GENERAL REPORT OF THE SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIUM ON “PLACE – MEMORY – MEANING: PRESERVING INTANGIBLE VALUES IN MONUMENTS AND SITES”

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Rapporteurs:
Aimé Gonçalves (Benin) and Janette Deacon (South Africa)
with contributions from
Kristal Buckley, Marilyn Truscott and Innocent Pikirayi

INTRODUCTION

ICOMOS took an important strategic decision when it agreed to focus the 2003 Scientific Symposium and 14th General Assembly on the partnership between tangible and intangible heritage for the first General Assembly to be held in Africa. In so doing, it supported a principle deeply ingrained in African ideas of site significance, namely that tangible and intangible heritage are two sides of the same coin, and intangible heritage provides the spirit and confirmation of the values and significance of a place. Intangible heritage is the heart and soul of Africa.

The decision was encouraged by the Nara Declaration and, later, the Tokyo Declaration on Cultural Diversity and Heritage and the revised Burra Charter, as well as the UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development which succinctly stated that “the tangible can only be interpreted through the intangible” and not vice versa (Munjeri 2000:7).

At a meeting of African ICOMOS representatives held in Kimberley, South Africa, in May 2000, the theme and sub-themes for the Scientific Symposium were drafted. In addition, several position papers were published in ICOMOS News to prepare members for the issues that may be raised (Luxen 2000; Truscott 2000; Petzet 2001).

Alongside the Scientific Symposium process, the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was discussed and refined (Scientific Symposium paper by Bouchenaki; see also Blake 2001; Campean 2001), and the final draft was formally adopted in October 2003. It has important implications for ICOMOS because it does not foreground the integration of tangible and intangible heritage with regard to place, even though associations in the form of objects and places are inevitable.

The Scientific Symposium in Victoria Falls was therefore ideally placed to consider the role that ICOMOS can play in integrating the stated purposes of the International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in a positive way with the guidelines for World Heritage Sites, and with international best-practice for heritage conservation.

These issues were discussed in a pre-conference Workshop “Towards a declaration on intangible heritage and monuments and sites” that was held in Kimberley, South Africa, from 23-25 October 2003. It was generously funded by Norway and was attended by about 20 ICOMOS members, most of whom travelled from there directly to Victoria Falls.

PRE-CONFERENCE WORKSHOP

The aim of the Workshop was to enable participants to become familiar with the current debate around intangible heritage and to consider the issues that should be included in a declaration on intangible heritage as it relates to the management of monuments and sites. After position papers by Robyn Riddett (Australia) and Simon Musonda (Zambia) and general input from Dinu Bumbaru (Canada) and Andrew Hall (South Africa), participants worked in groups. A draft declaration based on the findings of the groups was then drawn up by a committee consisting of Simon Musonda (chairperson, Zambia), Laura Robinson (scribe, South Africa), Marilyn Truscott (Australia), Andreas Vogt (Namibia), Faïka Béjaoui (Tunisia), Janette Deacon (rapporteur, South Africa) and Aimé Gonçalves (rapporteur, Benin).

The draft declaration was structured around the three sub-themes of the Scientific Symposium:

- It was generally agreed that to enhance and retain the significance of places and sites, guidelines for international best practice are needed to ensure that intangible heritage issues are addressed in close collaboration with the relevant communities in all phases of conservation management planning. This could include identification, assessment, recording, interpretation, presentation, conservation, management and monitoring. It is particularly important to respect the multiple ethical and moral values associated with the place or landscape, to acknowledge cultural rights of communities and, because change is inevitable, to work towards maintaining cultural practices only in so far as the community want them to be maintained.

Place – memory – meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites
La mémoire des lieux – préserver le sens et les valeurs immatérielles des monuments et des sites
OPENING CEREMONY AND KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

The conference was held at the Elephant Hills Hotel at Victoria Falls and was attended by about 200 delegates from 67 countries and five continents. Meetings of International Scientific Committees, the Bureau, Executive Committee and Advisory Committee were held on the Monday and Tuesday with a welcome reception on the Tuesday evening. At the reception the importance of understanding intangible heritage values of Victoria Falls was made clear in music and dance that asked Nyame-Nyame, the river God of the Zambezi, for his blessing. As Joseph Yai later explained, such a ceremony is designed to pay tribute to the river and promote peace and harmony on its banks.

After several short introductory speeches by representatives of UNESCO (Mounir Bouchenaki), ICCROM (Joseph King), Pan-African Association of Archaeologists (Gilbert Pwiti), the Holy See (M Tullio Poli; International Union of Architects (Reuben Mutiso) and the World Monuments Fund (John Stubbs), the meeting was officially opened on Wednesday morning by the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, who stressed the important role that Zimbabwe had played in establishing ICOMOS in Southern Africa.

The four keynote speakers each highlighted a different aspect of intangible cultural heritage. Olabiyi Babalola Joseph Yai, who is the Permanent Delegate of Benin at UNESCO and who was the chairperson for the UNESCO International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003, asked that African perspectives on the indivisibility of intangible and tangible heritage – everything is in everything – be understood through historical African practice and through an African vision of the world. For example, slave routes have been proposed around prisons and other Western buildings, whereas the African meaning would be more appropriately traced through music like the Samba and through sacred forests and piles of stones that are found on both sides of the Atlantic.

Mounir Bouchenaki focused on the history and purpose of the 2003 Convention which was approved by 128 countries with 8 abstentions and no negative votes. As a source of cultural identity, intangible heritage only attains true significance when it sheds light on tangible cultural heritage.

Dawson Munjeri was concerned about the fact that most instances of the destruction or loss of intangible heritage occurred out of total ignorance of the value of the sites, objects and associated practices, and it is the long term non-purposeful neglect that is the most serious. Ritual and social cultural values are systematically undermined by globalization. Diverse perceptions provide a critical tool for defining an archive of relationships between cultural values and cultural valuables. Intangible heritage remains the motor and steering mechanism in this process and it is better to see it from the worm’s eye than from the bird’s eye view.

Michael Petzet contemplated the effect of time on the significance of places. The true and authentic spirit of a place is only found with the conjunction of tangible and intangible heritage when time has passed and has left many traces. For renewal to be successful, there is a real need to pass traditional manufacturing techniques and conservation practices on to the next generation. The field of vernacular architecture should therefore be a special focus for ICOMOS. Intangible heritage in relation to natural sites of significance, and to landscapes that have been altered by people, has also been neglected. Adequate management is required with reverence for understanding the authentic spirit and use of a place.
In the assessment of intangible values that characterize a site, it should be remembered, too, that the view of the visitor can perhaps be different from that of the local inhabitant who does not have the same interests.

When it comes to cultural roots, the essence of intangibility is derived from the accumulation of characteristics over time. A town’s identity, therefore, is a result of a complementary balance between:

- the intangible dimension, which is always essential;
- the intangible value, which must be seen in the context of a cultural landscape that has been created through human endeavour;
- a multi-facetted and interdisciplinary approach, which can bring new opportunities for sustainable management of cultural heritage;
- the development of local communities; and
- the promotion of international conservation and peaceful co-existence.

#### A.2 - Places and their intangible heritage

Five of the seven papers in this session were devoted to religious or sacred sites such as temples and churches, and the continuity of ceremony and ritual in these spaces. All acknowledged change through time in such practices, with responses ranging from a formalization of practice, to fixed rites and iconography (such as the Jongmyo Royal Shrine), a loss of practice from outside pressures with a subsequent revival (Bird Rock in Canada), and even a continuation when the site has been physically changed and restored (Konarka Temple in India).

The risks of change were appreciated in a study of two Catholic churches that showed how a change in liturgical practice had led to a difference in the physical form of the sacred space. In the process, there was perhaps some unnecessary removal of fabric even though a compromise could have been reached that would have been more sensitive simultaneously to both the tangible and the intangible values.

Mythologizing of heritage by outsiders runs the risk of destroying the tangible evidence of the intangible values, as has been seen for example in the Bo-Kaap area of Cape Town where the ‘Malay’ culture is presented, but without the diversity that existed in the past. ‘Who’ speaks for intangible heritage is thus critical to its continuity and integrity and must be taken into account in decision-making. If industries, now redundant, were the raison d’être for the community in the first place, it is difficult to make the place come alive again.

It is essential to ensure the on-going maintenance of a site in consultation with the relevant community. If this is not done, listing of sites may lead to control of the place being taken away from the very people who hold the spiritual values that imbue it significance, as for example at Mt Muozo in eastern Zimbabwe. In Canada, at Rocher-a-l’Oiseau, rock art was damaged by graffiti, probably as a result of ignorance because outsiders were already using the site for their own purposes, but was re-appropriated and enriched with intangible heritage by the local community.
A.3 - Heritage places and living traditions

Traditional or vernacular architecture and cultural practices in villages in both Mexico and north-eastern France suffer from the movement of people to larger towns and cities, the influx of global brands and trading practices and the loss of traditional craftsmanship and specialist knowledge.

In Mexico, it is the festivals and religious ceremonies, such as the cult of the dead on 2 November each year, that keep the intangible heritage alive to some extent. However, education is needed to safeguard the vernacular architecture and help people to keep the connections between it and their intangible heritage. In France, volunteers, youth groups and unemployed people learn building and conservation skills to repair old cemeteries, fountains and washtubs that are no longer used, but that retain the symbols of village identity. This programme is supported by close co-operation of the local government structure.

Local perceptions were described in a presentation on two World Heritage Sites in Zimbabwe, Matobo and Victoria Falls, where the focus on the tangible has been at the expense of the intangible. This is partly because of a language barrier between the resident rural communities and the officials who manage the sites, partly because the venues where meetings for stakeholders are held are biased against the rural people, and partly because only elders are allowed to debate issues and the younger people are excluded. The traditional management strategy is to apply taboos to sites to control visitors, but declaration and consequent tourism flout the taboos.

In Japan, traditional carpentry skills and tools illustrate the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage. They are intertwined like a rope, and it is the essence of the practice that is handed down from generation to generation even though some of the details of the tools have changed through time.

The power of religious fervour was dramatically demonstrated in a presentation on two Hindu shrines in rural India. Both are difficult to get to and can only be reached on foot. One is at the top of a mountain with a 12 km path and is visited by 5 million people a year. The other, visited by several hundred thousand people a year, some of whom die in the attempt, requires a 5-day round trip up to 13 000 ft. Intangible heritage is the strength of India and is sustained by intense faith and a unique blend of unity in diversity.

As a result, Sao Paulo in particular demonstrates the power of civil society rather than political power even though, in the name of progress, some of the tangible cultural heritage places have been modified and sometimes destroyed.

The collection of data on 550 parsonages preserved in Finland since the beginning of the 20th century, many of which have been transformed through use, show that only 20% are still used by the clergy. Modernisation has changed the buildings – tangible heritage – and the parsonage culture, or the intangible heritage, has already disappeared. In the 1970s and 1980s, different approaches to renovation added layers of history. Fortunately in some cases it has been possible to reveal some of the original fabric and the fundamental nature of the buildings, but in other cases interventions do not reflect the rustic quality. In this case, as with others in Argentina, one is left with the question “Are we only preserving a historical memory?” Religious buildings provide a special challenge as conservation practice should not desecrate the sanctuary and its sacred character. In some cases, as in the forts and castles of Ghana, with their conflicting layers of meaning, revitalisation can form a bridge to fight disease and poverty.

The rehabilitation of a Dominican Convent in Italy into a place of learning with courses in conservation, cultural activities, traditional arts and crafts of the region, and wine making, has aided the revival of the site. A more difficult challenge in France has been to keep alive the intangible heritage of monuments, rehabilitated or not, that include battlefields, military installations, military cemeteries, memorials and places of remembrance. The collective memory may be easily erased if such sites are not inventoried and recorded.

In Korea, traditional mask dances are a clear manifestation of intangible heritage. Ancestor worship, which took place once a year with commemorative rites at night, used to be perpetuated. Today the ritual has totally disappeared as a result of the impact of social change, colonisation, war and industrialisation.

The conservation challenges posed by psycho-sociological heritage like battle fields, war memorials or prisons like Robben Island or Ghanaian forts and castles were discussed. Besides the usual divergence of opinion among stakeholders as to the repair, refurbishment and adaptive re-use of the building as community assets and as revenue generators, there is also conflict about what these buildings mean and their sad and painful memories. Presenters, however, were generally in agreement on the importance of helping communities appreciating sad memories of the past, but without politicising them or creating hatred against anyone, a point that was clearly spelled out in Dawson Munjeri moving key note address.

SESSION B.: IMPACT OF CHANGE AND DIVERSE PERCEPTIONS

B.1 - Changing use and spirit of places

In Brazil, major urban centres such as Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have a significant concentration of places with historical architectural values.

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B.2 - Diversity of perceptions

Case studies in this session examined sites at Ziwa and Nyanga in Zimbabwe, Ntusi and Bigo bya Mugyenyi in Uganda, and Uluru-Kata Tjuta in Australia, with general remarks about the Southern Ndebele and Paraguay. Diversity of perception of intangible values are an intangible result of a process of change nurtured by processes associated with Christianity, global political and socio economic changes, westernisation and colonialism. In many cases these changes have led to a decline in the respect and or observance of certain traditional values or practices which underpin intangible heritage value.

In some cases conservation practices at tangible sites seem to be in conflict with intangible values. Continuity of intangible cultural values, however, often requires a tangible manifestation and the identity of the past and present is closely linked in many instances with intangible dimensions.

Colonial interpretations therefore have to be re-examined to unravel some of the apparent anomalies between sites and their functions in order for perceptions to change and a better link between the tangible and intangible to be made.

B.3 - Conservation and traditional knowledge

Dynamic change in the form and function of intangible heritage practices was described in several presentations.

The coronation of the present Oba of Benin in 1979 certainly differed in many respects from similar ceremonies conducted between the 9th and 19th centuries before colonialism interrupted the practice, yet the essence remained. Particular ritual places and structures symbolise ancestral connections in this rite of passage. It would be misleading to see the differences as 'overlay' because elements in such rituals alter according to circumstances. Their function remains the demonstration of the power of the Oba, the reinforcement of ethnic identity and a constant interplay of tangible and intangible heritage.

Three papers examined changes in traditional conservation methods at heritage sites in Zimbabwe and Botswana over the past 150 years that saw ownership of land pass from traditional communities to colonial farmers and the State and back to rural communities. Some of these communities can still remember the practices, but in other cases new people have moved onto the land. Heritage managers will have to be patient and assist in the 're-wiring' of communities: if we lose the users, we lose the heritage.

Several papers looked at the legislation governing cultural resources and how it addressed the aspect of intangible heritage. A call was made to draft legislation that would adequately address the protection of both the tangible and the intangible aspects of cultural heritage. Recognition of intangible heritage is a way of empowering local communities.

SESSION C.:
CONSERVING AND MANAGING INTANGIBLE HERITAGE - METHODS

C.1 - Conservation, documentation and management methods

Talking to the examples of the township of Galeshewe in Kimberley, South Africa, Tsodilo world heritage site in Botswana, and Robben Island in South Africa, the papers explored the challenges and problems relating to the management and understanding of the intangible heritage of these places.

Using oral history the various dimensions of the intangible heritage are developed and understood over a period of time. The process of collecting the various narratives is in itself a method of unravelling the layered meanings of the site and ensures that the meanings attributed to the sites by differing communities are explored and interpreted.

In the example of Tsodilo the use of rituals and taboos related to the site are explored within the differing community perceptions of the sacred nature of the site and a conversion of understandings is found in the cosmology that supersedes and unites the politics of ownership of the site.

The importance of language and the interpretation of oral testimonies were explored in depth in the paper on Galeshewe township, whereas, in the Robben Island paper, the significance of oral history in adding to the layered understanding of the sites was examined. The problem of the finite nature of those oral histories was discussed and the importance of gathering such histories before their owners passed on was emphasised.

The complexities of site management, where much of the significance relates to intangible heritage, was emphasised in a number of the papers presented. The problems of interpretation and the pressures of tourism and visitor numbers to such fragile sites was explored in detail and some tentative solutions proposed. Education as a tool for interpretation came across strongly in most presentations, and this could be viewed as a manner by which the significance of these sites could be preserved.

C.2 - Transmission, interpretation and tourism

This session considered questions concerning the practice and challenges of managing places, landscapes and routes of intangible heritage. Although international appeals to ensure the conservation of monuments and sites for the benefit of future generations are not new, the pressures of development, urban change and tourism mean that there is much loss of important cultural values. Several presentations therefore specifically considered issues arising from tourism opportunities and interpretation and documentation and managing the integration of tangible and intangible aspects of heritage were stressed.
Havana in Cuba is a city with a diverse population and heritage that has evolved over time. In the neighborhood of Colon, where the city began, people are seeking an approach to tourism that sustains the heritage and dignity of the community. The value of the townscape is an outcome of the different ways of life. The architecture, spaces such as corners and courtyards, and many traditions are still maintained within an urban context, despite the presence of sad memories. Tourism is probably a solution to improve the situation without losing heritage and dignity.

In another example, efforts to commemorate the World War II Holocaust history of Drancy in France were highlighted. It was used as a transit camp for the Jews during a period of occupation of France. The interpretation of grief has resulted in some management dilemmas where maintenance of a negative memory is involved. Classification of these places as 'historical monuments' has raised questions about the acceptable degree of change to the architectural fabric to allow for modern needs and living arrangements of the present-day community. It is argued that details such as changes in the windows have little to do with the intangible values, while others see this as a physical sign to conserve the intangible. Should there instead be commemoration through silence to enable the memory of grief to be communicated?

Documentation of the extensive cultural routes or itineraries of Bulgaria and the Balkan region illustrates their importance in synthesizing tangible and intangible spiritual heritage links that together give them cultural value. Cultural routes can enable a particularly expressive form of cultural tourism to develop as they increase cross-cultural dialogue, regional and social cohesion and, above all, sustainable development. Intangible values of heritage places can become the key for the protection of cultural diversity in this era of globalisation.

The royal family members are the premier conservators of the heritage of Abomey (Benin). They play an important role in regard to the vision and philosophy of conservation and the protection of the site which is for them a place of on-going daily activity. The ceremonial cycles that vary from 4 days to many years, reinforce the interest attached to their conservation. The authenticity of the site is linked to its function and to the cultural, technical and social evolution of Abomey society. Its tangible and intangible expressions are varied and evolve in a continuous or discontinuous fashion depending on the frequency and rhythm of the ceremonies. The cultural activities and rites attached to the site must be maintained. A basis for the transmission of knowledge is needed and will be achieved with the recording of oral history, practices and knowledge, and with the implementation of a multi-disciplinary and integrated research approach.

Involvement of local communities was a constant theme. In Zimbabwe, for example, consensus is found with local communities, but requires good rapport between the relevant stakeholders to enable intangible values to be identified and the implications to be understood. It is important to see economic pressure as a positive action and not to forget that knowledge and understanding must enable the awareness of the values to be communicated. A balance between public and private interest allows for the conservation of heritage.

C.3 - Legal and other forms of protection

It emerged from this session that the protection of intangible heritage is a necessity if the tangible heritage is to be protected. The problem however is that the intangible heritage is difficult to protect because of a number of reasons, chief among them being that it is not visible. At the same time the problem also arises that the people who are protecting the heritage, that is the heritage managers, do not usually believe in the intangible and do not have legal mechanisms to enforce protection of intangible values. Realising the defects in the system in terms of protection of cultural heritage, the Government of Zimbabwe has enacted laws that give traditional leaders more powers because they have mechanisms to protect intangible heritage.

The other problem is that culture is dynamic and always changing, thus creating more problems when it comes to identifying methods for protecting cultural heritage. One paper pointed out that the management of intangible heritage is a mirror of the struggles between the old and the young.

There was also consensus that intangible heritage in most cases is shrouded in controversy and is contested among different people. Robben Island for example has had competing claims to significance, and this has implications for the management of the symbolic site.

The values that are ascribed to a site also have implications for its management. It is therefore unfortunate that in Zimbabwe for example during the colonial period, sites were proclaimed national monuments for values other than intangibles. The way forward according to one presentation is to try and integrate local communities in the management process and also to reassess the significance of these places and sites. One paper also emphasised the point that management of heritage sites requires the understanding of the origin of values given to sites by different sections of the community.

It was clear from the presentations that the survival of intangible heritage depends on a clear understanding of values and the significance of places to various levels of the community. Most problems relating to the preservation of intangible heritage have essentially centred on the failure to appreciate community aspirations and community definitions of intangible heritage.
One paper looked at the changing values and meanings of over time at places like Great Zimbabwe, Dzata in South Africa and Domboshava in Botswana. Each of the sites discussed went through a series of changes in the way they were looked at by different societies.

Limitations of legislation and the impact of colonial and other historical legacies were also discussed. Recommendations varied from formulations of clear legislation which take into account the significance of intangible heritage, to various levels of value appreciation. The role of traditional measures in the presentation of the intangible seemed to crop up frequently especially with regard to heritage for Africa and specifically Zimbabwe. There is need for intensive research to document and get to understand the way intangible heritage manifests itself. In spite of the problems that arise when working with local/indigenous communities, efforts should be made to record and document their perceptions.

Interesting discussions also looked at how intangible heritage can be incorporated into development issues. Reference was made to one example in France to protect intangible heritage of a market place in Paris.

**SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS**

Suggestions from speakers for ways in which ICOMOS and its members can play a role in promoting a more holistic approach towards intangible heritage included the following:

1. Slave routes have been proposed around prisons and other Western buildings, whereas the African meaning would be more appropriately traced through music like the Samba and through sacred forests and piles of stones that are found on both sides of the Atlantic.

2. Mobilization of elderly people in villages to teach the younger generation about traditional practices.

3. Take traditional knowledge in rural communities seriously and record it for posterity.

4. Allow communities to decide what needs to be documented.

5. Counteract the commercialization of culture.

6. Address the fact that the 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage does not compel the payment of membership fees by States Parties as this will increase polarization between rich and poor nations.

7. Counteract the potentially elitist attitude of the Convention with regard to the masterpieces of cultural heritage – a grading scale and the right to make value judgements are not needed.

8. Incorporating intangible heritage in a positive manner in assessing the significance of places is not super-positioning, but blossoming and cross-pollination.

9. A new inter-cultural methodology is needed to help us understand different perspectives.

10. Intangible heritage is more fragile and therefore more vulnerable than tangible heritage because it depends on oral transmission. ICOMOS could therefore advise on thoughtful ways of translating it into material documents, archives and film, and ways of protecting and supporting the bearers of knowledge and experience.

11. There is need for intensive research to document and get to understand the way intangible heritage manifests itself. In spite of the problems that arise when working with local/indigenous communities, efforts should be made to record and document their perceptions.

12. Some form of legal protection of intangible heritage is a necessity if the tangible heritage is to be protected.

13. Mythologizing of heritage by outsiders runs the risk of destroying the tangible evidence of the intangible values. ‘Who’ speaks for intangible heritage is thus critical to its continuity and integrity and must be taken into account in decision-making. Liaise with UNESCO education programmes to encourage communities to value, conserve and record their intangible heritage.

14. Establish a scientific committee with representatives from ICOM, IUCN and ICOMOS to encourage the identification and conservation of intangible heritage wherever relevant to cultural and natural heritage places and objects;

15. Article 9 of the 2003 Convention, which states that:
   - “1. The Committee shall propose to the General Assembly the accreditation of non-governmental organizations with recognized competence in the field of the intangible cultural heritage to act in an advisory capacity to the Committee.
   - 2. The Committee shall also propose to the General Assembly the criteria for and modalities of such accreditation.”
   - provides the potential for ICOMOS to become a partner in the implementation of the 2003 Convention and to lead back to the roots of the work of ICOMOS and a broader basis for conservation.

16. ICOMOS could propose to UNESCO that an international charter be developed along the lines of the Folklife Charter, for better recognition of traditional architecture and the associated intangible heritage values.

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17. Improved consideration of intangible heritage will require stronger social participation and consensus.

18. Guidance is needed regarding the management implications of enabling themes such as the memory of grief to be communicated.

19. Traditional management strategy is to apply taboos to sites to control visitors, but declaration and consequent tourism flout the taboos.

REFERENCES