

## Reporting Heritage Destruction





# **Reporting Heritage Destruction**

Edited by

**Bijan Rouhani, Bill Finlayson and Timothy Clack**

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# Introduction:

## Can Reporting Heritage Destruction Be a Double-Edged-Sword?

Bijan Rouhani, Bill Finlayson and Timothy Clack

The idea of this volume began with fundamental questions about the reporting of heritage destruction: who is reporting, what is being reported and how, and what are the implications of such reporting? In an increasingly globalised world inundated with headlines from international news outlets, as well as the relentless flow of social media and user-generated content, how are threats to cultural heritage perceived, documented, and disseminated, and what are the broader consequences of this reporting? If cultural heritage can serve as both a trigger and a casualty of conflict, hinder stabilisation, and foster peace-building – with its role continuously shifting between exploitation and protection within different military strategies, threats, and interventions (Clack and Dunkley 2022) – how does the act of reporting influence this dynamic, and in what ways does it shape heritage's evolving function?

The necessity of putting this book together arises from the urgent need to critically examine the complexities of heritage destruction reporting. The destruction of cultural heritage in conflict zones has, in recent decades, gained considerable international attention. As stressed by the former United Nations' Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, access to, and enjoyment of, cultural heritage is a human rights issue (Shaheed 2011). Reporting such destruction raises public awareness, mobilises responses, and influences policy decisions. However, the way in which these events are reported and the heritage that receives the most attention can serve political and ideological agendas, at times exacerbating conflict dynamics rather than alleviating them. The emergence of digital media and the rapid proliferation of information channels have further complicated these issues, allowing for the simultaneous documentation of destruction, dissemination of misinformation, and even the weaponisation of cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage is integral to identity, history, and human dignity, making it a frequent target for political or ideological agendas. If not handled carefully, reporting on such acts can inadvertently amplify extremist ideologies or, conversely, be used to justify military interventions and potential neo-colonial initiatives. Western media has disproportionately focused on the destruction of ancient pre-Islamic heritage in the Middle East, despite it being only a fraction of the broader heritage devastation carried out by ISIS, which also targeted mosques, churches, and temples of various faiths (Stein 2022: 178).

Research on militant and terrorist organisations shows that deliberate destruction of cultural heritage has been an important means for spreading their propaganda, recruiting new members, and expanding their networks (Smith *et al.* 2016). In response to the deliberate destruction of heritage in Syria and Iraq by non-state actors, the UN Security Council and UNESCO redefined such acts as significant threats to international security and stability, but have been hesitant to apply similar measures against their Member States (Meskell and Isakhan 2024).

Although UN agencies and heritage organisations provide extensive documentation and monitoring frameworks, there is a lack of ethical guidelines specifically addressing media reporting on heritage destruction. While many international news media and international councils have ethical principles for reporting on war, terror, and emergencies (e.g. BBC Editorial Guidelines 2019; Council of Europe 2022), these guidelines do not adequately consider the cultural sensitivities surrounding heritage. This oversight neglects the crucial role heritage can play in conflicts, particularly when it is contested or used as a tool for political and ideological agendas and propaganda. There is also concern about the extent to which media reporting accurately represents local perspectives and narratives, particularly those of marginalised communities.

Understanding the patterns and media formats of reporting heritage destruction over time is crucial, as it reveals how narratives have been shaped, amplified, or manipulated in different historical contexts, providing insights into the evolving role of media in influencing public perception, policy decisions, and heritage protection efforts today.

The editors of this volume seek to address these issues by fostering an interdisciplinary dialogue that brings together archaeologists, heritage scholars, media professionals, policymakers, and human rights advocates. Their

goal is to provide a nuanced understanding of how heritage destruction is reported and the ethical considerations surrounding these reports. They also aim to develop a framework that can guide heritage professionals and media practitioners in more ethical and responsible reporting.

The project took shape through a series of carefully coordinated efforts. Initially, a working group was established to define the key themes and concerns related to heritage destruction reporting. This was followed by a scoping workshop, in Oxford, on 6 December 2022, where a select number of media professionals, government and policy officials and heritage scholars discussed critical issues, shared expertise, and outlined possible ethical guidelines. This workshop led to the planning of a large online conference, which took place on 15 November 2023, designed to expand the discussion to a wider audience, including global policymakers, non-government organisations, and academics.

The online conference was structured around three major themes: Who Owns and Values Cultural Heritage? Cultural Heritage as a Human Right; and Media Reporting and Heritage Destruction. Keynote speakers and selected scholars presented their research and case studies, leading to in-depth discussions on the impact of heritage reporting in various contexts. Panel discussions provided a platform for critical engagement with these issues, addressing not only how destruction is reported but also how these narratives shape international responses and funding for heritage protection and reconstruction.

The project was initiated by Oxford's Endangered Cultural Heritage in the Global South Hub (ECHGS), which engages scholars from various disciplines. The ECHGS<sup>1</sup> is an initiative led by the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa (EAMENA) at the School of Archaeology, University of Oxford in collaboration with other Oxford-based scholars from Anthropology, Geography, and other disciplines. It undertakes interdisciplinary research on how cultural heritage is created, identified, valued and protected both by local populations and by international agencies, experts, and academics. The ECHGS also considers how heritage is currently threatened by conflict, climate change, and development. The longstanding relationships between the Global North and the Global South make cultural heritage both a critical focus for decolonisation debates and actions, and central to highly topical discussions regarding UK (and international) Official Development Assistance programmes.

The volume moved forward with a call for chapters, inviting contributions from a diverse range of experts and communities. Each submission underwent a rigorous peer-review process, with at least two reviewers evaluating each chapter to ensure academic integrity and coherence with the overarching theme of the volume. The chapters selected for inclusion offer a wide-ranging analysis, from historical case studies of heritage destruction and propaganda to contemporary challenges posed by social media and digital reporting.

A key outcome of the project is the development of a set of ethical recommendations for reporting on heritage destruction, presented at the end of this volume. These recommendations, informed by discussions within the working group and inputs from conference participants, aim to provide practical recommendations for journalists, researchers, and heritage professionals. They emphasise the importance of context, the need for accurate and responsible reporting, and the potential consequences of misrepresentation. These recommendations highlight the need for greater collaboration between media outlets and heritage experts, establishment of clearer ethical standards for reporting, and the role of international organisations in supporting responsible heritage documentation. By engaging with these issues, the book seeks to provide a critical resource for understanding and improving the ways in which heritage destruction is reported and addressed on the global stage.

Our own experience of working in the cultural heritage sector, as academics, practitioners, policymakers, or journalists reporting on heritage has made it very clear to us that not only is a local perspective vital, but it is not singular – and that in conflict situations we have to tread very carefully, not least to ensure we do not increase the risk to people or their heritage. We have inevitably been dealing with many journalist enquiries since the start of the current Israeli/Palestinian conflict, but are being very cautious about what we say, and who we say it to. As **Sebastien Usher** said in our workshop, we are not always sure how what we say will be used or abused. Our priority is with the agencies who have stewardship over heritage.

We start from the perspective that cultural heritage requires people – the people who create, curate, and identify themselves through what we describe as cultural heritage. Cultural heritage goes beyond the inanimate objects.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/echgs-hub-15-nov-2023-online> [Accessed 03 March 2025]

The chapters collected here may appear quite eclectic, providing many different examples and contexts, often, as with **Lane and Merlo**, reminding us that the reporting can be selective. They make it very clear that reporting cultural heritage destruction is not a neutral act, perhaps most visibly in **Richard**'s insightful analysis of sophisticated Russian media reporting and **Dunkley**'s account of the use of cultural heritage as a force multiplier, but this theme recurs throughout the book. **Saqib and Morris**, as well as **Makander**, discuss the misuse of heritage itself, but within a context where it may be seen as minor compared to loss of human life, but where the cultural context is fundamental. However, what comes through constantly is the importance of cultural heritage, notably as a human right as discussed by **Benoune** and **Barrett-Casey** and in **Wagner**'s stark analysis of how cultural heritage destruction can be an advance warning of genocide. **Usher** recognises the importance of reporting, although he sees hazards in the process and argued that journalists need to get better at telling the story. The same applies to all of us, but it is clear from all the chapters and especially **Wagner**'s that cultural heritage destruction must be reported.

A topic that comes up with increasing frequency in cultural heritage, especially regarding the Global South, is the issue of ownership and value. Initially expressed as a concern with universal value being dominated by Western ideals, readily visible in the remains of the Roman empire and other former conquerors. More recently, approaches have begun to emphasise a bottom-up construction of cultural heritage and its dynamic nature – a theme picked up by many of our contributors.

**Ammar Azzouz** in his keynote for the theme *Who Owns and Values Cultural Heritage?* made this immediately relevant to our discussion with his concerns about the reporting of heritage as stones in ruins creating faceless wars. This abstraction of heritage from real people makes heritage of considerably lesser importance than human lives. The political nature of what is reported – as seen in the current Israel/Palestine situation – leads to apparent biases in coverage – with some identities being written out of history. A more bottom-up narrative, or many narratives, provides multi-vocal stories, and our contributors discuss many local stakeholders. That of course does not remove heritage from the political, and no one at our conference argued it could be.

**Elly Harrowell and Aparna Tandon** expand the identification of voiceless actors. Using the evocative term “heritage bearers” they note that people-led approaches have the potential to not only be more ethical, but more effective. Despite many critiques of a top-down, Western-dominated approach, this has not yet fed very well through on the ground. One recommendation they make is that heritage institutions need to listen to local voices and learn more to move away from their current expert-led paternalistic mode of working, echoed by **Karima Benoune** in the need for learning, saying lessons had been learned on the risks of inflaming context and providing weapons through recognising partisan cultural heritages, and the need to maintain some universality to see the totality. **Harrowell and Tandon** described the need to amplify local voices through the much more complex process of co-creating projects. One of the great things they report is the development of practical tools to help achieve this bottom-up approach.

**Paul Lane** and **Stefano Merlo** bring in further dimensions, one being that destruction is only reported from high-profile conflicts. There are conflicts that fall below the threshold of international news (a point raised again by **Mark Dunkley**, or as **Azzouz** said – conflicts can become forgotten). They explore the challenges of defining and addressing heritage endangerment in Africa. Their chapter critiques the global focus on monumental heritage destruction during conflicts while neglecting the incremental loss of archaeological sites due to urban expansion, mining, climate change, and poor heritage management. Through their case study on Mapping Africa's Endangered Archaeological Sites and Monuments (MAEASaM) project, they analyse these gaps by using remote sensing, archival research, and local partnerships to document and monitor heritage sites. The authors highlight issues such as the “tyranny of monumentality,” data mismanagement, and legal shortcomings that contribute to Africa's heritage vulnerabilities. The chapter advocates for a more holistic, landscape-based approach that prioritises local perspectives and sustainable heritage protection strategies. Again, we are back to who owns and values the heritage – where it fits onto national and international priorities and policies.

**Eleanor Childs** focusses still more on the under-represented, here in particular the place of women in cultural heritage. She critiques the exclusion of gender in international heritage protection mechanisms, arguing that heritage destruction disproportionately affects women but is rarely analysed through a feminist lens. She highlights how UNESCO and global governance structures fail to integrate gender-sensitive approaches, treating heritage destruction as a security issue rather than recognising its cultural and human rights implications. Drawing on feminist International Relations theories, she examines ISIS' (*Da'esh*) systematic destruction of cultural heritage and its gendered impacts, including erasure of minority identities and exacerbation of women's insecurity. Childs

calls for integrating feminist perspectives into heritage protection to address these gaps and ensure inclusive policymaking.

Most of our discussion focussed on the terrestrial heritage that tends to spring to mind immediately. **Elena Perez-Alvaro** took us to the relatively neglected domain of underwater heritage, pointing out it has a similar history of use and abuse. Indeed, sometimes its impact can be very significant, as in the 2022 Ukrainian sinking and immediate registration as cultural heritage of the Russian warship Moskva. Perez-Alvaro observes that this is part of an ongoing campaign where both sides in the conflict are using maritime heritage as a political tool. The underwater record is full of direct evidence of past conflicts and networks of economic power, and maritime conflicts from the South China Sea, piracy in the Red Sea, and disputes about maritime boundaries in the Mediterranean are all ongoing. Maritime conflict is especially important in many of today's hybrid conflicts and underwater cultural remains are routinely used to argue ownership, frequently via social media. The media manipulation of maritime heritage to manipulate public opinion and provoke conflict leads **Perez-Alvaro** to argue that the international community must be vigilant in conserving maritime heritage and saving it from geopolitical exploitation.

**Kristen Barrett-Casey**'s chapter examines Iraq's post-conflict legal system and its role in the conservation of cultural heritage, arguing that the legal framework both protects and endangers heritage. The 2005 Iraqi Constitution, influenced by the U.S. occupation, established a power-sharing system (*muhasasa*), which fragmented heritage management along sectarian lines. This legal structure commodifies heritage, treating it like oil and gas, prioritising revenue generation over preservation. Through case studies of religious sites such as the Al-Askari Mosque and the Shrine of the Prophet Ezekiel, Barrett-Casey illustrates how sectarian endowments undermine national heritage by privileging specific religious identities and enabling commercial exploitation. She discusses embattled humanity and the need to mainstream the advances made in the UN human rights support system. Like Lane and Merlo, she raised other issues of heritage destruction – why is some heritage reported more than others?

The interest in human rights is developed further by **Karima Bennoune**, who was the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights. In her keynote for the theme *Cultural Heritage as a Human Right*, Bennoune makes a powerful call for the importance of cultural heritage to all humanity, beyond the specific links between some heritage and groups of people. Cultural heritage is not important just for itself but for other rights, such as freedom of expression or religion, and economic development. Bennoune is in no doubt that protecting cultural heritage is protecting human rights. She critiques the UN Security Council's counterterrorism focus, calling for a more integrated human rights perspective across international policies. Additionally, she highlights the risks faced by cultural heritage defenders, urging stronger protections for those safeguarding heritage under threat.

**Jessica Wagner** makes a strong case for the importance of cultural heritage as a human right through direct association between cultural and biological genocide. Cultural property is viewed as mere materiality, negligible when compared to safeguarding human lives. Wagner makes a number of important points, firstly that attacks on cultural heritage can serve as advance warning of genocidal violence. Secondly, that culture shapes a group's collective identity. Culture is people, so when cultural heritage is destroyed, people are destroyed, the fabric of a culture is eroded, and the structure of a group becomes weak, making it far easier to eradicate in genocide. She argues that cultural property protection (CPP) acts as a safeguard through forewarning, resistance, empowerment, and reconciliation, making it essential for preventing genocide and preserving human rights.

**Sheikh Saqib and Carolyn Morris** in their chapter on *Rohingya Narratives Beyond Victimhood* start from the point that the denial of a cultural life can appear minor in the face of genocide – but that of course such a genocidal campaign is often targeting and othering a specific (ethno)cultural group – the target is to some extent the cultural life and heritage. Victimhood can become an important part of identity, used externally, while the suffering felt is expressed more internally. Cultural heritage may be put aside in order to focus on the basic needs for survival, or cultural heritage may be subverted in the need to establish greater identity boundaries as part of the process of survival – what is Rohingya and what is not. Rohingya heritage faces existential threats not only due to destruction in Myanmar but also due to assimilation pressures in diaspora and refugee contexts. Heritage is both neglected in crisis situations and sometimes redefined as a survival strategy, reinforcing or reshaping Rohingya identity. They argue that reporting on cultural heritage destruction should be reflective and responsible, avoiding simplistic narratives that perpetuate passive victimhood.

**Ashish Makander** picks this up in a global approach, observing a politicisation of the cultural landscape, deliberate destruction of plural histories, and in consequence a need to help build new dialogues that do not succumb to the negative use of heritage to support majority hegemonisation, the use of culture to provoke conflict. Rather, we need

to take the many cultural identities and learn to weave them into a resilient and inclusive form. He examines urbicide as a deliberate strategy to erase plural histories and consolidate majoritarian control. He critiques colonial and legal frameworks that enable this destruction and argues for reconstructing heritage narratives through inclusive and community-led approaches. The chapter also highlights the role of memory and architecture in countering erasure, making it vital that architects, civil engineers, and policymakers engage in heritage discussions.

In her case study on the historic city of Shiraz, Iran, **Mona Azarnoush** examines the role of media in safeguarding the city's historic fabric amid threats posed by urban development and religious tourism. She explores how a strategically coordinated news dissemination campaign mobilised public awareness, engaged experts, and pressured authorities into action. Through media-driven activism, the campaign temporarily halted destruction and ultimately secured the registration of Shiraz's historic context on Iran's National Heritage List, making its demolition a criminal offence. The study underscores the necessity of accurate, neutral, and legally supported heritage reporting, emphasising the importance of building trust with local communities. However, for such reporting to be effective, governments must separate heritage destruction coverage from political controversies and ensure comprehensive legal protections for journalists and reporters.

**Timothy Clack** explores the intricate relationship between media reporting and the destruction of cultural heritage in conflict zones. Using the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine as a focal point, the chapter highlights how cultural heritage is both a casualty and a weapon of war. The discussion extends to other global conflicts, demonstrating how media coverage varies, often shaped by geographical proximity, conflict complexity, and editorial agendas. The chapter underscores that media reporting can amplify or suppress awareness, influence public sentiment, and even shape the strategies of conflict actors. It draws lessons from counter-terrorism reporting, emphasising the need for ethical guidelines and media literacy to balance public interest with the risk of incentivising further destruction. This chapter serves as a bridge to the next theme on *Media Reporting and Heritage Destruction*, which delves deeper into how media narratives influence perceptions of heritage loss, international responses, and policy-making.

Under the theme *Media Reporting and Heritage Destruction*, **Sebastian Usher** brought us onto the core theme where the issue is one of superficiality and depth. The story of a single tree in the UK and its media impact gave people in the UK an insight into the importance of things. News editors and reporters must constantly judge the balance between conveying the human cost of conflict and the material destruction in a short, immediate response. While newsrooms have benefited from the democratisation of recording conflict through mobile phones, this has created new challenges over authenticity and propaganda against the flood of information – much of which is out before professional journalists can verify it. The destruction of cultural heritage by ISIS was as prominent a part in their propaganda as the beheading of their captives. The observations made in the preceding chapters indicate that the dichotomy between culture and life should not be over-stated – indeed following Wagner's point that cultural heritage destruction is often a forewarning of genocide, cultural heritage destruction should be reported at an early stage – but this still leaves the question of how to avoid providing propaganda points. Sebastian Usher explores how cultural destruction has historically been used as a weapon of war and how modern conflicts, particularly in Gaza and Ukraine, highlight its ongoing strategic use.

**Bijan Rouhani** examines the narrative patterns surrounding the destruction of cultural heritage from ancient times to the digital age, focusing on how such destruction has been reported, interpreted, and instrumentalised. In his chapter *Sowing Salt and Cultivating Fear*, he explores how these narratives have historically served propaganda purposes, reinforcing power structures, ideological dominance, and nationalist movements. This is evident in examples ranging from Mesopotamian inscriptions and Roman triumphal arches to revolutionary iconoclasm, wartime destruction, and digital-era media strategies. In modern conflicts, heritage destruction has become a strategic objective, with state and non-state actors leveraging digital media to shape public perception. The chapter argues that while new media democratise information and facilitate rapid dissemination, they also amplify propaganda, exacerbate the spread of misinformation, deepen ideological divisions, and transform heritage destruction into a consumable spectacle.

**Mohamed Fareed** reports a tendency in state media to emphasise government efforts in heritage preservation, portray cultural destruction as a threat to national identity, and downplay any potential involvement of state authorities in neglect or destruction. Fareed examines how state media in Egypt portrays heritage destruction, emphasising government-led preservation efforts while downplaying state involvement in demolition or neglect. He contrasts this with non-state media, which expose how modernisation projects, real estate interests, and selective heritage policies contribute to cultural loss. The state glorifies Pharaonic heritage for tourism and nationalism, while Islamic, modern, and politically sensitive heritage is often side-lined, despite a potentially greater connection

to ordinary Egyptians. Heritage destruction is framed as a trade-off for development, with independent voices challenging this narrative by documenting loss, gentrification, and erasure.

**Bijan Rouhani** and **Bill Finlayson** in their chapter on *Cultural Heritage in the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988)*, examine the extensive yet largely overlooked destruction of cultural heritage during this conflict. Despite its immense impact on historic cities, monuments, museums, and intangible heritage, the war received minimal international attention regarding cultural property protection. The authors compare this neglect to the heightened global concern in later conflicts in the region. They explore factors such as the absence of media coverage, limited archaeological engagement, strained ties following the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, the lack of international intervention, and the absence of “strategic value” from the perspective of superpowers, all of which contributed to this disparity. In addition to external factors, aside from the work of government specialist agencies, there were no vocal heritage activism movements dedicated to reporting and protecting cultural heritage during the war in either Iran or Iraq.

Returning to the issue of cultural heritage as state propaganda, **Mark Dunkley** discusses the propaganda uses of cultural heritage destruction reporting. Dunkley notes that the UK Ministry of Defence (MOD) recognises that the protection of cultural property in conflict can preserve and enhance the UK’s reputation locally and globally, maintain the ability to influence those amongst whom the UK operates, and even contribute to force protection and freedom of manoeuvre. Expanding on this, Dunkley explores how Cultural Heritage Intelligence (CHINT) is now formally recognised as a tool within military strategy, enabling armed forces to understand how adversaries might exploit heritage for political, economic, and military gain. The chapter highlights NATO’s evolving approach to cultural heritage protection, linking it to broader human security objectives. Dunkley also presents the wargame Exercise HORIZON STRIKE, a training scenario designed to test how military forces engage with cultural heritage in conflict zones. The exercise demonstrates the complexity of balancing cultural property protection with operational demands and highlights the necessity of integrating CHINT into strategic planning to prevent heritage from being weaponised.

**Afifa Khan** and colleagues provide a review of how social media has developed its role within a wider media context, a fast-moving relationship again changed since the reelection of Donald Trump as president of the USA. Social media usage is not uniform in South Asia, with differences between countries, genders and urban/rural populations. Unsurprisingly, social media are being used actively by cultural heritage organisations and has proved successful in public engagement, including across borders. Unfortunately, its popularity has also led to its misuse. Khan and colleagues argue that although social media is not legally held to the same standards as traditional media, heritage professionals have a duty to report to these standards, bringing us firmly into the centre of the debate. They also recognise the political sensitivities that may arise while discussing the UK-based MAHSA project and the dominant use of English. Despite sensitivity to these issues, social media has been a substantial factor in amplifying friction between Muslim and Hindu communities and their cultural heritage. There have been other beneficial uses of social media, such as by the Kalash community, although the same information has been misused by tourists. The chapter highlights how social media both facilitates and threatens cultural heritage preservation, especially in politically fraught contexts. Heritage disputes, such as the Ram Temple in Ayodhya, have been amplified on digital platforms, spreading misinformation and increasing religious tensions. Meanwhile, grassroots initiatives have used social media to report endangered heritage, pressuring authorities into action, as seen in Pakistan’s Buddhist heritage conservation efforts. The chapter calls for responsible engagement with digital platforms, urging heritage professionals to balance accessibility with ethical reporting while navigating the challenges of misinformation, political exploitation, and digital inequalities.

**Alula Tesfay Ashfa** examines the impact of the Tigray conflict (2020–2022) on Ethiopia’s cultural heritage, detailing the widespread destruction, looting, and neglect of historic sites, churches, mosques, and manuscripts. This chapter explores how cultural heritage was weaponised – both as a target of violence and a tool of propaganda. Despite these challenges, grassroots efforts, remote sensing technologies, and international collaboration have played crucial roles in documenting and restoring damaged heritage. The chapter advocates for increased global attention, funding, and policy interventions to support Tigray’s cultural recovery, emphasising heritage’s role in resilience, community identity, and post-conflict reconciliation. The request for increased attention is a clear call for media reporting.

**Favour Uruko** describes the unusual Nigerian context, where traditional cultural festivals are vanishing in the face of terrorism. However, the terrorists are often sponsored by politicians to undermine their opponents, but then run out of control. Non-state actors often act with impunity, banning the cultural festivals. The chapter details how festivals like the Durbar Festival and Argungu Fishing Festival once united communities, boosted tourism,

and reinforced cultural identity. Their disappearance has eroded social cohesion and economic stability. Religious extremism, Fulani herdsmen conflicts, and the rise of insurgent groups have made public gatherings dangerous, leading to widespread fear and avoidance. The Nigerian government's inaction and occasional sympathy toward terrorist groups have further exacerbated the situation. Without intervention, these historic cultural traditions may be lost forever.

The engagement of Russian media on the recent Syrian conflict provides a very different context. **Thomas Richard** describes how Russian, especially private, media companies have managed an extremely successful narrative. In what has been explicitly described as an information war in the Russian media, Russian reporting has provided a counter to what they see as a biased Western viewpoint. Richard has analysed the Russian politicisation of reporting of Syrian heritage in a chapter that is at the heart of the discussions of this volume. The stories provided pick up directly from the former Syrian regime's use of heritage as symbolic of the nation's identity and confirming this value through interviews with ordinary citizens. This immediately identifies heritage destruction with the opposition and allows destruction by the regime or Russian forces to be side-lined and ignored, supporting the representation of the conflict as a battle between good and evil. It is suggested that the Russians were there to support the regime's protection of heritage, with the media focusing on Russian military police support for heritage protection, or Russian sappers undertaking mine clearance. This carefully curated media approach positioned Russia as the legitimate protector of Syrian heritage, further solidifying its geopolitical influence in the region.

During our conference there was discussion of the post-conflict uses of cultural heritage in the first steps towards peace. A paradox was identified where heritage has specific meanings for different groups, risking its deployment for partisan or majority uses, including state building where it can be seen as benign, against the need to recognise the common heritage of humanity and to transcend narrow identity boundaries. More specifically, reporting cultural heritage destruction prevents denial and allows rebuilding. Unfortunately, as noted by Usher, there is a need to invest in on the ground reporting in the aftermath of conflict when proper investigations can be carried out, but also at the point when public interest is waning.

**The Oxford Recommendations on Reporting Heritage Destruction** provide a framework for ethical and accurate media coverage of cultural heritage destruction, particularly in conflict zones. Developed by the ECHGS Hub at Oxford University and the Working Group, the recommendations emphasise cultural heritage as both a human rights issue and a critical element of community identity.

The objectives of the recommendations include ensuring responsible reporting, preventing heritage destruction from being exploited for propaganda, and promoting ethical journalism that respects affected communities. The document highlights that heritage destruction is often linked to broader human rights violations, war crimes, and ideological conflicts, necessitating sensitive and informed reporting.

Journalists must prioritise personal safety and ethical reporting, ensuring their coverage does not cause harm to individuals or communities. Reporting should avoid amplifying extremist narratives, misinformation, or justifying military interventions. Coverage should include diverse perspectives, particularly from marginalised and indigenous communities, to reflect the full scope of heritage destruction.

Given that heritage destruction is considered a war crime, journalists should document incidents carefully to support potential legal proceedings. Media coverage should not be limited to immediate reports but should follow up on heritage and community recovery. Social media must be used responsibly, ensuring verification of sources and countering disinformation.

These recommendations aim to bridge the gap between journalism, heritage preservation, and human rights advocacy, ensuring informed, respectful, and impactful reporting. The preservation of cultural property is a vital step in safeguarding against humanitarian crimes – and reporting cultural heritage destruction becomes as important as reporting on loss of life. This feeds directly into how cultural heritage operates as a human right. Clearly an imposed heritage, or one appropriated for purposes such as state building, has less resonance.

In conclusion, the chapters in this volume underscore the complexities inherent in reporting on heritage destruction, which present both significant advantages and potential drawbacks. On the one hand, such reporting raises public awareness, mobilises responses, informs policy decisions, and enables researchers and organisations to assess risks to cultural assets. Accurate documentation can also counter political and conflict propaganda, provide legally robust evidence where crimes have been committed, and ensure that victims' voices are acknowledged. Moreover,

it plays a crucial role in gathering evidence for legal prosecution and facilitating post-conflict reconstruction and/or memorialisation through community engagement. The destruction of heritage frequently serves as an indicator of broader socio-political crises, including ethnic cleansing and systemic violence.

On the other hand, reporting, particularly when biased, may be instrumentalised in serving political or ideological agendas, thereby exacerbating tensions and perpetuating conflict. If mismanaged, it can inadvertently incentivise further destruction, as well as contribute to the recruitment and financing of extremist movements. Additionally, heightened reporting can lead to the securitisation of heritage, prompting increased state or military involvement in its protection, which may have both protective and restrictive consequences.

An excessive focus on iconoclasm and ideological dimensions risks obscuring the deeper political, historical, or colonial contexts that shape heritage discourses. Furthermore, media narratives often privilege certain interpretations of heritage, frequently presented as “universal values” while marginalising or disregarding the specific needs and perspectives of local communities.

#### **Note on the Cover Art**

As editors, we decided that, in light of the central themes of the proceedings, an image of destroyed cultural heritage on the front cover was inappropriate. This could lend itself to accusations of insensitivity on the one hand and promulgating propaganda and extending the impacts of the destructive act on the other. Instead, we decided to use an abstract artwork which speaks to issues of violence, identity, emotion, threat and aftermath. We were at once fortunate and delighted to get permission from the artist, Doug Farthing to use his oil on canvas work, “Destruction of Heritage” for the cover (see Figure 1).

The background to the artwork makes it even more apt. Doug Farthing, who was trained at the Royal Drawing School, has held many successful exhibitions, including at the National Army Museum, Imperial War Museum and University of Oxford in the UK as well as overseas, including in Ukraine and the Falkland Islands. Formerly a soldier, he has for many years worked in the humanitarian sector. In summer 2024, having returned to the UK after spending nearly 18 months overseas working for aid agencies in Ukraine, Sudan and Gaza and having seen the aftermaths of countless acts of heritage destruction, he produced this artwork and many others in an attempt to make sense of his experiences.

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Figure 1. Doug Farthing next to his artwork in summer 2024 (credit: T. Clack)

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**SECTION I.  
WHO OWNS AND VALUES CULTURAL HERITAGE?**

