

**Diverging Antarctic Heritage Discourses:
The geopolitical ramifications of non-state actor
engagement with the 'state-sanctioned' version of Antarctic
heritage.**

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Abstract:	<p>The governance of heritage in Antarctica has always been centred on the nation-state and the dissemination of its Antarctic narrative both within the state and between states. However, non-state actors outside of the state offer alternative conceptions of Antarctic heritage. What are the geopolitical consequences of their engagement with objects and places of heritage on and around the frozen continent? Are non-state actors accounted for within the current, official and dominant discourse on heritage under the Antarctic Treaty System? These questions align with a broader enquiry into the system's capacity to adequately account for non-state actors and their increasing presence in the polar region 60 years on from the signing of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty. In an attempt to better understand the nature of non-state actors' interaction with Antarctic heritage and the conditions under which it occurs, this paper will investigate how three non-state actors conceive of and engage with Antarctic heritage: the tourism industry, environmental activists, and individuals. It will then consider the implications of their engagement with Antarctic heritage under the current framework for heritage management, before considering the potential obstacles the system may encounter in the future.</p>

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1 1 Introduction

2 The very idea of heritage in Antarctica may seem perplexing at first, considering there is no
3 indigenous population, and human contact with the frozen continent is a relatively recent
4 occurrence. Nevertheless, a list of Antarctic Historic Sites and Monuments (HSMs) was
5 drawn up by Antarctic Treaty parties in 1972 to recognise places and objects of ‘historic
6 significance’. The list now holds 94 entries representing the interests of 21 countries, and
7 predominantly commemorates events and figures of the Heroic Era in the late nineteenth
8 and early twentieth century. Examples include expedition huts, busts of state figures, and
9 expeditioners’ graves. This register is the official record of heritage found in this part of the
10 world, and codifies the dominant discourse for Antarctic heritage written by and for states.
11 However, other discourses on Antarctic heritage exist and are authored by non-state, as
12 opposed to state, actors. These non-statist perspectives have differing conceptions of, and
13 expectations for, Antarctic heritage and are the focus for this paper. For example,
14 archaeologists and historians have already established that the Antarctic sealing and
15 whaling industries capture an ‘ugly, dirty and evil’ and largely ‘invisible’ Antarctic history not
16 often told (Senatore, Zarankin and Barr, 2011). But these approaches focus primarily on the
17 ramifications for practical Antarctic heritage protection and conservation. The aim here, by
18 contrast, is to apply geopolitical analysis to Antarctic heritage management, exploring what
19 can be learned from present alternatives to the current statist approach to heritage. This
20 paper asks whether the dominant Antarctic heritage discourse embodied within the
21 Antarctic Treaty System takes precedence, or if its grip on how Antarctic heritage should be
22 engaged with is loosening. Furthermore, who has the right to determine what Antarctic
23 heritage is, who it is for, and how it is to be passed on to future generations? These types of
24 questions have been raised in the past, but the geopolitical ramifications have only been
25 briefly discussed. Through a geopolitical reading, this paper identifies the primary non-state
26 actors engaging with Antarctic heritage, explores the implications of this engagement and
27 suggests future complications that might arise. This three-fold approach helps inform an
28 assessment of the ability for Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties (ATCPs) – the keepers of
29 the dominant discourse – to maintain a monopoly on the management of Antarctic
30 heritage.

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2 *How non-state actors are engaging with Antarctic heritage*

It is easier to understand the effects the dominant discourse has on non-state actors, and the effects their engagement has on the regional governing body (Antarctic Treaty System) and its constituents (ATCPs), if one first understands how non-state actors perceive and value the phenomena in question (Antarctic heritage). The dominant Antarctic heritage discourse has a strict idea of what heritage in Antarctica is and represents for states, but non-state actors do not necessarily share the same conceptualisation. Alternative ways of thinking about and treating heritage has been contemplated by scholars from within Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) on a global scale, and those within Antarctic Studies from a regional perspective. Within CHS, Graham et al. (2000) present the idea of dissonant heritage and discuss the potential for dissent in heritage management; Smith (2006) argues that the current prevailing discourse on heritage around the world has been 'authorised' and is characterised by its nationalisation and westernisation; and Holtorf (2012, 2015) outlines a contemporary heritage discourse similar to Smith's and contemplates a future heritage. With regard to polar heritage in particular, several valuable contributions have been made by researchers including Warren, Senatore, Zarankin, Barr and Pearson. Warren (1989) undertook the first survey of HSMs and their management in 1989; Senatore (2020, 2019, 2011) has commented at length on the heritage-making process in Antarctica, focusing on materiality and the sealing and whaling industries; Zarankin (2005, 2011, 2012, 2018) has also discussed the historical narratives of sealing and whaling as well the tourism industry, and deconstructed the political-ideological implications of the concept of Antarctic heritage; Barr (2018, 2004, 2000) has discussed 'historic values' and summarised key events in the history of Antarctic heritage management; and Pearson (2010, 2004) has commented extensively on polar conservation management, but of most relevance, the delineation between artefacts and rubbish. These accounts of Antarctic heritage protection and conservation in the past, give helpful context to this study on non-state actors engaging with Antarctic heritage and its governance in the present. The analysis concentrates on three selected non-state actors: the tourism industry, environmental activists and individuals. (Other non-state actors not selected for analysis include the sealing and whaling industries as just mentioned and heritage-focused Non-Governmental Organisations.) This analysis demonstrates three ways in which these actors are engaging with Antarctic

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3 64 heritage: as a commodity for the tourism industry; as a normative vision for environmental
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5 65 activists; and as a personal experience for individuals.
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9 67 2.1 *Heritage as a commodity*

10 68 The tourism industry understands heritage as a commodity. Although heritage tourism
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12 69 serves as a secondary motive for the creation of heritage, as collections of artefacts and
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14 70 historical sites would continue to exist without it, the primary argument for the
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16 71 maintenance of heritage is an economic one (Graham et al., 2000). Objections to a
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18 72 perceived ‘Disneyfication’ of heritage (Smith 2006, p.28) notwithstanding, heritage is both
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20 73 worth money and earns money, and is therefore an economic as well as a cultural
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22 74 phenomenon (Graham et al., 2000). Heritage resources are also often assumed to be
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24 75 irreplaceable and non-renewable, but given that heritage tourism offers countless
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26 76 possibilities and potentialities, from this perspective heritage is not a finite resource and
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28 77 there are no limits, other than that of the human imagination, to its supply (Park, 2014). The
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30 78 Antarctic tourism industry shares this conceptualisation of heritage as a commodity
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32 79 available for exploitation. The Antarctic tourism industry’s conceptualisation of Antarctic
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34 80 heritage is applied to Tunbridge and Ashworth’s *Model of Heritage Production* below in an
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36 81 effort to understand this process of heritage commodification. In the following sections (3
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38 82 and 4), the geopolitical ramifications of this conceptualisation are considered.
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40 84 *[Insert NEW Figure 1 here.]*

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43 86 *Figure 1: Adapted model of heritage production (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).*
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47 88 When applying this model to the Antarctic context: the *conservation agencies* are the states
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49 89 that have officially designated HSMs with the support of heritage trusts and foundations;
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51 90 the *historic resources* are historic remains, both formally (HSMs) and informally (some
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53 91 historic sealing and whaling sites) recognised on and around the continent; the *assembly* is
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55 92 the transitory phase in the overall production of heritage packages by tourism operators
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57 93 who interpret selected heritage resources in preparation for consumption; the *heritage*
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59 94 *products* are the experiences had by patrons at the historic sites and monuments visited;
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61 95 and the *heritage industry* is what eventuates as a result of people consuming heritage in this

polar region. Within practice, the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO) – the association responsible for overseeing the tourism industry in Antarctica – in collaboration with the managing party, usually requires site guidelines be adhered to during visitation.

2.2 *Heritage as a normative vision*

In their efforts to contest the dominant Antarctic heritage discourse, Antarctic environmentalists, or more specifically Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) such as Greenpeace International, employ heritage – in this case natural as opposed to cultural heritage – as a normative vision rather than as a resource for political gain or a commodity to trade. By focusing on what they think heritage in Antarctica should be, as opposed to what it is currently defined as by the dominant actors in the region, their interpretation clashes with the statist one. Unlike the Antarctic tourism industry's understanding of heritage as an economic resource that exists in relative harmony with the dominant statist version, for environmentalists Antarctic heritage is not for states, but for humanity. Towards the end of the twentieth century, environmentalists championed concepts such as 'wilderness park', 'nature preserve', 'global ecological commons' and 'world park', and argued that the Antarctic environment should be preserved for future generations, whilst prohibiting the exploitation of the continent's potential resources. They maintained that 'all interested actors, state and non-state, organized or as individuals, present and future, have a right to see or, at least, to know, that Antarctica will remain as it is indefinitely' (Princen and Finger, 1994, p.173).

2.3 *Heritage as a personal experience*

Heritage, as understood by the individual, may align with national, commercial or environmentalist perceptions of Antarctic heritage already explored, but first and foremost, heritage is a personal experience. The dominant Antarctic heritage discourse relies on the power of identity politics to draw together a like-minded populace within the territorial domain of states. Like states, individuals also use heritage to legitimate their identity, as it helps fulfil 'the basis for making choices and facilitating relationships with others while positively reinforcing these choices' (Douglas, 1997, pp.151–152). Individuals can interact with existing heritage sites, but they can also create their own heritage within the region, as

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will be investigated here. This overall urge to validate their present with the past has been
harnessed by the ATCPs in the form of national Antarctic narratives, as well as the tourism
industry in the form of adventure tourism that offers physical and mental challenges alike.

3 What the current implications are for non-state actor engagement

The dominant Antarctic heritage discourse was constructed by states, or more specifically
the Consultative Parties to the Antarctic Treaty and its Protocol on Environmental
Protection (Environmental Protocol). As such, all those who engage with Antarctic heritage,
both individually and collectively, are answerable to the system’s rules of engagement. As
will become evident, non-state actors – despite holding diverging views on what heritage in
Antarctica actually is, as just described – have come to cooperate with, conform to, and be
absorbed by, the official and legal framework for heritage management. These three
behaviours embody the direct geopolitical ramifications for the Antarctic tourism industry’s,
ENGOS’ and individuals’ engagement at present. The following explains how these processes
of cooperation, conformance and absorption are realised in Antarctic Treaty Consultative
Meetings (ATCMs), the articles of the Antarctic Treaty (the Treaty), and the overarching
Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), respectively.

3.1 Cooperation within Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings

The Antarctic tourism industry understands Antarctic heritage as a commodity, and
although this presents an alternative conception of heritage to the one espoused by the
official Antarctic heritage discourse, in theory the industry’s version does not directly
challenge the state’s. But what does this mean in practice? Can the two co-exist in
harmony? Ultimately, the rules of operation that are derived from the Treaty and
Environmental Protocol and enacted at ATCMs determine the restrictions imposed upon the
industry’s interaction with Antarctic heritage.

Rules for the proper treatment of places and objects of historic significance in Antarctica are
embedded within official documentation, and while the text of the Treaty itself does not
make reference to these historic remains, the Environmental Protocol, a key pillar of the
system, does. Article 8 of the fifth annex to the Environmental Protocol is dedicated to

Historic Sites and Monuments and their classification, proposition, documentation, treatment and amendment. The treatment of HSMs is directly relevant to the Antarctic tourism industry and the article which stipulates that 'listed Historic Sites and Monuments shall not be damaged, removed or destroyed' (Article 8, Annex V) is highly applicable. Furthermore, under Article 7 of the same annex – pertaining to visitation to Antarctic Specially Protected Areas (ASPAs) and Antarctic Specially Managed Areas (ASMAs), of which areas of recognised 'historic value' are one category (although not HSMs specifically) – a permit 'to enter and engage in activities within an Antarctic Specially Protected Area' must be obtained and a copy carried whilst in the area concerned. Given that these protected areas can be and are visited by tourist groups, tourism operators are obligated to acknowledge and abide by the proscriptions in place. Therefore, not only is the Environmental Protocol limiting access to some sites of recognised 'historic value' that may be of interest, it also prescribes acceptable and correct behaviour expected at and within their vicinity. Overall, since its founding in the 1960s, the Antarctic tourism industry has honoured the spirit of the Treaty. IAATO has cemented this standard by including within its bylaws 'the obligation to respect relevant provisions of the Protocol – which is particularly meaningful for members in states outside of the Antarctic Treaty System' (Roura, 2011, p.100).

3.2 *Conformance to the Antarctic Treaty*

Greenpeace's 'World Park' campaign is a useful example of how an ENGO can voice its opinion and exercise its discontent even while allowing itself to be co-opted by the dominant heritage discourse. Greenpeace's objections to the prevailing Antarctic heritage discourse and its approach to natural heritage are most evident in its establishment of a base and monument on the ice. Conformance here is in relation the spirit of the Treaty overall, rather than its enactment at ATCMs as discussed above.

In 1987 Greenpeace established 'World Park Base' in the Ross Sea area within close proximity to the U.S. McMurdo Base, the largest installation in the region. By successfully building, occupying and maintaining a base on the continent for five years, Greenpeace had effectively met the criteria applied to states seeking to apply for Consultative Party (decision-making) status (Elliot, 1994). The ENGO's physical presence on the continent was

used to imply that it was a more credible defender of the spirit of the Treaty than the states themselves (Darby, 1994). However, despite Greenpeace's effective and strategic adherence to the state agenda, the ENGO was still subject to state control, as the United States 'completely dominate[d] [the] area socially as well as logistically' (Brown, 1991, p.171). The New Zealanders also exercised such control in relation to access to Terra Nova Hut.

Greenpeace further mimicked the behaviour of Antarctic Treaty parties by adopting and undertaking state procedures such as Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs), and even installing a commemorative monument in 1992 – it was removed four years later due to internal strife (although the event is very poorly documented). Even though the monument was only in situ temporarily, it reveals the intent of at least some members of the Greenpeace campaign to have their history remembered permanently in the form of material remains, just like the national memorials that serve as evidence of site occupation in the exercise of de facto sovereignty (Howkins, 2018). Therefore, although Greenpeace was able to successfully challenge what Antarctica was for and who should inherit it, in order to gain legitimacy the ENGO imitated the entity it sought to contest.

3.3 *Absorption by the Antarctic Treaty System*

Individuals hold their own perceptions of what heritage in Antarctica is and should be. Despite an overall indifference for the dominant Antarctic heritage discourse, these individuals are ultimately absorbed by it. The management of Eco-Nelson Hut helps to demonstrate this process.

Eco-Nelson Hut was a non-governmental facility built by a private Czech citizen, Jaroslav Pavlíček, in 1989 and intermittently occupied for almost three decades. It was established to conduct a practical study on sustainable living in extreme conditions and even took the matter of historical conservation into its own hands, developing its own strategy: 'old historical pieces covered with moss are left on the place for marine archaeologists. The wood, usually from broken pallets and boxes, is being dried and used as fuel' (Pavlíček, 2020, para. 2). Following an inspection by ATCPs of the site in 2015, a report concluded with an official recommendation which stated that 'without a complete overhaul of the purpose and state of Eco-Nelson, the facility should be removed as soon as possible and the

surrounding area cleaned-up and remediated' (United Kingdom and Czech Republic, 2015, p.89). Although this recommendation was enacted a few years later, Thomas Maggs (a former Environmental Manager at the Australian Antarctic Division) commented that the hut was a 'testimony to the fact that Antarctica is a continent without any real borders, a heritage of humanity and one of the few ideal places on Earth to test your own survival skills' (Dominguez, 2017, para. 27). For a period of time Pavlíček had realised his dream of a 'Green Home' in Antarctica and established his own Antarctic legacy and heritage, even if this was not his original intent. But in 2019 following the damming report, the Czech Antarctic Foundation assumed responsibility for the site, renamed it 'CzechoNelson', cleaned it up and began dismantling it (Czech Republic, 2019). Essentially, Eco-Nelson Hut did not meet state expectations for heritage and was subsequently eliminated.

4 Where future complications might arise as a result of non-state actor engagement

The previous section explored current geopolitical ramifications for non-state actors operating in the region and engaging with Antarctic heritage, but what are the potential future ramifications for the ATS' prevailing version of Antarctic heritage? Although the ATCPs would appear to have a monopoly on the definition and use of Antarctic heritage for the time being, the continuing endurance of this authority is worth investigating. Several complications in relation to the longevity of this dominant, statist Antarctic heritage discourse and its material realisation can be considered for the near to mid-term: the issue of site vulnerability, the ambiguity of valuing processes, and the complex matter of jurisdiction in this part of the world.

4.1 Site vulnerability and Antarctic tourists

The most significant threats to the heritage sites themselves, both physical and ideological are often considered to be posed by Antarctic tourism. The physical longevity of Antarctic heritage sites is considered to be in jeopardy as a result of tourist presence. Although the ATCPs have the capability to address the operation of the tourism industry, as demonstrated within Article 3 of the Environmental Protocol, as the industry continues to grow, unease surrounding its seemingly unrestricted future does also. In addition to the article's text, apprehension also arises with regard to the apparatus already in place. For

instance, Site Guidelines are not mandatory for HSMs, Conservation Management Plans that could address this inconsistency are yet to be widely adopted, and Environmental Impact Assessments are inadequate as historic values are seldom the subject of them (Bastmeijer and Roura, 2007). These managerial concerns are shared across the globe in relation to all sites exposed to heritage tourism traffic. The charge that tourists destroy the heritage they have come to experience by causing physical damage and behaving inappropriately is long-standing (Ashworth, 2009). Antarctica would appear no exception, with the removal or 'souveniring' of artefacts recorded at Heroic Era huts in the Ross Sea region (Harrowfield, 2005), urination on the memorial cross on Observation Hill evident (Roura, 2011), and trampling of cemeteries such as that at Whalers Bay (HSM 31/71). Irrespective of the validity of these claims, an overall attitude of hostility toward heritage tourists in Antarctica exists as a consequence of the perceived external threat they pose (Stewart et al., 2006).

Tourists are also believed to make less tangible alterations to the site's overall composition by redefining the site's 'worthy' mode of engagement, and by displacing its most 'worthy' users (Ashworth, 2009). In an Antarctic setting, 'the transformation of the original site function (e.g. industry, exploration) and its replacement by a new function (tourism) ... may entail not only changes to the site through e.g. wear and tear, but also through the installation of infrastructure to manage (or attract) tourism' (Roura, 2011, p.129) – such as the highly frequented Port Lockroy gift shop. With regard to the 'worthy' users of Antarctic heritage, perhaps practicing scientists would pass as the most deserving party as they are on the continent for more 'serious and socially beneficial, educational, aesthetic or spiritual reasons' (Ashworth, 2009, p.81). These are the ideological threats the sites face. It would therefore appear that there is a broad cause for concern, and as a result over the past three decades critics have suggested various responses, including the addition of an annex to the Environmental Protocol that specifically addresses the Antarctic tourism industry, its movements and impact (Bastmeijer, 2011); a better application of the precautionary principle (Bastmeijer and Roura, 2004); and the sponsoring of tourism operators by states (Jabour, 2014).

4.2 *Evaluation processes and environmental activists*

288 The environmental movement in Antarctica could be perceived as undermining the
289 survivability of historic remains on and around the continent. This movement, spearheaded
290 by Greenpeace, has been regarded as at least partially responsible for the slow adoption of
291 Best Practice within the region's heritage management, as it introduced the perception of
292 Antarctica as 'a "pristine wilderness" which needs to be conserved (or restored to a virginal
293 state), free of the traces of past human interactions with the environment' (Evans, 2011,
294 p.87). Even though the archaeological record technically consists of all evidence of human
295 activity including rubbish dumps, in addition to pretty artefacts and buildings (Fagan, 1996),
296 not all remnants are considered deserving of saving by the movement that favours
297 environmental values over cultural ones. Take, for example, an encounter with not just a
298 legacy waste site but an officially designated HSM by a former Greenpeace expedition
299 leader in 1993: 'the historic monument [Terra Nova Hut] was a wooden hut with trash all
300 around it ... the Antarctic surroundings were infinitely more historic and, indeed,
301 monumental' (Mulvaney, 2003, p.170). The World Wide Fund for Nature website also
302 published a statement by a polar explorer who pledged that after 'Having seen the majesty
303 of the frozen continent I have made it my mission in life to clean up human impacts from
304 the past and preserve it for generations to come' (Evans, 2011, p.95). Thus, environmental
305 activists' desire to clean-up Antarctica was, and still is, strong – a sentiment reflected in, and
306 exacerbated by, the text of the Environmental Protocol. The requirements for waste
307 removal by Annex III 'generated a political urgency to "clean up the environment"' that in
308 turn potentially increased the vulnerability of historic remains (Evans, 2011, p.92).
309 Furthermore, although the annex stipulates that 'historic items' should not be damaged in
310 the clean-up process, no definition for what might constitute such an item is offered,
311 meaning that some cultural resources could be removed if deemed rubbish (Pearson, 2004).
312 Given the highly volatile nature of the environmental movement, it is easy to appreciate
313 how such ambiguity could cause growing anxiety for the future of all historic sites in
314 Antarctica (both formally and informally recognised), especially when natural values are
315 prioritised over cultural values. This tension exposes the fragility of the overarching statist
316 system in this area and its potential to be exploited by both state, and non-state, actors.

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318 4.3 *Undefined jurisdiction and individuals*

Who is responsible for reprimanding individuals' violations of Antarctic heritage? Past events suggest that it is unclear if it is a matter for specific states or the international community as a whole. The 'Wordie House incident' in 2010 that detailed damage caused to HSM 62 by two intoxicated Frenchmen, demonstrated how the states managing the heritage site and the perpetrators' state of origin dealt with their behaviour: the skipper was found guilty and fined 10,000 Euros (France, 2014). State involvement was also observed in reaction to the damage caused to Observation Cross on Ross Island, HSM 20, by a member of the New Zealand Defence Force who had scratched 'three letters and the year "2015" into the front of the monument' (New Zealand, 2015, p.3). The officer was found guilty and subject to 17 days' confinement to the barracks and fined 500 New Zealand dollars for the cross's repair.

These are two of the worst cases of HSM damage caused by individuals to date, and their remediations have been relatively straightforward. However, Scott, an Antarctic law expert, has projected jurisdictional complexities for future incidents, which could potentially take into account:

the state where the activity was organized; the state which authorized the activity; the state where the operator is incorporated; the state where the operator conducts its business; the state which gives nationality to the operator; the state within which the vessel carrying out the activity is registered; the state from which the operator departs to the Antarctic; the state in which any action for compensation for environmental damage may be taken; and the state within which the operator's insurance is held. (Scott, 2006, p.90)

Moreover, what if more serious desecrating acts were to occur? Destruction could be so devastating that the monument or site could not be repaired or salvaged. Or perhaps more significantly, the damage could be politically motivated and jeopardise the relationship between two states – the state whose claim the monument is located in and the state whose monument it is. In this case, it is uncertain whether or not the privilege of prosecution would transfer to the aggrieved state. These dilemmas cannot be addressed as such an incident is yet to take place. What is clear though is that the ATCPs hope to avoid

such a scenario for fear of reopening the sovereignty dilemma, given the common use of HSMs as signifiers of historical presence and occupation in the region.

5 The Custodians of Antarctic Heritage

The Antarctic heritage discourse embedded within the Antarctic Treaty System, written by states for states, does not exist in isolation. The tourism industry, environmental activists and individuals are non-states actors that all have the capacity to perceive of, and engage with, heritage in this part of the world differently to the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties. Tourism operators regard Antarctic heritage as a product to develop and sell, environmental activists view Antarctic (natural) heritage as an opportunity to secure the continent's pristine environment for inheritance by future generations, and individuals interact with Antarctic heritage on their own terms and for their own reasons. However, these discourses are not mutually exclusive, and they co-exist with the authorised, statist discourse to varying degrees of dissonance. The first set of geopolitical ramifications this paper has identified include: the tourism industry's cooperation with Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting directives for interacting with Antarctic heritage; environmental activists' conformance to the Antarctic Treaty and Environmental Protocol stipulations for interacting with Antarctic heritage (in an attempt to have their discontent validated); and individuals disregard for, but eventual absorption by, ATS expectations for interacting with Antarctic heritage. When considering the reverse effect – that is, the geopolitical ramifications of non-state actor engagement on the ATS' approach to Antarctic heritage management – it was found that non-state actors pose a number of potential threats to, or complications for: the longevity of the sites themselves; the evaluation process for historic remains; and effective retribution for damage caused to heritage sites.

In recent years, heritage-focused Non-Governmental Organisations such as the International Polar Heritage Committee (IPHC) have also begun to influence the agenda for Antarctic heritage management, lobbying for more detailed guidelines for HSM proposals and stricter criteria. The IPHC's current drafting of a 'Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage in Antarctica' – that requests states conduct Comprehensive Environmental Evaluations prior to proposing sites (Barr, 2018) – embodies the latest efforts

by this group of heritage experts, practitioners and professionals. But despite all these challenges to the durability of the existing official approach to Antarctic heritage management, it is apparent that for the time being ATCPs are the custodians of Antarctic heritage. This exclusive group of states are the final arbiters of what can and cannot be formally considered heritage in the region, and what acceptable engagement with such sites should look like.

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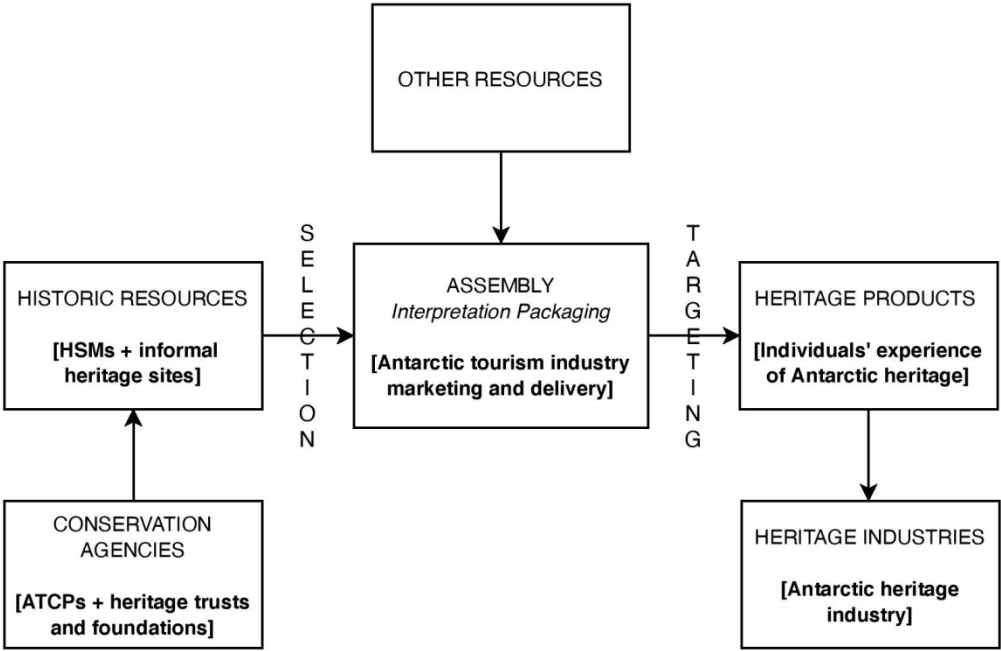


Figure 1: Adapted model of heritage production (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

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