TRADITIONS AND PRESERVATION OF ICONIC STATUES ON UNIVERSITY

CAMPUSES: A COMPARISON OF *ALMA MATER* AND *JOHN HARVARD*

by

MAURA JACKSON

(Under the Direction of Eric MacDonald)

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the relationship between intangible culture and the preservation

of public art on U.S. campuses of higher education. It analyzes how and why the preservation

practices of Columbia University's *Alma Mater* and Harvard University's *John Harvard* respond

to intangible cultural heritage. Research methods used include archival research, social media,

and interviews. This thesis exposes key issues and challenges that arise when preservationists

consider both intangible and tangible heritage values together in a preservation context. The

results of this study suggest that, based on the different values associated with intangible culture,

different preservation approaches, including the preservation of a sense of place and continued

accessibility are necessary. This study also advocates Randall Mason's planning process

methodology that preservationists could use to begin developing a comprehensive understanding

of intangible cultural heritage. This thesis concludes that these challenges highlight areas for

further development in historic preservation theory and practice.

INDEX WORDS: Intangible cultural heritage, Historic preservation, Heritage conservation,
                 Integrative conservation, Invented tradition, Heritage tourism, University
                 culture, College culture, Collegiate tradition, Sense of place, Campus
                 planning, Campus design, Campus preservation, Harvard University,

Columbia University, John Harvard, John Harvard Statue, Alma Mater, Alma Mater Statue, Daniel Chester French, Public art conservation, Outdoor sculpture conservation, Randall Mason, Planning process methodology, Social media heritage values, Heritage value assessment

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2014, the University of Georgia began receiving student petitions regarding

accessibility of its iconic, historic arch — the gateway to its campus bordered by downtown

Athens. The petitions highlighted an important problem for historic preservationists: how to

maintain the arch's historic integrity while complying with the American Disabilities Act (ADA)

accessibility requirements that would allow all students to participate in a popular tradition

which involves walking through the arch after graduation.[1] In this case, preservation of the

tangible historic fabric of the arch was considered a priority, and a temporary ramp was installed

during graduation as a way to acknowledge the intangible traditional value of walking through

the arch. This solution allowed physically challenged students to participate in the tradition,

which is not required or conducted by the university. This controversy highlights how issues

involving the relationship between values of tangible heritage and values of intangible heritage

have arisen on university campuses. An analysis of the relationship between these different

values calls attention to larger issues within the field of historic preservation. How do conflicting

values coexist for historic resources, and how do we make accommodations for them in

preservation? Furthermore, how is value assessed for traditions? How do preservationists

manage conflict between traditions and the material integrity of other resources? How do

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[1] Lauren McDonald, "Students Denied Permanent Ramp Under North Campus Arch," *The Red and Black*, last modified, accessed August 17, 2015, https://www.redandblack.com/uganews/students-denied-permanent-ramp-under-north-campus-arch/article_6da0fe68-4478-11e5-a6c2-df72387c2277.html.

preservationists address the complications intangible heritage creates in considerations of heritage?

 While these questions are complex and found in other contexts, this thesis specifically explores how intangible traditions have impacted preservation practices of historic statues on university campuses. Two case studies of Columbia University's *Alma Mater* statue and Harvard University's *John Harvard* statue examine the relationship between intangible traditions and preservation practices and provide examples of two outcomes. The following introduction presents an overview of the context and background of the thesis topic, the main research question of this thesis, the research methods, and the research scope. It also summarizes the main purpose of each chapter of the thesis.

Context and Background

 Discussion surrounding protection of intangible cultural heritage began in the 1970s and the concept was finally conceptualized and codified by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1993 resulting in the International Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Application of this convention presents many additional problems for historic preservationists that this thesis seeks to uncover and suggest solutions. Much of the literature acknowledges similar problems that surface when stewarding historic resources, and call for development of methods, but few suggest proceeding steps.

 The main problem presented in this thesis is the challenge of stewarding both tangible and intangible heritage in the context of a college or university campus. Historic preservationists are tasked with preserving both tangible *and* intangible heritage, which raises other important

issues, such as what to do if they are in conflict for a resource. Additionally, the setting of a

college or university campus presents another problem: what is considered as intangible cultural

heritage in this context? Are all examples of intangible heritage worthy of preservation? What

does preservation of intangible cultural heritage on a collegiate campus mean exactly?

Responsible stewardship of heritage includes consideration of these issues as well as attempts to

address them.

Term Definitions

Throughout the conceptual development of intangible heritage, terminology evolved that

accommodated consideration of what heritage encompassed. The following terms will be used

throughout this thesis as defined by international documents, UNESCO, and scholars. These

definitions provide this thesis with consistency regarding major terms used in this study.

For the following terms, official definitions from the International Convention for the

Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage are used because it is the leading document for

intangible cultural heritage.

Intangible cultural heritage:

> The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations,
> expressions, knowledge, skills — as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and
> cultural spaces associated therewith — that communities, groups and, in some
> cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible
> cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly
> recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their
> interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of
> identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human
> creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely
> to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international

human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.[2]

The "intangible cultural heritage", as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

(A) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;

(B) performing arts;

(C) social practices, rituals and festive events;

(D) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;

(E) traditional craftsmanship.[3]

Safeguarding:

Measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of heritage.[4]

For the next set of terms, definitions from both UNESCO and scholars are used. While UNESCO specifically defines "ritual," it does not offer an explicit definition of "tradition." The difference between the two terms is that ritual suggests a sense of identity, whereas tradition simply suggests continuity with the past. According to the definitions below, all rituals are traditions, but not all traditions qualify as rituals.

Ritual:

Social practices, rituals and festive events are habitual activities that structure the lives of communities and groups and that are shared by and relevant to many of their members. They are significant because they reaffirm the identity of those

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[2] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 32nd General Conference of UNESCO. Paris: October 17, 2003, 2.
[3] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 2.
[4] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 3.

who practice them as a group or a society and, whether performed in public or private, are closely linked to important events. Social, ritual and festive practices may help to mark the passing of the seasons, events in the agricultural calendar or the stages of a person's life. They are closely linked to a community's worldview and perception of its own history and memory. They vary from small gatherings to large-scale social celebrations and commemorations.
Rituals and festive events often take place at special times and places and remind a community of aspects of its worldview and history.[5]

Tradition:

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past.[6]

The definition of the term "conservation" has evolved beyond its original definition, which related strictly to technical care of tangible resources. Currently, it is a term used globally to refer to actions considered "preservation" in the United States. I will use "conservation" interchangeably with the term "preservation" throughout the thesis.

Conservation:

All actions designed to understand a heritage property or element, know, reflect upon and communicate its history and meaning, facilitate its safeguard, and manage change in ways that will best sustain its heritage values for present and future generations.[7]

Research Question

This thesis examines how the relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage can be preserved through the management strategies of historic public works of art in a

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[5] "Social Practices, Rituals and Festive Events," Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, accessed September 15, 2018, https://ich.unesco.org/en/social-practices-rituals-and-00055.

[6] Eric Hobsbawm, ed., "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition,* (Cambridge: Past and Present Publications, University Press, 1988), 1.

[7] Agency for Cultural Affairs (Government of Japan), *Nara +20,* 20th Anniversary of the Nara Document Meeting. Nara, Japan: October 22-24, 2014, 3, doi: http://www.japan- icomos.org/pdf/nara20_final_eng.pdf.

university context. Specifically, how and why do the preservation practices of Columbia University's *Alma Mater* and Harvard University's *John Harvard* respond to intangible cultural heritage?

To answer the research question, three sub-questions were explored which pointed to larger issues within the field of historic preservation: What is the relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage? What is the value of the university statues in the case studies and do they include intangible aspects? Which kinds of heritage are considered important; are informal university-related traditions considered intangible cultural heritage? These smaller explorations support the main research inquiry regarding the challenge of addressing both tangible and intangible heritage in the cases of Columbia University's *Alma Mater* and Harvard University's *John Harvard.*

Research Methods

Several studies have explored relationships between intangible traditions and tangible counterparts, but none have addressed the preservation practices of public art on a college or university campus. Therefore, preliminary research was conducted to identify university campuses that contained statues that were associated with documented rituals or traditions. Additional research was conducted to establish patterns or additional forms of intangible cultural heritage. Afterward, the preservation practices for the statues were analyzed for their response to intangible cultural heritage.

The research design was based on the multi-case study method for educational research described by Robert K. Yin. Specifically, the research approach follows Yin's outline of a

multiple-case study with a holistic case design since the study uses two examples of the same challenge.[8] A multi-case design was used to allow for comparison.

I used the case study method to describe how the characteristics of tangible and intangible heritage were related in the chosen cases. In each case, I explored the degree of the relationship of tangible heritage and intangible heritage. The difference between the two results was then analyzed, and conclusions were drawn.

The two cases were chosen for their comparability: both were created by the same master sculptor, Daniel Chester French, from the same material, bronze. Additionally, both statues were created within twenty years of one another: *John Harvard* was dedicated in 1884 and *Alma Mater* in 1903. Finally, both are situated in the context of comparable Ivy League universities.[9] It was important for this study to analyze cases with similar resources to allow the research to only focus on the differences involving intangible cultural heritage.

To establish a methodology for this study, I relied on Professor Randall Mason's planning process methodology as an evaluation framework first presented in a research report for the Getty Conservation Institute in 2002 (Figure 1). His framework was consulted in favor of other possible methods because its "goal is to generate guidance for selecting appropriate methodologies (strategies) and tools (tasks) to assess heritage values as part of integrated conservation planning," and is discussed in further detail in chapter two.[10] Following his planning process methodology, I began with identification of stakeholders and site

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[8] Robert K. Yin, "Case Study Methods," in *Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education Research*, ed. Judith L. Green, Gregory Camilli, Patricia B. Elmore, with Audra Skukauskaite and Elizabeth Grace. (London: American Educational Research Association Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2006), 113.

[9] JohnB, "What's in Common Ball State, Columbia, Harvard, and Lafayette? Will the Real John Harvard Please Stand Up," University Icons, last modified January 22, 2014, accessed January 2017, http://universityicons.com/2014/01/real-john-harvard-please-stand/.

[10] Randall Mason, "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices," *Research Report for the Getty Conservation Institute*, ed. Marta de la Torre. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2002), 5.

documentation and description.[11] Next, I collected various types of ethnographic data, including published periodicals, archival records, informal site assessment and participant observations to elicit values. I also obtained opinions and information about preservation protocols interviewed professionals responsible for the statues. More specific details for how I gathered data from each of these sources can be found in the Appendix.

Identification and Description   **Assessments and Analysis**   **Response**
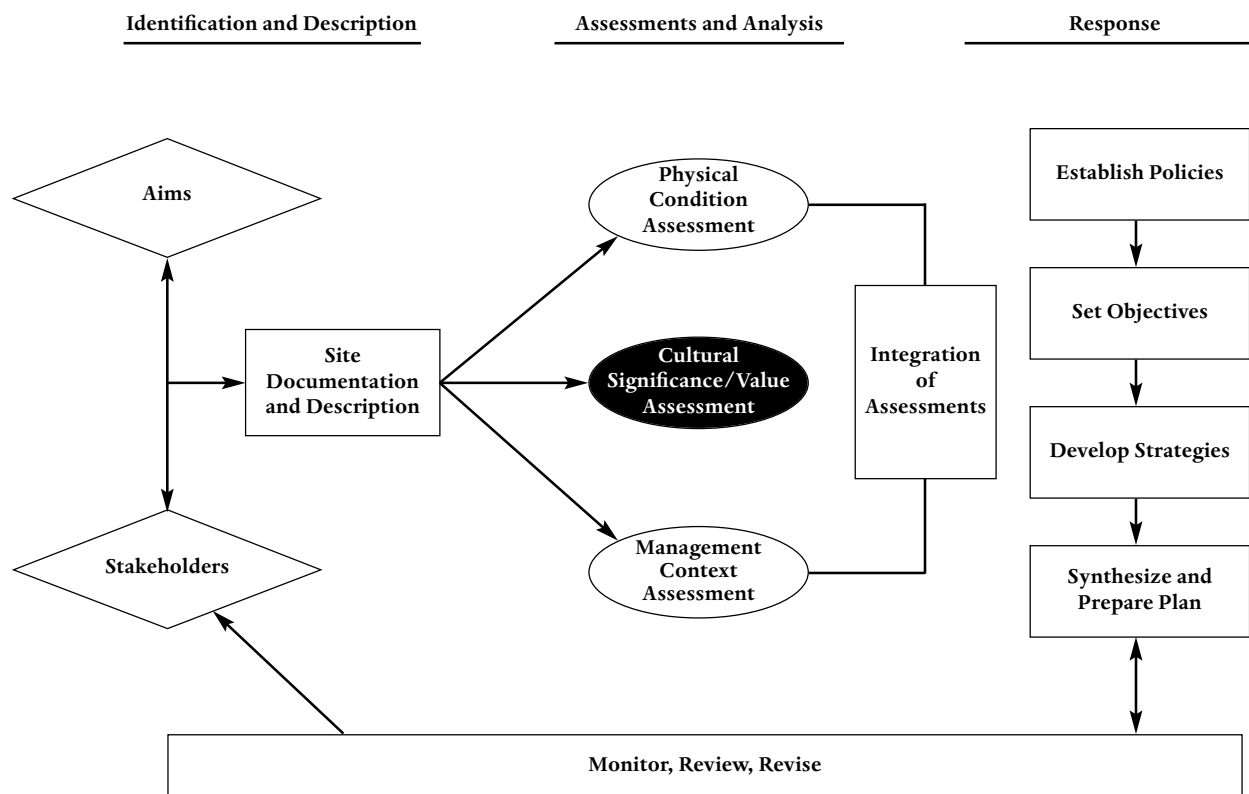
Figure 1. Planning process methodology, (Mason, 6).

Analysis and Outcomes

Afterward, I used Mason's cultural significance/value assessment process, a more detailed process (Figure 2) which fits into the larger planning process (Figure 1), for initial analysis. This process provides specific steps that are general enough to apply to a variety of

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[11] Mason, "Assessing Values," 6.

heritage resources, and they accommodate multiple values and stakeholders. The main goal of this process, when used in conjunction with the larger process of planning is to have a critically considered plan.

Physical Condition Assessment

Cultural Significance/Value Assessment

| Task | Identification | → | Elicitation/ elaboration | → | Statements of Significance |
| Tool | Typology; stakeholder consultation | | Many cultural and economic methods | | Group process |

Integration of Assessments and establishing policy

correlation between values and physical resources

Apply sustainability principles and other decision-making frameworks

Management Context Assessment

Figure 2. Cultural significance/value assessment process, (Mason, 7).

Through the application of Mason's assessment process, I analyzed the common issues for both cases relating to how and why intangible heritage is incorporated into conservation practices for each statue. Within my analysis, I encountered challenges such as: Is there an effect from intangible cultural heritage onto its tangible counterpart? What kind? What are the values of the statues for stakeholders? Are the intangible tradition(s) acknowledged by preservation professionals? Next, I critiqued the preservation practices of *Alma Mater* and *John Harvard.* I analyzed the practices to identify patterns in how value has been attributed to the intangible culture associated with each statue and how intangible culture impacts preservation decisions. Finally, I proposed explanations for the difference in results between the *Alma Mater* statue and *John Harvard* statue. Mason's value assessment process highlighted ways and reasons that the

preservation practices in each case could reveal how intangible traditions affected, were reflected in, or were included in preservation practices for the case studies.

Research Scope

The value of this thesis derives from its analysis of the relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage through specific case studies. It also bridges the fields of preservation policy, conservation of public art, and collegiate cultural heritage. However, there were some limitations associated with this study.

The first limitation is that the results are not universally applicable; the response(s) of preservation practices to intangible cultural heritage presented in *these* case studies are *examples*.

A second limitation was the impracticality of obtaining every stakeholder's opinions and views; for this case study, samples were used. Additionally, the unavailability of additional professional perspectives associated with the preservation of the statues in each case limited potential insights.

A third limitation was the available time for conducting site investigations. This study potentially could have benefitted from more intensive field observations, however, the data obtained was consistent with data obtained from other sources.

Chapter Synopses

Chapter two reviews literature on intangible cultural heritage, including similar case research. It also reviews literature on higher education institutional culture. The literature review shows where this study fits into the larger context of historic preservation.

Chapters three and four present the history, values, and preservation of the two case studies — Columbia University's *Alma Mater* statue and Harvard University's *John Harvard* statue. These case studies give examples into the larger issue of how and why relationships of tangible and intangible culture are preserved on university campuses. Values associated with each statue were identified according to Mason's recommended planning process at the end of each chapter.

Chapter five analyzes the data introduced in the case studies. It begins with an assessment of the value of each statue applying Mason's process, and it ends by comparing and critiquing the preservation practices for each statue. The chapter concludes by proposing explanations for the difference in results.

Chapter six summarizes the specific research findings and draws conclusions for larger heritage issues based on the findings of this study. Additionally, this chapter identifies areas for further exploration of the use of social media to elicit value.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Initial Development of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Although intangible cultural heritage was officially defined by UNESCO in 2003, the idea behind preserving heritage that is neither tangible heritage nor natural heritage began to form as early as the 1970s. Noriko Aikawa's 2004 article detailed the steps taken to codify intangible cultural heritage.

During the early 1970s, a conversation about how to protect folklore culture was introduced at the Universal Copyright Convention at the request of Bolivia. Unfortunately, as discussion continued, it was decided that copyright was not a good way to protect folklore, and other approaches were pursued.[12]

During the same decade, in 1972, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (commonly referred to as the World Heritage Convention) was adopted at the General Conference of UNESCO. The World Heritage Convention established a framework for stewardship of heritage exhibiting outstanding universal value as a global responsibility. It recognized that at times national protection was insufficient and that outstanding examples of heritage "need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole."[13] The convention's goal was to establish an effective system for protecting natural

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[12] Noriko Aikawa, "An Historical Overview of the Preparation of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," *Museum International* 56, no. 1-2 (2004): 138.
[13] UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, 17th General Conference of UNESCO. Paris: October 17-November 21, 1972.

and cultural examples of outstanding heritage with a universal value.[14] While the convention was a major milestone in the evaluation of heritage, it only recognized tangible examples of heritage; it did not recognize intangible culture.

During the late 1970s, the Burra Charter was originally inscribed by the Australian chapter of International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in Burra, Australia, to "provide guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance."[15] It was meant to be a resource for professionals tasked with preserving heritage resources, specifically "those who provide advice, make decisions about, or undertake works to places of cultural significance."[16] This charter was influential in the growth of historic preservation because it recognized a *place* as a heritage resource with cultural value.

During the next decade, UNESCO revisited the issues of folklore protection. UNESCO teamed with the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) to draft the "Model Provisions for National Laws on the Protection of Expressions of Folklore against Illicit and Other Prejudicial Actions" in 1982. Two years later, the two organizations attempted to put these regulations into practice, but they were unsuccessful. UNESCO attempted again, this time favoring a global perspective approach rather than an intellectual property rights approach. This attempt resulted in the decision to construct a recommendation rather than a convention at the 1985 General Conference.[17]

Using the new approach, the Recommendation on Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore document was formally adopted by UNESCO in 1989. As the title suggests, the

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[14] UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*.
[15] Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, Burra, Australia: 2013, 1.
[16] Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter*, 1.
[17] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 138.

recommendation outlines how traditional culture and folklore should be treated in order to safeguard it for future generations. However, because it was a recommendation rather than a convention or widely agreed upon document, it was not a satisfactory tool for preservation because it was considered a "soft law." This means that there was no enforcement capability; it served as guidelines that did not define UNESCO's role, gave no explanation for implementing the recommendations, and was created with contrasting perspectives between intellectual property and global approaches.[18]

To further develop policy for protecting additional forms of heritage, UNESCO created an Intangible Cultural Heritage program in 1992, with Japan as a major supporter. This program aimed to formalize respect and recognition of preservation and transmission of intangible cultural heritage, as well as to acknowledge the issues of the ownership of culture. The intangible cultural heritage program led to a Living Treasures Project in 1993, which recognized people who possessed skills such as traditional craftsmanship. Both programs were ways in which international supporters were successful with protecting intangible cultural heritage.[19]

Also in 1993, leaders from UNESCO, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), and International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) met at the Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention in Nara, Japan.[20] This convention was an effort to define the concept of authenticity in a global sense and "to challenge conventional thinking in the conservation field," regarding intangible cultural heritage such as building practices.[21] This conference

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[18] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 140.
[19] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 139.
[20] UNESCO, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, *The Nara Document on Authenticity*, Nara Conference on Authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention. Nara, Japan: November 1-6, 1993.
[21] UNESCO, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, *The Nara Document on Authenticity*.

produced the "Nara Document on Authenticity," which derives its foundation from other

international agreements, particularly the Venice Charter.[22] The Nara Document challenged

conventional thinking about heritage by acknowledging the existence and value of intangible

heritage. Divided into two sections, "Cultural Diversity & Heritage Diversity" and "Values &

Authenticity," the Nara Document focused on addressing inconsistencies between the

preservation perspectives of Western countries and those of Eastern countries. To standardize

criteria for significance on a global scale, it was necessary to correct these inconsistencies. This

document also addressed global inclusivity, as Western sites were held in higher regard for how

people attributed value to resources of heritage.[23] The Nara Document has become essential to

the future of preservation and conservation because it was the first formal international

recognition that tangible and intangible heritage should be regarded as equally important.

By the end of the 1990s, reflection on UNESCO's policy programs took place during an

international conference organized by UNESCO in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution.

Participants concluded that there was too much emphasis on documentation and archiving

heritage products of culture and not enough emphasis on safeguarding the producers of heritage

themselves. Consequently, during the next UNESCO General Conference, governments were

asked to submit resolutions requesting a feasibility study of "adopting a new normative

instrument on the safeguarding of traditional culture and folklore."[24] The decision to conduct a

study anticipated a change in perspective towards heritage, one that would recognize that

intangible heritage was active and living through producers.[25] This change in perspective meant

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[22] UNESCO, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, *The Nara Document on Authenticity*; The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, commonly known as the Venice Charter, was codified in 1964 by the International Council on Monuments and Sites. It is an early international charter that outlined principles for how professionals should conserve and restore examples of architectural heritage.
[23] UNESCO, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, *The Nara Document on Authenticity*.
[24] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 140.
[25] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 140.

that safeguarding intangible heritage needed a different approach than that of copyrights. The actions from the 1970s through the 1990s taken to create a normative instrument for folklore was a turning point in conservation and preservation because it accounted for heritage that did not fall into the previous categories of natural or material cultural heritage.[26]

In 1997, UNESCO's "Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" project began. This project was the initial instrument used to recognize previously excluded cultural expressions from instruments such as the World Heritage List. The project sparked further discussion about definitions and notions of terms as well as logistics for protecting intangible heritage, such as financing. The solution for beginning to address these issues was to use the 1989 recommendation in conjunction with the project.[27]

UNESCO moved forward with a feasibility study to standardize safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. This study aimed to set standards for definitions, terminology and objectives for cultural heritage.[28] The feasibility study was used to create a new policy rather than to revise the 1972 convention because too many changes would have to take place. Instead, the 1972 convention was used as inspiration for the new policy that accommodated the necessary changes. Several sessions of intergovernmental meetings discussed this feasibility study, and it took a few years during the early 2000s to produce a satisfactory preliminary draft.[29] The draft Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was formally adopted in 2003, a significant advancement for the inclusion of intangible heritage into the concept and stewardship of heritage.[30]

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[26] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 141.
[27] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 141.
[28] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 142.
[29] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 144.
[30] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 145.

Official Recognition of Intangible Cultural Heritage

2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention

The 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore was a precursor to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. As a result, comparisons between the recommendation and convention began to appear in publications illustrating the effects of the discussion that took place leading up to the final adoption of the convention. Many aspects of the convention's evaluation showed the progress made in the acceptance of intangible heritage. Among the aspects identified by Aikawa, the most important for this thesis were:

> (B) recognition of this heritage as a source of identity, creativity, diversity and social cohesion
> (C) respect for its specificities, i.e. its constantly evolving and creative feature
> (G) recognition of the interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage[31]

The shift in perspective that allowed these aspects to take hold in the 2003 convention shaped the idea of what heritage is and how to deal with it in preservation practices. The convention defined "intangible cultural heritage" along with listing its possible manifestations.[32]

The 2003 convention also considered the "deep-seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage," and the recognition of intangible cultural heritage as worthy of safeguarding measures.[33] Safeguarding is the current method of protection for preserving intangible cultural heritage. It focuses on increasing awareness and respect from the public, and it encourages international cooperation to maintain all types of heritage. So far, this has been a better approach than copyright related legislation.

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[31] Aikawa, "Historical Overview," 146.
[32] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 2-3.
[33] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 1.

Further Conceptualization

Following the convention, intangible cultural heritage has been incorporated and further

conceptualized beyond folklore across the globe into different tangible heritage contexts, such as

historic preservation, conservation, material culture, and tourism. One of the first people to

professionally recognize the interdependence of intangible culture and tangible cultural heritage,

Nobuo Ito was a speaker at a conference for ICOMOS, an agency concerned with the built

environment, in 2003. In his presentation, Ito underscored the importance of including intangible

cultural heritage when considering heritage examples that are tangible stating that they are

"impossible to separate."[34] Ito first described the relationship of intangible culture to tangible

cultural heritage. He bridged ideas from cultural anthropology and cultural heritage management,

and argued that all culture should technically be considered intangible because it began as an

idea opposed to material. He recognized that the roots of intangible cultural heritage lie in

folklore, but he argued that unlike cultural anthropologists, cultural heritage managers seek to

preserve elements of intangible cultural heritage as viable resources.

As a native and professional from Japan, Ito's Eastern perspective considers intangible

culture and built heritage to be equally important. According to Japanese law, intangible cultural

heritage falls into two categories: sophisticated performing arts, and folk culture. Both categories

are considered to be equally important and valuable.[35] Ito urged cultural heritage managers to

work through the ideas surrounding intangible cultural heritage in conjunction with social

science specialists. That way, cultural interpretations would be conceptualized in a scientific

manner and produce standardized methods that could be used across disciplines.

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[34] ICOMOS, *Intangible Cultural Heritage Involved in Tangible Cultural Heritage,* Nobuo Ito. Conference or Workshop Item, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe: 14th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: 'Place, memory, meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites', October 27-31, 2003.
[35] ICOMOS, *Intangible Cultural Heritage Involved in Tangible Cultural Heritage.*

Ito also elaborated on how building techniques exemplify the relationship between intangible cultural heritage and tangible cultural property. The intangible components that go into creating a tangible building tell the story about how the building came to be; the intangible components are responsible for the tangible counterpart's existence. In the end, he called for investigation of the presence and representation of intangible cultural heritage in the resources of tangible cultural heritage. While Ito was certainly making the point that this relationship exists, he acknowledged that additional studies needed to be undertaken before it could be fully comprehended.[36]

Following the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, a double issue of *Museum International* focused on the nature of intangible culture. UNESCO's director general at the time, Koïchiro Matsuura prefaced this issue by noting that the adoption of the 2003 convention "filled a gap in the legal system of international cultural heritage protection, which hitherto had been focused exclusively on the safeguarding of tangible heritage."[37] Ensuing action on Matsuura's part included the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity and the preparation of a standard-setting instrument to protect intangible cultural heritage. He emphasized the changes from codifying intangible cultural heritage, thus expanding upon the concept of heritage. The expansion was focused on intangible values embodied within tangible heritage sites.[38]

The World Heritage Convention of 1972 was primarily concerned with tangible resources. The 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention sought to accommodate parts of heritage that previously did not have protection under the World Heritage Convention. This was

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[36] ICOMOS, *Intangible Cultural Heritage Involved in Tangible Cultural Heritage.*
[37] Koïchiro Matsuura, "Preface," *Museum International.* 56, no. 1-2 (2004): 4.
[38] Matsuura, "Preface," 4.

important because, as Matsuura noted, "all tangible heritage embodies intangible components such as spiritual values, symbols, meanings, knowledge, or the know-how of craftsmanship and construction."[39] The 2003 convention was a culmination of twenty years of thought and attempts to make a normative instrument for intangible cultural heritage. It had a compelling argument to be put into practice before some of the heritage it sought to protect disappeared.[40]

In the same issue of *Museum International*, Dawson Munjeri, a UNESCO delegate from Zimbabwe, contributed an essay that recognized the protection of intangible cultural heritage as a "long struggle."[41] Munjeri referenced UNESCO's World Commission on Culture and Development of 1995 to point out that intangible culture was initially ignored because of the belief that simplicity was the same as unimportant; manifestations of intangible culture were often overlooked in favor of "stable and static" cultural heritage. He identified the issue of how people qualified heritage to be at the heart of this conversation. Munjeri emphasized his point writing that,

> Cultural heritage should speak through the values that people give it and not the
> other way around. Objects, collections, buildings, etc. become recognized as
> heritage when they express the value of *society* and so the tangible can only be
> understood and interpreted through the intangible. *Society and values* are thus
> intrinsically linked.

Therefore, the values that are represented in cultural heritage resources should be identified rather than imposed. Munjeri suggested that cultural heritage relies upon the relationship between societies, norms, and values to reveal its significance. Considering the significant steps forward in cultural protection, Munjeri agreed that more growth was needed,

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[39] Matsuura, "Preface," 5.
[40] Matsuura, "Preface," 5.
[41] Dawson Munjeri, "Tangible and Intangible Heritage: From Difference to Convergence," *Museum International* 56, no. 1-2 (2004): 4.

such as recognizing other manifestations or types of intangible cultural heritage like intangible natural heritage.[42] Munjeri's ideas are relevant to the thesis because they underscore the necessity for heritage methods that include values from the public.

Keeping with the theme of intangible culture, in 2004 Dr. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett published an essay, "World Heritage and Cultural Economics," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*.[43] She explored the efforts taken to include heritage that extends beyond the built environment, such as traditions and ritual to the experience of a resource. She suggested that there was a link between community, resource, and experience, stating that "people are not only the objects of cultural preservation, but also subjects. They are not only cultural carriers and transmitters, but also agents in the heritage enterprise itself."[44] She established three roles that occur when people experience cultural heritage: objects, carriers/transmitters, and agents — all of which humans can fulfill in any combination. In instances when an intangible tradition involves an object of tangible heritage, people can be agents as either consumers or spectators.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett began her analysis of the experience of a historic resource by comparing the relationship between tangible cultural heritage and natural heritage. She wrote,

> Natural heritage initially referred to places with special characteristics, beauty, or some other value, but untouched by the human presence, that is, as wilderness, but most places on the natural heritage list — and in the world — have been shaped or affected in some way by people, an understanding that has changed the way UNESCO thinks about natural heritage. At the same time, natural heritage conceptualized in terms of ecology, environment, and a systemic approach to a living entity, provides a model for thinking about intangible heritage as a totality,

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[42] Munjeri, "Tangible and Intangible Heritage," 13.

[43] This was first published as "Intangible Heritage as a Metacultural Production," in *Museum International* 56, no. 1-2 (2004) as an excerpt of her entry in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (2006) book.

[44] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "World Heritage and Cultural Economics," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations,* eds. Lynn Szqaja, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, Corinne Ann Kratz, and Ivan Karp, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 179.

rather than as an inventory, and for calculating the intangible value of a living system, be it natural or cultural.[45]

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett continued this comparison by defining intangible heritage to include "special skills connected with the material aspects of culture." She further elaborated on this concept by writing, "these processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations and are important to cultural identity."[46] Her second idea that intangible heritage relates to a community's sense of identity aligns with UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett used her interpretation of intangible heritage to support her argument that there should be a "holistic and conceptual approach to the definition of intangible heritage."[47] By having an integrative approach, intangible aspects would be considered alongside associated tangible aspects to fully preserve a physical resource.

While Kirshenblatt-Gimblett advocated the role of experience in the assimilation of culture, Noga Collins-Kreiner and Jay Gatrell's 2006 research focused on the different experiences people can have when visiting the same cultural heritage resource of the Bahà'i Gardens. Collins-Kreiner and Gatrell examined how visitors' experiences depended on whether they were religious pilgrims or secular tourists. This research study is an early example of literature that considers the coexistence of contrasting values within a single cultural heritage resource.[48] This case study is relevant to the thesis because it identifies another instance in which ideas of heritage compete with each other creating complex issues for preservationists.

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[45] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "World Heritage and Cultural Economics," 164.
[46] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "World Heritage and Cultural Economics," 165.
[47] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "World Heritage and Cultural Economics," 166.
[48] Collins-Kreiner, Noga and Jay D. Gatrell, "Tourism, Heritage and Pilgrimage: The Case of Haifa's Bahà'i Gardens," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1, no. 1 (2006): 32.

Additionally in 2006, Frank Hassard produced a doctoral thesis in which he explored the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage. Hassard studied shifts in British approaches to cultural resource management which moved from "curative intervention" to a "maintenance-oriented" approach. According to his research, this shift focused on the sustainability of the built heritage instead of the understanding of the heritage.[49] Throughout his research, Hassard analyzed the exclusion of intangible culture from attempts to preserve tangible culture. He attributed this to a "scientific paradigm of practice … shaped by this '*museological*' vision of heritage."[50] Hassard called to "broaden conservation's conception of heritage" when discussing assessments of value.[51] As a solution, he proposed that members of communities who are not normally engaged with the preservation process should become involved as stewards of their heritage, including participating in the definition of heritage.

An important point Hassard made in his research was that Westerners generally viewed heritage as part of a "past [that] is a completed development — as if viewed through a diorama — leading to a feeling of disconnectedness or disinheritance."[52] Hassard suggested that the boundary between the past and present is perhaps why intangible cultural heritage is not typically considered in most Western historic preservation practices. He believed that the past is vibrantly carried through to the present and future, rather than being finite and stagnant. With this change in perspective, present contributions to historic resources can be better understood for their influence and role in experiencing the resource.

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[49] Frank Hassard, "Heritage, Hermeneutics and Hegemony: A Study of Ideological Division in the Field of Conservation-Restoration" (PhD thesis. Brunel University, 2006), 312, http://collections.crest.ac.uk/9921/.
[50] Hassard, "Heritage, Hermeneutics and Hegemony," ii.
[51] Hassard, "Heritage, Hermeneutics and Hegemony," 225.
[52] Hassard, "Heritage, Hermeneutics and Hegemony," 343.

In 2006, the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* was established as a result of discussion during an International Council of Museums conference in Seoul, Korea. The goal of this journal is to "raise and confirm awareness of the importance of intangible cultural heritage"[53] and promote the necessity "for greater opportunities for academic and professional publication and information exchange in relation to it."[54] Since professionals from the museum sector originally conceived the idea of this journal, the inaugural volume focused on issues of intangible cultural heritage in the context of a museum. However, the introduction to this volume "stress[es] that though the original idea for this *Journal* as well as its organization and management lie within the museums sector, … the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* is intended to cover all aspects of the intangible heritage as defined [in the UNESCO Convention], and not just the work of museums in relation to it."[55] The journal is made widely available in hopes that additional scholarship will continue "in relation to all aspects of study of the intangible heritage."[56]

The next year, in 2007, the second volume of the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* published an article by Mounir Bouchenaki, the director general of ICCROM, about the impact of the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention. Recognizing that tangible and intangible heritage are closely related, he argued that further advancements were needed to conceptualize heritage in its wider context. Bouchenaki characterized tangible and intangible aspects of cultural heritage as "synchronized," adding that both

> involv[e] society (that is in systems of interactions connecting people), and norms
> and values (that is, ideas and belief systems that define relative importance).

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[53] Kim Hongnam and Patrick Boylan, "Introducing the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage,*" *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 1 (2006): 11.
[54] Hongnam, "Introducing the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*," 11.
[55] Hongnam, "Introducing the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*," 11.
[56] Hongnam, "Introducing the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*," 11.

> Heritage objects are the tangible evidence of underlying norms and values, and thus they establish a symbiotic relationship between the tangible and intangible.[57]

He also echoed a point made by Matsuura in 2002 when he suggested that, "an all-encompassing approach to cultural heritage should prevail, which takes into account the dynamic link between the tangible and intangible heritage and their deep interdependence."[58] Bouchenaki realized that although tangible and intangible heritage are interdependent, the same safeguarding measures cannot be used for both. He encouraged the development of a holistic, three-step heritage approach: (1) "viewing the tangible heritage in its wider context…relating it more closely to the communities concerned in order to take into better account the relevant spiritual, political, or social values;" (2) "'translat[ing]' from its oral form into some material manifestation;" and (3) developing policy, such as the model set forth by the Living National Treasures program. He concludes that tangible and intangible aspects are interdependent therefore inseparable.[59]

In the same issue of *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, a conference report from the previous year's 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar was compiled by Charlotte Andrews, Dacia Vieja-Rose, Britt Baillie, and Benjamin Morris. They shared their observations on the sustainability of the tangible-intangible cultural heritage dichotomy, the theme of that year's seminar. This conference followed the full implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, which had been ratified in 2003, but not implemented until April 2006.[60]

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[57] Mounir Bouchenaki, "A Major Advance towards a Holistic Approach to Heritage Conservation: the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention," *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 2 (2017): 108.
[58] Bouchenaki, "A Major Advance," 108.
[59] Bouchenaki, "A Major Advance," 108-109.
[60] Charlotte Andrews, Dacia Viejo-Rose, Britt Baillie, and Benjamin Morris, "Conference Report: Tangible-Intangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy? The 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar," *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 2 (2007): 124.

The Cambridge students reported that a definition of the concepts of tangible heritage and intangible heritage was essential to begin the conference discussion. Next, an argument for the "fluidity of the tangible-intangible distinction" was given by Claude Ardouin, a representative from the British Museum's Department of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, in which he proposed that safeguarding relied on engagement with visitors. Presentations at the conference covered topics including: implications of UNESCO's definition of intangible heritage, the 2003 convention's placation of fears that traditional cultures were disappearing, and Laurajane Smith's notion of "Authorized Heritage Discourse." Smith's presentation specified,

> heritage mediates cultural and social change through the continual construction and negotiation of identity, place, and memory. It is therefore active and performative, illustrated by visitors to heritage sites who engage in a cultural ritual by which they acquire cultural literacy and thus social capital.[61]

This assertion supported the scholarly trend during the early 2000s toward encouraging community engagement with intangible aspects in the protection of tangible heritage.

Once the previous concepts were established, the conference introduced a variety of case studies, each of which sought to "explore how cultural heritage is transformed by the visitor experience, and how its consumers determine what becomes heritage and the various forms it will take."[62] Specific examples of case studies included: heritage as ideas instead of objects, literary heritage, critique on the heritage management strategy of labeling 'living treasures,' and the development of folklore in the twentieth century.[63] Each of these case studies further acknowledged the expansive and multi-faceted definition of heritage from the 2003 convention.

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[61] Andrews, et al., "Conference Report," 126.
[62] Andrews, et al., "Conference Report," 126.
[63] Andrews, et al., "Conference Report," 126-127.

Finally, the Cambridge conference concluded with an assessment of "the influence and implications of tangible and intangible heritage for cultural heritage management."[64] The consensus at this conference was that continuing the conversation of heritage and implementing safeguarding measures for intangible cultural heritage were pertinent considerations for heritage professionals, as emphasized by the formation of the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*. By contributing to the discussion of a full concept of heritage, the presenters hoped that effective practices would emerge in order to safeguard intangible cultural heritage.[65]

Discussions in heritage conservation dissected the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage, by application in real contexts. In fact, the theme of ICOMOS's 16th General Assembly held in Québec in 2009, focused specifically on the spirit of places. Preceded by ICOMOS Australia's Burra Charter, the idea that places have intangible value had been accepted for nearly forty years; however, the concept was still not fully developed. This meeting generated scholarship on the spirit of place, particularly within multi-cultural places such as Québec and New Zealand.[66]

The meeting aimed to look closely into the tangible-intangible cultural heritage dichotomy in order "to develop concepts, identify potential threats and work out sound practices for the conservation and transmission of spirit of place."[67] Participants advanced many views about what "spirit of place" entailed, which aligned with two main perspectives: (1) "how we *react* to a place" and (2) "*engaging* with a place, belonging to it, people being the products of a place."[68] However, perhaps most importantly, it suggested that "there can be more than one spirit

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[64] Andrews, et al., "Conference Report," 127.
[65] Andrews, et al., "Conference Report," 128.
[66] Robyn Burgess, "The Spirit of Place," *Heritage New Zealand* no. 112 (Autumn 2009): 13.
[67] Burgess, "Spirit of Place," 13.
[68] Burgess, "Spirit of Place," 13.

of place, and that it is a dynamic thing that may be ever-changing."[69] Participant Robyn Burgess

argued that if one place embodies multiple spirits, the best way to assess safeguarding measures

is to study the different qualities involved.[70] The ICOMOS General Assembly in Québec

concluded that protection measures recognizing both tangible and intangible aspects were urgent,

and more studies needed to be conducted to produce working methodology to recognize the

different forms of heritage.[71] Burgess's argument is relevant to this thesis because she recognizes

the allowance of multiple values within the same place. She also urges the consideration of the

public's values as stakeholders.

In 2009, works to further conceptualize and contextualize intangible heritage continued.

D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman edited *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, wherein they

revisited the idea that the development of intangible culture has a recognizably important role in

society. In their introduction, Ruggles and Silverman highlighted the 2003 convention's

description of intangible culture as

> a living force that is 'transmitted from generation to generation' and 'constantly
> recreated by communities and groups' in response to their social and physical
> environment. Intangible heritage is an essential aspect of community identity and
> 'promotes respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.'[72]

Ruggles and Silverman's review of the concept of intangible heritage supported the

implications of the 2003 convention. Their book illustrated the need to formalize the ideas about

intangible heritage. Specifically, both editors state,

> The dramatic shift in values implied in the Intangible Heritage Convention is not
> simply the inclusion of new forms of cultural heritage or a shift from permanence

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[69] Burgess, "Spirit of Place," 13.
[70] Burgess, "Spirit of Place," 13.
[71] Burgess, "Spirit of Place," 14.
[72] D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, "From Tangible to Intangible Heritage," in *Intangible Heritage Embodied* (New York: Springer, 2009), 1.

to impermanence. It represents a radical paradigm shift from the objective nature of material culture to the subjective experience of the human being.[73]

The progression of the concept of intangible cultural heritage paralleled a progression in how value was understood to be attributed and manifested culturally.

The same year, 2009, Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta edited a collection of essays that explored heritage concepts within the field of museum studies. This collection highlighted the link between heritage and identity and argued that heritage was essential in forming identities. Anico and Peralta suggested that the essays showed, "Heritage is more than a simple legacy from the past, and incorporates all elements, past and present, that have the ability to represent particular identities in the public sphere."[74] This observation supports the idea that contemporary values are just as important for heritage resources as historic values.

Additionally in 2009, Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa edited *Intangible Heritage,* a book included as a volume in Routledge's Key Issues in Cultural Heritage studies series. Many of the same previous concepts were presented in this book: namely the development of intangible cultural heritage, the inclusion of intangible cultural heritage as a category of heritage other than tangible or natural, and implications from these developments. An issue discussed throughout the book was the acknowledgement of conflicting interpretations, such as contemporary versus traditional concerns. In the book's main discussions, it is evident that heritage professionals were still attempting to reconcile what heritage signifies across disciplines with a corresponding deepening of their understanding of the concept of intangible heritage.[75]

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[73] Ruggles and Silverman, "From Tangible to Intangible Heritage," 11.

[74] Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta, *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), i.

[75] Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, ed. *Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Incorporating Intangible Culture

The early years of the 2003 convention were focused on how to further conceptualize, define, and describe intangible cultural heritage in the world. Although the application of preserving intangible culture had been explored, this alongside tangible culture still needed to be developed. Within the following decade, actions were taken to realize intangible heritage in the context of campus preservation planning in the United States as well as in the context of public art preservation. There were also further improvements in conceptualizing the role of intangible heritage in tourism.

Randall Mason, associate professor of historic preservation and city & regional planning at the University of Pennsylvania, detailed "how heritage values can be assessed in the context of planning and decision making."[76] In addition to discussing different types of value people may give to heritage resources, Mason described the evolution of values, diverse methodologies, and various strategical assessment tools as contributions toward the lack of consistency when value is assigned to cultural significance.[77] Mason constructed a "planning process methodology"[78] as well as a "cultural significance/value assessment process" that could lead to a formalized process.[79]

Prior to the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, Mason proposed "integrated conservation planning," or holistic preservation. After listing the problems with assessing contemporary heritage values, Mason encouraged professionals to follow his proposed steps including identification of stakeholders, characterization of values, assessing methodological

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[76] Mason, "Assessing Values," 5.
[77] Mason, "Assessing Values," 5.
[78] Mason, "Assessing Values," 5.
[79] Mason, "Assessing Values," 7.

issues and strategies, tools, integration and guidance.[80] He suggested using an anthropological

perspective to accommodate for the "full range of values and valuing process attached to heritage

— as opposed to the normative, art historical view common in the conservation field, which a

priori privileges artistic and historical values over others."[81] Mason recognized that "values are

produced out of the interaction of an artifact and its contexts; they don't emanate from the

artifact itself," to his note to identify values from stakeholders, which leads to the importance he

places on giving voice to both "insiders" and "outsiders."[82] He defined insiders as trained

professionals who make decisions about preservation and defined outsiders as local communities

or other members of the public.[83] Mason's proposed methodology is not unlike most other

critical assessment strategies, but a point of interest is his "toolbox approach."[84] By toolbox

approach, he suggested that practitioners should use a case-by-case basis because each resource

will not necessarily require the exact same 'tool' or method. Additionally, a variety of tools are

beneficial for assessing value from insiders and outsiders. For example, he suggested "economic

impact analysis, surveys of tourist, … interviews," should be used to measure different values

that may be represented in a heritage resource.[85] For eliciting heritage values, he suggested using

an ethnographic approach to give a broader context rather than limiting values to certain

normative instruments. He acknowledged that eliciting values from different types of

stakeholders could require different sources, for example interviewing professionals and

surveying community members. He stressed inclusion of *all* values through this part of the

process.[86]

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[80] Mason, "Assessing Values," 6.
[81] Mason, "Assessing Values," 7.
[82] Mason, "Assessing Values," 8.
[83] Mason, "Assessing Values," 14.
[84] Mason, "Assessing Values," 16.
[85] Mason, "Assessing Values," 24.
[86] Mason, "Assessing Values," 24.

After values are elicited, he recommended stating the significance for each. During this step, prioritization of each value can be noted as high or low, not in their priority in relation to each other. The next part of his process is to match values to physical resources and site characteristics.[87] In other words, evaluate the extent of the relationship between tangible and intangible characteristics. Afterward, analysis of threats and opportunities should take place. Finally, policy can be made and actions taken.[88] Once policies and a plan have been made, they can be monitored and revised by checking against the process steps periodically.[89]

Although Mason's process was published a year before the 2003 convention, it does not seem to have been widely applied in preservation practices. His is unique when compared to other processes for decision making because it is "a priori appropriate to heritage conservation [and] robust across all situations."[90]

Across the world in 2011, Özlem Karakul recognized the slow movement to systematize intangible cultural heritage, and noted that its inclusion has been realized mostly in the form of "cultural identity." He argued that intangible cultural heritage's relationship to the built environment in this way allows it to also be taken into consideration alongside its tangible counterpart. He proposed a "holistic approach for analyzing historic built environments as an entity of tangible and intangible cultural properties."[91] He used a village as a case study, and although he focused specifically on the built environment, not tangible culture in general, his conclusions can still be transferred to other tangible representations of culture. His main

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[87] Mason, "Assessing Values," 24.
[88] Mason, "Assessing Values," 25.
[89] Mason, "Assessing Values," 27.
[90] Mason, "Assessing Values," 26.
[91] Özlem Karakul, "An Integrated Approach to Conservation Based on the Interrelations of Tangible and Intangible Cultural Properties," *Middle East Technical University Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* no. 2 (2011): 105.

objective was to suggest a method to consider both tangible and intangible aspects in a cultural resource such as a group of buildings.

Karakul categorized intangible value as either functional, "a shaping factor in culture on the formation and transformation processes of environments," or expressive, "the values and meanings attributed to the built environment through the perception of people."[92] His proposed methodology introduced "the shaping role of intangible values on tangible properties, focusing on functional aspects through a two-way process."[93] However, his distinctive categorization is important because previous literature and research had focused more on the functional aspect of intangible culture than on the expressive aspect.

Karakul further described the aspects of intangible cultural heritage, explaining,

the things produced and affected by [functional and expressive aspects] can be both tangible and intangible properties. Accordingly, the intangible cultural heritage acts as both "producing" and the "produced." Considering the formative power of intangible values on architecture, it can be ascertained that the building materials do not mean anything alone; they are meaningful if only they are transformed to the buildings by human beings, conveying meaning to them.[94]

He supported his notion with the example of bronze: it may not have meaning by itself, but when cast into a sculpture, it attains meaning. A further understanding of the functional and expressive aspects would be a sculpture's value in (1) being a work of a master and (2) being a sculpture that represents a certain meaning to a community. As Karakul's methods demonstrate, tangible cultural resources can hold functional and expressive aspects together within the same property.

Another important point that Karakul made in his case study was the recognition of additional kinds of interrelations between tangible and intangible values present in

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[92] Karakul, "An Integrated Approach," 106.
[93] Karakul, "An Integrated Approach," 106.
[94] Karakul, "An Integrated Approach," 106.

documentation and conservation processes. For example, he pointed out the memory value for traditional laundry buildings:

> Because of the impossibility of the revitalization of the activity of washing, the revitalization approach needs to consider the originality of interrelations in the past and the later attributed values of people, like the memory value with regard to the disappearing social practices with the building for their sustainability.[95]

The idea of a relationship between tangible and intangible values in this way is critical because it acknowledges traditional *and* contemporary values in historic resources.

Following that same theme, in 2012, Andrew Naylor, a British conservator applied a similar idea when conserving outdoor sculpture. Naylor believed that society has a general obligation to care for outdoor sculptures whether they are considered public art, monuments, or memorials. Naylor acknowledged this obligation to regard all three types of cultural outdoor resources as works of art foremost. He also believed that aesthetic value and cultural significance should be recognized by professionals in addition to the physical material when making conservation decisions.[96]

To portray this necessity, he cited the conservation of the sculptural grouping that makes up the O'Connell Street monuments in Dublin. The first of these sculptures appeared in 1882 as a monument to Daniel O'Connell, an Irish political leader. Several of these sculptural monuments subsequently suffered physical damage due to war and uprisings throughout the years. However, physical damage to the statues is not limited to intentional acts of destruction committed to make a political statement. For example, because they are outdoors, the

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[95] Karakul, "An Integrated Approach," 120.
[96] Andrew Naylor, "Conservation and Care of Sculptural Monuments," *Getty Conservation Institute, Conservation Perspectives: Conservation of Public Art* (Fall 2012).

monuments contribute to a sense of place as landmarks that invite physical interaction, such as climbing them or even urinating on them.[97]

The first step was to decide what to restore or leave intact. Physical damage, such as bullet holes, were determined to contribute to the monuments' historical and cultural significance, and therefore they were preserved during conservation actions. The monuments were restored with the intention to preserve the complete historical context.

One of the four Winged Victories in the O'Connell Street sculpture grouping was a special case within Naylor's study. This statue, *Victory by Courage,* particularly suffered damage from political uprisings during the late twentieth century. The conservation of this statue provided an opportunity to revive the statue's patina without erasing its "graphic records of the history of the monument and of Ireland."[98] Conservationists' acknowledgement of events associated with the monument displays a critical thinking approach to the physical care.

Naylor also noted that waxing was the preferred treatment for statues that often come into physical contact with viewers. For example *James Joyce*, also on O'Connell Street, attracts attention because of its prominent location, and people often touch and sit on the base of this statue.[99] This example showed that it is important for preservationists to consider the connection between physical context and interactions. Naylor recognized the value of the public being able to interact with the statue of *James Joyce*. Lounging on this statue may not seem enough to be considered a 'ritual,' but the contribution of this action to the built structure forms a relationship in a similar manner as a tradition or custom. The tangible resource's purpose becomes altered as the public experience and relationship influence the values.

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[97] Naylor, "Conservation and Care.".
[98] Naylor, "Conservation and Care.".
[99] Naylor, "Conservation and Care.".

Adam Grydehøj presented another notable case of grappling with multiple values for resources. Grydehøj approached his study of a Danish town from a heritage tourism perspective exploring the overlap between tradition and heritage. The traditional fishing town of Marstal on the island of Ærø gained exponential growth in popularity when it was the setting for a Danish novel published in 2006 by a Marstal native. Grydehøj analyzed the effects of the conflicting values between the interest garnered from tourism and the elements of local identity.[100]

Grydehøj concluded that the local people of Marstal valued their sense of community identity more than the heritage present there that attracted tourists. However, he noted that,

> A work of literary fiction…is challenging the dominance of tradition in Marstal, leading to a shift of heritage focus from West to East Ærø…It should also be recognized that tradition is by no means inherently superior to heritage; the two simply represent different processes of recreating the past and, to an extent, take place on different levels of the local, national, and global communities…Even disregarding the fact that heritage holds the potential to be exploited for income for the local community, it is possible to ask whether, to use the Ærø example, Danes in general might not possess just as much a right to cultural inheritace localized in Marstal as for the Marstallers themselves. All cultural inheritance is intangible and represents an interpretation of the past. The one is not more 'authentic' than the other.[101]

His observation is important because it recognizes the presence of conflicting values and that both must be considered. Grydehøj's verdict that tradition and heritage produce different values that are both equally important echoes the tangible-intangible relationship within resources. These observations bring up important issues for preservationists to consider — how does one make preservation decisions when one value exists *at the expense* of another? How does one decide which value is more important? Which values warrant preservation?

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[100] Adam Grydehøj, "Negotiating Heritage and Tradition: Identity and Cultural Tourism in Ærø, Denmark," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 7, no. 2 (2012): 113-126.
[101] Grydehøj, "Negotiating Heritage," 124-125.

Revision and Reflection of Heritage Documents

Previously, the parameters of heritage were extended with the recognition of intangible cultural heritage. Then, it was defined into and explored within specific contexts. This process ignited further investigation into what is encompassed within intangible cultural heritage and how to preserve it which began with revisions and reflections on past preservation documents in 2013 and 2014.

The most recent version of Australia's Burra Charter was adopted in 2013, with revisions that evolved with the conversation about preserving places.[102] The following year, professionals reflected on the Nara Document on Authenticity, which culminated in another document, *Nara +20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values, and the Concept of Authenticity*. It was adopted by the participants at the Meeting on the 20th Anniversary of the Nara Document on Authenticity at the invitation of Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs, Nara Prefecture, and Nara City.[103]

The Nara +20 document revised definitions that are important to the development of the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage. To begin with, *conservation* was changed to encompass:

> All actions designed to understand a heritage property or element, know, reflect upon and communicate its history and meaning, facilitate its safeguard, and manage change in ways that will best sustain its heritage values for present and future generations.[104]

Nara +20 also addressed previously undetermined definitions, such as authenticity, community, cultural values, information sources, and stakeholder.

The Nara +20 document specifically addressed conflicting claims and interpretations that

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[102] Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance,* 1.
[103] Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter,* 1.
[104] UNESCO, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, *The Nara Document on Authenticity,* 3.

may occur during assessment of resources. Reviewers of the Nara document recommended that

heritage managers faced with issues of conflicting values should, "engage in community matters

that may affect heritage." The document also addresses the need for the development of

appropriate methodologies that address these issues, just as scholars were calling for in the years

prior to this review.[105]

Incorporation of Perspectives Toward Intangible Culture from Other Fields

Additionally, major conclusions had been drawn by professionals in other fields prior to

and alongside the discussion of intangible culture by preservationists. During revision and

reflection on heritage and what intangible cultural heritage embodied, literature from other fields,

published in previous decades, was found to be applicable. Previous research from other

disciplines can be consulted to conceptualize and contextualize the modern idea of intangible

cultural heritage in more specific forms.

To begin with, anthropologists Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff's anthology of essays

Secular Ritual was compiled in 1977. This work established that rituals are not always obvious;

things considered to be intangible cultural heritage according to reflection in the twenty-first

century are sometimes so familiar that it is difficult to realize as heritage.[106]

In that same vein, sometimes heritage is consciously created as "invented tradition." This

idea was popularized by Eric Hobsbawm in 1988 through a compilation of essays that defined

invented traditions as those that are "actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and

those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period…and

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[105] Agency for Cultural Affairs (Government of Japan), *Nara +20,* 2.
[106] Sally Falk Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, "Introduction," in *Secular Ritual,* ed. Sally Falk Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), 3-24.

establishing themselves with great rapidity."[107] Hobsbawm's studies elaborated on the concept

of "fakelore," which was first introduced by Richard M. Dorson in 1950s.[108] However, Dorson's

studies focused on inauthentic, manufactured folklore (i.e. Paul Bunyan) while the subjects of

Hobsbawm's studies were centered on traditions that had been invented in the spirit of

community.

Hobsbawm emphasized that not all traditions are obvious. University traditions that

enhance comradery are early examples that he used.[109] Hobsbawm's classification of university

acts of comradery as traditions anchors this thesis study's premise that acts of comradery are

intangible culture.

'Invented traditions' may seem fictitious, but they can claim value in their own right with

consistency over passage of time. According to Hobsbawm, an 'invented tradition' is not

necessarily baseless or artificial, but rather simply not what people think as conventional

traditions.[110]

Hobsbawm described the urge to create traditions as a way to impose order on our

understanding of the past.[111] During the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution contributed

to the perspective that old ways should be abandoned because they were "obstacles to

progress."[112] As previously discussed, the ongoing effects of the Industrial Revolution also

sparked interest in preservation and conservation. Although people developed different opinions

about history and modernity, according to Hobsbawm, invented traditions were not seen as

impediments to modern lifestyles.[113]

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[107] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1.
[108] Richard M. Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 4.
[109] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1.
[110] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 4.
[111] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 4.
[112] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 8.
[113] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 8.

Hobsbawm classified three types of invented traditions:

(A) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion of the membership of groups, real or artificial communities;
(B) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and
(C) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior.[114]

Type A includes actions like wearing a family tartan or similarly identifying oneself as a member of a certain group. Hobsbawm gave an example of type B as traditions constructed to assert British authority in colonized India.[115] Type C could relate to Greek social societies, such as college fraternities.

The imposition of contemporary values onto historically-valued resources presents a competition of values, thus it can be difficult to create appropriate preservation procedures that are inclusive and holistic. The topic of conflicting values was further explored by Norwegian research team Grete Swensen, Gro B. Jerpåsen, Oddrun Sæter and Mari Sundli Tveit in 2013. Their research presented in *Landscape Research* contributed to the issue's theme of "place." Similar to previous studies that focused on buildings, they elaborated on what place means with a focus on the tangible-intangible heritage relationship.[116]

The team found that, "the distinction between the tangible and intangible is irrelevant to most people … we have found that it is the intangible aspects—the narratives—that make cultural heritage real to people."[117] This conclusion is especially pertinent to the discussion of intangible cultural heritage because this case again points out the interdependence and

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[114] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 9.
[115] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 9.
[116] Grete Swensen, Gro B. Jerpåsen, Oddrun Sæter & Mari Sundli Tveit, "Capturing the Intangible and Tangible Aspects of Heritage: Personal versus Official Perspectives in Cultural Heritage Management," *Landscape Research*, 38, no. 2 (2013): 203.
[117] Swensen, et al., "Personal versus Official Perspectives," 218.

inseparable nature of tangible and intangible aspects of heritage. They emphasized the need to develop documentation methods to help understand the intangible aspects of heritage, acknowledging the role of social media which engages the public and documents cultural participation.[118]

Managing Intangible Cultural Heritage

In 2014, the discussion continued about how to safeguard intangible cultural heritage. Michelle L. Stefano, Peter Davis, and Gerard Corsane edited a book that incorporated many case examples illustrating issues with safeguarding. The essays, suggested that intangible culture was still not receiving the attention needed to fully protect it. The book discussed how to implement safeguarding efforts, questions of ownership, how to navigate legal frameworks, and issues of authenticity. The compilation also considered how global initiatives, such as the 2003 convention, can be actualized in specific instances at the local level.[119] These discussions are relevant to the thesis because the case studies and analysis seek to apply the safeguarding principles set forth by the 2003 convention.

In an effort to ease local level implementation, Valdimar Hafstein chronicled his experience with the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention in 2018. He described the 2003 convention's purpose as a resolution for recognizing heritage that was previously not included, which provided the ability to communities for expressing their identities.[120] His explanation of the creation of the convention helps to inform preservationists how to apply the principles.

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[118] Swensen, et al., "Personal versus Official Perspectives," 218-219.
[119] Michelle L. Stefano, Peter Davis, and Gerard Corsane, eds. *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Woodbridge: The Boydel Press, 2014).
[120] Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, *Making Intangible Heritage: El Condor Pasa and Other Stories from UNESCO* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018).

Additionally in 2018, Nemanja Filipović's scientific paper was included in *Hotel and Tourism Management.* Filipović researched intangible cultural heritage as a motivation for tourism in Aranđelovac, Serbia. He recognized that culture and tourism have merged into a stronger relationship over time and that tourists were largely interested in visiting places with prominent intangible culture.[121] This is pertinent for the discussion of the thesis because the public is increasingly recognizing the value in intangible heritage.

College and University Culture

Examples presented in this literature review have mainly focused on towns or buildings. However, these perspectives can influence how other types of heritage resources are preserved. Specifically, how do institutions of higher education preserve intangible cultural heritage on their campuses with respect to their identity?

University culture was first explored by Frederick Rudolph, whose research culminated in *The American College and University: A History*, published in 1962. The book was republished in 1990. John R. Thelin provided the new publication's introduction and reviewed the renewed interest in Rudolph's findings. According to Thelin, Rudolph's account of the development of the American experience with higher education established a foundational literature that was used to "introduce the heritage of the American campus," including the development of football culture and counterrevolution.[122]

In conjunction with the renewed interest in studying university culture, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz published her book on campus life in 1988. One of her main points was that alumni

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[121] Nemanja Filipović, "Intangible Cultural Heritage as a Motive for Choosing the Tourist Destination Aranđelovac," *Hotel and Tourism Management* 6, no. 1 (2018): 53.
[122] John R. Thelin, "Rudolph Rediscovered," in *The American College and University: A History* by Frederick Rudolph (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1962), ix.

ties were bound with memories, such as with sports or fraternity relationships. In particular, she wrote that, "Memories could foster college hedonism, as presidents learned when they observed alumni who returned to their fraternity houses on football weekends."[123] Horowitz also suggests that the memories tied to the college experience were responsible for some of the lavish buildings associated with campuses; she wrote, "Alumni members of fraternities and clubs built handsome houses."[124] This idea parallels the idea that the built environment began as intangible culture and then decades later appeared in the field of preservation.

In 1993, George D. Kuh edited a collection of *Cultural Perspectives in Student Affairs Work,* which included contributions from several prominent scholars on this subject such as Kathleen Manning. The book features discussions about the definition of culture, a framework for using culture in the context of student affairs, and properties of institutional culture. The book's last chapter gave direction on how to manipulate student culture for positive advantages.[125]

Manning's "Properties of Institutional Culture" is noteworthy among the other chapters in Kuh's book because it differentiates tangible properties of culture. She includes three categories: physical cultural artifacts, such as memorials, buildings, campus grounds; verbal cultural artifacts, such as sagas or campus language; and behavioral cultural artifacts, such as rituals, rites of passage, and traditions.

Manning's classification of verbal cultural artifacts as a *tangible* property indicates a disconnect from the development of the current ideas of *intangible* culture; in the early 1990s,

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[123] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 54-55.
[124] Horowitz, *Campus Life,* 55.
[125] George D. Kuh, ed. "Preface," *Cultural Perspectives in Student Affairs Work* (Lanham, MD: American College Personnel Association, 1993), viii-ix.

the concept of intangible cultural heritage was still under development in heritage management. She describes "Myths and stories passed on from one student cohort to the next carry messages year after year about what the institution values…" as verbal cultural artifacts. Additionally, Manning specifically addressed rituals and rites of passage. She categorized these as behavioral artifacts because they typically were manifested in tangible, visible action. Manning described traditions such as "class colors, annual social events, [and] expressions of school spirit,"[126] among others. Manning elaborated her thoughts on tradition by writing,

> The rallying cry for a return to tradition can be interpreted as a longing for the "good ol' days" when student aspirations and college expectations were clearer, shared purpose and common cause more easily achieved, and institutional values less conflictual. Another interpretation of these longings is a wish to return to the pre-1960s era when traditions were not considered as "corny" or "silly"; rather, they were events that instilled institutional pride and loyalty in students, faculty, student affairs staff, and others.[127]

In 2000, Kathleen Manning published her own book as part of a Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series. Her research continued on university culture about rituals in higher education. Anthropology and higher education converge in this work, which also preceded the full conceptualization of intangible culture by heritage professionals.[128]

Ten years later Matthew J. Van Jura wrote an article that focused on how traditions could be strengthened and preserved by student affairs professionals. Van Jura opened the article by describing a tragedy at Texas A&M University where several students were crushed while participating in an old campus bonfire tradition in 1999. This tragic example shows that not all student traditions should be automatically preserved or uninhibited; in fact, some student

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[126] Kathleen Manning, "Properties of Institutional Culture," in *Cultural Perspectives in Student Affairs Work,* ed. George D. Kuh (Lanham, MD: American College Personnel Association, 1993), 27.
[127] Manning, "Properties of Institutional Culture," 27.
[128] Kathleen Manning, *Rituals, Ceremonies, and Cultural Meaning in Higher Education* (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 2000).

traditions can have devastating consequences. In his article, Van Jura offered ways in which

student affairs professionals can acknowledge traditions and preserve them in ways that will not

be potentially harmful or marginalize others.[129]

> Van Jura's closing statement sums up his opinion on how heritage should move forward:
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> As decisions are made concerning the future of these rituals, it is important for
> administrators to realize that traditions must remain a primary component of
> student life, that the heritage of traditions should be preserved when possible, that
> the culture of the institution plays a critical role in any decision making process,
> and that to truly serve their purpose, traditions must unite all students as one
> community. To an observer these ceremonies may seem silly or trivial. Yet for
> those who live these rituals, traditions create a bond between students and their
> alma maters that lasts far beyond graduation. Given the potential for positive
> effects on student life, these experiences should be preserved for tomorrow's
> students to enjoy.[130]

He emphasized the need for officials to take notice of the importance of traditions in student

culture and make efforts to preserve them as a strong components of building community. Van

Jura argued that while some traditions have harmful consequences, that should not eliminate *all*

traditions on a college or university campus. Each instance of tradition should be evaluated for

risk factors as well as benefits.

The *Planning for Higher Education* journal's April-June 2011 issue focused on the

preservation of university and college campuses. L. Carole Wharton's introduction to this issue

described the role of preservation within institutions of higher education. Since planners are

designers of campus environments, they are concerned with the concept of sense of place. With

the understanding that places of higher education often include a certain sense of engagement

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[129] Matthew J. Van Jura, "Tradition Today: How Student Affairs Professionals Can Strengthen and Preserve Campus
Traditions," *The Vermont Connection* 31, no. 12 (2010): 107.
[130] Van Jura, "Tradition Today," 115.

with visitors, resulting in value, planners are tasked with designing environments while keeping that "sense" in mind.[131]

The topic theme of the aforementioned journal issue presented issues relevant for designers keeping campuses' sense of place alive. Those issues included: the need for a "framework for the future [as] campus policies and practices originally developed for pre-twentieth century properties defined heritage properties too narrowly," the value of a campus's historic character in master planning and student recruitment, and direction in managing town-gown tensions. Many of these issues were able to be addressed due to a substantial grant from the Getty Foundation through the Society of College and University Planning as part of their partnered Campus Heritage Initiative.[132]

In the same *Planning for Higher Education* issue, Robert Z. Melnick called attention to the benefits found from implementing the Getty Campus Heritage Initiative. Melnick described a campus's sense of place as responsible for many memories that students have after leaving a college.[133] He introduced the concept of "legacy" and that this characteristic is extremely important for campus spaces to embody; he wrote, "colleges and universities present themselves as the keepers and protectors of legacy—intellectual, academic, social, and physical."[134] The Getty Campus Heritage Initiative provided a way to mitigate threats to campus design legacies. It was preceded by a conference to discuss leading issues in 2002. The subsequent grants promoted interest in the heritage found on university campuses and even inspired alumni donations and other funding for campus heritage conservation.[135]

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[131] L. Carole Wharton, "What Will We Remember, What Will We Treasure?" *Planning for Higher Education* 39:3 (April-June 2011): 6.
[132] Wharton, "What Will We Remember," 6.
[133] Robert Z. Melnick, "Caring for America's Colleges and Universities: Stewardship Lessons from the Getty Foundation Campus Heritage Initiative," *Planning for Higher Education* 39:3 (April-June 2011): 8.
[134] Melnick, "Caring for America's Colleges and Universities," 9.
[135] Melnick, "Caring for America's Colleges and Universities," 10.

The Getty Initiative aimed to portray historic preservation as an advantage rather than restriction on campus planning, yet its implementation still mostly focused on tangible resources, such as buildings and landscapes, as the primary means for preserving an intangible sense of memory or community. The University System of Georgia created "campus historical preservation plan guidelines" in 2005 as a device which could help campuses determine cultural resources, then produce a methodological management plan.[136] However, this tool only considers historic architecture or landscape resources.[137]

The Getty Campus Heritage Initiative attempted to bridge the gap between campus planning and the incorporation of historic preservation. Melnick found that, "The most important observation … is the impact of this initiative in sparking a national discussion and effort to identify, assess, and preserve campus heritage resources."[138] This project was successful, but as of 2009, it seemed that historic preservation was only considered in campus planning when new construction was underway rather than taken into consideration to fully preserve campuses.[139] However, Melnick noted that "there is a real need to develop and share models for the integration of historic resources within broader campus planning efforts."[140] While he is referring to including historic preservation in all aspects of planning, incorporation of all types of heritage, especially those that are intangible but relate strongly to tangible resources present on a campus should also be included.

Another method for campus heritage planning was presented by Charles A. Craig, David N. Fixler, and Sarah D. Kelly in the same *Planning for Higher Education* issue. This article

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[136] Melnick, "Caring for America's Colleges and Universities," 12.

[137] "Campus Historical Preservation Plan Guidelines," University System of Georgia, 2005. Accessed February 2019, https://www.usg.edu/assets/facilities/documents/campus_historic_preservation.pdf.

[138] Melnick, "Caring for America's Colleges and Universities," 15.

[139] Melnick, "Caring for America's Colleges and Universities," 15.

[140] Melnick, "Caring for America's Colleges and Universities," 16.

outlined considerations and suggested references for campus planners. Again, however, these planning guidelines only considered the built and landscape environments.[141]

In 2013, Charles H. Wade discussed the ritual associated with a tree at Dartmouth College which provides a poignant example of tradition's role in student culture and the effects of changing institutional identity.

As Wade notes, Dartmouth College was founded with the goal of training Native American missionaries.[142] There was a ritual during graduation season at Dartmouth that involved a tree, commonly referred to as the Old Pine. This ritual is special because it continued even though the coordinating tangible resource used in the ritual — the tree — died.[143]

The Old Pine first attracted attention for its unique shape, which people interpreted as visible "marks of its struggle for survival."[144] This tree evolved into the "very symbol of Dartmouth" because it was so prominent and beloved.[145] The tree's early history is unkown, which according to Wade led to the "necessity of folklore and legend to creating places."[146] The tree is imbued with legend, and it is said that the Old Pine grew alongside Dartmouth. The myths surrounding the Old Pine added to its cultural value, and the symbolic value of the tree for the college continued as it has been included in many official Dartmouth emblems.[147]

The Old Pine has been included in traditional rituals since the eighteenth century. The Old Pine's ritual supposedly is based on a legend involving three Native American students who sang "to commemorate their friendship, their sadness at parting upon graduation, and their

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[141] Charles A. Craig, David N. Fixler, and Sarah D. Kelly, "A Rubric for Campus Heritage Planning," *Planning for Higher Education* 39:3 (April-June 2011): 55-70.

[142] Charles H. Wade, "Legends in the Landscape: Myth as Material Culture at Dartmouth College," *Material Culture* 45, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 28.

[143] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 29.

[144] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 31.

[145] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 31.

[146] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 31.

[147] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 31.

pledge to return someday to meet again."[148] This legend may hold some truth since it has been

documented that the song was indeed sung by students around that time. However, there is no

evidence to support the original provenance of the song. The singing celebration would therefore

qualify as an invented tradition; the ritual may not have had true origins but became authentic

heritage in its own right with the passage of time.

The legend surrounding the Old Pine also contributed to the creation of 'Class Day,'

which was part of the graduation ceremony tradition at Dartmouth. The Class Day tradition also

centered around the idea that the Old Pine had previously been Native American hunting grounds

for Native Americans. According to legend, the chiefs would follow their smoking session after

hunting with a ritual to celebrate friendship. This ritual consisted of "ceremonially [breaking

their pipes] to seal their pledge"[149] of friendship. This story inspired an informal student tradition

of smoking pipes at the Old Pine. As years passed, formal Class Day exercises began to include

singing, readings, and eventually smoking of pipes. This ceremony included breaking the pipes

on the Old Pine as well. According to Wade's research, these Class Day rituals contributed to the

feeling of community among students at Dartmouth and solidified the Old Pine as Dartmouth's

symbol. Unfortunately, the tree suffered damage over the years: in 1887 it was struck by

lightning and in 1892 it was broken by wind.[150]

As stakeholders, alumni tried to save the tree, but it had to be cut down in 1895. As a

compromise between keeping the tree and taking environmental action, "the stump was

preserved by chemical means."[151] Stewards of the tree attempted to preserve the stump in order

to "perpetuate the memory and keep vital the host of traditions which cluster about the Old

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[148] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 32.
[149] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 33.
[150] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 34.
[151] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 34.

Pine."[152] The associated traditions were also acknowledged on a plaque installed at the stump. Therefore, the tradition outlived the actual tangible resource.

Almost a century afterwards, however, the tradition's appropriateness was questioned. In addition to being a tool for solidifying the college community in a positive way, the traditions involving the Old Pine also reinforced class entitlement of the white male. As the student population diversified, the tradition of the clay pipes was not necessarily seen as politically correct, particularly from the perspective of new Native American students which led to controversy.[153] Opponents of the tradition alleged that the clay pipe tradition promoted the sense of class and race disparity they viewed in Dartmouth's institutional identity. A student committee voted against continuing the pipe smashing tradition and chose to replace it with a candlelight ceremony. Wade cited that students who currently choose to participate in the pipe breaking tradition do so out of a perceived obligation to future students, or simply because the tradition is enjoyable, not because of its controversial foundational significance.[154] In other words, students who continue the tradition do so for the sake of tradition rather than using it as cultural appropriation.

Wade concluded his investigation writing,

regarding the totality of the interrelationships between rituals, their meanings, and their associated material culture, these objects 'are the product, center, and soul of a social group's self-manifestation,' created to 'speak' and be 'heard' to at least the members of the culture they embody and manifest through a variety of sensory codes.[155]

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[152] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 34.
[153] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 37.
[154] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 39.
[155] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 42.

By this, he explained that a community's values are exhibited in how its members interact with their physical heritage and how physical heritage is created for interaction; rituals and the "artifacts utilized in their celebrations"[156] are inseparable. This example is relevant to this thesis because it explored the reasoning behind exclusion of an intangible ritual that was no longer valuable to the majority of involved stakeholders. Wade's study of the Old Pine presents a alternative for preservationists to consider when assessing value for iconic collegiate symbols; sometimes assessment results in the decision to *not* safeguard intangible cultural heritage when the community can no longer identify with it.

Theresa Jennings's 2015 thesis *Leaving School and Intangible Cultural Heritage* explored how school traditions have an impact on students while they are in school and after they have left. Her research documented how students in the context of Western culture have school departure rituals that should be considered intangible cultural heritage alongside more conventionally considered rituals. Although Jennings's research concerned a school context, she did not research a university population; she used a government school in Australia that was relatively new, with a large population with a variety of personal backgrounds for her case study.[157] Her research included material manifestations of intangible memories tied to school traditions.[158] Jennings's main conclusion is that, "through applying the example of school departure rituals, that heritage discourse does not adequately explain Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) in the Western world performed by young people."[159] In other words, the concept of intangible cultural heritage does not allow for familiar examples of Western culture to be assessed as such. As shown through my review of heritage literature, her conclusion remains

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[156] Wade, "Legends in the Landscape," 42.
[157] Theresa Jennings, "Leaving School and Intangible Cultural Heritage," (Curtin University, 2015), 45-46.
[158] Jennings, "Leaving School," 71.
[159] Jennings, "Leaving School," 141.

valid; "scholarly heritage literature has a strong focus on expressions of ICH that occur in the developing world." Jennings also recommended further study into the use newly introduced social networking sites to explore attributed public value.

Picking up on the theme of student culture, a year later in 2016, Victoria E. Dobiyanski completed her research on student expectations of traditions toward a degree of Doctor of Education. Dobiyanksi's research was inspired by the bonfire collapse at Texas A&M, her alma mater.[160] Using the population at Florida State University for her research, Dobiyanski reached a conclusion similar to Van Jura's — students have a stronger bond to a school when there are traditions that build community.[161] Dobiyanski's point is equally important as Van Jura's to this study because it recognizes that in a college or university context, safeguarding intangible heritage is beneficial for the institution as a whole.

With issues of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage on campuses, university preservation professionals were confronted with many difficulties for determining which examples of intangible cultural heritage to safeguard and how to do so. Jason G. Speck analyzed this in his 2014 article for *Archival Issues*. Speck believed the documentation and record of campus folklore is the responsibility of a college or university's archives. He conceded that not all campus tales and legends have virtue, but he asserted that it is important to keep a record of them as part of the campus history nonetheless. Like Horowitz two decades before, Speck noted that the understanding of campus history fosters long-lasting connections which often return as a benefit through alumni donations.[162] He points out that the remaining dilemmas for college or

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[160] Victoria E. Dobiyanski, "From Orientation to Graduation: Diverse Student Experiences of Campus Traditions at Florida State University," (Florida State University, 2016), iii.
[161] Dobiyanski, "From Orientation to Graduation," 111.
[162] Jason G. Speck, "Walking the High Wire: the Impact of Campus Tales and Legends on the College or University Archivist," *Archival Issues* 35, no. 2 (2014): 115.

university archivists are how to record campus folklore and how to present it for the public. Speck studied the University of Maryland Archives as a case study, and concluded that its "tales and legends toolkit" could be a model for other universities to archive similar aspects of campus culture. The toolkit is based on four pillars: quality work and trust, perceived authority, public voice, and archival holdings. He remarked that these pillars are especially useful as a model because they work for dealing with the potential benefits of preserving the folklore. While most of Speck's explanation deals with issues that are not necessarily related to intangible culture, he concluded, "Archivists are not only obligated to the historical record, but are also obligated to themselves as professionals to understand and value their role in the preservation and dissemination of the historical record for the public good."[163] This observation highlights the need for consistent engagement between archivists and other professionals who take part in preserving historic campus resources.

Summary

A focus of efforts since the 1970s, intangible cultural heritage was officially recognized as heritage that was not strictly tangible or natural in the 1990s. The next step was to fully realize what intangible cultural heritage encompassed, as seen in discussions about the spirit of place. Further conceptualization resulted from outcomes of the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention. Later, ideas of intangible cultural heritage were challenged in practice, such as in campus preservation planning, outdoor sculpture conservation, and heritage tourism. New development in the concept of intangible cultural heritage inevitably led to revision and reflection regarding how it was defined. Lastly, the ideas of what had been categorized as intangible cultural heritage

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[163] Speck, "Walking the High Wire," 124.

were not confined to the fields of preservation or conservation; other disciplines had been developing methods for managing unseen heritage aspects as well. Higher education scholars and professionals had been discussing the concepts of tradition and heritage values on college and university campuses since the 1960s.

Synthesis

The evolution of intangible cultural heritage exposed many issues regarding the complexity of heritage. The most important issues raised within this literature review consist of deciding what falls under the scope of intangible cultural heritage, how to apply principles from the 2003 intangible heritage convention in specific cases, and accommodating for values from the public. Works that are central to my argument include those by Mason, Hobsbawm, Naylor, and Wade.

Mason's processes provide specific details in order to follow his steps when addressing issues in developing preservation policy. His processes take into account how preservation policy-makers can decide what is valuable, such as intangible culture, and how to apply appropriate principles. Most importantly, eliciting information about what the stakeholders find valuable is essential.

Next, the Hobsbawm work presents a framework for which rituals with unknown provenance found on college or university campuses can be legitimately categorized as intangible culture. Specifically, type A of Hobsbawm's typology serves as a basis for arguing that unifying acts found on university campuses qualify as invented traditions. By designating campus actions as heritage practices, they can be considered as such in other sources and

documentation, such as UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage.[164] According to

these parameters, traditions that act to solidify the student experience, or unite other stakeholders

for the university statues, can be classified as intangible cultural heritage per UNESCO's

definition. This study concerns type A because the statues examined in this study are integral

parts of the communities of Columbia University and Harvard University. The traditions

associated with this study's statues relate to the community identity of stakeholders.

Additionally, the examples used in Naylor's article are relevant to this thesis because they

present similar physical conservation problems as in the case studies of *Alma Mater* and *John

Harvard*. While not all the damage to the O'Connell Street statues is the result of intangible

culture, the statues display similar issues that preservationists are faced with on college or

university campuses.

Likewise, the case of Dartmouth's Old Pine presented by Wade is relevant because it

presents a similar challenge to those examined in this thesis — how to confront issues of

intangible cultural heritage associated with iconic school symbols. Dartmouth's response toward

the intangible cultural heritage associated with the Old Pine reflected how the school wished to

portray itself. Each of these works contributes to understanding the complex problems that the

preservationists for *Alma Mater* and *John Harvard* must address.

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[164] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 2.

CHAPTER 3

CASE I: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S *ALMA MATER* STATUE

<u>Background of the Statue</u>

Columbia University in the City of New York is an Ivy League American university located in the Morningside Heights neighborhood in the Upper West Side of Manhattan. It was founded in 1754 by King George II of England, and it was originally called the King's College. In 1784, after the American Revolution, the school renamed itself Columbia to align with its identity as an "embodi[ment] of the patriotic fervor that had inspired the nation's quest for independence."[165]

History of the Statue and Campus Design

The campus moved to its current location in 1897. The 1897 move allowed university president Seth Low to advance his vision of "promot[ing] the university ideal for the College,"[166] whereby he combined many of the surrounding schools (including Barnard College in 1900) into one university. The new campus, Morningside Heights, was meant to be an urban academic village designed by the architectural firm McKim, Mead, and White.[167]

Sitting on the steps leading up to Columbia University's Low Memorial Library, the focal point of the Morningside campus, is the *Alma Mater* statue, which was dedicated in 1903. Created by Daniel Chester French, the bronze statue was originally covered in gold leaf to

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[165] "History," About, Columbia University in the City of New York, accessed September 20, 2018.
[166] "History," About, Columbia University in the City of New York.
[167] "Barnard's Story," History, Barnard College-Columbia University; "History," About, Columbia University in the City of New York.

protect against oxidation.[168] Low Memorial Library was included in the National Register of

Historic Places and was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1987. The nomination states

that the library,

> is the symbolic center of Columbia University. It is separated from the street by
> several flights of steps, two landings, and a wide landscaped esplanade. Midway
> up the stairs is the seated statue of Alma Mater by Daniel Chester French. Here,
> weather permitting, graduation ceremonies are held with the classic Beaux-arts
> Low Memorial as a backdrop.[169]

Although the nomination does not explicitly mention *Alma Mater* as a contributing part of the

building, this description implies that the statue is an important figure in this space. Images and

captions associated with the nomination further support its importance (Figure 1).[170]
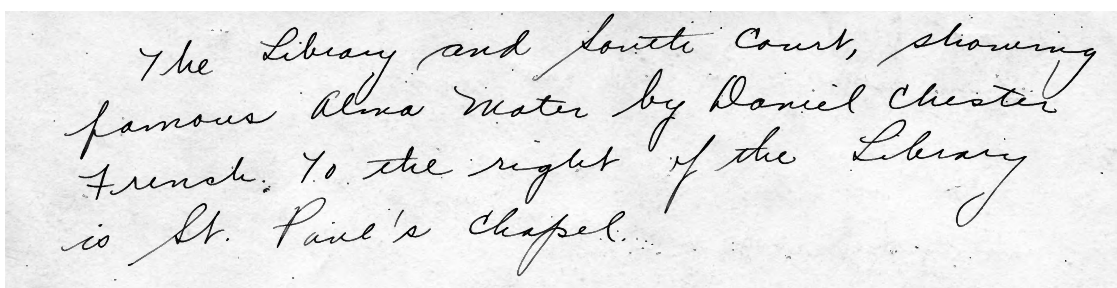

Figure 3. Low Memorial Library National Register Nomination Form Image, 1987.

Chief architect Charles McKim planned to have a regal statue on the steps leading up to

the Low Library to complete his design of the space, but he did not conceive the specific idea of

Alma Mater. In fact, the concept of personifying "alma mater" came from a generous donation

by the widow of a Columbia alumnus. She commissioned the figure with an inscription to bear

memory of her late husband, and the university trustees accepted her offer.

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[168] Dianne Durante, *Outdoor Monuments of Manhattan: A Historical Guide* (New York University Press: 2007), 229; Julia Golia, "Alma Mater: In the 20th Century," Columbia University Library Archives, last modified 2010, accessed January 2017, https://library.columbia.edu/locations/cuarchives/resources/almaearly/alma20cent.html.
[169] Carolyn Pitts, "Low Memorial Library," National Register of Historic Places Inventory — Nomination Form, last modified 1987, accessed May 2018.
[170] Pitts, "Low Memorial Library."

As the statue's title suggests, *Alma Mater* is meant to personify the broad concept of education, not to represent any particular person. The words *alma mater* mean "nourishing mother," and the term has been associated with places of higher education since the founding of the University of Bologna in 1088.[171] The symbols used in French's rendering of the figure allude to other figures such as the Statue of Liberty, as well as Columbia's seal, which also includes a female representation of educational ideals.[172] French once spoke of the statue as, "a figure that should be gracious in the impression that it should make, with an attitude of welcome to the youths who should choose Columbia as their College."[173] French intended the statue to tangibly represent the scholastic values of Columbia, as symbolized by the university seal.

Conservation and Student Interaction

Alma Mater has changed in many ways since her installation nearly 120 years ago. Throughout the twentieth century, some of these changes were accidental, but many were intentional. For example, home run baseballs hit by Columbia's Henry Louis Gehrig struck the statue on more than one occasion during the 1920s causing accidental physical damage that was repaired at the time. On other occasions, *Alma Mater* was altered to mitigate weathering or to enhance its beauty. The original gold leaf had almost completely flaked off by 1950 and was removed entirely by the Department of Buildings and Grounds to allow for an aged patina to develop. The most prominent change to the statue was that same department's application of a "modern bronze veneer" in 1962 which was meant as a measure to prevent the previously desired oxidation, which had resulted in a green patina. Because of ensuing public criticism, this

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[171] Julie Golia, "Alma Mater: Early History," Columbia University Library Archives, last modified 2010, accessed January 2017, https://library.columbia.edu/locations/cuarchives/resources/almaearly.html.
[172] Durante, *Outdoor Monuments of Manhattan*, 230.
[173] Durante, *Outdoor Monuments of Manhattan*, 231.

veneer was removed to placate stakeholders who wanted evidence of the statue's age. According to a 1962 *Columbia Spectator* article, the statue's green patina had become part of its identity, establishing it as "Green *Alma Mater*."[174] Revealing the patina also reinforced the school's legacy as an established leader in education. According to the Columbia University Library Archives' account of the 1962 change,

> *Alma Mater*'s appearance represented the chronic identity crisis with which the university grappled throughout the century. Should Columbia emphasize its role as a modern, forward-looking institution that paved way for other schools? Or should she remain true to her history and traditions?[175]

This account describes a dilemma that continues to be debated in historic preservation: how to celebrate the contemporary values while respecting the old ones. The preservation approach toward *Alma Mater* was and continues to be scrutinized by the public because of the statue's iconic connection to the embodiment of the university's values.

Alma Mater's story includes more than physical changes: towards the latter half of the 1960s, Columbia students became very involved in political and social activism concerning national issues like war and university bureaucracy. The most notable event on Columbia's historic Morningside campus, where *Alma Mater* resides, was the protest of spring 1968, which occurred in a response to political issues within the nation and the university. Since this protest, the Morningside campus has continued to be the center of activism and student gatherings. Along with representing the identity of the university, to some, *Alma Mater* also embodied the university's shortcomings. Events of the late 1960s, such as the Tet Offensive in the Vietnam War, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the assassination of Robert Kennedy, and the

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[174] Associated Press, "Green Alma Mater Returns to Campus," *Columbia Daily Spectator,* CVII, no. 18, October 23, 1962.
[175] Julia Golia, "Alma Mater: In the 20th Century."

riots at the Democratic National Convention fueled student protests that resulted in serious

consequences.

Additionally in 1968, students challenged university efforts for separate entrances to

delineate between students and community users of a campus gymnasium. Students were against

the separation of students and community users because they felt this would lead back to racial

segregation. At this time, students also opposed the university's contracts with the Department of

Defense involving the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.[176] These tensions caused students to protest

more passionately than before, and in spring of 1970, a bomb was placed near *Alma Mater,*

destroying part of the statue.[177] According to a guidebook entitled *Outdoor Monuments of*

Manhattan, "the bombing of *Alma Mater* would seem to have been a flat-out rejection of what

the statue and Columbia stood for: Learning and Wisdom, and the fabric of advanced civilization

that was built on them."[178] The destruction caused by the bomb remained as a testament to the

political climate of the early 1970s until it was restored in 1978.[179] The restoration was a pivotal

point in the interpretation and value of *Alma Mater* because the statue's previously accepted

significance was challenged and altered.

Current Uses of the Statue

Today, *Alma Mater* is treasured by students and constantly attracts visitors; it is a campus

landmark, as well as a New York City tourist attraction. The statue and the surrounding area

remain a site for political activism, and students continue to use the statue as a prop in protest or

public discussion. For example, students who opposed the university's involvement in the Iraq

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[176] Durante, *Outdoor Monuments of Manhattan*, 231-232.
[177] Julia Golia, "Alma Mater: In the 20th Century."
[178] Durante, *Outdoor Monuments of Manhattan,* 232.
[179] Julia Golia, "Alma Mater: In the 20th Century."

War made their feelings known by placing a black shroud over *Alma Mater*'s head.[180] More recently, in June 2018, Columbia's graduate student union utilized the statue during a protest.[181] With the understanding of the sense of place the statue contributes to Low Plaza, Columbia's archivists requested materials from this protest for preservation purposes, and photos were also taken for the university archives.

Alma Mater was not just used as a site of protest for symbolic reasons; it also has been used to "create new traditions that fostered a sense of community among Columbians."[182] Some traditions grew organically as part of the statue's history, such as its role as a landmark in a gathering space traditionally used by students. On the other hand, some traditions were consciously introduced over time. For instance, part of the sculpture includes a mysterious owl hidden in the garments' folds. It can only be speculated as to why French did this; he never explained his choice to include the owl. Common speculation includes that it symbolizes the fraternity French belonged to, or that it simply symbolizes wisdom — perhaps a tribute to Athena.[183] However, there is an important distinction that this statue is *not* a representation of Athena. The concept of "alma mater" does not embody the pursuit of wisdom; it signifies a community that students find support, comfort, and identity in.

Characterization of Values Associated with the Statue

The statue is culturally significant for many reasons, according to many different types of stakeholders. Following Mason's method of characterizing values, it was important to address all

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[180] Julie Golia, "Alma Mater: In the 21st Century," Columbia University Library Archives, last modified 2010, accessed January 2017, https://library.columbia.edu/locations/cuarchives/resources/almaearly/alma21cent.html.
[181] Jocelyn Wilk, University Archivist at Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, interview by Maura Jackson, July 6, 2018.
[182] Julie Golia, "Alma Mater: Lore and Pranks," Columbia University Library Archives, last modified 2010, accessed January 2017, https://library.columbia.edu/locations/cuarchives/resources/almaearly/almalore.html.
[183] Julie Golia, "Alma Mater: Lore and Pranks."

types of heritage. In order to do so, he recommended taking an anthropological perspective "to understand the full range of values and valuing process attached to heritage."[184] Mason also recommended using an extensive variety of sources to account for as much information as possible from which to analyze significance in resources, including values from "insiders" and "outsiders." This method also accounts for values that may be in conflict toward their associated resource.[185] Because Mason stressed the necessity to use a variety of sources, the values associated with *Alma Mater* are presented by method in which the information was obtained and will conclude with a summary of cultural values associated with *Alma Mater* and the stakeholder group(s) that attribute each value (Table 1).

Historical Values

According to university lore, male students who were able to locate the owl hidden within the statue were destined to marry a student from Barnard, Columbia's all female sister school. Another popular legend foretold that "the first member of [Columbia's] freshman class to find the owl would be valedictorian four years later."[186]

Dating back to at least 1928, pranks continue to be another form of intangible culture that involve *Alma Mater*. Members from Cornell University, Columbia's rival, were the culprits of many pranks over the years including the removal of pieces of the statue as well as painting her.[187]

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[184] Mason, "Assessing Values," 7.
[185] Mason, "Assessing Values," 5.
[186] Julie Golia, "Alma Mater: Lore and Pranks."
[187] Julie Golia, "Alma Mater: Lore and Pranks."

Archival Account

The Columbia University Library Archives keeps an account of information about *Alma Mater* because of ongoing interest from the public. The archives staff does not participate in the physical care of the statue, rather it provides a variety of resources for people who wish to learn more about *Alma Mater*. Since the statue is an iconic representation of the university, archival images of the statue are often sought by the public. Students and outsiders also often request historical information about *Alma Mater* from the archives.

Most of the library's archival records are old collections and are not updated, having been superseded by current online resources that are easily searchable without visiting the archives. This results in certain events, such as protests, being made note of in the archives, while notes of other university events that make use of the statue, such as a prop for decoration, are not added to the file.[188]

Archivist Jocelyn Wilk confirmed that the *Alma Mater* statue is a symbol of the university and "intrinsically a part of the university."[189] The statue's position and proximity to the Low Library provide a sense of place and reinforce *Alma Mater*'s value as an iconic image of Columbia's campus.[190] Supporting of the idea of this statue as a Columbia icon, archival information states that the contemporary preservation of the statue continues to be "cognizant of *Alma Mater*'s central role in the university's traditions and history, [and] the university hopes to ensure that the beloved statue will remain part of the community for years to come."[191] Ms. Wilk also mentioned that recent restoration measures of the statue occurred in 2003 and 2018.[192]

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[188] Wilk, interview.
[189] Wilk, interview.
[190] Wilk, interview.
[191] "Julie Golia, "Alma Mater: In the 21st Century."
[192] Restoration measures took place and were completed as shown through my other research.

Instagram

Instagram was a useful source for examining how the statue was perceived from university and public perspectives. Columbia University's main account (@columbia) was explored, as well as posts from other accounts containing searchable keywords using the hashtags #columbiaalmamater, #columbiaalmamaterstatue and #almamaterstatue. Since the term "alma mater" is not uniquely affiliated with Columbia University, only the posts that specifically referenced the Columbia statue were considered in my review. Likewise, only Instagram posts that included the statue in the image were considered. Neither Columbia University Archives nor Columbia University Art Properties had accounts on this social media platform, but posts from these departments were found within Columbia's main Instagram account.

Columbia University

All 1,121 posts from Columbia's main Instagram account were examined. Only 73 of those were images that included the statue. Of these, only two posts referenced the owl and the tradition of searching for it.[193] Other photos indicated the statue's intangible cultural heritage value in terms of her role in creating a sense of place in Low Plaza. None of the total posts showed any evidence of pranks or additional forms of intangible culture.[194]

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[193] Columbia University (@columbia), "It's #WorldEmojiDay!" Instagram, July 17, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BlVnJQtl_Db/?taken-by=columbia.
[194] Columbia University (@columbia), https://www.instagram.com/columbia/.

Figure 4. Columbia University (@columbia), "It's #WorldEmojiDay!" Instagram photo, July 17, 2018. https://www.instagram.com/p/BlVnJQtl_Db/?taken-by=columbia.

The first example of a post featuring the owl (Figure 4) did not specifically mention any rituals or traditions related to it, but rather used a GIF of the owl flying out from its hiding spot in the statue to advertise a campus emoji system.[195] The post suggests that the ritual still has a presence in the student culture.

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[195] Columbia University (@columbia), https://www.instagram.com/columbia/.

Figure 5. Columbia University (@columbia), "Throwback Thursday: According to an old…" Instagram photo, September 4, 2014, https://www.instagram.com/p/siCTZ3no6V/.

An official Columbia University Instagram post from 2014 (Figure 5) featured the owl-finding tradition in a picture from the 1950s. This post provides evidence that the tradition was once acknowledged by students, and the superstition of becoming valedictorian was incentive for finding the owl.

Columbia University's official posts also included a short video about restoring the *Alma Mater* statue (Figure 6). In this short clip, narrated by the curator of Art Properties, Dr. Roberto Ferrari states,

> Alma Mater is the heart of this university. And it's a bronze statue. She was gilded, so literally the statue was gold. When you want to do care and conservation you don't want to necessarily bring everything back to its origin.

> Sometimes the history and the lifeline of a work of art is just as important as the original context in which it appeared.[196]

There are two key points from this information: (1) the statue is very important to the Columbia community and (2) *Alma Mater*'s present value is just as important as its historical value. Thus, one would expect both of these attitudes to be reflected in the preservation practices for the statue; however, the conflicting values at times compete with each other in the actual stewardship of the statue.
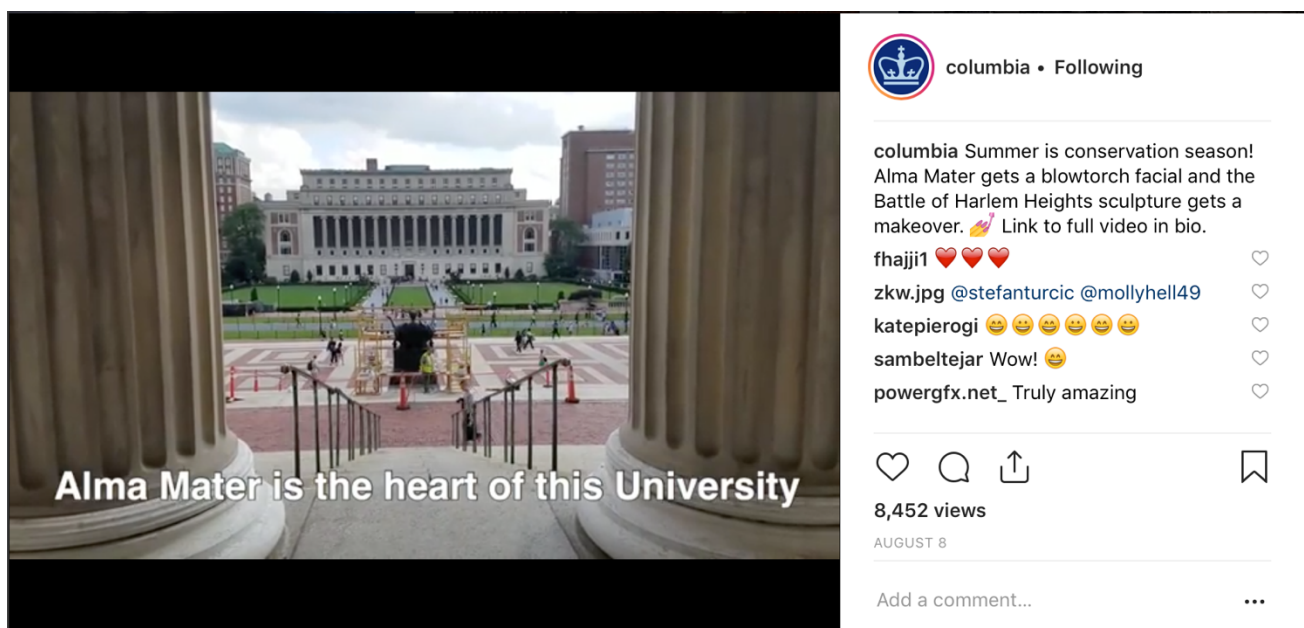

Figure 6. Columbia University (@columbia), "Summer is conservation season!" Instagram photo, August 8, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BmOwVTXnYHp/?taken-by=columbia.

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[196] Columbia University (@columbia), "Summer is conservation season!" Instagram, August 8, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BmOwVTXnYHp/?taken-by=columbia.
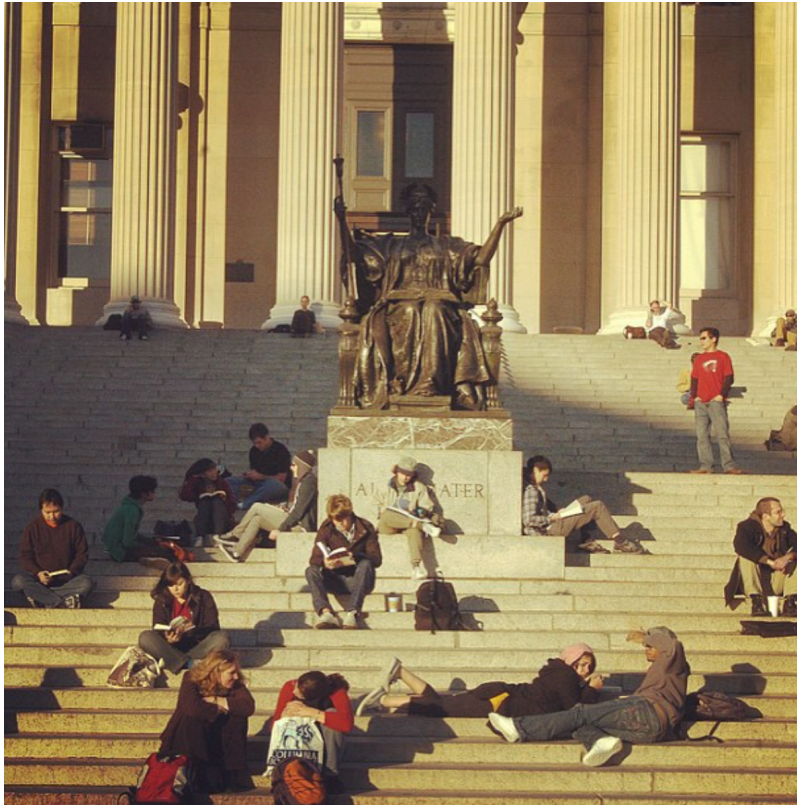
Figure 7. Columbia University (@columbia), "Sitting on Low Library Steps with Alma Mater," Instagram photo, October 2, 2013, https://www.instagram.com/p/e-my1Sno0f/.

Figure 8. Columbia University (@columbia), "It's Spring at Low Beach," Instagram photo, February 21, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BfeM6SJnTQo/.

In Figures 7 and 8, the value of *Alma Mater* depends on her contribution to her surroundings. In Figure 7, the use of the surrounding Low Plaza indicates the sense of place it embodies, anchored by the statue. In Figure 8, the caption includes the nickname "Low Beach" which refers to the statue's connection to the design of this plaza as a place for events and socializing. Additionally, the plaza's sense of place relates to its use as the location for commencement (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Columbia University (@columbia), "Commencement Week 2014!" Instagram photo, May 21, 2014, https://www.instagram.com/p/oRf4R-Ho11/.

There were also indications of the presence of *Alma Mater* contributing to the *feel* of the space (Figure 10). The caption on this image, "#feels" describes the valuable sense of place given by Low Plaza and Morningside campus as shown in the short video clip of snow falling on the plaza.
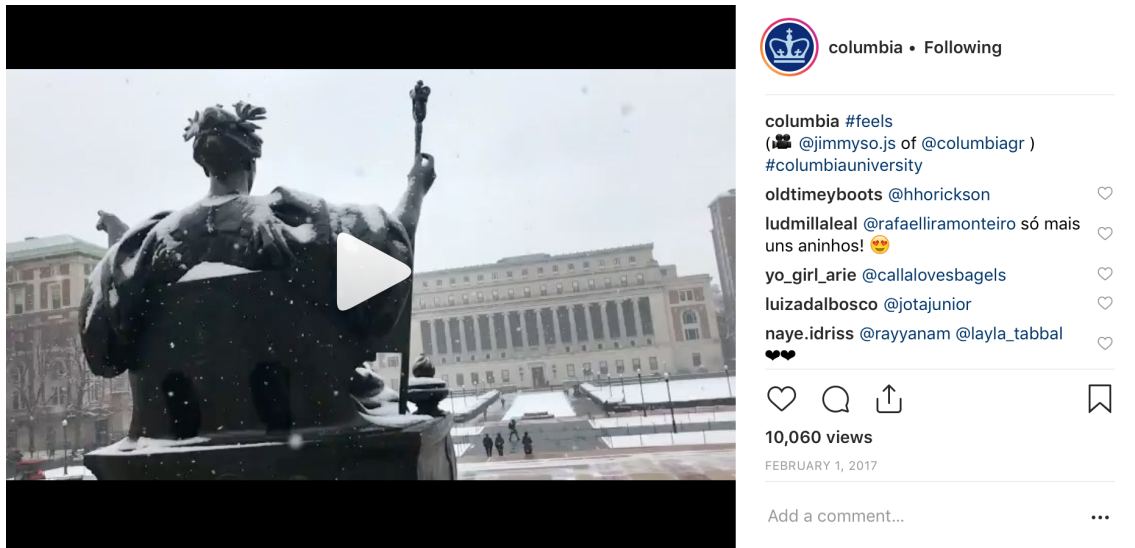
Figure 10. Columbia University (@columbia), "#feels," Instagram photo, February 1, 2017, https://www.instagram.com/p/BP-a5KhBqgi/.

Other images simply acknowledged the presence of *Alma Mater* in Low Plaza by writing, "Alma Mater presides over #morningsidecampus," (Figure 11).
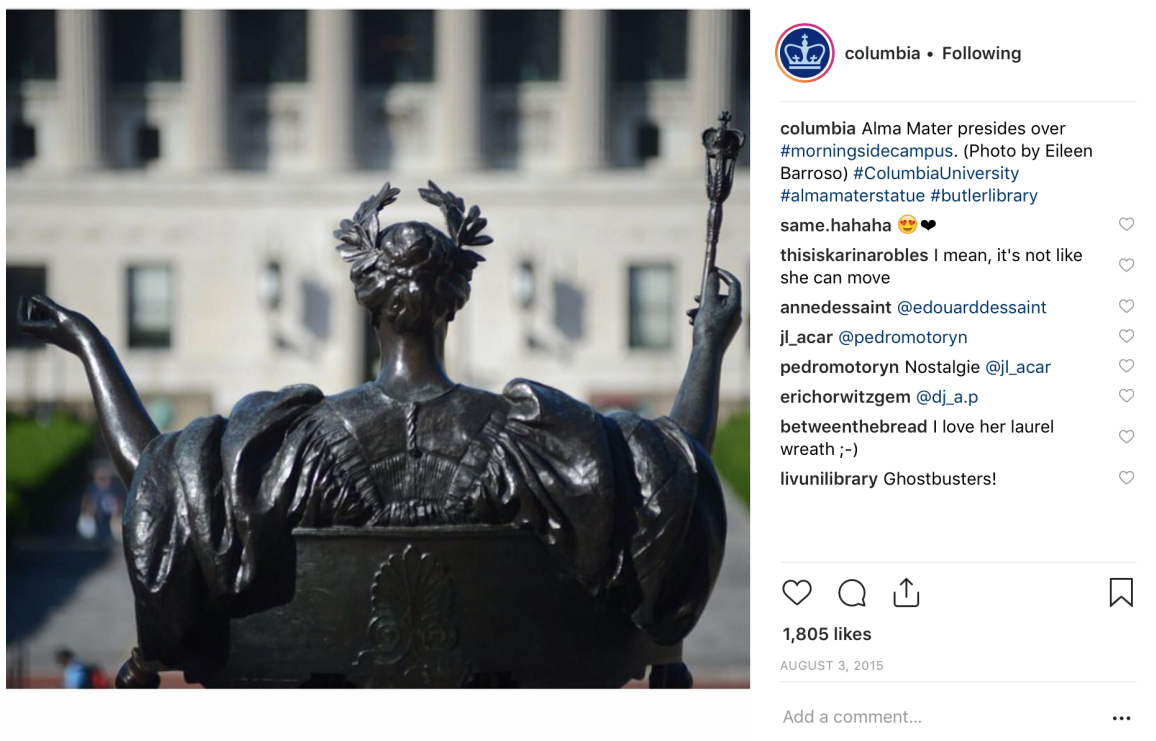
Figure 11. Columbia University (@columbia), "Alma Mater presides over #morningsidecampus," Instagram photo, August 3, 2015, https://www.instagram.com/p/BmOwVTXnYHp/?taken-by=columbia.

<u>Alma Mater Statue</u>

The next group of posts were those containing #almamaterstatue. There were 44 posts, 34 of which referenced Columbia's *Alma Mater,* while the others showed other statues such as one on the University of Illinois's campus. None of these posts mentioned the owl or any tradition associated with the statue. Instead, these posts welcomed students, showed school spirit from sports teams, and celebrated the statue's artistic value. Most were from school-affiliated accounts, but some were from tourists.

Figure 12. [preplife21] (@preplife21), "#Repost @columbia," Instagram photo, May 24, 2015, https://www.instagram.com/p/3E1sdXxlgU/?tagged=almamaterstatue.

Figure 13. Edil Carlo (@edilantonio), "#columbiauniversity #campus," Instagram Photo, April 6, 2015, https://www.instagram.com/p/1I5h1pkFKZ/?tagged=almamaterstatue.

Some of these posts demonstrate that the statue anchors the surrounding part of campus. In addition, the value of *Alma Mater* can be seen through the contribution it makes to the sense of place for that part of campus rather than the effect of the statue itself on each individual viewer.[197]

Columbia Alma Mater and Columbia Alma Mater Statue

The keywords used to research the last groups of posts were #columbiaalmamater and #columbiaalmamaterstatue. Each resulted in one post, neither of which portrayed any intangible traditions.[198]

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[197] "#almamaterstatue." Instagram 2018, https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/almamaterstatue/.
[198] "#columbiaalmamaterstatue." Instagram 2018, https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/columbiaalmamaterstatue/.

Online Forums

TripAdvisor, Yelp, and Google Review were consulted as a source of public information about how *Alma Mater* is generally experienced by the public. The statue did not have its own entry page on TripAdvisor or Yelp, but both websites did have some reviews for the statue within Columbia University's entry pages. Online forum reviews were analyzed for type of viewer (student, tourist, local, etc.), common themes within reviews, overall rating, and rating among other local attractions.

TripAdvisor

TripAdvisor reviews of *Alma Mater* were mainly submitted by tourists and Columbia alumni. The common theme across reviews was that the statue contributes to the feel of the campus, evoking memories from visiting alumni of their time spent there as students. The overall rating was 4.5 stars for the campus as a whole, which was also rated #109 out of 1,208 things to do in New York City, which indicates that, although New York City offers plenty of sightseeing, Columbia University's campus ranks within the top 10% of things to do. Nine reviews out of the total 212 reviews for the campus specifically mentioned *Alma Mater*. Out of these nine reviews, two, or 22%, mentioned the superstition of finding the owl hidden in the statue, e.g. Figure 14. This is a relatively small percentage, but it does confirm interest in the intangible tradition. There was no mention of any other types of intangible cultural heritage associated with the statue.[199]

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[199] "Columbia University," TripAdvisor, last modified 2018, accessed September 19, 2018, https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g60763-d143375-Reviews-Columbia_University-New_York_City_New_York.html.

Figure 14. Columbia University, TripAdvisor Review, Marianne B., (Last modified October 3, 2017, accessed September 15, 2018).

Yelp

Yelp had ten reviews that mentioned "alma mater." Of these, only two mentioned the term in reference to the statue, and one review mentioned the tradition of finding the owl (Figure 15) which was submitted by an alumnus of the university.[200]
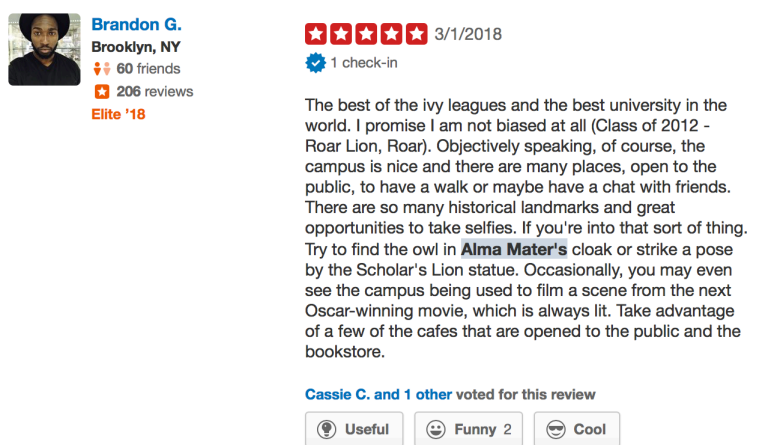

Figure 15. Columbia University, Yelp Review, Brandon G., (Last modified March 1, 2018, accessed September 19, 2018).

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[200] "Columbia University," Yelp, last modified 2018, accessed September 19, 2018, https://www.yelp.com/biz/columbia-university-new-york-49?q=alma%20mater%20.

The overall rating for the university on Yelp was 4.5 stars with a total of 117 reviews. Both reviews that specifically mentioned *Alma Mater* gave the campus the highest rating of 5 stars.

Google Review

On Google Review, the statue had its own review page. *Alma Mater* had 43 reviews and a 4.5 star rating. Most of the reviews discussed the statue's artistic relevance or its prominence on campus. One of the 43 reviews mentioned the owl, and it referred to the supposed academic advantages of finding the owl within the statue (Figure 16).[201]
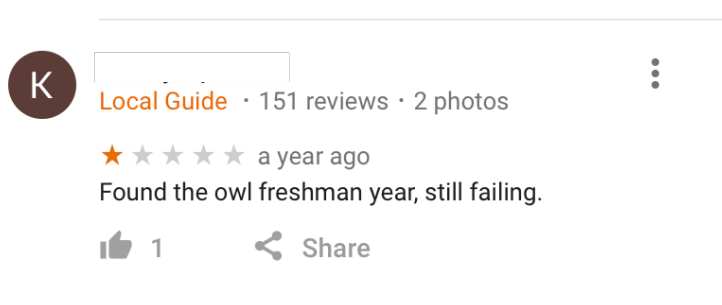
Figure 16. Alma Mater, Google Review, K., (Last modified 2017, accessed September 15, 2018).

Another post displayed the author's admiration of the statue itself (Figure 17)[202]:

Figure 17. Alma Mater, Google Review, Julie Kim, (Last modified 2013, accessed September 15, 2018).

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[201] "Alma Mater," Google Reviews, last modified 2018, accessed September 15, 2018, https://www.google.com/maps/place/Alma+Mater/@40.8077218,-73.964909,17.6z/data=!4m7!3m6!1s0x89c2f63e5e669893:0xdfda784fab62415c!8m2!3d40.8078103!4d-73.9621362!9m1!1b1.

[202] "Alma Mater," Google Reviews.

Yet another review referred to the high number of visitors the statue attracted as evidenced by tourists or students lounging on the Low steps (Figure 18)[203]:
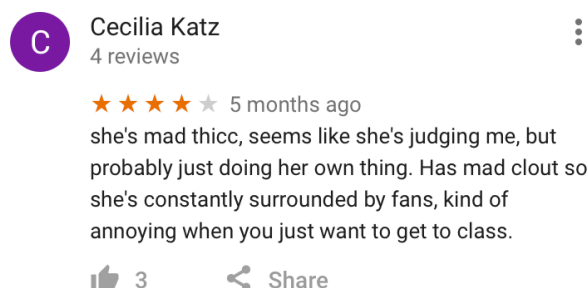
Figure 18. Alma Mater, Google Review, Cecelia Katz, (Last modified April 2018, accessed September 15, 2018).

Alma Mater's value clearly lies in her relationship to the space of Low Plaza; the surrounding context influences *Alma Mater*'s intangible value.

Fieldwork

A site visit to *Alma Mater* proved the campus to be an oasis within New York City. Entrance gates from the main street to the Beaux-Arts campus design immediately established a boundary between campus and the surrounding urban environment. Upon entering from a gate on Broadway Street, I immediately recognized the steps where the statue was located. When looking up the intersecting axis of the campus pathways, I first noticed the imposing Low Library building behind it (Figure 19).

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[203] "Alma Mater," Google Reviews.

Figure 19. Alma Mater and Low Library, Columbia University, New York City. Taken September 17, 2018.

Low Plaza

The statue is prominently placed, but it was smaller than I expected. I observed that there was interest in the statue because tourists were snapping photos of it when I arrived. It was clear that this space was punctuated by the statue, and the steps would not provide the same experience without it. Students were scattered among the steps having lunch, socializing, or doing homework. Throughout my time there, most people who stopped to show interest in the statue were self-guided tourists many of whom took photos. Many people seemed to stop because of Low Library, but came closer to examine the statue. However, a private foreign-language tour group did stop specifically at the statue. Although I could not understand what was being said, it was clear that the guide explained to his small group that an owl was hidden somewhere in the sculpture. Upon discovering the hidden owl, the group enjoyed taking photos

of the owl. Some self-guided tourists later came looking for the owl as well, and also took photos

of it after they found the owl. While a student guide gave a tour to prospective students, she

stopped at the statue, but it did not appear that she spoke specifically about the statue. Rather, she

used the surrounding space as a selling point for campus life. During my time there, the statue

was not a strong tourist attraction, a few visitors did take interest in it. Columbia does not use the

statue promotionally so I expected that the statue was not popular enough among tourists who

visit NYC to make a visit to the Columbia campus versus those who visit Columbia specifically.

From the time spent at the statue's location, I found this to be true as there were only intermittent

visitors.

Bookstore

Columbia University's online bookstore does not show any merchandise related to the

statue, but it did offer a diploma frame showing a scene of Low Plaza which includes *Alma

Mater*.[204]

Visitor Services

The Visitor Services office, located inside the Low Library building, is oriented toward

prospective students rather than tourists. Visitor materials were scarce, but people working at the

desk were available to answer any questions and provide a self-guided walking tour of the

Morningside Heights campus. The walking tour, which is also available on the school's website,

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[204] Columbia University in the City of New York Official Bookstore, last modified 2018, accessed September 19, 2018,
https://columbia.bncollege.com/webapp/wcs/stores/servlet/BNCBHomePage?storeId=10053&catalogId=10001&langId=-1.

is arranged by points of interest with accompanying explanations.[205] Within this tour, *Alma Mater* is listed as a point of interest. The walking tour emphasizes the statue as an anchor of Low Plaza, which the brochure says was designed to resemble a Greek amphitheater. It also describes how an architect intended the space to be an "urban beach," meaning a space for socializing. Through my observations, I found these intentions of the spatial design to have been successful in creating a place for social gathering and events.

While the walking tour information describes the *Alma Mater* statue and explains its symbolism, it does not mention the owl or any intangible traditions associated with the statue. The tour focuses on the campus built environment — buildings featuring architectural significance or academic buildings.[206] The image of *Alma Mater* appears to be used as a symbol for the university, but the statue's significance can only be fully understood within the Columbia University community. The *Alma Mater* image can be found on student publications, but it has no presence on official university publications. An exception to this is posts found on Columbia's official Instagram account, which I found to be primarily geared toward students.

The Office of Communications and Public Affairs' newspaper, *The Record*, was also available from the Visitor Services office. The newspaper has a recurring column "Ask Alma's Owl," wherein readers can submit questions to the newspaper staff about Columbia. The current article was about famous alumni who met while at the university, such as Rogers and Hammerstein.[207] The title of this column emphasizes the tradition of finding the owl hidden within the statue and alludes to the significance of the statue itself, nourishment and comfort in the quest for knowledge.

[205] "Self-Guided Campus Tours," Visitors Center, Columbia University in the City of New York, accessed September 12, 2018, doi: https://undergrad.admissions.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/walking-tour-and-map-3.pdf.
[206] "Self-Guided Campus Tours."
[207] Gary Shapiro, "Ask Alma's Owl: Broadway Lions," *Columbia News, The Record*, September 2018, p. 2, Print.

Values According to Preservation Professionals

<u>Perspective from the Curator of Art Properties</u>

Alma Mater is one of Columbia's art properties, which includes all campus outdoor

public art. Art properties are managed by a department of the same name, headed by Dr. Roberto

Ferrari. During my interview with Dr. Ferrari he stated his belief that the current value of the

statue is as an "iconic image of Columbia," alongside the crown as the official logo and the lion

as the mascot.[208] The statue was always in the design plan for the Low Plaza although the Low

Library was built first and French's original intention was for *Alma Mater* to be a representation

of liberty.

In addition to his responsibilities as head of Art Properties, Dr. Ferrari leads select tours

during the summer months around campus to explain the various outdoor sculptures. According

to him, the location of the hidden owl is one of the most popular questions, but Ferrari

encourages people to engage with the statue and consider it as an art form by walking around it

to experience for themselves who she is and what she represents during his tours.[209]

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the original implications of finding the owl was

meant to be a competition of sorts, involved the incoming class for the ritual to take place.

Ferrari was unaware of any other student traditions that involve the statue, but he agreed that the

statue is seen as more of an iconic representation of the university than as a physical property

that specifically invites interaction. *Alma Mater*'s popularity has also inspired legends and

rumors about her, such as secretly being a duplicate statue instead of the original. Pranks and acts

of mischief have involved the statue in the past, some of which have had a long-term effect on

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[208] Roberto Ferrari, Curator of Art Properties, Columbia University, interview by Maura Jackson, June 21, 2018.
[209] Ferrari, interview.

the statue. For example, a group of people associated with Cornell once stole her scepter, and as a result, it was replicated.[210]

To supplement opinions or thoughts about the statue's preservation, I also interviewed preservation professionals who either work in tandem with the Art Properties to preserve the *Alma Mater* statue or are stakeholders of the statue. In addition to Ms. Wilk and Dr. Ferrari, Edward McArthur and Liz Ramsey from campus facilities and operations, and Dr. Andrew Dolkart, a professor of historic preservation at Columbia, shared their views on the *Alma Mater* statue.

Perspective from Planning & Capital Project Management and Exteriors & Historic Preservation

Edward McArthur is the Vice President for the Planning & Capital Project Management group at Columbia University. Among his staff's responsibilities are historic preservation services for the campus. Elizabeth Ramsey is a Project Manager with the Exteriors & Historic Preservation group nested within McArthur's department. McArthur and Ramsey provided insight into how the space around *Alma Mater* was affected by the statue's presence and how architectural improvement measures are taken with regard to maintaining an appropriate setting. For example, the care of the statue's base, including its masonry repointing. The installation of an ADA compliant permanent ramp for the library within the space of Low Plaza had the potential to affect the context of the statue, and it was important to mitigate any adverse impact from that project. Effects to the context of Low Plaza, including *Alma Mater* were considered when designing the ramp. McArthur and Ramsey's office also manages historic design additions

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[210] Ferrari, interview.

or restorations and landscaping improvements, such as drainage systems. In other words, the office mostly deals with material and spatial design considerations that may affect the statue.[211]

When asked about their opinions on the contemporary value of the *Alma Mater* statue, both McArthur and Ramsey agreed that much of the statue's significance relies on its surroundings. Given their specific roles, it is not surprising they would stress the importance of how the physical setting affects how viewers perceive the statue. Their comments related to the Morningside campus plan by McKim, Mead & White, and underscored many of the observations and inferences from the rest of my research. From the beginning, the statue was intended to be a symbol and focal point, enhanced by its context.

Neither McArthur nor Ramsey were aware of any student or community traditions associated with the statue. In fact, in reference to our conversation in November 2018, McArthur had only recently become aware of the hidden owl. McArthur and Ramsey acknowledged that the statue is sometimes a target for toilet paper or graffiti, but they did not view these acts as an act of *traditions* because they did not occur often or regularly. In reference to the current lack of the statue being used in protests, McArthur pointed out that today Columbia-affiliated professionals "[think] about how [they] engage the community; [they] have a much different and much better relationship with the community outside of the university."[212] The statue engages the "outside" community differently now, so people may not use the statue like they did during the protests of 1968.[213] The current view toward *Alma Mater* relates to the statue's success as a

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[211] Edward McArthur, Vice President of Planning & Capital Project Management, Columbia University, and Elizabeth Ramsey, Project Manager, Columbia University Historic Preservation and Exteriors, interview by Maura Jackson, December 4, 2018.
[212] McArthur and Ramsey, interview.
[213] McArthur and Ramsey, interview.

symbol of the school spirit and the ideals of higher education due to Columbia's values becoming more student centered.

Perspective from Historic Preservation Professor

The Exteriors & Historic Preservation group typically works with Art Properties for any of the art works that department is responsible for. However, at times, the departments consult with the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. Dr. Andrew Dolkart is a Professor of Historic Preservation and a faculty member of the Columbia School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. He has written about the development of the Morningside Heights neighborhood and Columbia, including mention of the statue. He has no direct role in the preservation of the *Alma Mater* statue, but his expertise and research on the campus is employed for preservation activities including the statue and its relationship to Low Plaza.[214]

Dolkart acknowledges that Art Properties is the sole responsible entity for the statue's care, and he echoes previous findings concerning the statue's associated intangible traditions. For example, he mentioned that sitting on the stairs has always been a student tradition and the location continues to be a major reading place for students. He also mentioned the statue's use in protests and for putting signage on, such as balloons or banners. It is perhaps for the statue's symbolic representation of Columbia University student culture that pranks and practical jokes have incorporated use of the statue, such as the theft of removable parts of the statue.[215]

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[214] Andrew Dolkart, Professor of Historic Preservation, Columbia University, interview by Maura Jackson, December 15, 2018.
[215] Dolkart, interview.

According to Dolkart, there are multiple reasons for the statue's values today. Along with the statue's "central[ity] to McKim's brilliant plan for Columbia," and the "key to the historical/visual quality of campus," he acknowledges the artistic value of the statue. Dolkart described the statue as a "major work of art by Daniel Chester French, an important American sculpture." This also correlates to my research findings in that the statue's artistic value is still prominent today.[216]

Among the additional perspectives from preservation professionals about the statue's value and its relationship to student tradition one notion was unanimous: the *Alma Mater* statue is a major contributor to the space of Low Plaza and the Morningside Heights campus, and it represents school identity and spirit. This statue is not influenced by associated intangible cultural heritage although remnants of the "finding the owl" ritual remain. These findings coincided with the patterns I found while examining other sources, such as Instagram.

Summary of Intangible Cultural Values Associated with *Alma Mater*

The table below presents a summary of the cultural values associated with *Alma Mater*. The table describes each cultural value and the stakeholder group(s) which identify with that value. The cultural values are grouped by theme and will be further analyzed in chapter five.

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[216] Dolkart, interview.

Table 1. Summary of values and stakeholders associated with *Alma Mater*

Cultural Value	Stakeholder
Finding the owl ritual	Tourists, students
Putting items on the statue/pranks	Students, university
Contribution of statue to "sense of place" in Low Plaza	Students, university, tourists
Statue as a Columbia University symbol	Students, university
Statue's artistic value as a work by Daniel Chester French	University, tourists

As shown, many of the values associated with *Alma Mater* are attributed by students and Columbia University. While tourists can identify with some of these values, it did not appear that tourists have derived their *own* sets of values for the statue specific to their stakeholder group. The ritual of finding the owl in the statue, or even the presence of the owl in the statue, did not appear to be significant to students or the university. This value seemed to elicit interest from tourists when visiting the campus. The characterization of cultural values associated with *Alma Mater* can seemingly be focused on the tangible aspects of the statue, however, the most important value of the statue is its contribution to the intangible sense of place of Low Plaza.

<u>Summary</u>

The *Alma Mater* statue is not currently associated with intangible cultural heritage in the form of traditions that affect the statue physically. As evidenced from archival records, online reviews, Instagram data, and interviews from preservation professionals, the main significance of the statue is its relationship with the surrounding space of Low Plaza. The *Alma Mater* statue is important because of its context. Art Properties also manages other popular sculptures, but this statue is the only one placed in the prominent location of Low Plaza. Themes of the statue's value include its place in campus design and school pride, closely followed by attention to its

artistic value. While intangible traditions have been associated with the statue for many years, they have currently been surpassed by the educational and design importance that *Alma Mater* represents.

CHAPTER 4

CASE II: HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S *JOHN HARVARD* STATUE

Background of the Statue

Harvard University is located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and it is the oldest place of higher education in the United States. It was established by early American colonists of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636.[217] It was originally called the College of Newetowne, or simply "the College." John Harvard, a wealthy minister from nearby Charlestowne, Massachusetts, bequeathed his extensive collection of books which became the school's first library collection. He also made the first notable donation by giving half of his estate to the College in his will. In gratitude for Harvard's generous gesture, the College was renamed Harvard in 1638.[218]

History of the Statue and Campus Design

Samuel J. Bridge, a Boston businessman and generous donor, commissioned Daniel Chester French to create a memorial statue in honor of John Harvard as a gift for the school in 1884.[219] Originally, the statue was placed on Harvard's campus in front of Memorial Hall in an area known as "the Delta," but was moved in 1924 to its current location at French's request because he preferred the new location aesthetically. It is also a possibility that the Delta's

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[217] Crimson Key Society, "Architectural Spotlight: The John Harvard Statue," *Inside Harvard: A Student-Written Guide to the History and Lore of America's Oldest University*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Harvard Student Agencies Publications, 2012), 13.

[218] Crimson Key Society, "Early History: A Rocky Beginning," *Inside Harvard: A Student-Written Guide to the History and Lore of America's Oldest University*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Harvard Student Agencies Publications, 2012), 6.

[219] Crimson Key Society, "Early History," 6.

function as a space for turkey shooting at the time contributed to this move.[220] Since then, *John Harvard* has been prominently placed in Old Harvard Yard, the earliest part of the university.[221] It is important to note that this new location is in the direct sightline when entering from Johnston gate, the main entrance to campus.

Old Harvard Yard was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973. Although the *John Harvard* statue is not listed as a contributing resource for the Old Harvard Yard's National Register historic district (Figure 20), it is mentioned in connection with the building behind it — University Hall, a National Historic Landmark.[222]

The *John Harvard* statue is also known as the "statue of three lies" because an inscription on the statue reads, "John Harvard, Founder, 1638." These are considered "lies" because John Harvard was not the founder, simply a wealthy benefactor who left a large donation in his will; the College was founded two years prior to 1638; and the statue is not actually a true likeness of John Harvard. Instead, the figure is based on a former student, Sherman Hoar. By the time this statue was created, no one knew what John Harvard looked like because all images of him had been lost in a fire in 1764. It is believed that Hoar was chosen to represent John Harvard because he was a descendant of a previous Harvard president, Rev. Leonard Hoar, thus the statue would honor the past president as well. The school typically honored past presidents by naming a campus house after them, but Hoar's presented an issue because Hoar House would sound like "whorehouse."[223] Additionally, Sherman Hoar satisfied French's artistic idea of what he believed an early colonist, such as John Harvard, would have looked like as far as bone structure.[224] This

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[220] Richard L. Callan, "100 Years of Solitude: John Harvard Finishes His First Century," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 28, 1984.
[221] Crimson Key Society, "Early History," 6.
[222] Rettig Robert B., "Old Harvard Yard," National Register of Historic Places Inventory — Nomination Form, last modified February 26, 1973, accessed May 2018.
[223] Crimson Key Society, "Architectural Spotlight," 13.
[224] John T. Bethell, "John Harvard — and His Statue," *Harvard from A to Z* (Harvard University Press: 2004), 230.

statue was so influential that later images meant to represent Harvard, such as a US postage

stamp, actually depict Sherman Hoar.[225]
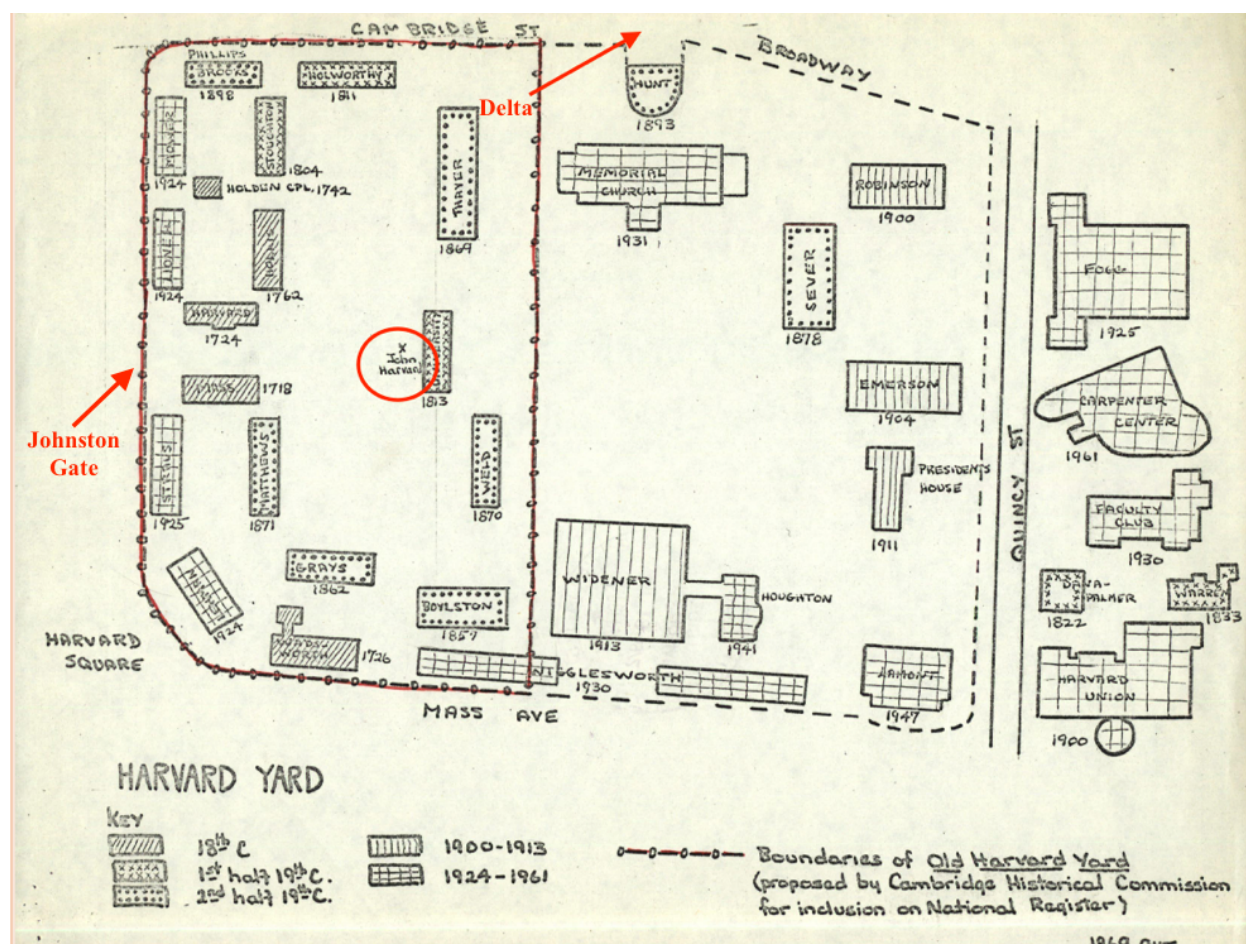
Figure 20. Property Map of Old Harvard Yard. *The John Harvard statue is circled in red; the statue's previous location is not shown on this map, but red arrow indicates the direction of the Delta; the Johnston gate is also indicated.* (Property Map, "Old Harvard Yard," Robert B. Rettig, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1973.)

This statue was meant to commemorate John Harvard and show gratitude for his

substantial contribution to the early development of the school. He had a love of books, and the

opportunity to be involved with the founding of an institute of higher education intrigued him.

Unfortunately, he became ill and the only way he could show his support was through his legal

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[225] Crimson Key Society, "Architectural Spotlight," 13.

will upon death. While the figure in the statue is not an exact likeness of John Harvard, it is "regarded as an 'idealization' of Harvard's values."[226]

Stakeholders

Being that Harvard University, and subsequently *John Harvard*, is such a popular tourist attraction, it is inevitable that there are two types of communities that value the statue: (1) students or those affiliated with the university and (2) outsiders. The coexistence of multiple communities and their different values at Harvard was explored in a piece published by Natasha Lasky for *Harvard Magazine*. As an undergraduate at Harvard, Lasky was curious about what tourists endeavored to experience by visiting the school and how those experiences differed from her personal experience as a student. She took both the official tour led by Harvard Crimson Key Society members and a notoriously kitschy tour led by Hahvahd, a private company.

She discovered that the university-recognized tour focused on a strict structure that implemented specific tour guide perspectives and focused on authentic information rather than repeating popular myths. In contrast, the private company tour offered "insider information" to "curious tourists," in addition to guides' own takes on supposedly secret student traditions like Primal Scream. Lasky notes that, "ultimately, the students are visitors, too, and as such there is a sense in which they never stop touring the university."[227] The combination of students and outsiders on the Harvard campus contributes to the *John Harvard* statue remaining a popular icon, not only of the university, but of education and American ideals.

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[226] John Monahan, "John Harvard 'Statue of Three Lies'," *Atlas Obscura,* Accessed September 12, 2018.

[227] Natasha Lasky, "The Harvard Tour," *Harvard Magazine*, last modified July-August 2018, accessed September 12, 2018, https://harvardmagazine.com/2018/07/what-makes-harvard-real.

Characterization of Values Associated with the Statue

John Harvard is culturally significant for many reasons and valuable to many different types of stakeholders. Just as in chapter three, the necessity to use a variety of sources remains, and the values associated with *John Harvard* are also presented by method in which the information was obtained and will also conclude with a summary of cultural values associated with *John Harvard* and the stakeholder group(s) that attribute each value (Table 2).

Student Interaction with *John Harvard*

The statue was first vandalized in 1884, only a month after it had been installed. This vandalism consisted of "someone disfigur[ing] the Chapel and the statue by painting … the class name of '87," in large letters on them.[228] However, this is not the first time Harvard students left their own mark on student culture; notable acts of student rebellion at Harvard date back to circa 1776. For example, when the school imported inferior butter that was sourced from political allies of American revolutionaries. Students at that time went on strike to protest the terrible quality of butter.[229]

Throughout *John Harvard*'s existence, the statue has been painted red (or rather, Harvard crimson), painted blue (Yale University's color), painted green (Dartmouth College's color), incorporated as a prop for protests, and covered with banana peels. During the 1960s, *John Harvard* was used as a prop for protests, mostly being painted.[230] There have even been pumpkins put on his head for Halloween.[231] Paint is the most damaging of the imposed materials.

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[228] Callan, "100 Years of Solitude."

[229] Annie C. Harvieux and Colton A. Valentine, "Harvard's Three Things: An Origin Story Laid Bare," Fifteen Minutes, *The Harvard Crimson*, last modified December 12, 2013, accessed September 12, 2018, https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2013/12/12/three-things-origin-story/.

[230] Callan, "100 Years of Solitude."

[231] Bethell, "John Harvard — and His Statue," 231.

It has been applied by Harvard students celebrating athletic victories, pranks from rival schools, or protesters making political statements.[232]

The statue's presence in student acts of comradery, such as pranks, has contributed to an informal relationship between students and the statue. To celebrate the statue's 100th anniversary, Conan O'Brien, 1984's president of student satirical newspaper, *The Lampoon*, stated, "We don't plan to throw a birthday party, but we'll probably stuff [the statue] with cottage cheese, maybe also with some chives. Or else we may just spray it with some obscenity. It would be a good prank."[233] O'Brien's relaxed attitude toward *John Harvard* exemplifies the nature of affection that Harvard students have towards this beloved campus icon.

Associated Traditions

While most of the interaction between *John Harvard* and the Harvard community seems to be lighthearted and based on humor, more thoughtful traditions exist or have in the past. For example, the school's Memorial Society used to recognize the statue's anniversary every November with a wreath at the statue's base. However, this ritual had phased out by 1984. Another tradition, called "tipping of the hat," is a graduation ritual in which students tip their graduation caps towards the statue as they proceed towards commencement ceremonies.[234]

In addition to traditions that incorporate the statue into the student experience, dedicated enthusiasts will even climb into the lap of the statue for a photo opportunity. Another popular interaction with the statue stems from the belief that good luck comes to those who rub the

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[232] Callan, "100 Years of Solitude."
[233] Callan, "100 Years of Solitude."
[234] Callan, "100 Years of Solitude."

statue's foot.[235] This action has removed the bronze's acquired patina, causing the statue's foot to become golden and shiny bronze. Variations on the superstition include the statue's toe, foot, and shoes, some with an emphasis on left foot,[236] but both right and left feet indicate rubbing by passersby (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Feet of the *John Harvard* statue. Taken September 15, 2018.

The statue remains a popular tourist attraction, but it also retains its character with students. Over the years, students have adopted other pranks and challenges all in the name of fun and enhancing student culture. Amongst students of Harvard, "Three Things" make up a trifecta challenge to be completed before graduation, none of which have known provenance. They are as follows: urinate on the *John Harvard* statue; run in Primal Scream, a scream tradition during finals that evolved to include streaking event in Harvard Yard; and have sex in

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[235] Joe Luongo. "Harvard's History — The 'John Harvard' Statue." Campus Sherpa: College tours from real college students, last modified May 10, 2017, accessed September 12, 2018, https://www.campussherpa.com/blog/tag/john-harvard/.
[236] Luongo, "Harvard's History."

the Widener library stacks.[237] Outsiders might find the desire to complete the three things to be

tasteless, but they are all meant to be in good fun. According to a 2013 article in the student

newspaper, *The Harvard Crimson*,

> though each challenge could be punishable by law outside of the University, the
> Three seem exempt from severe consequences on campus. These are, instead, a
> group of feel-good, watered-down rebellions that give students today the illusion
> of connecting with generations past.[238]

Connections with the past would assure authenticity of these acts as tradition, but these were not

necessarily created with that intent. The three challenges have adapted between different

challenges over the years. The trifecta does not appear to be widespread among past students as

there is inconsistency in awareness among alumni.[239] Regardless, current student publications

indicate that urinating on the statue remains a common practice. It was even mentioned in a 2012

commencement speech.[240]

In addition to the inventions of traditions by students that add to cultural heritage,

outsiders have created actions that impact *John Harvard.* Around the 1990s, non-students,

usually tourists, began rubbing the toe of the statue and the belief circulated that rubbing the

statue would provide good luck. In 1999, former Dean of Students, Archie Epps, claimed to have

begun the ritual by posing as a member of a tourist group and suggesting that the action would

bring good luck.[241] However, it is unclear *when* this ritual began.

Some guides incorporate this ritual into tours and claim that it is a student practice.

According to Harvard students, however, it is not. In fact, the action is not mentioned in any of

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[237] Harvieux, et al., "Harvard's Three Things."
[238] Harvieux, et al., "Harvard's Three Things."
[239] Harvieux, et al., "Harvard's Three Things."
[240] "Matthew Whitaker, "There's Something About John Harvard," *Harvard Magazine*, last modified May 24, 2012, accessed September 12, 2018, https://harvardmagazine.com/2012/05/harvard-commencement-student-speeches-whitaker-something-about-john-harvard.
[241] Primus V, "Toes Imperiled," The College Pump, *Harvard Magazine*, last modified May-June1999, accessed September 12, 2018, https://harvardmagazine.com/1999/05/pump.html.

the student publications on traditions, nor in the Cambridge and Boston tourist guidebooks. A survey conducted in the late 1990s concluded that the majority of students were unaware of this ritual. In a 1999 article for the *Harvard Crimson,* it was noted that other universities, such as Yale and Dartmouth, have similar traditions, which the author suggested could explain the creation of this one.[242]

The foot-rubbing tradition has grown to appeal to the massive amount of tourists that visit the campus and the statue, adding to its international acclaim. Zara Zhang, an opinion article writer for *Harvard Magazine* has attributed this popularity for Chinese students as a similar interaction between worshippers and statues of Buddha. Zhang explains that Harvard is regarded as the top university in the world by the Chinese and that it is the most recognizable university across the nation. She also referenced a book, *Harvard Girl Liu Yiting: A Character Training Record,* which chronicles the experience of a set of Chinese parents whose daughter attended Harvard. According to Zhang, the influence of this book continues to inspire Chinese students to seek education at Harvard University. The view of Harvard as the epitome of the American dream instills an urge in Chinese students to visit Harvard and to participate in the surrounding traditions, like rubbing the foot. Zhang also mentions that a visitor once told her they "just want to 'be in the air breathed by the world's best students.'"[243] The invented tradition of rubbing the toe of *John Harvard* attracted the interest of tourists; a 1990s *Harvard Guide*, a publication from the university's Office of News and Public Affairs, stated that "thousands of visitors a year rub John Harvard's shoe for luck."[244]

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[242] Primus V, "Toes Imperiled."

[243] Zara Zhang, "When Harvard Becomes "Ha Fu," Opinion*, Harvard Magazine*, last modified July 20, 2015, accessed September 12, 2018, https://harvardmagazine.com/2015/07/harvard-in-china.

[244] Primus V, "Toes Imperiled."

Although not typically mentioned in terms of being a value associated with the statue, vandalism in the form of pranks tend to coincide with athletic schedules. The most significant instance of interaction with the statue that posed a serious preservation threat was in 2012. The statue had been covered by an oil-based green paint, courtesy of people connected with Dartmouth College. As a result, Harvard had to hire an outside company to safely restore the bronze finish.[245]

Professional Account

To gain a preservation professional's perspective on the current values for the *John Harvard* statue, I spoke with Angela Chang, Harvard Art Museums' assistant director and curator of objects and sculpture as well as the head of the museums' objects lab. Her professional role consists of overseeing the care of the *John Harvard* statue as part of the Harvard Art Museums' portrait collection. The museums have recently assumed the lead role for the *John Harvard* statue rather than being involved only when Harvard Yard maintenance staff consults them. When asked her opinion about the statue's current value, she answered that people "identify with it as part of place."[246] She also acknowledged that it was symbolically placed in the current location to make a statement and that it entices people to come to see the university icon. Chang attributed non-student attraction to the statue due to Harvard being a place of higher learning, and the statue is a symbol of this universal value. She also added that the physical context of the statue promoted its use in protests, although this use is currently not as physically damaging for the statue as it once was. There were no signs of protesters using the statue during

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[245] Zara Zhang, "How Clean is John Harvard?" Opinion, *Harvard Magazine*, last modified August 11, 2015, accessed September 12, 2018, https://harvardmagazine.com/2015/08/how-clean-is-john-harvard.
[246] Angela Chang, Assistant Director, Conservator of Objects and Sculpture and Head of Objects Lab, Harvard University Art Museums, interview by Maura Jackson, June 27, 2018.

my site visit, it was an obvious choice for a place to make a public statement on campus due to its prominent place and visibility.

Current Values Associated with the Statue

John Harvard is a central figure of the Harvard campus experience, of visiting tourists and of students who partake in one of the many traditions that encourage interaction with the statue. The statue has become a popular topic of conversation in Harvard news and publications, as well as a must-see part of campus. To further investigate how people currently value of the *John Harvard* statue, I examined the statue's representation on Instagram, analyzed reviews shared through online forums, and conducted informal fieldwork.

Instagram

Instagram accounts that were considered for this study included Harvard University's main account, Harvard Art Museums' main account, and searchable hashtags #johnharvard and #johnharvardstatue. All posts in each of these categories were analyzed for presence of the statue and then analyzed for indication of intangible cultural heritage. Both images and associated text in the form of captions were analyzed. In addition to providing insight into how the statue is publicly regarded by its care-taking institutions, this data provided insight into how the statue is regarded by the general public. However, the data is limited to those members of the public who are Instagram users.

<u>Harvard University</u>

From the 1201 posts in Harvard University's main Instagram account, 34 posts featured

the statue and 16 of those displayed participation in a ritual. The types of ritual interactions

found or confirmed through this data set were touching/rubbing the statue's foot or shoe (Figure

22); urinating on the statue (Figures 23, 24); tipping graduation caps to the statue (Figures 25,

26); claiming the statue for Housing Day, a celebration that appears to be for house initiation

(Figures 27, 28); and putting items on the statue whether for pranks, public discussion, or

advertising (Figure 29).[247]

Figure 22. Harvard University (@harvard), "Snow collects on the famous shoe…," Instagram post, February 3, 2014, https://www.instagram.com/p/j974qrwOdY/.

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[247] Harvard University (@harvard), https://www.instagram.com/harvard/.

Figure 23. Harvard University (@harvard), "Now we wouldn't want that statue to be cropped out...," Instagram post, August 27, 2015, https://www.instagram.com/p/65mZ6qQOcJ/.


Figure 24. Harvard University (@harvard), "Not amused," Instagram post, March 15, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BgWM5KkHJVe/.

Figure 25. Harvard University (@harvard), "More scenes from #Harvard18 commencement!" Instagram post, May 26, 2018 https://www.instagram.com/p/BjPl1CaBki0/?taken-by=harvard.

Figure 26. Closer view, Harvard University (@harvard) "More scenes from #Harvard18 commencement!" Instagram post, May 26, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BjPl1CaBki0/?taken-by=harvard.
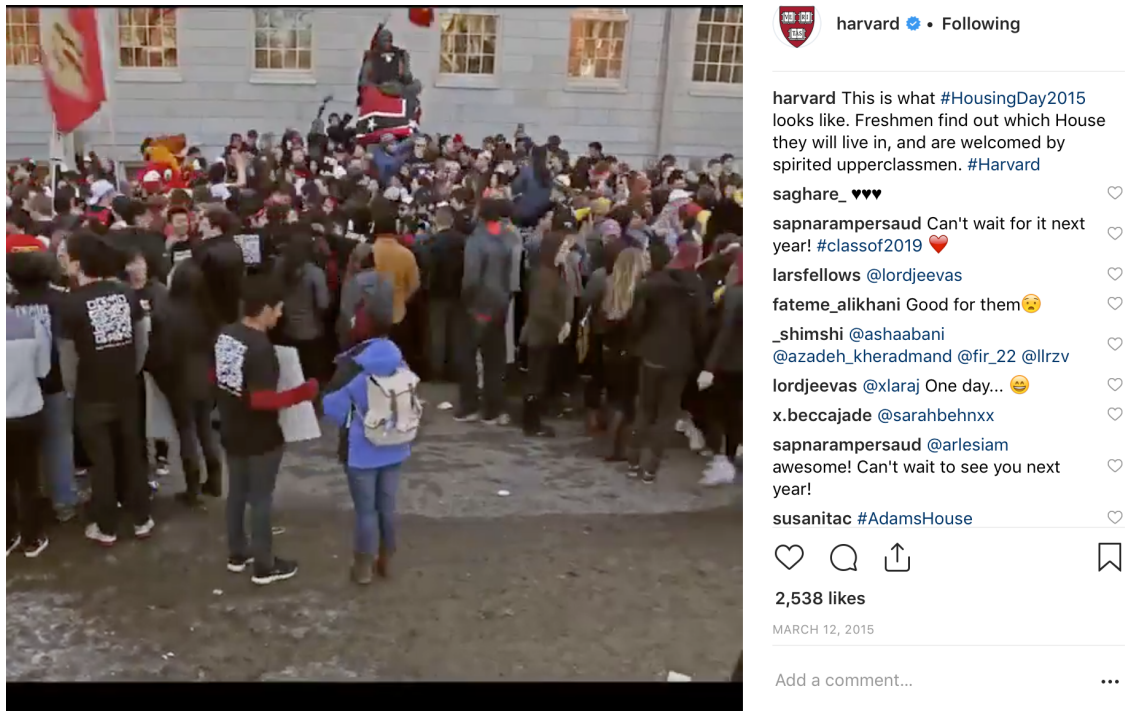
Figure 27. Video still, Harvard University (@harvard), "This is what #HousingDay2015 looks like," Instagram post, March 12, 2015, https://www.instagram.com/p/0I_vNiwOSw/.
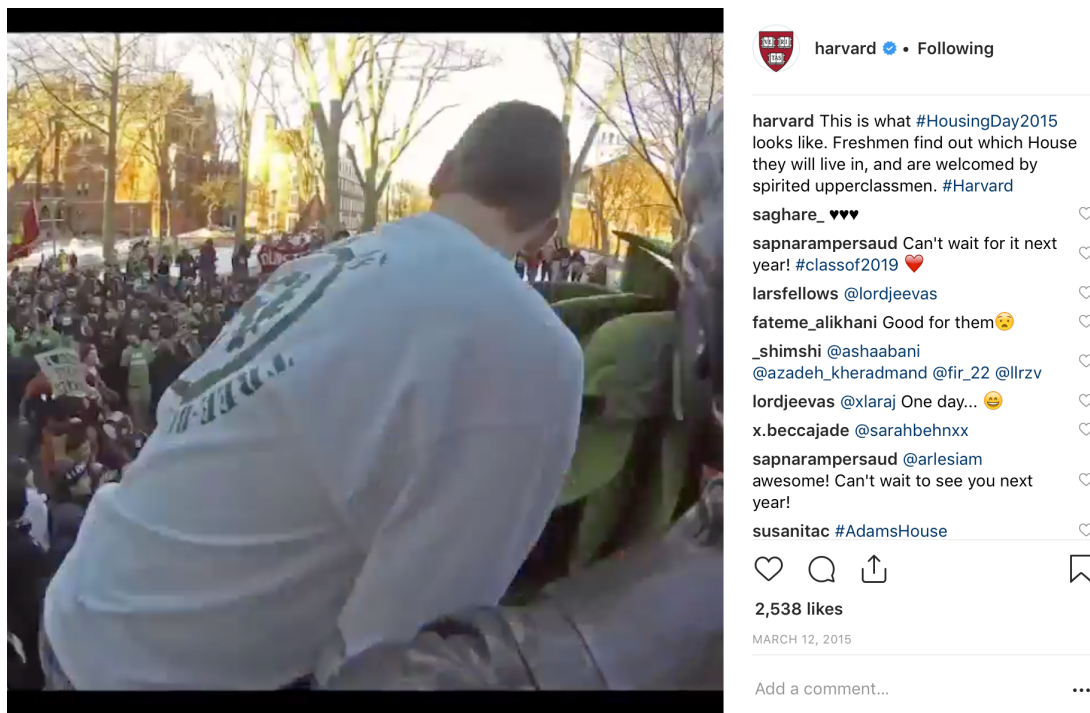
Figure 28. Video Still No. 2, Harvard University (@harvard), "This is what #HousingDay2015 looks like," Instagram post, March 12, 2015, https://www.instagram.com/p/0I_vNiwOSw/.

Figure 29. Harvard University (@harvard). "The John Harvard statue sports a hubweek t-shirt…" Instagram post, September 27, 2016, https://www.instagram.com/p/BK32xTlDCwu/.

A specific post in this group showed a gathering of tourists, with one perched on the statue with her hand on the statue's foot, presumably for the good luck that the action will supposedly bring (Figure 30).[248]

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[248] Harvard University (@harvard), "Tourists from all over the world…" Instagram, July 26, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BlsxM1rniCK/?taken-by=harvard.

Figure 30. Harvard University (@harvard), "Tourists from all over the world…," Instagram post, July 26, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BlsxM1rniCK/?taken-by=harvard.

From the sample of Harvard University's posts, the institution values the *John Harvard* statue not only for its historical representation of the school's first major benefactor, but for its place in the university's culture. The school seems to love this statue for its ability to inspire sentiments related to the school's identity for students and faculty as well as tourists.

Harvard Art Museums

Harvard Art Museums, which is responsible for the physical care of the statue, only had one post regarding the statue within their 693 total available posts. Most of the posts from this account focused on current art collections housed in the museums and occasional works within the archives, which were typically art photographs. One post within this data set did, however,

illustrate intangible cultural heritage. The image (Figure 31) showed a lei placed on the statue, and the comments also mention touching the foot.
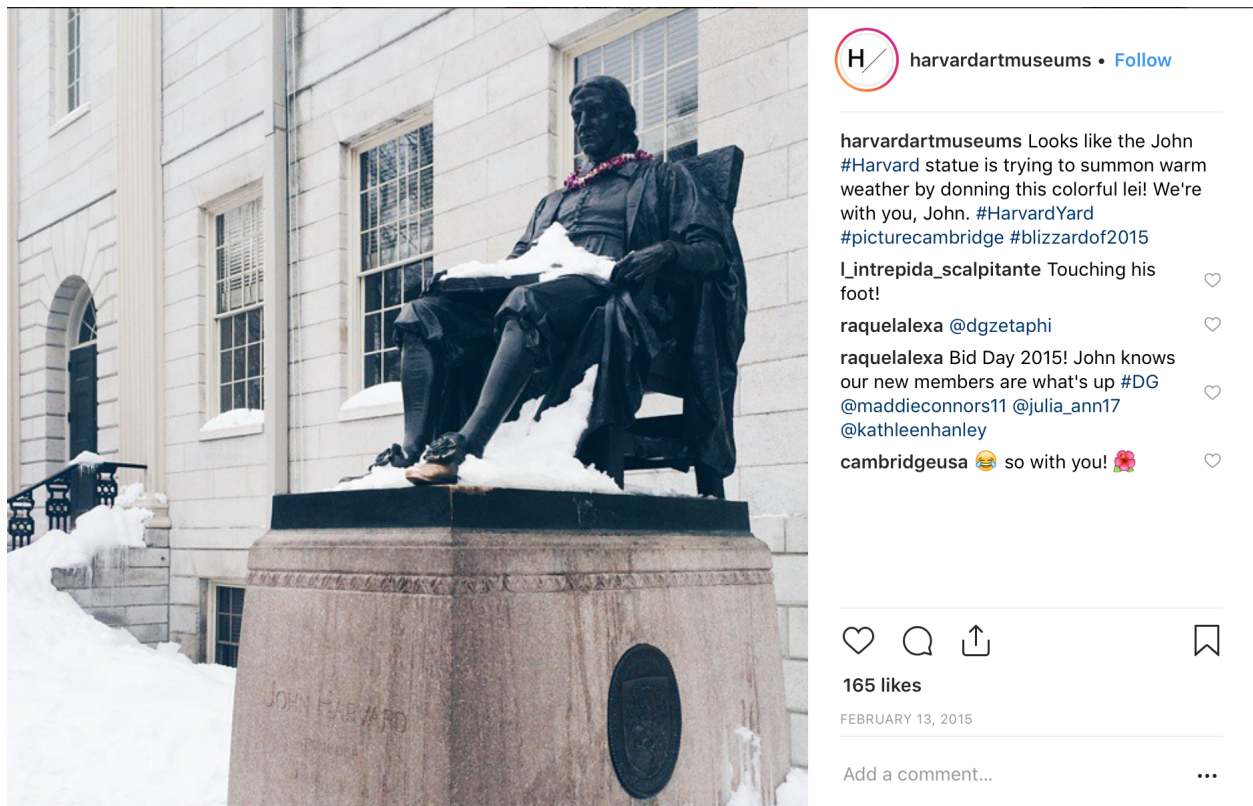

Figure 31. Harvard Art Museums (@harvardartmuseums), "Looks like the John #Harvard statue…," Instagram post, February 13, 2015, https://www.instagram.com/p/zCzuqdjtTe/.

John Harvard and John Harvard Statue

Key terms used to search various user Instagram accounts for additional posts about the *John Harvard* statue provided an immense number of results. The term #johnharvard resulted in 9,165 posts and #johnharvardstatue resulted in 2,060. Some of these photos contained both hashtags, and thus they appeared within both sets of results. As detailed in Chapter 1, samples were taken from these results to analyze for this thesis. Within the samples, 36% of #johnharvard posts showed participation in intangible culture rituals (Figure 32), and results from #johnharvardstatue showed 46% of participation in posts.
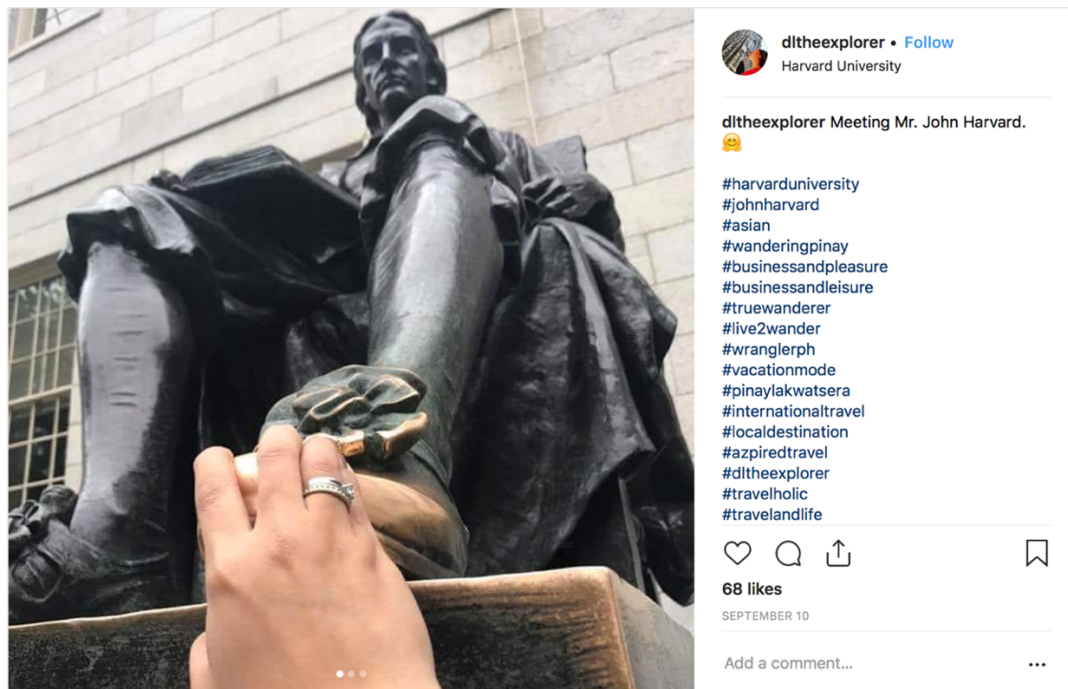
Figure 32. Diana Lou Suarez (@dltheexplorer) "Meeting Mr. John Harvard." Instagram post, September 10, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BniVC86hjg5/?tagged=johnharvard.

Figure 33. Jonathan Ferrer (@jonathan.r.ferrer), "Ready for Fall 2018," Instagram post, September 12, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/p/BnnKZaqlfLh/?tagged=johnharvard.

Instagram posts provided a sample of how the statue is perceived and how it relates to Harvard's larger image as a university both to students and tourists. The photographs helped to portray the value of the statue during specific moments in time, such as graduation. These posts confirmed people's participation in intangible cultural traditions that contribute to the heritage of Harvard student life or tourist expectations.

Online Forums

TripAdvisor, Yelp, and Google Review were consulted as an additional source for insight into how the *John Harvard* statue is currently valued. This statue is wildly popular based on the number of reviewers sharing an opinion. Not only did this statue have its own entry within each of the three forums (as opposed to being mentioned only within reviews of the Harvard campus), but it had a large amount of written reviews. These reviews provided valuable insight into how the statue is generally regarded by the public. Just as with *Alma Mater,* reviews were analyzed for the type of reviewer, common themes within reviews, overall rating, and rating among other local attractions. Tourists were the main type of reviewer with locals from the Cambridge area or those identified as local guides also providing input. Because these results provided a large pool of data, as well as multiple themes, they will be presented in terms of themes.[249]
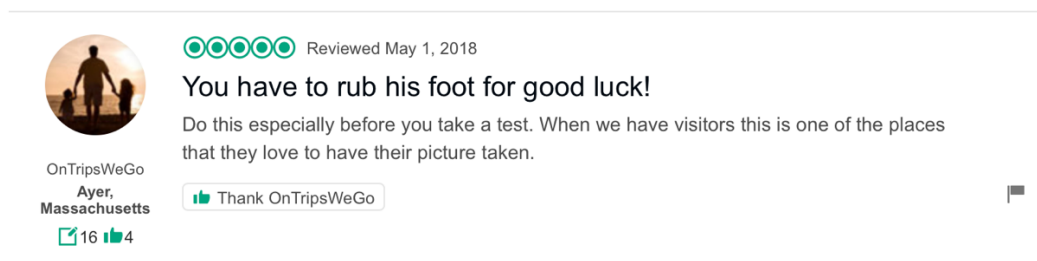
Figure 34. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, OnTripsWeGo(Last modified May 1, 2018, accessed September 15, 2018).

[249] "John Harvard Statue," TripAdvisor, last modified 2018, accessed September 15, 2018, https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g60890-d7948454-Reviews-John_Harvard_Statue-Cambridge_Massachusetts.html.

Figure 35. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, JWC87, (Last modified December 6, 2017, accessed September 15, 2018).

Common Themes

For the most part, reviewers included the intangible traditions of rubbing the foot for good luck and/or students urinating on it, with a combined 68% across the three forums mentioning it. Some visitors even specifically came to the statue for participation in the ritual of rubbing *John Harvard*'s foot.

Although the statue is incredibly popular, the reviews about it were not all positive. Some reviewers were left unimpressed as the main draw for tourists was evidently photographing themselves participating in the statue's traditions which resulted in large crowds and hype that did not measure up to the anticipated interest for some visitors. However, some of these visitors did make participation in the toe-rubbing tradition a priority (Figures 36,37).[250]


Figure 36. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, MDfromSP, (Last modified April 12, 2016, accessed September 15, 2018).

[250] "John Harvard Statue," TripAdvisor.

Figure 37. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, AndyB5542, (Last modified July 3, 2016, accessed September 15, 2018).

Another common theme within online comments was the recognition of the statue as the Statue of Three Lies. This characteristic generated interest in pursuing interactions with the statue, such as rubbing the foot. Some visitors wrote that they were unaware of the foot-rubbing tradition, but saw other people doing it or were encouraged by other tourists to participate. Many of the participants were also encouraged by tour guides.

Negative comments on the traditional practice of rubbing the shoe largely pertained to hygienic issues as the student tradition of urinating on the statue was made known. In some reviews, Harvard students warned tourists about the actions involving urination (Figures 38, 39).[251] They advised visitors not to touch the statue.

Figure 38. John Harvard Statue, Google Review, N. Le, (Last modified 2017, accessed September 15, 2018.)

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[251] "John Harvard Statue," Google Reviews, last modified 2018, accessed September 15, 2018, https://www.google.com/maps/place/John+Harvard+Statue/@42.3744477,-71.1192692,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m7!3m6!1s0x89e3774305f6eb89:0xa46fba92be1e842b!8m2!3d42.3744477!4d-71.1170805!9m1!1b1; "Statue of John Harvard," Yelp, last modified 2018, accessed September 15, 2018, https://www.yelp.com/biz/statue-of-john-harvard-cambridge?osq=john+harvard+statue.
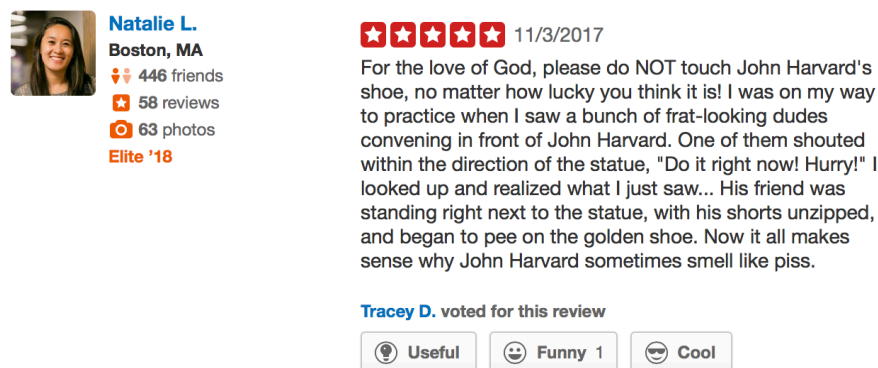
Figure 39. Statue of John Harvard, Yelp Review, Natalie L., (Last modified November 3, 2017, accessed September 15, 2018).

Another specific opinion about the tradition of rubbing the shoe stated that it was related to religious reasons (Figure 40).[252] This also correlates to the potential reason for the popularity of the foot-rubbing tradition within Buddhist cultures, as speculated by Zhang.
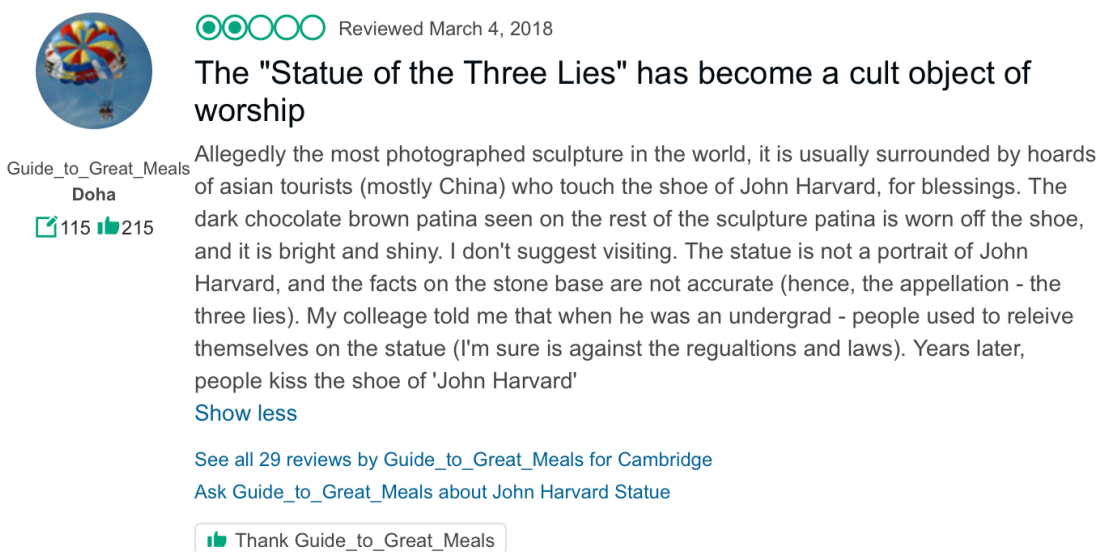
Figure 40. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, Guide_to_Great_Meals, (Last modified March 4, 2018, accessed September 15, 2018).

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[252] "John Harvard Statue," TripAdvisor.

Some tourists may not have been as interested in the statue because of the large crowds around the statue. The ritual involving *John Harvard*'s foot may not be valued by everyone in this case, but it certainly does promote itself and starts conversations about the interest in the statue because it is continuously surrounded by crowds of visitors (Figure 41).[253] Others acknowledge the spiritual beliefs related to the action of rubbing *John Harvard*'s shoe, but in the end recognize that the statue is not a spiritual object (Figure 42).[254]
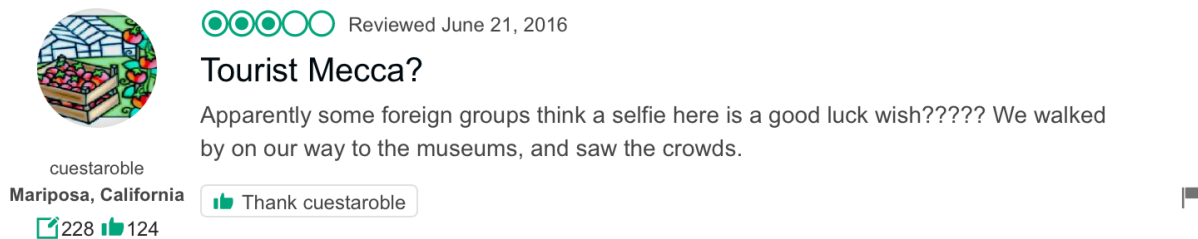
Figure 41. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, cuestaroble, (Last modified June 21, 2016, accessed September 15, 2018).
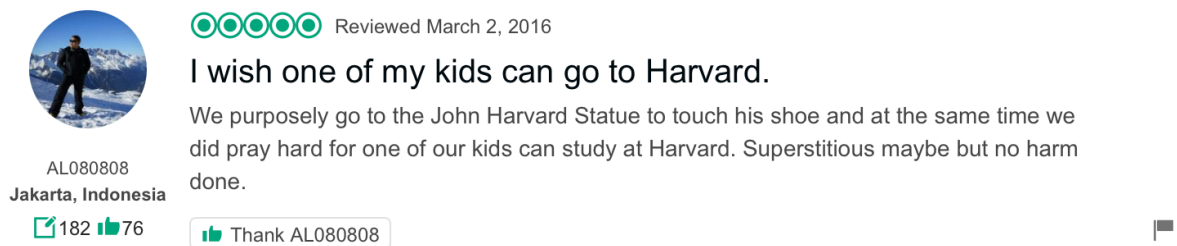
Figure 42. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, AL080808, (Last modified March 2, 2016, accessed September 15, 2018).

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[253] "John Harvard Statue," TripAdvisor.
[254] "John Harvard Statue," TripAdvisor.

<u>Reviewers' Overall Opinions</u>

For the most part, tourists and reviewers were entertained by the ritual of rubbing *John Harvard*'s foot for good luck (Figure 43).[255] Tourists were also invested in this statue as a contributing figure for the experience of Harvard Yard (Figure 44).[256]
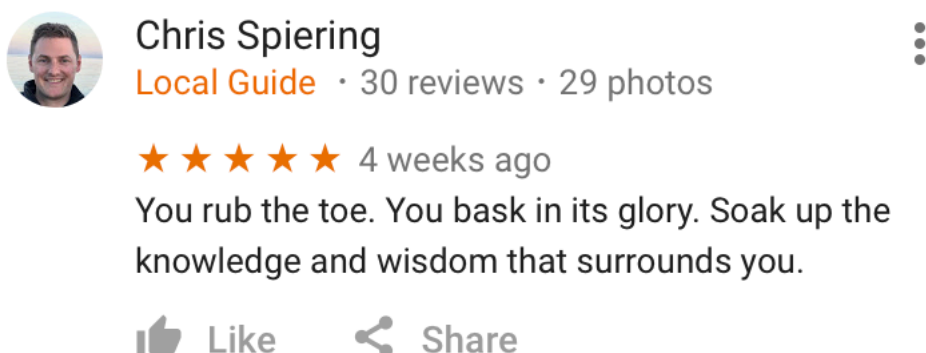
Figure 43. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, Chris Spiering, (Last modified October 2018, accessed September 15, 2018).
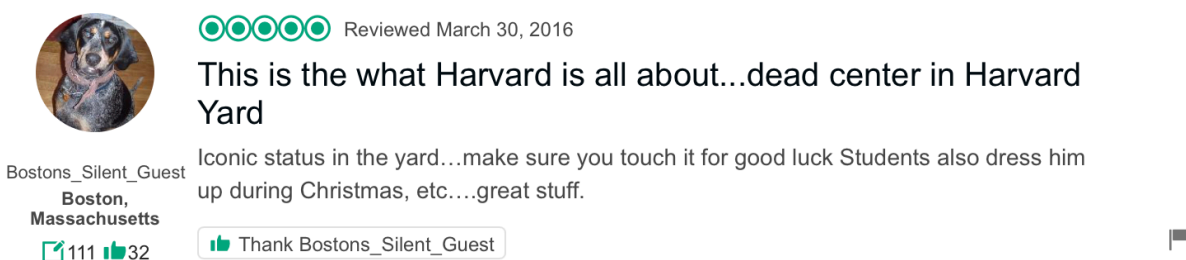
Figure 44. John Harvard Statue, TripAdvisor Review, Bostons_Silent_Guest, (Last modified March 30, 2016, accessed September 15, 2018).

These reviews provided a wealth of insight from a variety of people who experience the statue as "outsiders" according to Mason's terms. Overall, *John Harvard* is seen as entertaining,

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[255] "John Harvard Statue," Google Reviews.
[256] "John Harvard Statue," TripAdvisor.

and people seemed to give high ratings for the statue as rubbing the statue for good luck was a fun opportunity while visiting the campus.

Fieldwork

To further research how this statue contributes to place and experience, I visited the site (Figure 45), entering through a side of Johnston gate. The statue is immediately recognizable as it is directly in the sight line from this gate. The odor near the statue suggested the student tradition of urinating on the statue was most likely alive and well.

Figure 45. John Harvard Statue, Harvard Yard, Cambridge MA. Taken September 19, 2018.

Harvard Yard

Although I visited on a Sunday, the campus was abuzz with tourists, many of whom deliberately stopped at *John Harvard*. A few people who seemed to be students were enjoying the green space of Harvard Yard, which was noticeably a place where students often came to hang out. For the most part, tourists entered through the main Johnston gate and proceeded directly towards the statue. Some of these tourists were in guided groups while others were self-guided. They typically did not discuss or look in-depth at any of the surrounding buildings or structures. The overwhelming majority of the visitors participated in the tradition by taking a photo with their hands touching the feet of *John Harvard.* As described in the reviews, crowds continued to surround the statue with each visitor clamoring to be next to touch *John Harvard*'s foot. Many visitors were with groups speaking foreign languages, which confirmed international interest and corroborated the information found in preliminary research. The statue seemed to have an international acclaim as a symbol of the school, and the tradition of touching the feet seems to be an invitation for outsiders to appreciate Harvard University's legacy.

Bookstores

In addition to the site, I observed the merchandise of two bookstores, the Harvard Cooperative and the Harvard Shop. The first was a bookstore affiliated with the university, while the other was a student-run store. There were no paraphernalia or guidebooks regarding the statue in either store, but a decorative poster in the Co-op represented the statue. The lack of merchandise related to *John Harvard* suggests that while the statue is one of the main attractions on campus, the university does not appear to capitalize on its popularity as a tourist attraction. It

may symbolize the Harvard spirit for tourists and the student experience, but it is not used as a marketable commodity.

Private Company Tours

Just outside the main entrance to campus, was the starting location for the Hahvahd tour, the private company which runs student-led tours. This was the same company that student Natasha Lasky wrote about for her *Harvard Magazine* article. These tours seemed very popular and company representatives received continuous interest from visitors wishing to take a tour. I took one of their tours, and the guide mentioned the popular tradition of rubbing the feet of the statue for good luck, but subtly warned us that the statue remains unguarded at all times. Although not directly stated, I believe this warning was in reference to the student tradition of urinating on the statue.

Visitor Information Center

Another visit to the campus on a Wednesday proved consistent with my experience on Sunday. Although school was in session, Harvard Yard was just as busy as it had been the last time I was there. I visited the Visitor Information Center, the desk inside the student center made available for visitors that are not prospective students. Typically, this office provides guided historical tours, but they were not offering tours during my time in Cambridge. There was no promotional material at the desk, but employees were there to answer questions.

Summary of Cultural Values Associated with *John Harvard*

There were many cultural values associated with the *John Harvard* statue, including those that conflict or compete with each other in terms of importance. The following table presents a summary of the cultural values associated with this statue by describing each cultural value and the stakeholder group(s) and which identify with that value.

Table 2. Summary of values and stakeholders associated with *John Harvard*

Cultural Value	Stakeholder
Statue having quality of "luck"	Tourists, university
Urinating on the statue	Students
Tipping graduation cap	Students
Claiming statue during Housing Day	Students
Putting items on the statue/pranks	Students, university
Symbol of the concept of higher education in the United States	Tourists, students, university
Statue's artistic value as a work by Daniel Chester French	University, tourists

As indicated through Table 2, major stakeholders of *John Harvard* were determined to be Harvard students, Harvard University, and tourists. The majority of the associated cultural value placed on *John Harvard* is attributed by Harvard students who find value in the statue's role in intangible culture on campus. Tourists are also a large contributor of value being the major stakeholder constituents who value the statue for luck. The characterization of values associated with *John Harvard* are mostly related the statue's role in intangible cultural heritage.

The situation of conflict between stakeholder interests for *John Harvard* is similar to that of the Bahà'i Gardens discussed in chapter two. The same heritage resource can attract different

types of stakeholders for different reasons. This does not mean that only one is valid or legitimate or that only one value can exist, but rather supports the need for established methods to produce integrated conservation management.

Some of the intangible cultural values for this statue result in actions that conflict with the physical conservation goals for the statue or the preservation of the original integrity of the statue's artistic value. However, intangible culture is still a valid form of heritage that has been deemed worthy of preservation protection. In the case of *John Harvard,* the intangible rituals that are physically damaging to the statue are representative of associated communities' cultural heritage. These additional values are also legitimate forms of heritage according to Hobsbawm's considerations of invented traditions. Therefore, it is expected that these measures are taken into account as well as the statue's tangible values during conservation management. Analysis of the preservation practices for *John Harvard* will take place in chapter five.

Summary

Overall, many forms of intangible cultural heritage associated with the *John Harvard* statue. Additionally, different sets of stakeholders were invested in the different types of traditions or rituals. As evidenced from archival records, online reviews, Instagram data, and interviews from preservation professionals, currently one of the main attractions for visiting the statue is participation in the intangible tradition of rubbing or touching the foot or shoe of *John Harvard.* The physical context of this statue is influenced by the amount of interest that the statue garners, but its appeal remains separate rather than linked to the surrounding area of Harvard Yard. The statue's value, besides its role as a tourist attraction, include its use in student

activities and ceremonial tradition and inspiring visitors from around the world with its ideals of higher education.

The next chapter will analyze the information presented in this chapter as well as chapter three. It will continue to assess value and cultural significance guided by Mason's process, showing how the associated intangible culture can be determined as viable heritage by preservation managers. Additionally, a comparison of real-life preservation management and results identified through application of Mason's process will be analyzed and critiqued in response to the research question. Furthermore, the two cases will also be compared.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

As shown in the literature review, there is a strong relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage, with each influencing the other. When preserving tangible heritage, consideration of the associated intangible heritage is imperative. If tangible heritage and intangible heritage are viewed as inseparable and interdependent, how can this relationship be reflected in preservation, specifically in the preservation of historic public art sculptures in university contexts?

Statements of Significance

Following identification of stakeholders and eliciting values, the next step in Mason's cultural significance/value assessment process (Figure 2) is to create statements of significance. Mason describes this as the part of the process when "ranking and prioritization" occur.[257] Statements of significance contribute to the integration of value assessments into policy. Mason suggests that statements of significance would "synthesiz[e] the reasons behind all the actions one might propose for the site — conservation, development, interpretation, and so on — and provid[e] clear positions that would form the basis of later decisions and evaluation."[258] An important point that Mason makes when detailing the construction of a statement of significance is, "The statements do not necessarily have to be boiled down to one or two points, nor do they need to reflect a single consensus or universal view about the site. In fact, one would expect

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[257] Mason, "Assessing Values," 14.
[258] Mason, "Assessing Values," 23-24.

conflicting statements of significance to be articulated for a site."[259] Additionally, as Dawson

Munjeri stated fifteen years ago, "Cultural heritage should speak through the values that people

give it and not the other way around."[260]

Mason suggests using identified sets of values and stakeholders to articulate all factors

that contribute to the significance of a heritage resource. In this step, it is important to not

distinguish levels of importance among values presented, but rather to acknowledge the entirety

of them. According to Mason, *this* is how to make appropriate policy that respects all values

associated with a heritage resource.[261] For *Alma Mater* and *John Harvard,* I will rely on Tables 1

and 2 from chapters three and four as articulations of the aspects of each resource's significance.

Once those aspects are articulated, Mason suggests prioritization of values. The challenge

for preservation professionals during this step is how does one decide which values are priority?

For Mason, an "assessment of the degree or level of significance of each value" should occur,

resulting in ranking of priority.

To assess the cultural values for each statue, I examined patterns that emerged in my data

from chapters three and four. I determined how each identified values affected each statue's

significance. This step results in highlighting which kinds of heritage are important to

stakeholders. Particularly, I will assess whether associated rituals should be considered as

intangible cultural heritage.

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[259] Mason, "Assessing Values," 24.
[260] Munjeri, "Tangible and Intangible Heritage," 4.
[261] Mason, "Assessing Values," 24.

Alma Mater

Across the stakeholder groups, the most prominent value for the *Alma Mater* statue was its contribution to the sense of place in Low Plaza. This value was articulated by three sets of stakeholders — students, Columbia University, and tourists — and was mentioned in responses through every method of data collection. Sense of place is a characteristic of intangible cultural heritage because it embodies a "cultural space associated therewith … communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage."[262] As such, preserving this sense of place should be the highest priority when creating preservation policy for *Alma Mater*. *Alma Mater* has become an icon due to her relationship with her surroundings. As Low Plaza increasingly became an important setting for student activity, the statue also became a symbol that students identified with as a part of their university experience. The statue's role in the design of Low Plaza has become synonymous with the sense of place that the plaza provides; Low Plaza is even nicknamed "Low Beach." The relationship of the statue and Low Plaza also strongly relates to this area's use as the location for commencement exercises. Not only is she an allegorical representation of the environment of a higher education institution, but to Columbians, she represents the feeling of student community.

Other values attributed to the statue included actions such as putting items on the statue or using it in pranks, and the statue's representation as a symbol of Columbia University. These values contribute to the prominent value of the statue's role in the social space of Low Plaza. The subject matter and location of *Alma Mater* as well as the attitudes of stakeholders toward the statue all relate to the experience of the plaza. The fact that the statue is an allegorical representation of "alma mater," versus any other ideal, educational or not, embodies the sense of

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[262] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 2.

community found on a campus of higher education. Acknowledging the history of the statue as a memorial gift, the original concept for the statue pays tribute to an alumnus and his time as a student at Columbia. Additionally, the location of the statue according to McKim's campus design allows *Alma Mater* to be highly visible and inseparable from its surroundings. The association of this statue with the surrounding physical context has allowed it to become both a symbol of Columbia University and an attraction for interaction. This association was solidified by the protests of 1968 when the statue intentionally bombed as a representation of the university. In that same sense, this statue is a target for pranks from rival schools or students as a visible representation of Columbia University and because it is in an intentionally designed social space. In fact, the intangible values for this statue complement the ingenuity of McKim's design of Low Plaza.

The value of *Alma Mater* as an art sculpture by Daniel Chester French also has a high priority among stakeholders, although not to the degree of the statue's relationship with its surroundings. The statue's tangible artistic value is important to the responsible official and university, but other stakeholders do not place emphasis on this.

The tradition of finding the owl hidden in the statue does not have a high priority among stakeholders. Tourists are the main stakeholders who appreciate this ritual, though *Alma Mater* is not considered a popular tourist attraction. The Morningside Heights campus of Columbia University as a *whole* is within the top 10% of tourist sites in New York City, but within the campus, the statue is of minimal interest. However, those tourists who *do* visit the statue are interested in the associated tradition. Finding the owl is not considered intangible cultural heritage because, although it is a practice that is part of Columbia's history, it is not recognized

as part of its *heritage*. The value of this tradition seems to have diminished over the years, and overall it does not contribute to the cultural heritage of a community or group.

John Harvard

Many different types of value were attributed to the *John Harvard* statue, each involving different sets of stakeholders. Many of these values were attached to rituals that are valid and significant examples of heritage, even though some can be viewed as inappropriate or damaging to other values. These rituals are considered intangible heritage because they are practices that communities, whether students or tourists, recognize as part of their cultural heritage. Furthermore, these rituals indicate values that were discussed by Wharton, presented in chapter two. When conserving heritage found on college or university campuses, Wharton stressed the importance of recognizing that it is not just the tangible characterization of campus that students remember and shape their experiences.[263]

The quality of "luck" associated with the statue resulted in the emergence of an invented tradition. This tradition is highly valued by tourists, and is also valued by Harvard University. Tourists flock to this statue in large numbers, and it garners the most interest on campus. The sheer extent of available data from the public through Instagram and online forums prove that this value *must* be considered when making preservation decisions; this value resulted in the majority of visitors participating in rubbing the statue's foot. The intangible value of this ritual is inseparable from the statue because it results in physical evidence. This value, while conflicting with other values, also promotes other cultural values associated with this statue. This situation is comparable to that of Marstal, the Danish town mentioned in chapter two that experienced a

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[263] Wharton, "What Will We Remember," 6.

significant change in meaning after popularization due to the publication of a book. The two cases presented similar challenges, but the same method would not solve both challenges.

Another physically damaging ritual for the *John Harvard* statue is the student tradition of urinating on it. This value is important because it contributes to the sense of community between students who participate in the trifecta challenge of "the Three Things." This sense of community also extends to other students because this tradition is not advertised outside of the Harvard student body. However, the exclusion of stakeholders limits the degree of significance for this value. The O'Connell Street statues that Naylor conserved faced similar challenges, however in Naylor's case, the same act of urination on a public statue was not considered to be intangible cultural heritage. The difference here is that this interaction with *John Harvard* is conducted by a specific group of people for specific reasons rather than just being a commonplace action that the public occasionally does.

Another ritual that involves *John Harvard* uniting the Harvard community is tipping graduation caps toward the statue during the procession to commencement exercises. This value has a seemingly high priority because the statue continues to be kept visible especially during graduation. The procession also continues to go past the statue resulting in the continued opportunity to participate in this ritual. Since this ritual has stakeholders limited to those who participate in Harvard commencement processions, i.e. faculty members and graduating students, this value also has a limited degree of significance.

The fourth ritual involving the statue occurs during Housing Day celebrations. This value has a very low degree of significance, but it is vital to consider this value because it involves physical interaction. Elicitation of this value was only found through one source — Instagram,

yet effects of this ritual are just as damaging as more well-known traditions. Therefore, the inclusion of a variety of sources when determining value is essential.

A final student tradition involves putting items on the *John Harvard* statue whether for pranks, public discussion, or advertising. This tradition is fueled by the statue being a symbol of Harvard University and the campus experience. Generally performed by students, this tradition can have many different effects on the statue depending on the item — paint, pumpkin, traffic cones, t-shirt, etc. Pranks that result in major physical damage do not seem to be very prevalent.

Another value of the *John Harvard* statue attributed by students, Harvard University, and tourists is its representation as a symbol of the ideals of higher education in the United States. Although the statue is technically meant to be a portrait commemorating John Harvard, it has come to mean more; regardless of the statue not being his actual likeness, this statue personifies the origins of higher education in the United States. To elaborate, by memorializing Rev. John Harvard as the school's first benefactor, the statue embodies all the possibilities and opportunities that higher education provides. *This* value contributes to the *intangible* value that is associated with the ritual of rubbing the statue's foot. People want to identify with the statue as a representation of Harvard University's iconic status. While the provenance of the foot-rubbing ritual is not proven, visitors *continue* to participate in the ritual to identify with what the statue represents. With the passage of time and increasing participation, these values have shaped the meaning of the statue changing its meaning for some stakeholders. *John Harvard* derives value from being a symbol of the university as associated with Harvard University's world-renowned reputation and the distinction of being the first institution of higher education in the United States.[264] Therefore, the space of Harvard Yard is shaped by the presence of this statue; this

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[264] Crimson Key Society, "Architectural Spotlight," 13.

statue does not depend on its location to create a sense of place. The sense of place that this statue contributes to has more to do with universal ideals of higher education than of student culture. However, *John Harvard* also derives value from its role in Harvard student culture, and numerous intangible cultural traditions involve this statue. The preservation practices of this statue acknowledge associated intangible culture by its reflection in management decisions. One tradition has become intertwined with the statue; it has become the statue with a shiny foot.

Lastly, the statue retains artistic value as a work by Daniel Chester French. However, this value is largely overlooked in favor of the values that have grown around the statue. This value is acknowledged by Harvard University, shown through the recent responsibility shift to the Harvard Art Museums. The statue is considered part of the university's portrait collection and is presumably officially interpreted as a master sculptor's portrait of Rev. John Harvard by the museum's curators. Even though there is evidence that the statue is a valuable *art* sculpture, the artistic value has a low degree of significance when compared to the other attributed cultural values for the statue.

Many of the values presented above are connected with examples of intangible cultural heritage that have relationships with the tangible statues. As shown through the analysis of each value's significance, these relationships present preservation challenges for *Alma Mater* and *John Harvard.*

Analysis of Threats and Opportunities

Mason described this step in policy development as identifying risks and advantages. He also noted, "Threats can be quite varied and could be categorized, for instance … from vandalism or violence, from neglect or poor management, … and social, cultural, or political

forces that produce changes in meaning and valuing."[265] This is an extremely important step in the process toward policy-making. For cases, such as Dartmouth's Old Pine and pipe-smashing tradition, although the actions were technically considered heritage, the threats this ritual posed ultimately negated any opportunities the ritual had of being continued. Additionally, the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention excluded actions that posed more threat than opportunity from being considered intangible cultural heritage: "consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with … the requirements of mutual respect among communites."[266] As pointed out by Van Jura in chapter two, rituals and traditions can be extremely useful and valuable in higher education. The difference is the *type* of threats. The cultural values associated with *Alma Mater* and *John Harvard* will now be analyzed for the threats or opportunities they present for preservation of the statues.

Alma Mater

Most of the significant values associated with *Alma Mater* pose opportunities for preservation of the statue. For example, many of the values are connected with the statue's popularity among stakeholders, which creates continued investment from stakeholders. Interest from stakeholders is advantageous for preservation goals because it indicates which values should be prioritized. As a result, stakeholders' investment influences conservation decisions of the statue, for example the prompt removal of the bronze veneer in the 1970s. However, since sometimes popular values can be damaging, such as using the statue as a prop for putting things on it or using it for pranks or protest; actions deemed valuable by a community can pose threats to the overall well-being of a resource, in this case the statue. As shown through *Alma Mater*'s

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[265] Mason, 25.
[266] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage,* 2.

history, effects of protest can seriously damage it. At the same time, effects from actions such as these end up strengthening the other values, creating a complexity that professionals must consider. Taking this into account, opportunities should be considered to be just as valuable as preventing threats.

John Harvard

Many of the values associated with the *John Harvard* statue are in conflict due to posed threats. Values connected with intangible culture are in direct opposition with values connected to the statue's tangible culture. For example, students do not consider the statue being valuable as an artistic masterpiece when choosing to urinate on the statue. As this case portrays, it is important to elicit all values before assessing significance. In the case of *John Harvard*, conflicting values that threaten others are not less important; in fact those values are some of the most identifiable from associated stakeholders. The most damaging effects of imposed values on the statue are people constantly touching *John Harvard*'s foot, people urinating on the statue, and people putting paint on the statue. The prioritization of each value is important for preservation professionals to consider because it affects whether or not some of them can continue. For example, it would be virtually impossible to prohibit people from touching the statue without taking drastic action, nor would professionals necessarily *want* to stop this action. On the other hand, the action of putting paint on the statue poses a high threat that does not correlate to high significance value. Therefore, it would be in the best interest of conservation managers to prohibit *this* action.

Critique of Preservation Practices

Finally, neither statue has a specific preservation plan in place. Instead, I will analyze the preservation practices and approach for each case in terms of how and why they respond to the values presented, including associated intangible cultural heritage.

Alma Mater

For *Alma Mater,* the preservation practices are conducted by the Art Properties department, headed by Dr. Ferrari. However, he is not the sole decision-maker for Columbia's art properties; a committee composed of representatives from the campus arts departments, administration, alumni and student affairs, libraries, rotating faculty, an undergraduate representative, and a graduate representative all weighs in. The undergraduate student is typically selected by the student senate, and the graduate student is typically an intern with Art Properties.[267] Management actions use the highest professional standards and recognize the challenge of it being public outdoor art. Ferrari stated this challenge to be that the "public sphere invites interaction," meaning that in a public space, there are no specific boundaries other than generally accepted social behaviors. There is no active policing of the statue's environment.

The current approach is "active," meaning that it focuses on preventative physical conservation treatments. Ferrari's preservation approach toward *Alma Mater* has the specific goals regarding the statue's importance as a historic legacy of art and wishes to relay that idea through his interpretive tours and preservation treatment.

Along with the focus on artistic value, the statue's relationship to Low Plaza is a factor in how conservation of the statue is approached. Although *Alma Mater* is recognized as having a

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[267] Ferrari, interview.

high precedent as an iconic figure for the university, the statue is not attended to with special treatment; it is considered alongside the rest of art properties. Physical interaction with this statue is discouraged, but it nonetheless occurs occasionally due to lack of enforcement. According to Ferrari, students do not generally climb on the statue, so it is not necessarily an issue.[268]

Alma Mater's associated significance as a recognizable statue on campus is included in the preservation practices because measures are taken to maintain her patina; no gilding or bronze veneers are permitted. Ferrari acknowledges that because of the strong negative response to past changes of the statue's appearance, conservation professionals still maintain the brownish patina of the bronze statue today.[269]

Other past decisions have significantly influenced the current preservation approach as well. The 1970s restoration decision to fix the bomb damage contributed to setting a precedent that this statue is a respected work of art. This statue is not conserved as having a "living heritage" value. It unofficially represents Columbia University and projects an image that the school aligns with — one that supports students and looks to the future instead of the past. This approach contrasts with other similar cases, such as with *Victory by Courage,* one of the O'Connell Street statues discussed in chapter two. Unlike the case of *Alma Mater,* Naylor chose to leave signs of physical damage on *Victory by Courage* as a testament to that phase of the statue's life. The different results reflect placement of priority on different values, or at least different ideas of each context's sense of place. The subject matter of the statues in these two cases could also have an effect on what story to portray. The preservation approach for *Alma Mater* carries through today through the current interpretation as a work of art.

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[268] Ferrari, interview.
[269] Ferrari, interview.

Additionally, the owl tradition is not reflected in the preservation practices of the statue, and the university does not consider it to be a priority value. However, the tradition itself is preserved through archival resources made evident to the public through Instagram and published essays. Students have also safeguarded it, if unknowingly, by referencing its superstitious academic advantages online.

Many of the intangible heritage characteristics associated with the *Alma Mater* statue do not affect the statue; rather, this intangible heritage is mostly dependent on the effects of the surrounding Low Plaza. The relationship of tangible heritage and intangible heritage is not specifically concerned with *Alma Mater* but with the connection of the built environment found in the entire plaza. This statue highlights McKim's design for Low Plaza as an urban gathering place. Therefore, it is logical that the Historic Exteriors and Buildings Department and Art Properties collaborate when caring for the statue in its entirety; one department cares for the base and surroundings, and the other cares for the statue itself. It is also logical that the archives handle the preservation of the owl tradition since it is categorized better as folklore and not regarded as having a high priority among stakeholders. Columbia University does not actively encourage participation in the intangible cultural heritage associated with *Alma Mater* from non-students. This position is reinforced by the campus plan — a separate, enclosed space within Manhattan.

While there is no specific preservation routine in place for any of the statues under the care of Art Properties, technical conservation is administered on an ad-hoc basis. There is no regular maintenance, but informal checks occur in passing on the statue to ensure conditions are assessed. Dr. Ferrari believes that maintenance is regular enough to maintain the statue's

longevity.[270] There is also no specific preservation plan for Low Plaza, instead adverse effects are addressed only when a construction project is undertaken.[271] A suggestion for attempting to safeguard the valuable sense of place that the area including *Alma Mater* emits would be for Art Properties and the Exteriors & Historic Preservation department to collaborate on creating a policy that recognizes all associated values with Low Plaza.

John Harvard

John Harvard is cared for by the Harvard Art Museums as part of the portrait collection. Angela Chang is the official responsible for the statue, but she also consults with various other organizations within the community and campus. Since caring for the statue is a relatively new responsibility for the museums, there is not a currently defined protocol, but maintenance is administered on an as needed basis. One of her goals is to create a conservation plan specific to *John Harvard.* Currently, the preservation approach toward the statue is "reactive," meaning that action is taken once a problem occurs. As the main overseer for the statue, Chang wishes to modify the approach to an active one which would help to prevent damage. She is currently creating a long-term preservation plan for the statue and other public art sculptures on the campus. Her goals also include plans for intensive treatment to clean, apply fresh acrylic with wax coating, and planned annual maintenance/condition assessment. The plan is meant to solely address the physical aspects of the statue, although she added that it is hard to isolate the tangible parts from the other characteristics.[272]

[270] Ferrari, interview.
[271] McArthur and Ramsey, interview.
[272] Chang, interview.

In the case of *John Harvard,* both students and tourists have their own intangible traditions that involve and affect the statue. The preservation practices in place generally accommodate for intangible culture associated with the statue. Even though the traditions may not necessarily be condoned, they are not forbidden or discouraged, which indirectly protects them. Chang recognizes the importance of multiple values attached with the statue, especially those beyond its artistic value. Her biggest motivation toward making a specific plan for *John Harvard* is to support the statue to stay in its context outside as long as possible since she considers the setting part of the statue's integrity. She acknowledged for instance that it would be a significant change if the statue had to be moved inside.[273]

Chang noted that although the preservation plan is meant to solely address the physical qualities of the statue, the physical contact the feet of *John Harvard* receives must be taken into consideration when making condition assessments and treatments. She said they are not going to ban people from rubbing the feet, but suggested that a thicker wax coating may be applied specifically to that area for extra protection. If this proves to be an effective solution over time, she will consider incorporating it into the preservation practice.[274]

Chang remarked that past discussions have not included any action to eliminate or discourage associated intangible culture, such as fabricating a patina on the foot to make it look uniform. In fact, she acknowledged that "[*John Harvard*]'s identity, it's a sculpture with a shiny foot,"[275] meaning that the loss of patina has become a part of the statue's significance and influenced its meaning. To accomplish her long-term goal of protecting the statue's physical

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[273] Chang, interview.
[274] Chang, interview.
[275] Chang, interview.

contextual integrity, she recognizes the need to develop preventative maintenance to accommodate associated intangible rituals.[276]

Chang also stated that the curator of American art would also be involved in preserving the statue's appearance because the statue is a "living object."[277] She described *John Harvard* as a living object because the statue's contemporary identity is intertwined with its historic significance and age value; there is a continuous, flexible relationship between what the statue represents and how stakeholders value it. As the foot-rubbing ritual highlights, associated intangible traditions contribute to the contemporary identity and have an effect on the significance and integrity of the statue. Therefore, the management of *John Harvard* must be adaptable and take into account interactions that may physically alter the statue.[278] Part of the appeal of using Mason's process (Figure 1) is that it allows for continuous revision and reflection, as necessary for "living objects."[279]

Chang also addressed another instance of conflicting value toward the statue related to intangible culture: the trifecta challenge of urinating on the statue. She acknowledged that the effects from this ritual are essential to consider in conservation measures where actions are taken to mitigate adverse effects from this interaction.[280] This tradition is not necessarily included in the preservation practices of the statue, but it certainly affects and is reflected in them. The absence of enforcement or a physical barrier shows that while this tradition may not necessarily be welcomed, it is not prevented. This is because those prevention measures would pose threats to the other values associated with the statue by affecting the overall experience of the statue. As

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[276] Chang, interview.
[277] Chang, interview.
[278] Chang, interview.
[279] Mason, "Assessing Values," 6.
[280] Chang, interview.

an unguarded outdoor public sculpture, it is expected that the statue experiences interactions like this.

Although the current conservation measures are taken to ensure physical interaction does not result in long-term interference, sometimes issues can still arise. Before the statue was under Chang's responsibility, it was simply power washed about five to six times per year. As recently as 2015, it was only cleaned when needed, as indicated by odors such as those resulting from the urination tradition. At that time, the statue was not washed during winter months as the liquid could create hazards in freezing temperatures, and this is likely still the case.[281]

Luckily, in the case of *John Harvard,* the potentially harmful effects resulting from touching or urinating on the statue are mitigated with the same solution — an application of wax coating applied to the surface of the statue. The use of this coating accommodates for the intangible cultural rituals and traditions to continue without compromising the artistic value that is also attributed to the statue.

The approach toward the preservation of *John Harvard* both directly and indirectly responds to associated intangible cultural heritage, depending on the manifestation. The physically altering effects of rituals require direct preservation action that cannot be ignored. Other aspects indirectly safeguard associated intangible culture — management actions that are *not* done are just as important as actions that are taken. The lack of physical barriers, absence of discouragement of interaction with the statue, and awareness not to block visibility of and accessibility to the statue accommodate for many of the other intangible rituals involving *John Harvard.* The combination of these management decisions reflect an approach that seeks to preserve the statue's in its entirety — tangible value and intangible value. Chang's intended

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[281] Zhang, "How Clean is John Harvard?"

action plan aligns with Mason's method. Suggestions for safeguarding the statue's associated intangible culture would be collaborating with archives for documentation and, for some rituals, collaborating with student life professionals and campus planners.

Comparison of Case Studies

Stakeholders of both Columbia University's *Alma Mater* and Harvard University's *John Harvard* highly value their respective statues and see them as representative icons of their school. However, the underlying reasons for their attributed values are different.

Throughout the years the *John Harvard* statue has taken on additional intangible values, and although many of the traditions involving this statue would be contradictory to strict preservation practices of the statue's value as a work by a master sculptor, they are considered equally important. The preservation approach toward *John Harvard* allows for the statue to be a tangible representation of living heritage; this approach allows for intangible traditions that unite communities of students or tourists to continue. Chang considers *John Harvard* to be similar to Columbia University's *Alma Mater* because both statues are at the center of a major university, they both draw a lot of people who are not associated with the university to see the statue, and both statues are situated within an outdoor, public space.

John Harvard derives value from being a symbol of the university's world-renowned reputation and its distinction as the first institution of higher education in the United States.[282] Therefore, the experience of the place of Harvard Yard is shaped by the presence of this statue; this statue does not depend on its location to create a sense of place. The statue's contribution to sense of place has more to do with universal ideals of higher education than with student culture.

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[282] Crimson Key Society, "Architectural Spotlight," 13.

However, *John Harvard* also derives value from its role in Harvard student culture, and numerous intangible cultural traditions involve this statue. The preservation practices of this statue acknowledge associated intangible culture by its influence on management decisions. One tradition in particular has become intertwined with the statue; it has become the statue with a shiny foot.

Dr. Ferrari had a different opinion about how the two case statues compared. He was familiar with Harvard University's *John Harvard* statue and believes there is a fundamental difference between the two. He noted that *John Harvard* is a portrait statue that is supposed to represent an actual person. Ferrari believed that this portrait representation of an influential person as a memorial indicates historical value. He suggested that if Columbia had a statue of King George II, the benefactor of Columbia's predecessor, King's College, *it* would be comparable to the *John Harvard* statue. According to Ferrari, since *Alma Mater* is not a representation of a single individual, it has the benefit of being a figurative sculpture with more allegorical purposes and classical iconography, which he believes have helped to maintain her popularity.[283]

McArthur and Ramsey thought that *Alma Mater* seems much more "present" in Low Plaza than is the case with Harvard University's *John Harvard*, meaning that she is more integral to the physical setting. They attribute this "presence" to her position in the middle of the steps outside of the Low Library building. They added that the public interacts less with *Alma Mater* than with *John Harvard* because of this positioning. These professionals agree that *Alma Mater*'s intangible value has more to do with the space that it contributes to than *John Harvard* has with its surroundings.[284] Additionally, Dolkart noted that unlike *John Harvard,* the *Alma Mater* statue

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[283] Ferrari, interview.
[284] McArthur and Ramsey, interview.

could not be moved to another part of campus and retain the same significance, whereas *John Harvard* could be relocated (and was). *Alma Mater* is seen consistently as a symbol of the university and as an emblem for places of higher learning, and he believes this meaning is generally shared by anyone who views it.[285]

Connections made through the comparison of these characteristics established that the presence of value attributed to intangible traditions affected the cultural significance and subsequent preservation actions for both tangible statues. Based on the value assessment, intangible cultural heritage is valuable to stakeholders for different reasons. The conservation approach of *John Harvard* is more inclusive of additional stakeholders, specifically tourists, than that of *Alma Mater* because of the *type* of associated intangible heritage and the amount of value attributed to it.

Mason's process is a good starting point for establishing critical methods that address the relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage. His recognition that intangible heritage must be responded to on a case-by-case basis is important because every instance of intangible cultural heritage does not warrant the same preservation approach. As seen with the cases of *Alma Mater* and *John Harvard*, two statues in similar settings with similar artistic value, the approach was vastly different.

In the case studies presented in chapters 3 and 4, it was essential to understand what people valued about the statues. Columbia's Art Properties has a committee of different stakeholders who are consulted about decisions concerning *Alma Mater*. However, it does not take into account any opinions or input from the public at large. The majority of interest for this statue is from students, and as part of campus, the values from the university-affiliated

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[285] Dolkart, interview.

community is a priority. *John Harvard*'s stakeholders extend beyond those affiliated with Harvard; tourists from different parts of the world place value in this statue.

Over the years, Mason and other heritage professionals have argued that input from the stakeholder communities is essential in determining policy. By first gaining input from stakeholders on what they value, appropriate policy can be put in place. This is when values can sometimes conflict with each other, whether these conflicts arise from different stakeholder groups or from responses to changes in society. Additionally, as seen in many examples in the literature review and the case of *John Harvard,* tourism can be a source of value that competes with other types of values.

Developments over the last two decades have brought about the necessity for implementation of methods that respond to the complex relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage. Proposed steps to a solution may seem superficially simple, but the literature shows that professionals are continuously arriving at more examples of this need for "integrative" or a "holistic" conservation, but without a solution. Mason's process has been available since 2002, and it does not seem to have been widely implemented in actual practice to attempt to answer the challenges presented in the heritage field. The reason for this could be the underlying lack of awareness of what is actually considered to be intangible cultural heritage and fully recognizing that it is inseparable from tangible heritage resources.

Summary

Identification of the attributed value of the *Alma Mater* statue and the *John Harvard* statue have proved the presence of relationships between many manifestations of intangible heritage and tangible heritage. Using the value assessment process put forth by Mason for each

statue established results showing that intangible culture ranged from having little or no effect to having a great impact on a tangible resource. Review of the significance of attributed value of the statues, assessment of threats and opportunities of each value, and critique of preservation practices allowed for an analysis of decisions and approaches toward tangible-intangible heritage relationships present in each case.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The case studies of Columbia's *Alma Mater* and Harvard University's *John Harvard* are both relevant to the discussion of intangible heritage since both demonstrate preservation approaches that account for the relationship between tangible heritage and intangible heritage in a public outdoor sculpture on university campuses. The two cases present types of intangible heritage that preservationists respond to in different ways. The analysis of the preservation practices associated with the case studies exposed larger issues and challenges within the field of historic preservation, such as further conceptualization of heritage. Additionally, the case studies emphasize that established methods which detail how to create appropriate management policy for similar resources are necessary.

Both the *Alma Mater* statue and the *John Harvard* statue involve manifestations of intangible culture. However, the manifestations are very different and are valued to different degrees by stakeholder communities. *John Harvard*'s associated intangible traditions have more of an effect on preservation measures than those associated with *Alma Mater*. *John Harvard*'s traditions may not be explicitly included in the statue's preservation scope, but they are not discouraged, which allows them to continue to exist. In contrast, the intangible tradition that is associated with *Alma Mater* does not influence the preservation practices for the statue besides her contribution to the sense of place of Low Plaza. It is concluded from these case studies that these traditions may or may not be historic themselves, but they continue to influence the preservation of historic statues and ultimately the experiences of the university campuses and

culture of which they are a part. It is essential to remember that *Alma Mater* and *John Harvard* are in the context of a university and that students are important stakeholders, regardless of *how* they value these statues. While these statues are part of Daniel Chester French's artistic legacy and representations of historic tangible heritage, they are also sculptures of *art* meant to be enjoyed in the present time.

The methods and conclusions from this study can be used to examine additional cases for similar statues. As determined by the use of a multi-case approach, it is likely that the factors for other statues will vary. Mason's planning process methodology framework allows policy makers to use a single method to produce results specific to their case. During application of this process, significant challenges in the field of historic preservation were addressed, such as how to evaluate conflicting values for the same heritage resource.

Several additional issues and challenges were highlighted within this thesis, which acknowledges that many areas of historic preservation need further development. Intangible cultural heritage is not understood to the extent that tangible heritage is. Intangible heritage poses difficulty for constructing parameters, such as standard criteria, since it is not as consistent as tangible heritage to fall into distinct, uniform categories. For example, tangible heritage has specific determinations for significance with some exceptions, but intangible heritage is dependent on variables such as their associated community and tangible counterparts to derive value and significance. Therefore, further study needs to be conducted to understand and distinguish intangible cultural heritage.

While Mason's process brings awareness to these problems, how do preservation professionals proceed to respond to these additional challenges? Once preservationists reach an understanding of *all* heritage under their care, how do they begin to take appropriate action?

How is appropriateness or responsibility determined for challenges such as conflicting values? For example, should there be standard criteria similar to the assessment of significance for tangible cultural heritage? How does age affect authenticity or integrity of intangible heritage? Responses to *these* questions are pivotal next steps for the field of historic preservation.

Mason's process accommodates for the acknowledgement of the inseparable relationship between tangible and intangible heritage by providing a deep understanding of how and why both types of heritage can and should be included in preservation practice. Application of this process gave the opportunity for values and significance to present themselves, expressing which kinds of heritage are important rather than professionals attempting to dictate which heritage stakeholders should value. However, the role of preservationists should be more clearly defined when outlining how to safeguard intangible cultural heritage responsibly.

Developing Mason's planning process methodology into a more widely used best practice as a formalized process, could be a start to incorporate intangible cultural heritage into heritage management. This process allows professionals to analyze whether or not certain characteristics, such as traditions, have heritage value. Further elaborations on this process could be made with recommendations on how determinations of heritage value can be reached — what distinguishes a ritual or tradition as *heritage* set apart from normal intangible culture? How can professionals determine that threats outweigh opportunities and vice-versa? Does a ritual or tradition's age matter — should a 50-year rule be implemented for intangible cultural heritage? Additional real-life case studies which test the multiple characterizations of values (age value, aesthetic value, economic value, etc.) would be helpful for further engaging this process. As Mason pointed out, integrative conservation advances by examples of trial and error.[286]

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[286] Mason, "Assessing Values," 23.

Furthermore, on what do professionals base decisions to safeguard or prohibit certain

actions as heritage? At this point, preservation professionals should have the authority to

determine values of heritage. The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural

Heritage mentions,

> consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is
> compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with
> the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals,
> and of sustainable development.[287]

While the determination as "not heritage" or "no longer heritage" is straightforward for

some examples, such as seen with Dartmouth's Old Pine in chapter two, other examples of

collegiate culture are not so clear. Specifically, the act of urinating can have different meanings

depending on the community. Instead of a socially taboo act of satire toward tourists, the ritual of

urinating on public university statues could potentially be interpreted as an assertion of male

dominance which purposefully excludes other members of a student body. For example, Jay

Mechling discussed negative impacts of urinating related to masculinity in American culture.

Mechling specifically focused on insulting acts of urination as a coping mechanism for soldiers

who had trauma, but other cases could also be concerned with socially offensive acts of

urinating.[288] Further research on a case-by-case basis would need to be conducted to determine if

urinating could, or should, be considered as an intangible value that falls under the scope of

heritage.

Additionally, study should continue to be undertaken to recommend how to safeguard

intangible cultural heritage, including non-mainstream examples such as collegiate heritage. The

evolving and dynamic characteristics of intangible heritage creates problems that cannot be dealt

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[287] UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, 2.
[288] Jay Mechling, "Pissing and Masculinity," *Culture, Society and Masculinities*, 6, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 19, doi: 10.3149/CSM.0601.19.

with in the same manner as tangible heritage. This challenge circles back to the issues of

defining integrity for intangible cultural heritage — are evolutions and changes acceptable? Is

that determined by how they reflect the current societal values? Who determines which societal

values are detrimental, and according to what? As seen with the case of Dartmouth's Old Pine,

the ritual changed from pipe-smashing to candle-lighting to eliminate racial connections — was

this the *right* choice? Does this type of solution work for other cases? For example, what if

urinating on *John Harvard* was changed to something else? These are important, timely issues

that should be explored in order for responsible decision-making to take place.

Lastly, further exploration into the influence of social media on the preservation of

intangible culture would also provide vital information to be used when assessing value.

Instagram and online forums provided important information for the cases of *Alma Mater* and

John Harvard, some of which was not present in other sources. Social media offers additional

ethnographic data that would be very beneficial when analyzing heritage values. Elisa

Giaccardi's 2012 book *Heritage and Social Media: Understanding Heritage in a Participatory

Culture* includes many case studies which demonstrate that social media has an impact on

culture. Giaccardi introduces her book by stating,

> heritage is today about far more than museum artifacts and historic buildings, and
> how they are to be preserved and communicated. It is about making sense of our
> memories and developing a sense of identity through shared and repeated
> interactions with the tangible remains and lived traces of a common past.[289]

The idea of the public documenting intangible cultural experiences is useful for safeguarding

intangible cultural heritage, and the motivation behind public social media posts is worth

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[289] Elisa Giaccardi, ed., "Introduction," in *Heritage and Social Media: Understanding Heritage in a Participatory Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012), 1.

observing because those actions allow the public to become involved. Social media provides a source for gathering quantifiable data for evaluation on the prioritization of values.

The collaboration between conservation professionals and other professionals that contribute to the preservation of heritage resources should continue to be encouraged. These different perspectives can better identify stakeholders and assess the prioritization of values, resulting in a truly integrated conservation plan.

As noted by the literature review, challenging preservation issues have been identified through case examples, but they all conclude with a call for methods; they do not present solutions or suggest further actions to take through policy. Mason's method in its current form is not necessarily suggested as the *absolute* solution, as there is always room for improvement. However, it *does* work for approaching management of issues such as conflicting values and providing a systematic way to decide if value characteristics are worthy of safeguarding. Specifically, it works for creating and assessing preservation practices for their response to intangible cultural heritage associated with tangible cultural heritage. This thesis concludes that Mason's process is a valuable tool for initial development of best practices for heritage management, but further advancement must follow.

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APPENDIX A

FURTHER EXPLANATION OF METHODS

<u>Interviews</u>

Interviews were conducted in order to gain insight into preservation practices to

determine the influence of intangible cultural heritage. The interviews also were intended to

yield information about thoughts, attitudes, perceptions, and ideas that influence how the statues'

caretaking professionals make decisions. Participants for interviews were chosen via purposive

sampling, with the criteria being professionals who influence the preservation of one of the two

statues. Since the professionals involved with making preservation decisions for each statue were

few in number, other preservation professionals were included as interview participants. I

interviewed five professionals associated with the *Alma Mater* statue, but only the directly

responsible preservation official was available to comment on the *John Harvard* statue, resulting

in six total interviews. Many participants who met the study criteria declined to comment or did

not feel that they had the authority to comment on the topic addressed. The participants

associated with each statue had varying roles. They included professionals who were officially

responsible for the statue's conservation, a representative from campus archives, campus

planners, and a professor in the historic preservation department.

Interviews were semi-structured, and around 30 questions. The questions were developed

to determine the influences on the preservation practices for each statue, and they addressed the

participant's professional role; preservation goals and practices for each statue; intangible

traditions related to the statues; the status of stakeholder groups, tourism and interpretation; and the presence of statues used in reference for decision-making, if any.

Public Documents and Archival Records

Additional data related to the statues were gathered from publications, newspapers, and magazines. Sources included university archives, university-affiliated newspapers, university-affiliated magazines, and guidebooks. These were reviewed in order to learn the history of each statue and infer how each community values each statue. Specifically, the Columbia University Library Archives' historical account of *Alma Mater* was used as a reference for the history of the statue. Likewise, at Harvard, the Crimson Key Society's student-written guidebook was consulted for information about *John Harvard* and Harvard student traditions. Contemporary and historic student newspaper and magazine articles provided insight about how students have valued the statues over time. These sources provided information about whether intangible traditions involving the statues existed and were maintained.

Fieldwork

Site visits to both Columbia University and Harvard University's campuses were undertaken to in order to document the context and setting of each statue. General observations were made about public social use of the surrounding spaces, and how people interacted with the statues. These observations occurred in September of 2018 and were used to enhance collected data. Site observations confirmed previous data as well as provided new information pertaining to the surrounding environment and tourist interaction with the statues. Visitor services and

campus-related stores were also observed in order to examine the promotion of the statue and associated intangible traditions.

Social Media and Online Review Forums

Online public observations from social media and online review forums TripAdvisor, Yelp, and Google Review were used to gather data about how different communities value the statues. Data gathered from these sources contributed as perspectives from the general public. The social media platform Instagram was used to explore how visitors who are Instagram users value and experience the statues. This culturally popular platform was chosen for its ability to provide images, captions, and locations, as well as for its ability to run keyword-specific searches.

Observations from online forums were analyzed using a grounded-theory approach. Grounded theory was used for this thesis because of its application for comparative analysis and its use as a strategic method to generate theory.[290] According to Glaser, "grounded theory calls for a codified set of propositions with defined categories."[291] In grounded theory, collection, coding, and analysis of data occur simultaneously in an intertwining manner.[292] For this thesis, public posts from Instagram and online reviews were collected and coded according to defined categories, such as thematic types of intangible cultural heritage. Initially, the presence of known traditions, whether by participation in a photo or mention in a text, made up this study's coding categories. Observations of patterns were made to assess whether or not evidence supported additional traditions. This study produced several resulting codes: rubbing *John Harvard*'s foot

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[290] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), 21.
[291] Glaser, et al., *The Discovery of Grounded Theory,* 31.
[292] Glaser, et al., *The Discovery of Grounded Theory,* 43.

for good luck; urination on or around *John Harvard*; tipping or lifting a graduation cap to *John Harvard*; claiming *John Harvard* on Housing Day; putting items on the statue for public discussion or using *John Harvard* or *Alma Mater* for pranks; and lastly, mentioning the owl hidden in the *Alma Mater* statue. Afterwards, the posts were analyzed for their indications of intangible heritage.

Online forums provided a source of information about how each statue is valued by members of the general public. This data set is limited to only those members of the public who write reviews on online forums. Reviews were analyzed for the type of visitor, common comments, and overall rating for the statues. These reviews were used to determine value assigned to each statue from reviewers' experiences and recommendations. For example, if a review mentioned finding the owl in the *Alma Mater* statue, I determined that comment to correlate to the visitor placing value on the intangible aspect of the associated finding-the-owl tradition for the statue discussed in chapter three. I used the same coding set across all online forums and Instagram.

In addition, the social media platform Instagram provided a wealth of data to obtain general information from certain institutional stakeholders and the public. Instagram posts were obtained from associated institutional accounts and groups of photographs tagged with keywords, or hashtags, associated with each statue. Both Columbia University's and Harvard University's official accounts were examined, as was the account of *John Harvard*'s official caretaker, the Harvard Art Museums. There was no comparable account for Columbia's Art Properties, the caretaking division for *Alma Mater*, nor other potentially associated accounts, so another keyword hashtag set was used as an alternative. The following hashtags were used to search Instagram posts from the general public: #johnharvard, #johnharvardstatue,

#columbiaalmamater, #columbiaalmamaterstatue, and #almamaterstatue. Because the term "alma

mater" provided many results that were not specifically the Columbia University statue.

Therefore, "Columbia" was added to the keyword, creating the search term #columbiaalmamater,

to use as a comparable set for #johnharvard. I used the search term #almamaterstatue as a

comparable set for #johnharvardstatue. Results from this set were filtered to identify only those

related to Columbia University. I searched #columbiaalmamaterstatue to provide additional data.

As discussed further in my analysis chapter, search results associated with the *John Harvard*

statue were significantly greater in number than those associated with *Alma Mater*.

The Instagram analysis approach responded to the large disparity between the number of

posts associated with *Alma Mater* and those associated with *John Harvard.* All of the results

from Harvard, Harvard Art Museums, Columbia, #columbiaalmamater, #almamaterstatue, and

#columbiaalmamaterstatue were analyzed. Due to the large volume of results for #johnharvard

and #johnharvardstatue (over 5,000), however, a sampling method was implemented.

I consulted an article by Margarete Sandelowski and an article by by Bryan Marshall to

determine the best sample size for the two sets with large numbers. According to the articles, the

recommended sample size averaged about 30 interviews, or in my case, posts.[293] Specifically,

Sandelowski's article recommended no more than 50 interviews.[294] Sandelowski also noted that

the sample size should ultimately be determined by the purpose the data will serve, the research

method and sampling strategy, and the intended research product.[295] Posts which made up my

samples were randomly selected using an online integer generator to eliminate researcher bias.

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[293] Bryan Marshall, Peter Cardon, Amit Poddar, and Renee Fontenot, "Does Sample Size Matter in Qualitative Research?: A Review of Qualitative Interviews in IS Research," *Journal of Computer Information Systems* (Fall 2013): 11-22, doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/08874417.2013.11645667.

[294] Margarete Sandelowski, "Sample Size in Qualitative Research," *Research in Nursing & Health* (1995): 180, doi: https://doi.org/10.1002/nur.4770180211.

[295] Sandelowski, "Sample Size in Qualitative Research," 183.

Initially, I looked at samples of 30 posts, then I examined 20 more to establish that the patterns were consistent and that the sample size was adequate. This resulted in sample sizes of 50 posts. There were no changes introduced among the additional posts. This amount provided a snapshot over a five-year period between December 2018 to the earliest accessible posts in 2013.

The other search results (general accounts of Columbia and Harvard, Harvard Art Museums, #columbiaalmamater, #columbiaalmamaterstatue, #almamaterstatue) produced more manageable sizes. These sets were more general, with not all posts showing the statue. For example, Harvard Art Museums are responsible for a vast collection of work and promote other things besides the *John Harvard* statue, which were irrelevant for my data set. I filtered these posts associated with the statues to examine the presence of intangible cultural heritage without skewing my research.

Once the data were collected for the eight sets of search results, I structured the coding system. Collected data were put into a spreadsheet with headers including: post number, link to post, caption, translation if necessary, notes such as applicable comments from other users, and then another translation column if necessary. I used a similar coding system for the other sets of Instagram data, i.e. Harvard's general account, Columbia's general account. For those, I eliminated the headers of post number and translation because they did not apply. I also referenced a screenshot of the post for the image and caption since I could no longer copy it easily into my coding spreadsheet. Since having each photo within the spreadsheet would take up too much virtual space, I opted for saving the link in the spreadsheet and the photos in a separate folder organized in the same sequence. I noted what was presented in the captions and images, then categorized them. I then analyzed the categories for patterns.

Some of the images, captions, and comments from additional users or the account owners showed the presence of known, associated, intangible cultural heritage from my initial research and new information. I determined categories of intangible heritage to look for across the different sets although most sets consistently showed only one particular tradition.

Intangible traditions included references to a tradition in text or interactions with the statues other than simply taking a photo with them. Examples of the presence of intangible traditions included someone touching the foot of *John Harvard*, comments about students urinating on *John Harvard*, and comments about finding *Alma Mater*'s owl, or the discovery of the owl being responsible for academic excellence.

I determined the placement of personal effects on the statues for public discussion/display or political statements to count as a tradition for *John Harvard* because it is a relatively frequent action across time that could physically affect the statue. I determined the same actions to be a tradition for *Alma Mater* although for a different reason. The associated tradition for *Alma Mater* relates to a history of the statue's use for making public statements because of its significance as a school symbol. Further explanation on how coding categories were determined can be found in my case studies, Chapters 4 and 5.

Lastly, I color coded the spreadsheet according to whether the tradition was represented in photographic evidence, or by mention in caption or comments. I also noted recurring themes that were not considered intangible cultural heritage yet still associated, such as artistic value. Once finished, I calculated the total percentages of posts showing intangible cultural heritage to make inferences about the value of the statues for comparison analysis in chapter six.

Two problems I encountered were translating foreign-language captions or comments and deciding where to draw the line for indication of or references to intangible cultural heritage.

Lack of translations was a problem because I could not identify if intangible culture was referenced in the text. They were typically translated online, then the English versions were consulted to categorize them. Some captions and comments for posts associated with *John Harvard* included the shoe emoji, which were interpreted as a reference to the shoe-touching tradition. Although other traditions are associated with the statue, the shoe is specifically recognized as part of the tradition of touching the shoe for good luck.

Once all the data were coded, I determined what percentage of each sample, followed by the overall percentage of posts, indicated intangible cultural heritage for each statue. As expected, the two cases displayed the presence of traditions, but to contrasting degrees. Consulting the data, I made inferences about portrayed relationships with the statues concerning the importance of associated intangible cultural heritage, the value of the statues due to intangible cultural heritage, and the ultimate popularity of the statues relating to their significance. The results from the analysis of data found from the Instagram posts and the online review forums establish how the general public valued the statues.