how they continue to unfold. Here I am interested firstly in the relationship between a geopolitics of national territories, international organizations, conventions and treaties, and a 'threatened' more-than-human world. Secondly, I am interested in looking at dominant ways of imagining the world linked to ideas of modernism, development, evolution and how this has shaped, and continues to shape, conservation policy and practice.

In chapter four, I turn to my fieldwork in the Galápagos, and draw on the theory introduced here to imagine a world of stratification and congealment as the islands have been territorialized and subsequently routinized by tourists, conservationists and Ecuadorian nationals. These congealments can be seen in the physical spaces of the islands, such as paths, interpretation centres, agricultural areas, National Park areas and towns. They can also be observed in the ways in which they are navigated, especially the use of maps. I conclude this with archipelago resurgent; thoughts of lively interruptions as the more-than-human world of Galápagos responds to these excessive materialities. This leads into an exploration of eruptions in chapter five as the virtual intensive forces of smooth space break through the congealments in various ways. Here I look to political protests that dominated my visit, conflicts between different interest groups on the islands, especially between conservationists and residents with their very different imaginaries of the islands and practices of dwelling in them. I introduce the concept of holey space, connecting the smooth and the striated and allowing creative forces to actualise, before mapping this idea onto concepts of culture, art and creativity in chapter six. Here I introduce some of the cultural practices that have emerged in Galápagos, as well as the formal work of cultural development, to explore the human worlds of the islands and their connections to conservation, before turning to the more-than-human worlds. I look at the ebbs and flows of territorialization and deterritorialization in the human and nonhuman cultures of Galápagos, and make a case for becoming familiar and collaborating with both forces and the worlds that they shape in the practice of 'kinservation.' I finish with brief concluding comments, drawing together my thesis.

Chapter 2
Constructing and Imagining a Geopolitics

Introduction

This chapter explores the human field of geopolitics, noting its emergence as a field of statecraft in the seventeenth century, with the Treaty of Westphalia, as well as its development as an academic subject in the nineteenth century. The notion of threat underpins what went on to become a 'classical' geopolitics, with its three strands: realism, in which competition and conflict are assumed to be human universals; environmental determinism, wherein people's behaviours and interactions are thought to be defined by their environment; and geostrategy, which explores the manner in which a pragmatic approach to state power must consider the current and future resources of sea and land, as well as issues of proximity and distance. While acknowledging current debates and anxieties that come under the umbrella of a 'neorealism,' for instance the mainstream media framing of the current conflict in Syria, I go on to note the continued reworking of geopolitics with the emergence of critical, feminist and subaltern geopolitics at the end of the twentieth century. As with a great deal of poststructural critique of modernist ideas and ideals, a critical geopolitics deconstructs the conceptual assumptions of a classical geopolitics, whilst simultaneously drawing attention to the capacity of a classical geopolitics to maintain a balance of power by (re)producing a knowable and governable world.

With this critique in mind, I next turn to the ways in which a subaltern, a feminist and a feminist materialist geopolitics have sought not to replace or even supplement a classical field of state craft and enquiry, but have, rather, pluralized geopolitics. These differing lines of enquiry can also further deconstruct the assumptions upon which a classical geopolitics is built; but importantly their effort is centred on constructing alternative ways in which the 'geo' of geopolitics can be considered, with particular attention given to how the Earth and its various populations can be framed. I then turn to artists, arts, and creative and experimental approaches and how they have interacted with and contributed to the field of geopolitics. I suggest that this, amongst other things, comprises an ability to hold and express ambiguity, highlight different kinds of difference and what these do, and capture a 'zeitgeist,' all of which are valuable to such a complex multi-faceted story of the power in the world and how people negotiate it. Finally, I summarise what these lines of

thought can bring to the world of 'heritage' before looking at the history of UNESCO and conservation in the next chapter.

Classical Geopolitics

The first known use of term geopolitics was in 1899 by Swedish political scientist and conservative politician Kjellén (O'Tuathail and Dalby, 1996: 451); however, the ideas and concerns that underpin this term have a much longer history to them. The first of these concepts is the sovereign state, which is the fundamental unit of an international 'community of states,' as well as being a requirement for membership of the UN. The concept of the state can be traced back to events surrounding the Treaty of Westphalia, drawn up in 1648 to bring peace and stability to The Low Countries, which at this time were under the rule of Spain. The Treaty of Westphalia is widely considered to initiate the Western world's concept of the state as a modern political entity, in sovereign as well as institutional terms (Dixon 2015: 25). That is, it established the territorial boundaries of Dutch-land, Spain, England, France, the German princedoms, Muscovy, Poland, Turkey and Sweden (Brunet-Jailly, 2005: 635), proffering territorial integrity, independence from interference from other European countries, and, importantly, the idea that all states are legally equal.

The way that the state was conceived during this process, as a territory on a map with clear borders that separated one state from another, is of note here. During the sixteenth century, the way that places were visually rendered moved from a more human-centred perspective, with drawings of triangular mountains, for example, and waves at a coastline. This transitioned to a god-like aerial perspective, with its untethered groundlessness, its implication of the possibility to remain separate, to see the world, the earth, nature perhaps, as other; something that happens somewhere else outside of the human, allowing humans to conceptually float away from the trouble, rather than 'staying with it,' to borrow Haraway's phrase. By the time the Treaty came to be signed, map-making was firmly embedded in the machinery of state-making (O'Tuathail 1994); the concept of the 'border' of a state had become relatively fixed as a line on a map, which the viewer looked down upon. This representation has the effect of abstracting the notion of a 'state border' from a particular and specific landscape, a technique that further bolstered the notion of a community of states separated by their fixed, linear borders (Dixon, 2015). That is, the border becomes a concept rather than being physical, for instance a wall, river, mountain range or sea.

What is more, the Westphalian concept of the state carried with it the realist idea of a 'balance of power,' in which it was necessary for each state to form allegiances in order to ensure that no one state could come to dominate the others (Dixon 2015: 26). Such a realist view, whilst a pessimistic one, firmly separated out a 'civilized' set of acceptable political agencies in Europe – a community of states – from its other less acceptable agencies. Realist politicking, and its manifestation through diplomacy, was a Western mode of statecraft seemingly separate from the colonialism that was simultaneously fostering new political relations between 'homelands' and their 'dependencies' (Dixon 2015). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for its European citizenry, the Americas were only just being 'discovered' and colonized, and Asia and Africa were at the other ends of the trade routes that converged in Holland and around the Mediterranean Sea: remote, dangerous, barbaric and alien. It is not surprizing, Dittmer points out, that the genteel diplomacy that the relative peace in Europe had brought about led to the idea that this alien non-European world was the correct place for a violent expansionism to occur (2014:14).

This rendering of the European state as sovereign, and the civilized vehicle for the practical realities of statecraft, was enhanced in the nineteenth century by the fostering of an often-xenophobic nationalism; that is, the concept of a group of state citizens united by a common culture, especially a common language and religion. This unified and homogenized notion of a 'population' was mapped onto the idea of the state as a territory, abstractly conflating groups of people with their territories, and, through maps, with their country's physical environment. As Dixon argues, this had the effect of creating a sense of common purpose and duty to defend their 'land' (2015: 25). For geographers, this relationship between people, country and land was to take on a special significance. The German scholar, Friedrich Ratzel, for instance, argued in his paper of 1901 that the state, rather than being fixed and permanent, could usefully be thought of as subject to growth and decay, like organisms. Rather than notions of an egalitarian vibrant materialism, this mobilized a sense of vulnerability in the face of competition from other states: for a state to grow it had to be expanding, otherwise it would be shrinking. In order to legitimize their analyses of society, Ratzel and his students, who included Kjellén, and the American scholar Semple, attempted to ground them in scientific thought, connecting this organic view of the state and nation to the emerging Darwinian concept of sexual selection in humans (Darwin, 1871) and the impact of weak and strong individuals on 'Mankind' as a species.

These lines of enquiry were also being explored with a more political and realist twist by other scholars such as Spencer who coined the phrase 'survival of the fittest' in 1857, and applied it not only to individuals but to whole groups, or races, of people. It is this connection between biological and geographical thinking that has been termed 'environmental determinism.' Peet (1985) suggests that, at the height of a violent Imperialism, with Germany striving in South Africa to 'catch up' with its European competitors in the scramble for territory, environmental determinism served a dual purpose. First, it legitimized such violent confrontation as necessary to the best interests of the state. Second, and with a more subtle role, it assuaged a European guilt at bringing about the destruction of other people's lives by taking the matter out of their hands and ascribing the violence to a natural activity. Due to their environments and belief systems, these weaker people threatened the very existence of humanity in the face of the imagined limited availability of land, overpopulation and the scarcity of food. As Dixon points out, such violence was to have its counterpart in Europe itself, as those citizens with 'flawed' conditions, such as poverty, were to be bred out of the human race; "the answer to many on the left as well as on the right to such a looming catastrophe was eugenics" (2015: 34).

Yet, even as environmental determinism was gaining popularity in academic circles, alternative theorizations were also apparent. Eschewing a simple cause-effect relationship between an environment and human beings, geostrategists in the UK and the US were keen to point out the vibrant 'spirit' of people, and their use of the land. Dittmer and Sharp's 2014 reader on geopolitics begins with an essay by the American Alfred Mahan, written when he was the president of the US Naval College. *The Influence of Seapower on History 1660-1783* was published in 1890, and outlined how social as well as environmental, especially coastal, attributes contributed to the establishment of a powerful navy that would be able to protect the country's interests both in peace time and during conflicts. By connecting the relatively stable social and environmental attributes to the success of a nation, Mahan presents a more fixed and less opportunistic picture of geopolitics (Dittmer 2014: 14), and importantly a view of how it should be applied strategically to government and state-making.

Another influential thinker in geostrategy, and early member of the Geographical Association in the UK, was the scholar Mackinder. He published *The Geographical Pivot of History* in 1904, which argued against Mahan's assertion that seapower was the key to defence by outlining that Britain's power was waning as the technology employed in colonialism, namely seapower, would not hold against those whose technology, namely

railways, was built upon land based travel. This, he proposed, was because whoever controlled what he called The Heartland, controlled the world. The Heartland that he referred to was the vast landmass where Europe and Asia met, and at the time was controlled by Russia. Of note again in Mackinder's writing is the implication of an objective truth in the abstract global theories of statecraft. As O'Tuathail writes about this era of geopolitics:

> Its Cartesian perspectivilism normalizes a transcendent Western subject as the god's-eye geopolitician, a detached and disembodied imperial subject who can decode the surface of international affairs and produce total(izing) views of its hidden essences (1997: 41).

Here, O'Tuathail remarks upon how the abstract notion of a state was actively produced though the reiteration of by now traditional cartographic techniques; techniques that in turn facilitated the construction of a detached observer of geopolitics, divorced from the messiness of everyday events, yet able to explain these. Such abstractions help contextualise the extensive colonization of Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand and South America by European powers that had taken place over the two centuries since the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia. For Mackinder, the imperial power of England was diminishing, and he saw his position as a geographer as pivotal to the reversal of this decline; his geopolitics were designed to strategically strengthen his nation by identifying weaknesses and the tactics needed to overcome them.

Although the term geopolitics was coined in 1899, it did not come into wider use until Haushofer, a retired German Major General and veteran of what became known as World War One, turned to academia, founding the journal *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik* (*Journal of Geopolitics*) in 1924. Haushofer was heavily influenced by Ratzel and Mackinder amongst others and developed their work into a critique of the Treaty of Versailles, which he felt constrained Germany and prevented it from achieving *Lebensraum*, or 'living space.' He used the journal to argue that politicians must pay attention to geopolitics; that, specifically, there was no longer enough room in Germany to allow it to maintain its status as a world power, and that alliances should be sought with Russia and Japan. One of Haushofer's students was Rudolf Hess, whom he had fought alongside in Japan, and who became the deputy leader of the Nazi party. Hess introduced Haushofer to Hitler, and both of them used Haushofer's theories to justify the Nazi party's actions during World War Two, claiming that unless Germany pursue *Lebensraum* it would decay (O'Tuathail 2003: 20). They scorned the concept of Haushofer's suggested alliances, however, and sought domination of Russia and the 'Slavs' of the east who were inferior to the 'true' Aryan Germans. O'Tuathail goes on to point out that the key difference between Haushofer and

Hitler's theories is that, whilst Haushofer focused on space as the most crucial factor in a state's future development, Hitler focused on race (2003: 23).[16]

Following World War Two, the term geopolitics was dropped from common academic use due in part to its association with Hitler and the German *geopolitik*. However, geostrategy was certainly happening in practice, perhaps on a greater scale than ever before with globalization, the emergence of the United Nations (UN) and the Cold War. Yet, the meaning of 'geo' was understood to reference not a globally diverse set of politics, but, rather, a binary-driven globe. That is, the geo in geostrategy referred now to a binary of west versus east, good versus evil, and freedom versus totalitarianism. In effect, the world's geography became divided into a civilized First World (the west) that was market driven; a homogenized, threatening Second World (the east) that was communist and, according to US rhetoric, expansionist; and the remainder, the less fortunate Third World (now the south) that was 'developing' (although this could be taken as a euphemism for 'recovering' from colonization [see Ayoob 2002]), and could be turned either capitalist or communist. The specifics of this 'Third World' were to be overlain by this simplistic terminology, such that countries all over the world were encouraged to confirm their allegiance with either capitalism or communism. This 'neorealist' situation, according to Dalby (1991: 429), was rationalized by a perceived 'domino effect,' wherein the natural conflict between First and Second Worlds would necessarily spill over into the non-aligned Third World areas buttressing them.

The classical geopolitics outlined above could also be called 'dominating' geopolitics, insofar as the ideas and rhetorics that constitute it were those of the powerful. As Dixon points out, however, there have been other geopolitical imaginaries, including alternatives to the Westphalian politics of the seventeenth century, but these have largely been marginalized. For instance, the thinking and social habits of de Scudéry and other like-minded women (and one or two men) in Paris in the seventeenth century challenged the masculine norms of the ruling elites with what Goodrich calls "a short lived radical movement of separatist women who endeavoured to found and govern an oppositional feminine public sphere within the patristic autarchy of the civil society of their time"

[16] Like Mackinder, Haushofer's thinking was geostrategic, that is designed to be put to political use. Interestingly, when he was questioned by the American army in 1945, Haushofer pointed out that he was only doing the same thing that Mackinder had done in Britain and numerous geostrategists were doing in the US. He had taken 'legitimate' geopolitical theory and given it to the leaders of his country to use in the country's interest, just like 'legitimate American geopolitics' (O'Tuathail (2003: 24).

(1997: 1 cited in Dixon 2015: 27). Scudéry was also a very popular novelist, but despite her wide audience across many languages, the radical way that she talked about the formation of a civil society, and the relations between states, was not reflected in the mainstream rhetoric.

A second example is John Scott Keltie who, in the nineteenth century, was researching how best to teach geography for the Royal Geographic Society. He hired Mackinder, and also the Russian prince turned anarchist Kropotkin. Whereas Mackinder's opinions of geography sprang out of imperialist, racist, views, Kearns (2004) argues that Kropotkin brought a different view of the human relationship with the land to bear. His explanations emphasized mutual cooperation as a 'human' condition; as Kearns writes, "[h]e wanted to counter 'national self-conceit' (1885, 942). Prejudice was based on ignorance. Instead, children should learn that 'all nationalities are valuable to one another' and that 'political frontiers are relics of a barbarous past' (1885, 942)" (cited in Kearns, 2004: 344). "Kropotkin," Kearns continues, "was quite mystical in his love of the contemplation of the unity of nature. This was not a matter of physical cause and organic response, but a series of interdependencies and structural homologies across all material scales from the atom to the cosmos" (ibid: 343). Kropotkin's philosophy was clearly very different to what were to become the mainstream ideas that dominated geopolitical discourse during the twentieth century. His ideas concerning complex and entangled human-environment relationships were certainly out of step with much of human and physical geography during the same time period, perhaps more in line with thinking in the humanities such as the art and crafts movement; although, as I go on to note below, there is much more resonance in geography today. Indeed, throughout the twentieth century, various groups have tried to insert alternative thinking about international relations, geopolitics and statecraft, and even the notion of a state and its citizenry, into organizations like the United Nations. These have tended, however, to be marginalized, on the basis that they do not constitute 'real' statecraft, and pander to specialist interests. Usually highly educated and privileged, the people putting forward these other models for international conduct have struggled to be heard above the more simplistic binary arguments of realism. For now it is of note that, although classical geopolitics is often presented as the dominant geopolitical voice, it is by no means the only one.

To sum up at this point, then, classical geopolitics became not just a theoretical field, but a tool of statecraft, maintaining a given world order that time and again privileged the West, and 'protecting' its citizens from what were conceived to be 'external' threats. It was

Eurocentric, objectified what it was studying in the search for 'truth,' and worked to benefit the same academic cohorts who justified their statecraft as both scientific and detached. This was justified with ideas of a civilized Western world and a rest of the world that was in need of civilization. Such a classical geopolitics sought to 'fix' space by using maps to abstract borders and their insides/ outsides, conceiving of the earth as a giant game-board upon which strategies could be devised and observed. It also 'fixed' broken space by bringing ideas of development that might mend the barbaric worlds outside of the West. This simplified world over which Europe sought to achieve and maintain power came to be justified through the geopolitical rhetoric of good versus evil after World War Two, a rhetoric that is still in use today, especially in the US (see Sparke 2007, Sidaway 2008). It masked and continues to mask other commentaries that attempt to explore the more complex aspects of geopolitics, especially how the 'geo-' can be thought about as having more plural rather than binary properties, a point to which I will return below.

A Critical Geopolitics

Following World War Two, as intimated above, political geography as a broad-based academic field was to fall into disfavour, despite the fact that geostrategy remained as a pragmatic, realist practice in the Cold War, not only manifest in the Korean and Vietnamese hostilities, but also the widespread decolonization and independence movements across Africa, Central and South America and Asia. What is more, the modernist ideals that had for so long underpinned academia *per se* – social progress through education, and civilization through technology – had floundered in the face of two global-scale conflicts. The United Nations emerged at this time to support peace-keeping efforts, a topic which I will discuss in more depth in the next chapter.

Whilst geostrategy attempted to map and explain the emergence of a new world order, what might be termed a loose 'critical' movement emerged across the social sciences that took to task the nexus between knowledge and power. There are many scholars whose work could be referenced here, but given their impact upon geopolitical thinking, as well as my focus on UNESCO, I want to draw particular attention to some of the ideas of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Edward Said. In *Of Grammatology* (1967) Derrida used language to break down the assumptions that were situated *within* language. He thus deconstructed the notion of philosophy, displacing the scholar and hitherto unquestioned assumptions about their objectivity, and decontextualized the production of knowledge.

This situated the academic as a subjective part of proceedings, rather than as an objective witness to truth. He applied the same reasoning to the use of everyday language, which was also situated, full of assumptions and therefore political.

O'Tuathail's 1994 text '(Dis)placing geopolitics' uses these ideas to deconstruct the meaning of geography and geopolitics, separating the geo from the politics (and also from the graphy, or writing) and then questioning each in turn, showing that they are contested knowledges. He then maps this onto Derrida's critique of Saussure's concept of maps being necessarily images of land imagined from one vantage point, arguing that these are essentializing tools of statecraft that impose thinking about the world from one perspective rather than from many. Such cartographies validate both an 'authoritative' geopolitics, and the settings they display, insofar as:

> recognition of geographical settings would not be possible without international political power. Furthermore, international political power needs geographical settings in order to be meaningful. The very concept of an *international* presupposes a geographical distinction between an inside domestic sphere and an outside international sphere. (1994: 532 italics in original)

In response, O'Tuathail puts forward the idea that geopolitics must be considered from more than one vantage point. His deconstruction here reveals the politics, or perhaps power play, in the production of this kind of knowledge.

The concept and location of power has been the primary concern of the next scholar whose work is relevant here, and who O'Tuathail also references, Foucault. In similar vein to Derrida's work, *Power/Knowledge* (1980) is used widely in the emerging critical geopolitics to highlight the interaction between the production of knowledge and power. A more targeted use of Foucault, however, can also be discerned. In *The History of Sexuality* (1978), Foucault argued that power is the moving substance of force relations; that is, force is not to be simply equated with violence, domination of one group over another, repression, law, or bureaucracy. Most importantly, it is not locatable. It is a discourse with all agents involved, bosses and workers alike. It is everywhere, and it is internalized within each person. What is more, where there is power there is resistance (1978: 92-3). This changes the usual terms of debate on the working of power, often viewed as something in the possession of or located within one group or individual and this could no longer apply. O'Tuathail builds on Foucault's ideas of bio-power, in particular in his theories of governmentality (1978:139-140), to introduce the idea of 'geo-power,' which he defines as "techniques of power that survey, measure, chart, and speculate on the surface of global political life" (1994: 534). He notes that the geo- in the early geopolitics

of Ratzel and Haushofer, who themselves called their work biogeography, was a label attached later. Moving on to Foucault's 1979 book, *Discipline and Punish*, in which he outlined the meaning of discipline as applying both to knowledge as in the discipline of physics and the physical as in the discipline of the body, geo-power can be thought of as a way of ordering the subjects and settings of a geopolitics. That is, O'Tuathail points out, how geo-power is a way of training thought and body that separates one thing from another, such as territories and the methods by which the territories are governed (ibid: 536). Those producing knowledge almost without fail reproduce their own power in the process (see Dalby 1991, Ashley, 1987).

Heavily influenced by both Derrida and Foucault himself, in *Orientalism* Said explored notions of the categorization of identity in popular literature through cultural labels such as 'Oriental.' Said opposed the 'Oriental' to the 'Occidental,' which, he argued, had been mapped onto the formulation of other binaries such as 'us' and 'them.' He then looked at the potential this brings for domination through hegemony (1978: 1-7). Hegemony is the exercise of power without violent means; for example, through propaganda, threat or discourse. So, when a group is defined as something different to 'us,' it allows one group to think they are different and therefore potentially better than 'other' people from 'other' cultures or places. As with Foucault, power is sited as much in the imagination as it is a relation between bodies. Dodds and Sidaway (1994) proposed that *Orientalism* was the single most influential text on the development of critical geopolitics, and, although this can be contested, it is worth noting the impact that it has had in creating a line of research into what they call "imaginary geographies of the Orient" (1994: 516).

For Said:

> Orientalism is … a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an *elaboration* not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of "interests." (1978:12)

This emphasis upon a distribution draws attention back to Mackinder's concept of the 'geographical pivot' and the subsequent east-west binary of Western geopolitical rhetoric (O'Tuathail and Agnew 1992: 199; Dodds and Sidaway, 1994: 517). Dalby goes as far as to say that "security discourses… operate on assumptions that security is a negative operation of spatially corralling Otherness" (1988: 429) and calls for geopolitical rhetoric to move away from this dangerous binary imaginary (ibid: 438). These 'neorealist' ideas of 'us' and 'them' were emerging as the international political rhetoric became particularly binary during the Cold War and beyond, as mentioned above. At the same time, many

former colonies were achieving independence, changing the way that Imperialism was thought about both academically and popularly, issues that I discuss in more detail below.

In their articulation of a 'critical geopolitics' as a distinct field of inquiry, Ashley (1987), O'Tuathail and Agnew (1992) and Dalby (1991), amongst others (for instance Dodds and Sideaway 1994, Sharp 1993), have sought to deconstruct the assumptions that were central to the arguments of classical and cold-war geopolitics. One of these assumptions in classical geopolitics was that competition, violence and war were 'natural states' for populations of humans. Dalby (1991) questions this assumption, proposing that peace had been presented as a state of order and stability, whilst danger and the potential for conflict were the result of change. Change is often presented by a classical geopolitics as disorder, chaos or disruption. However, drawing from the idea of the world as constantly emerging, that is changing, it could thus always be portrayed as threatening and dangerous, and this representation supports and maintains an order that benefits those in power. There is a politics at play in whether the world is understood as threatening or creative. For Dalby, what is revealed here is a culture of desire for a state of stasis, fixity and definitive knowledge, and resistance to the creativity, dynamism and potential discomfort of coming to know the 'other' through discussion and debate rather than control and military conflict. This world view can be seen in the conservation sector as well, to which I will return.

Critical geopolitics has also attempted to de-centre the traditional focus on the state as an abstracted entity, and to draw attention to geopolitics as an *act* of statecraft, as well as the study of it, thus questioning in the process the assumed objectivity of a classical geopolitics. As O'Tuathail and Agnew argue:

> The great irony of geopolitical writing, however, is that it was always a highly ideological and deeply politicized form of analysis. Geopolitical theory from Ratzel to Mackinder, Haushofer to Bowman, Spykman to Kissinger was never an objective and disinterested activity but an organic part of the political philosophy and ambitions of these very public intellectuals. While the forms of geopolitical writing have varied among these and other authors, the practice of producing geopolitical theory has a common theme: the production of knowledge to aid the practice of statecraft and further the power of the state. …Geopolitics, we wish to suggest, should be critically re-conceptualized as a discursive practice by which intellectuals of statecraft 'spatialize' international politics in such a way as to represent it as a 'world' characterized by particular types of places, peoples and dramas. In our understanding, the study of geopolitics is the study of the spatialization of international politics by core powers and hegemonic states. (1992: 192)

Their critique implies that geopolitics should be more a study and critique of knowledge production, than a study of how politics and space intersect (see Power and Campbell

2010, Hyndman, 2010). The production of knowledge in geopolitics, they suggest, follows a specific agenda, based on many assumptions about the order of the world and the objectivity (and therefore unquestionable truth) of science, and serving merely to justify acts of violence such as war and colonization. For Livingstone (2003) and Naylor (2005a, 2005b), similarly, the ideas that I argue underpinned a classical geopolitics also underpinned an Enlightened scientific knowledge: that is, both were implicitly connected to their place of production. Therefore, despite the extensive circulation of their ideas and claims of universality, they were deeply biased.

There is no doubt that the emergence and development of critical geopolitics has provided a sustained, reflective dimension to the field. In doing so, as Macdonald (2010: 318) points out, it has inserted something of a 'gap' between theory and practice, insofar as critical geopolitics is still a predominantly academic affair, whilst classical geopolitics remains the practice of statecraft. In its scholars' efforts to deconstruct geopolitical thinking, the notion of 'politics' especially has been reworked time and again to allow for more complex, more nuanced accounts of the social production of knowledge. Indeed, geopolitics as a term has been firmly identified as a social construction that does not explain the world so much as emerge from a time and a place. Whereas classical geopolitics emphasizes statecraft and big 'P' Politics, one might say, critical geopolitics emphasizes power and power relations, that is, little 'p' politics. Yet, as I go on to show below, critical geopolitics has been criticized itself for becoming too involved in questions of representation and text. In seeking to deconstruct its predecessor it has, arguably, paid too much attention to word and image as the products of power, glossing in the process phenomena that exceed representations such as assemblages and more-than-representational geographies, and the power relations that accrue around and from these.

Pluralizing Geopolitics

Over the last two decades, increasing attention has been paid to reconstructing geopolitical practice, and more 'pluralizing' theories have emerged that seek not to become the hegemonic approach, but to move beyond the paradigm and open up a series of alternate understandings. In the context of UNESCO and the World Heritage programme, two of these are salient: subaltern and feminist geopolitics.

Subaltern Geopolitics

As outlined above, the Cold War had implications for how geopolitical scholars framed the 'geo,' with many identifying a First, Second and Third World. Connecting such a geopolitics with the rapidly developing fields of post-colonial studies and development studies, Sharp (2011, 2013) has articulated what she terms a 'subaltern geopolitics' that operates as a critique of such simplistic terminologies, but that also acknowledges alternate global imaginaries. A subaltern geopolitics looks at the differences in world views between those states traditionally seen to have little international power and those that have jurisdiction over large chunks of the globe's resources. Importantly, it questions whether all states really are 'equal' in an international community, an ideal that helped legitimize the Treaty of Westphalia, and, arguably, has underpinned the ideal of a community of states ever since.

Such an effort draws attention to the self-serving nature of a classical geopolitics, but also to the neorealism of the last half of the twentieth century following the independence of many states from colonialism. Sharp (2013: 2) quotes Ayoob in describing the set of principles that the subaltern offers: whilst a classical geopolitics "emphasizes order among states and justice within them, the latter stresses order within states and justice among them" (2010: 129). Ayoob's subaltern approach also points out that the vast majority of the world's population lives in subaltern states, and that this inequality has been enhanced by the policies and practices of development and aid. That is, these usually relatively new subaltern states are less able to act unilaterally because they are indebted within a global economic system, as facilitated by the World Bank and United Nations (UN) (Ayoob, 2002), that often predates their Independence. This situates the UN, and with it its agencies, that is UNESCO amongst others, as facilitating a global international system that stands to benefit some over others, based on the structure of Empire.

Subaltern geopolitics also emphasizes the fact that critical geopolitics remains a very Western way of knowing the world; this deconstructive movement, and the problematics it pinpoints, is formed by those primarily English-speaking academics from the global North. What is more, it questions the manner in which subaltern knowledges are rendered 'supplemental' to a critical geopolitics, proffering instead the notion that there must be acknowledged a pluralism of voices and perspectives that does not itself "rely on otherness" (Sharp 2013: 3). Influenced by the thinking of bell hooks (1990), Sharp (2011: 272) argues that subaltern geopolitics looks at marginality; that is, liminal voices that are neither inside or outside the system. For Sharp, this allows a more nuanced exploration of

connection (as a skein of distances and proximities) rather than difference, as well as a geopolitics that eschews realism and the concept of the other.

Subaltern geopolitics acknowledges and learns from the perspective of those who had the model of the nation-state imposed on them rather than being party to its development. Applying critical geographers' thinking about there being more than one vantage point of the world, it builds on Said's ideas about the construction of 'otherness' in popular culture and the impact this continues to have. It moves discussion away from dualistic notions of 'us' and 'them' and a rhetoric of fear of the other, and looks towards a more complex multi-layered world, focusing on potential connection with, rather than difference from, it. Finally, it discusses this mode of geopolitics primarily at the scale of the state, as this is still the scale upon which change in practice is envisioned. It can also, however, provide insight into the more and less privileged body (Mott and Roberts 2013, see also McIntosh 1998), drawing on feminist theories in the process, and it is these to which I now turn.

Feminist Geopolitics

Whilst subaltern geopolitics engages with those who do not generally hold positions of global power, feminist geopolitics has a history of looking to the everyday and private situations of politics: that is, the role of small 'p' politics is often revealed in feminist studies, and the impact of geopolitics on the scale of the body. The main impact of this line of thinking on a geopolitics has been to raise the question of who or what it is that is being secured – people or nation – as well as the application of a multi-scaled approach to thinking about the geopolitical (Hyndman 2004). As with much feminist thinking in geography, this emphasis emerges from the observation that the 'cultural turn' of the 1990s moved too far towards the abstract, forgetting that people and flesh are involved in political decisions and their consequences. Feminist geopolitics returns to the body, action and practice of geopolitics; that is, what Dowler and Sharp call "an embodied position where different scales of analysis come together." (2001:167). They go on to argue that women remain at the periphery of critical geopolitics, which is once again dominated by Western men and so continues the tradition of classical geopolitics by missing out the views of most of the world's population. Hyndman (2004: 309-11) suggests that it is only by analysing information at many scales – those of the body, the home, neighbourhood, workplace, the region, nation and globe – and by questioning the militarization of states and societies (Falk, 2000), and acknowledging difference in a constructive, collaborative way (Routledge 2002: 487), that we can "attempt to develop a politics of security at the scale of the (civilian) body." This broadens out the discussion around what a threat is and

to whom; conflict, she points out, can be as big a threat to the citizens of a nation through the breakdown of infrastructure as on the battlefield.

Taking this idea of the body's relationship with security further, Dixon queries the geo- in geopolitics from another direction. By "invoking geopolitics as an assemblage of site-specific practices grounded through bodies" (2015: 47), she opens up space for an inquiry into the nature of these bodies. Referring back to the work of Scudéry in the seventeenth century, she critiques the Cartesian dualism that is found in classical geopolitics and queries an "anthropocentrism that denied, not the agency of the animal world understood in a mechanical sense, but a kinship with and a creativity therein that could, in turn, allow for a more caring relation of 'regard' to emerge" (ibid). Importantly, her materialist feminist analysis moves us away from the assumption that the state is the ultimate unit of analysis in geopolitics. Querying the historical construction of the sovereign state as central to a classical geopolitics, she brings us back to the myriad connections drawn between the body of the individual and the body of the state in political theory, and also across the natural and social sciences, as well as in popular culture.

Through the work of Irigaray, Braidotti, and Deleuze and Guattari, Dixon unseats not only the state, but also the body, as a fixed vessel; these are immersed in the world around them and therefore are in a constant state of becoming (ibid, 48-51). She expands on this with three points. First, she observes it is not the female body *per se* that needs to be brought into politics; rather, it is productive to explore how bodies that do not adhere to the Platonic ideal of a "reasoned, disciplined (adult male) citizen" become the excess to geopolitics. Second, she notes the various distinctions made between human and non-human in geopolitical theory and practice, and the importance of acknowledging, beneath these distinctions, the work of "territories, resources, locations and forces" in the 'becoming' of bodies:

> What such a becoming can do, as Elizabeth Grosz (2008), in her work on Deleuze and a 'framing of the earth,' demonstrates, is to highlight how a sexuated mode of reproduction not only increases a biological differentiation – it is, she writes, the "very machinery for guaranteeing the endless generation of morphological and genetic variation" (ibid.: 6) – but possesses an excess to this that also proliferates difference. There is, for example, "an 'art' in the natural world," she continues, "from the moment there is sexual selection, from the moment there are two sexes that attract each other's interest and taste through visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile and gustatory sensations." (ibid.: 7) (Dixon 2015 :50)

Such an observation may seem like a diversion from talking about geopolitics, but as Yusoff explains "Grosz ties art to the nonhuman power of the animal and to the geopower

of the earth." (2012: 972). Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari, she talks of art as being a way of framing the world, or territorializing it; such a territory cannot exist without borders or frames. Using the example of the bower bird's elaborate nest building, she suggests that "territory is artistic, the consequence of love not war, of seduction not defence" (Grosz, 2008: 69). Territory here is "that which is produced by the elaborate, if apparently useless, activity of construction, attention grabbing, and display that mark most of sexual selection" (Grosz 2008: 12). She goes on to talk about art as being a way of framing and unframing, territorializing and deterritorializing, a way of organizing chaos and reorganizing it.

Third, Dixon makes the argument that a feminist geopolitics should be interrogated according to what it can do, as opposed to what it is. She talks about a feminist approach to geopolitics through four main concepts, the flesh, the bones, abhorrence and the touch of the body. This, she argues, is crucial as again it moves us away from the limiting operation of essentialist arguments, such as conceptualizing women as opposed to, or complementary to, men. Territories and the bodies traversing these, according to this model, are not something containing resources laid out on a map and over which various groups of humans have (or attempt to have, or say that they have) control. They are materialities and associated capacities in their own right; they do not exist to serve others, but to pursue their own trajectories, in contact with countless others. This reading of the geo- in geopolitics further pluralizes the field by situating it in time and space, and interrogating the biological and other bodies of knowledge upon which a classical geopolitics is based.

A feminist geopolitics, then, observes that those writing about geopolitics are still primarily privileged white men from the first world, and questions why this is and what this does. It also questions the assumptions relating to the biology of the body that inform the arguments made by classical geopolitics; by asking what a body is and what it can do, it seeks to avoid the generalizations and reductions that give rise to essentialisms. Dixon's materialist feminist approach pluralizes geopolitics further by interrogating the way that we conceptualize the very matter that is being protected through our geopolitical system, and attempting to broaden this conception back out to include the assemblages of life in which all bodies are a part. She questions what the ambition of geopolitics is, what is being threatened and protected by whom and to what end, and what alternative formulations can be proffered. However, the audience for this work is relatively small; these concepts, with all their complexity and uncertainty, are difficult to communicate. Geopolitics continues to be understood popularly as the binary world of a classical

framework, and this more plural work tends to remain in academic journals and papers. Despite this, recent efforts to facilitate impact and knowledge exchange can be observed; here, it is a critical engagement with aesthetics, often via the lens of arts practice, that has preoccupied some geopolitical scholars. As I note below, these relationships are regarded as opportunities not only for disseminating their research differently using artists to illustrate ideas, but in a more collaborative manner prompts a reconsideration of what constitutes an appropriately geopolitical object of analysis.

Creativity, Experiment and a Geo-politics

The relationships between the arts, aesthetics and politics are well established; they can be seen in the battle paintings, sculpture, and drawings in arts collections across the world, for example the collections of the Imperial War Museum, the National Collection and the Royal Collection in the UK amongst many others. They can also be seen in the arts across many "other" cultures and times; think of Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1869 [1899]), the music of Wagner, the music of warriors across Africa, the *haka* of New Zealand's Maori or *capoeira* of Brazil to draw attention to just a few. Art and other creative practices have long been involved in geopolitics, creating propaganda, comment and criticism. Yet, for political geographers – mostly white European or US males – the arts as an effective medium for the dissemination of emotion and affect, have been observed with caution and even distaste.

In European culture it can be argued that the arts have come to be seen as the jurisdiction of the privileged few. This was politics in action as ideas of 'civilization' led to 'good' taste and manners defining what was 'good' and 'bad' art and changed the meaning of aesthetics. Eagleton (1988) argues that manners are born of an ideological reconstruction of the sensible world around the human bourgeoisie, "the crucial hinge between ethics and aesthetics, virtue and beauty… which converts morality to style, aestheticizing virtue and so deconstructing the opposition between the proper and the pleasurable" (1988: 329). This colonizing of aesthetics by the powerful, moves the concept away from being what he calls a "discourse of the body" (ibid: 327) distinguishing what is felt from what is thought, towards bringing all that is sensed by the body into the realm of enlightened reason. Aesthetics in this sense have little to do with art and everything to do with politics. As I began to explore in the last section, the hierarchical perception of art has been challenged more recently by other scholars such as Grosz, Dixon and Braidotti. It is the interplay

between this reading of the arts as an expression of excessiveness, a universal creative force, and that of the arts as an elite expression of good taste, that illustrates a move away from a classical framing of power either as it relates to geopolitics or to creativity, or to heritage, that is of interest here.

Popular Culture as Ideological Medium

A civilized notion of 'art' usually refers to what has come to be known as 'high' art and has been challenged to a degree by the notion of 'popular' art which emerged in the new field of Cultural Theory at around the same time as critical geopolitics, reflecting a move in academia more widely away from objectivity, and placing the researcher within the research. Early cultural theorists such as John Berger, Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams argued that the academic study of popular culture reveals as much or possibly more about the people who make and consume it than the study of traditional art, in which they include classical music, as well as 'world' music, and 'ethnic' art. Building on some of this work in the 1970s, some critical geopolitics scholars took popular culture and its artefacts to task as mediums through which hegemonic world views are manifested. As I write, this is highlighted by the BBC extending the classical series 'Civilisation' – in which the classics were presented as the pinnacle of culture – with a further series 'Civilisations' that includes cultures from across the globe, pluralizing the way in which civilizations and 'worlds' are framed.

Sharp and Dittmer have both written about the representation of geopolitics in popular culture, Sharp (1993) looking how that a certain world view and opinions about war were reproduced in the *Readers Digest*, and Dittmer (2007) using the lens of the cartoon character *Captain America* to look at how American citizens perceive their nationalism and role in the world before World War Two. This further opens up the debates that a critical geopolitics initiated around the interaction of people with cultural iconography, images and objects, buildings and monuments, that produce and reproduce a certain geopolitical view of the world (see O'Tuathail 2003). Kuus (2007a, 2007b) looks at how this phenomenon was particularly noticeable in central Europe after the Cold War where many of the leaders and foreign office officials came from an intellectual academic humanities background. This background, she argues, was what legitimized them during the initial post-communist years; intellectuals and artists creating the discourse that resisted communism and its practice. It has placed much of central and eastern Europe on the world map, and, importantly, emphasized their presence in Europe and its culture through

their ability to draw on history, their extensive reading, and creative practices to develop their narratives of their countries' place in the world.

Art and the work of Disruption

The hegemonic role that the creation of narratives in various art forms delivers has led to a reconsideration of how contemporary art 'works' beyond the work of art. The capacity for artworks to 'speak to power' has been extensively explored, particularly insofar as these disrupt the authoritative status of inherited art genres. Ingram (2015), for example, quotes Ranciére:

> The dream of a suitable political work of art is in fact the dream of disrupting the relationship between the visible, the sayable, and the thinkable without having to use the terms of a message as a vehicle. (2006: 63 in Ingram 2015: 5)

Art, then, can disrupt aesthetics implicitly. In addition to this, contemporary art tends towards further disrupting inherited art genres by expanding the palette of senses that are addressed, and so I would be tempted to replace Ranciere's 'visible' with the 'sensible.' Building on this idea of disruption, and returning more specifically to geopolitics, Williams (2014) uses the work of British artist Fiona Banner to explore the difference between the official war artist, whose work becomes propaganda, with that of contemporary artists who seek to disrupt the way that politics is perceived by the viewer. Building on a call from Dittmer and Gray (2010), she uses Judith Butler's ideas around performativity to move the debate away from that of art's representation of something towards the performances of every day practice more dominant in contemporary art. As art attempts to address a wider palette of senses, and a co-produced emergent world of cultural performance[17], installations have grown in popularity. Marston and Straughan quote Hawkins (2010) in their analysis of the art produced during a project managed by arts and environment group Cape Farewell:

> Installation is an art form, Hawkins informs us, which 'provide[s] a means to engage with, and to convey, aesthetic–embodied, sensory–experiences . . .,' enabling audiences to corporeally encounter the manner in which forms, sensations and materials have been brought together in particular ways in response to individual engagements with the Arctic. As such, installations offer 'experience of an experience' for 'installations create spaces to which you take your whole body.' (Marston and Straughan 2014: 18)

Jameson (2015) goes further, arguing that installations both are and reflect upon contemporary art in that they are events rather than objects, often created to be singular experiences for audiences rather than possessions for collectors. This challenges the divide

[17] that is the constant performance and reinforcement of multiple cultures

between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ art: reflecting their interaction with a contemporary world formed from a series of singularities that exist purely in the present, installations speak to a less linear temporality than more traditional artforms. They are designed to be experiences in the present rather than ongoing symbols of power or wealth. The ideas of co-production and emergence situate arts as innately political, politics being about relations, and Jameson argues that space, then, is more of a consideration than time: that “all politics is about real estate… postmodern politics is essentially a matter of land grabs on a local as well as global scale” (2015: 111-130). This again moves the focus away from attempting to define what things *are* towards looking at what things *do* (Bourdieu 1977, Whatmore 2006: 603-4) in that again it is the process of being in the world that is more important than fixed definitions. Returning to Williams, she argues that the work of artists can disrupt the frame through which geopolitical activity is viewed, and as a result the framing of the dominant geopolitical discourse, by materially questioning the assumptions inherent in these discourses. This allows movement away from the classical binary combative framing of conflict, allowing access to more subtle stories and a more plural understanding of geopolitics. It is this pluralizing of geopolitics by artists as a form of embodied experience that has caught geographers’ attention.

A More than Human Art for a Geo-Politics

Installations that address geopolitics utilize the aesthetic dimensions of art, insofar as it is the embodied experience that becomes an opportunity for power relations to be interrupted, and perhaps reworked. Yet, there has also been an effort to disrupt the often taken for granted relation between the arts as a (western European) historically and geographically demarcated set of genres and practices, and aesthetics. Aesthetics and the understanding of a sensible world then becomes a vehicle for a much broader interrogation of how geopolitics itself works. What is at stake here is the nature of the humanness that lurks within our understanding of what art, and artistic practice, consists of; often this humanness is a Kantian rendering of the human subject, at once sovereign and masterful. Contemporary art disrupts arts practices in order to address a more plural understanding of what it is to be human, and indeed alive. This disruption of art as a category is important for Grosz, for example, who uses aesthetics as a means of getting to grips with a ‘more than human’ geopolitics. Yusoff (2012) explains,

> In Grosz’s work aesthetics is not conclusion, cultural accomplishment, or reflection and reification of pre-existing conditions into artistic forms, but a form of existence charged with the work of activating the “perceptions and sensations of the lived body” (2008: 22). Contracting and elaborating on imperceptible cosmic, biological,

> and geologic forces of the universe, art is the materialisation of these forces on the body: sensations that allow our becoming-otherwise. (2012: 971-2)

Thinking about art in this way – as something that draws upon the universe to affect its human and non-human audiences, and aesthetics as a sensible way of being – again stresses a movement away from the more traditional view of the relationship between arts, aesthetics and politics. Grosz invites us to think about art as it is formed from, forms, informs and transforms our perception of the geo-, that is, a world that we inhabit; the earth. This, in turn, allows a more complex and critical relationship with geopolitics to be revealed.

In a similar vein, Dixon (2009) uses Rancière's *The Politics of Aesthetics* (2007) to explore the relationship between geopolitics, art and aesthetics. She uses Rancière's definition of aesthetics which moves away from the common perception of its relationship with art and the senses to become:

> . . . not the theory of the beautiful or of art; nor is it the theory of sensibility. Aesthetics is an historically determined concept which designates a specific regime of visibility and intelligibility of art, which is inscribed in a reconfiguration of the categories of sensible experience and its interpretation. (Rancière 2006, 1)

Ranciére's historical perspective makes aesthetics inherent in politics, and, Dixon adds, for Rancière, this can be taken further as politics and aesthetics are tied together in defining space, speech and ideas, and who can access them (Dixon 2009: 412). She goes on to point out that the conceptualization of bodies and their material existence becomes important when thinking about politics in this way: who is affected, in what way? This again emphasizes the importance of what things and people *do* rather than what they *are*, the emphasis on a material practice and action rather than rhetoric as defining features of the world around us. Artistic practice becomes a form of politics, unique in that it can be politics and comment on politics concurrently by playing with sensory experience, time and space, and by providing an opportunity to reflect.

Ingram (2015) uses Rancière and Eagleton to explore this matter further. He takes aesthetics from Cadeaux to be three things, first *aisthesis* from the classical Greek concept meaning "'lived, felt experience, knowledge as it is obtained through the senses,' which is contrasted with *eidos*, 'knowledge derived from reason and intellection' (2010: xv)" (2015: 3); second, the post-Enlightenment understanding of aesthetics as being the study through nature and art of the sublime; and third, he traces back to Kant the idea that experience and belonging are interrelated. He then argues that these definitions are relevant to geopolitics

as they highlight the sensory experience of the practice of geopolitics. Looking to Eagleton he notes that:

> the emergence of 'aesthetics' and 'art' as separate, identifiable domains coincides with the rise of the bourgeoisie and… its need to legitimate a form of reason that could not fully justify itself in its own terms. The aesthetic, he suggests, is both another name for what Gramsci later termed hegemony and the key to a materialist understanding of ideology as something felt through the body at least as much as it is grasped through cognition. (2015: 4)

The connection with hegemony is interesting, implying an inherent connection with power and politics, as is the materialist understanding of ideology attempting to undo Cartesian dualism, bringing back together the felt and the thought as both properties of the body. This unification of thinking and feeling is of note as, although couched in ideology and thought, politics is inherently linked to how people *feel*.

Jackson (2016) notes that there is a cultural dimension to how people feel about their worlds and argues that aesthetics is experienced through a cultural lens. He goes on to argue that there is a risk in using aesthetics to address politics, in that bringing the sensed into the thought propagates assumptions that are inherent in the cultures that have dominated aesthetics as a concept. That is, aesthetics as it has come to be understood, is heavily influenced by eighteenth century Europe, the dominance of reason over emotion, and the dualisms that exist in this tradition: subject-object, self-other, nature-culture and so on. In this way he warns that the invocation of aesthetics to problematize the political, risks perpetuating the social and political limits that it is supposed to be overcoming:

> As a discursive category, aesthetics is neither simply descriptive of aesthesis [the sensed] nor ontologically neutral… aesthetics and a politics of aesthetics are conceptual frameworks that depend on, and reproduce, Western ontologies and colonizing metanarratives (2016: 4).

Outwith the strictures of eighteenth century aesthetics, the pluralization of art has the potential to take us and our bodies into more plural understandings of civilization, as Ignatov's (2016) paper about the orature of the Gurensi and Boosi people of Ghana shows. Here he argues that, far from being a primitive way of framing philosophy, the art of orature in these cultures is able to speak of the living and the dead, of the "expressivity of the land" (2016: 2) and its geopower without the duality of European traditions. "To tune into the voices of the land and the ancestors means to personify and to relate rather than to objectify" (2016: 3). Orature seeks to explore the world without the boundaries between subjects and disciplines that is found in Western arts and philosophy, and is a way of entering into dialogue with materials rather than attempting to master them (ibid: 6). Echoing Butler and Williams, he goes on to talk of the importance of the performative in

the delivery of oration. It involves the performer(s) and the audience in an interactive event. Butler suggests that performativity:

> seeks to counter a certain kind of positivism according to which we might begin with already delimited understandings of what gender, the state, and the economy are. Secondly, performativity works, when it works, to counter a certain metaphysical presumption about culturally constructed categories and to draw our attention to the diverse mechanisms of that construction. Thirdly, performativity starts to describe a set of processes that produce ontological effects, that is, that work to bring into being certain kinds of realities or, fourthly, that lead to certain kinds of socially binding consequences. (2010: 147)

The importance of thinking about geopolitics through this performative lens is that it counters the 'fixed' assumptions that are manifest in a classical geopolitics. Like Woodward et al's argument about site ontologies, it proposes that categories and definitions are specific to that event, and in this manner, allows a more plural geo-politics to emerge.

In sum, we can perhaps consider artistic practice as a way of being attuned to the plural and the ambiguous rather than fixed and dualistic; as artist Yinka Shonebare said on BBC Radio Four's 'Desert Island Discs' when questioned about his acceptance of an MBE given that his work explores issues around Empire and concepts of 'the other,' "I am not opposed to any argument, I am both" (broadcast 13/3/16). This statement reveals the ability of the materiality of his (and many others') art to be both felt and thought, political and apolitical, and, as Ingram argues in 2016 (and following an ongoing debate in art history), art both is and it is about (2016: 3). It both exists and represents, and this inherent 'both-ness' means that it has the capacity to demonstrate and question the complexity in the entanglement of ideas. Art, then, disturbs, stretches, holds ambiguity and expresses paradox. It is a practice aimed towards affecting its audiences, and as such exceeds scholarly cultures of analysis as well as categorical tendencies, making it well placed to add depth to complex academic debates, and reach new audiences. This excess and the disruptions and lacunae that it performs are what I go on to explore further in relation to conservation and Galápagos. If we turn again to the Galápagos exhibition, much of the art engaged with the contradictions and resultant conflicts within the culture there. For instance, the work of Marcus Coates introduced in the last chapter disrupted the tourist gaze, contradictions in belief systems, and assumptions made about human and more-than-human worlds. As such it challenges cultural notions of east-west binary formulations, imperialism and its legacies, ideas of the privileged body, and the earth as a geopolitical subject, experimented upon and transformed.

Chapter 3
UNESCO and the Construction of World Heritage Sites

Introduction

UNESCO World Heritage Sites are now some of the most 'iconic' places on earth representing unique places to live, work and especially to visit. As of 2018, there are 1092 properties, and three types of designation, cultural, natural and mixed, under the banner of World Heritage. Of the 1092 properties, 845 are cultural, 209 are natural and 38 are mixed. There are 167 States Parties to the World Heritage Convention and all of these have World Heritage Sites on their territories, spanning all continents of the globe. Designated for their cultural and/ or natural properties, they are claimed to be of outstanding universal value to all humanity, and unique examples of the world's heritage.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) originated in Europe in 1945, just after what came to be known as World War Two, building on thinking by its predecessors in The League of Nations about ways to maintain peace. Along with a host of other entities, which I will go on to introduce below, it forms part of the United Nations family of organizations connected by the ideals of bringing about a more peaceful world through cooperation between a community of nations, echoing the sentiment of the Treaty of Westphalia. The League of Nations emerged after World War One and was superseded after World War Two by the United Nations and its commissions and associated organizations, both governmental and non-governmental. Unlike the League of Nations, which was comparably quite an academic project, the United Nations was, and continues to be, driven by issues arising and the practical need to respond to these collectively. Its design was, from the beginning, a temporally and culturally situated response to a set of circumstances that arose in Western Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. Geopolitics was at the height of its geostrategic classical phase in that it was a practice rather than a theoretical discussion. As outlined in the last chapter, World War One had left European countries feeling threatened and open to attack from their neighbours. Geopolitics was applied to mitigate attack; to outline opponents' weaknesses and the tactics needed to overcome them if necessary. The League of Nations was one of the vehicles for ensuring that the various peace Treaties that came out of the war were honoured, including the Treaty of Versailles. This was the key peace treaty

between Germany and the League which, as laid out in the last chapter, was seen by some Germans as a constraint of their country by other European powers.

This chapter aims to outline the manner in which UNESCO and the League of Nations, worked as situated geopolitical entities to construct and put into practice the notion of the World Heritage. I start with a chronological account, introducing the major debates, decisions and resulting organizations and structures that have become key to the delivery of the World Heritage Convention. I then look to the challenges and contradictions in the practices of these, and the impact that they have had on how heritage has been imagined, articulated, and grounded in sites. Again the two key themes are, firstly, geopolitics and the impact of imagining a world divided into nation-states, the inter-national system that has resulted, and the way that this has attempted to impose certain cultural concepts such as modernism. Secondly, a divide between nature and culture on other areas of the world where these ideas seem far from 'natural.' I conclude by looking at ways in which UNESCO has attempted to bring nature and culture back together again, and ways in which conservation might begin to be differently imagined.

Establishing Bodies, Conventions and Objectives

Assembling a Community of Nations

Following the end of World War One, a conference was held in Paris to agree the terms upon which peace would be enacted. Alongside the Treaty of Versailles and four other Treaties, the League of Nations was one of the initiatives agreed by twenty-seven delegate nations working across fifty-two commissions at the Paris Peace Conference. Discussions at the conference looked into key issues such as the treaties that were required, the options for redrawing state boundaries, the disposition of colonies, and the founding of an intergovernmental entity that would work to secure peace and disarmament. Initially joining forty-two member states, the League of Nations was founded in January 1920, setting up a 'community of nations' that one official likened to the departments of a large business (Greaves 1931: 16), and providing a vehicle for the resolution of disagreements between states and regions through diplomacy rather than violence. Over its two decades of work to achieve lasting world peace, the League took a comprehensive view of security, hosting international discussions around the issues that might lead to hostility and war, such as working conditions and health, and highlighting various humanitarian programmes that would facilitate security such as anti-trafficking measures and protections for

European minorities. The structure and purpose of the organization was laid out by The Covenant of the League of Nations, which had 26 articles outlining how the League was to function and be directed. This imagining of a highly complex intergovernmental entity was aided by visuals such as Figure 4, which set out a rigidly hierarchical organizational structure.

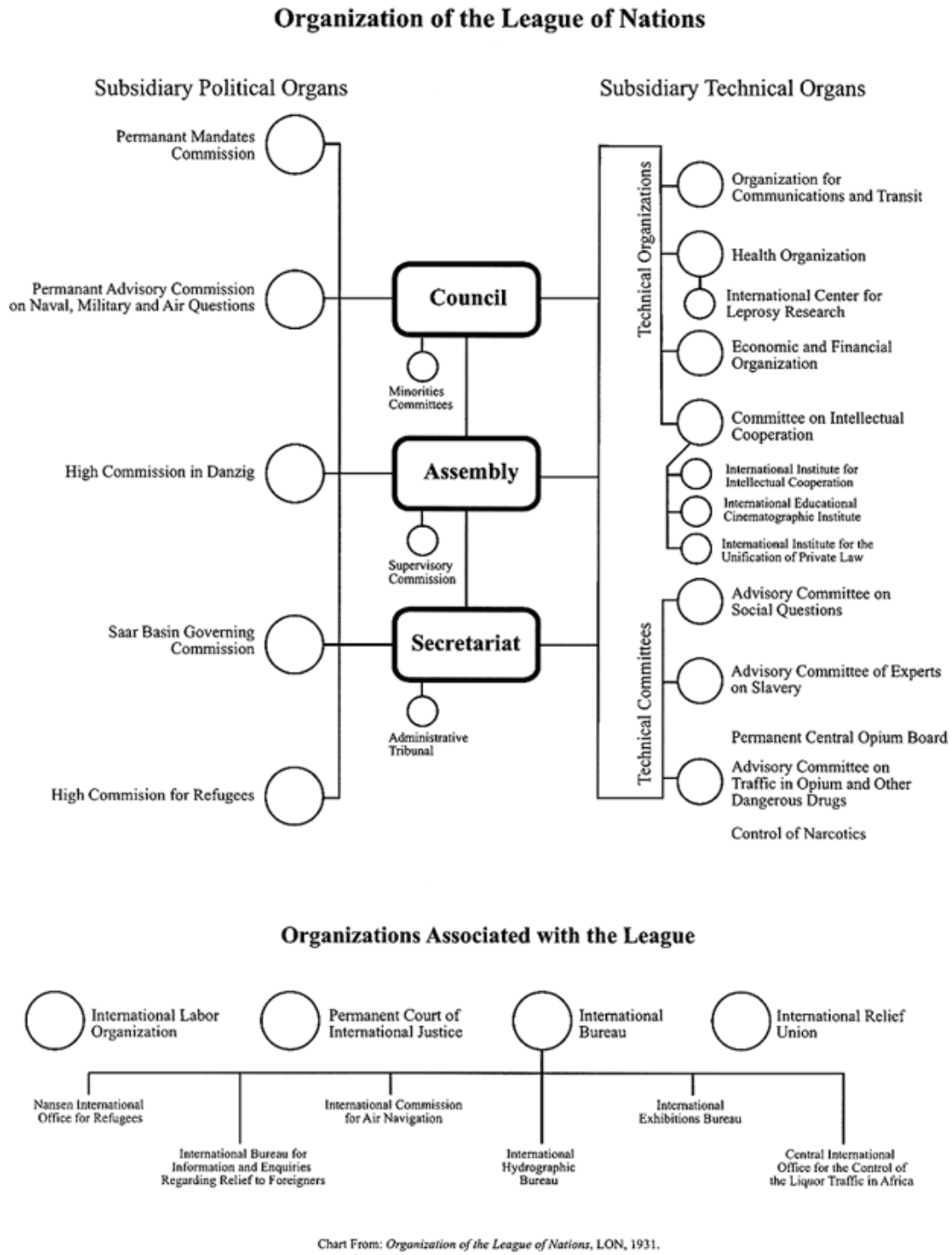

Figure 4: Organogram of the League of Nations in 1931
www.indiana.edu/~league/orgchart.htm

Figure 4 is a diagram produced by the League of Nations in 1931, and shows three key pillars to the organization: the Council, the Assembly and the Permanent Secretariat. All member nations of the League were represented on the Assembly by up to three delegates. Members also paid in to a central fund that was set up to support the work programmes. The Assembly met once per year at the General Assembly and decided on policy. Each member nation had one vote in decisions that were taken at the level of the Assembly. The Council, by contrast, met four times per year, and was primarily concerned with security. It was formed from four permanent members (to begin with these were France, Italy, Japan and the UK) and four (later nine) non-permanent members elected by the Assembly. While the Assembly attempted to address long term social problems that they considered might lead to conflict, the Council attempted to address crises as they arose.

The Permanent Secretariat can be equated with the civil service and were employed to carry out the work of the organization under the direction of the Secretary General. This included minute taking, archiving, publishing reports and coordinating the actions that emerged from the various meetings of the Council, Assembly and some of the associated organizations. The first Secretary General of the League of Nations was Sir Eric Drummond, a career civil servant from the British Foreign Office, who remained in post for the first fourteen years of the entity, and who, Pedersen (2012) argues, was instrumental in shaping the way that an 'internationalism' was developed. Drummond's 1931 speech to the Institute of Public Administration captures some of this approach, wherein he laid out two models that he could have developed for the Secretariat. The first was a kind of permanent conference of the different member states working collaboratively towards shared national goals and favoured by the likes of British politician Robert Cecil and the South African war veteran Jan Smuts, who had been heavily involved in developing the idea of the League (Housden 2014: 9-10). The second, favoured by French politician, Bourgeois, and in which Drummond believed passionately and adopted with the support of the Organization Committee[18], was the development of what he called a "truly international civil service – officials who would be solely the servants of the League" (1931: 229) regardless of their nationality. It is interesting to note the assumption around peoples' identity being national and the 'natural' way to scale this up as being internationalism rather than globalism. The way that these 'pillars' appear in figure 4 implies that the Council was further up the hierarchy and, therefore, more powerful than

[18] The Organization Committee was a temporary arrangement, appointed by the Council to oversee the setting up of the Permanent Secretariat

the Assembly, which was in turn more powerful than the Permanent Secretariat. In practice, however, the people who animated the League day after day were the Secretariat; and, it was these personnel who were to have a significant impact on shaping the finer details of policy.

The United States of America's role is notable here. The USA was pivotal in the formation of the League, which, although coined in 1914 and subsequently developed in the UK by Lord Bryce, was influenced greatly by President Wilson's Fourteen Point speech given in 1918 outlining a basis for world peace. Indeed, Wilson went on to chair the first Assembly in 1920. However, Wilson could not persuade the members of the Senate, who were largely isolationist, to join the League and so the fifth permanent place on the Council remained empty until Germany joined in 1926. It is also important to note that Germany and Russia were not at the table in the early days. Being the aggressor in World War One, Germany was not perceived as civilized enough to join and the Treaty of Versailles laid out the terms upon which it could continue to play a role in a peaceful Europe. 'Red Russia' was not seen to be politically stable enough itself, being under communist rule.

In addition to the three key bodies of the League, there are three other categories of related organizations, namely: the subsidiary political organs (such as the High Commission for Refugees and the Permanent Mandates Commission), the subsidiary technical organs (such as the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation, (CICI) or the Health Organization), and organizations that were considered separate from but related to the League (such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the Permanent Court of International Justice). Each of these organizations had its own history and was set up in its own way, some with their own assemblies and secretariats; and some, like the ILO, were also agreed at the Paris Peace Conference.

CICI

In the context of this thesis, the subsidiary body that is of most interest is the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (CICI, the French acronym is most widely used). This was established in Geneva in 1922 to encourage the international promotion and protection of intellectual work, and to develop international academic relationships based on cooperation rather than competition, providing a flagship example of the kind of work that the League should do. It also oversaw the work of the International Bureaux, and thus dealt with questions regarding scientific property, universities, schools and education, the

future of culture, protection of historical monuments, cooperation between libraries and museums, and collaboration in arts and literature. In 1926, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which was set up in Paris, was funded by the French Government and gifted to the CICI to provide support for their work. Both of these entities, alongside the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, set up in 1925, were to be highly influential on what was to become UNESCO; indeed, some of their work was directly picked up and deployed by UNESCO after World War Two (Hoggart, 1978, see also Titchen 1995, Pernet 2014).

For the first four years, the CICI was chaired by French philosopher Henri Bergson. Incidentally, Deleuze was heavily influenced by Bergson's philosophy. He wrote *Bergsonism* in 1966, and his early philosophy including *Difference and Repetition* was informed by Bergson's ideas such as 'duration,' multiplicity and the virtual. It also involved other key (European) thinkers of the day, for example Aldous Huxley, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Marie Curie, Béla Bartók, Thomas Mann, Paul Valery and HG Wells. During this period, and despite the good relations that the Committee helped to develop between some of its members, a bitter dispute arose between Bergson and Einstein over whether a philosophy of time can and should exist, or whether as Einstein would have had it, time is a purely physical phenomenon (see Canales 2005 for more about this divide in the sciences, arts, and philosophy). Bergson resigned in 1925 citing bad health, and the Dutch Physicist Hendrik Lorentz became President, followed in 1928 by the British scholar Gilbert Murray, who remained in post until 1939. These examples illustrate the complexity of the day to day workings of such ambitious organizations, and the importance of the individual people involved, over and above the formal structure and doctrine of The League.

In Figure 5, Grandjean draws together metadata from 27,000 documents in the CICI archive which illustrate around 3,200 people's relationships with each other during the period 1919 to 1927. Grandjean (2016) describes "the size and colour of the nodes are proportional to the number of appearances of the individuals… The size and colour of the edges are proportional to the number of co-occurrences of the two people they bind." Although in some ways this chart is difficult to decipher, it does give an alternative geography to the CICI than was previously available, foregrounding the relationships between people and sections that animated its policy and practice. This geography appears more fluid and egalitarian than the official charts and hierarchical power structures, highlighting the everyday contact of the people who represented the different parts of the

organization, and showing that the grand narrative of the organization was underpinned by individual people who presumably had good days and bad days, and their own politics at play. That is, it shows that the organization and its achievements were emergent rather than the result only of careful planning and strategizing. It is of note here, however, that Drummond specifically drew attention to his philosophy of talking to people directly rather than relying on minutes and written communications, "which perhaps are sometimes apt to take an exaggerated form in national services" (1931: 231). Despite this indication that this is still only one version of the communications that took place within the CICI, it remains an interesting and thought-provoking alternative to the organizational structure diagram in figure 4.

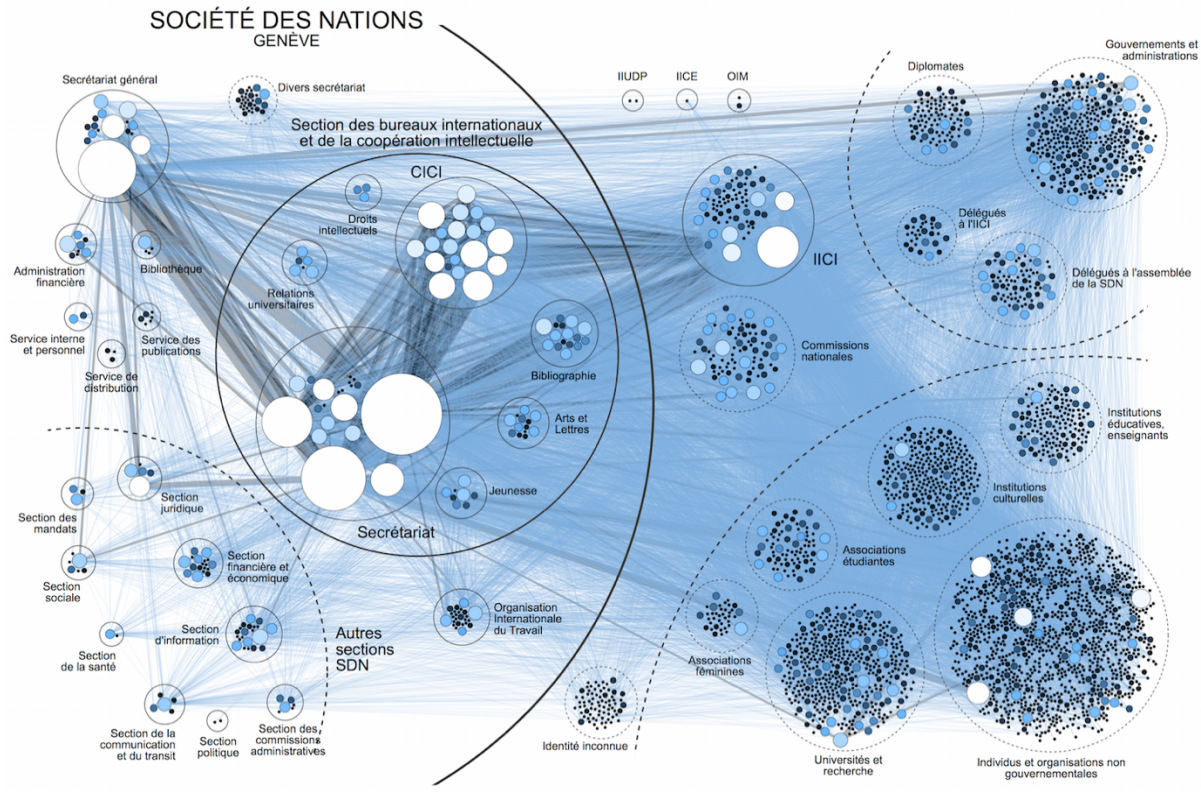

Figure 5: Grandjean's (2016) diagram using metadata from the CICI archive. From dh2016.adho.org/static/data/235/image3.png

The United Nations: Reflecting on the Past, Moving Forward

The United Nations replaced the League of Nations during World War Two, and was officially adopted in 1946. Again we can see the influence of the USA on its form and

remit, as manifest in discussions between President Franklin Roosevelt,[19] the UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Roosevelt's aide Harry Hopkins in 1941. Here they worked through what the new organization should aim to achieve and how to avoid some of the pitfalls of the League of Nations such as the public perception that it was lofty and exclusive. In 1942, what went on to become the United Nations Declaration was signed by the four Great Allied Powers, The USA, the UK, The USSR and China. Over the next three years, another 21 states signed the Declaration. France's absence from the development of the UN is notable, and was due to the conflict making it unclear who was governing the country. France remained on the League of Nations Permanent Council, however, and was part of the new United Nations Security Council once responsibility was transferred from the former to the latter.

The aims and approach of the United Nations remained broadly the same as those of the League of Nations; that is, to maintain world peace by bringing together a community of nations that would debate to resolve conflict, and promise mutual protection in the case of attack. This builds on the notion of a 'community of states' that I introduced in the last chapter, and also the geostrategic classical geopolitics that developed during and after World War Two: the organization was brought into being to get things done rather than to theorize about them. There were differences, however, in the structure and membership of this entity. The structure of the UN is predicated on six (in practice five) pillars rather than the three of the League (see figure 6).

The three that remain structurally more or less the same as the League are the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. As with the League, all members can send representatives to the Assembly. Some members of the Secretariat were transferred directly from the League, and the structure of a Secretary General with staff answerable to them remained. The Council remained an assembly of five member nations, but these were the states who had 'won' the war, as noted above. Germany had joined the League of Nations' Permanent Council on joining the League in 1926, but left again when they left the League in 1933. Japan also left the Council in 1933, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) joined both the League and the Permanent Council in 1934. From 1939 onward only the UK and France remained on the newly named Security Council, which remained concerned with security and responding promptly to events. The two additional pillars

[19] Of note to Galápagos, Franklin D Roosevelt and his father President Theodore Roosevelt were both enthusiastic early conservationists and supporters of the National Park movement in the US and beyond.

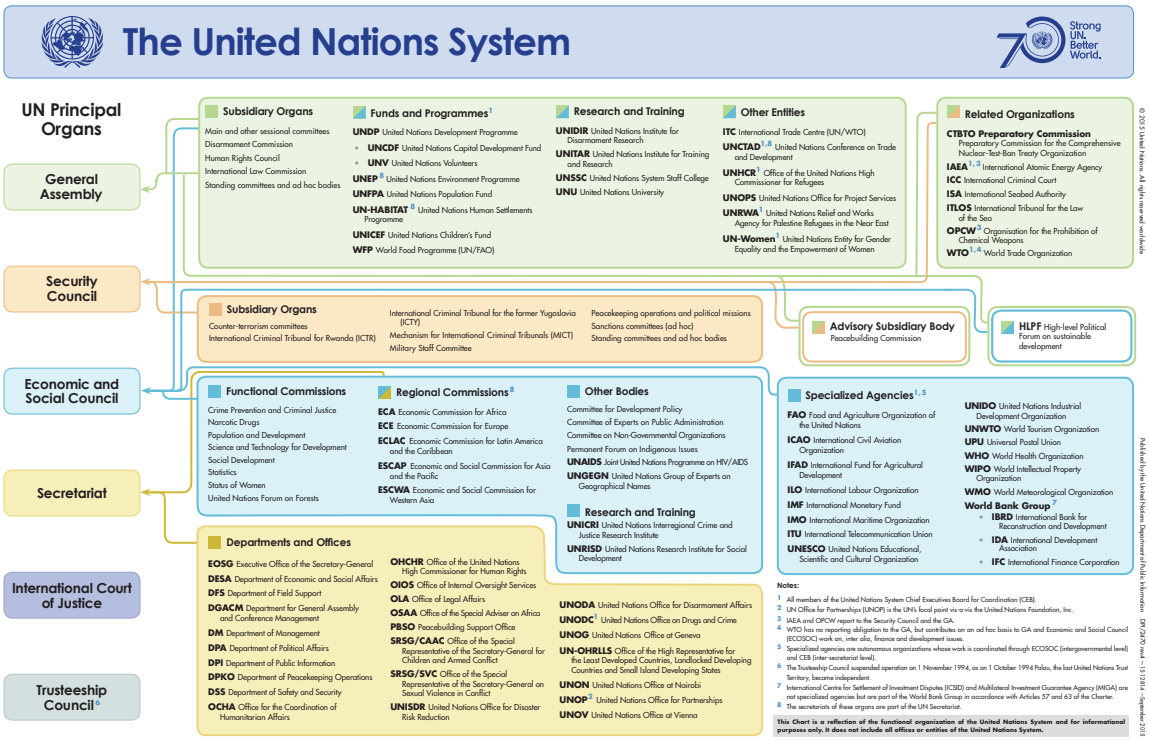

Figure 6: Organogram of UN (current) www.un.org/en/aboutun/structure/pdfs/UN_System_Chart_2015_Rev.4_ENG_11x17colour.pdf accessed 19.10.16

brought to the UN were the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the International Court of Justice. A sixth pillar, which suspended operations in 1994, was the Trusteeship Council, which oversaw the fair treatment of Trustee Territories until the last one, Palau, gained independence.

UNESCO

As can be seen in figure 6, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a Specialized Agency of the UN. It originated in Europe in 1945, building on the work of the League of Nations' CICI. During the war, the USA had put its energies into its own National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, and a pan-American project attempting to fill the fairly significant gap left behind during World War Two by the Europe-based CICI in South America where its uptake had been strong (Pernet, 2014: 351). At this time, CICI's President, Professor of Greek Gilbert Murray, based at the University of Oxford, carried out a critical assessment of what the CICI had done, its strengths and weaknesses. He judged that the strong work should be carried out by a new organization and aimed his pitch at the Conference for the Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) which was held annually in London from 1942. Eventually this effort to reinvigorate CICI under a new guise gained momentum, and in 1945 two drafts were

presented at the CAME: echoing those for the development of the League, one was French, arguing for long term goals and universal participation, the second was from the US and more instrumental. Emerging from the CAME itself, this second call argued for a strong intergovernmental organization that was focused on pragmatic short term goals. This model won out, and UNESCO was agreed as the new organization with headquarters in Paris to please the potentially bruised French (Pernet 2014: 354-356). With the exception of the International Court of Justice in the Hague, the rest of the UN was based in New York now that the US had joined.

Unlike the CICI, UNESCO was set up at arms' length from the emerging United Nations, with its own Secretary General and Secretariat. It is clear from the UNESCO website and materials that they were keen to distinguish themselves from the UN and what were perceived to be its dependence on politics and economics in bringing about peace:

> In 1945, UNESCO was created in order to respond to the firm belief of nations, forged by two world wars in less than a generation, that political and economic agreements are not enough to build a lasting peace. Peace must be established on the basis of humanity's moral and intellectual solidarity. en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco accessed 20.10.2016

The preamble to the UNESCO constitution also begins: "That since wars begin in the minds of men [sic], it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" (1946: 1), highlighting the possibility that the conditions for conflict and violence are rooted more deeply in individuals than at the national or international level. The intended remit of UNESCO remains:

> To contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations. (www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/about-us/who-we-are/history/constitution/ accessed 4 Oct 2016)

The biologist, Julian Huxley, grandson of the renowned nineteenth century biologist and Darwinian Thomas Huxley, and brother of Aldous, who had been involved in the CICI, was appointed the first Director General of UNESCO. The main sectors were going to be education and culture until Huxley, and the first Director of the Science Sector, Joseph Needham, argued that science be separately included, bringing the S to UNESCO and, interesting here, positioning science as something separate from culture. Both Huxley and Needham were believers in the social function of science in facilitating progress and development; science was to be a force for public good (Elzinga 1996: 163). In his 1946

vision for UNESCO, Huxley outlined his ideas for the organization, including the argument that theories of evolution could be applied to human 'progress':

> Of special importance in man's evaluation of his own position in the cosmic scheme and of his further destiny is the fact that he is the heir, and indeed the sole heir, of evolutionary progress to date. (1946: 12)

This beautifully illustrates the prevalent belief of the time, and that of Huxley, that all living beings are part of a progressing world with 'Western man' at the forefront of the ever-advancing evolutionary journey which was concurrently seen as the intention of an all-powerful God to whom 'man' was the natural successor (see also Latour, 1991 to whom I will return towards the end of the chapter). This had far reaching impacts on UNESCO which still reverberate today, not least 'man's' perceived privileged position regarding the use of natural resources, these existing to fulfil 'man's' needs; and the linked duty to conserve them for future generations. Huxley was in post for two years in which he laid the foundations for UNESCO's structure. Afterwards, he continued to fight for the importance of nature conservation to the wellbeing of humans, going on to be instrumental in setting up the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in 1961.

With regard to the initial geographical reach of UNESCO, Elzinga points out that Russia boycotted the organization until 1954, along with its allies, making it a very Western project in practice; international but not global (1996: 166-167). With reference to UNESCO's origin in World War Two and the allied victors' hopes for peace through democracy and freedom he asserts that:

> This analysis [of the route to peace] was presented as impartial and objective, whereas in fact it betrayed a constant bias towards Western liberal conceptions, which were draped in universalist garb. Enlightenment was implicitly equated with accepting the norm of the free market as the most rational. (1996: 165)

With this he draws attention to the normalization of the incorporation of the UN and UNESCO in a capitalist 'Western' structure, a move that was to have major implications for the work it went on to do, and the way in which it went about it. The emphasis on the freedom of ideas and the authority of the 'intellectual,' having played a part in making the CICI appear remote, lofty and ineffective, was exchanged for task driven sectors aiming to rid the world of the things that they perceived to lead to conflict, including a lack of education and a general lack of 'progress.' As indicated in the last chapter, the underlying belief in 'developing' the 'undeveloped' (or 'recovering') world, displayed by both the UN and UNESCO, could be seen on a geopolitical level to be underpinned by the Cold War rhetoric of one world order opposing another, and the desire of both to continue to influence, and maintain access to, the newly independent Third World countries and their

resources. Schrijver (2008) discusses the UN's role in catalysing the development of international law around permanent sovereignty over natural resources, which was eventually to move resources back into the hands of the territory in which they are located. In practice, however, these laws were a response to commitments, made as part of independence agreements with many nations, that worked to maintain the colonists' control of resources.

Drawing attention to the binary nature of the Cold War rhetoric in the context of heritage in their book *Heritage and Globalization* (2010), Labadi and Long point out that the collapse of the Soviet Union was not the "clearing of the last barrier to globalization: it represented the triumph of one of the competing globalizations, free market capitalism, over the other, state socialism" (2010: 3). One of the consequences of this is the freedom to present free market capitalism and its trimmings (deregulation, privatization, more commitment from the state in commercial activities and less in the delivery of the welfare state) as the natural order, through media development and education programmes. Despite their work to the contrary, and with the endorsement of many of the world's nations, the UN and UNESCO were well situated to normalize this model in all corners of the globe (Meskell and Brumann, 2015: 22-24). I will return to some of these arguments below.

Figure 7 shows the structure that was suggested for UNESCO by the Preparatory Committee in 1946. As can be seen, there was the familiar Director General and Deputy Director General of the League and UN. There were then three Associate Directors General, each with responsibility for several of the sectors. Natural Sciences were grouped with Social Sciences and Creative Arts, which could be seen as the 'intellectual group'; Education was grouped with Museums, Libraries and Mass Media, which could be seen as the 'instrumental group.' The final grouping was primarily administrative, supporting the other activities. By 1947, as can be seen in figure 8, this structure had changed dramatically with the emergence of the general programme projects. These still exist, although they now function as cross cutting priorities for the whole organization. By 1952, there were six main sectors (Figure 9), each with their own Director: Communication, Technical Assistance, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, Cultural Activities and Education.

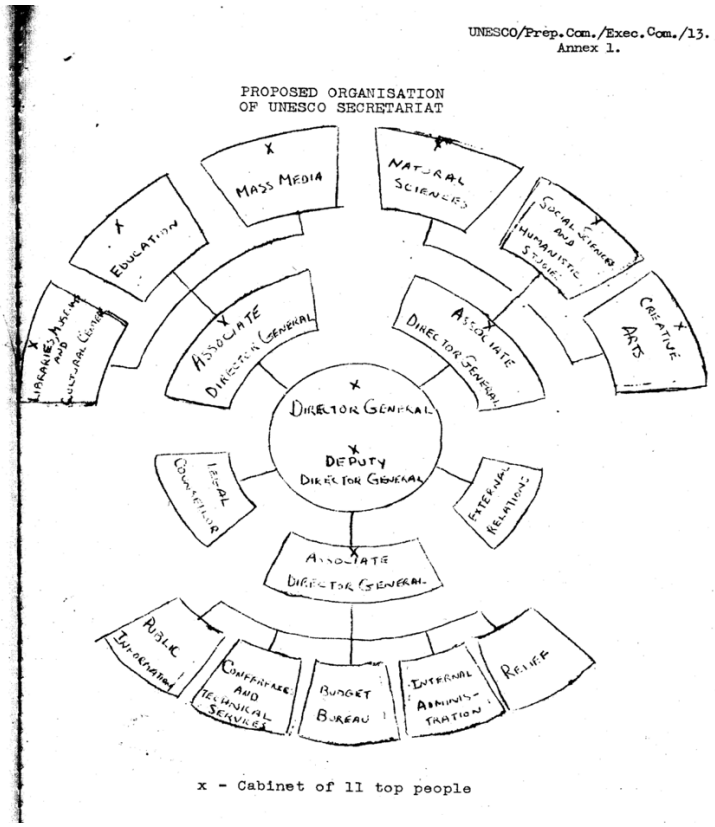

Figure 7: Organogram of UNESCO from 1946
www.unesco.org/archives/new2010/doc/Orga%20charts/unesco_organigrams.pdf

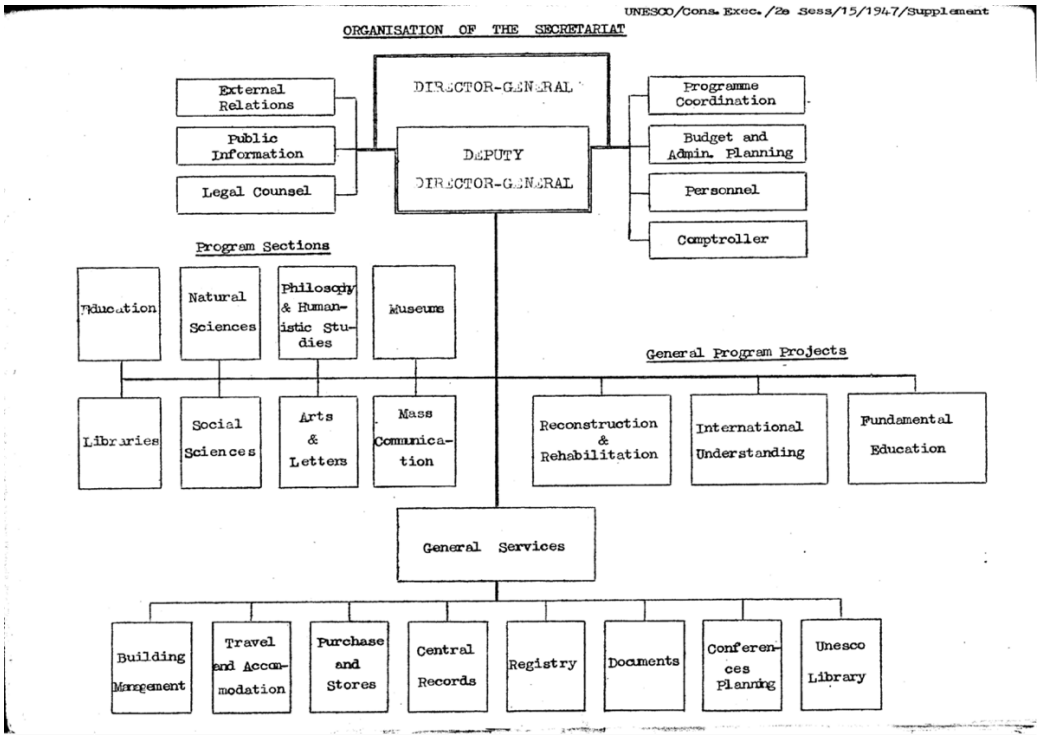

Figure 8 Organogram of UNESCO from 1947
www.unesco.org/archives/new2010/doc/Orga%20charts/unesco_organigrams.pdf

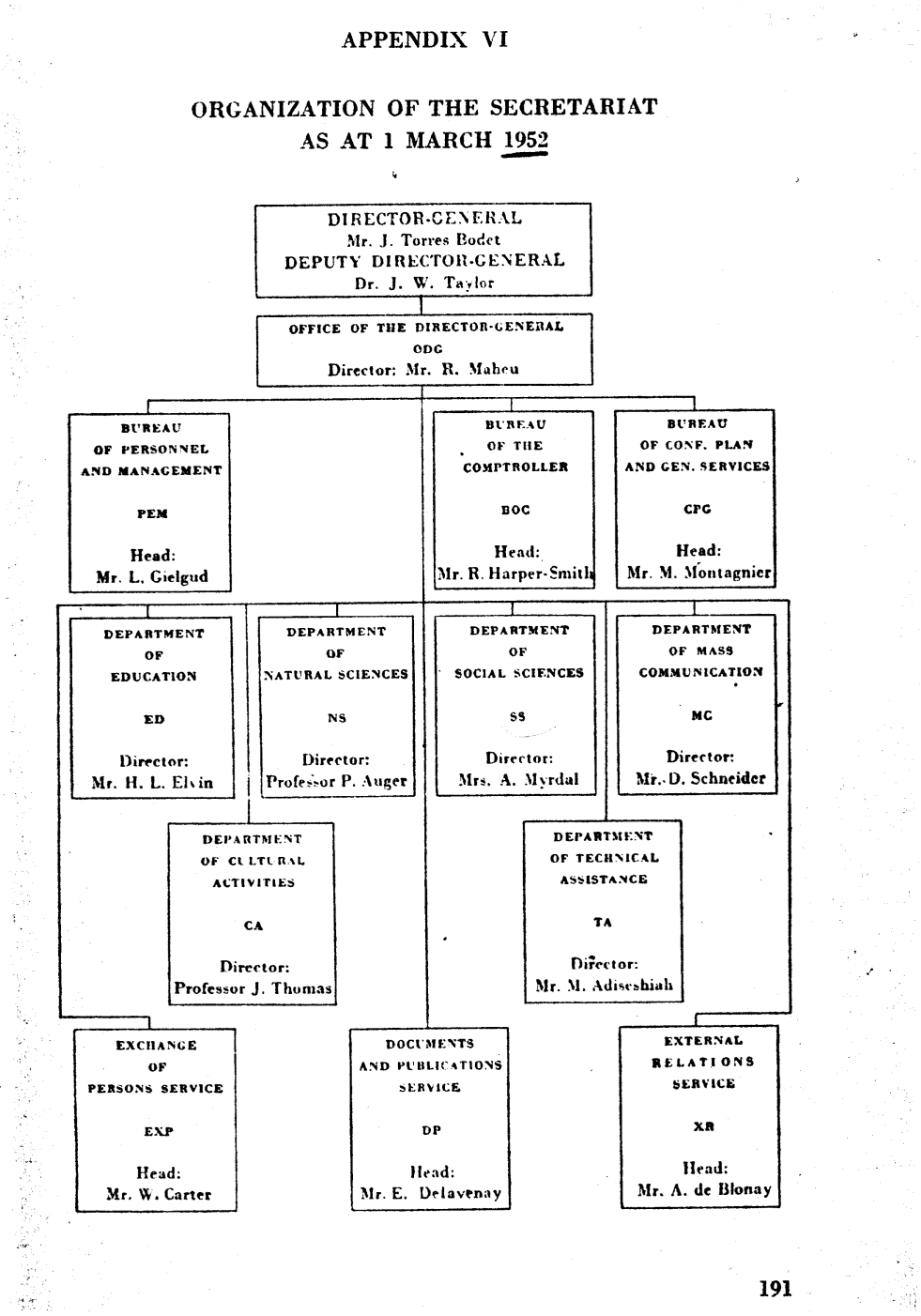

Figure 9: Organogram of UNESCO from 1952
www.unesco.org/archives/new2010/doc/Orga%20charts/unesco_organigrams.pdf

Finally, figure 10 shows the organization's chart today, which shows the most change to have taken place in the first few years of UNESCO's existence. Here, the same basic sectors and themes can be seen as in 1952, showing relative stability in the structure of UNESCO since the initial, turbulent years.

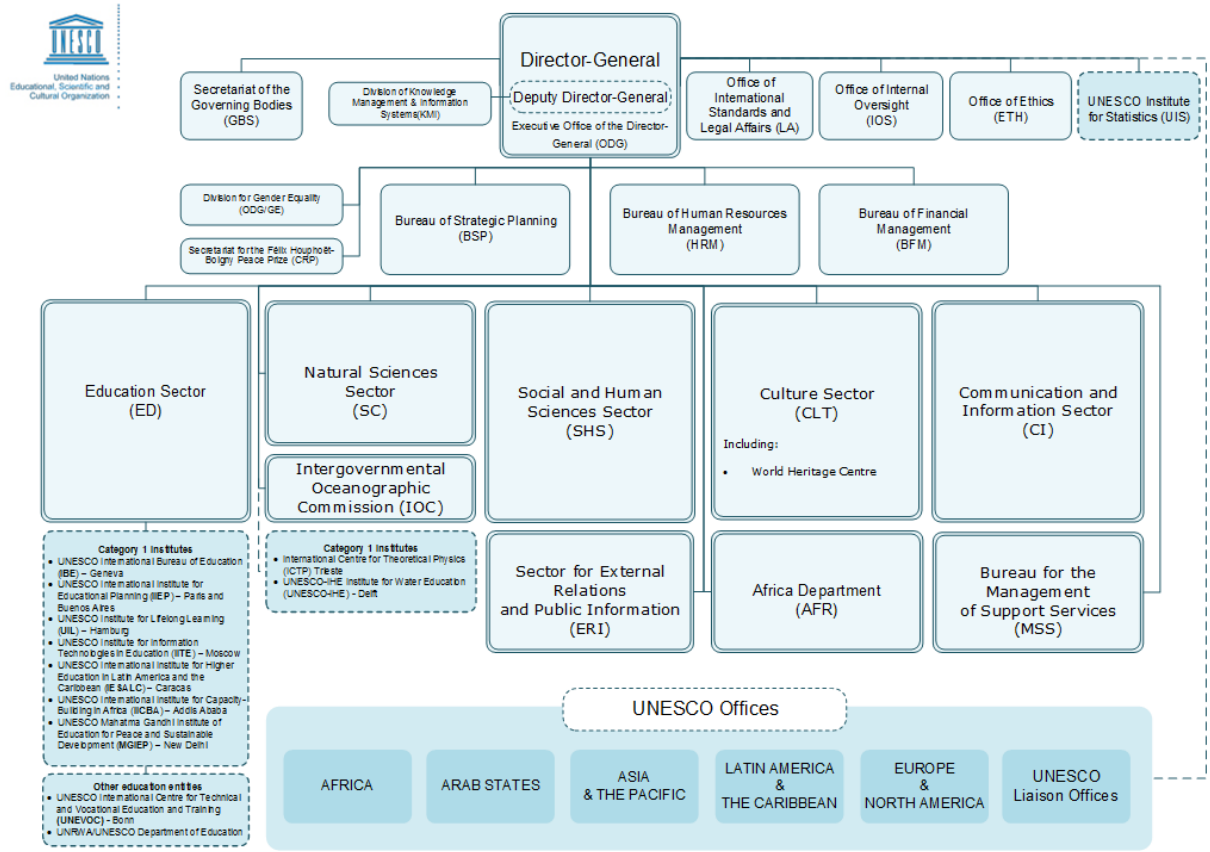

Figure 10: Organogram of UNESCO from 2016
from www.unesco.org/orgchart/en/ORG_vis_EN_files/png_1.htm accessed 19.10.16

World Heritage

UNESCO manages, coordinates and participates in many activities and projects across its sectors in order to pursue its remit. One of these is the World Heritage Programme, which sits in the cultural programme of work, and is guided by specialist international advisory bodies with expertise in conservation that UNESCO was instrumental in setting up. These are the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN), later to become the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN); the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM); and the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The IUCN emerged from the science sector of UNESCO, while ICCROM and ICOMOS emerged from the culture sector. As I go on to note below, although both operate under the banner of UNESCO, the two sectors had differing visions of nature and society, and the role of heritage and conservation, which continue to reverberate in conservation practice today.

The IUCN emerged in 1948 through support from the Science Sector in UNESCO, under the direction of Huxley (Batisse and Bolla 2005: 16). Its development was greatly

enhanced by the 1949 United Nations Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 2-3). At this time conservation was often linked to the extraction of 'natural' resources by humans. Following endorsement by the United Nations General Assembly, in 1962 it published the first United Nations List of Protected Areas and Equivalent Reserves, which included several what we now think of as cultural heritage parks and landscapes, alongside iconic National Parks such as Yellowstone in the USA, which was the first National Park designated in 1876. National Parks had grown in popularity since 1876, spreading out from the USA, where conservation practice that conceived of 'nature' or 'wilderness' as a resource developed, and were becoming national icons across the world. As the name implies, they were closely associated with the growth of the concept of the nation-state and helped to forge national identities. Frost and Hall (2009) highlight Anderson's (1983) concept of nationhood as an 'imagined community' too big for individual relationships between all of the citizens and therefore requiring symbols that can connect citizens with each other. They propose that national parks provide such symbols, a landscape that citizens can identify with, and also that these landscapes are a way in which nations can project their identity to the rest of the world and in so doing attract tourists, thereby stimulating their economies by commodifying their identity. They follow Runte (1997) in stating that most of the early national parks (late 1800s and early 1900s) were in countries whose politicians were struggling to curate a unified 'national' identity such as the US, New Zealand, Australia and the new European states. Established nations in Western Europe were late to the table; the UK's first national park was designated in 1949, France's in 1963, Germany's in 1969, and Russia's not until 1983. They argue that this indicates that national parks were a way of projecting national identity, both binding a nation's citizens and projecting a nation's wilderness to others (2009: 69). I will explore some of the ideas underpinning wilderness, nature, and conservation in the next section, but for now it is of note that an idea of identity fixed in time and space went hand in hand with a fixed idea of landscapes and nature.

Returning to 1959, when the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) requested the IUCN to create the list of Protected Areas and Equivalent Reserves, the resolution read:

> *The Economic and Social Council,*
>
> *Noting that national parks and equivalent reserves have been established in most countries which are Members of the United Nations or the specialized agencies, and that they contribute to the inspiration, culture and welfare of mankind,*
>
> *Believing that these national parks are valuable for economic and scientific reasons and also as areas for the future preservation of fauna and flora and geologic structures in their natural state,*

> (1) Requests the Secretary-General to establish, in co-operation with UNESCO, FAO, and other interested specialized agencies, a list of national parks and equivalent reserves, with a brief description of each, for consideration by the Council at its twenty-ninth session, together with his recommendations for maintaining and developing the list on a current basis and for its distribution;
>
> (2) *Invites* State Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies to transmit to the Secretary General a description of the areas they desire to have internationally registered as national parks or equivalent reserves; and
>
> (3) *Furthermore invites* the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and other interested non-governmental organizations in consultative status to assist the Secretary-General, upon his request, in the preparation of the proposed list. (United Nations List of Protected Areas, 2003, IUCN & UNEP)

This list exemplified the need for an international arena for conservation efforts, bringing together efforts happening at the national level, for example National Parks, with those being led by private individuals and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), for instance some of the game parks in colonized Africa. This highlighted the amount of work being done outside of governmental systems, and with it the importance to UNESCO of working with non-governmental as well as governmental agencies. Until now conservation had been seen as the remit of states, but it now became clear that there were many non-state entities that were playing key roles in practice, moving the responsibility for conserving the world away from governments and towards individuals, beginning a neoliberalization of conservation. Interestingly, the presence of cultural heritage parks and landscapes – as well as the first paragraph stating that these national parks "contribute to the inspiration, culture and welfare of mankind" – attests even at this early stage to the cultural nature of nature and wilderness. That is, although nature and wilderness were still conceived as passive objects for extraction and conservation, it was already noted that the categories of nature, culture and wilderness were problematic in practice; that the boundaries between them were not always clear.

Demonstrating an early move away from the state as the arena for conservation in the USA, in 1965 a conversation arose between Russell Train (Chairman of the United States Conservation Foundation) and Joseph Fisher (Chairman of 'Resources for the Future') in which a World Heritage Trust was conceived. 'Resources for the Future' was founded in 1952 and remains a non-profit research organization, or think tank, specializing in environment and resource management, widely recognized as a pioneer in the field of resource economics. Fisher was a founder of 'Resources for the Future,' setting it up at the request of President Truman and on the advice of William Paley of the Columbia

Broadcasting System (CBS) to respond to the growing concern over the supply of natural resources. Train's organization at the time, The United States Conservation Foundation was a precursor to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) later to become the World Wide Fund for Nature. It was set up in 1947 to support capitalism-friendly ecological practices and involved leading scientists such as the geographer Carl Sauer. In 1990 it merged with the US branch of the WWF. Train had chaired the Conservation Foundation from 1965-1969, and he was Vice-President of the World Wildlife Fund, U.S. from when it was formed in 1961 until 1969 when he became Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, serving under Republican Presidents Nixon and Ford. He rejoined WWF in 1978 and, amidst several other high-level conservation roles in and out of government, remained until 2001.

The exchange between Train and Fisher led to the IUCN exploring the idea of a World Heritage Trust that proposed the identification of a small number of natural and cultural sites around the world that were most in need of conservation support, and the mobilization of a fund which could support the conservation of these special places for all the peoples of the world. Michel Batisse, a long serving staff member of the Science division at UNESCO (1951-1984), notes that this equal combination of nature and culture could only have emerged in the USA, as the Parks Service was responsible for both types of heritage there (2005: 17). In other countries, these were divided across different government departments: for example, in the UK natural heritage is currently coordinated by the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, and cultural heritage by the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport.

During the same period, UNESCO was also becoming more involved in the conservation of nature through its mandate for fostering international standards and cooperation in the natural sciences (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 7) in their Science section. This was very much in collaboration with the IUCN, and in 1968 UNESCO's *Man and Biosphere* (MAB) international research programme was initiated by Batisse, who also worked to bring a 'natural' World Heritage under the banner of UNESCO, in part to raise the profile and reach of the work of this programme (2005: 20). The *Man and Biosphere* Programme sought to encourage national investment in environmental research to resolve local problems relating to sustainable development; that is, to interrogate how people and their surroundings can work best together. This research was then to be brought together into an integrated regional programme of pilot interdisciplinary research projects that included elements of training, education and demonstration. There were originally 14 research

themes relating to human interactions with each major ecosystem type (Batisse, 1980, see also UNESCO MAB website for more information).

The idea of UNESCO-designated Biosphere reserves, supporting the delivery of the programme by providing locations for research to be undertaken, was initiated in 1974 and the first Biosphere reserves were designated in 1976 (Batisse 1982), bringing the idea to earth, giving it its places and translating the cultural territorialization of conservation onto physical territories, much as National Parks had done a century before. At the time, the programme did not have the political weight of an international treaty, which left space for the World Heritage programme to develop in parallel (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 10). The Convention on Biological Diversity was signed at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, giving the programme more weight. Many places that are designated natural World Heritage Sites are also Biosphere reserves – for instance the Galápagos Islands in Ecuador, and Jeju island in South Korea. This brings the relationship between the protected area – that is, the boundaried space of the World Heritage site or Biosphere Reserve – and its human population into focus through both the research catalysed by the *Man and Biosphere* programme, and by the community engagement activities that are encouraged by both programmes. By connecting the local research with two important programmes within UNESCO, it also situates the research taking place locally (the specific programme of that site), regionally (through the regional programmes of both UNESCO projects), internationally (again through the international work of UNESCO and the two programmes) and thematically. Unsurprizingly, there is some exchange of conservation practice between Biosphere reserves and some natural World Heritage Sites, especially those designated for biodiversity under criteria ix and x (see page 107 for full list of criteria).

Meanwhile cultural heritage conservation developed completely independently to natural heritage conservation in UNESCO. UNESCO's Culture Section also first began to explore the idea of safeguarding sites of cultural significance in 1948, and the idea of an advisory body to bring together experts in the field soon followed. The International Committee on Monuments, Artistic and Historical Sites and Archaeological Excavations was set up in 1951 to attend to this need by bringing experts in the field from around the world together, which was a rare occurrence at the time. The Committee built on the work of the Athens Charter, and in 1957 was involved in the First International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings. Training was called for to bring practices together and raise standards across the world, and the International Centre for the Study of the

Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) was established in Rome in 1959 (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 11) and is still in operation as an advisory body today. Like the IUCN and unlike UNESCO, which is an inter-governmental organization, ICCROM is an NGO and, as the name suggests, it aims to contribute to cultural heritage conservation through five activities: training, information, research, cooperation and advocacy (www.iccrom.org/about/what-is-iccrom/ accessed 31.10.16).

In 1964 a Second Congress took place in Venice. This meeting resulted in the Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (usually referred to as The Venice Charter), which attempted to bring conservation experts from around the world together and outline universal principles of good practice in buildings conservation. It went on to provide the basis for the cultural section of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, and also resulted in the setting up of the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1965. Its mission remains to promote the conservation, protection, use and enhancement of monuments, building complexes and sites. ICOMOS focuses on providing recommendations around specific nominations, assessing tentative sites against the World Heritage criteria and overarching themes such as Outstanding Universal Value and authenticity, which I talk about in more depth in the next section. ICCROM is more generally involved with activities such as training, capacity building and technical advice on site conservation once designation has been recommended and approved (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 200).

The first international campaign carried out by UNESCO and ICCROM and the emerging ICOMOS between 1960-80, was to protect the Nubian monuments in Abu Simbel in Egypt and Sudan as the governments there moved to build a damn that would flood the valley in which they were situated. The Nasser dam had been a geopolitically divisive project, which had been rejected for funding from the US, World Bank and the UK due to Egypt's diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and China, and the fact that it had just ended 70 years of British occupation. The USSR finally offered assistance in 1958, with the result that the 'west' now reappraised its opinion. In his essay exploring whether UNESCO's 'Save the Nubian Monuments' project captured a "pivotal episode of post-war universalism", Betts (2015) lays out how, after both the Egyptian and Sudanese governments independently requested UNESCO's support, the rescue mission became a flagship project for UNESCO's ideals of bringing people around the world together in a secular manner to protect their shared heritage. It involved some twenty-five countries

from all over the world, east west and south; and Betts draws on one *New York Times* journalist who:

> in 1961 marvelled at the way that the project brought together countries that officially did not recognize each other (such as Spain and the USSR) or were in political conflict (India and Pakistan); as he [Sulzberger] put it, 'there seemed to be no Cold War in the Land of Kush,' as Moscow and Washington, 'so feverishly contesting the future of all Africa, are working hand in hand to protect its past.' (C.L. Sulzberger, 1961 in Betts 2015: 116)

This firmly situated the conservation of shared heritage and so the World Heritage programme as a practical way of bringing together nations in the pursuit of peace. The project was not, however, without criticism. Betts draws attention to one piece in the *Sunday Times* that reflected notions laid out in the Venice Charter, voicing the view of many archaeologists that the project was worthless. Once the monuments were moved, they would become "no more than a tourist attraction"; what is more, they had been well documented already (2015: 118). This indicates a sense that heritage had value in its own right, and implies a specific belief in authenticity, an idea to which I will return below. Betts also draws attention to the fact that to make way for the dam, 100,000 Nubian people were moved from their ancestral lands; so, while the monuments were saved, the living culture suffered a fatal blow. Culture was viewed at that time as something best illustrated by artefacts rather than practice, again implying a fixity that I will return to below.

The Emergence of the World Heritage Convention

The World Heritage Convention is designed to identify, protect and preserve cultural and natural heritage around the world that is considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. It is an international Treaty formally called 'The Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,' and was adopted by UNESCO in 1972. UNESCO's World Heritage mission is to:

- Encourage countries to sign the World Heritage Convention and to ensure the protection of their natural and cultural heritage;
- Encourage States Parties to the Convention to nominate sites within their national territory for inclusion on the World Heritage List;
- Encourage States Parties to establish Management Plans and set up reporting systems on the state of conservation of their World Heritage Sites;
- Help States Parties safeguard World Heritage properties by providing technical assistance and professional training;
- Provide emergency assistance for World Heritage Sites in immediate danger;
- Support States Parties' public awareness-building activities for World Heritage conservation;
- Encourage participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage;

> Encourage international cooperation in the conservation of our world's cultural and natural heritage.
>
> (whc.unesco.org/en/about/ accessed 1.11.16)

Cameron and Rossler suggest that formulating and adopting the Convention was a response to both the great destruction of World War Two and the burst of development that took place after it (2013: 2), and perhaps too the ideas of development, modernization and progress that fuelled the building projects at this time. Referring to how this was carried out, Titchen argues that the Convention was built upon the "administrative and legal precedents for the development of a distinctive organizational style of international cooperation aimed at cultural heritage conservation at an international level" that were put in place in the League of Nations in the 1930s (1995: 35). As noted above, the League of Nations' CICI, Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, Commission and Museums Office laid down much of the ground work for the conservation of both natural and cultural heritage between 1927 until 1931.

Momentum for protecting this heritage gathered in UNESCO's cultural section with a series of resolutions between 1960 and 1966 (Titchen 1995: 45-53), and culminated in a Resolution at the 1966 General Conference "to study the possibility of arranging an appropriate system of international protection, at the request of the states concerned, for a few of the monuments that form an integral part of the heritage of mankind" (Resolution 3.3411, Titchen 1995: 53). Cameron and Rössler point out that most of those involved in developing the study at this point were European (2013: 14). In the end, three texts were fed into the World Heritage Convention. One was from UNESCO's Cultural Sector, one from IUCN, and one from the United States, which sought to set up a World Heritage Trust for conservation of both natural and cultural heritage building on Russell and Train's conversation of 1965. The development of these proposals in tandem shows the deep-rooted compartmentalization of both the work of UNESCO and the rhetoric underpinning the conservation and heritage sectors at this time. This lack of joined up thinking was bemoaned by Batisse, who was developing the *Man and Biosphere* programme in UNESCO's Science Section. He commented that he only found out about the IUCN proposed convention by chance in 1970 and immediately informed his Cultural Sector colleagues in UNESCO. Noting the compartmentalization of the UNESCO secretariat, he recalls that the Cultural Sector was not concerned with a competing Convention (Batisse and Bolla 2005: 20-21).

The three conventions finally came together in 1971 at the Intergovernmental Working Group of Conservation for the Stockholm Conference in New York, where consideration was given to setting up some kind of united protection for the world's heritage. It was initially unclear whether the administrative body should be UNESCO, having focused primarily on cultural sites, or the IUCN, with their focus on natural sites, or whether there should remain two initiatives, one for nature managed by the IUCN and one for culture managed by UNESCO. Furthermore, the IUCN was a NGO rather than part of the inter-governmental family of the UN; a different set of skills and networks would have been mobilized by each organization. After another year of diplomatic discussions, it was agreed that there should be one convention housed within UNESCO and reporting directly to the Secretary General with responsibility for both natural and cultural heritage, and this resolution was accepted in November 1972 (Cameron and Rössler 2013: 14-26, Titchen 1995: 60-69, see also Batisse and Bolla 2005). It mobilized a global heritage conservation movement through the United Nations, which has been growing and mutating ever since.

The Convention is a legal document inviting UNESCO member states to ratify it, and by doing so, become States Parties to the Convention. It begins with nine paragraphs stating why the convention is being adopted. It is followed by the thirty-eight Articles that form the Convention. Articles 1 & 2 lay out the definitions of cultural and natural heritage, and Articles 3 & 4 outline the States Parties' obligations to identify and conserve their national heritage. Article 5 lays out agreed ways in which conservation can be carried out at a national level, and Articles 6 & 7 go into the international dimension of this. Articles 8 to 14 relate to the setting up, structure and ongoing role of the World Heritage Committee and how this will work, including the relationship with the advisory bodies. Articles 15 to 18 refer to the setting up and ongoing function of the World Heritage Fund, and Articles 19 to 26 outline how this will be mobilized. Articles 27 & 28 refer to educational activities relating to World Heritage, and Article 29 outlines the reporting mechanism to be adopted by States Parties. Finally, Articles 30 to 38 provide further guidance on how the Convention will function administratively, including processes for its ratification and denunciation by the States Parties.

The Convention came into force in December 1975, three months after the ratification of the twentieth States Party. Showing an interesting geography to World Heritage, which, although designed in Europe, was adopted quickly by the Middle East, Africa and Australia, the first twenty States Parties to the Convention in order of ratification were:

The United States of America
Egypt
Iraq
Bulgaria
Sudan
Algeria
Australia
Democratic Republic of the Congo
Nigeria
Niger
Iran (Islamic Republic of)
Tunisia
Jordan
Ecuador
France
Ghana
Syrian Arab Republic
Cyprus
Switzerland
Morocco

The absence of Asia, much of Europe and South America is notable, with reference to Galápagos, Ecuador was an early adopter, getting on board before the UK.

The application of the Convention is guided by the Operational Guidelines, which describe the Convention and how it is to be implemented by the three World Heritage bodies: the World Heritage Assembly, the World Heritage Committee and the World Heritage Secretariat, which is appointed by UNESCO's Secretary General. The Assembly, like that of UNESCO, is formed of all of the States Parties to the Convention and meets once every two years at the General Conference of UNESCO. The Committee is responsible for the implementation of the Convention, decides on the inscription of sites, and how the budget is spent. It was originally formed of 15, and now that the Convention is ratified by more than forty States, is formed of 21 representatives of the Assembly. From the start, IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM were united in their recommendation that the number of sites should not be restricted numerically, but that there should be a two-tier system where only the most important and unique sites should be eligible for assistance due to limited resources, both of expertise and of finance (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 27-30). Committee members serve six-year terms with a third of the group rotating at each States Parties meeting, although since 2009 there has been a tendency to voluntarily reduce this period to four years so that half the group rotates (whc.unesco.org/en/committee/ accessed 15 November 2016).

As of Autumn 2016, Angola, Azerbaijan, Burkina Faso, Croatia, Cuba, Finland, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Tunisia, Turkey, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, and Zimbabwe form the World Heritage Committee, a much more geographically balanced list than it has been previously. There has been a tendency for states to pursue membership of the committee, and the perceived power over inscription of properties that this brings, and it has been noted that membership of this body, like much of the rest of UNESCO, has been historically skewed towards Europe and North America (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 155-160), influencing the concept of 'The World' in World Heritage.

In addition to the definitions of cultural and natural heritage laid out in the Convention, the Operational Guidelines also outline the criteria by which sites must display 'Outstanding Universal Value' and so qualify to be considered for inscription. These are reviewed by the Committee regularly, and have shifted over the years to attempt to reflect 'good practice' and changing heritage discourse. The most notable changes were in 1992 with the addition of 'Cultural Landscapes,' and in 2003, when the two sets of criteria, six for cultural and four for natural heritage, were combined into one list of ten criteria. The criteria remained largely the same, but the numbering was modified. Currently nominated properties must:

> (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
>
> (ii) exhibit 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;
>
> (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
>
> (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
>
> (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
>
> (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
>
> (vii) (previously iii under natural heritage) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
>
> (viii) (previously i under natural heritage) be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going

geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

(ix) (previously ii under natural heritage) be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

(x) (previously iv under natural heritage) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

The addition of Cultural Landscapes (a term coined by geographer Carl Sauer in 1925) in 1992 was an attempt to provide a bridge between nature and culture, and acknowledge the growing body of work demonstrating that many physical landscapes have evolved through interactions with humans and are the result of ''combined works of nature and man [sic]'' (UNESCO, 1972, Art. 1). Cultural Landscapes are cultural properties, and this designation is additional to the criteria above, and so the Outstanding Universal Value has to fall into one or several of criteria i-vi, and, where appropriate, they can also be designated for natural criteria, vii-x. The introduction of Cultural Landscapes brought far reaching changes to the Operational Guidelines; for example, it became possible to nominate a site if it had traditional protection or management systems such as East Renell in the Solomon Islands. It became necessary to involve local people in the nomination of sites, and the word 'sustainable' was introduced to the Operational Guidelines (Rossler, 2006: 347-8). It also opened up the Convention to regions previously under-represented on the World Heritage List (Fowler 2002: 14), ones whose understanding and practice of heritage had not worked within the original World Heritage concept.

A key part of the World Heritage Convention is the idea of World Heritage in Danger, as outlined in Article 11.4. This describes the expectation that, once a site is inscribed on the World Heritage List, appropriate measures are expected to be taken by the relevant state to maintain and protect the site in the same or improved condition to that at inscription. However, if sites are found to be losing their 'integrity' through activities such as war, natural disaster, over-fishing or tourism and related development, it is suggested that they are added to the 'World Heritage List in Danger.' This was designed as a mechanism by which the state concerned can alert the international community to the issues that the site is facing so that support can be garnered for initiatives that might address this loss of heritage. In this way, it aims to encourage resources to be channelled into overcoming the problems at these sites (see Operational Guidelines Articles 177-191, World Heritage

Convention, Badman et al 2009, Cameron and Rossler 2013). Yet, while intended to be a way of prioritizing resources to where they were most needed, this requirement has to some extent become a badge of dishonour to be avoided at all costs. Sites can only be added to the list with the consent of the States Party in question, and where it was intended for states to identify the issues and use this listing as the mechanism by which to ask for assistance, it has been noted that this has not been the case. States Parties whose sites are compromised frequently attempt to avoid the List of World Heritage in Danger by political means (see Brumann 2014, Meskell, 2011, 2012, 2014).

The World Heritage Convention and its sites and States Parties is a complex assemblage of places, concepts and politics. Many elements of these are contested. It attempts a universal application for very specific heritages. There are obviously conflicts within this approach, not least how the designation relates to the person's[20] sense of belonging to their place. However, UNESCO facilitates dialogue between cultures from all over the world around their heritage, for the most part deepening cross-cultural understanding and as a result broadening these concepts beyond narrow allegiance to one world view. It is a project which, like its parent organization the United Nations, is rooted in the nation state system, and so supports an international arena for collaboration, and arguably maintains state interest in conservation. This necessarily top-down structure is born out in there being no formal role for community groups or NGOs within the World Heritage Convention, even though it is acknowledged that these contribute a lot to, and in some cases lead, conservation work. They are also arguably more, or differently, free to self-define their needs and agenda and might have as much riding on some of the decisions as States Parties, especially where the state system was imposed and is contested, such as in Palestine or parts of Africa. As Meskell puts it, "[t]he desire for a universal heritage remains tightly sutured to national identification, prestige, socio-economic benefits and the recognition of a particular modernity" (2015: 6). In the next section I will tease out some of the ways in which the emergence of UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention impact the practice of conservation around the globe, focusing particularly on the division of science and culture, the international political system and post-colonial geopolitics.

[20] Person here being intended in the broadest possible sense, not necessarily human, see Haraway 2016: 103

UNESCO's Challenges and Contradictions in Practice

What UNESCO's World Heritage Programme aims to achieve and how it has done this historically makes clear that there are some fundamental paradoxes that run through it. Most have their roots in the modernist thinking behind the development of UNESCO, the World Heritage Convention, and the nation-state system, which has in turn led to an inter-national United Nations structure. This, I suggest, works differently to one that might be described as global, that is, including all the planet, surface and core, all of its inhabitants human and otherwise, and its systems from the climate to the economy, from ecosystems to rock cycles. One symptom of this is the continued division of heritage into neat categories, especially 'natural' and 'cultural,' that are now an integral part of the structure of the World Heritage Convention, but originate with the modernist idea of progress and civilization being opposed to nature. Another symptom enacts the division in ontology that Deleuze and Guattari refer to as between arboreal – tree like and hierarchical – and rhizomatic, which is more like a constantly changing network of connections. The highly hierarchical and formal inter-national UN structure enables a tension between the political positioning to which hierarchical systems lend themselves, and the potentially more rhizomatic world of global conservation. It also works to limit definitions of identity to those recognized by nation-states (see also Arendt, 1951), some of which have their own political agendas regarding their citizens, especially when world views conflict, for instance between colonizers and Maori in New Zealand or the indigenous peoples of Australia. Both of these examples imagine a very different world to that of Europe and the 'developed' world. In both the Maori world and the Australian aboriginal world, the environment is considered as part of one's lineage and identity, something to collaborate with rather than own (Rosanna Raymond, personal communication at Innovate Heritage 2014; see also Rose 2003, Povinelli 2016, Haraway 2016). Ideas of more-than-human rights are therefore mobilized, changing what is thought of as conservation and heritage.

As mentioned, modernism relies on the concept of evolution, as a linear progression through stages of civilization. As such, there is an innate desire to be progressive. With regard to heritage, this is a desire to respond to the latest thinking around the ways in which it relates to education, culture and science. This conflicts with a structural need to maintain the status quo in order to function in a world of international treaties, annual conferences, reporting structures and complex collaborations. There is a tension between conservation, with its tendency to look back, and development or progress with an eye to the future. In *A Thousand Years of Non-Linear History* DeLanda (1996) builds on Deleuze

and Guattari's thinking, who in turn build on Bergson's philosophy,[21] to introduce his central thesis. Here, "all structures that surround us and form our reality (mountains, animals and plants, human languages, social institutions) are the products of specific historical processes" (1996: 11), and these processes have happened differently in different places. He argues that, if these processes are linear stages in reaching an ultimate state of 'the fittest' or 'equilibrium,' then reaching this point would signal the end of history. In this way, history must be non-linear. If history is not linear, using Deleuze and Guattari's geophilosophy outlined above, it could be reimagined as a series of events that pivot around a shifting balance between the actual and the virtual. Here balance differs from ideas of equilibrium in that it would be a dynamic and kinetic state of tension rather than a still, fixed, end point. It always takes place in the present as emergent worlds are co-produced. These ideas of history and time clearly impact how heritage can be imagined. Instead of being passed from the past to the future, it is also constantly co-produced in the present; it is processual (Harvey 2001) and dialogical (Harrison 2013).

In what follows, I begin by exploring how nature and culture have been framed in the conservation sector and particularly in UNESCO. I look first to ideas of modernism in more depth, drawing on the work of Bruno Latour to unpick what these ideas can do in practice. I then turn to notions of nature, culture and wilderness and the relationships within them and implications of maintaining power through associating civilization with culture, nature with primitivism, and wilderness with romantic idealism. Here there is a double bind of associating nature with indigenous people whilst concurrently removing indigenous people from wilderness areas; both maintain a status quo in which the framing of nature separate to culture can be perpetuated, and power balances between 'civilized' and 'primitive' societies remain not seriously challenged. This 'world' is institutionalized in UNESCO, embedding it internationally, stratifying it, and, whilst other world views are engaged with, the organization must evolve rather than risk an uncontrolled emergence (or maybe emergency).

Conservation: on Framing Culture, Nature, and Site

UNESCO's division of intellectual work into the areas of education, science and culture nominally had its roots in the rethinking of the League of Nations that took place during

[21] Very simply, that time is relative, that we experience it differently both from each other and throughout our own lives (see Bergson 1889 [1910], 1907 [1911]). His philosophy was a response to Spencer's use of Darwin's theory of evolution to create an evolutionary philosophy, including coining the phrase 'survival of the fittest.' Bergson saw this as overly mechanistic.

World War Two. However, as outlined by Latour (1993), the tendency to divide and categorize emerged during the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Enlightenment movement of the seventeenth century. As Latour puts it:

> Reinterpretation of the ancient Christian theological themes made it possible to bring God's transcendence and His immanence into play simultaneously. But this lengthy task of the sixteenth-century Reformation would have produced very different results had it not got mixed up with the seventeenth century, the conjoined invention of scientific facts and citizens (Eisenstein 1979). Spirituality was re-invented: the all-powerful God could descend into men's heart of hearts without intervening in any way in their external affairs. A wholly individual and wholly spiritual religion made it possible to criticize both the ascendency of science and that of society, without needing to bring God into either. The moderns could now be both secular and pious at the same time (Weber, [1920] 1958). (Latour 1993: 33)

He goes on to argue that this "modern Constitution" in its presentation of purity in Nature and the implicit opposition of nature (seen as object) and society (as subject), known as the "Great Divide", had the effect of situating science as a vehicle for objective truth rather than an idealistic discipline: it merely reveals the existing laws of nature, and there is no interpretation in its practice. Society and the people in it are subject to these transcendent laws and helpless in the face of them (1993: 52-3). This in turn meant that what he calls hybrids of nature and society, or monsters – for instance climate change, ocean acidification, or invasive species – must be presented as either natural or cultural, but not both together. The laws of 'nature' are transcendent, unassailable and merely being harnessed by hapless humans. Public acknowledgement of the hybrids is taboo because civilized culture must be seen as separate from ignoble nature, and therefore they do not officially exist and cannot be addressed by society. For instance, the introductions of invasive species such as rats into an ecosystem such as Galápagos are the result of an accelerated globalization driven by humans. The 'natural' law of evolution is conjoined to the 'social' (globalization), and the phenomenon then becomes a hybrid of nature and society. Regulation is difficult as these phenomena do not fall into one category or another, and so responsibility is evaded whilst 'progress' is taken as an entitlement of a civilized culture and a transcendent natural law – that is, evolution. In these conditions, hybrids such as this have proliferated.

Preservation attempts to stop the clock or return these ecosystems to previous 'virgin' states before the intervention of (civilized) humans and the subsequent contamination of the natural with the social. Plumwood argues that this framing of wilderness as 'virgin' territory reflects a male colonial point of view (Plumwood in Callicot and Nelson 1998: 19-20); a very specific and universalising worldview. This illuminates a difference

between preservation and the concept and practice of conservation, which is normally applied to natural heritage. Conservation is driven by process, and often economics, and seeks to encourage a 'proper' use of natural resources (see Braun and Castree 2005). Preservation argues for the removal of humans. It has been argued that it implies fixed bounded properties in what it preserves and attempts to stop time in order to 'preserve in aspic,' as the sector describes it, keeping something in its 'original' or 'virgin' state. I argue here that neither approach has proved successful and that our relationship with our worlds needs to move beyond these debates. These ideas took shape in the late nineteenth century (See Descola 2013, Harvey 2008) along with familiar notions of culture as a civilized endeavour, and nationalism. The National Trust emerged at this time (1895) in the UK, to preserve and protect heritage "for ever, for everyone,"[22] and has since become one of the largest landowners and charities in the UK. Also in the late nineteenth century, the National Park programme was initiated in the USA, aiming to preserve tracts of 'wilderness' as a necessary resource for its burgeoning population.

Critically exploring US notions of the wild, William Cronon (1996) suggests that wilderness had gone from being associated with fear and danger to the romantic concept of a pristine wild where one could escape modernity. This, he suggested, could be argued to have more to do with two cultural notions than any actual interaction with homo sapiens: firstly, romantic notions of the sublime encounter; and secondly, a frontier mentality prevalent in the US in which wilderness as an ideal state, rather than a mundane nature, became sacred once more. He outlined that this was a project of the elite, and particularly of men who "all too easily became emasculated by the feminizing tendencies of civilization" (1996: 14); wilderness was a means of escaping the society that they had benefited from and the culture that had created the concept of civilization as being opposed to the wild. If the wilderness can only exist in the absence of humans, this enacts the nature-culture dualism that prevents humans from understanding what their alternative places in 'nature' could be. For Cronon:

> we live in an urban-industrial civilization but at the same time pretend to ourselves that our *real* home is in the wilderness, to just that extent we give ourselves permission to evade responsibility for the lives we actually lead. (1996: 17)

Like other abstract notions, such as Latour's hybrids and colonial maps, the individual is released. Whilst it is clear that the preservation of nature is impossible in practice in an ever-changing emergent world, the practice of conservation, informed by concepts of The Wilderness, Nature Reserves, National Parks and other designations that demarcate it, has

[22] www.nationaltrust.org.uk/heritage

physically led to two types of 'nature.' One warrants protection and the other provides resources. While some territories are conserved, the destruction created by the extraction of commercial resources happens elsewhere and is caused by and impacts 'others.' Civilized people can pick and choose the parts of nature with which they want to engage but remain separate from it, always removed from the natural resources that they utilize every day: for instance, the minerals in mobile phones, the petrol in cars or the plastic in clothing. The complexity of the production of commodities masks the raw materials from which they are made, and removes them from a pure 'nature.'

These concepts of a pure nature corralled into designated areas has shaped the World Heritage programme, in that it delineates territories or sites for conservation[23] with the effect of attempting to fix space. Sites are usually defined with borders around them using grid references and maps to illustrate what is included and what is not. A quick look at 'The List' online shows that for each site a quick view summary is present, for example:

Ecuador
Cantons: San Cristóbal, Santa Cruz and Isabela, Province of Galápagos
N0 49 0.012 W91 0 0
Date of Inscription: 1978
Extension: 2001
Criteria: (vii)(viii)(ix)(x)
Property: 14,066,514 ha
Ref: 1bis

(whc.unesco.org/en/list/1 accessed 9.1.2017)

This shows the States Party responsible, the Province, the grid reference, the year of inscription, the year the site was extended to include the marine reserve, the criteria fulfilled, the size of the property and the World Heritage Centre reference number. It can be assumed that these are what the World Heritage Centre deems the most useful pieces of information about the site. Also present is a description of the site, maps, documents, a photo gallery, indicators (how many times the Committee has considered this site) and Assistance (how much assistance has been granted from the World Heritage Fund). It is assumed that heritage is material and can be defined as a 'property' within a 'territory.' These words reflect the values of the culture in which the Convention originated, especially the ability to 'own' land and its capital value. However, this system has

[23] I will continue to use conservation to refer to combined conservation and preservation practices whilst acknowledging the difference, the shortcomings of both, and the unhelpfulness of this categorization in this context.

drawbacks, especially where the fixed 'material' that is inscribed is 'natural' and subject to dynamic natural processes, which are often intrinsically linked to the designation. As previously mentioned, in the case of the Jurassic Coast, for instance, the site is defined as being from the back of the cliffs to the low mean water mark. As the natural process of erosion takes place, the site unavoidably moves out of the grid references that are designated.

Further tensions between an international political arena and the conservation of properties within territories can be seen in the mobilization of politics within the World Heritage programme. During the 1980s and 90s a number of situations arose where politics came into conflict with technical expertise. Many States Parties have linked this problem to the continuing issue of fairness in the election of the committee (Cameron and Rossler 2013: 165-175). Meskell (2012, 2014), Meskell et al. (2015), Winter (2015) and Brumann (2014) discuss the politicization of World Heritage. They outline that the people who the States Parties put forward to become committee members are increasingly career diplomats rather than experts in heritage, as was originally envisaged. The impact is that the recommendations of the advisory bodies have been more frequently over-ruled or ignored as sites are considered for their economic and political value above their outstanding universal value (Brumann 2014). Meskell (2015) goes as far as to apply Mauss' theories of gift exchange as a form of communication between cultures, binding them to one another. Here, due to the economic value placed on World Heritage Sites through activities such as tourism, the World Heritage Committee and Assembly are framed as international market places where prestige can be won or lost. This has a mixed impact on sites, from bringing in often much needed investment, to the commodification of heritages and the subsequent loss of 'authenticity.' Kersel and Luke (2015) argue that this investment brings 'soft power' through choice rather than the coercion that political or military interventions are often seen to engender. However, this move towards commodification has arguably led to World Heritage being considered more as an economic transaction between States than an exercise in conservation. In this line of thought, the political and economic advantages are what are valued in a neoliberal capitalist world rather than ecosystems and monuments, the dynamic materiality of heritage itself and the life that it represents.

The tension between national representation on the committee and the desire for a global model of heritage conservation that 'transcends' political borders is further compounded by the ideal that, once designated, World Heritage Sites theoretically belong to all the

peoples of the world for all time: that is, "What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage Sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located" (whc.unesco.org/en/about/ accessed November 29 2016). The state that puts the site forward for designation then becomes the 'guardian' of this heritage on behalf of the whole of the world's population. Article 6 outlines:

> Whilst fully respecting the sovereignty of the States on whose territory the cultural and natural heritage mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 is situated, and without prejudice to property right provided by national legislation, the States Parties to this Convention recognize that such heritage constitutes a world heritage for whose protection it is the duty of the international community as a whole to co-operate.

Of course, this once again begs the question 'whose world?' In practice, many sites, and especially natural ones, which are generally larger, and sites in territories with long histories of land ownership, are owned at least in part by private landowners. These are often involved in the designation proposal and subsequent management and have their own agenda, which may or may not include conserving it for all the peoples of the world. Here the tension between development and conservation can be seen in parallel to the tension between global ideals and a Euro/ US-centric inter-national delivery structure. For example, the Galápagos World Heritage site is owned entirely by Ecuador and forms 97% of the islands' land mass. The other 3% was already colonized when the National Park was designated, so was excluded from the designation. Illustrating a different world, around a third of the Jurassic Coast World Heritage site is owned by the National Trust for which conservation is a primary activity. The rest is owned by a combination of large private estates with varying levels of commitment to conservation: The Ministry of Defence whose primary activity is not conservation; the Crown Estate with an instrumental interest in conservation; national and local authorities; and finally a large number of small landowners whose interests are varied. (jurassiccoast.org/about/world-heritage/where-is-the-jurassic-coast/ accessed 29 November 2016). Here, although the intention is that the site belongs to all people for all time, due to the structure within which it, like other sites, operates (that is sovereign and International laws of land ownership) this can be no more than an aspiration. It is addressed in the Management Plan in that the site's management attempts to conserve it in an equivalent or better state than that at inscription, and the land owners have agreed to work together towards this aim, but, the Management Plan is only as good as the allocated resources with which to deliver it.

Latour, like Deleuze and Guattari, and DeLanda, talks of the notion of a linear history leading up to the present 'modern' time. He argues that this is created by the need to

separate modernism from the past: by definition, modernism is radically different to what went before it. What is more, this history can only be applied to Society, presenting the emergence of Nature's objects as "miraculous" (1993: 70). It is this understanding of history that created the need to label other world views as primitive or in some way behind the modern world. He argues that, once we grant objects a history of their own, then the categories of Nature and Society[24] break down and become relational (as Latour presents in his Actor Network Theory) rather than absolute. Byrne and Ween highlight the Western cultural specificity of the divide between nature and culture by bringing Latour's (2004) statement that "[t]raditional societies do not live in harmony with nature; they are unacquainted with it," together with Dibley's statement that "Nature has ended, Man is dead" (2012) and Ingold's (2000) argument that indigenous people live in places that non-indigenous people think of as nature. Together, these notions further emphasize the cultural nature of the partition of culture and nature, in that the concept of nature is itself a cultural one, and maintains power over cultures that do not recognize a separate nature (2015: 94-99). If 'traditional' societies are unacquainted with nature, it is the concept that is being referred to; and 'nature' providing a home to indigenous people implies that they are thought to be uncivilized and need to 'develop.'

In the context of the World Heritage Convention, the division of nature from culture appeared 'natural' in the located cultures that shaped the structure of UNESCO and the subsequent separate emergence of IUCN and ICOMOS, both of which also have their roots in European culture. As discussed above, the S in UNESCO was an afterthought, emerging as a separate sector whilst the organization was being brought to life. If Needham and Huxley had not made the argument for science to have its own sector, then it would most likely have been included in culture and education as it had been for the League of Nations' Intellectual Committee, which may have changed the nature of Nature as it has been understood since. However, its institutionalization in UNESCO embedded this division internationally. Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention defines cultural heritage as:

> monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
>
> groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

[24] Latour capitalizes Nature and Society in his work, and so here I follow his format.

> sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

This last definition of sites was modified in 1992; 'the combined works of nature and man' was added when Cultural Landscapes were introduced to the convention, which I will go on to discuss below. Article 2 of the World Heritage Convention defines natural heritage as:

> natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
>
> geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;
>
> natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

Other world views and the way that they interacted with their heritages have emerged over time and been added to the repertoire of UNESCO. For example, in 1994, the Nara Conference on Authenticity took place in Nara, Japan. In Japanese conservation, as with others around the world, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, conservation refers to the skills of crafts people rather than the material of the buildings and monuments; that is, most ancient buildings are rebuilt using traditional methods and materials, sometimes from scratch, to the same design at regular intervals to maintain them. This is not seen to compromise their authenticity as heritage sites, but, with the application of the Venice Charter, these buildings, although being ongoing physical manifestations of an ancient heritage, could not be seen to be 'authentic.' The Nara Conference aimed to open discussion around these different cultural concepts of authenticity, and how these could be applied to World Heritage, ultimately concluding that ideas of authenticity are culturally specific and should be applied on a case by case basis. This conclusion was examined by the World Heritage Committee later in 1994, and subsequently added to the Operational Guidelines as an appendix, which is periodically updated as further meetings take place and understanding of the concept grows. This is arguably a move towards a more global form of management that is based not on European aesthetics as universals, but on inclusive ideas of respect for all cultures and their approaches towards 'heritage' and conservation.

Reflecting a growing awareness of the connection between 'nature' and 'culture' in conservation, and turning again to 'natural' heritage, Frost and Hall argue that national parks (I would argue like World Heritage Sites) are "essentially human artefacts requiring

careful management to maintain" (2009: 72) and remind us that it is this management that creates these landscapes, as opposed to divine intervention. This creation of 'wild' landscapes through management has been associated with both the presence and evacuation of indigenous peoples (see Cronon 1996, Callicot and Nelson 1998, for more detailed accounts of the debates around the concept of wilderness and indigenous peoples). In short, many areas, especially in the colonized world (e.g. the settler colonial states of US, Canada, and Australia, as well as many countries in Africa) evacuated people from these wilderness areas in order to maintain their 'wildness.' The landscapes were claimed to be symbolic of the colonizers' patriotism and power, and to maintain this image other ethnic groups must not be associated with them, even though these groups were seen to be uncivilized, that is, wild and close to nature. The concept of heritage is intimately connected to the growth of the role of nationalism through symbolic links with the past defining people's identity and allegiances (Lowenthal 1985: 396, Meskell 2014: 218, Willems 2014: 108); the 'us' of one nation-state living in one territory as opposed to the 'them' of another. Högberg claims that "[t]he heritage sector all through Europe and beyond is historically linked to the task of providing nations with glorious myths of origin within a metaphysical framework of essentialism" (2016: 42). Here parallels can be drawn with the history of geopolitics as laid out in the last chapter.

Finally of interest in the discussion of nature and culture within UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention is the pattern of where natural and cultural sites are found, and the impact that this has on identifying and conserving 'heritage.' This pattern can be seen on the World Heritage map below in which the yellow dots represent cultural sites and the green dots natural sites, with the red dots being sites that are on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

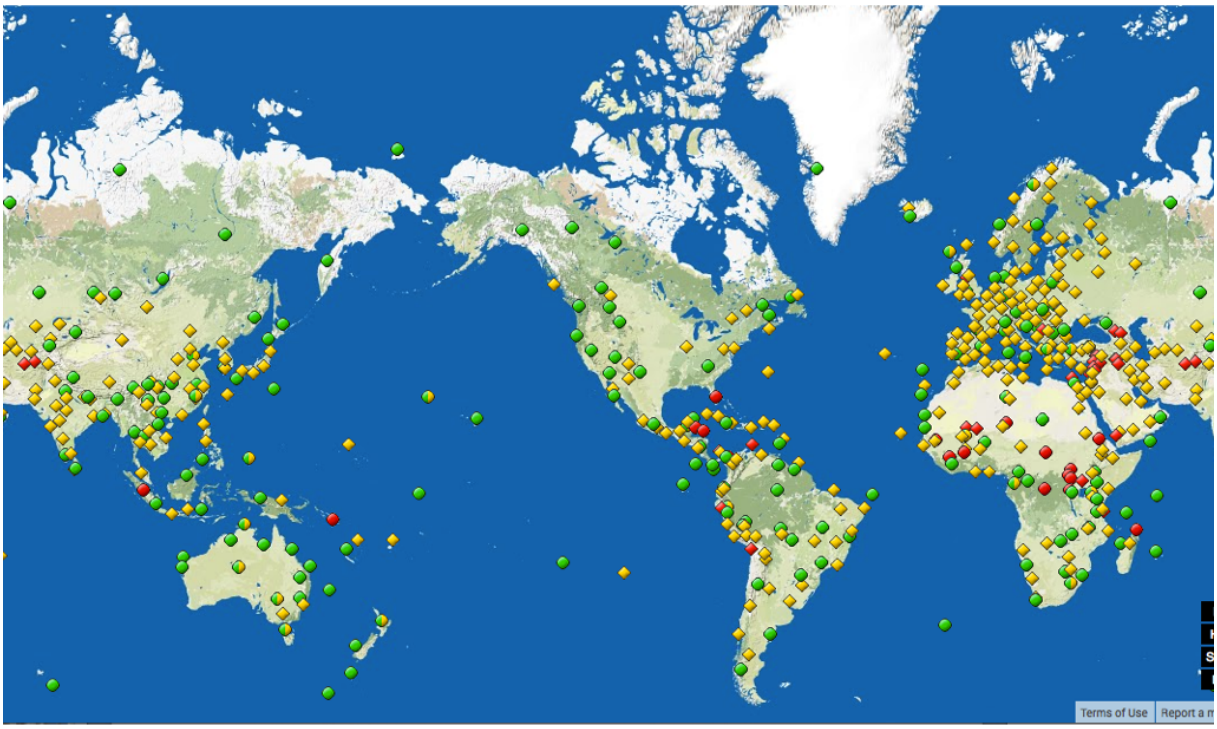

Figure 11: World Heritage site distribution in 2013.

Regions	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total	%
Africa	48	37	5	90	9%
Arab States	73	5	3	81	8%
Asia and the Pacific	172	62	12	246 *	23%
Europe and North America	426	62	10	498 *	47%
Latin America and the Caribbean	95	37	5	137 *	13%
Total	814	203	35	1052	100%

Figure 12: Table showing number of World Heritage properties per region. From whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat#d31 accessed 25.1.17

Of note is that a large concentration of 'cultural' sites are found in the so called 'old cultures' of Europe. 'Natural' sites are more evenly spread throughout the globe, and, whilst there are fewer sites, they comprise a larger area. Although as previously mentioned there have been civilizations across the globe through time, those that shaped European culture and so the Convention are more often designated than those that these cultures colonized. A final observation here is the fact that there are no sites in the Antarctic, which is not even shown. This implies that there is no heritage there, but, when interrogated, it becomes clear it is not heritage that it is lacking – indeed some of the richest ecosystems in the world exist in the Antarctic – but the organizations that are recognized by the international structures within which 'heritage' operates in order to

preserve it through the UN system are lacking, namely nation-states that have sovereign jurisdiction over a territory. World Heritage cannot be a global endeavour.

The absence of Antarctica also goes some way to illustrating a need to maintain the status quo by UNESCO whilst also desiring and observing a need to be progressive. Here the stratification of UNESCO's practices and structure weigh heavily on more creative modes of conservation: the UN and UNESCO have developed over the last 70 years into 'megaliths' of the international arena. They have developed a strong brand and recognition around the world for their humanitarian and conservation work, but there remain issues, such as those outlined above, that have not been resolved and have become more critical throughout this period (see Pamlin and Armstrong, 2015). Certainly, the World Heritage Programme has achieved some invaluable work over the last 45 years. For instance, it has encouraged significant prioritization of resources to this area of work, which in difficult times could easily have been overlooked. It has encouraged the people represented by the States Parties to come into contact with and think about the heritage of the world. However, it is important to be aware of the shortcomings of the programme outlined above and the structure that it works within, and the impacts that may result, which I will go on to explore in more depth in the next chapter in the case of Galápagos.

In sum, the ideas of conservation of nature and wilderness to which the UN and UNESCO were responding in their work programmes were brought into being by a culture where modern processes of industrialization and globalization had led to the pursuit of the sublime experience of nature and its subsequent worship under the auspices of scientific research and progress (Rolston, 1995, Cronon, 1996, Dixon et al., 2012, Lorimer, 2015, Povinelli, 2016). Although the mandate from the UN was updated to reflect the birth, also in 1972, and subsequent pivotal role of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and its World Database on Protected Areas (WDPA), the view of a nature 'out there' remains in practices of conservation today. That is, ironically, it has become clear that the culture in which the concept of protected areas arose, and which has dominated the international domain, has also provided the necessity to protect 'nature,' primarily against that culture, that is, against modernism and related ideas of development, perpetual economic growth, fixed identities and materialities, and the 'other.' Conservation attempts to bridge this conflict, but arguably, as the political and economic interests of World Heritage designation are mobilized more often, they become the driving feature. Baird Callicot and Nelson quote Turner in pointing out that in order to "reclaim the wildness in wilderness and in ourselves, we must… live and work in the wild world" (1998: 18), which

I read as accepting that the world is 'wild' and our ability to tame it is limited. Echoing Cronon and Turner, Lorimer (2015) proposes that 'nature,' along with Cronon's wilderness, is a historic term that needs to be replaced with wildlife, to denote the wildness in all life rather than a delineated area.

Bringing Culture and Nature Together Again: Reframing Conservation for a Global World

The World Heritage programme has made several attempts to bring 'nature' and 'culture' back together. As mentioned above, the addition of 'Cultural Landscapes' in 1992 was the first formal response to the changing intellectual landscape outlined above, acknowledging that in some cases these iconic places were the result of:

> combined works of nature and man [sic]… illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. (UNESCO, 1972, Article 47).

Cultural Landscapes are primarily cultural sites. The above quote indicates a presumption that human cultures demonstrate their evolution in their response to their environments rather than acknowledging that this is a two-way process, or indeed that the evolution or progress of culture is a situated concept. Head points out that the concept of cultural landscapes is used mainly by physical geographers and scientists, who continue to retain nature and culture as unproblematic separate entities (2010: 429). She continues that, where this appears uncontroversial to many of the World Heritage Convention States Parties,' there are some cultures in parts of the world, for instance Germany and Australia, where the belief in the separation of nature and culture is not held or is held in tandem with other systems of conceptualizing the world (2010: 430-31). UNESCO confronts this problematic structure by stating:

> The Convention is unique in that it links together the concept of nature conservation and the preservation of cultural sites. Strongly emphasizing the role of local communities, the Convention serves as an effective tool in addressing climate change, rapid urbanization, mass tourism, sustainable socio-economic development and natural disasters and other contemporary challenges. (www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/world-heritage/ accessed 6.10.2016)

This attempts to link ideas of conservation and preservation (which, as I have outlined, are both problematic), fixing sites in space and attaching them to other key areas of international concern, Latour's 'monsters' or 'hybrids.' However, here nature and culture remain separated, and rather than bringing them together and problematizing the 'world'

that separated them, it is the role of local communities to resolve these "contemporary challenges".

Turning back to the role of heritage as it has been mobilized by modernism, Harvey (2001) talks about the process of heritage-ization in the production of power and identity, and the trend that Hewison (1987 cited in Harvey, 2001) identifies as the 'growth' of the heritage industry. This rapid growth in the number of types of heritage designation – World Heritage Sites, Scheduled Monuments, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, to name just a few – and the number of sites listed in these various designations, alongside their commodification, continues into the twenty-first century with far reaching implications. Despite their diversity, these designations are predicated on notions of land 'ownership,' and so, whilst potentially useful in some cultures, it should be noted again that in many cultures the relationship with the land is imagined differently, as something to collaborate with rather than own. This echoes Ignatov's (2016) work on oration that I outlined in the last chapter, in which an orator tunes into the voices of the land and ancestors in an ecological process of 'minor' politics. Here a connection can be made to the addition of a further UNESCO convention that also aims to protect the world's heritage. In 1997 the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity was ratified and its own convention followed in 2003. This has its own States Parties and General Assembly, which also meets at the UNESCO General Conference. It was designed to work alongside the World Heritage Convention, acknowledging that cultural heritage is more complex than buildings, monuments and the physical tangible heritage that is eligible for inscription in the World Heritage Convention (see Bille 2012). It particularly encourages international designations where cultural heritage exists across national borders, and heritage can only be inscribed when it is identified by the communities in which it exists. Again the emphasis falls onto local 'communities,' with the intent of giving them an instrument with which to conserve their own cultures. It is said to feed into 'sustainable development' by revealing non-academic forms of knowledge regarding the conservation of nature, and by educating people formally and informally about the importance of intangible heritage. However, as outlined above, the concept of sustainable development is also problematic in that it perpetuates notions of evolution, the need to develop, and the possibility that there is anything sustainable about this beyond an attempt to sustain a world view and world order. Finally, the encouragement of bi- and multi-lateral sites is of note here, acknowledging that some cultures operate across national borders, but it does not include intangible natural heritage such as the relationships in ecosystems, implying that adding this, like the addition

of Cultural Landscapes, serves to patch over short-comings in the original vision of World Heritage whilst maintaining the status quo.

Chapter 4
Congealing Galápagos

Introduction

This chapter explores and problematizes the inertia built into UNESCO and the international conservation framework more broadly. In their role as cradle, grave and museum for species and evolution, the Galápagos Islands have been and continue to be pivotal in the development and understanding of conservation, preservation and their international frameworks. To draw from Deleuze, the islands form a rhizome within the world of conservation, both informing and being informed: they are part of a giant conservation assemblage, one of Latour's 'monsters' or 'hybrids.' This framing of them might even be described as a human response to what Timothy Morton (2013) would term a hyper-object, also becoming known as the Anthropocene. Here I seek to explore this entangled relationship and its compositional congealments and flows, territorializations and de-territorializations. I suggest that in Galápagos, UNESCO, via its routinized and iconic programmes such as World Heritage, and the practice of conservation with its established relationships, actors, methodologies and funding models, acts as a congealing agency, creating rules, solidifying lines and ways of perceiving the world to produce a 'Natural Heritage site for Humanity' or World Heritage Site, established in 1978, to be followed by a 'Biosphere Reserve' in 1984, and a 'Galápagos Marine Reserve' established in 1998 and added to its World Heritage designation in 2001.

In this chapter I draw on Deleuze's geophilosophy and related theory to establish that, in the process of becoming, many events return a site to the same routines (Woodward et al, 2010), and that this is illustrated in Galápagos by the repeating practice of conservation and tourism (for instance, following the same paths, or visiting the same sites and buildings time and time again). Over the years UNESCO, the government, and the wider conservation sector have formed and reformed the islands as a World Heritage site. These repetitions work to create striated space by building up layer upon layer, strata upon strata, of repeating difference. This works to congeal the islands' ecosystem and creates conflicts among the islands' residents. This is a material geopolitics that divides 'nature' from 'culture' physically as well as rhetorically, creating different places for humans and non-humans, and for different kinds of humans. Of course, the world is not as neat or vulnerable as this way of thinking implies, and a more excessive, resurgent world that I

have begun to describe over the last chapters can be perceived and subsumed with novel modes of practice. As the next chapter goes on to outline, such a resurgent world can, however, also become part of an explicit critique of UNESCO policy and practice.

The Routinizing of Galápagos

Of Conservationists, Residents and Tourists

The Galápagos Islands have become an iconic symbol of island biodiversity across much of the developed world. This is due to their geography - being in a strategic position in relation to the Americas[25] - and the particular ecosystems that have emerged there; and their human history, encompassing Darwin's visit, whaling stations, and various attempts to colonize the archipelago. They have been at the forefront of the global conservation movement through their involvement with and resultant shaping of the WWF, UNESCO and the IUCN, amongst other entities, since these organizations emerged in the mid twentieth century. Connected to this, they are intricately entangled with a global geopolitics of colonization, control and ownership of, and resultant tourism to, the islands. Between 1535 when the Bishop of Panama produced the first known written records of the islands, and the early nineteenth century, there were multiple temporary colonizations by sailors and buccaneers. In 1832 they were claimed by the newly emerging Ecuador and José Villamil, an Ecuadorian general, was asked to establish a penal colony on Isla Floreana. There followed two further colonies. *El Progreso* on San Cristóbal came first, and was a farming enterprise with Manuel Cobos at the helm, who was renowned for his ill treatment of workers and was eventually killed by one of them; and, further penal colonies on Isabela, including *Villamil* under Antonio Gil, which again was brutal – prisoners were tasked with building their own prisoner of war camp out of volcanic rock. They were eventually shut down in 1959 when the islands became a National Park, but the remains of *Villamil*, now known as the 'wall of tears,' remains.

The now famous visit by Charles Darwin took place in 1835, exactly three centuries after the Bishop of Panama first wrote about the islands. In the first half of the twentieth century a second wave of Europeans arrived, encouraged by romantic accounts of the islands by authors such as Beebe (1924) and fleeing their war-torn homes in search of a better life. Many of these were eccentric to say the least, and drew in the world's press.

[25] The islands were ideally placed to defend the Panama Canal which was a lifeline for much of the United States and other American countries.

Alongside them curators and scientists visited, many from the US, who took dead and live samples of the extraordinary species of wildlife for their collections (see Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1960, Bassett 2009, Idrovo 2005, Nicholls 2014, Quiroga and Sevilla 2017, for more detailed accounts and analyses of the colonization of the islands).

The islands were a key geostrategic position for the west coast of the Americas, and especially the Panama Canal, and during World War Two Ecuador agreed to let the US military make a base on Isla Baltra. When the war ended, sensing competition for the islands, and to substantiate Ecuador's claims to them, the Ecuadorian Government encouraged Ecuadorians to go and settle with gifts of land and livestock to cultivate. Meanwhile, the fledgling UNESCO and then IUCN, making connections with Darwin's visit and the continued study of evolution, continued to work with conservationists on ways of preserving the islands as a living laboratory. Hennessey (2017) gives a fascinating and detailed account of the history of conservation on the islands. She argues that they were framed as a 'living laboratory for the study of evolution' in the 1930s, which was when conservationists first persuaded the Ecuadorian President Abelardo Montalvo to issue an executive decree calling for the protection of the most threatened species. This led in 1936 to most of the islands becoming national reserve parks (2017: 76). International pressure on the Ecuadorian government continued to grow and it eventually agreed to designate the whole archipelago as a National Park in 1959. This, and the establishment soon after of the Charles Darwin Research Station, led to ever-growing numbers of visits from conservationists and scientists from all over the world, sparking a public interest in the islands as a unique location to experience Darwinism. In the 1970s tourists began to visit in earnest as well as ever more scientists. The experience of being in the islands is significantly shaped by three connected and not mutually exclusive groups: settlers, conservationists (including but not limited to scientists) and tourists. All have different relationships with, and attitudes towards, the islands' non-human residents, and all inhabit different parts of the islands, and so are differently in place and out of place.

The Special Law for Galápagos

The islands have been governed by Ecuador since 1832, two years after the separation of Ecuador and Colombia, and became one of Ecuador's provinces in 1973. 97% of the islands form the National Park, while 3% of the land across four of the islands makes up the settlements and agricultural areas which are kept as separate as possible from the park's territories. Few residents go into the National Park as entry is forbidden without an expensive Naturalist Guide. In addition to the national laws of Ecuador, the key legislation

that provides the framework for residents of and visitors to the Galápagos is the *Ley Orgánica de Régimen Especial de la Provincia de Galápagos*, known as the Special Law for Galápagos, or the LOREG, which was introduced in 1998. The Special Law came about following international pressure on the Ecuadorian government to conserve the islands better as international commercial pressures, especially fishing for sea cucumbers and lobsters, grew. It aimed to promote good conservation practice whilst encouraging sustainable economic development within the islands. It was originally managed by the INGALA (Ecuador's National Institute for the Galápagos) and, following the reconstitution of Ecuador in 2008 is now managed by the Consejo de Gobierno de Galápagos or Council for Government of Galápagos (CGG). The CGG is responsible for governing the province, and mirrors the structure of the mainland Ecuadorian provinces rather than having a different government structure for the islands. The CGG is led by the *Ministra Presidenta*, the Galápagos Minister, appointed by and reporting directly to the President, and is divided into three Cantons or Municipalities, Santa Cruz, Isabela and San Cristóbal including Floreana, each of which have an elected Mayor and a city council of five members, who name a Vice Mayor. There are also two locally elected representatives in the National Assembly of Ecuador.

Since the introduction of the LOREG in 1998 the concept of the visitor and the resident have become further entrenched. Until this point Ecuadorians could come and go freely, but since then only permanent residents[26] of the islands are allowed to stay for more than twelve months (the length of work visas for those who bring skills that are not found on the islands) or three months (the length of the tourist visa). Further, there are many jobs on the islands that the LOREG states can only be filled by permanent residents, for instance Naturalist Guides and fishermen. It includes clauses that set beneficial pay rates for islanders to acknowledge the added costs of living so remotely, increased the power of regulatory organizations such as the National Park Service (Hoymann and McCall 2012: 33-34), and outlines that any building and development schemes need to be led by residents on land that is at least 51% owned by them. It also added powers to existing laws for the protection of the Marine Reserve, which covers the forty nautical miles in all directions around the archipelago to be protected from large scale commercial fishing. These measures were intended to counter the critique that the Galápagos had nothing more

[26] Those who have resided in Galápagos for more than five years prior to 1998, or who were born on the islands.

than a 'paper park' (Jones 2013: 66) with no Management Plan to guide and coordinate action.

The title of this law also implies that the permanent human residents of the islands are 'special' and need special treatment, and the detail supports this way of thinking. As one person involved with the conservation sector, Valeria, commented:

> Galápagueños feel that they are not part, [and] they are part, of the mainland Ecuador, and they at the same time feel special because they are special and [the] law says they are special, so it's not only I feel special because I have this paradise where I am living right, but also the law says this place is special and I have special rights. (Interview with Valeria 11.6.15)

Iván also commented on this during a conversation towards the end of my stay:

> people here… have been always used to… have most things for free. Too much subsidizing in Galápagos, there has been too much of that, like people are used to always have just benefits and things like that for free, and then that limited them from wanting to compete and wanting to do these kind of things. (Interview with Iván and Adrian, 19.6.15)

This designation has the effect of stratifying the idea of being special and having special rights, so that as time passes it becomes the foundation or basis upon which other things can happen.

Congealing Practices and Goals: Galápagos National Park Management

There are two key organizations involved in the management of the Galápagos National Park and its World Heritage Status: these are the Galápagos National Park Directorate (GNPD), sometimes called the National Park Authority or Service, which is an agency of the Ecuadorian Ministry of the Environment (2014 Management Plan), and the Charles Darwin Foundation and Research Station. Leading up to the National Park designation in 1959, Hennessey outlines how:

> In the 1950s, well-connected scientific groups articulated a vision for managing the Galápagos that combined the islands' scientific, cultural, and economic values with conservation goals. Public rhetoric casting the Galápagos as a Darwinian landscape full of unusual and endangered species was central to this success. (2017: 79).

UNESCO and the IUCN were heavily involved in the establishment of the international scientific research non-governmental organization, the Charles Darwin Foundation[27] (CDF), and its delivery arm, the Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS), which is situated just east of the town Puerto Ayora on Isla Santa Cruz. Indeed, Julian Huxley was the Chair of the committee responsible for setting up the research station. The management of the Park was carried out primarily by the Charles Darwin Foundation until

[27] The Foundation is registered in Belgium

the GNPD and the official boundaries were established in 1968, when formal management and reporting duties moved across to the GNPD, and more control was handed back to Ecuador. The Director of the National Park Directorate is appointed by the Ecuadorian Government's Ministry of the Environment, and s/he reports to government and through them to UNESCO.

The IUCN remains involved with The Charles Darwin Foundation and its Research Station, which continues to coordinate, fund and carry out scientific research, and work closely with the GNPD to use this research to support management decisions. It has a formal agreement with the Ecuadorian Government to work closely with other organizations, providing scientific knowledge to assist with the islands' conservation. This agreement theoretically covers a period of 25 years, the first one covering the period of 1959 to 1991, the second 1991 to 2016 and the third one now underway. The Charles Darwin Foundation is primarily funded through grants from other charitable organizations and private donations. The budget is around $3 million per year; and, after a difficult time where restricted funds grew but unrestricted funds shrunk making it difficult to deliver the projects to which the restricted funds were allocated, the Foundation showed its first positive balance sheet for several years in 2015. The GNPD budget comes from a combination of National Park entry fees and the Government, and is allocated to projects supporting delivery of the 2014 Management Plan. In comparison with the CDF, the GNPD is clearly much closer to the Ecuadorian government, which allocates its budget, and appoints its Director. The Charles Darwin Foundation and Research Station are independent of any one government and, as an NGO, more affiliated with international science and conservation movements such as the IUCN. Although their power is differently situated, both organizations are designed to bring these two interested parties – the Ecuadorian Government and global conservation movement – together to support each other and work together to conserve the archipelago. It is in this complex geopolitical space that the islands' conservation and inhabitation take place.

In their own words:

> Set up by the Ecuadorian Government in 1968, the Galápagos National Park Service (GNPD) manages the conservation and resources of the Galápagos National Park and Marine Reserve. GNPD protects and preserves the archipelago's biodiversity through a wide range of programs that have been laid out in its comprehensive Management Plan. GNPD works with the local community, promotes scientific research, and creates strategies to address management problems in Galápagos.

The Charles Darwin Foundation (CDF) – an international, nongovernmental, non-profit organization – was founded in 1959, under the auspices of UNESCO and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). CDF conducts scientific research and advises the Ecuadorian Government and the Galápagos National Park Service on the best ways to conserve the biodiversity of Galápagos. The Foundation operates the Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS), which has a team of more than 200 scientists, educators, volunteers, student researchers, and support staff. (See figure 13)

Figure 13: Interpretation panel from Van Straelen Interpretation Centre within the Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS). 26 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

There were 12 GNPD Directors between 2005 and 2008 and ongoing instability in the national political system; no President had served their full term of office since 1996, with eight Presidents over eleven years as the country reeled from falling oil prices and subsequent out of control inflation (Epler, 2007: 6-7). In 2007 President Raphael Correa

was elected, and a time of political stability followed. He remained president when I visited, only to be superseded in 2017 by one of his allies in the PAIS Alliance, Lenín Moreno. Despite the stability to come, 2007 was also the year that the islands were added to the list of World Heritage Sites in Danger, citing the political instability of the nation, and multiple conservation issues, including the inability to monitor the park's policies, police the borders and population growth on the islands where the economy was growing thanks to tourist dollars (Epler 2007: 7). It is likely that this was also a political move to ensure that the islands' conservation became a priority for the new President. Being added to the list of World Heritage Sites in Danger, as established in chapter three, is supposed to help to bring additional resources to sites that are struggling to maintain their state of conservation. However, despite the recommendation of the IUCN that not enough had been done to address the threats to the islands' ecosystems for which it was placed on the list,[28] Galápagos was taken off the list and returned to full World Heritage site status in 2010.

There has been a perception amongst residents that the Charles Darwin Foundation was initiated and run by highly educated privileged Western scientists who had a limited understanding of Ecuadorians, their culture or history, and were against the encouragement of the colonization of the islands. These tensions between the USA and Ecuador, conservation and settlement, that the research station has come to represent, stem back at least to the early twentieth century. They are demonstrated in the following excerpt about the US biologist Bowman and Austrian Eibl-Eibesfeldt who, in 1957, the IUCN sent together on the first exploratory mission to decide on the best situation for the research station:

> While Bowman felt side-lined by European–US politicking, his own attitude toward Ecuadorians also became an issue. In a joust of bickering, Eibl-Eibesfeldt accused Bowman of having "a quite arrogant attitude toward the Ecuadorians"—"I think he did not realize yet that Ecuador is going to build a station on Galápagos

[28] See appendix 6
Threats for which the property was inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger
Inadequate implementation of the Special Law on Galápagos and lack of enforcement;
b) Poor governance;
c) Inadequate regional planning;
d) Inadequate and ineffective quarantine measures;
e) Illegal fishing;
f) Instability of Park Director's position;
g) High and unregulated illegal in-migration and resulting impacts of development on biodiversity;
h) Unsustainable tourism development;
i) Educational reform not implemented
From WHC-10/34.COM/7A.Add, Paris June 2010

> with international help." … Bowman's condescension, while not uncommon, betrays an attitude of superiority that was central to scientists' assertions that they knew best how to manage the islands and justifications for intervening in what they perceived as Ecuadorian mismanagement of this treasured Darwinian landscape. Despite Eibl-Eibesfeldt's reproach that it would be Ecuador that built the station with international help, correspondence among US and European naturalists makes clear that the station project was their undertaking for which they needed to secure Ecuadorian approval—hence why they considered Bowman's condescending attitude a potential threat to good relations. (Hennessey 2017: 84 in Quiroga and Sevilla 2017)

Here it is clear that two world views: those of international conservationists, and those of Ecuador's government trying to manage its place in an international world whilst under attack from Colombia and recovering from centuries of colonization. These differing views of history and its importance to understanding place are constantly meeting on the islands. For instance, a scholarship programme was established by the Charles Darwin Foundation in 1972 to encourage Galápagueños to become more involved in conservation. This was highly regarded by some, but seen as patronizing, even didactic, by others, and the Foundation is still perceived as being driven by an outside agenda. In several informal conversations during my fieldwork, I was told that a scientist had once called the locals the most dangerous invasive species of all, which did not help diplomacy between the two groups. This tension between different power, culture and value systems can still be witnessed today between the people who live on the islands and the people who claim to be conserving them. The GNPD, on the other hand, was perceived as being part of the Ecuadorian democratic process, although still viewed by some as overly influenced by foreign scientists or corrupt politicians. These tensions between two world views, two different stratifications, remain. Indeed they have grown layer upon layer over the decades as I will go on to show below.

In terms of the role that UNESCO plays, the reduction in power that the Charles Darwin Foundation has experienced over the last few years, and the rise in that of the GNPD, alongside reduced central UNESCO budgets and an ever-growing number of World Heritage Sites to oversee, leaves UNESCO less and less involved in the islands on a day to day basis. Ecuador maintains power and has responsibility for conservation and a burgeoning tourism industry to manage and potentially profit from. This shift in power from a NGO to a national one could be argued to be in line with President Correa's centralized style of politics; there is more central control over activity through the Ministry of the Environment. Referring back to the conversation that Hennessey quotes between Eibl Eibesfeldt and Bowman, it could also be argued to be a decolonizing move for power to lie with the sovereign power and more localized ontologies of conservation rather than

the global conservation organizations mostly established during the death throes of imperialism. Again it is notable that these are situated, they came into being in a particular time and place, and serve specific agendas, one of which is arguably to maintain soft power and control in these regions. The Director of the GNPD changed just before I arrived, with the outgoing Director, Arturo Izurieta, claiming a political ousting after only 20 months in a post on his facebook page (www.huffingtonpost.com/cecilia-alvear/former-Galápagos-park-dir_b_7047304.html accessed 22.08.17). The new Director, Alejandra Ordoñez, a previous provincial director for the Ministry of Tourism and established supporter of Correa, could be argued to have been put in place to enable the agreement of changes to the LOREG, which were being processed during my time there. Meanwhile, Arturo Izurieta was appointed the Director of the Charles Darwin Foundation during my visit in June 2015 (CDF Annual Report 2015). Clearly, the instability of the islands' economy and politics, and those of Ecuador, imposed limits on the scope and long-term planning and strategy of potential conservation work, especially as the Management Plan is coordinated by the GNPD, which is directly controlled by the central government, and so impacted by its stability.

There are several ways in which the effectiveness of conservation approaches to World Heritage Sites is monitored by UNESCO. These are intended to complement each other and ensure that management is thorough and accountable. First, all World Heritage Sites are requested to submit a Periodic Report to UNESCO every six years, in which the management team assess the maintenance of the state of conservation of the site, comment on any changing circumstances that may affect the site, and any other information that might be deemed useful to share with other States' Parties in the context of exchange of best practice. In addition to this, UNESCO periodically sends missions out to check the 'State of Conservation' of sites independently. This is known as State of Conservation Reporting. It is undertaken each year for sites on the World Heritage in Danger List and at random intervals for all other sites.

Most sites also have their Management Plan or equivalent, laying out over a period of years what work needs to be undertaken according to the priorities of that site, its stakeholders, and its States Party, in order to maintain or improve the state of conservation. These often link with other governmental documents and strategies, as is encouraged by UNESCO. It is interesting to note here that what is being sought at each site is no change or modest improvement, that is, maintaining a status quo rather than 'deterioration.' Here, Deleuze and Guattari's arguments about territorialization, stratification and

deterritorialization can be mobilized. Whilst conservation of ecosystems aims to maintain a status quo or show modest improvement in health, these are dynamic systems with their own trajectories, not necessarily limited to those desired or even perceptible to humans. Conservation then becomes about the stratification of the ideas of, and dynamics between, these ecosystems and the humans that form part of their assemblages. This can be evidenced in the reports to UNESCO, which repeatedly go over the same ground in the same format[29] - layer upon layer of repeating difference. In Galápagos, the last Management Plan was written in 2014. This broke with the past in that it attempted for the first time to bring together the management of the marine and terrestrial elements of the site, which had previously been managed independently. Demonstrating the strong relationship with the government, it also connected to the relatively new national development plan, 'El plan nacional para el buen vivir' or, as in the rather one-dimensional translation, 'National Plan for Good Living.' The concept behind 'buen vivir' originates with the translation into Spanish of the Quechua or Kitchwa[30]indigenous people's concept *sumak kawsay*, which, in connection with their 'god' *Pacha Mama,* implies a different view of 'living' that benefits all life together rather than that of certain individuals or species.

Gerlach (2017) uses Spinoza to look again at Ecuador's Buen Vivir national development plan in the context of the Kitchwa idea of *sumak kawsay* upon which it is based. *Sumak kawsay* is arguably an immanent cosmology, a process of living in harmony individually, socially and environmentally. It echoes points made above with reference to Maori and aboriginal Australians' relationships with 'nature,' viewing it alongside social and individual factors as part of one's identity, and therefore not a commodity or possession. In Ecuador it has been written into the State's constitution as a way of giving rights to ecosystems and theoretically encouraging their protection, but the success of this move is arguable in that it attempts to bring two conflicting world views together: an emergent one in which all life is kin and a transcendent one that considers non-human life a resource. How this plays out remains to be seen. In addition, Gerlach outlines how it has been doctored in its inclusion in the State Constitution by the addition of a definite article, something that the Kitchwa language does not have:

[29] See appendix 8 for Galápagos SoC report from 2016.

[30] The Quechua culture runs right down the Andes, is related to many others along the Pacific coast, and stems from the Inca. In Ecuador it is known as Kitchwa, and I will use this term when talking specifically about Ecuadorian Andean culture, and Quechua as a more generic term spanning the Andes.

> CELEBRATING nature, the Pacha Mama (Mother Earth) of which we are a part and which is vital to our existence,
>
> INVOKING the name of God and recognizing our diverse forms of religion and spirituality,
>
> CALLING UPON the wisdom of all the cultures that enrich us as a society,
>
> AS HEIRS to social liberation struggles against all forms of domination and colonialism
>
> AND with a profound commitment to the present and to the future, Hereby decide to build a new form of public coexistence, in diversity and in harmony with nature, to achieve *the* good way of living, *the* sumak kawsay.
> (2008 constitution, Assemblea Nacional del Ecuador, in Gerlach 2017: 2245, italics my own)

It therefore works against the ambiguity that is one of *sumak kawsay's* defining features, especially the non-recognition of the nature-culture dualisms discussed in the last chapter. The mention of 'the future' as well as 'the present' is also indicative of a changing meaning in translation and application of one world view to the very different one of national governance. This demonstrates a more linear view of time, and again highlights a tension between immanent and transcendent, or rhizomatic and arboreal philosophies and world views.

The World Heritage concept impacts on narratives of past, present and future in that inscription creates a ground zero at each site, a point from which all future measurements of the state of conservation are measured. Whilst this is scientifically useful, as it gives baseline data against which new data can be compared, philosophically it can create a false sense of the depth or value of history in sites. This plays out in the definitions of 'endemic' (that which only exists here, the implication being that it has evolved to fit this specific environment), 'native' (exists here and elsewhere, but has been here for a long time) and 'non-native' (recently introduced), which all imply an essential link between location and life-form, and once again suggests a linear concept of time, development and evolution (see p. 23 appendix 6 – State of Conservation Monitoring Report for ways in which these categories are mobilized to justify action). All species in Galápagos have been introduced at some point since today's islands erupted from deep within the planet, so, whilst this concept is useful scientifically, it is all too often presented as fact rather than one way of thinking about the past, present and future; of what belongs and what does not, of territoriality.

Milton Aguas, a third generation Galápagueño farmer, conservationist and local politician, had direct experience of this imposition of categories of belonging. In attempting to apply

the principles of *sumak kawsay* to his farm, he introduced the agricultural method of permaculture[31] to manage the growth of 'invasive' blackberry plants. He grew cedar and plantains to keep them in check. He thought that this was more in keeping with the Management Plan for the national park than other opposed methods such as pesticides. He explained to me that cedar and plantain take the light, water and contain the roots of the blackberries, so they are kept in check and eventually die back holding space for the endemic plants that he was growing in the next ring of planting. He gets three crops long term where he only got one, and encourages the endemic plants despite their value being low for him. He had succeeded in increasing the space on his farm for endemic plants through this method, but was then told by the GNPD that he could not use cedar or plantains because they are not native or endemic plants and could be invasive and worsen the situation. This sense of what belongs in a territory and what does not, and the criteria for developing policy on this sense, are clearly culturally specific, and the dominant culture in the field of conservation is science, historically a world of taxonomy, and bureaucracy; categories and heroes; in other words, a world of congealing forces. As Robbins argues, "the key lesson learned from comparative invasion studies: It is not species but sociobiological networks that are invasive" (2004: 140).

The science infused concept of conservation and its associated taxonomic view of the world has spread around the planet. This world of neatly divided species, food chains, extinctions and the survival of the fittest is a heroic and dramatic one and, like a classical geopolitics, a binary way of framing the world and therefore defining approaches to its conservation. It underpins the dominant but conflicting narrative of elevated god-like humans protecting vulnerable virginal natures, whilst concurrently posing the greatest threat to them. In what follows I hope to reveal a flatter, more nuanced and entangled scene with multiple protagonists: villains and heroes are replaced with normal mundane creatures, each with their individual internal and external battles and shared conflicts as they struggle for survival and the survival of what matters to them.

Congealing Interactions: Churning Visiting Scientists and Tourists

The headquarters of the GNPD are situated at the entrance to the CDRS, just inland from *Playa Estacion*, the beach named after the Research Station, and just east of Puerto Ayora in Academy Bay on the south coast of Santa Cruz Island. This was the site originally chosen by Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Bowman. On walking out along the sea front road of Puerto

[31] A system designed to model 'nature' that optimises all constituent parts.

Ayora to the east, the tourist shops, cafés and hotels slowly dwindle; and as you enter the National Park, the road winds around the coast for a few hundred metres, past the Charles Darwin Foundation shop, and you arrive at a kiosk staffed by Naturalist Guides (See N on figure 15 below). The road divides here, one branch going inland into the GNPD headquarters, leading slightly away from the sea and up to the Van Straelan interpretation centre, and the other leading along the line of the coast into the Charles Darwin Research Station (see figures 15 and 17), with their offices, accommodation, library, various interpretation stations and the tortoise captive breeding programme pens. This built environment along with the paths and fences, schedules and itineraries, performs a material embodiment of congealing conservation in the Galápagos.

The composite figure 14 (to be viewed alongside figure 28 for clarity of how this fits into Puerto Ayora and the surrounding areas) shows the route in orange into the Charles Darwin Research Station from the centre of Puerto Ayora. The photos going clockwise from top left show:

- The road into the research station
- Two photographs of the panels in the Van Straelen Interpretation Centre
- Three photos of the tortoise captive breeding programme including a sign about the late Lonesome George (see chapter 5) and above it a picture of one of his companions. Below this is a picture of one of the pens holding young tortoises (these were 3-5 years old) carefully colour coded to show which island they had originated from and how old they are
- Two photos of the Native Garden showing the name labels given to the plants, with their species in Latin a bit of information about them, and colour coded for whether they are endemic or native
- The boat launch, opposite the Naturalist Guide hut
- The entrance to the National Park
- The library
- The Charles Darwin Foundation shop
- And finally, sandwiched between the Charles Darwin Foundation shop and one of Lonesome George's companions, the Naturalist Guide Hut

The road into the Research Station is a continuation of the seafront road, and is one of the oldest and best kept on the islands. It connects the Station with the rest of the town, but also divides the two: there is a gate into the National Park at the edge of the town, and although this is not closely guarded, it is a barrier. I was told by a Naturalist Guide who regularly oversees the hut at the entrance further along there that very few people from the town go to the Station. The town is a different place for visitors and residents, who tend to hang out in different areas, visitors close to the sea and residents further inland. The road

also divides ‘nature,’ running across the nesting sites of the marine iguanas for which the islands are so well known.

Figure 14: Route to CDRS from central Puerto Ayora. Compilation created by author.

Also notable are the iconic images of Darwin, goats and tortoises in the interpretation centre, that can be said to symbolize the conservation story there, and the captions that illustrate a realist view of conservation: "This exceptionally diverse archipelago faces urgent environmental problems that threaten its status as a natural wonder and living laboratory." Another point of note is the carefully planted 'native garden' with its taxonomic signs colour-coded to tell us whether a species is native or endemic (non-native species do not belong here), again presenting the tidy world of science, specimens, species and categories. Finally, the buildings, and where they are placed, demonstrate a material embodiment of the relationships between conservation organizations, controlling how the islands are experienced, with the GNPD at the entrance watching people coming and going, officiating over who is allowed in and out. Further in are the CDRS buildings, which are less official and more geared towards scientific research and understanding of the islands.

Figure 15: Map at the entrance to the Charles Darwin Research Station, showing the GNPD offices. 2 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

In figure 15, note the colour coding and the way that the buildings express the structure of the organization with special buildings for each of the Directorates categorized into

discreet areas of work along the biological subject groups. Around a cool grassy square in the middle, block B, are the offices of the Directors. Ironically, perhaps, the map is to be found outside the administrative offices. Again this can be thought of as congealing the individuals employed by the GNPD into their neat areas of work, keeping them apart from other areas, controlling conversations and who it is easy to engage with.

Figure 16: Detail from the map showing the various offices. 2 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

Further along the road, on arrival in the CDRS, another map is provided. This one shows how the Research Station is organized. Although it is not included on the map's key, one can see the Van Straelen Interpretation Centre as an octagonal shape in the top left: 1 is the native garden, and 5 the library. The tortoise breeding pens, although they take up much of the visitable space in the CDRS, are also not labelled here but are out to the east. Again,

this map congeals by laying out where is accessible, and where is not; prioritizing what visitors might like to see, and the ones most likely to increase income, such as the new visitor centre, 6, which includes toilets, a café and shop according to the sign. The priorities of the CDRS are clearly different to those of the GNPD, more visitor and funding focused and less an illustration of a hierarchical and ordered governmental organization.

Figure 17: Map in CDRS showing the CDRS site. 12 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

As laid out above, the Charles Darwin Foundation and Research Station were the first organizations to inform the management of the islands for conservation, once they were designated a National Park. They were set up to gather scientific information about the islands to inform their conservation policies and practices and further scientific knowledge internationally; and this knowledge production is largely the remit of revolving cohorts of visiting scientists. There were 30 resident scientists in 2015 and 279 visiting scientists in addition to 45 volunteers on CDRS projects (CDF Annual Report), showing a large 'churn' of scientists that, like the beach mentioned in the introduction, illustrates striation, the building of layer upon layer of sameness. This striated space is also clear from the CDRS buildings – for instance, the library or breeding pens – some performing the same experimental research role despite changing materialities decade after decade. Books,

librarians, tortoises and scientists come and go, but the buildings remain, nominally serving the same functions.

As previously mentioned, members of the public are not allowed into the National Park without a Naturalist Guide. There are around 500 licensed Naturalist Guides on the islands, about 2% of the population, most of whom do not work regularly. They are technically freelance, but trained and licensed by the GNPD, so the messages that they pass on to tourists are managed by the GNPD to some extent. One Naturalist Guide, born on the mainland, who I spoke with had trained many years ago before the LOREG was introduced in 1998, which, among other things, stipulated that Naturalist Guides needed to have permanent residency on the islands, whilst making this far harder to obtain. She explained that it was the best way for her to remain on the islands she loved, and also allowed her to utilize her previous training in tourism management. It allowed her to work outside and learn more about the life on the islands and in the seas surrounding them. There are different levels of guide, depending on their ongoing professional development including their fluency in languages, and, obvious but interesting here, knowledge of natural sciences, the tourism industry and, finally, health and safety. In one sense their role is to convey the conservation strata to tourists, ensuring that this way of knowing and conserving the islands is what tourists encounter and internalize.

All of these modes of taxonomic conservation – guides, routes, itineraries, interpretation – are techniques for controlling the way in which the archipelago can be experienced. Each builds up strata as it is practised, repeated and modified. These strata are what interact with each other as the different categories collide at the points of contact with other stratifications; for instance, a set route at a set time becomes an itinerary that contains, and so sanitizes, the visitor experience. Whether this control is intentional or not is beside the point; it is what they do rather than what they intend that is of importance. What they do is to congeal, to fix the spaces of the archipelago, who and what can be found in these spaces at particular times, and to guide the way that the spaces are used by these different groups of animals and people. Ingold (2011) talks of Deleuze's lines of flight – the unpredictable singular and emergent non-linear paths through smooth space – as life paths; lines that congeal as they emerge, striating the space as it is moved through. The repetition of journeys (deemed necessary in the Galápagos in order to manage the visitor experience so one is always part of a small group in any place, giving the feeling that you have just discovered it, and also not to exceed the 'carrying capacity' of visitor sites and interfere with the wildlife) builds these striations into layers of strata, each reinforcing the last. One

person's journey of exploration becomes a sandy path, which in turn becomes more established and clear, making it better used, leading to erosion, demanding a harder surface, and so it is paved and so on. Tourists experience the well-developed and serviced *malecon* and curated visitor centres and, further, have their experience of the National Park guided and interpreted by the Naturalist Guides who are built into their experience. Scientists have privileged access to the CDRS and areas of the National Park that are off limits to other visitors. Residents remain in the towns, usually away from the *malecon* unless they are working or gathering for a social event, although many of these events are held in the playgrounds tucked into the back of the town, and away from the National Park. These patterns are repeated over and over again as: tourists arrive and leave, are shown the same visitor centres along the same routes, take the same pictures that they have seen before and so know are expected, comment on the same species that they are shown; scientists arrive and get on with their business of data collection and analysis, returning to the same sites year after year; and residents follow the same routes to work, school, shops and home that they have for years[32]. This is the congealment of a site from the excessiveness of an emergent landform, ecosystem or culture, to the restrictions and limitations of dominant conservation beliefs and practices, and also too of international law.

Congealing Spectatorship: Entangling UNESCO and Tourism

As previously discussed, Galápagos went from being a beacon of good practice in conservation to being added to the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger in 2007. This was largely the result of processes beyond the control of the conservation sector, especially globalization and the phenomenal growth of the tourism industry. This could be argued to be a result of good conservation practice making the site desirable, and, although not the main intended outcome of the conservation practice, was seen to be a way of funding conservation projects. Like attempting to stop or turn a large ship, now that this course has been laid and the strata begin to develop around it, it is increasingly hard to change course.

[32] I talk here of humans, but animals also follow the same routes to feeding zones, whether these are on the other side of a road or the other side of an ocean, and so are also involved in the process of congealment in a sense, supporting notions of animal cultures, an idea to which I will return.

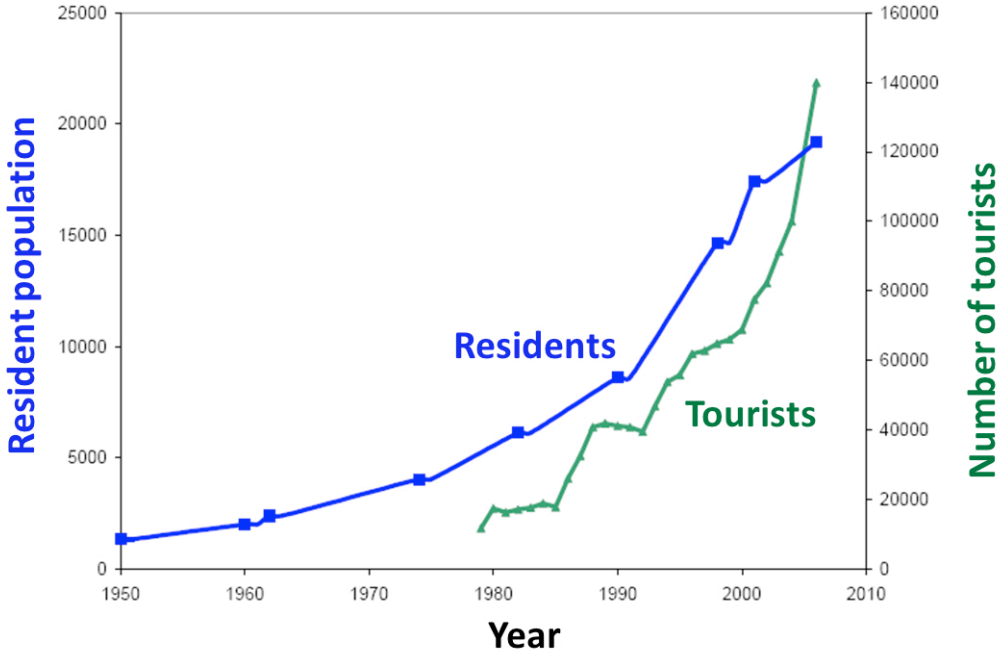

Figure 18: Graph showing the growth of the resident population and tourists to the Galápagos to 2007.

From www.Galápagos.org/conservation/conservation/conservationchallenges/tourism-growth accessed 25.09.17

The all-inclusive cruise or floating hotel was the first model of tourism in Galápagos, sanctioned by conservationists as a way of limiting the impact of visitors to the islands by keeping them and the infrastructure that they require contained on boats, and the visitors themselves in specific visitor sites and accompanied by expert Naturalist Guides both to inform the visitors and to police their visits. It remains marginally the most popular, but in the late 1980s the price of oil dropped and many of the developed countries sourcing the tourists experienced lingering depressions. Entrepreneurs responded by diversifying their offers, including cheaper land-based trips, building hotels and other infrastructure to support more visitors in the population centres on land. These were seen to bring more money in to the communities of the islands as people staying in hotels also eat in restaurants, take part in locally organized tours and browse shops. Originally many of the boats offering tours of the islands had been locally owned, but this soon changed as the market expanded and ownership predominantly moved to larger companies on the mainland, creating the impression that the tourist dollars were being syphoned away from the islands. As more tourist money started to flow into the hands of Galápagueños, the population grew faster (see figure 18) and moved from subsistence activities to the tourism industry and its suppliers (Epler 2007). Apart from the introduction of the LOREG, another major change that happened in 1998 was the switching on of 24 hour mains

electricity. This meant that food could be stored for longer in freezers and fridges, hotels could be fitted with air conditioning units, and guests could expect light and hot water around the clock. This meant the standard of the visitor experience on the islands could compete in a much broader market than previously, as the lives of the residents congealed in a more globally connected environment to become far more like those of the visitors that they hosted.

With regard to UNESCO and its approach to conservation and economic development through tourism, there are arguments that Periodic Reporting is open to political manoeuvres as the reports are written by the site managers, who in some cases stand to gain from a 'good' report, which encourages tourists, and more often stand to lose out from a 'bad' one that might put people off visiting[33]. It has also been argued that UNESCO's budget for World Heritage cannot continue to maintain its quality assurance as the number of sites grows, the Committee becomes more political and less expert (Meskell 2012, 2014, Meskell et al. 2015, Winter 2015, and Brumann 2014), and the budget is reduced in real terms, especially with the withdrawal of the US contribution in 2011 (21% of the total UNESCO budget), a response to what the US claims is an unfair bias against Israel when Palestine became a member state. Brumann (2014) argues that these changes in the Committee challenge the original aims of World Heritage, to conserve the special places of the world. Arguably, as many World Heritage Sites become more desirable and stimulate economic development through tourism, they turn into less a list of places to conserve but a bucket list for the world's most privileged to 'do.' In Galápagos this appears to be born out, as, despite the efforts and numerous successes of many conservation NGOs and the GNPD, the islands are entangled with the massively more mobile populations of the rest of the planet, their differing cultures and their waste. Appealing to the large wallets and so called 'better nature' of high end tourists in order to carry out conservation initiatives[34] appears to deepen further some of the issues that challenge the islands' conservation,

[33] Connecting with other UNESCO projects, as a response to this line of criticism for World Heritage Sites, the newer designation of UNESCO Global Geoparks uses peer reviewing across Parks, so that reports are never written by site Managers alone. This has its own flaws, in that it is far more resource heavy.

[34] For instance, the US NGO, Galápagos Conservancy, actively encourage donations from tourists after they have left the islands as can be seen in their regular e-newsletters, which focus on communicating what conservation action is needed and the resources required to deliver it. This conversion of tourists into funders and supporters of a certain kind of conservation is of interest in relation to congealing an ecosystem and the perception of conservation and the management of 'nature.' A cycle is set up where the world's rich and powerful are groomed to desire these places, and harnessed to support one way of interacting with the world: conservation.

which are further entrenched due to the lack of a Galápagos indigenous population. The majority of the more recent immigrants come from Ecuador's Amazon, Andean and Pacific Coastal communities and bring their traditions with them, even though they are not then tied to the land that they now inhabit as many indigenous cultures and their cosmologies and customs, epitomized, for instance, by the concepts and practices of *sumak kawsay* and *Pacha Mama*. As I go on to explore in more detail in chapter six, this detaches the people of these islands from their place, their land, their environment; and, according to conservation rhetoric, they therefore become potentially less respectful of it. It also makes them less connected to their traditions and customs as these become more symbolic and less grounded and so less meaningful when performed out of place. Some local arts organizations are addressing this by transforming traditions and cultures from other parts of Ecuador by connecting them to the islands and all their inhabitants.

Encountering Congealments

As explained in chapter one, I visited the islands on a tourist visa, to a degree experiencing what any other tourist might. I took an embodied approach to experiencing and analysing the congealment of UNESCO and the tourist in Galápagos by paying close attention to and recording my interaction with the materiality of arriving, the senses involved in moving through the islands and their environments, and how these pick up different messages and cues. I particularly paid attention to sound, hearing and listening, as the temporality involved in sound and its perception are so markedly different from that of the more familiar sense of sight.

My first encounter with the islands, like that of most other visitors, was seeing them from the plane (see figures 19 and 20). The wall of hot air as we disembarked, followed by a very well designed small airport with shade, airflow and no air conditioning, set the scene for the eco-tourist. Here we queued for what felt like a long time – about an hour I think – to have our documents checked, and to pay our $100 each to enter the National Park. In exchange we were issued with a National Park map produced by the Ministry of the Environment showing all the visitor sites across the archipelago. On the reverse side of the map was guidance on how to behave whilst in the islands. This is another of the ways that UNESCO and the government mediates the visitor experience – as previously mentioned, the National Park has to report formally to government and, less frequently, to UNESCO. UNESCO and the Ecuadorian government also interact with the visitor experience through their websites (see below), the baggage checks and special queues in the mainland airports,

and through the Naturalist Guides. These all contribute to and sign-post the knowledge that one is visiting a 'special' place, and setting out on a voyage of discovery.

Figure 19: My first sight of the archipelago from the plane. Probably Isla Genovesa with Isla Marchena behind it. 16 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 20: Isla Baltra from the plane as we came in to land. 16 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

Most tourists today who have booked an all-inclusive tour arrive by plane as we did, and are then met at the airport on Isla Baltra by their Naturalist Guide who will accompany them onto their boat, either moored close by or in Puerto Ayora. Isla Baltra sits in the middle of the archipelago and houses the main airport. It is only separated from the most populated island, Isla Santa Cruz, by a narrow channel, the *Itabaca Canal*. Once we had our map, and ticket showing that we had paid, we had our luggage checked again for dangerous items – in this case seeds and other matter that could introduce invasive species – before leaving the airport on a bus that took us a couple of miles to the turquoise crossing to Santa Cruz. Gone are the days of encountering the islands through a pod of hundreds of sleepy dolphins and misshapen clouds on the horizon hovering over volcanic craters, if they ever existed in quite the romantic way that Beebe wrote about them[35]. Our encounter, like most others, was quickly stultified and congealed with bureaucracy, queuing, being scrutinized, instructed and herded by a mixture of local and national government officials, tour guides, drivers, and airport staff.

As outlined in chapter two, maps are geopolitical. They harness, represent and justify territorializing forces of striation. What they tell us about a place, like photographs, tells us as more about the people that produced them and their culture than it does about the place that is ostensibly being represented. The move from charts showing mountains and seas complete with dragons a few centuries ago, to clinical god's eye perspectives with their implication of scientific accuracy and revelation of 'natural truths,' marked changes in the colonizing cultures that produced them. The map that all visitors are given is a bird's eye view of the islands on one side, labelled with both their current Ecuadorian and previously used English names. It is colour coded to show the National Park areas and the human settlements, and also shows all the marine and land sites that tourists might visit. These are sites where the National Park Authority allows visitors to access the National Park accompanied by a Naturalist Guide. It shows the capital of the islands, Puerto Baquerizo Moreno on Isla San Cristóbal at the east of the archipelago, but does not label any of the other settlements or facilities, even though Puerto Ayora's population is twice as big as that of Puerto Baquerizo Moreno. It also has a box that shows where the islands are on a smaller scale, firmly attaching them to Ecuador on South America's north

[35] Beebe's 1920s account of the islands became one of the best known, and has especially worked to romanticize the islands and their residents.

west coast, and a second box showing some of the more remote northern islands that will not fit the scale. In the bottom left there is a scale and compass, and there are grid lines showing longitude and latitude, again situating the islands straddling the equator, and helping those with a training in map reading to geolocate them.

Figure 21: Map of Galápagos Islands issued at Baltra airport on payment of Park entrance fee. 4 July 2017. Photo: author's own.

On the back of the map is a pie chart showing how the entry fee is split across different organizations, and a welcome note:

> Welcome to the Galápagos. We hope you have an unforgettable stay and we remind you to notice of a few simple rules to ensure the conservation of the archipelago

Conservation is mentioned in the first few lines of the documentation given out. These rules are then listed in Spanish and English and with diagrams. Again, this reinforces that the tourist has arrived in a special place, where special rules apply. These are:

- Any visit within the protected area of the Galápagos National Park must be accompanied by a Naturalist Guide authorized by the Galápagos National Park Directorate.

- Avoid bad experiences by contracting tourism services and boats authorized to working [sic] the protected areas of the Galápagos Islands.
- For your own security, and to ensure the conservation of the unique natural heritage of the islands, please keep to the trails and respect the signs at all times.
- Keep a distance of at least 2 meters (6 ft) from animals to avoid disturbing them. Respect both their space and freedom.
- Galápagos animals do not need to be fed by humans. Offering food can create health problems.
- Please take pictures and videos without flash to avoid upsetting the animals. Professional photography and videos recorded for commercial purposes must be authorized by the National Park Directorate.
- There are designated areas for camping. Request authorization of the Galápagos National Park's offices with at least 48 hours' prior notice.
- It is your responsibility not to introduce food, animals or plants into the archipelago. Please cooperate with the inspection and quarantine officials at the airports and docks of the islands.
- Do not buy any products and/ or souvenirs made from banned substances such as coral, shell, lava rock, animal parts and endemic materials. This is an illegal activity and must be reported.
- Please do not leave traces of your presence on the islands. Instead, take home unforgettable memories and experiences from your stay.
- Please take your trash with you until you find a suitable place to dispose of it. The centres of all populated villages have effective waste management systems.
- Smoking and lighting campfires in the protected areas of the Galápagos National Park is strictly prohibited. There is a serious risk of causing major damage by fires.
- Fishing is not allowed. It is only permitted on recreational fishing boats authorized by the Galápagos National Park Directorate.
- Motorized aquatic sports, mini-subs, and aerial tourism are not permitted in the National Park.

The language of these instructions sets up a way of perceiving and interacting with the islands. It is a list of things not to do. In talking about the animals of the islands, the idea that they can be 'disturbed' and 'upset' and also that their space and freedom needs to be respected humanizes them by assigning human emotions to them. However, it also separates them from human visitors by mediating the interaction one has with them, alienating them through their special requirements that do not apply to similar animals outside a designated area, or indeed to other animals, such as humans, that are inside a protected area.

Figure 22: Reverse of map shown in Figure 21. Photo: author's own.

The assumed desire not to harm or upset the animals could be argued to assume a certain kinship (see Haraway 2016) with them, but could also be interpreted as a separation and even patronizing, a move to protect the vulnerable 'other.' Likewise, the rather strange

seeming instruction not to leave any trace on the islands is reminiscent of Bennett's discussion of vital materialism as against environmentalism, and Wylie's account of haunting as we constantly enter into and concurrently emerge from our environments. If we are constantly co-producing an immanent world, it is not possible to avoid a trace; impressions and memories are made, bodies and environments are changed. Although the intention is admirable, we are set up to fail at this early stage. The map and its instructions are also a political gesture showing that the government has addressed some of the concerns of conservationists and UNESCO, such as illegal fishing and controlling invasive species (to some minds including the humans reading them!); it communicates some of the conflicts that arise there, and what is expected of visitors, a first step towards policing regulations. However, when one looks beyond the map and the official information provided, the recommendations from UNESCO officials, such as a single point of entry and exit and a specialized isolated dock on the mainland that were supposed to be addressed in order for the Galápagos to be removed from the World Heritage in danger list back in 2010, had still not been applied when I was given mine in 2015.

Finally, it is a marketing exercise, setting the tone for the visit, and showing the visitor that Ecuador is a developed destination through information about waste management, which, when explored, is also questionable – all waste has to be re-used, shipped off the islands, buried or burned, which is in the most part not as sustainable or eco-friendly as is desirable for people visiting an 'island paradise' where Darwin's historical encounter changed science forever. Much work is taking place to improve the waste management of the islands, but it was not clear that it was 'effective' at the time of my visit. One interviewee told me that only 36% of the waste that is produced on the islands gets recycled, and only one of the three guest houses where I stayed in Puerto Ayora had options to separate my waste for recycling, and even there it was not clear how to use it or what was required. It was presented as an annoyance, rather than an everyday part of living in a heritage site, or indeed just of living; of survival. This behaviour had not stratified. The lack of reference to the residents of the islands beyond the Naturalist Guides could also be seen as a marketing exercise, supporting what many people who have not visited the islands think: that they are uninhabited, or that their human population is not as important as some of their non-human populations. The map could be argued to mis-represent the population of the islands and the experience that visitors can expect upon arrival. It also gives the impression that they can have holidays such as the one that they are on, without any impact, and without any support facilities so long as they follow a few simple rules. This effectively prioritizes the tourism industry over the conservation industry. People struggle

to reconcile international travel, especially when packaged as ecotourism, with sustainable lifestyles, and having spent a lot of money to come to the islands on a naturalist pilgrimage do not want to be reminded of the impact of their (and my) decision to be there. Most of the population of the islands works in visitor services of one kind or another, whether in shops, bars, restaurants, hotels, building, sewerage, or water supply. They provide the infrastructure to support the growing number of tourists to the islands and the quality of life to which these tourists are accustomed, and so are not only connected to but serving the tourists (Stewart 2007, Epler 2007, Taylor et al 2008).

The aerial, or 'God's eye,' view orientates the viewer to feel transcendent, able to pull away, to separate from the experience and look down upon it. The depiction of designated landing sites, walkways, roads, interpretation centres and permitted camping sites all control the visitor's experience of the islands, as does the presence of a Naturalist Guide. In addition to the map that I received on entry, there were many other interactions with maps during my stay in the archipelago. This also served to congeal my experience as I was presented time and time again with a similarly represented and therefore striated Galápagos. My perception of the archipelago was changed by the repeated information that these maps presented, turning me into a congealed map-reader. Figure 23 shows a map of San Cristóbal, with information on the back. It was given to us by Iván on our first day in the islands to help us to navigate around Puerto Baquerizo Moreno, and especially to find our way to a restaurant and to the market and supermarket.

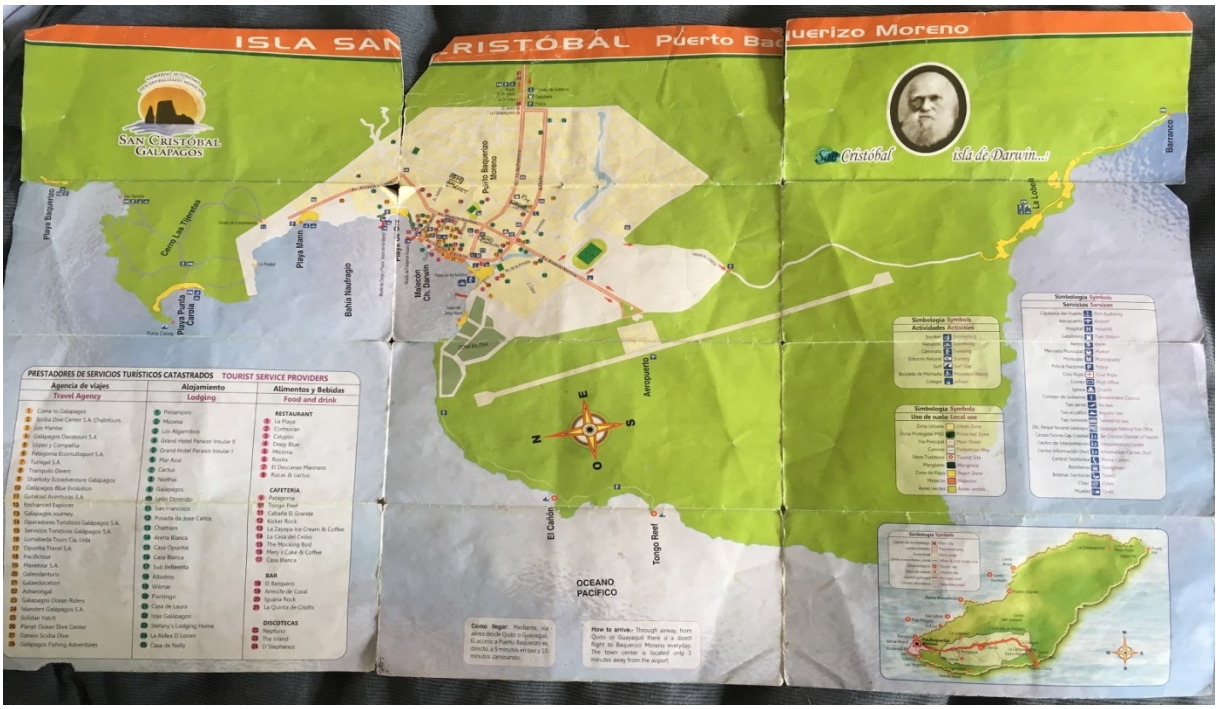

Figure 23: Map of Puerto Baquerizo Moreno/ San Cristóbal given to us by Iván on arrival (front and reverse). 2 August 2017. Photo: author's own.

Figure 24: Map of Puerto Ayora found outside some buildings marked LAN (one of the regional airlines) on the way to CDRS. 12 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 24 is a map aimed at visitors with key places a visitor might need to know in a new town, such as the police station, toilets, decompression chamber for divers and banks featured as well as gift shops and restaurants. Interestingly, the town is in green and represents the part of the island designated for infrastructure and people, who can move 'freely' in this clearly striated area, and the rest of it in red, which represents the National Park area, which is restricted to visits with a Naturalist Guide. This is a blank, perhaps smooth, space. Red is often used to symbolize danger, so perhaps it was intended to help keep people without a Naturalist Guide in the town. At the bottom of the map, also in green, is the path to Las Grietas (see chapter six) which is not part of the National Park, and is also being developed.

Figure 25: Map of Isabela and Puerto Villamil and the south of Isabela island. 2 August 2017. Photo: author's own.

The map in Figure 25 is explicitly made for tourists. It was given to me by David at the National Park Directorate to help me to find my way to the *Centro de Crianza,* or breeding centre, and around the village. It seems much more geared towards the tourist rather than the local with leisure activities, viewpoints and areas that require a Naturalist Guide marked. The map in Figure 26, by contrast, located in the middle of the town at the red dot shown, must be aimed at non-residents as all locals must have known their way around the town of 2000 or so people that you can cross on foot in less than 15 minutes, but this is less

clear from what is labelled. Content includes schools and sports grounds as well as tourist information, the flamingos, scenic spots from which to take photographs and the route to the tortoise breeding centre. It made me wonder whether there was a more educational role to these maps, laying out a place that residents know and introducing the concept of maps and map reading and the God's eye view of conservation.

Figure 26: Map of Puerto Villamil located in the middle of the town at the point shown by the red dot. 15 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

In addition to the work of maps as congealing agents, there are many websites that are regularly used by visitors to the islands, and these also repeat much of the same information, use the same maps, weather data, show the same itineraries and routes through the islands, provide links to the same companies and so on. In addition to this and of interest in thinking about the role of UNESCO in these processes of congealment, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre website includes 'The List' of World Heritage Sites. These are presented both as a map and as a list, nation-state by nation-state. As outlined in the last chapter, these contain data presumably deemed to be most important to UNESCO. When one clicks through onto individual sites, they are presented in a template showing tabs including description, maps, documents and gallery (see figure 27). As well as making it easier to read across from site to site, this standardized format also makes it appear as though each site fits into a standardized framework; once a place is a World

Heritage site, it conforms to a model of 'heritage.' Only some strata of that place are visible and these qualities appear rather geopolitical and controlling, listing the Nation State, the date of inscription, the size of the property, the grid references, the criteria, its relevance to the history of science, and so on; all tools of the modern era, and the reductionist classical geopolitical thinking that underpins it.

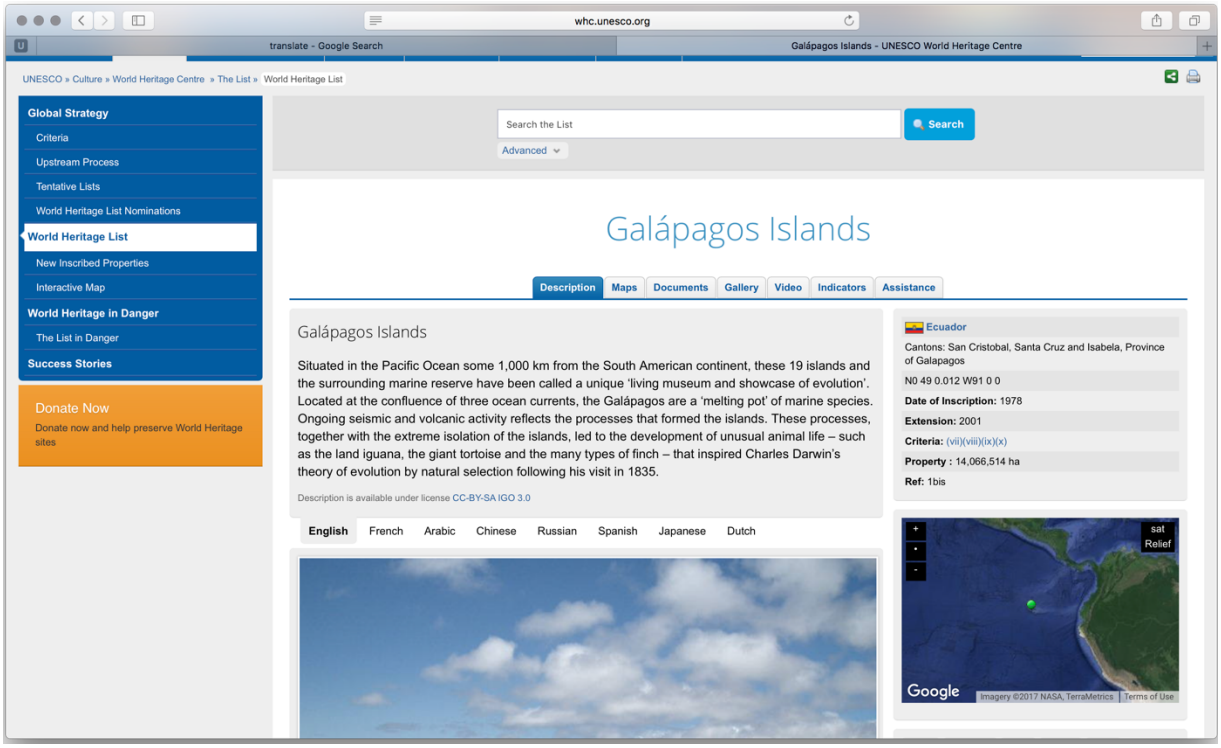

Figure 27: Screengrab from whc.unesco.org/en/list/1 showing the template in which World Heritage Sites are presented.

Constructing the Visitor Experience

Experiencing Walkways: Lines of Flight becoming Official Footpaths

As I explored the islands on foot, I was told about routes that I could and should follow, pathways that had been created and certified by the GNPD as appropriate places to visit without need for a Naturalist Guide. Below I describe and illustrate a number of these, looking at how they work to congeal the experience and striate the liminal spaces of the Park. Again it can be seen that these might have originated as 'lines of flight,' but over time, and with the demand to make this unknown land accessible to tourists and their wealth, they have become congealed. Experiencing the unknown land has become stratified as the journeys along these paths are repeated time and time again. Layer upon layer of encounter and exploration congeals into a formalized experience converting the

infinite possibilities of smooth space into the prescribed routes of a more limited and striated space, and the political implications of this correct or proper way to interact with the islands and their life are then set out.

Figure 28: Three routes out of Puerto Ayora that I explored during my stay. The blue route to Tortuga Bay (figure 29), the white route to Las Grietas (figure 51), and the orange route to the CDRS (figure 14). Image: google maps, edited by author.

Tortuga Bay

We went to Tortuga Bay on day 15, near to the end of Matt's stay in Galápagos, with a couple who had helped us to communicate in Spanish after hotel staff had woken us first thing on a Sunday morning in order to drag a giant hose through our room and into the hotel reservoir (which was accessed, we discovered, through a manhole under our bed) so that they could fill up the hotel's water supply, which had run out. We moved hotels later in the day. First, though, while we waited for the manager to arrive that evening and authorize a refund, we all headed off in the late morning sunshine into town to have a coffee and hire a snorkel and mask, and then off towards Tortuga Bay, one of the few beaches near to Puerto Ayora on the south coast of Santa Cruz that can be reached on foot without a Naturalist Guide. We followed the airport road as instructed, and asked a few people on our way where to turn off. Soon we were in a well-to-do suburb with large houses, maintained in good order, heading towards some steps and through a gate where we had to sign in with the GNPD and onto the path to the beach.

Figure 29: Blue route: central Puerto Ayora to Tortuga Bay. Compilation of Matt Sandford/ author's own photographs.

The path was made of paving stones and cement, with little walls on either side. Beyond the walls on both sides was brush and trees, and we stopped at one point to record and photograph a mocking bird that was on the path. After about a kilometre, the path turned into a wooden walkway for the last 50 metres or so, with brush on either side which took us onto a huge white beach with big waves that a few people were surfing. We turned right and walked along the beach as we had been directed to by the man in the snorkel hire shop, along to the end where there were a few marine iguanas hanging out in the sun. Beyond them a little path took us around the corner through a few mangrove trees onto a second beach, perpendicular to the first and protected by a spit creating completely calm water. It had mangroves growing along the back of it and down the sides. We found a mangrove tree with roots disappearing into the sand to hang our clothes on, as we changed and waded into the water with our snorkels and masks, but the visibility was terrible. We could not see our own hands, or each other and after much swimming round in circles and losing each other we got out again. The only view of turtles that we gained was from the beach as they surfaced to breathe. We stayed for a couple of hours, in and out of the water, and then saw the kayaks being packed down further along the beach and realized that it was getting late. We changed, gathered our things and headed back the way we had come. As we did, we were approached by a member of GNPD staff who told us that the beach was being closed and that we should head back into town. He checked the beach and the mangroves to ensure that no-one would be locked in, and then followed us and a few other visitors back along the path and into town, locking the gate behind him.

Tortuga Bay is one of the few non-urban places where you can go on the islands without a designated Naturalist Guide, and so seemed less formal to us than other places that we had visited. It was still clearly delineated as "nature" or "national park" by the necessity to sign in. We were also guided less directly by the man at the dive shop who had told us how to get there, and that we were not allowed to swim on the first beach due to the strong currents, although I had also heard that this was in order to keep the beach solely for the animals. He also told us where to look for the turtles. Although not employed by the GNPD, many of the people who work in tourism act as brokers between the GNPD and the visitors, helping tourists to navigate the rules and the Park to enforce them, although 'Chinese whispers' can and do take place, again illustrating the layers of repeating difference. The path can be seen to draw a line of difference in the sameness of the national park, and also as an accessible route to the places where people are likely to want to go. Most visitors would not be equipped or inclined to tackle the scrub and sharp rocks out of which it grows, or know which way to walk if they were, and the conservation of it

is much easier if a set route is used, limiting erosion, and allowing the number of visitors to be counted and managed; that is, congealed into the conservation practices of the National Park.

The set route clearly impacts on what people can see and how they interact with it. Although some animals and birds also access the path, it separates the visitor from the 'nature' of the park, domesticating the experience, making it accessible to more people but offering a mediated way of experiencing the islands and their 'nature.' One interviewee told me that locals rarely leave the towns and it is in the towns that their lives unfold, rather than in the areas of 'wilderness' that the visitors come to see. Most visitors do not encounter the locals except when served by them in the restaurants and hotels, or through the boat crews and the Naturalist Guides.

Las Tijeretas, San Cristóbal

Figure 30: Green route from La Casita de la Isla to Las Tijeretas, Playa Carola and Playa Mann. Image: google maps, edited by author.

On our first day in the Galápagos one of the other residents at *La Casita*, who was doing voluntary work with the school there, told us that we should take a snorkel past the nearest beach and over the headland to Las Tijeretas, the Spanish name for Frigate Birds. This is one of the main nesting sites on the island for the birds, and she told us we could swim off the rocks and might see turtles. We asked her how to get there, and she told us to head

down to the nearest beach, Playa Mann, and past it and follow the path; we could not miss it. We followed her instructions, and ended up on a second beach, which turned out to be Playa Carola, with sea lions and marine iguanas sunning themselves along the top of the steeply sloping sand. We walked out onto the headland but found we were unable to pass. We stopped, realizing that this was not Las Tijeretas and I went for a snorkel anyway to cool down and was amazed by the array of brightly coloured sea life just underneath the calm blue surface of the sea. After a while we headed back down the beach, as we were getting a bit pushed for time. About half way down the beach there was a path that we had not seen when heading the other way that led off up the hill, and asked a couple who had just arrived it where it went. They said back to town, how had we got there if not down this path? We pointed to the path at the end of the beach, and they headed off to explore that while we headed up the hill to explore where the new path went. After a while we reached a junction, one way continuing up the hill, and the other back towards town. We headed back towards town, in quite a hurry now, and found ourselves walking through an interpretation centre and back out at Playa Mann.

The next day it rained all day and I had interviews arranged, so we waited until the day after to try to reach Las Tijeretas again. This time we followed the path through the interpretation centre where we stopped to have a look around this time, and on up the hill, past the junction down to Playa Carola, until we reached the next junction. Here we could see that one way led to a viewing point and the other down to a rocky cove, which must be Las Tijeretas. Finally we arrived at the cove. There were a few other people there, and the wooden walkway continued over the rocks, ending in a couple of small steps down to the water. There was a family of sea lions lounging around on the walkway that was reluctant to move. The guidelines are not to get closer than two meters to the wildlife, but to get past them I would have literally to climb over them. There was a woman sitting on the steps who indicated that we could clap at them, and they might move, but this did not work. To one side was a human family who, to avoid getting too close to them, had climbed onto the nearby rocks to gain access to the sea. Eventually I decided to follow the family onto the jagged rocks and try to get in that way. The father reached back and kindly gave me a steadying hand, and I got to the edge, slipped my shoes off, jumped in, put on the mask

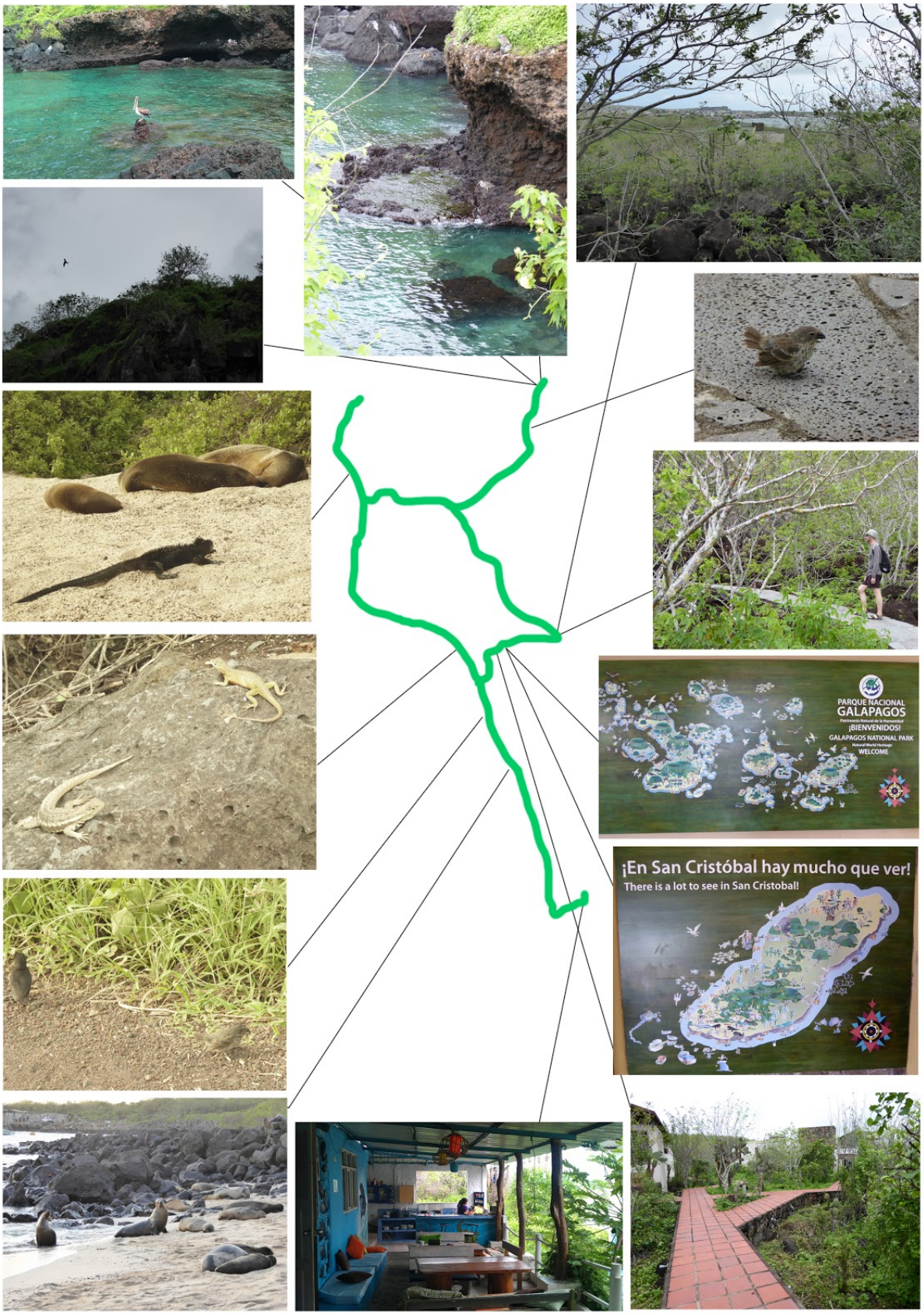

Figure 31: Green route from La Casita de la Isla to Las Tijeretas, Playa Carola and Playa Mann. Compilation of Matt Sandford/ author's own photographs.

and put my face into the sea. It was amazing! Full of drama as the marine creatures changed modes between purposeful energetic swimming and lazy meandering, drifting on

the ocean's currents, defending their territories, hunting, resting, and trying to attract mates. I drifted back and forth across the cove, and saw dozens of kinds of fish, from sparkling shoals of tiny silver fish to stripy angelfish and big blue parrot fish. I could not see any turtles though, and after a while I began to feel cold and headed back to the steps. As I reached them, I could see a couple of young sea lions playing in the water nearby. We watched each other for a while, then they darted off and I climbed out.

Like the path to Tortuga Bay, the official path through the interpretation centre was paved, although there were no walls on either side. The first path we found to Playa Carola was more of a sandy road to an industrial unit next to the sea, and then turned into a smaller sandy path through a small woodland that appeared to have been made by locals accessing Playa Carola. This was a much less mediated experience, winding through trees and scrub, littered with stones and lizards. The interpretation centre that you had to walk through to get onto the paved path also made the experience feel heavily mediated, with cartoon maps (on the right of figure 31) situating the visitor looking down upon the islands' jokey friendly animals such as hammerhead and Galápagos sharks, turtles and tortoises, and numerous birds. The caption 'there is a lot to see in San Cristóbal' encourages the visitor to explore the island and go on the excursions offered in the many tour shops on the streets near the sea. Again the maps showed an aerial view of the islands, allowing the visitor to feel transcendent and separate, if not superior, from the land upon which they were standing, and the creatures surrounding them were presented as no threat. Here the 'nature' or 'wilderness' was both romanticized and domesticated.

Although there are relatively few viewing points within the reach of visitors, there were some that we were told we should visit, all with good paths, again shaping the way that the islands are perceived and framing the nature and its aesthetics in a certain way. This framing of the natural and controlling the paths through the islands, physical and metaphorical, and the timings of trips to fit with itineraries laid out by the GNPD to minimise the disruption to the other creatures at visitor sites, including other tourists, creates a stratified space where layer upon layer of repeated actions congeals. A feedback loop once again reassures all parties that they are behaving appropriately and not doing damage, and that there is some kind of security as long as the rules are followed. This actual realm in turn creates a sense of stability, perhaps almost permanence. But, as I go on to outline below, this belies the other part of reality that Deleuze and Guattari term the virtual; the smooth space of infinite possibilities.

Archipelago Resurgent; Excessive Materialities

It is generally agreed that the Galápagos archipelago came into being around 5 million years ago, as the result of volcanic activity at the meeting point of the Nazca, Pacific, Cocos, Antarctic and South American Plates. The islands are rising in the west and falling in the east, leaving an underwater mountain range running along the sea-bed towards mainland Ecuador. The islands are situated on the Nazca Plate, which is found off the west coast of South America. As the Nazca Plate moves towards and drops underneath the South American plate, the islands are sinking and being slowly ferried towards the east, so the oldest island is around 3.3 million years old, more than six times older than the youngest in the west, which is only around 500,000 years old. The islands themselves are on the move. Returning to Deleuze's discussion of islands, it is of note here that he describes them as fundamentally inhuman: the intensive forces that make islands also cast humans as outsiders as they can never be part of the deterritorialization, the virtual creation by which they are formed. Humans did not make the hotspot that creates the individual islands, nor the tectonic forces that ferry them to the east and eventually drop them back into the Pacific Ocean. These forces or 'lines of flight' of Deleuze's virtual reality are 'beyond human' as they insert intensive smooth space into striated space. Added to this cycle of rock are multiple more-than-human cycles that relate to the islands but not specifically to their human inhabitants; for instance, the hot and cool seasons and the various ocean currents that in turn bring nutrients into the food chains of the islands, impacting migration routes and breeding cycles of numerous life forms. Less regular and more disruptive by some measures are the El Niño events, which take place every eight years or so, where the Pacific Ocean and atmosphere interact producing significantly more rain and warmer seas around the Galápagos archipelago, and impacting the availability of food for many of the islands' inhabitants. These vast rhythms, alongside those of the humans, form part of the 'polyrhythmic ensemble' unique to the spaces of the islands.

The islands were in the middle of a yet to be verified El Niño event on my arrival. The rain should have stopped, giving way to the drier cooler season, but as yet it continued. Apart from the rain and the damage to the *malecon* in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno that Iván told me was caused by an unseasonal storm, there were no visible effects during my fieldwork. These would be counted later as the impacts worked their way further and further up the food chain, more visible at each stage; deterritorialization in action. Endemic species on the islands include various species of giant tortoise, Darwin's finches, and Galápagos mocking birds, which have adapted to the specific material excesses of the

islands, including the sometimes fast-changing conditions there, creating over time new species such as the Galápagos penguin (*Spheniscus mendiculus*) and the marine iguana (*Amblyrhynchus cristatus*). These species lost 65% and 90% respectively of their populations in the 1997-8 El Niño event. The food that they eat, fish and marine algae respectively, are effected by the climatic changes, dying back or, in the case of marine algae, being lost completely and replaced with brown algae which is hard for the marine iguanas to digest, and so there is a subsequent lack of available nutrients (Vargas et al 2006, Wikelski and Thom 2000). Marine iguanas were also observed to shrink during this El Niño event, some by as much as one fifth of their length, not only losing flesh, but also undergoing phenomenal skeletal shrinkage, which was reversed when the food supply increased again. Wikelski and Thom (2000) found that the more the iguanas were able to shrink, the better their chances of survival. It is intensive forces that drive adaptations, or reterritorializations such as these, that create new species, evidence of the islands' excessive materiality.

We can also consider here the welcome relief to find that the paths and walkways had been colonized and put to use by the island's animals, Darwin's Finches, mocking birds, lizards, and also the sea lions at Las Tijeretas and along the *malecons* of each town where they could be found lounging around on the benches (see figures 33-35). The sea lions at Las Tijeretas also seemed pleased to have a nice smooth wooden alternative to the jagged rocks to lie on and from which to launch themselves into the sea to catch their food, and for me it provided a counter to the paths being there for humans, in part to separate them from a more intimate and potentially uncomfortable experience of the 'wilderness' on either side. It is also worth noting that, although we associate wooden structures with nature, wood is not naturally found on the islands and has to be imported, another way in which the lives in Galápagos, human and not, are bound to the global movements of people and 'advanced' society. Most of the paths and streets in the towns were shared with 'nature,' having been built across breeding sites and territories that were not considered important at the time. I have mentioned the sea lion colony on the beach in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno, on the pier in Puerto Ayora, and dispersed along the towns' *malecons* and benches. In a rather human response, pelicans and sea lions were regulars at the fish market (see figure 38). The figures below illustrate some of the ways in which I noticed 'nature' working with what it was given.

There is an entanglement of humans and non-humans, across time and space, that speaks of excessive materiality. The infrastructure that people have built in parts of the islands

immediately and continually conflicts with what was there before, needing constant maintenance as deterritorialization occurs through weather and interactions with lives, and materials shift and scatter.

Figure 32: Night heron using artificial lights to fish by the pier in Puerto Ayora 10 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 33: Sea lions making use of the benches on Puerto Ayora pier. 31 May 2015. Photo: Matt Sandford.

Figure 34: Sea lions making use of the walkway at Las Tijeretas. 21 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 35: Juvenile marine iguana sunning itself on shop step in Puerto Ayora. 26 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 36: Marine iguana sunning itself on walkways in Puerto Villamil. 13 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 37: Pelicans and sea lion visiting the fish market. 31 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 38: Tortoises at the Tortoise breeding centre, Isla Isabela. 13 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

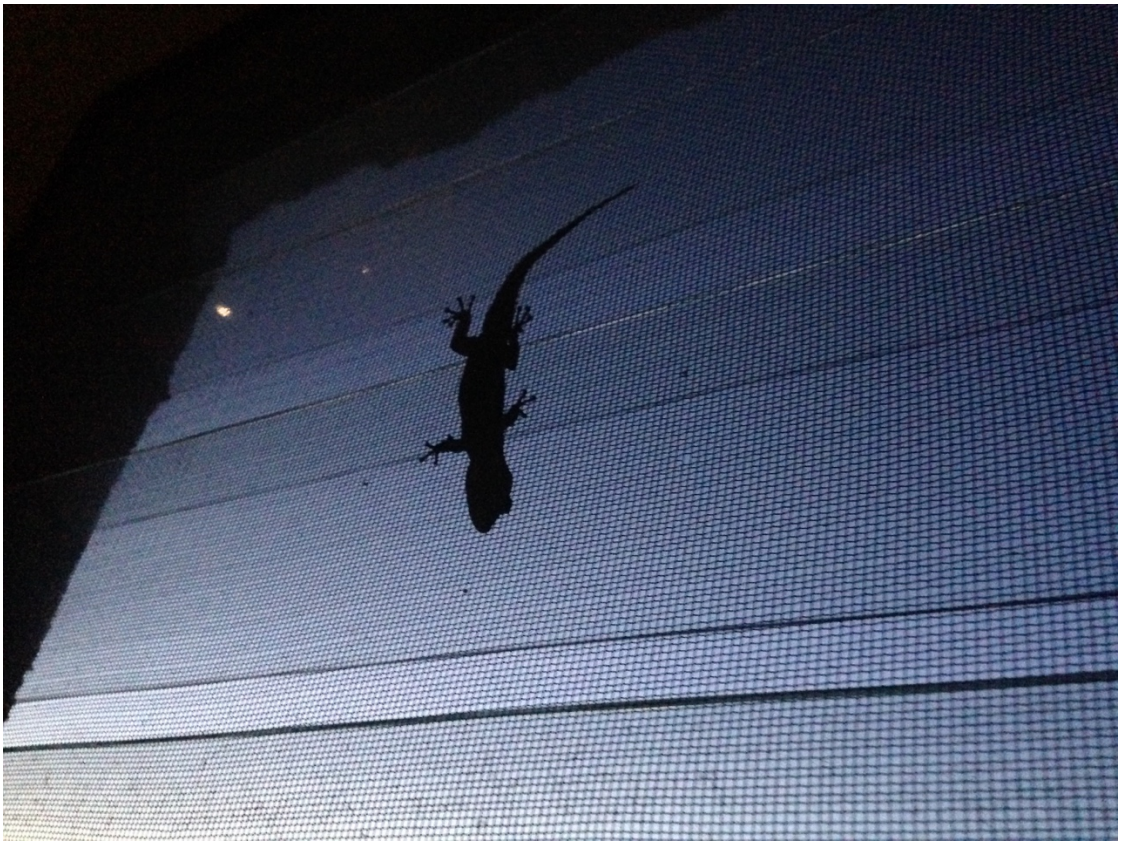

Figure 39: Gecko feeding on mosquito net. 19 June 2015. Photo: author's own.

Concluding Comments

To sum up at this point, then, it is easy to think of islands and the earth as permanent, but the permanence belies the creative forces that also surround us. DeLanda quotes biogeographer Ian Simmons on how "the flows of energy and mineral nutrients through an ecosystem manifest themselves as actual animals and plants of a particular species" (1979: 79 in 1996: 104). DeLanda explains: "Our organic bodies are, in this sense, nothing but temporary coagulations in these flows: we capture in our bodies a certain portion of the flow at birth, then release it again when we die and micro-organisms transform us into a new batch of raw materials" (ibid). Whilst congealments build themselves into layers of strata these are then temporary, although often presented as permanent through ideas that have also congealed, such as binaries like nature and culture that form the basis of a classical geopolitics. The stratified cultures of UNESCO, conservation more widely, and a post-colonial Ecuador interact for the most part in these classical geopolitical terms of threat, the other, and an opposing nature and culture. But the materiality with which this is actualised is compromised by differing resurgent excesses. This resurgent materiality demonstrates the islands' inhumanness: as humans territorialize, so do non-humans, constantly building and appropriating or in some cases, such as volcanoes and storms, breaking through. One world view is congealed and then deterritorialized, either appropriated by another, or altered beyond recognition. 'Wilderness' is domesticated and culture laid down across nature, the islands are divided into 'natural' and 'cultural' spaces, which in turn are deterritorialized as they are appropriated.

Here, unlike non-heritage sites, humans are generally the species that is constrained. Conservation harnesses what Bennett terms environmentalism (2010: 112) in its attempt to 'leave no trace' of humans. However, the eco-tourism industry that brings them to the islands certainly leaves traces, materially in the hotels, as well as through water, electricity, oil, sewerage and waste disposal facilities that are needed to support a growing number of visitors. There is no way to leave no trace, or return to a virgin past, if that ever really existed. There is only how we behave in the present. Although everywhere has a story, WHSs adopt a formal official story about what scientifically recognized features they possess that make them worth conserving. Conservation in itself territorializes and stratifies, attempts to influence some of the changes that are taking place as the world unfolds, such as hunting practices and resource use. This, like colonization and missionary work, is the imposition of one world view upon others. It is politics at work. Although some scientists, conservationists, residents and tourists imagine a broader, more open

world than they have been told about by the dominant cultures from which they come, they are constrained by regulations and manners, the tools of diplomacy.

Chapter 5

Eruptions and Irruptions: Intensive Forces and Holey Spaces

> "There is a strange connection between volcanoes and political crises in Ecuador: They seem to erupt together." Martin Pallares, *The New York Times* (www.nytimes.com/2015/09/02/opinion/ecuadors-political-eruption.html accessed 22.08.17)

Introduction

Volcan Wolf erupted on 25 May, a week after my arrival in the archipelago. This was a stark reminder that, no matter how much territorialization in the form of human authority and control is exerted on the archipelago and the way that it is perceived, de-territorialization is always just around the corner, and by definition uncontrolled, creative and potentially disruptive. The more strata and the more established the layers are, the more force is required to break through. Here I apply these ideas to the observation of laws and regulations and their enforcement, and religious practices that I came across during my fieldwork. In the last chapter I used Deleuze's descriptions of the forces of congealment and flow, striated space and smooth space, cycles of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization to help think through conservation in the Galápagos. In addition to these forces, Deleuze describes what he calls 'holey space,' something that "communicates with smooth space and striated space" (1987: 458). He goes on to explain that this communication is not symmetrical, in that there is a connection to smooth space but a conjugation with striated space:

> On the side of the nomadic assemblages and war machines [smooth space][36], it is a kind of rhizome with its gaps, detours, subterranean passages, stems, openings, traits, and holes, etc. On the other side [striated space], the sedentary assemblages and State apparatuses effect a capture…, put the traits of expression into a form or code, make the holes resonate together. (ibid)

In other words, the relationship with striated space consists of a drive to organize the holes once again.

[36] Here I am inserting vocabulary that I have used previously. Although not quite interchangeable le, as stated in chapter one, writing about the concepts explored by Deleuze and Guattari immediately fixes them, and so they use a wide variety of terminology to push against this, whilst also illuminating different qualities and a plurality within these ideas.

Galápagos sits over what is known as a hotspot, a hole in the earth's crust that allows magma to be released to the surface in regular volcanic activity forming the islands that I visited. Illustrating both intensive and excessive forces and how these might relate to holey space in Galápagos is an igneous rock formation that I came across in Santa Cruz and again in Isabela, known as *Los Tuneles*, or The Tunnels. Here, after major eruptions of the volcanoes that created the islands and those that have followed, lava had flowed fast across parts of the islands, congealing at the surface as it came into contact with the air and cooled, but remaining hot and fluid underneath. Empty spaces were left behind from where lava had continued to flow under and away from the now solid surface. Some were inland, and some formed the edge of islands. Some were long, up to a mile or so, and others made more of a honeycomb under the apparently solid surface, and striking landscapes closer to the sea where the thinner sections collapsed revealing this honeycomb underneath (see figures 40 and 41). They embody holey space in that their physical form is holey and underground, surrounded and created by congealed rock. They connect the islands rhizomatically to the smooth space of the magma and its eruptions, and have been captured by the striating forces of conservation and the state; in the form of regulations and laws, the now booming tourist trade, marketing, itineraries and development.

The *tuneles* on Santa Cruz were in the agricultural area, rather than the National Park, and so we were allowed to explore without a Naturalist Guide. We were dropped off at one end and collected from the other by a taxi, although many places tried to charge us up to ten times as much to participate in a 'tour.' This also illustrates the concept of holey space. I was one of the holes in that I was not easily categorized into any of the strata, not quite tourist, not resident and not quite scientist, but communicating with all; working without a work visa, acting the part of tourist, exploring the concept of conservation, critically navigating the rules, maps, routes, and itineraries; listening to stories of residents and their interactions with their place and creation of its culture; and joining in with tourists on tours and activities and with residents' protests. I refused to be regulated into paying large amounts for commercial cruises and tours, instead paying residents directly to show me around and hear about their lives. I paid attention to the detailed experience of being in these islands, waiting for creative eruptions of ideas and place to emerge, listening to human, but also non-human stories. Here, however, I used this focus to navigate the holey spaces and places of the Galápagos islands, both physical like *Los Tuneles* but also metaphorical, as in the following accounts.

Figure 40: *Los Tuneles* in Santa Cruz were in the agricultural area. This one ran for about 1km under the surface. It was big, cavernous in places, and at times the lines made by the moving lava as it congealed could be seen. 31 May 2015. Photos: Matt Sandford.

The same physical spaces can be thought of as differently holey depending on what striating forces are being explored. As the strata of conservation are different to those of other sectors, their holes are likely to be different from planning or cultural development holes. The striations of the Ecuadorian government are not the same as those of the international conservation movement, and in some senses these conflicting desires to congeal the islands in a certain way make room for holes to emerge**.** Returning to ideas of islands, Galápagos becomes a metaphor for all World Heritage Sites through its islandness, its isolation and separation. Like other designated sites, all World Heritage Sites, whether or not they are actual islands, are virtual islands (Quammen 1994) that could be considered as particularly striated, that is heavily regulated 'island' spaces in the mush of unconserved, less regulated, smoother space. Where these highly striated 'islands' meet the surrounding mush of unconserved space, there are gaps or holes. This manifests in the effort of the GNPD to bring the marine and terrestrial Management Plans together, as happened in 2014, or in the attempt to foster community engagement in the management

Figure 41 *Los Tuneles* west of Puerto Villamil on Isla Isabela formed a coastal honeycomb full of life. The top picture shows a green turtle coming up for air. 12 June 2015. Photos author's own.

of the Park. The conservationists and residents on the islands arrived at around the same time, and have both grown fairly steadily since so there is no hierarchy of first colonization, although each would argue their moral case for priority. Here, various congealing forces attempt to striate across each other and loopholes and gaps emerge in the ensuing policy making, legislation and relationships.

In this chapter I will attempt to disentangle some of the entanglements of conservation in the Galápagos Islands. I build on *Los Tuneles* to give some examples of the more metaphorical holey spaces that I experienced during my time on the islands such as the transgressions of the three roles that I have used up until now to describe the human residents, as tourists become resident conservationists, residents leave, and conservationists become more Ecuadorian. I also look at political unrest as changes to the LOREG were out for consultation, how the management and use of the fisheries has connected regulations with holey black markets, and the resulting civil unrest and even attacks to personal property that have erupted. I then turn to the eruption of evangelical Christianity among the residents and its relationship with the Darwinian theory of evolution that the conservation and tourism sectors are built upon. Holes must emerge between the striating forces of conservation and the theory of evolution and evangelical Christianity with its belief that God created everything in seven days.

Finding Holes

As outlined in the previous chapter, the islands have a clear geography to them in terms of where people are expected go and what they do whilst there. This leads to the congealment of certain paths, routes and behaviours, and because of the different social groups in the islands and their cultures, the strata build up differently, creating holes or gaps. For instance, the National Park is only accessed in certain places, at certain times by registered people, either visitors with a Naturalist Guide, visitors constrained to set routes such as Tortuga Bay, or scientists and their teams to undertake permitted research. The agricultural areas tend to be inhabited almost exclusively by residents, except for a few organized tours to see things like *Los Tuneles* or tortoises in their 'natural' environment. The geography of the towns also shows clear delineations, with the visitor focused streets near to the sea easily accessed from a boat, with their facilities, cafés, bars, restaurants, hotels, shops and tour shops. Further back, the towns become more ramshackle with half-built houses, undercover sports parks, markets, street stalls selling *empanadas* or rice and

beans, and unmade roads and pavements. These areas are again almost exclusive to residents. Tourists belong in the commercial areas and on boats, scientists belong in the research stations and on remote islands. Yet, holes begin to emerge as the population grows and the infrastructure is strained in the face of planning restrictions and other practicalities. Likening residents to invasive species is one such example; whilst the reluctance of the residents to recycle in the face of being told what to do by policies informed by foreign concepts of conservation is another.

Having talked about three categories of people in the islands, holes also exist in this stratification. The social groups do all mix to a degree, but tourists do not generally have much time to explore and those who do tend to follow the suggestions in the guide books that they take with them, or from the tour guides who they talk to in the shops and on their cruises. I received many strange looks whilst wandering through the back streets, and often felt like I did not belong there. Scientists are there for longer, and often mix a little more than tourists with residents in bars, and sometimes stay with residents either in spare rooms or in small locally owned guest houses. Often, though, they are accommodated in the research stations, or camp at their research sites and so hardly leave the national park. The people who work for the National Park Directorate and the Charles Darwin Foundation are more holey. These people are sometimes residents and conservationists, and as the LOREG aims to encourage the GNPD, CDF and other conservation organizations to employ residents, this is becoming more common. They spend a lot of time in the National Park, often mixing with the more temporary presence of the scientists and tourists, but live outside of it, where their children attend school and they carry out their daily lives along with other residents. Sometimes they themselves are not permanent residents but have been given working visas due to their skill sets, so are transient, but less so than other visitors. People play out the roles that they have been assigned, with clear geographies to them until sometimes they are not. Everyone appears to fit into categories, but once the categories are tested against individual lives they are not as neat or permanent as they appear. People's identity changes according to the situation and often people belong to multiple groups.

For instance, Iván's parents met in Quito. His father's father had set up the first bank in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno, so there were family connections to the Galápagos. Iván, who is the youngest of five, was five years old and the oldest was a teenager when they moved to the islands. As adults, two of the children have stayed and three have left for the UK, USA or mainland, but keep their status as residents of Galápagos. Another example is the

work of the Galápagos Conservation Trust in the UK and its US counterpart the Galápagos Conservancy. These organizations encourage tourists to join and then keep them abreast of the conservation projects that take place in the islands, calling for donations and volunteers, and so some of the tourists become conservationists and develop a longer-term relationship with the archipelago. Others fill a funding gap, often prescribing what they will fund. Another person who I spoke to told me that he was born on the islands, but went to the mainland as a young child for school. He has now returned with his young family as a conservationist. One interviewee pointed out a trend that exists within the resident population which is unbalanced and skewed to more women than men and a lot of kids, possibly due to the opportunity to leave the islands offered by visitors. This applies especially to those men who work in tourism, and, looking to better themselves by finding a foreign partner, leave a family behind. Here, residents become non-residents. Finally, many of the boats used for tourism trips are run by 'artisanal fishers,' who can earn a better living from tourism than they did from fishing. Once you start to look at people's lives, these categories capture a moment in time rather than any inbuilt quality.

Holey Geographies

Holey Politics

While I was there in May and June of 2015, the Ecuadorian government, led by President Raphael Correa, was in the middle of consulting on changes in the LOREG. This proposed changing the way that the residents' beneficial pay rates would be set so that they aligned with the Consumer Inflation Index, making them more justifiable to other Ecuadorians. Other proposed alterations were: the clause that had previously set limits to the size of tourism developments and who they can be led by; putting the Government rather than the National Park Directorate in charge of deciding the boundaries of the National Park; and relaxing who can own businesses in certain sectors, including making gifts for tourists to buy. This coincided with a national move by the government to increase inheritance tax, which has been linked to falling oil prices hitting government revenues and initiating a recession (www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-19331506 accessed 22.08.17). There were riots across the country at the beginning of June about the proposed changes to inheritance tax laws, and daily protests during my stay, across Galápagos, about the changes to the LOREG. These were generally peaceful, although I heard reports about the army being called in and one day they did get a bit more heated. Armed police were

brought in from the mainland, and the airport closed for a day amid reports that this was to frighten the protesting people of the islands who have less resilience to the islands being

Figure 42: March approaching along the *malecon*, taken next to the fish market. 31 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

Figure 43: Still from film shot at 8.30pm on Saturday 13 June 2015. I was sitting in a bar overlooking the dancing that took place every Saturday evening next to the fish market on the *malecon.* Film still: author's own. Full film available on accompanying data key – the sound and movement are needed to sense the disruption.

isolated and so stood to lose out more than the government from the closure (see www.travelpulse.com/news/impacting-travel/Galápagos-islands-protests-disrupt-tourism.html; www.Galápagosdigital.com/2015/06/16/opposition-to-Galápagos-law-continues-in-islands/; theecologist.org/2015/jun/25/Galápagos-rebellion-against-foreign-investment-hotels-golf-courses-luxury-tourism).

Sometimes the protests happened during the day, and sometimes at night. They tended to be led by one or two motorcycles beeping, followed by people banging anything they could find, carrying placards, and shouting, singing and chanting. The back was brought up by more motorcycles which were followed by utility vehicles beeping their horns and generally adding to the cacophony. Sometimes they were long and organized, starting at the less developed north end of town and working their way to Plaza San Francisco at the south west end of the *malecon* where speeches were given, sometimes short and targeted to draw as much attention and cause as much disruption as possible. Most of them went along and ended somewhere on the *malecon*, in the full view of tourists, to their minds, the eyes and ears of a world that they have been told repeatedly cares about what happens in Galápagos. One (see figure 43 and accompanying data key, film 1) was timed to pass along the *malecon* whilst the town's young people gave a performance of their newly found 'traditional' Galápagos dancing. These shows were scheduled for times when several cruise boats had dropped off their tourists to experience Galápagos culture, and the money that was raised from the crowds funded the after-school dance club. On Saturday 13th June, the dancing was stopped and the tourists who had gathered to watch were left with a far more political spectacle. The protesters marched up to the crowd and stopped for several minutes banging on whatever came to hand and shouting their messages to 'the world.'

People were worried on many accounts, personally that their wages would drop, and that their businesses would face steeper and less regulated competition. It could have reduced the living standards of many people on the islands through the possible reduction in the wage supplement. However, at this stage President Correa had only asked for a review, so it was unclear what this would mean in practice, and in comparison to Ecuadorians living on the main land, wages in Galápagos were relatively high. People were also worried about the CGG, who appeared to be gaining additional power while the National Park seemed to be losing power and their control over the Park's boundaries. One person who I interviewed said:

> Before, the National Park it was, it was not the first love here, but it has a lot of… power, like the Consejo, the Consejo de Gobierno. Now the Consejo de Gobierno is close to the President, to the first minister, you know the President… now they have more things, more power, I don't know how to say, but before it was the Park that [was] represented by Environment Minister in Quito, and then Consejo. Now Consejo has more power than National Park, and can decide inside of the National Park [area] too… Who stays and social and environmental things, health things, it's not just a social thing with immigration, so now the Consejo can change everything in the areas that they want, and now the Minister is here… the National Park, it has an independent way to take decisions, but now they depend on Consejo… the new [Director of the National Park] is in the Consejo… [And] she's totally close to Raphael Correa, so they do what Correa says… the Correa sister, she want to be able to have a big hotel in [Isla San] Cristóbal, so I think that's one of the reasons that they opened this out because a lot of people saw that they could put money here and have something because we have a lot of tourists.
> (Interview with María Gonzalez 11.06.15)

Although I only later found Martin Pallares' statement that introduced the chapter, it seemed notable to me that Wolf Volcano on Isla Isabela erupted a few days after my arrival at the end of May, threatening the newly found pink iguana that only existed on those slopes. Alongside this, was the continuation of the rainy season and questions around whether this was an El Niño event, the various stallings and splutterings of my fieldwork plans with cancelled festivals, a death and funeral, surgery, missed flights and misunderstandings around my research visa and then the riots and demonstrations about the Special Law all happening while I was there. I was told by one interviewee that "this is South America, politics are noisy" (Interview with Ros 12.06.15). What it illustrated to me were holes in the attempts to create a striated space of conservation, development or dwelling on the islands, and how these holes were not identified in the same way by each striating force. Conservation holes do not look like immigration holes or development holes, although all these strata overlap, the LOREG bringing them together in one great striation with its own holey spaces.

Holey Conservation

One of the main challenges faced in conservation practice is the porousness of borders, particularly so in an archipelago and marine reserve with no demarcated physical boundaries. What is more, in a globalizing world, as space and time is 'compressed' (Harvey 1999), more people can access more of the world and the strata of differently imagined borders and boundaries become more porous, more holey. The large herbivores in Galápagos illustrate this. Between about 3 million years ago and 300 years ago, tortoises were the only large herbivores in the islands. In the centuries following the islands' discovery, hundreds of thousands of tortoises were taken as food during the

commercial hunting of whales and fur seals and later goats (also large herbivores) were introduced to some of the islands by sailors, colonists and fishermen thinking they would provide a more reliable food source. They found less competition from the tortoises than in the ecosystems they had come from and decimated the tortoise's food faster than the tortoises could and faster than the plants could regenerate. This meant that they also prevented taller trees from growing, impacting the availability of shade, which impacted other species. Similar disruptions to ecosystems have arisen with the introduction of rats, and more recently fire ants, on other islands and locations (GCT Annual Report 2015). Each island has its own unique ecosystems and species of animals, many thought to have come from the same original population but adapted to the specific conditions of the island where they are now found. For instance, the tortoise, which the Galápagos Conservation Trust says are thought to have:

> arrived in Galápagos from mainland South America 2-3 million years ago, where they underwent diversification into at least 14 species, differing in their morphology and distribution… Giant tortoises show large variation in size and shape but all 14 species can be classed into two main shell types: domed and saddle-backed. Dome-shelled tortoises lack an upward angle to the front of their carapace (shell), restricting the extent to which they can raise their heads. They tend to live on large, humid islands where there is lots of [low level] vegetation to eat. Saddle-backed tortoises have an upward curve to the front of their carapace, which allows them to stretch up to reach higher growing plants and diversify their food options. They tend to live on arid islands in Galápagos, where food is less abundant. (Galápagosconservation.org.uk/wildlife/Galápagos-giant-tortoise, accessed June 2017)

In 2012, one of the best-known conservation stories of the islands came to an end with the death of Lonesome George, the last Pinta tortoise. Pinta, the northernmost main island of the Galápagos, is arid and the Pinta tortoises were saddlebacked. George was found on Pinta in 1971 and for forty years' attempts were made at captive breeding with saddle-backed females from other islands to re-establish the species, but no viable eggs were produced. Pinta was also one of the islands that had been most affected by introduced goat populations, but after persistent conservation efforts to eradicate the invading goats including shooting them from helicopters, in 1999 Pinta was declared goat free and the vegetation began to change. Larger trees emerged again. In 2010 a re-wilding project attempted to replace the missing large herbivores in the ecosystem with something closer to what it had been before the introduction of goats and so 39 sterilized tortoises were introduced to the island. The sterilized tortoises had lived in captivity in the Charles Darwin Research Station on Isla Santa Cruz prior to their release on Pinta. The tortoises, goats, their captivity and elimination, show again how conservation efforts further

territorialize and deterritorialize space through a situated understanding of what 'belongs' and what does not.

Hennessey points out:

> what is at stake in [the] breeding program is not the *preservation* of a past state of nature, as conservation goals are often framed, but the *production* of wildlife (c.f., CDF and WWF, 2002; Merlen, 1999). The giant tortoises are not the last remnants of a 'pristine' evolutionary history, but are now the product of genealogies that enfold human management practices in the bodies and bloodlines of wildlife. (2013: 72; italics my own)

Despite being one of the best-preserved ecosystems in the world, the National Park becomes something not so pristine and 'natural,' but a nature-culture hybrid of stratified globalized forces. These forces are embodied in the animals and plants of the islands which, despite conservation rhetoric, are all subjected to the impact of human survival as residents make their homes on these islands and worried conservationists introduce various management practices, which haunt and are haunted by the creatures in the co-produced landscape. Instead of being restored to a more 'natural' past before humans arrived, the islands continue to evolve and the striating forces of conservation become part of the evolution of the islands and their inhabitants. The goats represent 'holes' in the strata of the conservationists' understanding, as once they were left on the islands they took on their own trajectory of life and adapted to their surroundings. Their population exploded and they 'went native' in their successful population of the islands, but did not become 'native,' indeed they could not, under the terms of the Park. Instead, they become like the subterranean spaces that link the creative forces of smooth space, expressed in their population explosion with the striating forces of conservation, the state and its laws. The striating forces of conservation wanted to address the 'holes' in their world view that the goats represented, and exerted their deterritorializing forces by eradicating the goats. They then reterritorialized by introducing the sterile tortoises; striating tortoises perhaps, insofar as they are hybrids of nature and culture, a physical embodiment of the striating forces of conservation. As such they build on the strata of the way the island is imagined in the conservation world, and so are not only allowed but brought into being in conservation practice to patch the holes.

Holey Fisheries

Another example of holes in the imagined conservation spaces of the Galápagos is the conflict over the islands' fisheries. As a Marine Reserve, conservationists argue for a 'no take' policy, but fish provide the residents of the islands with a key food source that they

have been utilizing since arrival and also, in the case of immigrants from coastal Ecuador, links back to their older culture, and so legislation is difficult. This was one of the reasons for the introduction of the Special Law, which stipulated that only residents would be allowed permits to fish in these waters, using 'traditional' fishing methods. Until the 1990s, the Marine Reserve was primarily a paper designation, and there were insufficient resources to monitor or patrol it (Shepherd et al 2004: 102). It was also one of the key global fisheries for sea cucumbers, or *pepinos*, for the lucrative Asian markets where it is believed by some followers of Traditional Chinese Medicine that they have aphrodisiac properties. At the peak of this fishery in 1992-3, it is estimated that 20-30 million *pepinos* were taken from the Marine Reserve per year, leading to a collapse in stocks as they are slow to reproduce, and many were caught before they were mature (ibid). Fishing at this time was anarchic and unregulated. Iván told me that as a child in the 1990s he and his family had stayed for several years in his aunt's house on the sea front opposite the pier where the fishing boats landed their catch. He told me that:

> They were crazy for the sea cucumbers, there were Asian people coming to buy them for a big price, and I was always running down to go to the pier, very curious, because like, I don't know… just to see who came dead, because fishermen were dying all the time from trying to fish this species… because they were using this kind of diving that they have a something on the boat this wooden boat… like a compressor, and from this you get a hose, this hose goes in the water, and they have this long hose going all the way down so they would go like up to 30 metres or even more than that sometimes, because they were crazy like thinking about money to get more and more and more of them… And they got bends and decompression problems like that and sometimes they would just like die immediately from lung explosion and things like that… Very dramatic as well, how these Asian people would like just open their bags like full of money, just cash money, because the bank hardly worked back then, for them to do, or they didn't have bank accounts or anything like that, so they would just pay them straight cash, so the fishermen were putting all this cash into their book bags and then going straight to the brothel, that's on the way going up to the highlands, and there was this thing of like who showed that got more money, so they were just showing off, like cleaning when the beer dropped with the bills, and doing all these kinds of thing. (Interview with Iván Vazquez. 26.05.15)

With the introduction of the Special Law, designed to patch over some of these holes, a co-management approach was taken that sought to strike a balance between the needs of the resident human population and the conservation of the marine ecosystem upon which all the ecosystems of the islands are in turn reliant (Shepherd et al 2004). A Participatory Management Board (PMB) was set up on each of the islands, where users of the sea sit on the decision-making body for the GNPD and strive to develop policy together. The balance that was sought came in waves of peace and conflict over regulated catch quotas, unregulated market forces and the need to continue to provide food for families, the

conflicts at times becoming violent. Fishers irrupted into GNPD and the CDRS several times taking people and/ or animals hostage and seizing property, and even shooting a Park Ranger (ibid: 103). In December 2000 in Isla Isabela, the home of the Head of the Park Service there, Juan Chavez, "was invaded by a mob of angry fishers, his family belongings taken (his young children's toys and clothes were distributed among the raiding fishers). His house, at the time in construction, was totally wrecked and the construction materials were destroyed or stolen (J. Chavez, pers. comm.)" (Bustamante, mpanews.openchannels.org/marine-conservation-and-human-conflicts-Galápagos-islands accessed 21.11.17, see also Bassett 2009: 170-4, who adds that the house was set alight). The fishers' world collided with the conservation world, and their established practices and defence of these, their territorializations, were deterritorializations in the conservation world, undermining their work to defend other forms of life. Fishing, whilst being stratified in the fishers' world, was a hole in the strata of the global conservation movement and the national law.

The conservation policies upheld by the law pitted humans (residents) against the ecosystems that they lived within, relied upon and that human conservationists were attempting to conserve as though there were no humans. The fishers' actions treated the ecosystems as a resource awaiting human discovery and exploitation, and the conservationists treated them as something transcendent in need of protection and defence. The holes emerge between these two modes of interaction, where the striating forces of regulation forces things, such as *pepino* fishing, underground. There is still a black market in *pepinos* and shark fins in Galápagos; sharks, mostly now caught by non-resident international fishers and not landed in Galápagos, changing the qualities of the holey space. One black market is slowly being absorbed into the striated space of conservation and international law through regulation, education and community inclusion, but another black market emerges. It should also be noted that there is a geopolitics at work in this movement, since the territorialization of conservationists trumps the conflicting territorialization of residents; and whilst the numbers of pepinos caught has dropped, it has not stopped altogether. Conservationists need to add more regulation and enforcement to try to contain the new holes in their strata and in doing so create further holes, and residents have to territorialize different markets, making them more reliant on tourism.

Holey Religion

The conflicts between Christianity and evolutionary theory are well documented in the UK, in part due to Darwin's struggle to reconcile them himself: evolutionary theory as

adopted by the scientific community, striating the world in one way, and Christianity another. Although the population in Galápagos is diverse, it is primarily Catholic, with growing numbers of Adventists, evangelicals, Jehovah's Witnesses and other protestant factions. Introducing me to her thoughts on the religious practices of residents, Ros told me that:

> We have everything from Scientologists to Opus Dei… large sectors [do not believe in evolution] including guides… this is a community that is barely 80 years old, with all these different configurations, with not a lot of entertainment, with a big drug problem and a boredom problem… A what to do with my money problem… The difference here is that people have turned to religion. (Interview with Ros Cameron, 05.06.15)

Her comment about surprisingly large sectors not believing in evolution here on the islands famed for this theory, echoes issues raised in two papers by Cotner et al (2016, 2017) that look at the levels of comfort with and knowledge of concepts of evolution amongst Naturalist Guides and biology teachers, respectively, in the Galápagos. Here they find that the levels of knowledge about evolution are lower than expected, whilst the enthusiasm for it is high in both groups. Knowledge levels are higher in the Naturalist Guide group than in the teacher group in which respondents answered correctly just over half of the questions that they were asked.

Considering that evolutionary theory forms the basis of the territorialization of the islands by conservationists, as established earlier, and for many tourists getting close to the life-forms that illustrate this theory is part of the experience desired, this can be understood as a gap, a holy hole if you like. Again, residents and conservationists build different strata in response to the islands. Cotner et al point out that, although a comparison between two very different cultures is not really possible in the scope of their research, religion here is notable; and, despite other studies showing that "creationist beliefs dovetail seamlessly with ignorance and rejection of evolution (Moore, Brooks, and Cotner 2011)" (Cotner et al 2016: 117), this linkage does not play out in Galápagos, which is far more complex given the reliance of its economy on ideas of evolution.

Added to this is the complexity of the religious beliefs and associations themselves. These are often also hybrids combining Christianity with traditional belief systems such as the *Pacha Mama*. Ros talked about this hybrid and the implications for what we came to call creative management practices, to which I will return in the next chapter:

> And so religion has management implications, because if the law says you can't go and eat everything from the rocks, but the *Pacha Mama* or the cult/religious doctrine says everything on the rocks is for you to eat, or don't worry about

> recycling or whatever, because heaven's waiting for you, and it's so much nicer there. What 'rules' are people going to want to follow? There is nothing more ironic than the first lines of Genesis on a big billboard on the evangelist church next to the disco, on Charles Darwin Avenue. (Interview with Ros. 05.06.15)

Hybrid thinking is common here and takes many forms. It appears that this comfort with hybridity – in this case I mean taking ideas from many sources that to some appear to conflict with each other – may provide an explanation for some of the holey spaces such as the existence of the Seventh Day Adventist church and school situated on Charles Darwin Avenue next door to the town's only nightclub. It may also explain the observation that the teachers who took part in Cotner et al's study (38 out of 43 biology teachers on the islands) were so confident about their knowledge of evolution at the same time as being surprisingly unknowledgeable (2016: 116). The islands are still young, still almost a 'new earth,' and as such the strata are still forming, and the holes are shifting. I was surprized to see churches on the *malecon*, running against the geographical divisions of space described earlier in the chapter, and illustrating further holes, but these are perhaps evidence of the long-standing presence of churches in the islands, the land closest to the harbours having been developed before the areas further away from the sea.

Figure 44: San Francisco Church right in the middle of the town and very visible on the *malecon*. 5 June 2015. Photo: Author's own.

Figure 45: Three worlds collide: Charles Darwin Avenue with the Bongo Club and Panga Disco right next to the creationist Seventh Day Adventists' Church and school. 9 June 2015. Photos: Author's own.

Figure 46: Walls territorialize, this one separating the sports park from the street. 9 June 2015. Photos: Author's own.

In contrast, a little further up the street, this mural showed the evolution of mocking birds as they adapted to the varied environments in different islands.

Figure 47: Walls territorialize, the evolution of mocking birds as they adapt to the various environments in different islands. 9 June 2015. Photos: Author's own

How Impactful have the Holes Been? What can Holey Spaces do?

These three examples illustrate some of the roles that holey spaces play; most importantly here, they create hybrid cultures that are able to stratify together. As demonstrated in figure 6, three seemingly irreconcilable worlds – conservation, residents and tourism – are brought together in one place and absorbed into the islands' infrastructure and worlds. The place is built across the nesting grounds of marine iguanas, another world in itself. The four worlds that were historically in conflict have all adapted to their new situations, conservation becoming more inclusive, resident humans being interested in multiple world views, tourists acknowledging that the islands are not only spaces of nature, and marine iguanas moving their nesting sites away from the shoreline. As they have done so, the holes have changed shape and changed the shape of their strata. At this point of collision,

the materiality of Galápagos folds into the strata of its cultures, and normalizes what might seem shocking or ridiculous in other places.

Other places such as the *malecon*, nominally a tourist space, are repurposed by residents for religious practice, and also for protest. Here in the realm of politics, conflict is vocal, on display, more obvious. The regulations of government form more solid strata, as these are not up for constant negotiation. Where the strata sit most heavy, the creative forces of the virtual world find themselves crushed and in order to be expressed have to erupt more violently. This violence was also evident in the process by which the fishers are now involved in management alongside conservationists. Their voices were not heard until they became violent, and this is another property of holey space. It can make things visible that were invisible, and *vice versa*; it provides gaps in the solid strata through which things can be seen or heard, perceived, that the strata previously rendered invisible; and which also provide potential refuge or hiding places.

Chapter 6
Creative Connections

> Life alone creates such zones where living beings whirl around, and only art can reach and penetrate them in its enterprise of co-creation. (Deleuze and Guattari 1994: 173)

Introduction

In this chapter I aim to show how culture, the arts and creativity are pivotal to an understanding of the geopolitics and conservation of Galápagos. I observed many explicitly 'arts' practices whilst undertaking my fieldwork, and brought my own prior experience of working with the arts and creative teaching and learning into my research methodologies. Here, I interrogate the relationship between the arts, culture and creativity, situating the arts as a pivot to both a broad understanding of creativity, and a plural understanding of culture, rather than assuming that the arts simply map onto either. Culture and creativity are often lumped together for administrative purposes (for instance the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport in the UK, which includes 'the creative industries'), influencing the way we think about and define them. However, there is an obvious, profound, but often ignored tension between them. Culture is the assembling of excessive forces in processes of territorialization and stratification, the establishment of socially acceptable ways of doing things, the practice of tradition. In this way, it develops within and across species, not as is often assumed only in humans, or as has sometimes been implied, only in 'civilized' humans. It is conservative, and in European cultures conceives of time as linear with an eye constantly on the past and future. In the conservation world this has been described as the 'fortress model' where heritage is viewed as static, must have clearly defined boundaries, and be protected from external threats (see Lorimer 2015, Lavau 2015). What I want to articulate here is an understanding of creativity as pushing against this concept of culture, and so the very different forces in play in the processes of generating a new culture for a 'new earth' in Galápagos. I can then consider how arts practice and practitioners do, and can, contribute to the concept and practice of conservation.

For me, and leaning on the arguments of Deleuze and Guattari outlined earlier, creativity is the work of intensive forces in processes of deterritorialization; generative, anarchic and

uncontrolled, and often also destructive. It exists in the realm of singularities, always in the present and therefore tends towards non-linear concepts of time. Thus we can think of creativity as helping to animate arts practices, certainly, but also more broadly forming the excesses that stratify into all kinds of cultures, through which intensive forces erupt once more. It is through these dynamic, emergent processes that a plural living world, the geo or earth, and its conservation must be imagined. Intensive forces such as extreme weather events and political revolutions, often imagined and presented as threatening to life, which they no doubt can be, are also as much a part of this 'lively geo' as culture's strata. Rather than be contained or controlled, that is, congealed too quickly, this way of thinking about 'life' needs to be embraced, enabled, and somehow collaborated with. Perhaps, then, the most important element of what is at threat is a stratified way of living, that is, specific cultures and the way that life is defined by them rather than life itself. For instance, Bennett argues that in Anglo-US philosophical traditions, as well as political practice, nature has been taken as fixed and stable; inhuman, out there, passive and awaiting both definition and extraction. For Bennett, by contrast, "an active becoming, a creative not-quite-human force capable of producing the new, buzzes within the history of the term nature" (2010: 118). Similarly, Kanngieser (2015: 80) draws on Le Guin's keynote speech for the 2014 Anthropocene: Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet conference in which she calls for a 'geolinguistics:'

> May there not come even that bolder adventurer, the first geolinguist, who, ignoring the delicate trenchant lyrics of the lichen will read beneath it the still less communicative still more passive wholly atemporal cold volcanic poetry of the rocks, each one a word spoken how long ago by the earth itself in the immense solitude, the immenser community, of space.

This idea of a linguist that can work with the messages encoded in the materials and forces of the planet calls forth the work of Edouard Glissant. In *Poetics of Relation* (1990 [1997]), Glissant is influenced by Deleuze and Guattari amongst others, and writes from his Antillean Caribbean perspective using language to explore identity, particularly in peoples displaced by colonialism. He introduces three images or identities of the world: *totalité-monde* can be mapped roughly onto Deleuze and Guattari's 'actual' realm, *chaos-monde* is similar to their 'virtual' realm, closer to chaos theory rather than a state of complete disorder, and *echos-monde* is feedback, reflections or perhaps framings: representations of understandings of a world. Depending on how we interact with our surroundings, all three 'worlds' exist at once. He discusses how aesthetics relates to identity, and so heritage. In arguing for his concept of relation, he uses what he calls

poetics, which I take as a quality of all art rather than only language to feedback and echo the world, to argue that:

> …exclusion is the rule in binary practice (either/ or), whereas poetics aims for the space of difference – not exclusion but, rather, where difference is realized in going beyond." (1990 [1997]: 82).

This is reminiscent of Deleuze's notion of difference in itself rather than as opposed to something else, difference connecting rather than reducing or generalizing, and is introduced by talking of a movement away from thinking about identity through roots. Instead, Glissant suggests that it is more about movement, which he indicates using 'Baroque,' arguing that it is the filial connection to a singular root identity that leads to an exclusive, binary world view – that of colonizers in his discussion – that enables and justifies violence towards an 'other,' and contrasts this with what he calls Baroque techniques (by which he implies a dynamism) that favour expansion over depth (ibid: 77).

This framing contrasts with the culture of the 'fortress model' of conservation that has informed the World Heritage Programme. Here the human is pitted against 'other' forms of life in the sense that generative 'natural' forces such as verdant vegetation, seismic activity and coastal erosion all threaten 'cultural' heritage. It also pits some cultures against others due to the historical use of 'cultural' to mean 'civilized' forms of human heritage and associated ideas of aesthetics and manners as introduced in chapter two. Changing the concept of 'culture' in heritage to expansive expressions of the combined stratified life forces of the planet, the *totalité-monde,* would strengthen conservation practice, but stands to diminish a hierarchy of cultures and indeed an assumed dominance of human culture over nature. Conservation is only needed if something of value is threatened, and so perhaps the ultimate form of conservation is to work creatively with the notion of the threat implied in the fortress model, to reconceive it and its potential impact, to re-frame it.

Arts practice has the potential to be a powerful way in which this re-framing can be realized. In this chapter I explore ideas of a more-than-human art, and the arts practice of humans, and especially artists, in providing a pivot for excessive and intensive forces in the context of conservation. Grosz (2008) defines art as the way that life experiments with materiality to create change. In chapter two I began to explore some of this thinking in relation to art and geopolitics, connecting the territorialization involved in arts' framing of the world to all life and extending this claim to the geopower of the planet and even the universe. This framing, Grosz argues, is the result of the development of sexual

reproduction and the excesses of display and construction that often result; territory becomes artful, "the consequence of love not war, of seduction not defence" (Grosz 2008: 69). I connected these words to the politics that underlies and controls aesthetics in 'civilized' cultures, and how in Western Europe art has been judged through notions of civilization, manners and aesthetics, and utilized in political territorialization, especially nation-building. Unpicking aesthetics from art and politics, and re-situating it as part of a sensory rather than sensible world (that is, a world of sensations rather than a world waiting to be sensed, defined and judged), changes what it can do. It enables aesthetics to be harnessed differently by artists and others, and, in acknowledging that being able to sense in some way is part of being alive, a 'minor' art and a more-than-human artistic world can emerge. Here both human and non-human art is a practice that draws on the forces of the universe to affect its human and non-human audiences by intentionally manipulating the sensed. It is formed from, forms, informs and, importantly, has the potential to transform our perception of the social and political, of the strata, and of the geo, and in doing so frames and 'makes sense of' our worlds by temporarily organizing their creative chaos.

In what follows, I situate these ideas in what I experienced in Galápagos, looking first to this broad conception of creativity in the context of 'nature.' I then turn to the role that artists and arts development organizations consider themselves to play in broader practices of living with the National Park. As outlined in chapter two, contemporary art has been a facet of the critical lines of thinking that have challenged the classical geopolitics of the modernist era. As such it observes and critiques the dominance of the visual in Western European culture, and pushes art to include also the aural, olfactory, tactile and gustatory. Instead of the twentieth century's grand galleries, concert halls and theatres where the arts are presented and one is supposed to look upon them in silence in a formal environment, and what this tells us about that culture's relationship with aesthetics, the arts have expanded their offer and now often push for work to be interacted with. The 'what is art?' question has expanded beyond recognition; the answer remains as elusive as ever and is not my concern here. Rather, and with regard to Galápagos, my concern is with what an explicitly labelled 'art' field does with the concept of geo or earth and what this means for the conservation of World Heritage Sites in the twenty-first century. Last but not least, I strive to work with creativity in this broader sense of the term through my own engagements with Galápagos. Through my creative methodologies I attempt to find expression for non-human creative forces: the sizzling creativity of the volcanic hot-spot thrusting colossal mountains from the sea bed, the conveyor like crawling of the tectonic

plates as they carry the islands through the ocean towards the continent, the swirling intersecting vortices of the ocean's currents and the food webs that these support or decimate. Also, I want to attend to how the different times and rhythms of these creative forces are perceived and how they relate to human and other species' times; the more mechanical movements of boats trapped in their itineraries, the breeding cycles in the captive breeding centres, of the pragmatic cargo, fuel and water movements around the islands and how these interact with vibrant yet protected life. And finally, how all of this movement relates back to and informs the work of the artists and cultural managers, and conservationists; to the emergence of a Galápagueño culture.

Expressing the Excessive: Intensifying Chaos

Twenty-eight years after C. P. Snow's Rede lecture on the separation of arts from sciences, Deleuze described arts thus:

> Everything has a story. Philosophy also tells stories. Stories with concepts. Cinema tells stories with blocks of movement / duration. Painting invents an entirely different type of block. They are not blocks of concepts or blocks of movement / duration, but blocks of lines / colours. Music invents another type of blocks that are just as specific. And alongside all of that, science is no less creative. I do not see much opposition between the sciences and the arts.
>
> …What relationship is there between the work of art and communication? None at all. A work of art is not an instrument of communication. A work of art has nothing to do with communication. A work of art does not contain the least bit of information. In contrast, there is a fundamental affinity between a work of art and an act of resistance. It has something to do with information and communication as an act of resistance. What is this mysterious relationship between a work of art and an act of resistance when the men and women who resist neither have the time nor sometimes the culture necessary to have the slightest connection with art? I do not know… Every act of resistance is not a work of art, even though, in a certain way, it is. Every work of art is not an act of resistance, and yet, in a certain way, it is. (Deleuze 1987: 313/ 320)[37]

I would argue that the connection of art with acts of resistance is through animating what Deleuze terms holey space. Artists are not illustrators for conservationists attempting to communicate information to an ignorant audience; their work does not only disseminate but goes both ways, through aesthetics it connects. If the earth or geo is formed, as I have suggested in this thesis, of an imminent, dynamic combination of various strata, eruptions and holes, I suggest then that holey spaces, in connecting to both striated and smooth space, and with their subterranean qualities and the acts of resistance that this implies, might be considered an artists' milieu. They can "make the holes resonate together" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 458).

[37] for more on Deleuze and contemporary art see also O'SullIván 2009

Artists do not belong to many of the strata and as beings cannot belong to the realms of smooth space. In the Galápagos exhibition publication, Greg Hilty suggests that they are "notorious for their independence, usually wary of being used as 'instruments' for other people's agendas" (2012: 29). In the same book, Richard Fortey describes how "there seems to be some kind of affinity between artists and island dwellers. Maybe it is because the successful artist is always apart: a certain distance from the mainland of humanity drives their originality" (2012: 18). This connects the activities of the artist with the concept of the island, and, like the island, they have a form and so are already stratified. Hilty and Fortey imply a tendency towards what Deleuze might term 'minor arts' driven by artists themselves rather than 'major arts' driven by commissioners or funders. In not doing the political work of the state or other power such as the oligarch, art can allow and encourage creative expression through individual experience, both of the artist and, in participatory work, of the participant themselves. This is a different way of knowing the world to the expert knowledge that is held by specialists and scientists. It encourages discovery and, through it, connection. As Glissant argues, in talking about his concept of Relation:

> The aesthetics of the *chaos-monde*… embraces all the elements and forms of expression of this totality within us; it is totality's act and its fluidity, totality's reflection and agent in motion.
>
> The baroque is the not-established outcome of this motion.
>
> Relation is that which simultaneously realizes and expresses this motion. It is the *chaos-monde* relating (to itself).
>
> The poetics of Relation (which is, therefore, part of the aesthetics of the *chaos-monde*) senses, assumes, opens, gathers, scatters, continues, and transforms the thought of these elements, these forms, and this motion. (ibid: 94-5)

It is an opening out of a world of multiple and dynamic connections rather than a pinning down through categorizing and defining.

Following a particularly long and lively thunderstorm off Dorset's coast that had got me thinking about geo-creativity, I spoke about the relationship between artists and creativity with composer and painter Marc Yeats, with whom I had worked extensively whilst in my role at the Jurassic Coast. Building on this idea of creative discovery, and acknowledging the tensions between generativity and destruction in creativity, he told me:

> If you're thinking about creativity without tension of some kind, you're going into the realm of religion, of being a channeller [rather than an artist], you don't *do* anything, it just passes through. Everything else is based on tension. It's to do with the fragility of life, the fear of dying, those basic needs… (Interview with Marc Yeats. 24.04.18).

In differentiating artists' creativity from the broader idea of smooth space, which I had described as a space of ultimate creativity where anything is possible, he continued:

> MY I think what is possibly a nightmare for any artist is that blank canvas, ultimate possibility, because within the scope of ultimate possibility, what the hell do you do and why do you do it? When you come down to earth around artists, I think you're looking at rather more primal forces and constraints and pressures and neuroses and anxieties and insecurities.
>
> DS What it is to be human rather than ultimate creativity
>
> MY Exactly, and that again is important. What it is to be human is not what it is to be a thunder storm. (Interview with Marc Yeats. 24.04.18)

This might seem obvious, but is an important distinction to draw. Human artists, and therefore human art, tends to connect a realm of creativity with a realm of human experience or stratification and therefore addresses human audiences. That is to say, in manipulating matter, artists mobilize the senses, potentially revealing stratification in its multiple forms. They connect the creative potential of smooth space with the ordering of the stratified, highlighting any holes, and in some cases using them to create resonance, which amplifies the input, making the work 'sing' across space and time. This resonance is what Glissant terms *echos-monde.* He puts it thus:

> For a long time we have divined both order and disorder in the world and projected these as measure and excess. But every poetics led us to believe something that, of course, is not wrong: that excessiveness of order and a measured disorder exist as well. The only discernible stabilities in Relation have to do with the interdependence of the cycles operative there, how their corresponding patterns of movement are in tune. In Relation analytic thought is led to construct unities whose interdependent variances jointly piece together the interactive totality. These unities are not models but revealing *echos-monde.* Thought makes music. (1990 [1997]: 92).

Part of an arts training is to detect and work with the resonance of the space between the striated and the smooth, resisting both at times and working with the holes, making them resonate both alone and potentially with each other as well, creating harmonies and dischords. These illuminate properties of the constantly becoming more-than-human social and cultural worlds that, through their interaction, are continually co-produced. Brigstocke and Noorani (2016) draw on a literature of 'attunement' that provides an insight into this training, and particularly draws attention to the dischords. They argue that the process of attunement facilitates "orientations to difference, dissonance, and suspension" (2016: 3). In talking about his work, and particularly pertinent to encountering and responding to Galápagos, the photographer Martin Parr says:

> We live in a difficult but inspiring world, and there is so much out there that I want to record. However you cannot photograph everything, so I have to select subjects that throw light on the relationship I have with the world. This is often expressed as

> an ambiguity or a contradiction. Look at tourism, for example. We have an idea of what a famous site will look like as we've seen the photos – but when you get there, the reality is usually different. This rub between mythology and reality is the inspiration – and the contradiction. (www.theguardian.com/culture/2012/jan/02/top-artists-creative-inspiration)

These contradictions and ambiguities produce dischords. In addition, Brigstocke and Noorani go on to point out with regard to some of the 'wicked' problems that are said to challenge society today, attunement is attempted with:

> entities that inhabit unimaginably vast temporal frames, such as the climate, nuclear waste, fossils, and plastics, [that] can only phase in and out of human perceptibility. These disorienting temporalities… defy cognition. In these contexts, attunement becomes deeply strange, uncanny, and uncertain. (2016: 3)

In this way, the 'voices' of a more-than-human world that is itself being challenged, even threatened, by human cultures can be experienced, empathized with, possibly understood, expressed and amplified. This highlights power dynamics that may otherwise be assumed as the norm:

> Attuning to more-than-human worlds requires a radical decentring of authority, acknowledging the ways in which nonhuman forms of agency co-author heterogeneous worlds. Doing so might offer pathways toward tackling the forms of colonialism, patriarchy, and class power that rely in differing ways on the hierarchical separation between the human and the nonhuman. (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016: 5)

This sentiment is reminiscent of Glissant, and also artist Marcus Coates' comment about the animals in Galápagos, where:

> The idea of the animals not having fear, that was very interesting to me as well. Not being tame, because they haven't been trained to be tame, but having no fear, made me think about how we are used to being a feared thing, particularly in the UK or in Europe where there are no major predators. So to be in a position where you're not the one to be afraid of, it makes, it decentralises you. You're not at the centre of things, and you have to look elsewhere, and you're not affecting the place, you're not influencing the place and you feel that indifference even more, and I thought that was a very interesting state to be in because it really shifted my perspective of how I relate to nature (Interview with Marcus Coates. 12.12.16)

Turning to how this re-attunement affects methodology, Kanngieser argues for the heightened ability of the senses of hearing and listening to the planet's sounds to cut across a classical geopolitics and related inherited notions of how the earth is territorialized. She writes:

> In supporting moments of deactivation by inviting quietness, sound offers a way of building the different ecologies necessary for political attenuations to forms of life and matter, which are not of the human. It calls for a different realization of time, whether a deep time or atemporality, in which, as Le Guin (2014) put it, the "poetry of the rocks" resounds. (2015: 82)

She continues:

> By using sound to explore political relations, matter might be brought into contact with ideology in ways that do not try to make them fit, or so that one might negate the other. Rather, it becomes possible to see how those political relations can help to build new and creative terrains for human and more-than-human negotiations. (2015: 84)

It was this sense of attunement with my environment and its worlds for which I was striving with some of the methodologies that I chose to employ in my fieldwork, and which I will explore in more detail towards the end of this chapter. Again, the activity of listening to and hearing our environments is a very different process to that of looking at and seeing them, a part of arts practice that opens up possibilities for resonance.

Further exploring the concept of resonance, Hall et al (2017) discuss what they call social-ecological system resonance in the field of sustainability science. Arguing that there is an ever-increasing gap between knowledge production and social action in 'wicked' problems such as climate change, they suggest Luhmann's model of resonance to support the production of solution-focused rather than 'pure' scientific research. Luhmann (1989, 1995, 2000) introduced systems theory to sociology, arguing that society is a series of seven self-organizing function systems: economics, politics, science, law, education, religion, and culture. Each system operates, and is therefore organized by, different binary logics that are meaningful within that system. This, he argues is what differentiates them: for instance, economics takes action within the logic of profit/ loss, whilst politics operates with the logic of governance/ opposition, and the actions taken in each are focused on sustaining that system. In the terminology that I have been using in this thesis, each system could be thought of as a strata, a culture that has built up through repeated practice. Hall et al outline that in "Ecological Communication, Luhmann (1989) is particularly interested in (1) society's ability to listen to its natural environment as well as (2) the different social systems' capacities to respond to ecological problems" (2017: 383), but that each system can only respond according to its own logic. Each system will therefore only react to situations that effect its own value systems, and so the 'natural world' remains hidden from society unless it disturbs a function system. This disturbing of a function system explains why 'wicked problems' are so often couched in terms of crisis and disaster. Here, resonance describes something disrupting more than one system, and so causing changes in behaviour in multiple previously mutually exclusive fields (ibid: 384). Hall et al go on to suggest that environmental solutions that only speak to one system, such as ecosystems services addressing only the economic, can be critiqued through this model (ibid: 389).

Echoing this idea of resonance between function systems amplifying disruption and leading to a questioning of behaviour, Marc Yeats went on to say:

> you can't analyse art scientifically because you're using the wrong tool to crack the nut. Science is science, art is art. They are almost like covalent bodies, they share and they enhance each other, and if you've got the two going hand in hand you've got a much more potent force (Interview with Marc Yeats. 24.04.18)

Although I strongly take issue with the reductionism, and implied universalism, of Luhmann's theory, that is the idea that all of society can be defined through seven mutually exclusive categories, this does help to illuminate the idea of resonance that I am exploring here. I would argue that instead of seven fixed and mutually exclusive categories, there is an infinite cycle of strata constantly being formed and deposited as culture, then displaced as creativity erupts through and disrupts them. In between, connecting and resisting them, is the 'holey space' that has the potential for resonance. Holes can conjugate with many strata. This is resonance, and has the potential to both express the excessive and intensify chaos, to re-frame our worlds.

Bringing this line of thought back to the material presence of art in our worlds, sound artist and co-founder of Art.Earth, Richard Povall, argues:

> art can say things by paying attention to and by being in the world. Not by overtly telling, not by simplification, not by trying to inform or even punish or excoriate, but by being. Art that is something, or that perhaps does something can be far more powerful as an exploration of the natural world, of our being and how we live in the world, than any quasi-political or animus-driven passionate re-telling of an environmental fact. (http://www.artcornwall.org/features/Richard_Povall/Richard_Povall_Ecological_Art.htm accessed April 2018)

He draws on Timothy Morton who outlines what he calls 'the ecological thought,' taking ecology from its root, *oikos* meaning 'home,' and so, rather than a category of biology, ecology becomes an active process of making the world a 'home' that is shared with non-humans:

> the ecological thought …is a thinking that is ecological, a contemplating that is a doing… This is what praxis means – action that is thoughtful and thought that is active. (Morton 2010: 9)

He goes on to explore how art can feed into conservation given this idea:

> Art can help us, because it's a place in our culture that deals with intensity, shame, abjection, and loss. It also deals with reality and unreality, being and seeming. If ecology is about radical coexistence, then we must challenge our sense of what is real and what is unreal, what counts as existent and what counts as non-existent… Ecological art, and the ecologicness of all art isn't just about something (trees, mountains, animals, pollution, and so forth). Ecological art is something, or maybe

> it does something. Art is ecological insofar as it is made from materials and exists in the world. (Morton 2010: 11)

One of the curators of the Galápagos exhibition, Hilty (2012), comes from a different perspective, but with a similar observation, arguing that the premise for the project was "first, that humans are not just privileged consumers of the natural world but active and therefore responsible participants in it; second, that art is a central human and therefore natural behaviour" (2012: 24). Here I find the use of 'natural' difficult, again the way it has been used over time implies a separation from 'civilized' culture, whereas it is in fact an outcome of the co-production of a 'civilized' culture as outlined in chapter three. However, Hilty's comment supports the arguments outlined at the end of chapter two on a more-than-human art for a geo-politics, complementing Grosz's ideas of artists and architects framing the world, organizing chaos, territorializing and deterritorializing. These framings are, arguably, one of the tools available to artists to create resonances, focusing the earth's excessiveness and amplifying the ambiguities at play both within the striated spaces of the strata, its holes, and in the smooth spaces of unlimited possibility. As such, socially engaged arts practice is able to act as a critical friend to conservation, potentially catalysing efforts to work with the rest of the living world rather than seeking to own, control or congeal it: such a friend can allow emergence to happen, to connect to the underlying forces of life and, more broadly, of the earth, and in so doing help make a shared 'home' for all life.

Conjuring a New Culture for a New Earth

There was a general consensus amongst my interviewees, and other people to whom I talked less formally, that a more creative approach to managing the National Park was desirable. The GNPD were actively involved in creating a Galápagueño culture that supports and encompasses the ideology of conservation. In the opening sentences of the English translation of the summary of their 2014 Management Plan, they state:

> The state of Ecuador, as part of its national policy and strategy implemented through the National System of Protected Areas (SNAP), views the country's protected areas as an opportunity for sound and harmonious development and coexistence between man and nature… The management of these two [terrestrial and marine] protected areas is presented in this Plan in a dynamic, cohesive and inclusive manner. It delves into the functioning and interdependence of terrestrial and marine ecosystems, but is also committed to the need to integrate the archipelago's communities into their management. The Galápagos Protected Area Management Plan for Good Living is guided by the National Plan for Good Living and articulated with the planning guidelines of the National Secretariat for Planning

> and Development (SENPLADES). … This management approach aims to produce positive changes in the resident population, while implementing in a socially and environmentally responsible manner what all Ecuadorians seek: Good Living.
>
> The Plan identifies new challenges in integrated management of protected areas and their inseparable connection with the communities living in the archipelago. (2014: 3)

Alongside the Charles Darwin Foundation, they have been involved in formal education initiatives for a long time, and these have certainly impacted on the young people with whom they have worked. However, as outlined above, the approach of telling people what to do rather than the practice, common in creative teaching, of facilitating peoples' own discovery has impeded efforts to work with residents. The Management Plan still outlines the engagement of 'communities,' as though the resident population are made up from several fixed and clearly delineated cohorts rather than a series of individuals with differences and similarities, who know each other through fluid and emergent networks and activities. Nevertheless, there is change taking place in amongst the practicalities of managing an archipelago with many designations, including World Heritage, involving many partners locally, nationally, internationally and globally and the various cultures that these bring to the table, not least non-human. As the strata of these different cultures and approaches meet and attempt to interlock, they also create more holes through which creativity can percolate, and potentially resonate and even harmonize. In this section I outline two of these strata, or established ways of working: first, the approach taken by the GNPD and broader conservation sector in the islands involving education, community engagement and interpretation; and second, the cultural development work of artists and cultural development organizations. I then apply my own creative engagement with the islands in attuning to a third way that includes the more-than-human 'voices' of the archipelago. Collectively, in this context, these constitute a 'creative conservation.'

Creative Conservation: Community Engagement and Interpretation for Galápagos National Park

Right up until my fieldwork, and for a few months after this, I called my research project 'the mobilization of creative practices around UNESCO sites.' I framed my research as looking at connections between creativity and the management of natural heritage, intentionally leaving the interpretation of creativity open. Given that participatory practice has underpinned all of my professional work, I was originally going to take a participatory approach, offering up my experience and research to become part of the *Beagle Festival* through developing additional participatory activities for the festival programme, enabling my own participant observation, and offering something in return, to be defined

collaboratively with my hosts. When the festival was cancelled, and my partner's father fell fatally ill, I had to modify my approach and move the dates of my fieldwork. This meant that I did not have enough time to develop a robust alternative participatory framework. Instead I talked with as many people as I could about how creativity intersected with the World Heritage site, and complemented this with creative methodologies that I hoped would give the islands themselves a voice. In the semi-structured interviews that I carried out, the related standard questions that I provided on my information sheet, and asked to most interviewees, were:

- What do you consider 'heritage' and 'creative practices' to be?
- What do you think the role of creative practices are in heritage? What do you think creative practices can bring to the Galápagos World Heritage site in particular?
- What (if any) projects incorporating creative practices have taken place around the site, physically or conceptually, in the last five years or so and what history (if any) does this build on?

It quickly became apparent that people were confused by my use of the term 'creative practices,' often assuming I meant arts, or plainly telling me that they did not understand. Where this was the case I explained that I was thinking about creativity more broadly than artistic practices, and that I believed that creativity can and must be present in all kinds of activities including managing protected sites. In one conversation with Ros Cameron, for instance, I explained that:

> DS So, I would include the arts in creative practices as well, but I would also say that we are… innately creative, and management can be creative, home keeping can be creative, administration can be creative, there's lots of…
>
> RC Yeah, that's… [pause]
>
> DS So when I'm talking about creative practices, that's kind of…
>
> RC It's not just the arts… But yeah, creativity in general

She went on to say,

> RC …it's all about creativity. It's all about giving yourself permission to be vocal about creativity to start with. (05.06.15)

I also often made the connection with UNESCO's guidance that World Heritage Sites should "become a vibrant strand in the lives of their communities" as a way of exploring creative ideas and practices. I explained how I believed that World Heritage Sites can be managed according to tried and tested conservation practices, but also require creativity. This led to some interesting conversations and analyses, some of which are outlined below.

Although I did not spend as much time with people delivering formal management projects for the GNPD as I would have liked, I came across what might be called soft management or creative conservation, where the key conservation issues were being addressed by

community engagement initiatives and collaboration with third parties. 'Agents of Change' was one such third party organization developing and supporting a creative approach to conservation. It was an initiative set up by the owner of one of the more up-market shops in the town, 'Lonesome George,' and used some of the profits from the shop to employ someone to run an annual programme facilitating the ideas of local young people and building leadership, entrepreneurship, and business skills, and environmental awareness. It aimed to encourage an understanding of conservation on the islands, and of the opportunities that it can provide, to discover potential for change rather than impose it. As the name implies, this process deterritorializes previous attempts to undertake community engagement in conservation that had primarily involved telling people what to do in the context of explaining why they should do them. Here the tables were turned and the project worked to make what was being done relevant to residents' lives and needs.

Each year young people applied to take part by proposing a project that would contribute to the conservation of the islands in some way. A number were then selected and given training in business, leadership and team work, taken on visits behind the scenes in the islands to places like gardening projects or waste handling plants and then, using what they had learned, encouraged individually to develop their projects. They were given support in turning their idea into a reality, and the ideas were really varied from street art to recycling projects and much in between. They were in their fourth year when I was in the islands. Ros described the impact of the project:

> …kids learn to talk to total strangers, they learn to have doors shut in their face, they learn all kinds of skills, including creative thinking in management. It's easy to find creative thinking here in practically every organization… And so, I think creative thinking, or creative practice in management is the willingness to be open to new ideas, as well as the willingness to think outside the box, which is actually two different things. (Interview with Ros. 05.06.15)

Here she takes us beyond this project and into some theory behind creativity in management; being open to new ideas and thinking outside the box, whilst different, are both deterritorializations, the breaking down of boundaries, categories and traditions.

I also talked to several people about one element of formal management, the interpretation of the site, that is, communicating what the site is designated for, the way in which it is of value, and the arguments and methods that its management mobilizes to conserve these properties. As such, interpretation illustrates some of the tensions between the emergent way of perceiving the world outlined in this thesis and the classical model of the world, with its seemingly unassailable concepts of market economies, nation-states, land

ownership and the threatening 'other,' more prevalent in conservation practice. Valeria told me about the necessity of packaging up the key concepts of conservation, turning the National Park into a product that people desire and can buy into, in the hope of ensuring additional support for the staff who will never have the capacity to undertake all the actions that might support conservation goals. This support not only takes the form of voluntarily helping with conservation work directly, for instance counting numbers of endemic species or planting native species, but also attempting to adjust habits and attitudes of a larger number of people so that conservation work is not constantly fighting against their behaviours, such as whether they habitually recycle plastic or food waste. Depending on the model employed, this 'product development' could be either further territorialization and congealment of the National Park with even firmer definitions, delineations and regulation, or a deterritorialization, an opening up of the Park to other ideas of culture, an exercise in making it relevant against a different set of priorities such as health or food production. It was not clear from our conversation which of these it was and in practice it is likely to be both. The Management Plan has made a big leap towards including people in ideas of conservation through *Buen Vivir* and the necessity to connect with this through *The National Plan for Good Living*. Here, connections are made between ideas of the wellbeing of humans and their importance to conservation of the Park, rather than implying, rather unrealistically as it has in the past, that humans really ought to just leave. Ros outlined creative interpretation thus:

> if you do not connect, whether it's management practices, the arts or whatever, if you do not connect with the basic desires and needs of every individual you've failed, and that's where to my mind the interpretation programmes of the last forty years haven't changed much. It's not about dressing up as a fish and going out and telling people that they should look after the fish. Try lying there like a dead fish with pustules all over you to show what happens if you pollute the ocean or overfish, and we might finally understand 'there won't be anything to eat.' Get the message across. (Interview with Ros. 05.06.15)

Again this could still be interpreted as preaching rather than meeting and collaborating with a different 'world' as equals, although the use of 'connect with' at the beginning implies the desire for a rhizomatic connection rather than a liturgy. It is the *mechanism* for connection that is challenging to those working within the sector, as these have to be emergent and singular in order to be meaningful. Working with singular happenings and thinking about the world in this way goes against the scientific training of most people in the conservation sector in their search for truth, universality and clear-cut rights and wrongs. Instead of listening and responding to the non-experts around them, the tendency has been to attempt to impart their expert knowledge to an 'uneducated' public in a more generic way (and as manifest in Management Plans and annual reports from CDF and

GNPD). This has the potential to save them time; but, without understanding how issues connect to the lives of their audience, the audience is often lost.

Valeria pointed out that because of the historical tensions that exist between conservationists, residents and tourists, any education or interpretation programmes have to be even more engaging than elsewhere, requiring great creativity in their design:

> So I think that here in the Galápagos, creativity has a very very important role to play because you are not starting from zero with the community, you are starting from minus 50… so you have to be very creative, because there have been a lot of programmes running here, and… people are tired… fed up with this speech of like conservation and they want development… so the success, development and quality models… are not very compatible with the… fragile reality of the natural ecosystems here, so we have to be very very creative when working with the community. (Interview with Valeria. 11.06.15)

The implication here is that residents are fed up with attempts to congeal them, to make them fit into a way of perceiving the world that does not belong to them and their heritage, and stands to inconvenience them. I suggest that this fatigue can be countered by a much broader approach to inclusion in management, acknowledging a greater range of stakeholders and their often-conflicting needs and world-views. This allows an opening up in the strata of conservation practice and a connection of some kind with other strata, other ways of perceiving and imagining the world, other cultures. More challenging, it requires a willingness to change policies and practices as a result of what is discovered; for instance, the Participatory Management Board for Fisheries mentioned in the last chapter. This openness to changing stratified ways of working is often perceived as a slowing of pace, which can be frustrating especially in the context of a narrative of urgency and impending disaster. However, I propose that creative conservation is not only a process of 'winning hearts and minds' over to your interpretation of events and the solutions that you can see, (territorialization) but also of losing arrogance (deterritorialization), allowing others to analyse the situation in different ways and come up with different solutions. Although it can feel slow, it is likely to be more multi-faceted and further reaching and so more readily adopted by a wider audience. Again, it is an action of connectivity rather than distancing.

Another example of an effort at inclusion in management is the Darwin Animal Doctors (DAD), who collaborate with the Galápagos Biosecurity Agency (ABG) to limit the impact of pets on the islands' ecosystems by providing free veterinary care to residents for their pets. ABG's mission is the control of introduced species, but Joachim Lastdrager, one of the DAD vets, explained that DAD's policy is non-euthanasia and the management of

introduced species through increased welfare and education. Not only are they non-governmental and so arguably more inclusive on that level, but, whilst they are working with the residents' pets, they educate people about their animals in the context of the life on the islands; how certain behaviours of pet ownership such as being allowed to roam free in the towns will impact life there and possibly by extension in the National Park. They also neuter pets and strays for free to prevent population explosions that threaten native and endemic species and their habitats as domestic animals become feral. There has been a history of what Joachim called "street dogs and cats," where animals have been brought to the island with immigrants and allowed to roam and breed. DAD provided a link between ABG programs and residents, by providing a permanent clinic and outreach. For instance, before the creation of ABG, when an uncontrolled growth in stray cats was observed, they recommended an affordable spay and release programme to the GNPD even though this went against the law preventing the release of animals into or near the National Park. Joachim went on to tell me that by providing free vet care, residents had begun to take more of an interest in their animals, and also those in the rest of the islands:

> when we first opened the clinic, people might bring their dog and say that it hasn't eaten for weeks, but now people bring their dog if it doesn't eat breakfast, which means that they are watching it and recognizing what it might be like them, if it doesn't eat it might be feeling unwell. (Interview with Joachim Lastrager, 11.06.15)

These more inclusive, collaborative models of management, bringing different kinds of expertise – e.g. scientific, economic, cultural – together, alongside a more stable government, create a more harmonious resonance between these knowledges. However, through the explanation of the principles of conservation and the practice of human control of non-human reproduction, the emphasis is still on inclusion of non-specialists in conservation rather than intentional collaboration with the world-views of multiple cultures. Nevertheless, these 'softer' forms of management are opening channels for two-way conversations and beginning to demonstrate a new more integrated Galápagueño culture, which is capable of meeting some of the challenges that the archipelago faces.

Creative Conservation: Cultural Development in Galápagos

Cultural development by the GNPD and other conservation organizations of the kind outlined above cannot escape its top-down structure and the resultant tendency to constrain creativity rather than collaborate with it. In addition to the GNPD, there were many other organizations working creatively to develop a Galápagueño culture of creative conservation more broadly. Below I introduce several arts and cultural development

organizations and projects that I was able to explore in some depth during my field research.

'Casa de la Cultura' is a national cultural organization that was set up in 1944 to stimulate, direct and develop a national culture for Ecuador. As such its cultural development work also has the potential to be top-down rather than immanent. There are offices in each province, including two in Galápagos, one in San Cristóbal and a satellite one in Santa Cruz, both led by Magno Bennett when I was there. Magno, a professional artist himself, had come through workshops and training programmes at the Casa de la Cultura in Guayaquil, Ecuador's largest city and the port from which cargo and also most flights to the Galápagos originate. He had arrived in Galápagos in 1992 to work on branding for a gasoline station, married and stayed. In 1995 he was asked by the Secretary General of the Casa de la Cultura to become the Director of the new regional office for Galápagos, which was to be in Isla San Cristóbal, but he was living on Isla Santa Cruz at the time and someone else was appointed. In 2002, a decision was taken to open an extension to the San Cristóbal office in Santa Cruz, and in 2005 Magno took charge there and began to develop projects, eventually becoming Director of both offices in 2011.

During my conversation with Magno I asked him about his working relationship with the islands' environment and with the GNPD. He told me that he has dreamed for a long time about a strong connection between the culture and the environment sectors but that in practice it depends on who is in charge of the GNPD. However, he had been invited to contribute to shaping the Management Plan in 2012 when it was being researched, consulted on and pulled together, and he pointed out that the *National Plan for Good Living* created a framework and an impetus to work in this more productive way across organizations and sectors. Most people working in the conservation sector who he had come across still saw a divided world of residents versus nature, but there had been a few who he found he could work productively with on cultural development for a creative conservation, pointing out that this was not about education, but about working together. Again, it is about connecting. He continued that, rather than separate out different communities, tourism and therefore tourists (and I would add by extension scientists and conservationists) were part of the culture here, implying that all members of all communities need to be involved and thereby open to collaboration and change.

One of the Casa de la Cultura's roles is to support local artists and arts projects (and therefore work that is more emergent by nature), coming from residents and filling gaps in

provision that they have identified locally rather than activities being imposed at a national level. In Santa Cruz, Magno introduced me to Viviana, a dance teacher who was building a youth dance organization that makes, learns and performs 'traditional' dances for the Galápagos.

Figure 48: Still from film of Viviana's group's Saturday evening performance of 6 June 2015, near the Fish Market. Film: author's own. Full film available on accompanying data key.

She ran workshops in the Casa de la Cultura spaces and in schools, and had developed a dance troupe of young people who performed twice per week on the *malecon* for tourists to raise money for their activities (see figures 43 and 48 and films 1 and 2 on accompanying data key). She was born in Quito and practised traditional dance there before she moved to San Cristóbal in Galápagos in 1989. Here she continued this work and began to develop her ideas about a 'traditional' culture for the islands, but only started her current activities in 2011 when she moved to Santa Cruz. She commented that "the people of Santa Cruz were different from San Cristóbal, their way of speaking, way of acting, skin colour, and customs" and continued that the animals were also different. She spent time with her friend who worked for the Charles Darwin Foundation and described and explained some of the habits of some of the animals to her. Viviana then spent time observing these animals, notably the ground finches and blue footed boobies, and their movements herself, in order to bring them into her choreography of new 'traditional' dances for Galápagos. The music for these dances was made by local musicians and although the rhythm and

melodies were not new, the lyrics were, and spoke of Galápagos, the customs, the creatures, the place.

We discussed what is meant by traditional in the context of a culture that is less than 100 years old, and Viviana told me that identity is still a process here; there is not a definitive Galápagos identity. People are still coming here from all over Ecuador and the world, so everything is "getting mixed up here… indigenous people from the highlands are not the same as indigenous Amazonian people… they are very different people… and their cultures got lost in a way because they have a new place," implying that their traditions are out of place. There are now people born here, "real Galápagueños" who are looking for a sense of identity. She explained that traditional is the wrong word really, it could equally be modern, but traditional is the best word for now, until "a Galápagueño culture develops one day". From the dances that I saw, 'traditional' comes from taking inspiration from Ecuador's 'traditional' cultures, such as *Kitchwa* and *Salasaca*, brought in by residents as they arrived from the mainland. They are now used to make a connection between an identity left behind and the culture – of conservation, tourism, endemic and iconic life – of the islands. We went on to discuss the interaction of nature and culture on World Heritage Sites, and she told me that:

> cultural projects are helping to conserve this place, by creating a stronger identity… The majority of organizations that you have here are just focused on the nature and forgetting about the culture, and that in this nature we are daily creating a new community, we are teaching our kids…

Nature and culture are equal and both part of identity, "but we are working with them separately" (Interview with Viviana, 08.06.15). She went on to tell me that bringing the organizations concerned with the conservation of the islands together with cultural development organizations and projects does not happen as much as it could or should; explaining:

> the ancestors were very related to mother earth, *Pacha Mama*, but right now there is no earth as such… because all the way is just cement and we are not that near to the earth any more. We are using it but not in a relation with it.

She continued that every project should raise consciousness about place, about nature, about our own nature, our bodies. She senses that without this strong sense of identity, "youth are getting lost along the way," so her projects have this emphasis at their core (interview with Viviana, 09.06.15).

Thinking through Viviana's words, this emergent description of culture is perhaps more obvious in a place like Galápagos where older traditions and customs have been imported

but are not explicitly connected to the place as they might be elsewhere. Her idea of an immanent culture that is unfixed, constantly emerging, and also her explicit reference to our own nature, our bodies, our material physicality, and what this connection can contribute to young peoples' sense of identity in this transient archipelago resonated with my thinking on strata. That the traditional culture is formed from layer upon layer of practice, developed slowly over a long time; it is stratified. Conversely, this 'new' culture relies on creativity, emergence and as such is not as stratified. Perhaps this means that the holes between the strata and the smooth space of the 'new earth' are more obvious, and facilitating engagement with these more important. It is not of too much concern that her practice is not written into the Management Plan and therefore stratified. As an artist she works with what is at hand, the relationships, the concrete, the animals, the laws, the ambiguities, making space for a more immanent culture to exist.

During my discussion with Ros she suggested that if I was looking for examples of the arts working with conservation goals, I should talk with Gandy Guerrero, a high school teacher who moved to Santa Cruz in 1985 when his uncle, a priest on the islands, suggested that he would like it and there were opportunities for teachers. His son, a Naturalist Guide, acted as a translator and also added his thoughts to the conversation from time to time. Gandy started as a general teacher, painting and making music in his spare time, but realized that there was no music provision and eventually became a dedicated music teacher. He told a very similar story to Viviana: that there are people from all over the world all mixed up here, with the islands' culture in constant development, and many curious animals and endemic plants. He recalls that his inspiration was the people and the nature and landscape:

> The culture, it's all mixed. There wasn't just one, and the process is still developing and the inspiration comes from the animals and the landscape but also from the people… one album is about the pioneers, the first people who came here… Not just the people and the animals, but the way they got here and survived. (Interview with Gandy. 12.06.15)

In 2015, students in Galápagos were required to do two hours of music per week from aged 12-15, and also given three hours per week for additional studies during which Gandy offered a non-compulsory music club for students keen to develop their music skills. He has been teaching for 25 years, so most of the musicians on the island are his alumni. He had a studio in his house for use by him, talented young people who he is working with, and his band, which is made up from his alumni – there have been 50 members over the 25 years. Ros explained how his work contributes to developing a Galápagueño culture:

> Well, if you're talking about just the arts, there's already a very strong link between nature and the community, we have a cultural group called Ecoarte… and the guy who runs it is called Gandy Guerrero. He and other local musicians got together and they started writing songs about Galápagos that he teaches the kids; the kids have a little business with him, they go out [and perform] on the [tourist] ships and that's how they raise their money to pay for the instruments and everything else… They've been playing for over 20 years in all the local events and for visitors and everything else, and they've captured the history, the local people and the history in the music they sing. There's [even] one called 'The Guide Song'. (Interview with Ros. 05.06.15)

Gandy invited me to his house, the top floor of a building in the north-west part of the town, to talk about Ecoarte so that he could show me the studio and other artefacts that illustrate their work. During our discussion about the relationship between value and World Heritage, I asked him whether people in Galápagos value creativity and culture, and he replied that it is complicated in Galápagos; that people appreciate creating an identity, they are part of it, but that it is the tourists that seem to really value and appreciate this representation of an identity. This implies that most residents like creating something new and relevant to them, but are less interested in the imposition of an already stratified version of culture. In contrast, tourists looking for an 'authentic' experience are keen to engage with residents and their 'traditional' culture, which then holds a high value for its ability to draw in tourist dollars and provide a platform for the worlds' gaze, as demonstrated in the last chapter where the audience for one of Viviana's groups' performances was utilized by a political protest. For one project he had undertaken, he and his wife had made costumes in the traditional style, but decorated for the Galápagos (see figure 49).

He told me that many Ecuadorians do not generally value culture highly, although he then went on to say that every village and town has something unique and that he wants to put Galápagos on the music map of Ecuador:

> It's much easier with foreigners… it's a different culture… It's much easier with the tourists. For locals also, first you have to make the people here feel like 'this is my music, this is what I want to spread to others' but in the rest of Ecuador, to be part of the music map, because every single town in the mainland has something particular, they have something, not just dress but music as well and it's been a long process but people appreciate it, [especially] the locals. (Interview with Gandy Guerrera and his son. 12.06.15)

This highlights two definitions or strata of culture, the first being a more western European definition where aesthetics are used for the purpose of demonstrating status and power and

Figure 49: Ecoarte costumes displayed by Gandy's wife and son depicting Galápagos landscapes and nature. 11 June 2015. Photos: Author's own.

culture is commodified, and the second an Ecuadorian, or perhaps a more mundane, culture being more immanent, valued for its relevance to people's lives. Similarly, it also

suggests that a value of Ecuadorian culture is its specificity to its location rather than an ambition to be recognized or valued globally; there are a lot of traditions and cultures across Ecuador that have remained relatively isolated and so each place has its own sound, its own set of customs, its own 'acoustic' perhaps.

Echoing Viviana and Magno, when I asked Gandy about collaborating with the National Park, he said it was dependent on the Director and staff; they have a policy of supporting cultural activity, but unless someone can see the benefit of it and is in charge of a budget, nothing happens:

> Depending on the Director he says. It's basically that The National Park have a policy of supporting, but it depends who's in charge. If there's a person who doesn't like music, [which] happens a lot, there's nothing going on… (Interview with Gandy Guerrera and his son. 12.06.15)

They were supported once four years ago to make an album, but that member of staff moved on and it has not happened again. Staff change frequently, so it is hard to make any strategic connections. I also asked about the impact that living alongside a National Park and a WHS has on people's creativity, to which he replied that,

> The National Park is about taking care of the islands. The town is not part of the National Park area… It's not what they are here for. For the last sixty years there are other organizations that have been doing these things such as the Ministry for Education, the Ministry for Culture and the Consejo. (Interview with Gandy Guerrera and his son. 12.06.15)

I asked whether they ever worked together and he responded that "they should but they don't as far as [I] know". He added quickly that he does not do his music for the GNPD; he does it for the people, to create a sense of identity because, without identity, you are nothing. We drifted to talking about the way that UNESCO divides heritage into cultural, natural and mixed, and Gandy suggested that it is harder for people to connect to nature because it's already there, whereas cultural heritage is made by other people, and so more tangible. This implies that the strata of cultural heritage are more easily perceived than those of natural heritage; perhaps the rhythms of the events that become the strata are on a more human scale. Like Viviana, he insisted that people need to connect to their place, which is why in Galápagos they need to connect to nature: that is what is there: in Quito it is not so important as their identity is aligned with the city and its cultural heritage, but one has to take care of what you have, nature or culture. He tells me that he thinks that eventually Galápagos should be a cultural World Heritage site as well "but that people need to earn it." Our final discussion is around the concept of World Heritage Sites "becoming vibrant strands in the life of their communities." His son translated:

> He wishes it was like that, but it doesn't happen. Unfortunately there are big companies, tour operators and such, they start taking over the places and maybe hiring the people there, but most of the money goes out, it doesn't stay… It's basically used for development, it's not like to share time or experience, it's just being used as a resource for big organizations. You would have to change the system totally, and politically and socially as well, you would have to get people involved and that's not an easy job… There are good intentions but not enough people to complain and start doing something about it. (Interview with Gandy Guerrera and his son. 12.06.15)

More emergent examples of creating a Galápagos Culture can be seen in the creative work that Iván has been involved with, including the band *Arkabuz*, which he co-founded. Ecuadorian organization 'Mis Bandas Nacionales' (MBN) awarded *Arkabuz* with *Best Revelation Honor Band* in 2007 and *Best Album Production of the Year* in 2008. The band created and popularized their version of a Galápagos culture across the whole of Ecuador and beyond, based on the band members' love of surfing and celebrating simple pleasures like being close to the environment with its other life forms, as well as their perception that Galápagos lacked class divisions in comparison to the mainland:

> Yeah, it was the Galápagos culture, so that was what we also wanted to show, because something that crashed on us… when we went to the mainland… we saw how there's all these different social classes on the mainland, so people going to certain events or places to see something, but if you have this other school that there's all these rich kids going then they go to different things, so we wanted to like also break that, and show in the Galápagos for example I was playing… with the son of the Mayor and also the son of the fisherman, and it's the same, like here, we don't have things like that. (Interview with Iván Vazquez. 26.05.15)

They named their first album *Vive Libre* (*Live Free*), Galápagos being free from 'danger' unlike the cities on the mainland where robbery, theft and crime occurred:

> another part of the concept was like how in the Galápagos we don't have all the danger that you always hav[e] in the mainland, so we went to Quito… you always have these like people being scared and always being like careful because somebody can come and rob you, and things like that, we didn't have to worry about that at all here… and also the freedom that we were always like the four of us we were always very connected to nature here, and when we were starting practising with the band we used to do it in a place that was on the waterfront, and we were like playing and then going in front, to the beach over there,[38] and that influenced a lot in the band and the style of the band as well, and I think that like the concept of Vive Libre was kind of like a reflection of that, like being free to live in a simple way, we still didn't have anything really big like houses or any big material things, and like enjoying and really having that for us like plenty life from being here. (Interview with Iván Vazquez. 26.05.15)

38 Their place was next to the playground near the main beach in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno where there was a large colony of Galápagos Sea Lions

One way that they represented their ethos was by wearing only 'artisanal' Ecuadorian plimsolls, which were previously associated with fishing and school sports, and became an essential fashion item amongst their fans:

> So all these things we were talking about… through our music… but mostly like how we performed on the stage. So we were wearing these shoes, and that was something that immediately people started looking at and kind of being curious of, saying 'why are you wearing that?' And that's when we were saying in the interviews this is the reason why, and then it was so funny because after that it became so trendy in the mainland that all the very like expensive schools, high schools like the kids from these high schools, were wearing these same shoes, and they were painting them, and then a big shop in Quito… they started painting them in different designs or different things and selling out that a lot, so it was like we created a style on the whole mainland as well that was very interesting. (Interview with Iván Vazquez, 26.05.15)

All of this demonstrates ideas of the band as artists working with the *echos-monde,* creating resonance, sharing and so stratifying their world-views. He told me that there was no formal music sector in Ecuador and so they did not have access to record labels or production companies. They had to produce, promote and distribute all their own records, arrange all their gigs themselves, and rely on personal contacts for promotion, design, image, and concept, despite being one of the most popular bands in the country. This gave them a lot of freedom, but was also very hard work. Iván also talked about the proliferation of piracy in the country, with little regulation or enforcement:

> it's so ironic that we have the Ministry of Culture in Quito, the big building and below the building at the side you have this little store of people selling pirate CDs and DVDs, so imagine if it's like that how can you really get to fight against that. (Interview with Iván Vazquez. 26.05.15)

Like other industries, the music industry territorializes and deterritorializes; there are advantages in both, and holes are created through these processes, which some artists manage to make resonate. *Arkabuz* succeeded in developing a 'Galápagos culture' and exported this to the rest of the country, potentially changing the perception of the islands and their inhabitants and changing behaviours, although more research would need to be done to explore this.

If *Arkabuz* was a way of exporting culture from Galápagos, the *Beagle Festival* was a way of importing it and widening the cultural offer in the islands. In 2009, the year of the bicentenary of Darwin's birth, Iván and his siblings held their first *Beagle Festival*. Iván told me that it was conceived as a way of importing culture to the islands and, through that, developing and promoting the culture of San Cristóbal. He and the rest of his family wanted to bring some of what he had experienced through his father's art practice and

involvement with the Casa de la Cultura[39] to the islands, to show a different way of doing things, and to connect residents with their place. He was frustrated by the excitement that his peers displayed in a materialist capitalist way of life imported from the US and the mainland; for instance, discussing the cars they would bring to the islands despite there only being one road and practically everywhere being within walking distance or a $1 taxi ride. Tourism mushroomed on the islands while he and his siblings were growing up and they could see that the culture of the islands and the expectation of the tourists were not a good match. They had, he commented, been brought up to love and respect their environment, to observe and be part of it:

> when I was a kid I saw so many times how people were throwing stones to the sea lions on the beach… I remember once I saw a guy that… tried to throw a stone to a sting ray that was right on the shore, and I was, imagine, I was so upset out of that, and you couldn't do much, because most of the people having that mentality, and there was a lot of trash all over the place, and the waterfront was a really ugly concrete waterfront, like building, and there were benches made out of concrete, and these benches were facing the street as well not the ocean, so it was something like really crazy… and people were like drinking a lot in that place because it was also very dark the waterfront back then, and it was just like very stinky because of people peeing there and a lot of glass from the broken bottles and things like that, I would say it was a really ugly town… so there was this completely different… vision of the island, because it wasn't touristic at all back then, it was mostly, most people would fish, or work in public institutions, you would see the cruise ship coming… [and] when you saw tourists it was like 'oh tourists!' exciting to see something, somebody different… and people started to change their behaviour and like having to take better care of the island and then kind of like understanding things, but there were a lot of things missing a lot of like big processes of work to do, so that's when like I thought because I was older and have learned a lot of things… so then I thought let's create something or some way to show people through arts that they can love the place and they can take care of the place as well (Interview with Iván Vazquez. 26.05.15)

Iván was a musician, his sister Belen was a dancer and clothes designer, his brother David was a visual artist and clothes designer and Adrian was a photographer, film-maker and spokesperson, and worked more on the management and development side of the Festival. They programmed the festival themselves, bringing in people who inspired them and diversifying the cultural offering for the residents. The Festival ran in 2009, starting with weeks of workshops with young people making recycled paper and then turning this paper into books featuring their own conservation themed stories and paintings of Galápagos, and dancing workshops with Belen and her business partner Monica Lopez. This led up to a final day with performances from *Arkabuz*, Hugo Idrovo, body painting by Fabo

[39] His father, Fabo Vazquez, was one of the first Directors of the Casa de la Cultura on the islands in the 1990s, and a good friend of Magno Bennett.

Vazquez, and a fashion show featuring David and Belen's Galápagos inspired designs. It ran again but slightly smaller in 2011 and again in 2012 featuring artists from the mainland, by which time it had become more formalized and was run through the Mitigal Foundation. Again, the move from an emergent project responding to a perceived need, resonating a gap in the islands' cultural offer, to a more stratified organization proved difficult and also, as David moved to the UK and the needs of the other siblings changed, the festival became more and more difficult to manage. They worked towards making it international in 2014, but the original energy behind it had been lost to a degree, and funding proved difficult to secure as audience numbers were small, many of the organizations that had supported them such as the CGG were changing, and the oil prices had dropped so there was less money in the country as a whole. Iván commented in 2018:

> We couldn't be happier about the result [of the 2012 festival] and potential of the project that we had finally recovered. However, after a few months from the festival the downfall came. We started to have big disagreements with the rest of the people involved through the foundation. Different interests started to come out and fundamental differences in goals and the process. Added to this, the financial aspect took place one more time. Now it wasn't about debt, but mostly about having to sustain ourselves economically while trying to make this a permanent project to sustain. It was just too many barriers and we closed the partnership with MITIGAL and the project basically ended there. Belen continues to work with culture not through a personal project like the Beagle, but with Casa de la Cultura. I moved to the US and am currently studying film, David continues to do his jewellery work in the UK and Monica moved back to Israel with her husband so the dancing academy closed. (Personal communication, 16.04.18)

This, alongside my discussion with Gandy, illustrates an ongoing difficulty for artists in capitalist social structures, historically the dominant culture of internationalism. As their work becomes stratified and growth is required in order to fit with capitalist ideals, its properties change. Gaining resources for it without compromising its values, especially where these conflict with capitalist ideals, either of the state or of commercial sponsors, proves difficult. What started as 'minor' art becomes 'major,' requiring a move towards the strata of established cultures and the constraints that this can bring with it.[40]

Finally, during the last few days of my fieldwork, I took the inter-island ferry to Puerto Villamil, Isla Isabela's main town, a much smaller community on a much larger island, to get a feel for how it differs from Puerto Ayora and Puerto Baquerizo Moreno. Magno suggested I contact his colleague Mari, and she agreed to help me with translation and to arrange accommodation in some chalets belonging to a friend of the Vazquez's that were

[40] See current debates around sponsorship in the arts in the UK, outlined for example in Arts Professional 25th, 26th and 27th April 2018 www.artsprofessional.co.uk/news/arts-sector-fears-being-too-poor-refuse-unethical-donations.

currently occupied by Pablo and Xiomara, performing artists and educators from mainland Ecuador who were setting up a youth arts project there. They had come initially to present the idea of their project, which aims to establish a performing arts group to demonstrate a creative teaching and learning model that contrasts with the tendency of state education to present facts rather than facilitate discovery. They then returned for three months to get the classes going and begin the process of enskilling enough people to continue it without them. When I met them, they were on their third visit, following up this work, and explained that their model:

> is a good tool… for making people conscious of their environment, and also because it works directly with people's minds, it opens other dimensions that let people think further than just go from home to work or work to home, they start to think of other different things… it's like the search for knowing yourself, and once you go that way, you are automatically conscious of your environment… everybody that comes to these activities, everybody brings something and takes something with him, and even if you only work with ten people and only shape deeply one person, it's enough, it's something really big that you can do with art. (Interview with Pablo and Xiomara. 16.06.15)

We went on to talk about World Heritage and what this does for conservation, and they shared that:

> The name of World Heritage site, maybe has provoked not what we would like to do, like that's such a big word, that makes sure that everything has been told like an order, like an imposition from government, from the conservation people who are always telling you what you have to do and you have to do this and respect, and that causes a barrier for people that, even if it's a good thing that they're telling you to do, you don't want to do because they tell you all the time, so if you live in a place like this then people refuse that idea… Names don't do anything if you don't work in education because if the system just makes you go and do what you have to do, like it's designed for you not to think, just work and be a good slave, don't think, just do it, then it doesn't work, and even though they don't tell you what it means, world heritage, you won't ask because you're not interested, the only thing you're interested in is in surviving and people will just keep on doing anything to survive. (Interview with Xiomara and Pablo. 16.06.15)

This further illustrates my previous point about the difficulty with 'minor' art becoming 'major,' influencing the perception of and ability to work with the 'holes' between the strata of cultures and the smooth space. Xiomara suggests that organizations such as governments, and, to a degree, UNESCO create systems that desire "good slaves," people who are trapped in the strata like lifeless fossils, the logic being that therefore they will not be able to deterritorialize. They went on to tell me that, for future conservation efforts to be more effective, what is needed is better communication between organizations and individuals who are working towards similar goals. In some areas communication models are being developed; for instance, the Participatory Management Board for fisheries now includes extensive consultation on the Management Plan, which includes the islands'

human residents as well as the non-human ones. Yet there was still a sense from Xiomara and Pablo that:

> everybody's concerned with protecting or conserving Galápagos… meaning animals and plants and ecosystems, but not really work with people, and that definitely produces people [who] are not happy with that, because they don't feel that the government or nobody is taking care of them, only the other living beings that are in the island; there's a lot of attention in Galápagos as a special place you have to take care of it, but what about the rest of the world, the rest of the country? (Interview with Pablo and Xiomara, 16.06.15)

This highlights the gap between rhetoric and practice, which has led to some protected areas being dubbed 'paper parks.' In Galápagos much has been done to address this, but more is yet to be done. As Valeria pointed out, the precedent set by decades of conservation work that has focused on the non-human populations, and at times been hostile to the human ones, has made this perception of conservation more entrenched and difficult to address. Layer upon layer of practice that excludes humans and objectifies non-humans has created solid strata with which connection is difficult.

One of the last interviews that I did before leaving the islands was with Hugo Idrovo, both a well-known musician in Ecuador (and father of two of the other members of *Arkabuz*), and Director of the Ministry of Culture in the Galápagos. Due to time constraints, this interview was structured differently; he requested that I ask one or two questions, he would answer in Spanish, and Iván could translate to me afterwards, and so I have no direct quotes. I first asked him about his perception of the interaction between nature and culture in the islands, and whether he worked strategically with the Ministry of the Environment to support conservation efforts. He said that there was a historical issue that needed to be addressed, primarily that initially people had come to the islands to extract resources, for instance whaling, and latterly farming with the encouragement of the government, and that conservation had initially been driven by organizations from other parts of the globe. The beginning of a culture had developed later, and separately from conservationists who were seen and saw themselves as different from the colonizers, with their own cultures. He explained that the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Environment do not formally work together, but that the Ministry of Culture under his direction does undertake creative environmental projects that encourage creative teaching and learning, for instance taking people out into the National Park and facilitating their creative responses to the experience. To demonstrate this, we were invited into the next room to attend the ceremony that marked the end of such a project in which children had written and illustrated stories about their place in the islands, and were shown some of the booklets that they had produced. These were very imaginative, and had clearly engaged the participants in the agency of

their environment, encouraging a questioning of their place within this context and empathy with, perhaps even attunement to, the narratives of other life forms. He had chosen not to formalize, that is stratify, the work that was needed, but to do it on his own terms, to allow it to emerge. It left me wondering which Ministry would achieve more conservation outcomes in the long term.

Following on from the comments that Gandy, Pablo and Xiomara had made, I asked Hugo whether he had any plans to explore the possibility of adding cultural heritage to the World Heritage inscription as had been done in St Kilda, as such a project would need to be led by the Ministry of Culture. He responded that he was working on the cultural development and understanding of the place first; that he thought that the culture could not be designated yet because so many residents were transient, and so did not respect or have much understanding or knowledge of the place or identify with the culture here. Until their behaviour reflected a deeper connection with the non-human life of the archipelago, it would be a waste of time. He also talked about the entrenched position of the conservation organizations and charities that would be likely to see this move as a threat to their income streams and power base, meaning that they would not want to lose control of the narrative of the islands as a 'paradise in peril,' since it formed the basis upon which they raised a significant proportion of their funding. The model that is mobilized by the stratified culture of conservation in the islands maintains control over the narrative of the islands and their residents, both human and non-human. Again the metaphor of territorialization and deterritorialization can be mobilized. I expected the work of a Ministry to be highly hierarchical and stratified, but in the face of a strong moral narrative of residents and their culture being a threat to conservation, he perceived that the best way of working is action in the form of small and subtle deterritorializations, working with young people and gently changing the culture of the islands through informal processes. The addition of culture to the designation would be too constraining for this approach to work and the political will for it did not exist in 2015.

In talking to cultural development practitioners in Galápagos the salient point that emerges is that maintaining an ongoing connection with both territorializing culture and deterritorializing creativity is challenging. As dominant strata or narratives, for instance the threat by human population of the islands, are encouraged to connect with other conflicting narratives, such as developing a Galápagueño culture, dischords rather than harmonies continue to dominate. Arts practices change the framing of the threat to the islands, but as a new culture emerges, arts practice becomes cultural development, minor

arts are stratified. An acceptance of deterritorialization as part of an emergent culture remains difficult as the islands continue to be drawn into cultures of internationalism and globalization through a perceived dependence on the funding, but also knowledge bases, to which this shift gives access.

Creative Conservation: Attunement to a More-Than-Human Galápagos

A different culture of connecting with the rest of the planet is perhaps offered by a non-human model. Whales traverse the globe, passing through the Galápagos archipelago as the currents bring nutrients up towards the surface of the ocean. The tectonic plates cover the surface of the planet, and the mantle is liquid and flows around the earth, making islands over the hot spots that allow it to reach the surface. Due to the experiences of the months before fieldwork, and the uncertainty around my relationship with the GNPD and conservation sector, I was anxious and my emotions were turbulent during my fieldwork. In order to focus attention on the sensory experience of the islands, attune to the constant unfolding of life on them in the present, I meditated every day, bringing my attention to the experience of being where I was. Building on the discussion around methodologies in my introduction, here I discuss in more depth what this and other methodologies of attunement achieved in terms of perceiving a more-than-human Galápagos addressing the implications of this for a creative conservation. First, I look to a route that my guide book implied was used as much by residents as tourists. It said:

> For nice swimming and snorkelling, head to this water filled crevice in the rocks. Talented and fearless locals climb the nearly vertical walls to plunge gracefully (and sometimes clumsily) into the water below. (*Lonely Planet*, Ecuador and the Galápagos Islands 2012: 301)

I then change elements, and describe sea routes, both in and on the water. In both cases I was hoping to engage as many senses as possible with non-human life, and attune myself to its creativity and culture.

Las Grietas, Santa Cruz

White route: Puerto Ayora to Las Grietas - walking, boat, walking, swimming, walking

The direct translation of Las Grietas from Spanish is 'the cracks, crevices or fissures.' I was drawn by the reference to 'locals,' having been told that local people interacted less with the National Park than might be expected because the vast majority of the islands and all of the surrounding sea are so highly designated. I went there twice, once with Matt to explore the route and swim, and once on my own with the intention of applying expanded listening and sensing, by recording the experience both in sound and in pictures.

Figure 50 (and 28): Three routes out of Puerto Ayora that I explored during my stay. The Blue route to Tortuga Bay, the white route to Las Grietas, and the orange route to the CDRS. Image: google maps, edited by author.

On the initial encounter we walked to the jetty where we had caught the boat to San Cristóbal on our first day. We walked around the sea lions lounging on the benches and walkways with their strong smell of fish, and the tourists crowding round them to take photographs. At the bottom of one of the ramps we found the water taxi that took us across the bay to the Angermeyer landing point, a well-established hotel and restaurant, and access point for the developments to the west of the town centre. On the water taxi, or *panga*, we passed some rocks with graffiti on them on the south side of the bay before travelling west to the drop off point. The graffiti was white and white guano also stained the rocks where sea birds, probably blue footed boobies, nested on the ledges. Bird and human marks mixed together on the dark igneous rocks, recording the stories of their presence and interactions over time, framing, territorializing them, and as the wind, rain and sea deterritorialized them, reterritorializing them again. Layer upon layer of human and bird culture stratifying on the surface of the rocks, themselves Le Guin's "atemporal cold volcanic poetry" telling their own story of the eruptive volcanic origins of the island, bursting through the hot spot in the earth's crust (figure 52).

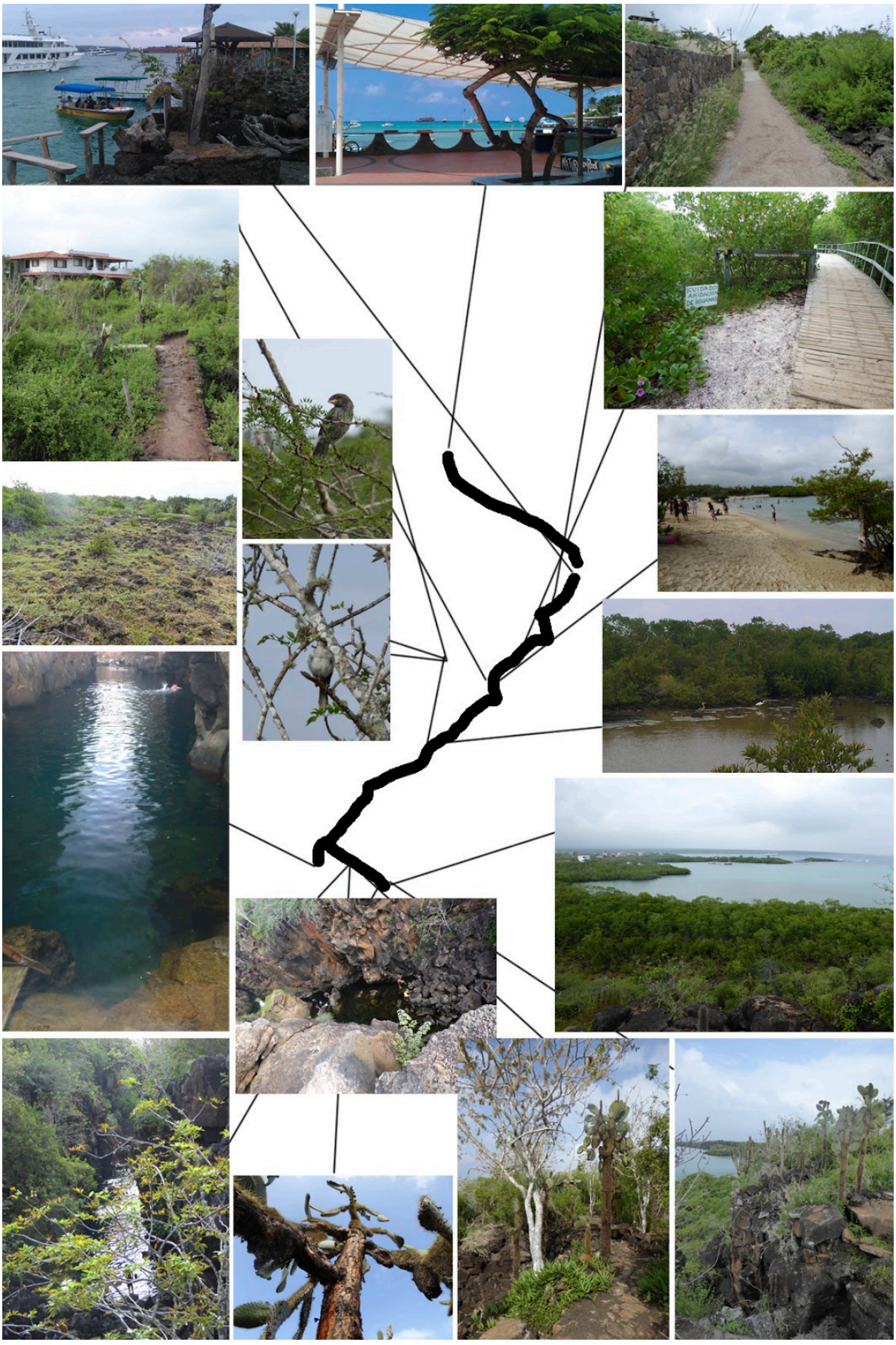

Figure 51: White route: Central Puerto Ayora to *Las Grietas*. Compilation of author's own photographs.

Figure 52: Graffiti and guano adorning the rocks to the west of Academy Bay. 6 June 15. Photo: author's own.

At Angermeyer point we climbed out of the boat onto a wooden landing platform and followed the sandy path along the side of the hotel, past some more walls and buildings, and down to the first of a series of small brackish lakes where the path turned left. The buildings petered out here and the slightly elevated path took us through a brackish swamp with mangrove trees growing out of it and brought us out onto a wooden walkway. Here there were two signs, one requesting to keep the area clean, and the other to 'Watch out! Iguanas nesting' (¡Cuidado!, anidacion de iguanas). The walkway curved onto a sandy beach, known as the German's Beach (Playa los Alemanes) in front of a hotel with a swimming pool. On both visits, there were twenty or thirty people on the beach or in the sea, snorkelling, playing, and sunbathing in groups of various sizes, including families. We walked along the back of the beach and rejoined a path that took us past another small brackish lake with a café offering ice creams and cold drinks and over a little mound to another larger lake surrounded by swamp with small trees growing around the edges. On both sides of the wooden walkway that traversed the lake were many birds,

including great blue herons, egrets, finches and mocking birds. We had heard birdsong periodically as we walked, but had only seen one bird until this point.

The path then became more rocky and started to climb through a more arid landscape with prickly pears and spiny shrubs, again full of mockingbirds and various kinds of finches, and after a few hundred metres we saw a woman with a National Park uniform and clip board who asked us to fill in our details. We could see that there was a path down to the water, and behind her was another path, which we asked her about. She told us it was a lovely walk. We were hot after walking in the midday sun, so went down to the water first. From the edge we could see large turquoise parrot fish and, once in, silver mullet and tiny dogfish in the clear salty water. There were around ten other people in the pool or at the edge. We only had one mask and snorkel, and were wary of leaving things unattended on the rocks, so I changed and dived into the water first, swimming until I reached a wall of stones. I returned and gave the snorkel and mask to Matt, then sat on the rocks drying out and watching people come and go, including a couple who told me they were on their honeymoon, a couple of groups of friends who appeared to be locals, another Naturalist Guide, and, as we left, a group of school children led by some friendly adults. We then followed the wooden platforms and steps back to the warden and followed the other path which, from the map, appeared to lead to the sea.

From here we could see that the water extended far beyond where I had swum to, with further deep pools and rocky barriers. There were people climbing along and swimming in most of the pools, their shouts and splashes echoing around the rocky walls. The path followed the top of the crevice and was lined with vegetation, so we could not see much of the view to begin with and the air was hot and still, but the trees on our left cleared a little after about fifty metres, revealing that we were in actual fact well above sea level. When we reached the end of the path there were views out over Puerto Ayora and beyond, and we could see that we were on a wooded escarpment. As well as the birds, there were lizards warming their reptilian bodies on the rocks along the path and fallen *Opuntia* trees that were decomposing, revealing a fibrous structure inside, rather than the anticipated wood. Their unexpected interior world signalled the strangeness of our surroundings to me once more. We followed the path, retracing our steps back down to the Angermeyer landing point where we waited, watching pelicans as they landed on the roof of the neighbouring building. The *panga* arrived after a few minutes and we headed back to our hotel, where we showered the salt off our skin.

Figure 53: Fallen Opuntia tree decomposing to reveal not wood as I had expected but a complex fibrous structure. 6 June 15. Photo author's own.

The second visit, about a week later, was an excursion into sensing the site and representing that experience through photography, description and sound. I went back across on the *panga*, and alighted once again at the Angermeyer, and switched on the sound recorder, re-tracing my steps up to Las Grietas. It was cloudier this time, and there were fewer birds. Several times I walked past people who immediately apologised for talking, assuming that I was trying to record the 'natural' sounds of the route rather than just what sounds were there. This prompted me to think about how we edit during the process of recording and representation; a representation always being a way of communicating not only our experience, but our desired experience of a place, again reflecting a stratified opinion of what we think it should be as well as what it is. When I reached the end of the gorge, I switched off the sound recorder and swapped it for my camera, re-tracing my steps back to the jetty trying to capture the route in pictures. There were not too many people on the way back, except for on the beach and in the more built up areas of the walk, but again I wondered about capturing and representing them. Somehow capturing their images felt more intrusive than capturing their voices. The experience of expanding the palette of senses with which I engaged in the walk, and consciously recording these senses, made me far more observant of what was there. It also

kept me focused on how it might be experienced by the other life forms with which I shared it, and how we were all interacting with and so co-producing the space.

In addition to walking, I experienced the physical structure and life forms of the archipelago on or in the water, on boats and snorkelling. As most of the area of the World Heritage site is marine, these excursions into the foreign habitats of many of the endemic species were invaluable. As is clear from my account of Las Tijeretas in chapter four, this was a different sensory experience. The experience of travelling through space and time, and co-producing my environment with other species and the rocks, ocean and weather was like walking in some ways, and very different in others. Here it was hard to forget that I was out of place, out of my depth, needing equipment to breathe, a foreigner in an alien world. The sensations were sometimes those of physical exertion, sometimes more like flying, drifting along on the currents, lifted by the waves, or just floating and watching a drama unfold beneath the misleadingly reflective 'surface' of the sea. Like a one-way mirror, the 'surface' is deceptive in its apparent flat lifelessness. In terms of life and its conservation there could be nothing further from the truth. I was surprized every time I put my head under the surface just how teeming it was with life and consequent dramas, and lost track of time and the responsibilities of fieldwork regularly, the sensation of flying through the cool water and rhythm of breathing relaxing my painful body and soothing my anxiety, carrying me away into another world.

I went snorkelling every two or three days, both around the beaches of the towns, and on tourist excursions, which also gave me some insight into the experience of being a tourist. The three excursions were first from Santa Cruz to Pinzon island, during which there were three separate snorkels, the first and last being on the steep underwater slopes of the volcano where I saw my first white tip shark and explored a cave alongside an acrobatic young sea lion. The second was in the sandy shallows between a tiny islet and the main island, where we came across three Galápagos penguins zipping around together like the three musketeers, their movements in unison as they dived, explored, hunted and surfaced. From the boat on the way home we saw giant manta rays leaping out of the water, disturbing the horizon between the flat sea and arching sky, reminding us of the liveliness of the depths under us; blurring definitions of the surface of the earth and scaling the littoral zone to the size of the planet.

Figure 54: Green turtle and tourist (above), and (below) green turtle with tourists. Mangroves near *Los Tuneles*. South coast of Isla Isabela. Galápagos. 14 June 15. Photos: courtesy of Rosedelco Tour Company, Puerto Villamil, Isla Isabela.

The second excursion was from Isabela around the south coast to *Los Tuneles*, and again we had three snorkels, the first with huge green turtles, the second around some rocks further out to sea that were the habitat for a large colony of Galápagos penguins and seahorses, and finally we pulled into *Los Tuneles* and explored the pools, caves, bridges and arches of the honeycombed rock alongside more turtles, rays, and huge numbers of blue-footed boobies that were just starting to nest on the rocks. It was the turtles that resonated with me on this occasion, their heads as big as ours, making me wonder what was going on inside them; was it as complex as the thoughts and feelings whirling around in mine? What did they think about the propylene clad masked beings that had invaded their world?

Although the images in figure 54 show to my mind an invasion, the turtle seeming to be attempting to escape, at the time the turtles appeared just to get on with their business gently moving around this productive habitat and continuing to feed. Whilst for me getting into a different habitat, a different element is productive for experiencing, interacting with and attuning to a more-than-human world, the repetitive practice of science in monitoring the impact of this human presence in terms of the behaviours of the turtles provides an equally important insight into non-human worlds. We were at the edge of the mangroves, their roots providing shelter for many species of fish, including dancing shrimps and shark nurseries. These are ancient rhizomatic plants, both literally littoral, always on the edge, not quite land or sea, but connecting habitats through a liminal maze of entangled root systems, illustrating Deleuze and Guattari's ideas of assemblage and rhizomatic thought. Glissant also talks of rhizomes, alongside islands and the littoral:

> The edge of the sea thus represents the alternation (but one that is illegible) between order and chaos. The established municipalities do their best to manage this constant movement between threatening excess and dreamy fragility. (1990 [1997]: 121-22)

This made me wonder whether rhizomatic thought always needs to be on the edge: where arboreal thought represents the strata of culture, can rhizomatic thought exist on its own, or is it always in relation to the arboreal? In a personal communication with Robert MacFarlane about arboreal thought, he pointed out to me that even trees are rhizomatic, connected underground by mycorrhizal fungi. Whilst the models of arboreal and rhizomatic thought are useful, it seems it comes back once again to connection rather than binaries.

My final snorkelling excursion was nearly cancelled after the inter-island ferry that I had caught the previous day from Santa Cruz to San Cristóbal had entered into a race with

another boat in a big swell. Every time we hit a wave, I was thrown into the air and met with a smack by the bench lurching up on the next wave. After about thirty minutes, I asked the captain to slow down a little, as I was scared of being thrown overboard. He slowed down to listen to me, then revved the engine, and a few minutes later we hit a particularly large wave and, as I twisted around to hang on, cracked my back on the side of the boat over the back panel of my life jacket. I spent the rest of the journey lying on the floor in agony, with a deeper understanding of the power and indifference of the sea, the currents and the wind (and the boat's captain). On arrival I was taken straight to hospital, where I was told, to my great relief, that swimming and snorkelling would help it to heal. I was then given several analgesic injections and some strong pain-killers to take home. I woke up at 4am the next day, forced down some food to buffer the pain-killers and set out for the dock as the sun rose, excited about finally visiting *Leon Dormido,*[41] known as Kicker Rock in English, a tuff cone off the west coast of San Cristóbal famous for its diversity of prolific marine life. The following is an excerpt from my journal:

> [The tour organizer] introduced the guide for the day, Jorge, who led me over to the other two and down onto the boat. There were only the three of us in this group. I explained that I had had a bit of a problem with my back and was worried a bit about the boat trip, but as he pointed out the sea was absolutely flat and I needn't have worried about it at all. We travelled out of the harbour and he said that boats yesterday had seen whales and that we would try to see these from the boat before our snorkel. We travelled past Playa Mann, Playa Carolla, and Las Tijeretas and on along the coast. It was lovely to see all of these places from the sea, and it made sense of the paths that we had explored earlier.
>
> After about 30 or 40 minutes we arrived near to the rock and were told that we were just going to have a look for the whales. I opted to climb up the vertical ladder on the side of the boat to sit on the roof and get a better view, and the sailor[42] came up with me. We sat and watched. It was still early, and the sun wasn't too strong. The sea was flat and a deep blue, and I kept thinking I might have seen something, and then the sailor spotted a whale. We watched and I tried to photograph it, and then we realized that there were actually three of them, and that one was a calf. Amazing! We continued to watch them as they surfaced and caught their breath from a few metres away. It was a family of humpback whales. After a while we headed away from them towards the rock to travel round it and see it from the boat before we got into the water. There were Nazca and blue footed boobies nesting, and we kept seeing things in the water, that I thought were dolphins or shark fins or something, but turned out to be turtles. We went round the west side of the rock and came to a halt next to the channel that divided the north rock from the more substantial southern half. There was a family of sea lions playing between us and the channel, leaping out of the water and chasing each other around.

[41] The direct translation is Sleeping Lion due to its shape

[42] On all boat excursions there were three members of staff, the Captain, the Sailor, and the Naturalist Guide.

> We talked through the plan, and Jorge jumped in. I followed and swam towards the rock looking through the mask at the great schools of fish below. The visibility was amazing, possibly 20m, and everything seemed so clear. I spotted something odd in the water and realized that it was a hair band so I reached out for it and offered it to Jorge who had lost it when he jumped in. Iván and Katherine followed us into the water. Katherine was a nervous swimmer, so she had brought a life ring in with her, which Jorge and Iván towed. We swam towards the channel together. There were so many brightly coloured fish down the vertically sloping sides of the rocks as they reached for the sea bed. It was shallow in the channel, and we could see some black tip sharks at the bottom, although they were a bit blurred. I tried to dive down a bit so I could see them better, and regretted having asked for a wet suit as I found it very hard to get down far. We could see a hammerhead shark, and an eagle ray just about as well as the black tips, and then a large turtle.
>
> We came out of the channel and into the open water on the eastern side of the rocks and started to swim north round the rock. There were a lot of turtles here, hanging out alone and in pairs. You could see one almost in every direction at times. Then I noticed skip-jack tuna whizzing around below, and soon realized that they were herding fish and pushing them up towards the surface, quite close by. Turtles were swimming through the shoal, and then a Galápagos shark, followed by several other Galápagos sharks. It was such a display of life on a grand scale I was mesmerised. Of course my camera ran out of film at that point. We swam on and I drifted a little way from the others who stayed close to the rock. I was watching more turtles and then a sea lion appeared underneath me. He lay on his back about half a metre away facing me for a few seconds, looking me right in the eye, and then leant forward, blew bubbles in my face and darted off. I started to swim towards the group and he came back over and behaved just like a dog who wants to play, hunching up and then swimming off and circling round. We swam around each other to the group and as we reached the group Jorge realized what was happening and started to dive down and blow bubbles at the sea lion. We all swam around each other for a few minutes and then the sea lion dived and disappeared. The other two wanted to get out, and I wanted to stay in for as long as possible so Jorge and I carried on, I saw another shark, but nothing like what we had seen earlier, and our time was up. The next group wanted to get in, and the national park authority like to keep numbers down, so we climbed up the ladder and set off for the shore.

These experiences of visiting a world with completely different dramas and stories, narratives on different scales to the more human terrestrial ones, gave me another perspective on conservation. The aesthetic experience of water on the skin, the sounds of my breathing and the occasional boat passing, the kaleidoscopic sights of fish and other creatures defending their territories, hunting, grooming, farming, gave me insight into the creative and cultural worlds that are 'protected' by the World Heritage Convention. Here this protection has allowed these creatures to carry out their daily activities, to breed and not have their habitats destroyed by trawlers, or their families killed as by-catch. I had heard tales of whaling, killing these majestic ocean giants in order to feed human markets for lamp oil, cosmetics and perfume, gladly now almost extinct practices. Indeed, Herman

Melville's novel *Moby Dick* is said to have been inspired by Melville's own travels as a sailor on whaling boats in the Pacific, including a visit to Galápagos.

The practice of catching sharks, however, cutting off their fins and returning the corpses to the sea was still a battle to be won at the edge of the marine reserve, as the enforcement of the protections that it offered remained ambitious with the resources available. Watching the dramas unfold reinforced what I had already come to believe: that all living things have culture, communicate to each other, learn traditional ways of doing things, and harness creativity in some way. They territorialize and frame their worlds, and in so doing express the excessive and intensify chaos. The varying scales of all of these things, both geographically and temporally, did not make them any less real than human framings. The whales dropping in to feed their young, the algae growing and being harvested by marine iguanas, and the sea lion inviting me to play were all real cultures, just as much as the people swimming at Las Grietas or photographing the sea lions on the jetties and *malecons*. The volcanos, tectonic mobility, ocean currents and weather, whilst perhaps not culture as it has been understood previously, still express the earth's excessive forces, and intensify chaos. For conservation to work this expressivity needs the mushrooming human population of the planet to understand, respect and collaborate with them, rather than be exploited. The sea lion seemed to have an understanding of the importance of connecting, of relating. We need to make our home with them; they are our home. Science practice has an important role to play in this, but so too does the attunement and empathy developed in arts practice.

On my return to the UK, I went through all my materials, sorting them out into a day-by-day filing system. I read and re-read my journal accounts, listened and re-listened to my sound files, and looked through my photographs, separating the ones that I liked best from the others. This reinforcement of the experience of being in the field also has a sensory aspect, taking me back to the feeling of being there: with the sounds came smells of a place, or a memory of an emotion that had been stirred. My experience of visiting the islands continues to be shaped by my memories and my representations long after I left them, not least by writing this thesis. The islands haunt me, and I hope my work will haunt them.

Concluding Comments

These three models of creative conservation each provide insight into the shortcomings of conservation as it has been practised historically. The cultural development undertaken by conservation organizations and conservationists remains focused on inclusion rather than integration, on a model of expert knowledge being generously shared with ignorant, maybe even uncivilized, residents. I was told by several people that it was not the role of the GNPD to support cultural development; their primary role was conservation, as though that was somehow a completely separate activity. I was often told in the same sentence that all who work in this archipelago have connected their work to the extraordinary life of the islands. *The National Plan for Good Living* and *The Galápagos Protected Area Management Plan for Good Living* begin to connect with Ecuadorian indigenous peoples' traditional connections to the land through cosmologies like *Pacha Mama*, but are stuck in the hierarchical structure of the state, these explorations being necessarily top-down and resource constrained. The work of cultural development organizations succeeds in connecting humans, residents, conservationists and tourists alike, with other worlds, but as an identity becomes established it stands to lose its connective power: the holey space stratifies, limiting the connection with smooth space and its creativity, which can then become a threat once more. This assumes a path towards a fixed identity, and Glissant's work suggests a different way. In describing an identity that does not rely on the root and filiation with the past, perhaps the identity that will emerge is a baroque identity of movement and connection. Artists and other creative researchers continue to find the holes, connect the smooth and the striated space through their *echos-monde*, pay attention and draw attention to harmonies and dischords. These voices and the ones they translate continue to frame our worlds, what is of value, and how we accommodate and relate to generative forces. The singularities that are used in these framings allow different temporalities, different scales, different values to be heard together, a more 'bottom up' approach. A more plural world emerges and it is this that needs to be better understood in order for a more respectful human culture to materialize, more capable of working with deterritorialization and the *chaos-monde,* and recognizing territorializations rather than getting stuck in them.

If territorializations can be recognized, and so engaged with, perhaps they can be less violent actions of love not war, as suggested by Grosz, and adjusted or altered more productively rather than becoming fixed and so, as the world continues to change, needing to be broken through. By denying the existence of a smooth space, a *chaos-monde*, and

attempting further to rigidify traditions and cultures without recourse to their environments and others in their invisible assemblages, adjustments are forced to be violent. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari introduce the idea of probe-heads:

> Probe-heads are in this sense a move into chaos. Probe-heads are those devices 'that dismantle the strata in their wake, break through walls of significance, pour out of the holes of subjectivity, fell trees in favour of veritable rhizomes, and steer the flows down lines of positive deterritorialization or creative flight' (Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 190). They are, however, not just destructive, but, as the name suggests, productive of other, stranger and more fluid modes of organization: 'Beyond the face lies an altogether different inhumanity: no longer that of the primitive head, but of 'probe-heads'; here, cutting edges of deterritorialization become operative and lines of deterritorialization positive and absolute, forming strange new becomings, new polyvocalities' (Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 190–1). (O'Sulliván 2009: 254)

These notions add another layer to the idea of the artist making societies' holes resonate: perhaps art could be thought of as a gentle probe-head, signalling adjustments rather than implementing them violently. The polyvocalities referred to belong to a new earth, a deterritorialized space. Similarly, Glissant suggests:

> We are circling around the thoughts of Chaos, sensing that the way Chaos itself goes around is the opposite of what is ordinarily understood by "chaotic" and that it opens onto a new phenomenon: Relation, or totality in evolution, whose order is continually in flux and whose disorder one can imagine forever. (1990: 133)

Glissant's poetics of Relation is perhaps a polyvocality, but, rather than providing a structure for a new set of strata to develop as the "strange new becomings" become traditions, it provides a mechanism for structures to be disposed of. Instead, there is movement, a dynamic set of connections twinkling as their constellations come and go. And artists, their art, and in time it can be hoped the art of all life, twinkles as the temporary order and chaos of the morphing constellations are reflected in their *echos-monde.*

When I asked Ros about creative conservation, she told me:

> You know, I think if you go back to the real grass roots of UNESCO… it was pretty visionary what they did. And the people involved in setting up a lot of the programmes here in Galápagos were some of the early visionaries with global experience in best practices and as a collective group they came up with a real vision, that later became known as conservation… And so, that in itself was incredibly creative at the time… And to come up with criteria and to designate certain areas as irreplaceable for different reasons, I think that's incredibly creative, and in that sense, creative management practices is all about being visionary. But you need the creative thinkers to get things happening, and then if you can slowly shake people out of their boxes… So when somebody says 'that's not working' let's think out of the box and let's see, take what's there and how can we make that work for us. Then we'll evolve, and so I think creative management practices go hand in hand with what the Galápagos is famous for… [which] is the evolution of

> processes, the evolution of thinking, the evolution of institutions, and that means they may come or go, ideas will come and go, institutions may come and go, leadership will certainly come and go, but there has to be a constant evolution of the creativity in not just how you express it through arts, but also in how you look at management practices. (Interview with Ros Cameron. 05.06.15)

For someone who both has a lot of experience working with the conservation sector in the islands, and who has been resident in the islands for a long time, with the diverse networks that brings, and a resistance to being a "good slave" captured in the strata, this is encouraging. For an organization or individual to do good work they have to be able to both territorialize and deterritorialize effectively and coherently, to connect the two and to see, appreciate, echo and resonate the constellations that emerge and disappear. Ros went on to tell me that she was planning to stop using the word evolution in conversations, replacing it with change, because of the connotations of the word to many sectors when the message is just as strong using change. It is of note that this moves the term away from the linear ideas of evolution and progress and towards a more open interpretation and chaos. It familiarises ideas of change as being lively and connected rather than threatening.

As I talked to Ros over several hours, a baby marine iguana kept trying to hide in the shade under cars as they stopped opposite the café on the *malecon*. Every now and then we commented on it, or Ros proffered directions across the road at someone to try to move it. The story of the iguana wove through the interview. 'Nature' seeped its way into our complex cultural exchange. Humans disturbed it by building across its nesting site, necessitating crossing a road to get between its burrow and its food source in the sea, and now, as we attune to it, it disturbs us. Ecosystems are disturbing in their agency, but it is this very agency, this vibrant life, that must be valued, respected, collaborated with, or lost. The ideas of 'threat' and the suggestion that conservation needs to consider changing this narrative as laid out here are designed to mobilize support for the conservation effort, but more and more, as we are told that the world is coming to an end, drowning in plastic or being suffocated by methane and carbon dioxide, it is being recognized that they serve to amplify a perceived helplessness rather than a call to action. Artists have a unique skill set in re-connecting people to our environments, and in so doing complement and are vital to the many other ways in which conservation is being carried out.

Chapter 7
Concluding Comments

An Expanded Geopolitics for an Expanded World Heritage

Over the course of this thesis I have aimed to explore firstly UNESCO's division of the world into binaries, specifically natural and cultural World Heritage Sites, and also the continuing coloniality of UNESCO's practices in what is imagined to be an inter-national world. If worlds are imagined as plural and emergent rather than fixed – *a* world rather than *the* world, and every living entity has their own world as well as a shared one – a conflict becomes apparent in the way that UNESCO talks about and designates *the* World Heritage *for* all *people* for all time. This UNESCO designation implies a definitive World Heritage that is threatened and so must be protected and *conserved for people*. I have argued that this rhetoric works to extend a colonial world-view that objectifies our subjective and shared worlds, separating 'us' from 'them' and allowing us to drift away from 'the trouble' rather than staying with it, to paraphrase Haraway (2016). In doing this I have drawn upon and, I hope, contributed to debates around the pluralization of geopolitics, reframing it as a politics of, for and with a lively earth rather than the objective study of the human control of passive territories. Developing this, I have looked at World Heritage as a colonial project acting to conserve a 'world' order in its designations of what counts and what does not count as heritage, and how this is fixed in space through borders, education, community engagement, categories and cartography. Using the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, and others influenced by their work such as Glissant, Grosz, and Bennett, I propose that these are ideas that have built up layer upon layer of practice and become stratified. I argue that this dense stratification works to situate heritage in the past and future and does not necessarily make current practice work for a lively world in the present. These practices need to work *with* people and with life more widely to value it in the present, acknowledging that we have no control over the past except the rhetoric through which it is remembered, and little control over the future. Drawing upon the arguments laid out in the previous chapter, I argue that this densely stratified way of working prevents connections being made between these strata and the infinite possibility of smooth space, and as such represses human and non-human creativity in the present, limiting what can be achieved in terms of conservation, understood as valuing all life(s).

In focusing on UNESCO World Heritage, I have contributed to a growing body of literature around the emergent and processual nature of heritage and the work that it does through concepts such as protection, preservation and conservation, practices that I argue are not able to deliver a 'world' heritage as they presuppose 'the' world is threatened. I propose that this is only one world view, influenced by a classical geopolitics, which has itself emerged from the Enlightenment, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution in one corner of the globe that called itself modern, and more recently 'developed,' to justify its colonization of other territories, rather than acknowledging, accepting and collaborating with plural worlds and world views with humility. UNESCO's history and longevity, whilst bringing political weight to their work, situates its programmes in an organizational structure that at times undermines its ambitions. Whilst it must be acknowledged that it is well placed to encourage international political attention to and support for its programmes, and therefore to and for conservation, and that it facilitated great creativity in imagining and delivering a World Heritage programme, the World Heritage that it now oversees forms a rhizome with the world, and so influences it. This influence is constrained by stratified practicalities such as financial constraints and the striations of current geopolitical practices that in practice still present a binary and vulnerable world. UNESCO's programmes for conserving the cultural and natural World Heritage, then, need to be acknowledged as having the effect of bounding space and stopping time, serving to congeal heritage in an institutional structure that deals in boundaried nations, sites, and wonders of Nature and Culture. It is fitting that this was named 'world' heritage (whose world?), and I would argue that in order satisfactorily to conserve it, this, like geo-politics, needs to be re-thought as global heritage or possibly geo-heritage; that is, a plural emergent heritage of a lively earth rather than a fixed heritage of one of its species, or one culture within one of its species. This move radically changes the supporting structures, institutions and tools that are needed to support its 'conservation,' not only putting the emphasis on the individual or community. If we stop seeing the world as threatened by the other, but rather as incorporating the other, what does this do to conservation? The threat is imagined as being from other people, but often misplaced. Is the 'problem' or 'threat' with a world view, a tradition or culture, or indeed with internal states such as pride, rather than a material world?

I think it is fair to say that UNESCO and many World Heritage Site management organizations and plans acknowledge all of this, and have attempted to incorporate some of these ideas into their practices. Managers of World Heritage Sites now primarily facilitate partnerships that begin to resemble assemblages. These partnerships oversee and often

deliver much of their conservation 'on the ground,' which is a much 'flatter' way of working. Structures like the Participatory Management Board discussed in chapter five allow local groups and organizations to feed into the ongoing management of sites and so are able to be much more connected with the life that they are charged with conserving. However, these practices still feed into a hierarchical international structure of boundaried space, and use their World Heritage Sites to promote imaginary concepts such as national identities to pursue economic notions such as sustainable development rather than focusing on collaborating with the lively earth. This again works to bring World Heritage Sites into a striated system. I argue that perhaps this is the wrong way around; that is, rather than becoming more rhizomatic, it stratifies and striates the liveliness, slots it into existing structures and working methods. By doing so, the liveliness is fossilised, trapped in the strata and frozen in time.

In researching this thesis, I have explored debates around conservation and rewilding, presenting papers in relevant sessions at events such as the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers annual conference in 2015 and 2017. Here I have argued that 'dewilding' is more important than rewilding to the practice of re-worlding, by which I mean acknowledging that the wild is present in all life rather than something that belongs to an uncivilized nature found externally to civilized human beings. The wild *is* creativity, which is in turn a world of chaos, a *chaos-monde*. I argue that, rather than introducing key species into habitats 'over there,' conservation is a geo-political affair.

In attempting to change this classical world view to accept and collaborate with the innate creativity of life, I have turned to artists, arts practice, and arts and culture organizations, with their training and ability to connect and collaborate with the cultural and the creative, and also their capacity to identify the gaps, the contradictions, the tensions and reframe them in their *echos-monde.* I have suggested that this might allow for more productive collaboration with the forces of our worlds than the rigidity of the modern world, and that this might avoid the violence of eruptive forces, such as climate change, driving themselves through the strata. Galápagos, as an island formed by eruptions through the earth's crust, provides a metaphor for this and a literal 'new earth' capable of bringing world views together in respecting all life found there.

In working with as well as on UNESCO and the Galápagos, I have drawn upon ways in which sites can be imagined and represented whilst acknowledging that fieldwork, like life, always takes place in the middle of things and needs to work with what is at hand. I

have chosen to include a lot of my personal journey through this piece of research, as for me it has informed my knowledge production as much as the more 'formal' aspects of academic research. This was in part due to the frustration felt whilst not engaged in academia that there was a world of knowledge and understanding that was beyond my reach and which might have usefully informed my practice. Part of what made this stuff out of reach was my lack of understanding about how this knowledge was produced, so I hope that, in choosing to work openly and reveal my own experience of research, this might allow others to engage with the knowledge that I have co-produced here. In the spirit of collaboration and my co-production of my world, it also seemed to me that this was important in situating what I am writing about and illustrating what my methodologies can and did do. I was especially interested in the singular experience of attuning to my world at that time in that place, in connecting my different senses with my fieldwork; and to utilize these methodologies to their potential, it became clear to me that in order to broaden this back out into something of use to others, I would need to include my experience of working with sound, of listening to my surroundings, of paying attention to other life, alongside remaining alert to what else that was happening in my world. By demonstrating how working flexibly and collaboratively in the middle of things and with what is at hand can enable – and is possibly the only way in which a stratified international world can be productively disrupted to enable – plural worlds to emerge and thrive, I hope that I have contributed something to this personal way of working.

Looking Forward: Towards a Reworlding and Rewording of 'World Heritage'

According to Wikipedia, the word 'world' refers to the human aspects of the planet earth, and stems from old English weorold (-uld), weorld, worold (-uld, -eld), a compound of wer "man" and eld "age," which thus means roughly "Age of Man" [sic]. Interestingly this echoes the far newer (and thankfully less gendered) word Anthropocene, perhaps required because of the implicit plurality of meaning of 'world.' Human geography could then be thought of as world-writing rather than earth-writing, although I argue here for bringing the two together, that they should not be different things, but merely different and complementary approaches. The 'world' is the planet Earth and all life upon it, including human civilization. It can also be the whole of the physical universe as perceived by humans, or the private 'world' of an individual. In Christianity, the 'world' is the material or the profane sphere, as opposed to the celestial, spiritual, transcendent or

sacred spheres. Here a separation is clear once again between God and materiality, bringing a different meaning to the 'Age of Man' than that implied by the Anthropocene, which I would take to refer to a material world in and of itself, rather than as opposing a transcendent sphere. World is brought down to earth by the Anthropocene perhaps.
In Latin the translation is mundus, literally "clean, elegant," stemming from the Greek cosmos, which means "orderly arrangement." Wikipedia goes on:

> While the Germanic word thus reflects a mythological notion of a "domain of Man" (compare Midgard), presumably as opposed to the divine sphere on the one hand and the chthonic sphere of the underworld on the other, the Greco-Latin term expresses a notion of creation as an act of establishing order out of chaos. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World. Accessed 28.06.18)

The French and Spanish words for world, monde and mundial respectively are from this Greco-Latin rather than Old English, and so their meanings are potentially very different. The implication of creation establishing order out of chaos is reminiscent of the philosophy that I have drawn on in this thesis and it is interesting to note that, although not specifically about World Heritage, much of this literature was written in French and translated, with some difficulty, into English. Perhaps this notion of 'world' echoes the involvement of France in setting up UNESCO and providing it with a home. Instead of the universalist ambitions of the early UNESCO, a plurality can be observed. However, as noted above, the practices of UNESCO in attempting to harmonize this multiplicity of worlds in conventions and agreements have the effect of congealing them. I would argue that the facilitation of conversations leading to the agreements are as (perhaps more) important than the agreements themselves, which serve to fix these conversations in time and space, assuming that the world will stand still once agreement is reached. However, the arena for these conversations is maintained by UNESCO in its practice of annual meetings and conferences; and, while this is of great importance, because they attend to the now fixed conventions, they are not free to be as creative as they could be. Indeed, it is argued that they have become more political than practical.

Turning to the heritage in World Heritage, the English word heritage comes from middle French, to inherit, implying the linearity that I have discussed above, but the French and Spanish translations are *patrimonie* and *patrimonio* respectively, and imply patriotism, although with a broader meaning than in English. When speaking to a friend about the translation, she referred me to a song called *Patria* by Ruben Blades in which he sings of *patria*, the homeland, as meaning many different things such as children's laughter, the beauty of trees, the sense of belonging. As with Morton's idea of home mentioned in the last chapter, as related to ecology, that is, sharing a home with other species rather than

making it a fortress from which to exclude others, Blades' homeland or *patria* summons an open idea of home rather than a closed one. The phrase *Patrimonio Mundial* is sometimes used in Spanish, but often World Heritage is translated as *Patrimonio de la Humanidad*, the heritage of humanity, with a different meaning and implications, especially when applied to Natural World Heritage in the ways that I have discussed here. It would be interesting to investigate further what these different understandings do. For now, it will suffice to note the plurality of meanings in World Heritage just in the western European languages that invented the concept, and the implications of this for a more genuinely global project; and, that the use of 'world' brings with it an anthropocentrism. It is a heritage as regarded by, and considered important to, humans, assuming that they are separate from the earth around them.

Also using language to engage critically with meaning, and providing further insight into the understanding of the use of the words in 'world heritage' in the context of UNESCO, an organization focused on influencing 'the minds of men,' Glissant (1990: xiv and 26) talks of the meanings of understanding, *comprendre*, coming from the Latin *con* – with, and *prendere* – to grasp. He points out that this can be, and implies, a territorialization, an ownership, a taking possession. This connects with his notions of identity (and so I would argue heritage) as not a linear filial relation with the past or roots, as in inheritance or heritage, but an opening to the world, what he terms 'giving-on-and-with' (*donner-avec*). Bringing arts into the equation as connecting with these dissonant understandings of heritage, Glissant argues that:

> It is no longer through deepening a tradition but through the tendency of all traditions to enter into relation that this is achieved. Baroques serve to relay classicisms. Techniques of relation are gradually substituted for techniques of the absolute, which frequently were techniques of self-absolution. The arts of expanse relate (dilate) the arts of depth. (1990: 95)

It made me wonder what the Kitchwa translation of world and of heritage might be and what this might reveal about the differences in world views, which led me to discuss how my thesis might link with Kitchwan philosophy with an old friend. She put me in touch with her old friend Don Alverto Taxo, an Ecuadorian Kitchwan Iachak: an elder or healer; one who is seeking a life of harmony. He had recorded a film explaining the basic principles that Kitchwans apply to their lives, in which he outlined that the *Pacha Mama* is all manifestations of life, the whole cosmos, which is present in all life as all life is present in *Pacha Mama*. *Pacha Mama* is the equivalent of God. In their culture, God is:

> part of nature, part of *Pacha Mama* and *Pacha Mama* is part of the great spirit of life… So God exists in all life. God is in the mountains, in the water, in what we eat. Inside each of us is God. We can't say that God is somebody who is above or

> different from the various life forms of mother nature. It's all one… In our culture we do not separate. (www.youtube.com/watch?v=2vvTUt42Nag. Accessed 07.07.15)

Complementing this point, he spoke of the *Ashpha Mama*, which translates as the world in which we live, the mother earth. Heaven is brought down to earth, and into life rather than floating separate and transcendent. The idea of owning life or territory is alien. Wibbelsman (2017) talks of Quechuan material culture, including carved story gourds, which she points out represent some of the ideas of a non-linear story-telling tradition and the utilization of many senses in representing worlds. The gourds and their stories can be felt and heard as well as observed. They lay out the *Ashpha Mama* at the bottom and connect this with the *Pacha Mama* above, although, because the gourds are designed to be turned and discovered, this is not interpreted as being prescriptive or descriptive of a fixed world view. She draws on the work of Howard-Malverde to outline the possibility of a "non-narrativity" in story-telling that leaves conclusions open and allows unpredictability and varied interpretations, implying an entirely different idea of heritage more in keeping with the circular continuum of time prevalent in Andean cultures, where the past meets up with the future (2017: 69-73). There is not, and need not be, a linear beginning, middle and end to stories here. Events take place in the middle of things. Echoing Harrison's (2013) proposition that heritage is dialogical, Rudolff (2014) suggests that conservation is the telling and re-telling of a heritage narrative, this is how a location becomes a place, with an identity that is valuable to its residents. This places conservation as part of the *echos-monde*. My friend suggested that, in Kitchwan culture, a relationship with all other life through the *Pacha Mama* and the *Ashpha Mama* is considered to *be* their heritage. It is, then, interesting that many conservationists perceive the Ecuadorian nationals as continuing to be the greatest threat to the life in Galápagos.

Don Alverto Taxo went on to talk of how some people in the west behave as though they have forgotten that the earth is their mother, exploiting it, and how this is:

> very unharmonious… Modern people have lost the ability to find wisdom in simple things. The culture of big cities aims to complicate their lives and their thinking so they are not able to understand things as they are. Wisdom is such a simple thing. They don't find it because they have adopted a rhythm that complicates everything. (www.youtube.com/watch?v=2vvTUt42Nag. Accessed 07.07.15)

The reference to harmony and rhythm is interesting here, and reminds me of my training as a percussionist. This pivoted around listening to what was happening around me, listening for the gaps, the spaces, the holes perhaps, and allowing the cross rhythms to emerge in these gaps in a way that felt right for the music being made. Glissant also talks about

rhythm in his concept of poetics, pointing out that oral forms of poetry are becoming more popular:

> Poetic knowledge is no longer inseparable from writing; momentary flashes verge on rhythmic ammassings and the monotonies of duration. The sparkle of many languages utterly fulfils its function in such an encounter, in which the lightning of poetry is recreated in time's grasp (1990: 83)

Arts practices connect the senses in the telling of stories, the creation of narratives, and through this frame the world. They are and are not acts of resistance. They have intent and are intentional and as such form culture, form a minor art. Applying arts methodologies is, then, writing culture (ethnography) and writing earth (geography). Like human geography, it is writing worlds, not in the sense of fixing them in an age of humans, but, as outlined in the last chapter and above, creating temporary constellations in the connections that dance around all life, creating senses of order from chaos. The rhythm of life is heeded rather than played over or drowned out.

Returning to the concept of 'islands' being on the edge of the world, the practice of World Heritage in paying attention to them draws them back in, makes them part of the rhythm and hopefully mitigates the possibility of them being played over or drowned out. In writing about the representation of islands in films, specifically *Letters from Iwo-Jima* and *Skyfall*, Johannes Riquet argues that

> what is at stake is a specific form of solitude in the face of death and extinction… the deserted island spatially figures the extinction of the cultural other – inextricably linked however, to the threat of impending extinction of the self. (2016: 119).

This links back to my methodologies, how listening and feeling folded me into an affective becoming of the Galápagos with its constant threat of extinctions and my solitude and disconnection with other parts of my world. If the world is constantly becoming, constantly changing, ever creative, then grief must always be around the corner. Perhaps it is this discomfort that drives the modernist desire to fix, to create certainty from flux; and, if we are to leave these practices behind in favour of a world of constantly changing constellations of connection, perhaps learning to live with our grief for other constellations becomes necessary. As previously discussed, World Heritage brings with it the potential to create 'home' in Morton's ecological sense. Is 'home,' then, where the polyrhythmic ensemble and its acoustic is familiar? How can we familiarize ourselves with plural polyrhythmic ensembles? World Heritage supports this move by facilitating a world-wide conversation. Familiarity is being built.

Figure 55: Sea lions making use of the benches on *malecon* in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno. 22 May 2015. Photo: author's own.

In one way this was already being practised in Galápagos, as illustrated in figure 55. Building on the pictures at the end of chapter four, which outline the re-purposing of a human material world, this photo shows a somewhat ironic illustration to their call '*conservemos lo nuestro*.' The translation of this phrase is complex as the Spanish is suggestive rather than directive or indicative. It could be translated as 'let's conserve our own' or even 'love it or lose it,' and added to this there is an intentional pun on 'our own' meaning 'what is ours' and also implying a kinship or familial tie. The project was conceived and delivered by the San Cristóbal Municipality, or local government. Iván tells me that it was designed to encourage people to take ownership of their islands and their animals, to "take care of them as though they were their houses" (personal communication, June 2018). This again suggests a possession that I have argued is not necessarily the best way to imagine our relationships with the worlds around us, but the connection with ideas of familiarity and kinship are more in keeping with the philosophy that I have outlined. Perhaps taking care of them as though they were their homes rather than their houses would be more appropriate. Matt pointed out to me that the sea lions could almost be

mistaken for vagrants, which really struck me: homeless refugees out of place but making their homes in the human habitat that was developed across their breeding sites.

To explore the role of the individual in conservation from a different angle, I now return to Donna Haraway's (2016) idea of the Chthulucene and kin-making, and the ideas of 'kinservation' that I referred to in the introduction. It is this idea of kin that I argue here needs to be applied to conservation, which has, through colonialism and its progeny, colonized our relationship with our worlds by immersing them in an inter-national system. This is relatively straightforward in individual projects, and from what I have observed already happens, but much harder to extend to a global field as the intimate knowledge of the individuals in other species becomes more abstract. Returning to the ideas of a culture of benefits in Galápagos discussed in chapters four and six, Glissant connects this idea with colonization and the interaction with an inter-national sphere:

> That [culture of colonization] is what we have to shake off. To return to the sources of our cultures and the mobility of their relational content, in order to have a better appreciation of this disorder and to modulate every action according to it. To adapt action to the various possibilities in turn: to the subsistence economy as it existed on the Plantation fringes; to a market economy as the contemporary world imposes it upon us; to a regional economy, in order to reunite with the reality of our Caribbean surroundings; and to a controlled economy whose forms have been suggested by what we have learned from the sciences.
>
> To forsake the single perspective of an economy whose central mechanism is maximum subsidization, that has to be obtained at the whim of another. Obsession with these subsidies year after year clots thought, paralyzes initiative, and tends to distribute the manna to the most exuberant, neglecting perhaps those who are the most effective. (1990: 126)

Perhaps this culture of 'being special' is part of the problem in Galápagos as outlined by Valeria and Iván. It is geopolitical in that it interacts with international economic and political structures and imaginaries, wherein we tend to conceive of the inter-national through the concept of the nation-state that developed in western Europe in the seventeenth century through the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia. The Treaty, like the Convention, as an international instrument, is perhaps as close as we can get to the idea of kinship through the nation-state system, but this is not the same as the anarchic call for us to treat all fellow beings as we would be treated ourselves, with kindness.

As I outlined in the last chapter, artists and arts practices are a way of revisualising conservation, looking beyond the strata of our day-to-day lives and connecting them with the chaotic generative forces of the world. This, like science or other practices, is only one way of engaging with the complexities of the multi-layered, multi-species assemblages

with which Haraway calls us to seek kinship rather than to protect or conserve. I suggest that it is a powerful way, especially when other senses are called into the imagining. I suggest that 'kinservation' is a multi-sensory visceral endeavour, which requires an aesthetic engagement with place and its beings, and an emotional response to them, prompting a reconfiguration of the bodies of the listeners, see-ers and feel-ers, as well as their imaginations. This reconfiguration can stimulate new thought processes and behaviour patterns that encourage us to embody our relationship with plural worlds. Perhaps kin can, in this way, be served.

But where does this leave Galápagos, UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention? Perhaps UNESCO should keep its acronym, but change what it stands for, describing not what it is but what is does and aspires to do. How would an Unlimited Nurturing Emergent Scholarly Collaborative Organization differ from a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization in the delivery of a World Heritage programme? As things stand, this seems unlikely. The stratification in which UNESCO, like other international bodies, is caught and fossilised would need to be dislodged, if not broken through. Globalization continues to connect different parts of the globe, different worlds and different world views. Internationalism remains key to maintaining connection and therefore peace. Perhaps the IUCN would have been a better vehicle for World Heritage after all, with its non-governmental membership structure spanning many different world views, but this remains hypothetical. Hope can be found in the adjustments that UNESCO continues to make to its World Heritage Programme, including acknowledging issues with the division of nature and culture, and it can be hoped that a more effective mechanism for addressing this division will emerge in the connections that it facilitates between many world views. The encouragement to "adopt general policies to give the heritage a function in the life of the community" (UNESCO World Heritage Operational Guidelines 2008: 3) is another way in which a more rhizomatic mechanism for connecting with plural worlds might emerge. If community is interpreted as including the more-than-human, perhaps this will indeed bring about a move towards a more plural World Heritage that embraces difference in itself and celebrates and grieves an ever-changing world. The significant practical issues of land ownership, power play, and market economies including tourism remain, but my ambition here is to imagine a different way. As Don Alverto Taxo reflects:

> right now an era of harmony [is viewed] as utopian, but many things that now form part of our everyday life seemed utopian before. Now they are everyday things. In a society based on harmony we shouldn't think that there will be no problems to resolve… [but these will be] the challenges that push humanity to grow, not in a

> way that implies destruction, but one that seeks harmony. (www.youtube.com/watch?v=2vvTUt42Nag. Accessed 07.07.15)

We cannot change history, but we can learn from it rather than use it to provide rhetoric for conserving world views and world orders. Tim Badman, Director of World Heritage at IUCN, suggested to me that key to the current practice of the IUCN and World Heritage programme was working alongside and learning from indigenous cultures:

> Since 2003 we've seen a big exploration of governance through traditional knowledge and the recognition that a view of nature conservation being about only science – science driven, driven by nation-states – to be very much challenged. It is challenged in terms of the ways that places can be valued and that nature can be conserved. There's a lot of different pieces to this: including the recognition of traditional knowledge, that indigenous and community governed and managed protected areas, places where governance and management are shared, and privately managed protected areas are all valid ways to both value and conserve nature. For the last 20-30 years we've been in a big phase of course corrections from a Western model to a diverse global set of different views and of many ways to reach a better relationship between nature conservation and people. For instance in IUCN we have a group that works on the cultural and spiritual values of protected areas, we have a group that works on the traditional management of ecosystems, we have a theme on culture and conservation, and I have colleagues that have worked on the correlation between endangered languages and endangered species. (Interview with Tim Badman, 17.03.17)

These strata are being broken through. Might Galápagos provide the 'new earth' necessary to create a new culture drawing on traditional cultures in Ecuador and the other cultures that have made their homes there to value and imagine the world as ever changing constellations of connection? Might the whole lively earth erupt into a whole world heritage site that needs no protection?

Appendices

Appendix 1

Day-by-day breakdown of fieldwork activities

St Kilda

Date	Activity
21/6/14	Arrive in the Hebrides, evening at Stones of Calanish
22/6/14	Travel from Lewis to Harris, over to Berneray and into Lochmaddy in North Uist. Introductions followed by dinner with University of Edinburgh undergraduates and staff.
23/6/14	Travel to St Kilda. Informal discussion with Fraser MacDonald and Ben Garlick about St Kilda. Talk from and interview with NTS Ranger. Walk to explore the sights and sounds of the islands, including the radar station. Boat trip around the other islets. Travel back to Lochmaddy.
24/6/14	Trip to Taigh Chearsabhagh Arts Centre exhibition on St Kilda, including immersive game, museum exhibits, artists' responses. Interview with Norman MacLeod. Return to Glasgow.
?26/11/14?	Phone interview with NTS site Manager, Susan Bain.

Galápagos

Date	Activity
4/11/13	Meeting at GCT with Angela McSherry, Ian Dunn, Victoria Creyton to discuss GGARP and other GCT initiatives re. possible fieldwork
28/10/14	Meet David and Rose, Galápagos Conservation Trust Event at the RGS
Friday 15/5/15	Leave for Galápagos. Arrive Quito.
Saturday 16/5/15	Quito (missed flight)
Sunday 17/5/15	Fly to Galápagos. Boat to San Cristóbal
Monday 18/5/15	Food poisoning
Tuesday 19/5/15	Discussion with Iván about who to interview/ translation arrangements. Meet other people at the guest house. Explore the town – buy food at the market and supermarket. Visit to GNPD offices in San Cristóbal. Explore Playa Mann
Wednesday 20/5/15	Blog Explore Playa Carolla, looking for Las Tijeretas Interview Angel Quimis, Dive Shop owner.
Thursday 21/5/15	Interview Paulina (morning) Interview Cecilio Quinapanta (afternoon)
Friday 22/5/15	Interview Eduardo Toscano Explore Las Tijeretas

Saturday 23/5/15	Farmers Market Interview Milton Aguas (5 hours) People (and sea-lion) watching in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno
Sunday 24/5/15	Explore Las Tijeretas Meet Fede and Toby Idrovo Meet Plaucio
Monday 25/5/15	Admin – printing filing etc. Explore Playa Mann
Tuesday 26/5/15	Explore more of San Cristóbal: El Junca Lagoon, Tortoise Breeding centre Puerto Chino, El Progresso including tree house, viewing point, ruined ca above Kicker Rock.
Wednesday 27/5/15	Transfer to Puerto Ayora Explore Puerto Ayora
Thursday 28/5/15	Explore Puerto Ayora: CDRS Try to find an alternative hotel
Friday 29/5/15	Explore Tortuga Beach Change hotels
Saturday 30/5/15	Admin Explore Las Grietas
Sunday 31/5/15	Admin Explore Los Tuneles
Monday 1/6/15	Admin March – Protest against the proposed changes to the LOREG
Tuesday 2/6/15	Change hotels Meet Ivonne Go back to CDRS
Wednesday 3/6/15	Go back to CDRS Admin
Thursday 4/6/15	Go back to CDRS twice Meet Magno, Viviana and Jonathan at Casa de la Cultura
Friday 5/6/15	Meet Ros, introduced to Gabi, Agents of Change and Valeria GNPD. Invit to AoC sharing Interview Jonathan, Casa de la Cultura, invited to 'traditional' dance parade/ show
Saturday 6/6/15	Admin 'Traditional' dance show next to fish market
Sunday 7/6/15	Explore Las Grietas, sound walk. Agents of Change sharing event
Monday 8/6/15	Interview with Viviana

Tuesday 9/6/15	Explore CDRS – Ivonne was on the gate Interview Viviana (follow up) Visit Agents of Change, and DAD Visit some local art shops and talk to owners and people working in them Ate at the pop up restaurant at the Fish Market, talked to men working on the wind farm
Wednesday 10/6/15	Explore Pinzon
Thursday 11/6/15	Interview María Try to find Gandy at the School Interview Joachim from DAD
Friday 12/6/15	Try to find Gandy at the school. Interview Ros again (follow up) Explore CDRS again, and visit their library Interview Valeria Interview Gandy
Saturday 13/6/15	Admin, preparation to travel again Thanking people including Jonathan Explore Puerto Ayora, take pictures Go back to see more traditional dance. Interrupted by a protest.
Sunday 14/6/15	Travel to Isabela Explore Los Tuneles Meet Mary and David, Pablo and Xiomara
Monday 15/6/15	David's office in the morning Explore route to tortoise conservation centre Try to find Junior
Tuesday 16/6/15	Interview Municipality lady, Gaby Interview Junior Interview Leonardo Interview Pablo (surfer, Naturalist Guide) Interview Pablo and Xiomara (and Plaucio)
Wednesday 17/6/15	Travel to Puerto Ayora, write up whilst good internet Travel on to Puerto Baquerizo Moreno (hurt back, hospital)
Thursday 18/6/15	Explore Kicker Rock – whales, sea-lions, sharks etc. Meander back along the coast doing a bit of monitoring for the GNPD. Interview Amy at the GAIAS
Friday 19/6/15	Interview Magno Explore Puerto Baquerizo Moreno – sound and photos Interview Hugo
Saturday, 20/6/15	Travel back to UK

Appendix 2:

Information Sheets used during field work in English and Spanish

Appendix 3

Consent forms used for interviewees

Appendix 4

Interview Transcript Cover Sheet

Interview

Date: Duration:

Location:

Interviewee(s):

1. How did I find out about this person (eg. via personal network; snowballing method; website etc)?

2. How did I get in touch with them and when (email; phone etc)?

3. Are there any qualifiers on their participation to bear in mind (anonymity asked for; recording rejected; transcript asked for etc)?

4. What did I want to find out from this interview?

5. Key themes of interview

6. What of the unexpected came from this interview?

7. Links to other empirical materials (photos; diary; policy documents; publicity materials etc)?

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